THE CULTURAL VALUE OF SHAKESPEARE IN TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY
PUBLICLY-FUNDED THEATRE IN ENGLAND

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that in the plural cultural context of the twenty-first century the value of Shakespeare resides in his identity as a free and flexible resource. This adaptable Shakespeare is valuable to theatres because they are dialectical spaces. Free-resource Shakespeare is able to contain a range of different cultural values and theatres provide a space for producers and consumers of culture to negotiate between them. It has been established that tensions of cultural value, for example innovation/tradition or commercial/non-commercial govern the production, dissemination and critique of culture. Building on this idea, this work shows that when tensions are dealt with as negotiations rather than confrontations, new cultural value is generated. It identifies Shakespeare as a site for the debate of value tensions and contends that he can be simultaneously commercial and non-commercial, traditional and innovative. Cultural value is thus created because Shakespeare is reinvigorated and redefined through a process which negotiates between tensions. In publicly-funded theatre this process manifests itself in an ambiguous relationship to the market, myriad adaptations and a move towards event-theatre. The cultural value of Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatre mirrors the continual redefinition of the Shakespearean object and, rather than being a concrete 'thing', is better defined as a constant process.

Acknowledgements:

For Max

and

the many Burdens in my life: Caroline, Rod, Ruth, Helen and Alice

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the cultural value of Shakespeare in twenty-first-century publicly-funded theatre in England. It began life as a section of a grant proposal for a wider project, 'Interrogating Cultural Value: The Case of "Shakespeare"'.[1] The success of the proposal is testament to the Arts and Humanities Research Council's belief in the value of the academic study of Shakespeare. However, the 'Interrogating Cultural Value' project aimed to discover how Shakespeare's value operates outside of the academy and how notions of culture and value are influencing cultural policy in general and the production, re-production and dissemination of Shakespeare in particular. The initial five research questions laid out for the 'Interrogating Cultural Value' project as a whole were as follows:

- How is the concept of Shakespeare's 'value' being used in different intellectual and policy arenas of contemporary culture?

- Is it possible to align changes in these uses with specific and particular cultural and social forces?

- How do these uses inform and how are they inflected by the cultural institutions that fund, regulate and reproduce 'Shakespeare'?

- What is the relationship between the terms used to define the value of 'Shakespeare' and those used in other areas of cultural and heritage values?

- How far do new technologies of access inflect perceptions of the value of 'Shakespeare'?

These research questions have developed since the project's inception and this thesis reflects this development by considering what the 'use' of value might entail and asking whether some values remain the same in spite of changes in culture and society. Of particular

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[1] The project ran from 2006-2010. Included in the project team were Kathleen McLuskie, Kate Rumbold and Sarah Olive and Emily Linnemann.

importance for this thesis was the way in which Shakespeare's value was used, affirmed and recreated by English publicly-funded theatres.

The parameters of this research were defined as Shakespeare, England and publicly-funded theatre for several reasons. Taking into account an obvious research bias within the Shakespeare Institute, Shakespeare still offers a logical choice for an exemplar of the use of cultural value within the publicly-funded arts. One of the best-funded theatres in England – the Royal Shakespeare Company – largely focuses on his work and many theatres without an explicit link to Shakespeare include at least one play in their annual repertory.[2] Furthermore, as a cultural object in general, Shakespeare appears to have hit the 'big-time'.[3] His plays are being constantly produced and re-produced and, with every iteration, new cultural value is both released and created for Shakespeare and the institutions which produce him.

The focus on England is mainly a practical one which helps to contain the research within a manageable context. However, it is also affected by the way in which art is funded in the United Kingdom as a whole. There is not a UK Arts Council but instead four separate councils for England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. In this sense, English publicly-funded theatres represent one particular group of organisations which are governed by policies specific to England. In the future, developing this project further could include an investigation of Shakespeare's value within the UK's other nations and other funding frameworks.

Publicly-funded theatre is the final parameter for this project because it is the place where many of the debates surrounding culture and cultural value stop being theoretical and become practice. It is a site where concepts of value in the policy arena become real values transmitted through creativity and innovation; a place where cultural and social forces are not only written

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[2] In 2007-8 there were 105 individual productions of Shakespeare's plays or Shakespeare-related plays in publicly-funded theatres. See chapter 2 and appendix.
[3] Michael D. Bristol, *Big-time Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 1996).

about but where they act upon production. Within these spaces, Shakespeare – who 'Shakespeareanises everything' – has a clear use value.[4] Publicly-funded Shakespeare is at once the great 'Shakespeareaniser' described by Terry Eagleton and the tabula rasa onto which other cultural forms and values can be grafted. Able to take on new and ever-shifting values from policy and to maintain a connection with 'traditional' values, Shakespeare offers publicly-funded theatres the perfect cultural resource. By holding these values in tension and allowing for a negotiation between them, performing Shakespeare can increase the cultural value of the theatre, the funders and his works.

Theatres are just one of a number of institutions that reproduce Shakespeare, providing a kind of regulation in the choices they make about how to represent him to their audience.[5] Examining the role and reproduction of Shakespeare within publicly-funded theatre allows us to consider the relationship between terms used to describe the cultural value of theatre, Shakespeare and heritage. This is because theatres are at once sites of cultural production and innovation and of heritage and tradition; they both produce and preserve Shakespeare. Importantly, it is only by placing Shakespeare within this public and theatrical context that his specific cultural value can be articulated. We need to be able to identify the strands of value connected with public funding, theatre and Shakespeare in order to be able to identify which values are unique to Shakespeare and which can be attributed to the environment in which he is situated.

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[4] Terry Eagleton, 'Afterword' in *The Shakespeare Myth*, ed. by Graham Holderness (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 202-8 (p. 206).
[5] In England others include schools which follow the national curriculum, television, advertising and universities.

Publicly-Funded Shakespeare in the Digital Age

It is to the environment in which he is situated that this introduction now turns. The first decade of the twenty-first century has seen major shifts in the way in which culture is disseminated. In the latter half of the noughties the rise of social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter and the cultural dominance of YouTube have had a marked effect on the way in which culture is produced and consumed. Publicly-funded theatres are beginning to develop their own contributions to an increasingly digital culture and their interactions with the internet provide interesting and revealing paradigms from which to study the cultural value of Shakespeare in the twenty-first century.[6]

One example of the cultural value produced by publicly-funded, digital Shakespeare can be seen in the RSC's Twitter-based production of *Romeo and Juliet* (2010). Punningly titled *Such Tweet Sorrow*, the project was a collaboration between the Royal Shakespeare Company and cross-platform production company, Mudlark.[7] In its clash between the 'traditions' of the theatre and the 'upstart' values of new media, *Such Tweet Sorrow* neatly encapsulates the issues surrounding the cultural value of Shakespeare in twenty-first-century theatre and elucidates the processes by which that value is increased. It provides a useful case study with which to explore the argument which underpins this thesis.

This argument can be summarised as follows: Shakespeare's value resides in his status as a free resource which is both freely available and open to interpretation. Free-resource Shakespeare is also flexible and can hold different cultural values together in the same literal and metaphorical space. Often, these different values will appear to be tensions, for example, tradition/innovation or culture/commerce. However, the use of free-resource Shakespeare within publicly-funded theatre allows these 'tensions' to be articulated as part of a debate.

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[6] For example, Digital Theatre which runs the website <http://www.digitaltheatre.com> and produces an iPhone app which allows customers to read theatre listings and book tickets.
[7] 'Such Tweet Sorrow', <http://www.suchtweetsorrow.com> [accessed April-May 2010].

This debate opens up a dialectical space within the theatre where new cultural value can be created.

A synopsis of the structure and form of *Such Tweet Sorrow* reveals some of the cultural tensions which circulate around the production of Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatre. The production was enacted over five weeks, mainly on Twitter, but also using other platforms such as Facebook, blogs and YouTube. Six characters from *Romeo and Juliet* – Romeo, Juliet, Mercutio, Tybalt, the Nurse (refigured as Juliet's older sister) and Friar Laurence (renamed Laurence Friar, a café owner and recreational drug user) – were given their own Twitter pages and a group of actors were employed to create the tweets. *Such Tweet Sorrow* followed a different narrative path from *Romeo and Juliet* and was updated in order to make it workable within the Twittersphere. The play was performed in real-time with characters' emotions, meetings and philosophies being tweeted throughout the day. In some of the tweets, characters placed links to other websites, music and videos and replied to audience responses. The narrative was thus available to be constructed by the audience depending on which tweets they read, which of the links they followed and whether they chose to contribute their own tweets.

Such Tweet Sorrow attracted a small but enthusiastic group of followers. Some of their tweets offer a critical perspective on the production and are suggestive of the way in which cultural values are used and created through projects of this kind. In particular, they highlight the tension created between old and new media. The tweets below range from the traditional to the iconoclastic and represent an interesting cross-section of the values which are both affirmed and reaffirmed when digital media meets theatre:

> @kmguillo   I totally love #suchtweetsorrow. It's Shakespeare for my phone.

@claretsgirl   I've finished my book and now I think Twitter is more interesting than tv [*sic*] thanks to #suchtweetsorrow.

@alexandervelsky   Just unfollowed all of the #SuchTweetSorrow lot. Feels awkward. Like walking out of a play when it's not halfway through.[8]

From these tweets emerges a clear delineation of *Such Tweet Sorrow* as Shakespearean – 'it's Shakespeare for my phone', cultural – part of the same field of production as 'book[s]' and 'tv' and theatrical – 'like […] a play'. @kmguillo is delighted by the portability of this new theatre medium and despite its significant differences from *Romeo and Juliet,* still clearly identifies this play with Shakespeare. In her tweet, @claretsgirl reveals the range of cultural consumption opportunities open to her – each increasingly more technological than the last – and suggests that *Such Tweet Sorrow* has become the most interesting and therefore the most attractive. In contrast to @claretsgirl and @kmguillo, who read *Such Tweet Sorrow* in terms of new technologies, @alexandervelsky's comment suggests that despite its performance in an entirely new medium, some of the social rules and regulations of theatre remain in place. For this tweeter, the cultural values which govern theatrical production seem to remain intact even when the production is moved out of the theatre and into the digital arena.

Projects like *Such Tweet Sorrow* reinforce the timeliness of this research. If, in the twenty-first century, theatre can take place on a computer screen and Shakespeare's plays can be represented in 140-word tweets, then the cultural value of both theatre and Shakespeare needs to be interrogated. This is not because they have become defunct or dying cultural objects but rather because they have become part of an exploding culture which is becoming increasingly diffuse and difficult to delineate. It is not only the difficulty of defining *Such Tweet Sorrow*

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[8] @kmguillo, 26th April 2010; @claretsgirl, 26th April 2010; @alexandervelsky, 28th April 2010. The # sign is used on Twitter to designate a subject which people are tweeting about – for example #election2010 or #backtoschool – in order to create links – called 'memes' – on the site. So, if I was tweeting about #xfactor, my tweet would be found when another user searches the site for that subject.

that makes it paradigmatic of the way in which we think about culture. It represented an attempt by the RSC to be interactive and widely accessible. Anyone with access to the internet or, at least, anyone who was Twitter-literate could become involved with *Such Tweet Sorrow*. Rather than passively observing the action, the Twitter audience could leave comments, re-tweet sections of the dialogue and post videos and photos on the profiles of the characters. This highlights another tension through which cultural value is articulated: observation/participation. Interactivity rather than passivity is one of the most important aspects of cultural consumption as perceived by twenty-first-century funders and producers.[9] Performing a play over the internet allowed the RSC to offer a level of interactivity they cannot provide in the theatre.

Yet, in terms of cultural impact, *Such Tweet Sorrow* was a relatively small-scale production. Juliet Capulet was followed on Twitter by 5831 people. While this is certainly a larger number of followers than most individuals can expect, it is substantially less than many celebrities receive.[10] The question, however, is not whether *Such Tweet Sorrow*, like Shakespeare more generally, hit the 'big-time' but rather what the production itself revealed about the cultural object Shakespeare. The conception of the project and its reception within the Twittersphere are demonstrative of the issues raised in this thesis. In particular, *Such Tweet Sorrow* highlights the tension between innovation and tradition, the emphasis on co-creation and the use of Shakespeare as a free and flexible resource. It also underlines some of the problems of definition which continue to disrupt readings of 'Shakespeare' and 'theatre', both of which are affected by the slippery and indefinable nature of their field of cultural

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[9] See, for example, the RSC's Stand up for Shakespeare campaign <http://www.rsc.org.uk/education/sufs.aspx> [accessed 20 July 2009] or Arts Council England, *Our Agenda for the Arts 2006-8* (London: Arts Council England, 2006).
[10] For example, BBC Radio 1 DJ Fearne Cotton has 784,100 people and popstar Lady Gaga has 6.1m.

production.[11] This is further complicated because culture remains a problematic term. Jonathan Dollimore contends that 'culture is not by any stretch of the imagination […] a unity', and this argument continues to be relevant in today's cultural climate in which digital media is encroaching on other forms of cultural consumption and creating ever more iterations and alterations of Shakespeare.[12]

Free-Resource Shakespeare

It is *Such Tweet Sorrow*'s embrace of the disparity, ambiguity and malleability of culture, Shakespeare and value that renders it a useful paradigm for this thesis's arguments. At their root, these arguments stem from a desire to create a more nuanced reading of Shakespeare's perceived and idealised 'universality'. The term 'universality' is, of course, a problematic concept but it is developed here in a new way which is relevant to twenty-first-century cultural production. Instead of asserting that Shakespeare is the universally relevant inventor of the human, this thesis suggests that Shakespeare is universally available, a free resource that can be appropriated in any number of ways in order to create further cultural value. It is this universal availability which constitutes the foundation of the cultural value of Shakespeare in the twenty-first century.

The tensions which surround the perceptions of Shakespeare's universality were evident in *Such Tweet Sorrow*. In one sense, his reproducibility in a new medium expresses his ready adaptability. In another, it implies that Shakespeare requires intervention in order to become relevant. Thus, the RSC seems to have some anxiety over the universal appeal of

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[11] See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. by Randal Johnson (Cambridge: Polity, 1993).

[12] 'Shakespeare, Cultural Materialism and the New Historicism' in *Political Shakespeare: Essays in cultural materialism*, ed. by Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, 2nd edn, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 2-17 (p. 6).

Shakespeare, even as *Such Tweet Sorrow* appears to underline its existence. The tension between tradition and innovation, here refigured as a tension between old and new media, affects the production of Shakespeare. However, it cannot be simply delineated as a clash between theatre and the internet. Instead, the two forms are worked together in order to produce a new kind of cultural product.

A Twittersphere Shakespeare is, therefore, one more example of the way in which Shakespeare's plays have been adapted, altered and changed within our ever-shifting media. The approach to the play is multiple and divergent because Shakespeare is considered to be infinitely various. Rather than being testament to Shakespeare's lack of relevance to twenty-first-century culture, the difference and distance between *Such Tweet Sorrow* and *Romeo and Juliet* is further proof of the propensity for Shakespeare to be remade. More importantly, it acts as confirmation of the authority of the idealised, unified 'Shakespearean text'. Thinking through the relationship between Shakespearean texts and film, Graham Holderness argues that 'if the text can be reproduced in a virtually unrecognisable form, then the plurality of the text is proved.'[13] Michael Dobson makes a similar point when looking at earlier forms of adaptation, 'Shakespeare's canonization as a stable figure of authority, ironically, profits from this bewildering multiplicity of contingent appropriations.'[14] The ability to alter Shakespeare, to manipulate his work to fit contemporary political readings or to function within a new cultural landscape, becomes part of the construction of the 'Shakespeare Myth' and the making of the 'National Poet'.[15] In the example of *Such Tweet Sorrow*, adapting Shakespeare to new media allows the RSC to rearticulate what they see as the cultural value of

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[13] 'Radical Potentiality and Institutional Closure: Shakespeare in Film and Television' in *Political Shakespeare* ed. by Dollimore and Sinfield, pp. 206-25 (pp. 215-6).
[14] Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Appropriation and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p. 96.
[15] Holderness, *Shakespeare Myth*; Dobson, *National Poet*; Jean I. Marsden, ed., *Appropriations of Shakespeare: post-Renaissance reconstructions of the works and the myth* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991); Graham Holderness, *Cultural Shakespeare: Essays in the Shakespeare Myth* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001).

Shakespeare and, through this rearticulation, to create new value for both the company and the playwright. This rearticulated value is based on an assumption that Shakespeare can always be recreated as our contemporary and that he remains the universal commentator on the human condition.[16]

However, a universal Shakespeare is also an ambiguous Shakespeare, a Shakespeare without definite meaning. He cannot mean everything unless he can also mean anything. This anything-Shakespeare is contingent on the cultural, social and political landscape in which he is encountered. In today's fast-paced, constantly shifting culture, the plurality of Shakespeare is not only inevitable but also vital for his survival. In this sense, an analysis of Shakespeare's twenty-first-century value continues to rest upon Holderness's argument that 'Shakespeare is here, now, always, what is currently being made of him.'[17]

This argument, which comes from *The Shakespeare Myth* (1988), forms part of a body of criticism which moves away from the idea of a monolithic 'Shakespeare' to the concept described by Douglas Lanier as 'a series of culturally specific, multiply-mediated' Shakespeares.[18] In this environment, as Robert Weimann notes, it becomes increasingly difficult to 'think of Shakespeare as some invulnerable still point in literary studies.'[19] This shift constitutes a changing conception of Shakespeare, from definitely meaningful to potentially meaningless. This is not to imply that there is nothing to be gained from a hermeneutic study of Shakespeare or that Shakespeare has no meaning. After all, as Michael Bristol reminds us, 'Shakespeare's works do not consist of empty signifiers' but are, as

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[16] Royal Shakespeare Company, 'About the RSC' <http://www.rsc.org.uk/aboutthersc/AboutTheRSC.aspx> [accessed 4 September 2007]; also Jan Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, trans. by Boleslaw Taborski (London: Doubleday, 1965, repr. Routledge, 1988).
[17] 'Preface: "All This"' in *Shakespeare Myth*, ed. by Holderness, pp. xi-xvi (p. xvi).
[18] 'Drowning the Book: *Prospero's Books* and the Textual Shakespeare' in *Shakespeare, Theory and Performance*, ed. by James C. Bulman (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 187-209 (p. 188). See also, Dollimore and Sinfield, eds., *Political Shakespeare*, John Drakakis, ed., *Alternative Shakespeares* (London: Methuen, 1985) and Terence Hawkes, *That Shakespeherian Rag: Essays on a Critical Process* (London: Methuen, 1986).
[19] 'Shakespeare (De)Canonized: Conflicting Uses of "Authority" and "Representation"', *New Literary History*, 20 (1988), 65-81 (p. 66).

Bakhtin puts it, 'thick with interpretation.'[20] However, Bristol's argument that these same works are not 'freely available for opportunistic appropriation' needs to be re-examined.[21]

In an increasingly plural and digital cultural environment – where Shakespeare can be a character in an online comic, the source-text for a Twittersphere play or the basis for a Tarantinoesque theatrical adaptation – this thesis argues that the hermeneutics of Shakespeare are up-for-grabs, freely available and open to interpretation.[22] When culture can be created on the internet without reference to copyright and with increasing emphasis on the ideology of Creative Commons, Shakespeare provides a free reserve of cultural value.[23] Where Shakespeare was once figured as the universal authority on the human condition, he is now refigured as a universally available cultural resource: as free-resource Shakespeare.[24]

Developing Shakespeare as a free resource

Free-resource Shakespeare, a concept which borrows from the discourse of Web 2.0, constitutes a development of ideas already laid out in earlier work on the cultural value of Shakespeare. The works to which I am referring include but are not limited to: Graham Holderness's *The Shakespeare Myth* (1988), Gary Taylor's *Reinventing Shakespeare* (1989), Michael Dobson's *The Making of the National Poet* (1992), Michael Bristol's *Big-Time Shakespeare* (1996), Barbara Hodgdon's *The Shakespeare Trade* (1998), Richard Burt's *Unspeakable ShakXXXspeares* (1998), Holderness's *Cultural Shakespeare* (2001), Lanier's *Shakespeare and Modern Popular Culture* (2002), Robert Shaughnessy's *Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture* (2007) and the continuation of the

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[20] Bristol, p. 26 quoting Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, ed. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, trans. Vern McGee (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), p. 12.
[21] *Big-time Shakespeare*, p. 26.
[22] For more on Shakespeare as an online comic see chapter 3. For Tarantinoesque adaptation see chapter 4.
[23] Creative Commons, <http://creativecommons.org/> [accessed 28 May 2010].
[24] See John Drakakis, 'Introduction' in *Alternative Shakespeares*, ed. by John Drakakis (London: Methuen, 1985), pp. 1-25 for an account of the development of the Shakespeare-as-timeless idea.

Alternative Shakespeares series - edited by John Drakakis (1985), Terence Hawkes (1996) and Diana Henderson (2008).[25]

The question posed by the latest editor of the *Alternative Shakespeares* series provides a useful starting point for thinking about the arguments posed in each of these studies: '"Can there still be an alternative Shakespeare?" muse some skeptical colleagues. Can there not be?' Henderson asks.[26] As she goes on to point out:

> the remarkable range and freedom of Shakespeare in performance during these [last two] decades, both live and on screen […] have brought the plays to larger audiences and new cultural locations. With these expansions of possibility, both in practice and method, Will Shakespeare has attained a new kind of pop celebrity even as the Bard remains in some quarters the last bastion of community and inherited values.[27]

Although Henderson goes on to maintain that the examination of alternative Shakespeare in previous volumes 'had more edge than that' this sense of Shakespeare's pluralism and variety remains a common thread running through analyses of Shakespeare's role in our culture.

Sometimes, as in *Political Shakespeare*, this pluralism can lead to radical political and social readings of culture. Jonathan Dollimore, for example, sees 'family, religion and the State' as cultural institutions and thus constructs culture as part of a process by which dominant ideologies can be expressed and maintained.[28] In twenty-first-century cultural analysis, culture is increasingly being presented as varied and as forming part of a cultural democracy in which it is not produced by the dominant but rather is co-produced or co-

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[25] Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from Restoration to Present* (London: Vintage, 1991); Barbara Hodgdon, *The Shakespeare Trade: Performances and Appropriations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Richard Burt, *Unspeakable ShakXXXspeares* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998); Graham Holderness, *Cultural Shakespeare*; Robert Shaughnessy, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Terence Hawkes, ed., *Alternative Shakespeares, vol. 2* (London: Routledge, 1996); Diana E. Henderson, ed., *Alternative Shakespeares 3* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).
[26] Henderson, 'Introduction' in *Alternative Shakespeares 3*, pp. 1-13 (p. 1).
[27] Henderson, 'Introduction', p. 1.
[28] 'Cultural Materialism', p. 3.

created by producer and consumer alike.[29] Dollimore's argument that cultural institutions can be used as a means of spreading a dominant ideology constitutes a useful basis for critiquing the idealisation of the cultural democracy.[30]

It is this challenge to the status quo offered and elucidated by Dollimore which has informed the methodology employed in this thesis. Using Kathleen McLuskie's work as a paradigm, Dollimore explains how cultural materialism differs from previous theoretical approaches:

> a materialist feminism, rather than simply co-opting or writing off Shakespeare, follows the unstable constructions of […] gender and patriarchy back to the contradictions of their historical moment. Only thus can the authority of the patriarchal bard be understood and effectively challenged.[31]

In much the same way, this thesis is not co-opting, assuming or believing in Shakespeare's value but neither is it writing it off. Like McLuskie, as endorsed by Dollimore, it looks at tensions and contradictions and uses these to simultaneously map and challenge Shakespeare's cultural value.

A different kind of challenge to Shakespeare's value is evident in works which consider our shifting encounter with Shakespeare and the way in which his reputation has been formed. They argue that in spite of and even because of changes in society, politics and culture, Shakespeare continues to endure. This endurance is predicated on the ability to adapt his plays to new political ideologies, social attitudes and cultural sensibilities. Dobson's *The Making of the National Poet*, argues that 'a series of alternative Shakespeares, came to dramatize, sometimes imperfectly, specific contemporary conflicts, rather than coming to embody a

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[29] C.K. Prahalad and Venkat Ramaswamy, 'Co-Creation Experiences: The next practice in value creation', *Journal of Interactive Marketing,* 18 (2004), pp. 5-14 (p. 5).
[30] Detlev Zwick, Samuel K. Bonsu and Aron Darmody, 'Putting Consumers to Work: "Co-Creation" and new marketing govern-mentality', *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 8 (2008), 163-97.
[31] Dollimore, 'Cultural Materialism', p. 11. Analysing Kathleen McLuskie, 'Feminist Deconstruction: the example of Shakespeare's "Taming of the Shrew"', *Red Letters*, 12 (1982), 33-40.

single monolithic consensus.'[32] Arising from this argument is the sense that there is not a single entity called Shakespeare but rather that we are, as Gary Taylor contends, constantly 'reinventing' him.

In other works, Shakespeare's variety is read as part of a nuanced relationship to the culture industry. Holderness's *The Shakespeare Myth*, which begins with the observation already cited that 'Shakespeare is here, now, always what is currently being made of him', reminds its readers that the reputation of Shakespeare has been constructed as part of myth-making process. According to Holderness this process is not only cultural but also commercial. The Shakespeare Myth arises as much from the tourist trade in Stratford-upon-Avon, the reproduction of Shakespeare's face on a £20 note and the faux-heritage construction of Shakespeare's Globe as it does from the content of his plays or the understanding of his biography.[33]

Michael Bristol, focusing on the outcome of the developing Shakespeare Myth, argues that Shakespeare has become 'big-time'. For Bristol, the commercial and cultural dominance of Shakespeare means that while 'other literary figures may achieve canonical status within the academic community based on claims to artistic distinction […] Shakespeare is unusual in that he has also achieved contemporary celebrity.'[34] This thesis considers whether Shakespeare remains 'big-time' in an increasingly plural culture. A culture, moreover, which places huge emphasis on celebrity status and in which celebrities can be created overnight through reality television. We are, even more so than when Bristol was writing, in the age of the celebrity but Shakespeare is not like Jordan or Susan Boyle. He occupies a more nuanced position within the celebrity world. By considering the impact and scale of Shakespeare

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[32] p. 12.

[33] Holderness, 'Preface: "All This"', 'Bardolatry: or, The cultural materialist's guide to Stratford-upon-Avon', pp. 2-15 and John Drakakis, 'Theatre, Ideology and Institution: Shakespeare and the Roadsweepers', pp. 24-41.

[34] *Big-time Shakespeare*, p. 3.

productions in publicly-funded theatre, this thesis develops Bristol's arguments for the age of *Heat* magazine, *X Factor* and *Britain's got Talent*.

The arguments first espoused in *The Shakespeare Myth* developed into a school of criticism which now allows us to 'study not just Shakespeare, but also SHAKESPEARE and "Shakespeare": not just the Shakespeare canon or the Shakespearean stage but the Shakespeare industry, the Shakespeare institution, the Shakespeare myth'.[35] This thesis considers each of these phenomena and interrogates what the Shakespeare industry, institution and myth (in terms of value) might mean in the early twenty-first-century. What is significant about all these texts is their focus on Shakespeare and culture, Shakespeare and film, Shakespeare and tourism. Where this work moves away from their method of analysis is in looking at how Shakespeare is used to sell Shakespeare. Shakespeare's cultural value is analysed as a phenomenon in its own right, within the context of theatrical production.

Free-Resource Shakespeare and Tensions of Cultural Value

In the theatre, universal availability forms just one part of the cultural value of Shakespeare. The other important component of his value is that free-resource Shakespeare can be used to negotiate between and encompass a variety of cultural value tensions. If a cultural object such as Shakespeare is valued for its local specificity by some, others value its ability to bridge global boundaries and speak to a world audience. While some value tradition, others value innovation. These values can be somewhat crudely mapped onto the high/low cultural divide which has been repeatedly constructed by cultural theorists from Matthew Arnold in 1860s to think tank researchers in the 2000s.[36] Despite my own reservations, the

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[35] Holderness, *Cultural Shakespeare*, p. 4.
[36] Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy and other Writings*, ed. by Stefan Collini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); John Holden, *Capturing Cultural Value* (London: Demos, 2004) and *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy* (London: Demos, 2006).

tensions below are delineated under 'high' and 'low', partly because this is how the debate has played out in cultural commentary and government policy, and partly because these tensions need rethinking. Although they are theoretically, and ethically, unfashionable they can be used in more nuanced and interesting ways in order to produce cultural value. Contradictions can be productive if they are seen as part of a mutually reaffirming relationship which can promote dialecticism, debate and negotiation.

Thus, although they may be called 'tensions' or 'binaries', these value sets are in fact fluid. The existence of one ensures and even promotes the existence of the other – what is deemed to be local is defined by what is deemed to be global, just as what is designated as low is governed by what is designated as high. Jacques Derrida explains and elucidates this relationship by describing tensions as mutually reaffirming '*différances*':

> One could reconsider all the pairs of opposites on which philosophy is constructed and on which our discourse lives, not in order to see opposition erase itself but to see what indicates that each of the terms must appear as the *différance* of the other, as the other different and deferred in the economy of the same.[37]

Derrida argues, taking his prompt from Nietzsche, that it is through the differing of language and the construction of oppositions that we make meaning.

Derrida argues for a redefinition of the idea of opposition in order that we see it as terms differing within the same system. He provides examples: 'the intelligible as differing-deferring the sensible, as the sensible different and deferred; the concept as different and

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[37] Jacques Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. by Alan Bass (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1982), p. 17. For another, different translation see Gayarti Chakravorty Spivak, 'Translator's Preface' in Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. by Spivak, corrected edn. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. xxix:

> We could thus take up all the coupled oppositions on which philosophy is constructed, and from which our language lives, not in order to see opposition vanish but to see the emergence of a necessity such that one of the terms appears as the difference of the other, the other as "differed" within the systematic ordering of the same.

deferred, differing-deferring intuition.'[38] Although the concepts demarcated as tensions and listed below in opposing columns are further separated on the scale of *différance* as Derrida defines it, it is still important to bear in mind that they rely upon one another for definition and understanding.

Some of the tensions of value that we might want to think about in connection to culture are:

High	Low
Minority	Majority
Excellence	Access
Unique	Mass-produced
Handcrafted	Machine-made
Object	Experience
Non-market	Market
Subsidised	Commercial
Intrinsic	Instrumental
Local	Global
Preservation	Production
Tradition	Innovation
Exclusivity	Diversity
Expertise	Community
Observation	Participation

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[38] Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, p. 17.

Although this may appear to be a simplification of the culture value debate, Douglas Lanier explains that this type of assessment is frequently made about culture and particularly Shakespeare. Lanier shows that, for many commentators:

> Popular culture […] is aesthetically unsophisticated, disposable, immediately accessible, and therefore shallow. […] By contrast, Shakespeare is aesthetically refined, timeless, complex and intellectually challenging […]. The 'and' in 'Shakespeare and popular culture' marks not just a link but a distinction. This drive to keep Shakespeare and popular culture apart is shared by both those who lament that popular culture has been displacing our cultural heritage, and by those who champion popular culture as the people's literary canon.[39]

Lanier's key phrase here is 'not just a link but a distinction' and this idea, of simultaneous connectedness and disconnectedness will be important throughout the discussion of cultural values.

The list provided above lays out distinctions clearly on the page, but it also represents the links between the signifiers. To invert Lanier's phrase, they are not just distinctions but links, not just binaries but mutually reinforcing *différances*. However, in order to create a more nuanced reading of the 'cultural divide' this thesis suggests that there are also values which travel across the ideological border – including the value inherent in relevance, education and ensemble. Often it is the difficulty in separating terms or understanding them in their own rights which makes the cultural valuation of Shakespeare difficult and promotes the vast array of different Shakespeares available to the twenty-first-century theatregoing public. Shakespeare becomes the linking factor between two apparent oppositions and he is given this responsibility because of a continuing belief in his universalism as a signifier and his flexibility as a free resource. He must be at once national and international, excellent and accessible, innovative and traditional.

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[39] *Shakespeare and Modern Popular Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 3.

The relationship between such tensions represents an opportunity for value creation. A critical argument in this thesis is that tensions of cultural value are not governed by conflict, but by negotiation. Value creation occurs as part of this process of negotiation between, for example, local/global, innovation/tradition or mass-produced/unique. We make meaning through the construction of oppositions and this meaning can be turned into cultural value. A production of a Shakespeare play which takes place online draws value from the tension created between the modern and the early modern. It does not accrue this value because it denies Shakespeare's historicity but rather because it plays with our understanding of that historical grounding. It asks its audience to make their own assessments about where Shakespeare lies on the modern/early modern cultural axis and in creating this dialectic it creates further cultural value.

Thus, the construction – both by producers and consumers – of *Such Tweet Sorrow* reveals the importance of tensions in the creation of cultural value. The pairing of the RSC and Mudlark represents one such tension. One is a traditional theatre company used to producing plays on stages; the other is a digital media company that specialises in creating i-phone apps, mobile phone games and real-world/virtual-world interactions like *Love City*. Old media and new media have been brought together in this project and the interaction between them produces new cultural value. The importance of viewing cultural value tensions as processes of negotiation is borne out in this example. If the relationship becomes defined as 'theatre versus the internet' then it is merely a dichotomy which re-expresses entrenched cultural values. If, on the other hand, a dialectical space is created in which ideas about theatre and internet, old and new, tradition and innovation can be debated and negotiated then new value will be generated. If there is a line which connects binaries then it must be flexible, not rigid.

Free-Resource Shakespeare as Negotiator

Shakespeare's universal availability and status as a free resource is reliant on a concomitant flexibility. This new, twenty-first-century, 'universal' Shakespeare can be presented as simultaneously local and global, commercial and non-commercial, elite and popular, traditional and innovative, all in the same moment. By constructing a universally available Shakespeare we also construct a Shakespeare able to take on any values at any time and to hold these values in tension with one another. It is this function, this ability to contain and articulate binaries but also negotiate between them, that is the cultural value of Shakespeare. Shakespeare becomes the place where value is debated and, as such, he is always already value-generative.

This adaptable, changeable cultural resource is useful and valuable to theatres because, as Robert Weimann has argued, they are dialectical spaces.[40] A dialectic is created by inserting Shakespeare into this space which allows us to embrace tensions of value and negotiate between them. Shakespeare can be produced in a multitude of ways and each different kind of production prompts us to think about and negotiate between tensions. These tensions may exist as mutually reaffirming binaries or they may be more obviously distinct. However, what is important is that within the theatre they will exist 'without synthesis'.[41] They do not need to be reconciled or solved. They are there to be debated and, through debate and discussion, to create further cultural value for the theatre and for Shakespeare. The idea of universally available Shakespeare allows for this dialectic to be created, for value to be generated and ultimately results in Shakespeare's value increasing.

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[40] *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater: Studies in the Social Dimension of Dramatic Form and Function*, Robert Weimann, trans. and ed. by Robert Schwartz (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

[41] Stephen Purcell, *Popular Shakespeare: Simulation and Subversion on the Modern Stage* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 36.

Shakespeare as cultural median

Tensions of the kind embodied by free-resource Shakespeare can be broadly mapped onto aesthetic and ethical cultural concerns. They therefore shift over time as priorities change. This is particularly true in publicly-funded theatres where values must adapt to changing attitudes within the funding sector. Above, I separated the value tensions into two groups, the traditional and the upstart. Shakespeare can encompass each of these sets of values simultaneously and, more importantly, can exist in the gaps between them. The conception of Shakespeare as universally available means that when funding priorities shift and change, he can continue to fulfil them.

Crucially, then, Shakespeare exists in the middle ground between tensions. When he is being presented as both high culture and popular culture he is neither. When he is championed as the national playwright and an international cultural figure he becomes something else entirely. When his image is used in advertising to authorise and lend gravitas to a commercial product his cultural meaning and status changes. Invoking an image of an apparently high-culture icon in a mass-marketing campaign alters our perception of that icon. Lanier describes Shakespeare as the 'Coca-Cola of canonical culture' and uses the analogy to suggest that Shakespeare is culture's most 'long-lived and widespread brand name.'[42] But his comparison of Shakespeare and Coca-Cola also suggests something even more interesting: if Shakespeare is the Coca-Cola he cannot be the Aston Martin or Bang and Olufsen of canonical culture.[43] He is more mainstream, more widely available and less niche than that. As Eagleton notes, 'his utter uniqueness, his quintessential identity, lies in the fact that he never gives us anything we have not in some sense heard before.'[44] Shakespeare thus represents the median

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[42] 'Shakespeare™' in *Shakespeare and Popular Culture* ed. by Shaughnessy, pp. 93-113 (p. 93).
[43] Two of the UK's 'coolest brands' in 2009/10. http://www.coolbrands.uk.com/.
[44] Eagleton, 'Afterword', p. 206.

of cultural values but it is a median that can be moved and manipulated in order to create further value.

The constant redefinition of Shakespeare mirrors the shifting cultural landscape of the twenty-first century. The cultural value project has consistently highlighted the heterogeneity of the cultural object 'Shakespeare'. 'Shakespeare' can be a historical figure, a playwright whose works continue to be performed, the body of works themselves, a symbol of a lost golden age, the last bastion of high culture, the reflective hologram on a Maestro card, a figure to be mocked and revered in equal proportions. The heterogeneity of 'Shakespeare' has long been acknowledged and to put the word into inverted commas as we have done in the title of the cultural value project is to recognise the contestable, ambiguous and enigmatic signifier that it has become.[45] This thesis sheds light not only on the various Shakespeares listed here but on how these Shakespeares are negotiated, how they make meaning and ultimately how they create, affirm and maintain cultural value in twenty-first-century publicly-funded theatre. More importantly, it argues that although there are many different things called Shakespeare, and even though Shakespeare has become a varied and fluid term, Shakespeare continues to exist. He exists as part of an exploding culture in which any line or scrap of narrative from a Shakespeare play can be appropriated and used to negotiate between cultural tensions.

Some practical observations:

Strands of Cultural Value

One important observation to arise from this research is the identification of separate strands of value which intersect but are nevertheless independent. This has been a major

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[45]Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare* or Graham Holderness, *The Shakespeare Myth*.

breakthrough in the analysis of cultural value and its use within the public sector. It is impossible to talk about the 'cultural value of 'Shakespeare' in publicly-funded theatre' without considering each of the different value strands separately. The value of *public funding* is that it creates space and time for training, creativity and innovation, meets the higher cost of repertory theatre and fosters the ability to produce short runs of a variety of shows. The values of *theatre* include experience, liveness, entertainment, innovation, excellence and internationalism. The values of *Shakespeare* – many already identified above - include canonicity, renown, tradition, heritage, quality and universalism.

The three different strands of value associated with 'public-funding', 'theatre' and 'Shakespeare' are articulated over the course of this thesis both separately and, with a recognition of their sometimes binary nature, concurrently. Chapter 1, 'Cultural Value: The Debate So Far' provides an overview of my research into the idea and ideology of culture in the twenty-first century. Particularly focusing on Tessa Jowell's 2004 essay *Government and the Value of Culture* and the work of John Holden for the think tank Demos, it argues that many of the ways in which we conceptualise culture have remained static and are deeply entrenched.

Chapter 2, 'The Value(s) of Public Funding' considers what place publicly-funded theatre has within this entrenched cultural context. By examining Arts Council policy documents it maps a shift from ethical to aesthetic priorities. Using the results of a survey of Shakespeare productions within publicly-funded theatres it draws conclusions about his impact within the cultural sector. Drawing on the ideas surrounding public funding and long-established cultural values, chapter 3, 'Shakespeare Got to Get Paid Son', examines the tension between culture and commerce. It argues that even publicly-funded culture must operate within the market, making Shakespeare saleable, in order to create further value for its institutions and its

products. Chapter 4, 'Killing Bill' continues to investigate the importance of tensions in value creation and turns to the aesthetics of theatre in order to do this. Using three case studies it examines the process of adaptation and the opportunities it provides for debate and dialectic. Chapter 5, 'Intercultural Shakespeare: Innovation or Utopian Primitivism?', also examines adaptation but this time considers how the Arts Council's aesthetic focus affects the creation and maintenance of cultural value. In looking specifically at intercultural productions, it highlights the relationship between Shakespeare, interculturalism and the utopian. Chapter 6, 'More than Plays on Stages?' further elucidates the links between utopianism and theatrical innovation in its study of the Complete Works Festival. Tensions of value return to prominence in this chapter which argues that the ideology behind festivals – fostered in different ways by events like Glastonbury and Edinburgh – is contingent on negotiation and debate. Finally, the conclusion considers the RSC's participation at another festival, Latitude, and asks what the future might hold in a publicly-funded sector which is increasingly emphasising the importance of theatre being 'more than plays on stages'.

The Royal Shakespeare Company

The thesis particularly focuses on the Royal Shakespeare Company. It is an important case study not only because it is a publicly-funded theatre which focuses on Shakespeare and which receives a substantial annual grant from Arts Council England.[46] It is also an institution which has played a significant role in the regulation and representation of Shakespeare over the last fifty years. Much of what Alan Sinfield says about the Company in *Political Shakespeare* remains true today:

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[46] £15.9m in 2010 – see Appendix for more detail.

the RSC has been both a cause and an effect of the construction of Shakespeare which has become dominant in modern British society. It intersects fundamentally with our ways of thinking about the plays and about "the arts" and political change within welfare capitalism.[47]

It has been the location for iconic productions, the launch pad for highly successful musicals, the training ground for many of England's most prominent theatre directors and actors, the site of a year-long festival dedicated to Shakespeare. It is the brand behind the most recent Complete Works edition. The RSC is both synonymous with a particular kind of Shakespeare and plays a part in the propagation of that particular Shakespeare as the most authentic variety, as '*really Shakespeare*'.[48] In recent years they have met with competition from Shakespeare's Globe but continue to offer Shakespeare to the public, both preserved as heritage and produced as cultural innovation. In this sense, they are the purveyors of a cultural tension of the kind embodied by free-resource Shakespeare.

Others before me have argued that the RSC forms an essential part of any study of Shakespeare in English culture.[49] However, there is another reason for focusing on the RSC which warrants some attention. Their proximity to the Shakespeare Institute and their involvement with the AHRC project ensured their inclusion in this thesis. Generally, the thesis tries to avoid parochialism by analysing a variety of shows from different theatre companies. That said, the RSC has loomed large over my own experience of theatrical Shakespeare and, as such, plays a significant role in this work. Many of the productions are analysed in relation to the RSC, either because they were part of the Complete Works Festival or because they represent a contrast to the kind of Shakespeare the RSC presents. By including other companies and other kinds of Shakespeare I hope that the thesis emphasises

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[47] 'Royal Shakespeare: Theatre and the making of ideology' in *Political Shakespeare*, ed. by Dollimore and Sinfield, pp. 182-205 (p. 182).
[48] Sinfield, 'Royal Shakespeare', p. 197 [original emphasis].
[49] See, for example, Holdernes, *Cultural Shakespeare*, p. 9.

not only the plurality of Shakespeare in the twenty-first century but also the plurality of publicly-funded theatre.

Interdisciplinary Approach

In order to be able to consider the diverse range of topics covered over the thesis my research has had to move far beyond the bounds of Shakespeare studies, taking into account political, sociological and economic readings of culture. The analysis of cultural value is vital to many academic disciplines – from economics to utopian studies to geography – and the implications of research into this area spread into the policy arena, theatre practice and education. In the last four years, cultural value has become an increasingly hot topic with publications such as *Measuring Intrinsic Value* and *Expressive Lives* and events such as the Cultural Policy and Practice April Seminar (2009) and the Cultural Trends conference 'A Golden Age?' (2010) all being testament to the current interest in matters surrounding value and culture.[50]

Hence, this research is both timely and important and demands that we rethink the way in which cultural values become situated, how they inhere and how they are maintained and nurtured. By examining the ways in which publicly-funded theatres both inform and are informed by cultural values this thesis provides a clearer picture of where values originate and how they perpetuate. It is only by understanding the origins and processes of cultural values that we can begin to get the most from them – maximising the value where it can be maximised and being prepared to question our own values in order to put pressure on the cultural status of objects like Shakespeare and fully consider their place in twenty-first-century theatre, politics and society.

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[50] Samuel Jones, ed., *Expressive Lives* (London: Demos, 2009).

Moving Forward

This introduction has established that in our twenty-first-century, increasingly plural cultural context the value of Shakespeare resides in his status as a free resource that is freely available, up-for-grabs and open to interpretation. His identity as free-resource means that he is able to contain different values at different times and to hold these different values, not in tension but in negotiation. This adaptable, changeable cultural resource is useful and valuable to publicly-funded theatres because they are dialectical spaces. Like Shakespeare, they provide a literal and metaphorical space for producers and consumers of culture to work through cultural value tensions.

Tensions of value have governed and continue to govern the production of culture, its dissemination and its critique. The potential list of tensions is, in theory, inexhaustible: local/global, high/low, authentic/inauthentic, national/international, paid-for/free, commercial/non-commercial. When these tensions are debated in theatre and – most importantly – when they are dealt with as negotiations rather than confrontations they will allow new cultural value to be generated. The rest of this thesis rises to the challenge set by this introduction: to analyse the use of Shakespeare as a free resource, to rethink the role of tensions in the creation and maintenance of value and to reassess Shakespeare's place within the shifting cultural landscape of the twenty-first century. Chapter 1 takes these ideas forward by first looking at the origins of the *Interrogating Cultural Value* project and considering the ideologies from which many of the tensions of value detailed in the introduction arose.

CULTURAL VALUE: THE DEBATE SO FAR

Having set out the aims of this thesis in the introduction, this chapter examines the origins of the entrenched cultural values which continue to impact upon cultural production and dissemination. Detailing the way in which culture has been written about and analysed over the last 150 years, it demonstrates that many of the ideologies surrounding culture – as well as many of the theoretical problems – have stayed the same in spite of cultural and societal shifts. Approaches to culture have certainly developed from the first use of the term by Matthew Arnold in 1869 to the detailed, if problematic, analysis of cultural value in the think tank documents of John Holden (2004, 2006). However, in spite of this development, the panoply of works which have been written about culture also reveals an abundance of continuities. Most notable is the enduring influence of tensions of cultural value. The frequency with which such tensions occur is worth noting, particularly the tensions between intrinsic/instrumental, high/low, tradition/innovation, authentic/inauthentic. These binary groupings (among others) have dictated and continue to dictate the paradigms of the cultural value discussion and affect not only the way culture is written about but also the way in which Shakespeare is produced for and consumed by a twenty-first-century audience. Our conception of what Shakespeare is and what we should do with it in publicly-funded theatre continues to be inflected by nineteenth and twentieth-century cultural ideologies.

Firstly, this chapter considers the surge of interest in cultural value as a concept in the twenty-first century's first decade. In particular it details the problems which face cultural commentators as they try to reconcile what they see as opposing facets of cultural value: the instrumental and the intrinsic. Three key documents provide the evidence: Tessa Jowell's *Government and the Value of Culture* (2004) and John Holden's *Capturing Cultural Value* (2004) and *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy* (2006). Each of these interrelated publications focuses on the role of politicians and policymakers in the provision and funding

of the arts. As such, they constitute an initial 'canon' of cultural value. They both identify and work within a theoretical zeitgeist and paradigmatically represent twenty-first-century approaches to the idea of culture and its value. Their importance for this project is threefold: they focus specifically on publicly-funded culture; they mark a shift in the political valuation of culture from the instrumental (valuing what culture can do) to the intrinsic (valuing what culture is) and they embody many of the cultural value tensions already identified including culture/commerce, high/low, innovation/tradition, ethical/aesthetic, local/global. An examination of these texts shows that persistent cultural values continue to play a role in the way in which culture is written about, analysed and valued in the twenty-first century.

Government and the Value of Culture

Tessa Jowell's personal essay was written during her incumbency as Secretary of State for Culture. In it she seeks to find new ways to describe culture and to justify government spending on it. Beginning with the premise that a solution to the 'sixth giant' of physical poverty – 'the poverty of aspiration' – must be found by the government, Jowell argues that encouraging the public's cultural engagement provides one such solution.[51] However, what concerns her about the late-twentieth-century political encounter with culture is that it is too frequently framed in terms of 'instrumental benefits' (p. 8). Instead of focusing on the ways in which culture can reduce crime or improve wellbeing, Jowell wants to take the 'more difficult approach of investigating, questioning and celebrating what culture actually does in and of itself' (p. 8). She believes that by championing culture of the highest standard and emphasising its intrinsic qualities, rather than its external benefits, aspiration can be encouraged.

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[51] Tessa Jowell, *Government and the Value of Culture* (London: DCMS, 2004), p. 3.

Several things are notable in Jowell's approach to both the 'poverty of aspiration' and the value of culture. The first is the prominence of tensions of cultural value within the essay. As Jowell worries over her definition of culture and the language with which to describe culture's value she reveals that tensions continue to inform and inflect the culture produced and funded in the twenty-first century. This is particularly noticeable when she comes to define what she means by 'culture.' Although she does not wish to use the term 'high culture' she still feels that it is necessary to make a distinction, 'not between high and low, popular and elite, but between simplicity and complexity, between entertainment on the one hand and cultural engagement on the other' (pp. 3-4). What separates out her idea of culture from her idea of entertainment is the work which is required of the cultural consumer. '"Culture" as opposed to entertainment is art of whatever form which makes demands not only on the maker or performers but on those to whom the work of art […] is directed' (p. 4). Embedded in Jowell's egalitarian, seemingly progressive, political stance are many entrenched value binaries. Culture is difficult, entertainment is easy. High art is complex, low art is simple to understand. Implicitly, Jowell suggests that the value of culture 'in and of itself' is highest when that culture is complex and demands work from its consumer.

Her desire to value culture 'in and of itself' represents a move away from the late-twentieth-century use of culture as an instrument of social change. In this sense, it signals the shift towards valuing culture intrinsically which has continued throughout the first decade of the twenty-first century. Arts Council policies have significantly changed as value has become increasingly associated with aesthetics rather than ethics.[52] The way in which Shakespeare is used, reproduced and represented in publicly-funded theatre has altered as a result of this

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[52] Compare Arts Council England, *Our Agenda for the Arts 2006-8* (London: ACE, 2006) and Arts Council England, *Great Art for Everyone* (London: ACE, 2008).

shift.[53] Both publicly-funded culture in general and publicly-funded theatre in particular have been affected by the early-twenty-first century's increasing propensity to value culture intrinsically.

However, at the same time as she wishes to value it intrinsically, Jowell still envisages using culture instrumentally to improve people's quality of life. According to Jowell, access to the kind of culture which requires work on the part of its consumer – complex culture – will put an end to the 'poverty of aspiration'. In this way, Jowell seeks to reconcile what she sees as fundamentally opposed facets of cultural value; the instrumental, which sees culture as a tool for achieving social ends, and the intrinsic, which values art for art's sake. This approach to cultural value gets to the problem at the heart of publicly-funded culture. When money comes from the public purse its use must be justified. Promoting culture as a social regenerator or reducer of crime seems to provide this justification. Jowell's desire to end the poverty of aspiration may not be as tangible as reduced crime rates or increases in employment opportunities but it remains a plausible, even laudable, aim which can validate government spending on the arts. The problem arises for Jowell, and later for Holden, because instrumental approaches to culture do not necessarily require culture to be aesthetically pleasing. Jowell's argument is that it is only when culture is aesthetically excellent that it can achieve the kind of social benefits governments require: 'that is why excellence has to be at the heart of cultural subsidy and that is what we must insist on' (p. 16).

Jowell's essay shows that in early-twenty-first-century politics and policy, the connection between intrinsic and instrumental value is more nuanced than a simple opposition. It is a complex and shifting relationship which is symptomatic of the contingent nature of cultural value itself. Just as publicly-funded culture shifts between high and low, complex and simple,

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[53] For more discussion of this see chapters 2, 5 and conclusion.

innovative and traditional, art and economics, so value shifts between intrinsic and instrumental. The debates surrounding culture and its value thus continue to be expressed in terms reminiscent of nineteenth and twentieth-century cultural commentary. The answers to the questions raised – why do we need culture? Why do we fund culture? Who is culture for? – may change over time but the questions themselves remain consistent.

Culture and Anarchy

In many respects, then, Jowell's essay is paradigmatic of the twenty-first-century engagement with and analysis of culture. However, it also contains within it echoes of Matthew Arnold's 1869 essay *Culture and Anarchy*. *Culture and Anarchy* is one of the first texts to explicitly consider the value of culture and its effect on society. Indeed, it is the first text to use the word 'culture' in its modern sense, or, as Raymond Williams suggests, the text which 'at last gives the tradition a single watchword and a name: "culture".'[54] In 1869, Matthew Arnold saw 'culture' and 'anarchy' as mutually exclusive with the existence of one ensuring the non-existence of the other. As long as society could remain connected to 'the best that has been thought and said', Arnold believed it could avoid anarchy and eventually its own ruin. He defines culture as a force leading humanity towards 'sweetness and light'. It is 'the study and pursuit of perfection' and a striving towards 'a knowledge of the universal order.'[55] In this sense, Arnoldian culture is metaphorically aligned to its original meaning of cultivation, or tilling the land in order to grow crops – indeed the word 'cultivation' was used by earlier commentators like Coleridge in order to discuss many of the same issues that Arnold writes about under the banner of 'culture.'[56]

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[54] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961; first published Chatto & Windus, 1958), p. 124.
[55] Arnold, pp. 60-1.
[56] See Williams, *Culture and Society*, p. 76.

Arnoldian culture develops human beings, sowing metaphorical seeds of knowledge, understanding and a desire to achieve perfection in word and deed. Thus, 'if culture […] is the study of perfection […] it is clear that culture, instead of being a frivolous and useless thing […] has a very important function to fulfil for mankind' (p. 63). This sentence provides the key to understanding Arnold's view of culture and its purpose. He simultaneously recognises and dismisses those detractors of culture for whom any activity in pursuit of it is mere frivolity. Culture as defined by Arnold is 'the best' and when it is 'the best' it increases the aspirations of its consumers. Arnoldian culture is useful – and therefore valuable – because it is beautiful.

It is precisely this blend of the intrinsic and the instrumental which resonates with Jowell's essay. The nuanced and collaborative relationship between culture's intrinsic value and its perceived ability to provide top-down improvements to people's lives is as apparent in *Culture and Anarchy* as it is in *Government and the Value of Culture*. The Arnoldian reading of culture continues to have an effect on the cultural endeavour of the twenty-first century, both in the way it is written about and the way it is produced. This is evidenced in recent government rhetoric about providing access to excellence for all and, as will become apparent in later chapters, in the practice of publicly-funded theatres.[57] The twenty-first-century emphasis on the importance of education departments within theatres, the conviction that culture should be the 'best' or most 'complex' and the belief that access to the best will end the poverty of aspiration provide further proof of the continuing – if unconscious – influence of Arnold.[58]

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[57] See, for example, McMaster and my work in chapters 4 and 5.
[58] For more on education departments in theatres see chapter 2 and Sarah Olive, *Shakespeare Valued: Policy, pedagogy and practice in English education, 1989-2009* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, forthcoming).

The Debate Elsewhere

The alignment of Tessa Jowell's twenty-first-century cultural analysis with the analysis of Matthew Arnold is thus suggestive of the continuing and enduring influence of nineteenth and twentieth-century cultural commentary. The debate about culture's use and value are not, however, limited to Arnold and its influence is noticeable in many different examples of policy and practice. Cultural value may be a twenty-first-century concept but the debates surrounding it have been rumbling on in various guises for well over a century. If we wanted to insist on the relevance of Shakespeare to this debate we could invoke Hector and Troilus's dispute on the value of Helen:

> HECTOR   Brother, she is not worth what she doth cost
> The holding.
> TROILUS   What's aught but as 'tis valued?
> HECTOR   But value dwells not in particular will;
> It holds his estimate and dignity
> As well wherein 'tis precious of itself
> As in the prizer.[59]

Here, Hector emerges as a champion of intrinsic value, that is, value which is inherent to an object whether or not it is valued by those extrinsic to it. While Hector insists on the inherent value of objects, Troilus deconstructs value and offers up an argument that 'encapsulates a world lacking fixed principles'.[60] The contingent nature of value as seen by Troilus continues to be evident in twentieth-century readings of culture. Bourdieu, in particular, is keen to stress the conditionality of aesthetic and cultural value:

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[59] David Bevington, ed., *Troilus and Cressida*, Arden 3rd series (Walton-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 2.2.51-6.
[60] Peter F. Grav, Shakespeare and the Economic Imperative: 'What's aught but as 'tis valued?' (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 26.

given that works of art exist as symbolic objects only if they are known and recognized, that is, socially instituted as works of art and received by spectators capable of knowing and recognizing them as such, the sociology of art and literature has to take as its object not only the material production of the work but also the symbolic production of the work i.e. the production of the value of the work or, which amounts to the same thing, of the belief in the value of the work.[61]

In reading the passage from *Troilus and Cressida* as a comparison or foil to Bourdieu, I am contemporizing Shakespeare in the fashion of Jan Kott - 'what matters is that through Shakespeare's text we ought to get at our modern experience'– a fashion which persists in twenty-first-century theatre and in some academic theses and popular press books.[62] This reading of Shakespeare endures within publicly-funded theatre. Until very recently, the Royal Shakespeare Company's manifesto explicitly aligned their reading of Shakespeare with Kott's: 'The Royal Shakespeare Company aims to keep audiences in touch with Shakespeare as our contemporary.'[63] The move away from this association suggests that Kott's analysis may be losing some ground within the publicly-funded theatre. Its inclusion and then exclusion from the RSC manifesto opens up a binary negotiation between relevance and irrelevance, tradition and innovation. As Kottian analysis has moved from being innovative to traditional, so the RSC's value in his work shifts. They now wish to promote their work in 'connecting people with Shakespeare'; an aim which suggests less prescription about how to read Shakespeare and more openness towards audience interaction and interpretation.[64]

This shifting treatment of Kott and Shakespeare illuminates the way in which Shakespeare can be used to create or elucidate a dialectic. This is reflected in the encounter with the

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[61] Bourdieu, Field of Cultural Production, p. 37.

[62] Kott, p. 48. See also Grav or Jim Davies, John Simmons and Rob Williams, eds., *The Bard & Co: Shakespeare's Role in Modern Business* (London: Cyan Books, 2007).

[63] 'About us' <http://www.rsc.org.uk/aboutthersc/AboutTheRSC.aspx> [accessed 4 September 2007] The new website, with new manifesto went live in June 2010.

[64] Royal Shakespeare Company, 'About Us' <http://www.rsc.org.uk/about-us/> [accessed 10 May 2010].

passage above. At the same time as *Troilus and Cressida* is used to open up the debate about the origin and location of value the problems of such an approach must also be recognised. Immediately, an encounter with the Shakespearean text becomes fraught with value tensions and requires me to negotiate between the apparent relevance of this passage to my work and the recognition that I am remaking Shakespeare's work to fit my own ends.

However, despite this, what the *Troilus and Cressida* debate neatly crystallizes is the construction of opposing sides within cultural value ideology. Part of this construction assumes that those who value culture for its intrinsic worth will be those that value high culture while those that believe value is created through the action of valuation will tend to champion the popular, mass and the commercial. If we think back to the list of value tensions included in the introduction we can see the way in which the traditional values – of the kind upheld by Hector – will come into clash with the 'upstart' ideas about value that we see embodied in Troilus's rhetoric. However, this thesis moves away from conceptualising these tensions in terms of 'clashes' and instead thinks about them as part of a negotiation process. It looks at Troilus's contingent concept of value again and thinking about it – particularly about cultural value – as part of a continuing process rather than a concrete 'thing'.

Capturing Cultural Value

To some extent this is what John Holden is trying to do in his 2004 study *Capturing Cultural Value: How culture has become a tool of government policy*. He poses the question first asked by Jowell in her earlier work, 'how, in going beyond targets, can we best capture

the value of culture?'[65] In trying to answer this question he is also attempting to move away from instrumentality and towards a more accurate picture of 'how culture enriches us.'[66] The emphasis of the paper is on finding a more appropriate language for talking about the value of culture and privileging this new language framework over the economical, numerical and statistical ways in which culture has been valued by politicians and policymakers in the past.[67]

The problem of finding a language with which to precisely and definitively explain culture's value is evident in the ambiguous and unclear nature of *Capturing Cultural Value* itself. The slippage in the title from the front cover of the hard copy – *Capturing Cultural Value* – to the front page, which titles the work *Creating Cultural Value*, serves to remind the reader that we do not always know what we want culture to be or to do. This slippage continues throughout the document. On each page the header reads 'Creating Cultural Value' whilst the body of the text refers to itself as 'capturing' value. Later citations in Demos publications and the wider arena use the title *Capturing Cultural Value*. The titular mix-up seems to mirror Holden's own confusion about the aims and outcomes of his work – he states in the last sentence of his conclusion that 'the gains of recreating that context around the goal of Creating Cultural Value [*sic*] should be enough to motivate all concerned' (p. 61).

The slippage and blurring between 'capturing' and 'creating' in the title, header and main body of the text is paradigmatic of one of the core problems of this particular theory of cultural value. As Holden's work shows, and as is borne out in the case studies of this thesis, what culture is and what it is supposed to do are often being refigured and renegotiated within governments, within organisations and within individual policy documents. Immediately it is possible to see that the lack of coherent messages in documents like Holden's will cause

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[65] Jowell, p. 18; Holden, *Capturing Cultural Value*, p. 9.
[66] Holden, Capturing Cultural Value, p. 21.
[67] For example, John Myerscough, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1988); Bernard Casey, Rachael Dunlop and Sara Selwood, *Culture as Commodity? The Economics of the Arts and Built Heritage in the UK* (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1996).

problems for theatres trying to understand, create and capture cultural value. Holden recognises at the beginning of *Capturing Cultural Value* that individual cultural values may 'coexist and conflict' but what the textual problems in this report demonstrate is that even our understanding of how to encounter and describe the blanket term 'cultural value' is problematic and conflicted.

One of the major problems of language and definition which Holden faces is what he identifies as the 'postmodern questioning of concepts such as beauty, truth, delight, transcendence.' His concern is that this questioning has 'made using them in debate an embarrassment at best, contemptible at worst' (p. 23). Yet, these concepts are important to his construction of intrinsic value and he wants to find a way to work with them. In order to do this, he turns to other disciplines which also have to deal with the valuation of intangible 'things': anthropology, environmentalism and the commercial practice of intangibles (brands, knowledge, contracts) valuation. Drawing on the languages they use to work through the problem of writing about and even capturing value, Holden begins to arrive at conclusions regarding culture's valuation. He argues that using the languages of other disciplines and recognising that cultural value arises from an interaction between artist, audience and policymaker will lead to a reassessment of cultural value in terms that are no longer only instrumental (pp. 59-61).

It is from anthropology that Holden gains a more confident stance from which to talk about culture's intrinsic value. Taking a broad overview of anthropological study, Holden identifies five key forms of value which can all be connected to culture: historical – 'a special relationship with the past', social – 'places or things that tend to make connections between people', symbolic – 'repositories of meaning', aesthetic – 'what is beautiful' and spiritual – 'addressing aspects of the religious, the numinous and the sublime' (p. 35). It is clear how

attractive anthropological discourse might be to a critic who is trying to get at a language of intrinsic valuation. It offers a theorised and practically evidenced set of values that can be applied to cultural objects. Holden applies these measures to the National Gallery's purchase of Raphael's *Madonna of the Pinks* in order to show how anthropological ideas of cultural value can be used to underscore a cultural object's value beyond economic worth. Some of the results of Holden's turn to anthropology are evident in his later work *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy* which is examined later in the chapter. Looking at how Holden's anthropological focus is mirrored in earlier cultural discourse suggests some of the effects that this might have on publicly-funded theatre today.

Culture and Anthropology

The academic discipline of anthropology came to prominence in the late nineteenth century as the concept of what culture means and who makes this meaning began to change. With the growth of this new discipline, the notion that culture was only 'perfection' or 'the best' was challenged. Whilst anthropological studies of culture move beyond the arts it is still important to consider their significant role in the development of twentieth-century cultural studies. Anthropologists' and aestheticians' definitions of 'culture' are co-dependent and became increasingly so during the modernist period as commentators like Eliot and practitioners like Artaud began to bring anthropological discourse into their own writing.[68]

E.B. Tylor who defined culture as 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society', provided a differing understanding of culture to that of his contemporary, Matthew Arnold.[69] Rather than being the 'best', Tylor's culture was everything, however

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[68] Richard Halpern, *Shakespeare Among the Moderns* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 16.
[69] E.B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (London: J. Murray, 1903), p. 1.

complexly interlinked it may have been. Thus, the tension that Arnold identifies and implicitly references when he refers to culture as 'the best' becomes a dialectic in the hands of anthropologists. By defining everything which occurs within a society as its 'culture', Tylor creates tensions between high culture and everything else, between local culture and global culture, between primitivism and civilisation. These tensions may not be explicitly referred to but they constitute an important part of the anthropological project and continue to define the way in which we think about culture today. Perhaps the most obvious tension which develops from the divide drawn between the Arnoldian 'best' and the Tylorean 'complex whole' is the imagined high culture/popular culture rift which is apparent in the work of modernists such as Eliot, members of the Frankfurt School and the Leavisites.

It is the emphasis on tensions of value which most explicitly connects the work of anthropology to the cultural encounter with Shakespeare in the twenty-first century. Ideas about local and global culture and authentic and inauthentic modes of production become entrenched through the work of anthropology. Shakespeare's flexibility as a cultural object means that he can be appropriated to serve either end of these dichotomies. In the early twentieth century this often manifested itself in primitivist readings of his work.[70]

This observation from Cecil Sharp, the collector of folk-songs in England and America, further underlines the way in which anthropological and aesthetic understandings of culture were coalescing in the early twentieth century:

> That the illiterate may nevertheless reach a high level of culture will surprise only those who imagine that education and cultivation are convertible terms. The reason, I take it, why these mountain people, albeit unlettered, have acquired so many of the essentials of culture, is partly to be attributed to the large amount of leisure they enjoy, without which, of course, no cultural

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[70] Halpern.

> development is possible, but chiefly due to the fact that they have one and all entered at birth into the full enjoyment of their racial inheritance.[71]

This assessment of English settlers in the Appalachian Mountains offers us an anthropological reading combined with an attempt to delineate what 'culture' is and who can understand it. Sharp's culture is founded in an understanding and knowledge of folklore which does not need to be gained through a formal education. For him, 'cultivation' is not comparable to 'education' and in this statement he dismisses the argument that it is only through an understanding of high art that one can become truly cultured. Sharp's understanding of cultivation is of being deeply immersed in one's heritage, appreciating the folklore that has been passed down through generations and of having the 'leisure' time in which to enjoy this. The narrative which he constructs has its roots in Rousseau's noble savage and contains within it the seed of later modernist primitivism.

If Sharp demonstrates how anthropology and aesthetics were working together in theory; Antonin Artaud provides a clear example of how the interest in anthropology and ethnography affected cultural products, particularly theatre, during the modernist era. Artaud, who declared that 'past masterpieces are fit for the past, they are no good to us', oxymoronically embraced primitivist models of the ideal theatrical culture.[72] Artaud saw the drama of the Renaissance as 'primitive' and while the masterpieces may no longer have been any 'good' to Artaud, the primitivism he saw at their core was. Whilst the culture of the 'primitive' past was attractive to him, he did not see its existence in modern Western theatre. He wanted to return theatre to a more primitive state, which he believed was more authentic and vital. According to Artaud, the primary locus for this type of theatre in the modern world of the 1920s was to be found in the primitive society of Bali.

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[71]Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, ed. by Maud Karpeles (London: Oxford University Press, 1932, repr. 1966), p. xxiv.
[72]Antonin Artaud, *The Theatre and its Double*, trans. by Victor Conti (London: Caldar & Boyars, 1970), p.55.

Balinese theatre was attractive to Artaud because he believed that it was more spontaneous and had a greater connection to the lives of its participants than the naturalistic spectacle of twentieth-century western theatre. The Balinese, according to Artaud produce 'pure theatre' in contrast to Europeans and Americans who are 'unaware of the sum total of theatre'.[73] In *Theatre and its Double*, Artaud articulates one of most influential modes of twentieth-century cultural discourse: that of utopian primitivism. He associates primitive cultural production with the utopian via the theatre and in the process aligns theatres with the creation of utopias. This reading of the cultural 'other' persists in theatrical production in publicly-funded theatres today and continues to influence the representation of Shakespeare in intercultural performance.[74]

It is not only an interest in primitive cultures that was precipitated by the growing interest in the anthropological. In *Notes Towards a Definition of Culture*, Eliot engages with the same debates that Arnold was dealing with eighty years earlier but seems less willing to provide definitive answers to the questions he poses. He does not identify one unified 'culture' like that of Arnold. Instead he suggests that 'culture' can be situated in refinement, learning and the arts. Taking this further, he asserts that culture cannot be found in 'any one of these perfections alone' and as such, that it is fruitless to search for a 'wholly cultured individual'. Instead Eliot suggests we should 'look for culture, not in any individual […] but more and more widely; and we are driven in the end to find it in the pattern of society as a whole.'[75] This more inclusive sense of what culture is should not be confused with a socially inclusive agenda. Eliot makes sure to point out in his introduction that 'culture and equalitarianism […] conflict' (p. 16). Instead, what Eliot is arguing is that definitions of culture should not have the 'impression of thinness' which he sees in Arnold (p. 22).

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[73]Artaud, p. 36; p. 38.
[74] See chapter 5.
[75] T.S. Eliot, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), p. 23.

Eliot's culture is made up of myriad elements and, as such, cannot be defined as only 'the best'. His culture spans every element of life which makes up a person's identity. It can be 'Derby Day, Henley Regatta, Cowes, the twelfth of August, a cup final, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar, nineteenth century Gothic churches and the music of Elgar. The reader can make his own list', (p. 31). This assortment of the banal and the seemingly bizarre tends towards a very British definition of 'culture' influenced by a modernist preoccupation with anthropology. In this sense, Eliot's list provides another approach to culture and cultural value.

Arnold looks to the 'best that has been thought and said', Sharp provides evidence of the cultivation of 'primitive' people by demonstrating their knowledge of English folk-songs (not the best but still certainly examples of 'art'). Eliot, on the other hand, asserts that culture can be found anywhere. For him it is not simply located in human's creative instincts but also in the everyday rituals and traditions which accrue as societies are constructed. What Eliot's *Notes* – which tellingly only work 'towards' a definition of culture rather than definitely providing one – show is that by the modernist era, anthropological ideas about culture were informing the Arnoldian ideal of culture as 'the best' of human endeavour. It is this combination of the Arnoldian and the anthropological which epitomises modernist cultural commentary, creating a 'thick' and complex definition of culture which continues to influence the work of cultural researchers in the twenty-first century.

Mass Media and Mass Production

The turn to the anthropological and particularly primitivist anthropology was further motivated by the increasing availability of mass-produced and mass-distributed cultural

products. The growth of photography, film and later television appeared to constitute an unprecedented threat to the visual arts. At the same time, the contrast between theatre and film allowed for a notion of 'liveness' to be created which had not existed before the creation of its opposite, mediatisation.[76] In a period of rapid social and technological change, theatre became championed for its liveness, apparent authenticity and ability to offer its audience a 'real' experience. The construction of an oppositional relationship between liveness and the media neatly encapsulates the way in which tensions can foster cultural value. It is only when mediatised cinema and television emerge that the cultural values of theatre – as a space for live performance and 'authentic' interaction - are recognised.

Without a sense of its opposite, liveness loses its meaning and theatre loses some of its cultural value. In this sense, the existence of cinema has allowed theatre to develop new use values even though it has simultaneously eroded the audience willing to utilise such values. The recognition of these tensions has led to an increasing desire to negotiate between them. In the twenty-first century, this leads to projects like *Such Tweet Sorrow* and the interactive, customer-facing websites of institutions like the RSC, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust and Shakespeare's Globe.[77] Liveness and mediatisation constitute one of the many tensions of value which perform an important role in the creation, location and maintenance of twenty-first-century cultural value.

Among those concerned about the effect of mediatisation and mass cultural production and distribution were Theodor Adorno and his colleagues in the Frankfurt School. Their continued influence on the twenty-first-century reading of 'high' and 'low' culture is evident even in the postmodern rejection of their ideologies. The imagined divide between high and low art, the idealised pursuit of artistic excellence and the privileging of unique hand-crafted works of art

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[76]see Philip Auslander, *Liveness: Performance in a mediatized culture*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2008).
[77] Kate Rumbold, 'From "Access" to "Creativity": Shakespeare Institutions, New Media and the Language of Cultural Value', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61 (2010), 313-36.

over those made mechanically take root from an Arnoldian notion of culture, resonate with modernist elitism, and continue to find themselves repeated in newspapers, policy documents, blogs and in the manifestos of cultural institutions.[78] There may have been rejection of such views and an embrace of popular culture by the academy but they continue to influence the way in which culture is conceptualised and written about today. Many of the critical reactions to the RSC's *Such Tweet Sorrow* project or Kneehigh Theatre's adaptation of *Cymbeline* (2007-8) expose an entrenched conservatism that exists in spite of an academic turn to a pluralistic reading of the cultural field.[79]

Adorno sees the mission of mass enlightenment through culture as a mission in mass deception. It is his contention that the public is deceived if it thinks that cultural dissemination on a wide scale is equivalent to cultural democracy.[80] He argues that mass cultural products are closely scrutinised by the state and as a result of their homogenous nature they offer little choice to the cultural consumer. Further, the ease with which film, television and radio can be interpreted is viewed by Adorno and his fellows as threatening to the existence of 'high' art and as a tool with which to manipulate the masses into passivity. For Adorno and Horkheimer, popular culture is similar to Aldous Huxley's soma, administered to the masses to keep them calm and content, without offering them real happiness.[81] Culture could, as Matthew Arnold suggested, be an antidote to anarchy. For Adorno it is not through offering the masses 'the best' that this is achieved but through offering the simplest pleasures.

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[78]See McMaster; Jowell; Donald Kuspit, 'Art Values or Money Values?', *artsNet*, 3 June 2007, <www.artsnet.com/magazineus/features/kuspit/kuspit3-6-07.asp> [accessed 12 January 2010]; The Factory, 'Manifesto' <http://web.mac.com/factorytheatre/Site/Manifesto_2010.html> [accessed 9 August 2010].
[79] Michael Billington, 'Review of *Cymbeline*', *Guardian*, 23 September 2006, p. 44; Charlotte Higgins, 'A Plague on the Twitter Romeo and Juliet', *Guardian*, 27 April 2010 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/2010/apr/27/romeo-juliet-twitter-rsc> [accessed 29 April 2010].
[80] See in contrast John Holden, *Democratic Culture: Opening up the arts to everyone* (London: Demos, 2008).
[81] Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (London: Flamingo, 1994); Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Englightenment*, trans. by John Cummings (London: Verso, 1979), p. 137.

Even more than the mass dissemination of culture, the industrialisation and commercialisation of art concerned Adorno. He saw, in 'high' culture as well as mass culture the 'stigmata of capitalism' and believed that 'both [were] torn halves of an integral freedom to which, however, they do not add up.'[82] Adorno imagines culture to be defined by tensions and its value to be diminished by its association with the economic and the industrial. Adorno and Horkheimer's term, 'the culture industry' is still in use today, though often used in a less pejorative sense than they originally intended. Adorno uses the term 'culture industry' in much the same way as we might employ the term 'fast food', it implies that cultural products are being mass produced and sold to consumers in homogenous, easy-to-consume chunks.

Today the term 'culture industry' can be encountered – in its twenty-first-century incarnation - in government policy documents which champion the creativity and innovation of the British creative sector. 'Culture industry' has been superseded by, but remains immanent in, the twenty-first-century expression 'Creative Industries'. In the government's *Building Britain's Future* (2009) the term 'creative' is linked with services, capital, sectors, industries and the economy.[83] The creative industries are no longer seen as a collection of institutions producing second-rate culture for the masses but are represented as organisations at the forefront of their fields and as major contributors to the British economy. They are credited with the ability to innovate and develop and to lead the way in the recovery from the recession. In this political environment, theatres will want to affirm their connection with industry rather than deny it. By aligning themselves with other members of the creative industries, theatres can testify to their cutting-edge nature and importance during a period of

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[82] Theodor Adorno, 'Letters to Walter Benjamin' in *Aesthetics and Politics* by Ernst Bloch et al., ed. by Roland Taylor (London: Verso), pp. 110-33 (p. 123).
[83] HMG, *Building Britain's Future* (London: The Stationery Office, 2009), pp. 16; 53; 54; 56; 60.

slow economic growth.[84] Being part of an 'industry' and operating as a business is no longer seen as damaging and may even improve an organisation's cultural value.

However, despite shifting interpretations of the cultural and creative industry, a pejorative reading of the term remains. The imagined binary between culture and the market, which is explored further in chapter 3, continues to be a significant underpinning of the cultural sector's sense of self. This is underlined by the reliance on public funding and the privileging of organisations which receive subsidy over those which operate on a profit-making basis. The divide between the commercial and non-commercial sectors is nearly always associated with the divide between high and low culture and this form of analysis represents another way in which cultural ideology remains static.[85]

The exchange of money for cultural goods and hence the transformation of culture into commodity is depicted by Adorno as a process of alienation both from the cultural product and from the human self. This is evident in his description of an attendee at a Toscanini concert:

> the consumer is really worshipping the money that he himself has paid for the ticket. […] He has literally "made" the success that he reifies and accepts as an objective criterion without recognising himself in it. But he has not "made" it by liking the concert, but rather by buying the ticket.[86]

Adorno's reading of culture and its commercialisation is still paradigmatic of the way in which the relationship between art and economics is conceptualised.

Access for all?

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[84]Cultural Policy and Practice Seminar, 'Maximising the Importance of the Arts and Culture throughout the Economic Downturn, London', UK, 24 April 2009.
[85] See for example Donncha Kavanagh, Clodagh O'Brien and Maurice Linnane, 'Art, Work and Art Work', *Creativity and Innovation Management*, 11 (2002), 277-86. See also Russell Jackson's analysis of Shakespeare in the film industry and his identification of the assumption that 'commercial films can[not] be effectively radical', 'Introduction: Shakespeare, film and the marketplace' in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Film* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1-12 (p. 1).
[86] Adorno, p. 38.

Public funding is thus important for the arts because they cannot survive in the marketplace but also because their involvement in the marketplace is often viewed as sullying. By receiving public patronage rather than touting for business, cultural institutions such as theatres can avoid the apparent besmirching that comes from operating within the market. This ideology continues today because the value that public subsidy offers to cultural producers is greater artistic freedom and the space and time to be innovative. Public funding allows theatres to put on short runs of shows and produce several different plays within a repertory system. It provides opportunities for training of actors, designers and administrators and encourages theatres to take risks with their aesthetic choices.[87] However, public funding also places an obligation on theatres to be accessible, diverse and 'national'. These obligations may exist in tension with the apparent opportunities for freedom which funding provides and are a practical example of the way in which tensions of value can impact upon cultural production.

Further evidence of such tensions is available in Pierre Bourdieu's study of the French class system in *Distinction*. Bourdieu suggested that not all culture is equally accessible. For some members of the class system he studied, 'culture' and in particular 'art' remained impossible to interpret and therefore valueless: 'a work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code into which it is encoded.'[88] In order to possess such cultural competence, Bourdieu argues that one must be of high social standing and therefore have had access to a higher quality education. What is interesting about Bourdieu's study is that it places emphasis on the importance of education in the formation of aesthetic judgement and suggests that the education system has a significant role to play in the creation of culturally important objects.

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[87]For example the Clore Leadership Programme, <http://www.cloreleadership.org>.
[88]Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984), p. 2.

The inception of the state-endorsed UK national curriculum in 1988 could have marked the end of Bourdieu's distinction between class groups, at least where compulsory cultural subjects, such as Shakespeare, were concerned. In theory, each child in England should now be given the 'code' into which Shakespeare's work is 'encoded' during their secondary school career and should be able to implement their own decoding techniques later in life. That many children and adults do not choose to do this reminds us that, whilst compulsory education lays foundations for cultural consumption, it cannot govern people's rational choices and indeed, sometimes creates an adversity towards the compulsory subject.[89] Breaking down these barriers to participation, whether they are social, economic or psychological has become one the major concerns of the Arts Council over the last nine years. The pursuit of access for all and, subsequently, access to excellence for all, has defined the rhetoric of Arts Council policy over the first decade of the twenty-first-century.

Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy

The concept of providing 'excellence for all' returns us full circle to Tessa Jowell's 2004 essay and ultimately to John Holden's response in 2006. Where his 2004 report *Capturing Cultural Value* set out some of the issues surrounding cultural valuation and grappled with the theoretical language underpinning it, his 2006 report *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy* attempts to provide a more definitive and less ambiguous answer to Jowell's question: 'How in going beyond targets, can we best capture the value of culture?' Like Jowell, Holden is still trying to reconcile instrumental and intrinsic value. The necessity for this reconciliation arises from Holden's focus on legitimising the funding of culture. He recognises, as Jowell did in 2004, that governments must be able to provide measurable and

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[89]For further discussion of Shakespeare's role in the National Curriculum and the affect this has on his cultural value I refer readers to Sarah Olive, *Shakespeare Valued*.

tangible reasons for providing culture with public money. At the same time, he still wants to privilege culture which is aesthetically, and thus intrinsically, valuable. He suggests thinking about institutional value as a connection between the intrinsic and the instrumental. Holden's institutional value 'relates to the processes and techniques that organisations adopt in how they work to create value for the public.'[90] Institutional value is thus the place where intrinsic value is put to use, or instrumentalised, in order to 'create value for the public.' The introduction to this thesis argued that theatres were necessarily dialectical spaces. Here, Holden is arguing that this is also true of institutions in general.

Holden represents the relationship between institutional, intrinsic and instrumental value in the form of a triangle:

Figure 1 – 'Holden's Value Triangle', *Crisis of Legitimacy*, **p. 15.**[91]

Figure 1 Value triangle

Intrinsic

Institutional   Instrumental
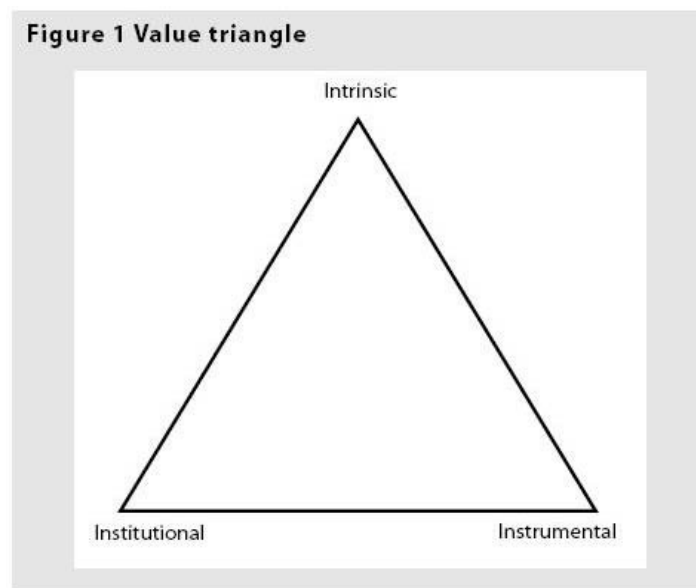
Later in the document, Holden maps this triangle onto another conceptual triangle of cultural stakeholders: policymakers, public, professionals. In doing so, he argues that policymakers

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[90] Holden, Crisis of Legitimacy, p. 17.
[91] This illustration is covered under a Creative Commons Licence. http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.0/uk/.

are mainly concerned with instrumental value, professionals with institutional value and the public with intrinsic value. However, he represents the triangles as nearly, but not quite, overlapping. This is intended to be a visual representation of what Holden terms the 'mismatch of value concerns' (p. 31). He argues that this mismatch is symptomatic of the problems of cultural valuation: 'it is therefore not surprising that much misunderstanding has arisen in the bilateral relationship between these three groups; each conversation is marked either by its [own] absence or its dysfunctionality' (p. 32).

In some senses, this thesis examines this mismatch of concerns in practice. It looks specifically at how the aesthetics of publicly-funded theatre are affected by the ethics of politicians and funders and how this impacts upon Shakespeare's cultural value. However, I have some reservations about Holden's definitive value triangle. The applicability of this kind of model needs to be questioned. In later reports, for example, Demos provides similarly alliterative lists of institutional values: care, creativity, continuity. Creating lists in this way appears to offer definitive solutions to problems. However, they also leave gaps. Where, for example, does one place an arts marketing manager in the Politicians, Practitioners, Public list? Where does economic viability sit in relation to care, creativity and continuity?

Despite its apparent confidence in providing definitive solutions to the problem of cultural value, *Crisis of Legitimacy* is not devoid of the linguistic ambiguities and conceptual contradictions which result in *Capturing Cultural Value* seeming somewhat confused. One such contradiction centres on Holden's claim that he has previously debunked the 'arts for art's sake' idea that culture could have some value 'in and of itself.' 'Instead', he claims:

> I maintained that value is located in the encounter or interaction between individuals […] on the one hand, and an object or experience on the other. Intrinsic values are better thought of then as the *capacity and potential* of culture to affect us, rather than as measurable and fixed stocks of worth [original emphasis] (p. 15).

To some extent, this idea is useful for this project. It suggests that cultural value is shifting and contingent and that it is reliant on the interaction between consumer and product. I develop this idea throughout my study in order to take into account the influence of external as well as intrinsic factors. In contrast, Holden's contingent value remains intrinsically located. In this sense, his rejection of 'art for art's sake' is clearly not as decisive as he would like to claim. 'Art for art's sake' may not express itself in quite the terms Holden uses but the perceptible difference between 'intrinsic values' and values 'in and of itself' seems miniscule. The word 'intrinsic' implies that the value is inwardly situated or as the OED defines it 'belonging to the thing in itself, or by its very nature; inherent, essential, proper.' One could continue extrapolating the similarities between 'proper' as 'own' or 'by its very nature' and 'in and of itself' and in doing so, the distance between 'intrinsic' and 'art's for arts sake' diminishes.

It is in his idea of intrinsic value and his attempt to return to a critical language which postmodernism has ostensibly eradicated that Holden remains most connected with past cultural commentators. Having dismissed Arnoldian notions of culture, patrician judgement and mystification Holden later returns to them (p. 26). Whether subconsciously or not, his apparently levelling description of the cultural consumer who goes to a 'rock concert at Knebworth one week' and visits 'the great house' the next, implies that these activities are an incongruous, surprising coupling (p. 23). This is further underlined when Holden feels compelled to remind his readers that 'the transcendental qualities of culture […] happen at rock concerts and West End musicals as well' (p. 23). Postmodern cultural studies may insist on the equality of 'high' and 'popular' culture, or rather insist on the disintegration of these categories, but what Holden's report shows is that these distinctions continue to be reproduced. A concert at Knebworth may inspire the 'transcendental qualities' of a great

house but this fact is still presented as a surprising piece of information – a pairing of two apparently incompatible activities.

Thus, *Crisis of Legitimacy* is not devoid of Arnoldian or Adornoesque judgements about cultural consumption. Neither is it immune from the mystification which Holden purports to be keen to avoid. Nowhere is this more evident than when he discusses the public value of culture. What the public value most about culture, according to Holden, is 'all those wonderful, beautiful, uplifting, challenging, stimulating, thought-provoking, terrifying, disturbing, spiritual, witty, transcendental experiences that shape and reflect their sense of self and their place in the world' (p. 23). The lack of statistical, or, indeed, anecdotal evidence is not the only problem with this statement. In this brief passage, Holden has once again utilised problematic language to describe culture and hence, succeeds in making culture and cultural value even more intangible and indefinable for the reader. The difficulty he is facing is that in rejecting both the ideology of art for art's sake and the valuation of culture for purely instrumental means he is struggling to find a meaningful way to write about cultural value.

Holden does not become the advocate for a new way of valuing culture but rather an old way expressed in new terms. His intrinsic valuation allows for a reconnection with the work of Matthew Arnold, T.S. Eliot, Antonin Artaud and the Frankfurt School. It legitimises the 'arts for art's sake' argument and attempts to justify funding culture for what it 'is' rather than what it is capable of 'doing'. This makes Holden's work different from the policies of the late twentieth century. However, its overt break with the recent past obfuscates its deep connection with the cultural commentary of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this sense, Holden perpetuates a 140-year-old idealised narrative of the cultural which tells us that culture's principle value is its beauty and that this beauty can be communicated to all, regardless of class, gender, race or age. Crucially, it is this idea of universal appeal which

continues to govern many cultural stakeholders' reading of Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatre. Shakespeare is expected to mean something to everybody, or to mean anything to anybody.

This chapter has provided some theoretical background to the multitude of values existent in twenty-first-century theatre and has begun to explore the implications of these for the public funding of culture. The importance and endurance of value tensions is one of the most notable factors to arise from a reading of cultural literature. In the texts analysed above culture is consistently defined through the negotiation between high/low, mass/elite, local/global, innovation/tradition, order/anarchy, education/cultivation, art/economics excellence/everything. The other key observation to arise from this reading of cultural commentary is the nuanced and complex relationship between intrinsic and instrumental cultural value. From Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* to Holden's *Crisis of Legitimacy* the debate surrounding what culture is and what it should be doing continues. There is a deep continuity within nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first-century cultural commentary and this continues to impact upon publicly-funded culture and its value.

In order to fully understand how cultural theories operate in practice it is necessary to look at case studies. By examining the trends and traditions of cultural activity within publicly-funded theatres we can further examine how cultural values grow up around a particular institution or cultural object and analyse the way in which institutions manipulate and grow that value through interaction with the object. Thus, Shakespeare is an important facet of this thesis because he provides a specific object/s on which to focus attention. Further, since 'Shakespeare symbolizes high art in general' he is a synecdoche of culture onto which a wide range of cultural values are grafted.[92] Focusing on Shakespeare provides specificity without

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[92] Lanier, Modern Popular Culture, p. 3.

demanding that this thesis ignore the wide-ranging implications of cultural valuation. Moreover, it allows for a more detailed discussion of the differing concepts of cultural value and their implication within the public arena today. The next chapter examines some of these concepts of value in the context of twenty-first-century publicly-funded theatre and considers how they might affect and inflect the production and valuation of Shakespeare.

THE VALUE(S) OF PUBLIC FUNDING

The introduction to this thesis argued that publicly-funded theatre is an important area of study because it represents a meeting point between cultural policy and cultural practice. It is a place where intangible cultural values become tangible cultural products. The values and value of these products are thus inflected by the process of public funding and the cultural policies which inform funding decisions. The process of public funding and its effect on the cultural value of subsidised theatres' output is the focus of this chapter. More particularly, it examines the potential influence of cultural policy on the performance of Shakespeare within publicly-funded theatre. The public funding process is relevant to the production and performance of Shakespearean drama because one of the best-funded theatres in England – the Royal Shakespeare Company – bears his name. This theatre receives just over 15% of all the money given to theatres by Arts Council England each year.[93] Shakespeare thus occupies a unique position within twenty-first-century English culture. He may not be the only playwright to be specifically funded by the taxpayer but 'his' theatre receives 50% of its income from public sources.[94] Studying Shakespeare's cultural status and value within the context of public funding increases our understanding of where that value is located, how it is created and what is being done to reinvigorate it.

It is not my intention to suggest that the economic value of public funding is entirely comparable to or even commensurable with Shakespeare's cultural value. If economic value were the sole indicator necessary to determine cultural value then this thesis, along with the multitude of books and essays detailed in the previous chapter, would be entirely defunct. Nevertheless the economics of public funding can provide some indication of the cultural

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[93] This percentage is worked out from an average of three years of Arts Council funding. The amounts of money received can be viewed on the 'Regularly-Funded Organisations' page of the Council's website. Arts Council England, 'Regular Funding for Organisations', <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/funding/regular-funding-organisations/> [accessed 13 February 2010].

[94] This statistic is evident in RSC annual reports from 2004-9. The most current report (2008-9) is available at <http://www.rsc.org.uk/downloads/annualreport2009.pdf>.

values of arts funders and the relative importance which is attached to theatres like the Royal Shakespeare Company (15% of public funding), compared to that attached to companies such as Pegasus Theatre (0.3%) or Northants Touring Arts (0.04%).[95] Providing some of the details of the publicly-funded theatre sector and placing Shakespeare within this context is thus a useful starting point for a discussion and interrogation of twenty-first-century cultural value. This quantitative study will answer some preliminary questions such as: how much money is given to theatre each year? What is the economic context of these grants? How much does the RSC receive in relation to other theatres? It is only after answering such questions that a qualitative study of Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatre can begin. The quantitative study will not always provide definitive answers but it allows for a discussion and debate to be opened up and for the cultural value of Shakespeare to be placed within a contextual framework.

While the construction of such a contextual framework may be a useful and fruitful end in itself, the other aim of this chapter is to focus on Shakespeare's scale and cultural impact. In the twenty-first century can we still say that Shakespeare is 'big-time'? And if so, what kind of Shakespeare is it that continues to display the impressive durability and cultural stamina which Michael Bristol identified in the 1990s?[96] Answering questions like this is important. Not because it constitutes an iconoclastic rejection of Shakespeare's cultural dominance but because it puts the assertion of this dominance into context. Comparing Juliet Capulet's Twitter followers to those of Lady Gaga reveals the relative cultural impacts of *Such Tweet Sorrow* and the popular music industry.[97] In the same way, analysing the range of Shakespearean performances generated by public money can inform our understanding of

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[95] For raw data relating to this analysis see Appendix and the Arts Council's 'Regular Funding for Organisations' web page.
[96] Bristol, Big-Time Shakespeare.
[97] See Introduction.

cultural impact, relevance and scale both within the publicly-funded sector and a wider cultural context.

In order to place Shakespeare within this context I have conducted a survey of performances within the group of theatres that received regular funding from Arts Council England from September 2007 to December 2008. The results of this survey are laid out in the chapter that follows and are analysed in the light of recent Arts Council policy documents. An analysis of the documents produced by the Arts Council between 2006 - when this project began - and its endpoint in 2010 demonstrates that the Arts Council's emphasis shifted from championing ethical or instrumental value to aesthetic or intrinsic value. We can form a better idea of the impact of Shakespeare on the English cultural scene, map out the variety of Shakespeares available to a twenty-first-century audience and examine the way in which Arts Council funding and policies inflect the cultural value of institutions that produce and preserve Shakespeare by examining the kinds of Shakespeare being performed in publicly-funded theatres.

Throughout this chapter I hope to demonstrate that the process of public funding and the values of funders inflect the production of free-resource Shakespeare. It is my contention that as policy shifts from ethical to aesthetic value, so the values of theatres will evolve and change. The Shakespeare produced within these theatres will inevitably be affected by such changes. Importantly, the twenty-first-century conception of Shakespeare as a free resource will become more culturally valuable as the demands of funders change. The ability to encompass new and sometimes contrasting cultural values will allow free-resource Shakespeare to create and maintain its own cultural value. The idea of the value-generative power of tensions remains inherent in my assessment of Arts Council policy but is less important in this quantitative study of theatres than it will be in later, qualitative chapters.

Publicly-Funded Theatre – Definitions

The twenty-first-century public funding of culture in England is facilitated by different institutions and organisations, each with their own agenda or plan for the arts. The majority of arts funding is processed through the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). This is a relatively new governmental department, which began life in 1992 as the Department for Heritage under John Major's Conservative government, but which became the DCMS in 1997 with the election of Tony Blair's New Labour. The creation of this department suggests an increasing governmental priority was being placed on the impact of culture, media and sport in politics and society and creates a link between these three different sectors. This department combines these three elements under the umbrella of 'quality of life' suggesting that there is more to life than the material. However, this is coupled with an uncertainty about whether and how these hard-to-quantify aspects of life should be funded.[98]

On the one hand, the institution of a department to administer specifically cultural policy suggests that New Labour was convinced of the importance of culture in England, or, at least, the need for proper governmental regulation of the sector. On the other, the rapid shift between different Secretaries of State for Culture, Media and Sport within the lifetime of this project seems symptomatic of a shifting and varied approach to cultural production and preservation.[99] There have been five incumbents of the post since the cultural value project started in 2006. The approach to funding culture is likely to change further in the coming months. The Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition government which has arisen from the 2010 general election heralds in heavy funding cuts. In this new political and economic environment, the future direction of the department and the cultural values it espouses are

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[98] See, for example, Jowell's essay and my analysis of it in chapter 1.
[99] Tessa Jowell, 2001-7, James Purnell 2007-8, Andy Burnham 2008-9, Ben Bradshaw, 2009-10, Jeremy Hunt, 2010.

likely to change even more significantly.[100] The effects of the recent change in political and economic priorities on publicly-funded culture cannot be documented within this thesis. However, the reader may wish to bear in mind that I have been studying publicly-funded theatre throughout a period which was heralded by some – particularly the Labour Party – as a golden age for the public funding of the arts.[101] The economic value of public funding will certainly decrease in the near future even if the cultural value of Shakespeare continues to proliferate.

The DCMS's role in public funding and the provision of cultural services is complemented by the existence of the Arts Council. The Arts Council was originally set up in 1939 as the Council for the Encouragement for Music and the Arts. It became the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1946 and has always been an arms-length organisation funded by the government but entirely autonomous. This relationship is intended to prevent the government having too much control over the kind of art produced in England. Democratic governments want to appeal to their electorate and, as such, their arts policy will reflect this and converge on 'the preference of the median voter, i.e. to the "average art taste"'.[102] By passing the money and the responsibility onto the Arts Council, the government is removed from direct contact with the arts and, in theory, cultural risk and innovation should be fostered.[103] This should in turn produce art of greater aesthetic and cultural value. In practice, this may not always be the

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[100] Jeremy Hunt has already announced the abolition of funding for the Museums and Libraries Association and the UK Film Council. Jeremy Hunt, 'I've cut the UK Film Council so that money goes to the industry', *Guardian*, 8 August 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/aug/08/film-council-quangos-cuts-jeremy-hunt> [accessed 9 August 2010].

[101] An idea first posited by Tony Blair in a speech at the Tate Modern on 3 March 2007. Reiterated in Margaret Hodge's speech to Demos, 2 March 2010, <http://www.culture.gov.uk/reference_library/minister_speeches/6714.aspx> [accessed 9 August 2010]. This concept is now being questioned at events such as Cultural Trends International Conference, 'A "Golden Age"? Reflections on New Labour's Cultural Policy and its post-Recession Legacy', London, 12 November 2010.

[102] Bruno S. Frey, 'State Support and Creativity in the Arts', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 23 (1999), 71-85 (p. 74).

[103] Frey, 'State Support'; Annette Zimmer and Stefan Zoepler, 'The Subsidized Muse: Government and the Arts in Western Europe and the United States', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 23 (1999), 33-49.

case. Within twenty-first-century publicly-funded theatre, Shakespeare represents a median of cultural values, as mainstream and ubiquitous as Coca-Cola.[104] While many productions – including some of those discussed later in this thesis – will create a Shakespeare which negotiates between tensions and questions our understanding of Shakespeare as cultural object; other productions will continue to cultivate traditions of performance rather than disrupting them.[105] By contributing such a large amount of money to the RSC, Arts Council England could be seen to be catering to the 'average art taste' – which values tradition, heritage and quality - rather than that associated with risk and innovation. However, the values which arise from the arms-length nature of the Arts Council, tell us much about the nature of publicly-funded culture in England. Whether or not it always fulfils its brief, it is expected to be innovative, independent and forward-thinking. It should not only cater to the general but also to the niche. Most importantly, public funding provides the organisations it supports with a financial safety net such that the cultural value of the products they create – judged in terms of innovation, creativity or aesthetic appeal – does not have to be matched in the economic value of their income.[106]

Other funders of culture in the UK include the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the British Council, district and county councils and corporate sponsors. None of these bodies were set up specifically to fund culture but in their role as arbiters of quality of life, economic prosperity and corporate responsibility

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[104] Lanier, 'Shakespeare™', p. 15.
[105] For examples of both kinds of production see chapters 4, 5 and 6.
[106] For further discussion of other ways to bridge this gap and even to make money from the seemingly untradeable see chapter 3. For a sample of the numerous economic arguments surrounding the gap between cultural and economic value see: Bruno S. Frey, 'Evaluating Cultural Property: The Economic Approach', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 6 (1997), 231-246; John W. O'Hagan, *The State and the Arts: An Analysis of Key Economic Policy Issues in Europe and the United States* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1998); Throsby, *Economics and Culture*.

they each act as cultural brokers within the publicly-funded sector.[107] Here, we can begin to see the value of culture as viewed through the eyes of funders. It enables them to promote an area's economic revival or to present themselves as contributors to the local community. It is the instrumental, rather than the intrinsic value of culture which provides the motivation for the vast range of different cultural funders.

The eclecticism of cultural funders is in evidence even within a fairly limited geographical area. In the Midlands, for example, the RDA 'Advantage West Midlands' has given over £20m to the Royal Shakespeare Company to contribute to the building of a new theatre, Birmingham City Council has jointly funded the renovation of the Midlands Arts Centre (mac) with the Arts Council and the ERDF contributes to the Coventry Belgrade's work. It is beyond the scope of this project to take each individual agency into account and so, I have chosen to focus on the predominant funder whose impact on the arts world is the most apparent; Arts Council England.[108] This thesis focuses on Arts Council England because they are only concerned with funding within England, their money comes from the British public, they are the principal way in which funding is directed towards cultural institutions and their continuing development and redevelopment encapsulate the ever-changing value of culture in twenty-first-century England.

The Arts Council funds the arts in several ways: through one-off 'grants for the arts'; the cultural leadership programme designed to promote excellence in management and 'Own Art', an interest-free loan scheme to make art more affordable.[109] However, it is their regular funding programme which absorbs most of the money given to them by the DCMS and

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[107] 'England's Regional Development Agencies' < http://www.englandsrdas.com/> [accessed 15 February 2010]. The growing uncertainty over the future of RDAs suggests that the Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition's cuts will have an impact on the cultural production in England.
[108] The vast majority of the money which DCMS allocates to the arts is channelled through the Arts Council. In 2008 £350m out of £428m was given to regularly funded organisations.
[109] Arts Council England, 'Funding' <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/funding/index.php> [accessed 3 September 2007].

accounts for nearly three quarters of their investment in the arts.[110] The money allocated to regularly-funded organisations is worked out in three-year cycles and this project has straddled two such cycles, 2005-8 and 2008-11. The regularly-funded organisations (RFOs) receive annual grants of between £20,000 and £26 million and it is the theatres in this group which I will be considering as publicly-funded and which will make up the sample for the survey of publicly-funded Shakespeare. Of the 1100 organisations which received regular funding in 2006, 225 were theatres or theatre companies.[111] This is roughly 20% of the RFOs for 2006. In 2008, the number of RFOs fell to 880, whilst the number of theatres in this group dropped to 218, making theatres a larger proportion of RFOs overall (25%).[112] According to the Arts Council's 2009 *Theatre Assessment*, these theatres are producing an eclectic range of cultural products under the umbrella of theatre: 'including text-based work, experimental theatre, physical theatre, puppetry, musical theatre, street theatre, circus, building based and touring organisations, and work for children and young people including youth theatre and participation.'[113] As a cultural product, Shakespeare would most commonly be associated with text-based work. However, the variety of different Shakespeares available to audiences at the Complete Works Festival in 2006-7 – including puppets, musicals, experimental works-in-progress and circus inspired performances – is testament to the perceived free-resource nature of Shakespeare's works. Publicly-funded theatre is a diverse and various medium and Shakespeare can be employed in numerous ways to provide such eclecticism.

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[110] Arts Council England, *The Criteria for Arts Council England Regular Funding* (London: Arts Council England, 2009), p. 2.
[111] Arts Council England, *Theatre Assessment 2009* (London: Arts Council England, 2009), p. 23.
[112]Arts Council England, 'Regularly Funded Organisations'
<http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/browse/?content=RFO> [accessed 14 February 2010].
[113] Arts Council England, *Theatre Assessment 2009*, p. 22.

From 2008 until 2010, Arts Council England contributed, on average, £104m per annum to the country's theatres.[114] The diversity of this group of theatres is not only apparent in the level of support they receive from the Arts Council. The activities which they take part in and the products they create - all of which come under the rubric of theatre – vary widely. Some, like the National Theatre and the Royal Shakespeare Company offer a mixture of large-scale and studio productions comprising of canonical texts and new writing. Others focus solely on the new.[115] Some offer rehabilitation opportunities to prisoners, showcase the work of disabled people or devise plays exclusively for children and young people.[116] Some perform in purpose-built, state-of-the-art theatres, whilst others tour the country performing on the street, in pubs and in nightclubs.[117] This eclectic range of different organisations forms the basis for any study of publicly-funded theatre and provides the context for this study of Shakespeare within the publicly-funded theatre sector. However, before going into detail about the Shakespeare on offer in these theatres, it is worth examining the field more generally in order to contextualise the production of cultural value and its relationship with its economic counterpart.

The theatres funded by the Arts Council can be divided into two categories; building-based theatre and theatre companies which tour venues around the country. Theatre companies which are not building-based are not the main focus of this study. This is partly due to the need for brevity and partly due to the desire to compare the other publicly-funded theatres with the large building-based Royal Shakespeare Company. Thus, this study will

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[114] See Appendix.

[115] See for example, Nitro <http://nitro.co.uk/nsite/> and Out of Joint, < http://www.outofjoint.co.uk/> [accessed 18 July 2010].

[116] For examples of prisoner rehabilitation see Rideout, < http://www.rideout.org.uk/> or Clean Break, <http://www.cleanbreak.org.uk/>. For theatres creating theatre for and by disabled people see Deafinitely Theatre < http://www.deafinitelytheatre.co.uk/> or Graeae < http://www.graeae.org/>; for examples of theatres working specifically with children see The Ashton Group, <http://www.ashtongroup.co.uk/> or Box Clever, <http://www.boxclevertheatre.com/site/> [all accessed 18 July 2010].

[117] For theatres which work in unusual spaces see Stan's Café < http://www.stanscafe.co.uk/> or Theatre Absolute, <http://www.theatreabsolute.co.uk/home.asp> [accessed 18 July 2010].

include only building-based theatre but will look briefly at the interplay between touring production companies, receiving houses and producing houses. By examining this interplay it will be possible to consider the influence of the private sector in touring and whether private sector companies have to rely on publicly-funded buildings in order to sell their products. In the future it would be valuable to continue this project to its logical conclusion and consider the reliance of publicly-funded touring companies on privately funded building-based theatres.

Publicly-Funded Theatre – The Shape of the Field

In 2008, the *Guardian* newspaper and the Institute of Fiscal Studies conducted a survey of total government expenditure and how this broke down into the different departmental units.[118] For 2007/08, total government expenditure was £586.35bn. Total DCMS spending was £6.6bn (including £1.7bn injected from the National Lottery). This means that the money the DCMS received from central government was £4.9bn, less than 1% of the total spend. Of this, £428m went to the arts, less than 0.1% of the total spend. It is worth clarifying that in this 'atlas' of government spending, the arts are distinguished from museums and galleries. For the purposes of the *Guardian*'s survey, 'the arts' can be interpreted as the performing arts – music, dance and drama – and activities such as painting and sculpting. In other words, the *Guardian* defines 'art' as the process of creating culture and not the act of displaying it. The moments of production and consumption are value-making moments within the cultural process because they are moments when tensions are realised and negotiated between. In this sense it is interesting that the *Guardian* and Institute of Fiscal Studies chose to separate the

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[118] Guardian and the Institute of Fiscal Studies, 'Where your money goes: The definitive atlas of UK government spending', 2008
<http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Guardian/documents/2008/09/12/13.09.08.Public.spending.pdf>
13 September 2008[accessed 12 February 2009].

sites of production and consumption in the case of the visual arts. Theatre can be distinguished from the visual arts as, unlike in museums and galleries, the acts of production and consumption occur in the same place and at the same moment. This provides audiences with a unique value generating experience which I will discuss further in chapters 3 and 4.

Figure 2 visually demonstrates how small both arts funding and the funding which goes to the Arts Council are in comparison to the rest of government expenditure. Within this context it would be easy to assume that the Shakespeare, theatre and the arts are not particularly big time. However, the relationship between the arts, arts funding and overall governmental expenditure is more complex than it seems at first glance.

Figure 2 – Government Spending at DCMS 2007-8
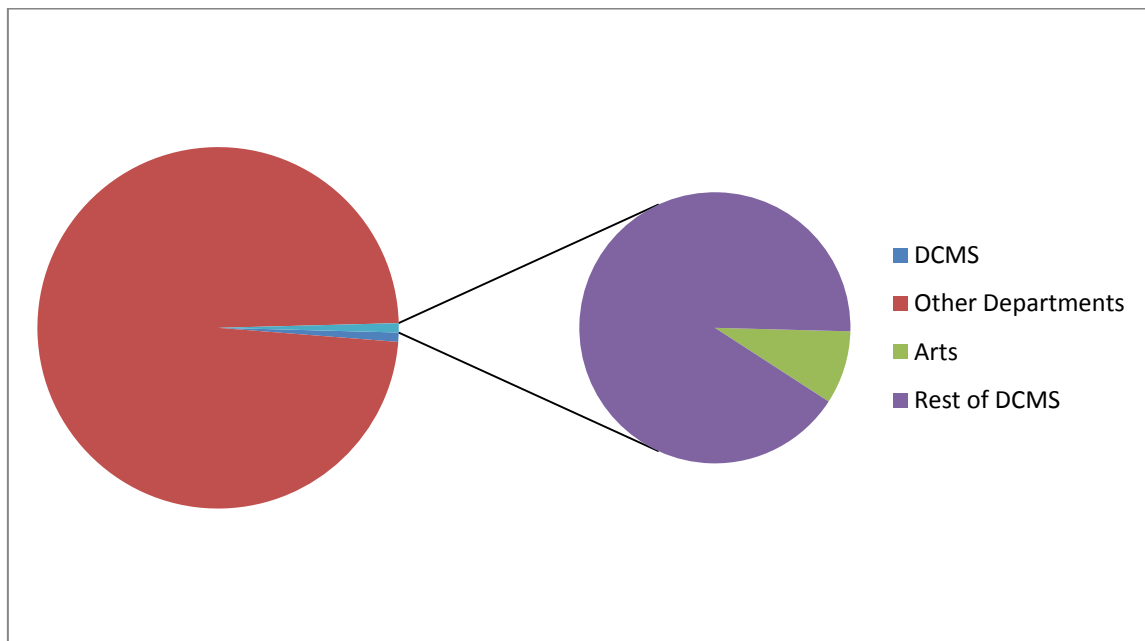
The size of the DCMS's budget is comparable to other departments such as Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (£3.9bn) and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (£2.1bn) which itself funds culture through the British Council and the BBC World Service. However, it stands in stark contrast to the departments receiving the most funding: the

Department for Work and Pensions (£137.7bn), Department for Health (£105.7bn) and the

Department for Children, Schools and Families (£60.9bn).
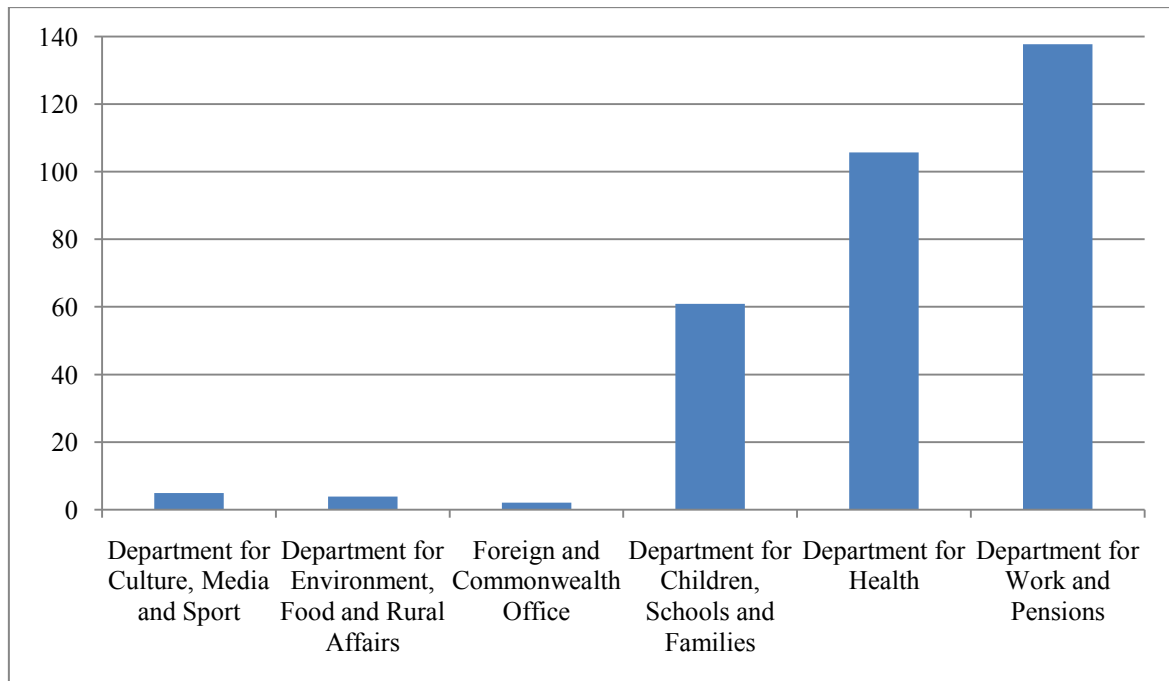
It is apparent from even this brief overview of the numbers that culture forms a relatively

small part of the overall spend on public goods. In this financial context, of which publicly-

funded theatre forms an even smaller part, it may be tempting to marginalise and even dismiss

its relevance.

A comparison with private sector cultural production provides an even starker contrast.

Film is the most widely attended art form in the UK and by looking at the money flowing

through British cinemas we can begin to put the large numbers being presented here into

context. Odeon and UCI cinema group is the largest cinema chain in the UK. In 2007 it

earned £57.6m gross profit.[119] Cineworld, which owns 74 cinemas across the UK took

£185.7m at the box office, earned from 45.0m customers, which left them with gross profits

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[119] Odeon and UCI cinemas, *Annual Review 2007*
<http://www.odeonanducicinemasgroup.com/pdf/ODEONUCI_AR07.pdf> [accessed 18 February 2009], p. 11.

of £52.0m (£30.4m after tax and other deductions).[120] The box office takings can be tellingly compared to the RSC's takings for the same year which amounted to just 8% of Cineworld's at £15m. The total public subsidy to the arts sector was less than half of Odeon and UCI's box office takings and both Cineworld and Odeon's profits were the equivalent of 12% of public arts subsidy.

Figure 4 – A Comparison of Cinema Profits and Arts Subsidy
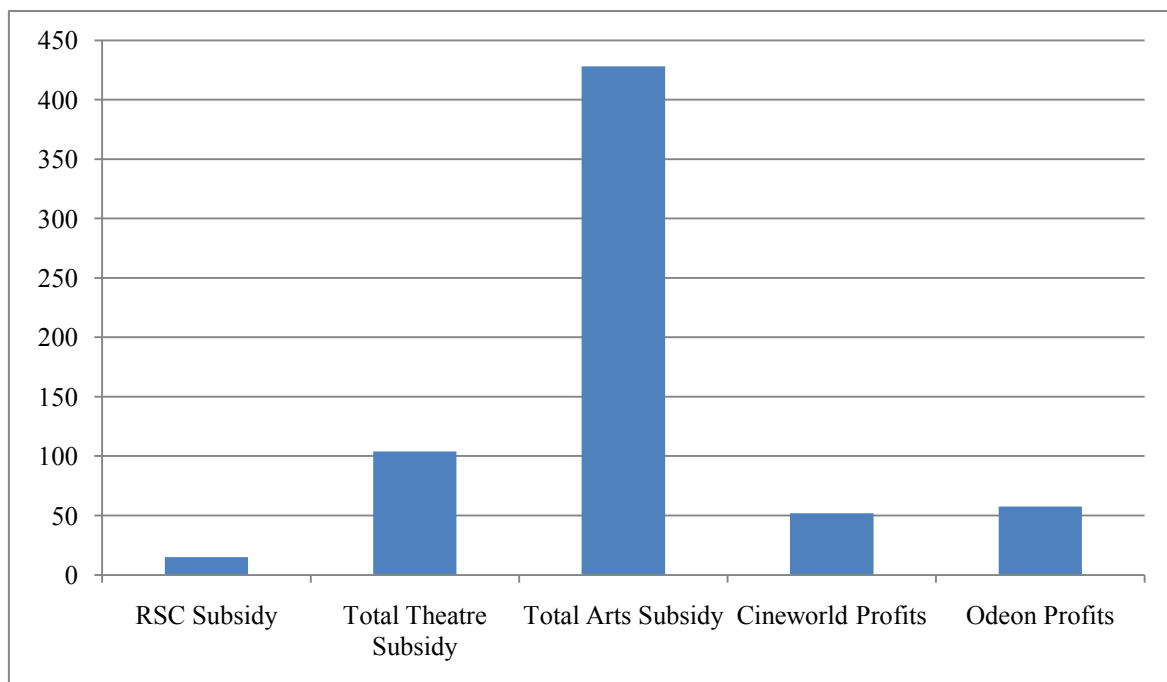
Comparing the RSC with commercial operators such as Odeon gives us some idea of the wider economic context within which publicly-funded culture is functioning. However, it is worth remembering that whilst public funding may not make a dent in governmental expenditure its significance within the cultural sector is profound. Regular funding by the Arts Council constitutes £350m or 82% of the £428m given to the arts by the DCMS. Of this money, on average £104m per annum is given to theatres. This is 30% of the money given to

[120] Cineworld plc, *Annual Report 2007*,
<http://www.cineworldplc.com/pressreleases/Cineworld_AR07060508.pdf> [accessed 18 February 2009], p. 3.

RFOs – a portfolio which includes combined arts venues, visual art, literature, music and dance as well as theatre – and 24% of all the money given to the arts. In this sense, theatre constitutes a large part of publicly-funded culture even if it is only a very small part of the economy as a whole. As part of overall governmental expenditure, the money given to RFOs represents 0.02%. Nevertheless, this relatively small amount of money allows nearly 900 cultural organisations to function, including 218 theatres. On average in 2008-9, 31% of any given theatre's income came from Arts Council England.[121] The amount of money may seem small in macro terms but on a micro level it can mean the difference between the opening and closing of a theatre or the performance and non-performance of a play.

Publicly-funded theatre is not big time when it is placed within a wider context of government spending and private sector profits. However, if we examine it within its own field, its relative importance becomes greater. Not only does public funding form an important part of theatrical production in the twenty-first century, but publicly-funded theatre constitutes an important part of the twenty-first century cultural scene. As well as the 218 organisations which the Arts Council classifies as theatres in its regular funding list, many other organisations which are classified as combined arts venues include theatres within their facilities or create theatrical products, for example South Hill Park Arts Centre in Bracknell or the Castle in Wellingborough. Even without the addition of these arts centres, figure 5 shows that theatres form the largest single group of RFOs in the Arts Council's portfolio.

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[121] Arts Council England Regularly Funded Organisations: Key Data from 2008/09 Annual Submissions (London: Arts Council England, 2010), p. 12.

Figure 5 – Regularly-Funded Organisations by Art Form 2008/09
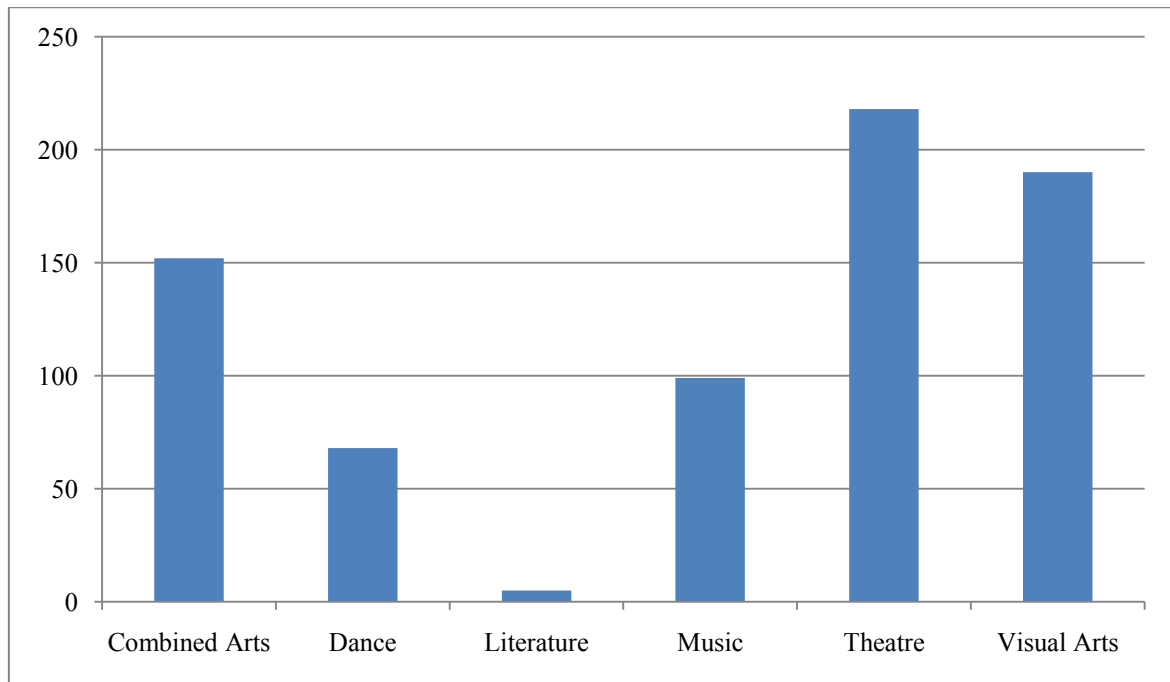
Theatre in all its guises is the second most widely attended publicly-funded art form in England in 2008/09. In addition, publicly-funded theatre constituted the second biggest producer of cultural products within the council's portfolio, forming 26% of all regularly-funded cultural output for the year.[122] It also provided the largest amount of new work of any art form and constituted 28% of all new work commissioned within the regularly-funded sector.[123] Theatre's contribution to the publicly-funded cultural sector is, therefore, significant.

As a potential site for the generation of cultural value, theatre attracts audiences, produces a large amount of output and encourages the creation of new work. Audiences, output and new products each play an important role in the creation and maintenance of cultural value. Value cannot be created without interaction between product and consumer, so artworks need an audience.[124] Cultural value cannot proliferate without being attached to a variety of

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[122] Arts Council England, Regularly Funded Organisations: Key Data, p. 22.
[123] Arts Council England, Regularly Funded Organisations: Key Data, p. 28.
[124] For further discussion of this see chapter 3.

products. This is because in order for it to be interacted with it needs to be distributed widely. Further value cannot be generated without a sizeable portion of those products being new cultural offers because creativity is a catalyst for value creation.[125] By supporting theatre through the regular funding system and providing a considerable chunk of publicly-funded theatres' incomes, the Arts Council can foster all of the value-generative elements of theatre and ensure their maintenance in the future.

So, in this cultural environment where many theatres receive nearly a third of their income from subsidy, how does a theatre which receives no funding from the Arts Council or the DCMS continue to function? The success of Shakespeare's Globe theatre suggests that it is indeed possible for a theatre to create both economic and cultural value without receiving funds from the Arts Council. A brief overview of its financial workings reveals that it has achieved its economic success as a consequence of its flexibility of purpose and its encouragement of charitable donations.

The Globe opened in 1997 and operates a full summer season, often staging two or three new works alongside a repertory of four Shakespeare plays. It receives no grant from the Arts Council. One of the principal values of public funding is that it provides opportunities for theatres to put on short runs of plays in repertory. The Globe's success proves that this can be achieved without receiving money directly from the public purse. However, as the Globe is a trust it has some tax advantages, such as a 28% payback from the exchequer via gift aid, that allow the theatre to maximise on the donations it receives. In this sense, some of the money it receives still comes from the UK taxpayer. In 2007/08 the Globe operated with a surplus of

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[125] See, for example, Throsby, *Economics and Culture*, p. 97.

£236,000 and around two thirds of the trust's income derived from 'primary purpose', that is, from theatre admission charges and exhibition and educational services.[126]

Their secondary revenue was generated through visitor spending in the on-site shop and restaurants and through hire of the facilities. The Globe also makes money by attracting one-off donations and selling membership through their 'friends' scheme. Each of the levels of membership and the sale of supporting wall space relies on donors' self-image and values. The Globe model – which to some extent mirrors that of Effingham Wilson and the Shakespeare Memorial National Theatre Committee - proves that through soliciting public donation and by emphasising its educational and heritage roles a theatre can survive without government subsidy. [127]

Figure 6 – Comparison between the RSC and Shakespeare's Globe Income Sources
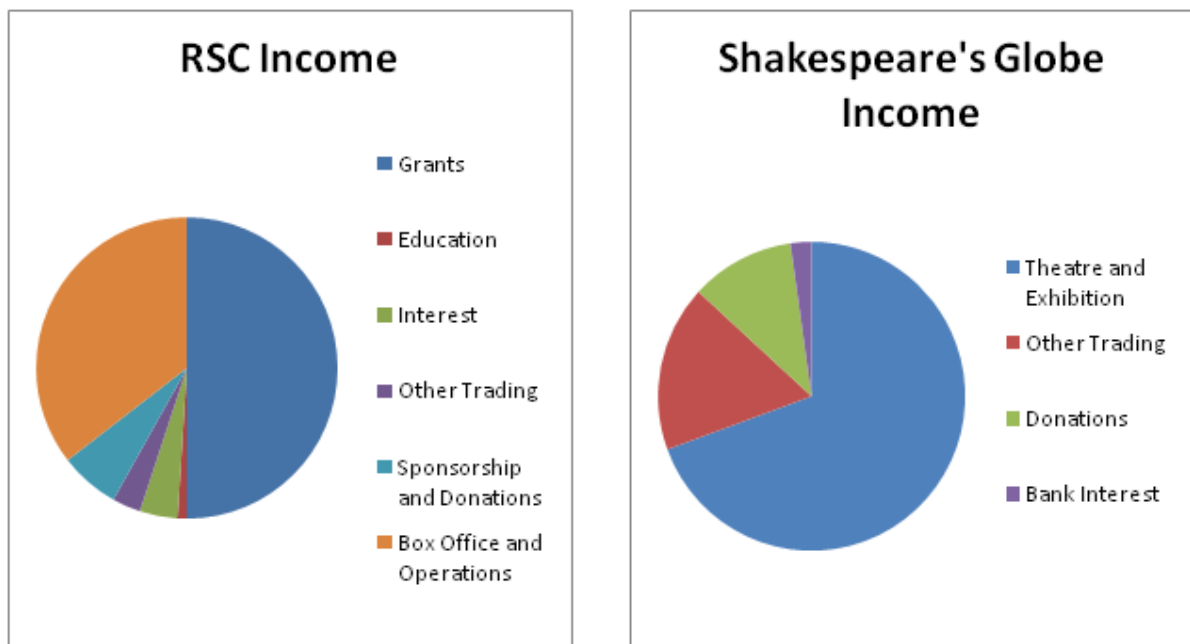
From figure 6 it is possible to see that both the RSC and the Globe earn a similar proportion of their income from bank interest. The Globe relies more heavily on donations and money

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[126] Shakespeare's Globe, *The Shakespeare's Globe Trust Annual Review 2007-8* (London: Shakespeare's Globe, 2009) <http://www.shakespeares-globe.org/docs/Annual%20Review%202007-8.pdf> [accessed 21 July 2009].
[127] Judith Cook, *The National Theatre* (London: Harrap, 1976).

earned from 'other trading' than the RSC and, because it groups its theatre, exhibition and education activities together can claim to raise the vast majority of its money from its primary purpose. What is most interesting here is that the Globe's variety of purpose allows it to generate a greater proportion of its income itself, creating proportionally more economic value than the RSC. This also suggests that the cultural values generated from the Globe will have a greater connection to educational values and will stem as much from its identity as a heritage site as from its activity as a theatre.[128]

However, it is worth remembering that the Globe only puts on plays during the summer months, attracting London's swelling tourist population. If it were to run all year, as the RSC and the National do, it might find it more difficult to turn a profit. It is also important not to lose sight of the fact that although they receive no subsidy from the government the Globe is still reliant on another form of public-funding. Donation may not be directly comparable to the grants offered by the Arts Council but, as a theatre receiving money in this way, the Globe must still live up to the values and ideals of its donors. The Globe may demonstrate that a theatre can exist without government backing but it equally points up the necessity of money given outside of admission prices and education workshops.

This opens up an interesting value tension. Neither of Shakespeare's theatres can run without some form of donation from the public suggesting that producing Shakespeare's plays is not and cannot be a profit-making enterprise. At the same time, the donations the Globe receives and the public subsidy given to the RSC suggest that Shakespeare can attract economic value from certain quarters. There may be some economic benefit of a connection to Shakespeare but this will always be complicated by a lack of mass commerciality and an

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[128] For further information on Shakespeare' Globe and its cultural values see Sarah Olive, *Shakespeare Valued*, unpublished PhD thesis (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, forthcoming) and Kate Rumbold, 'From "Access" to "Creativity"'.

inability to distribute theatrical products to a wider audience base.[129] Public funding is valuable to theatres because it allows them to bridge the gap between creating cultural value and economic success.

The economic value of a connection to Shakespeare is made more evident through an analysis of the RSC's place within the publicly-funded theatre sector. The RSC receives 50% of its income from the Arts Council where most theatres receive around 31%. The fact that it receives such a large proportion of its income from the Arts Council is partly due to the size of the RSC's grant in relation to the grants of other theatres. The average annual grant given to a theatre during the 2008-11 regular funding round was £479,408. The RSC received 32 times this amount: £15.6m. Within the regularly-funded sector, this large grant can only be compared to the money received by the National Theatre - £19.2m. As can be seen from figure 7, the other theatres which receive over £1m a year constitute 24% of the total Arts Council spend on theatre. The National's grant constitutes 18%, whilst the RSC's amounts to 15%. The large, national companies receive the bulk of Arts Council theatre funding and Shakespeare is certainly the best funded playwright of the twenty-first century. Within the context of publicly-funded theatre, Shakespeare has hit the 'big-time'.

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[129] This 'inability' is currently being countered by the National Theatre broadcasting plays in cinemas across England. National Theatre, 'National Theatre Live', < http://www.nationaltheatre.org.uk/45470/nt-live/what-is-it-how-does-it-work.html> [accessed 22 August 2010].

Legend:
- Theatres which receive less than £100000
- Theatre which receive between £100,000 and £499,999
- Theatres which receive between £500,000 and £999,999
- Theatre which receive £1,000,000+
- RSC
- National
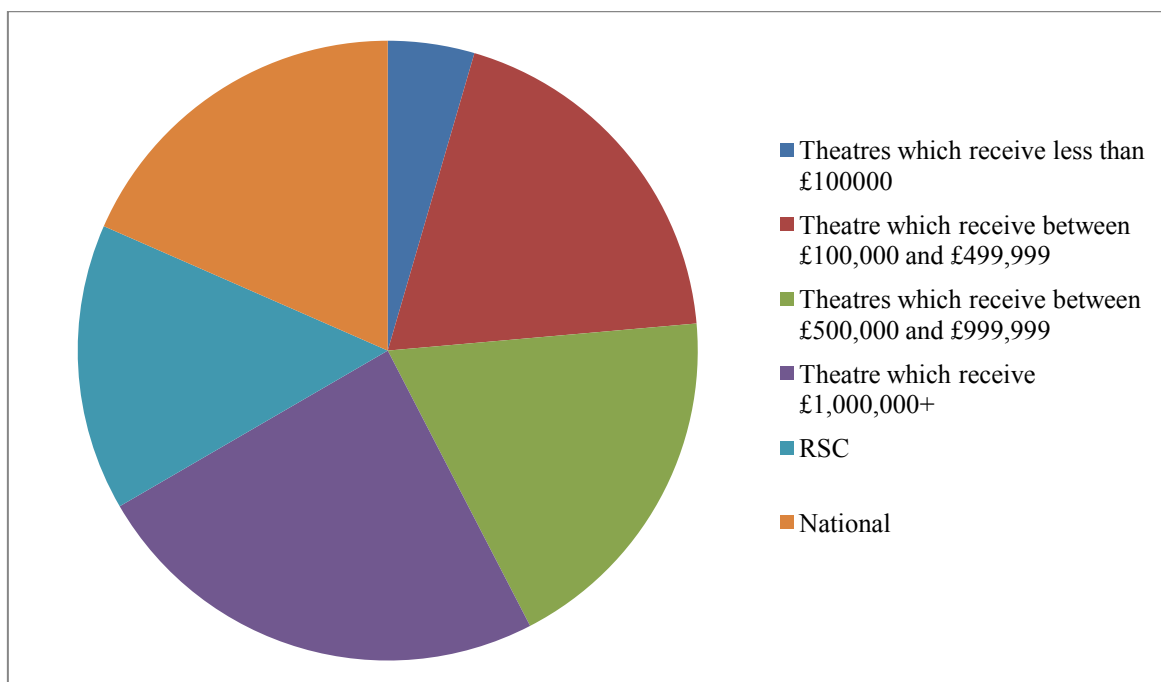
Shakespeare in Publicly-Funded Theatre

In terms of economic scale, Shakespeare's value is considerably larger than many other cultural objects. How this translates into cultural production and the creation of cultural value is the focus of this next section. In order to ascertain the importance of Shakespearean productions within regularly-funded theatres – a sample group of roughly 218 – I conducted a survey of the Shakespeare being produced or presented in these theatres.[130] The sample group is only 'roughly' 218 because in order to conduct the survey I widened my definition of 'theatre' beyond those organisations designated as such by the Arts Council. Included in the survey data are arts centres which have a theatre space within them – for example South Hill Park Arts Centre and Midlands Arts Centre (mac) – and also opera and ballet companies which have performed works linked to Shakespeare. I have chosen to include these companies

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[130] My survey was checked for inconsistencies/omissions against James Shaw, 'Professional Shakespeare Productions in the British Isles January-December 2008' in *Shakespeare Survey 63*, ed. by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming in 2010).

and organisations because they provide another way for audiences to access theatrical work and because Shakespeare forms an important part of the canon for ballet and opera. I differentiate between the Shakespeare which is produced and reproduced as drama and that which is performed through dance and music. However, the plays which were performed at arts centres rather than theatres are counted within the same group. Many of the plays detailed below toured to both kinds of venue. The spaces in which the performances occurred were recognisable as theatres. Thus, the cultural value created from a performance in an arts centre would not have differed widely from the cultural value created from a performance of the same play in a theatre.

This thesis is aiming to interrogate the ways in which Shakespeare proliferates in English cultural life as a heterogeneous entity, disseminated in various ways to theatre audiences, school children and the wider public. For this reason, any connection with Shakespeare was counted as a 'Shakespearean' performance. Mark Rylance's *I am Shakespeare* – in which the actor played an obsessive doppelganger of himself searching for the answer to the authorship controversy – and Theatre by the Lake's secondary school adaptation *Thou art Mad Big Mac* find their way into the survey data. Each season has been separately analysed and the data has also been analysed together in order to provide an overall picture of Shakespeare-in-performance in twenty-first-century England.

The survey took place over three different theatrical seasons: Autumn/Winter 07/08, Spring/Summer 08 and Autumn/Winter 08. This provided me with three initial groups of theatres which produced or presented one or more Shakespeare play between September 2007 and December 2008. Within this group there were 70 individual theatres, with 21 theatres showing Shakespeare in 2 seasons and 8 showing Shakespeare in all 3 seasons. During the 2005-8 funding round, the Arts Council regularly funded 225 theatres. 46 of the theatres

included in my sample group are specifically designated as 'theatres' by the Arts Council. This means that 20% of all the theatres which receive funding from the Arts Council showed at least one Shakespeare play between 2007 and 2008. For one author to have such a large impact is impressive and suggests that Shakespeare constitutes an important part of many theatres' repertories. By further interrogating these numbers and considering what kinds of Shakespeare were being produced and where this was happening we can move closer to an understanding of what 'Shakespeare' is in publicly-funded theatre and how this contributes to his cultural value.

Of the initial group of 38 theatres – those showing Shakespeare between September and December 2007 – 5 no longer receive regular funding from Arts Council England. This represents 13% of the theatres which appeared in my original survey. The actual percentage of RFOs which lost their funding in 2008 was 20%. What can be extrapolated from my sample is that theatres – or at least, theatres that show Shakespeare - were marginally less affected overall by funding cuts than other arts organisations such as galleries, publishing houses and orchestras. What is particularly significant about the theatres which appear in the 2007 sample but which disappear in 2008 is the type of theatres which make up the group. Whilst the national companies remained immune from funding cuts, and the large-scale, regional theatres such as the Birmingham Rep, West Yorkshire Playhouse and Liverpool Everyman continue to receive on average £1.65m a year; it is the small-scale theatres which have suffered. The Cambridge Arts Theatre, Canterbury's Gulbenkian Theatre, Hemel Hempstead's Old Town Hall, the Lichfield Garrick and Tunbridge Wells's Trinity Theatre are all presenting houses, serving populations between 93,000 and 138,000 and they have all had their funding stopped.[131] It seems reasonable to presume, from looking at this data set, that the Arts

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[131] For data see Office of National Statistics, Census 2001
<http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/> [accessed 21 July 2009].

Council's funding priorities in the 2008-11 funding rounds were to increase the money being offered to bigger theatres which serve large populations. Smaller theatres without the resources to produce their own shows or the ability to reach large audiences appear to be less valuable to the Arts Council, despite their minimal demands on the public purse. All of the theatres listed above continue to operate and market their 'friends' schemes, room hire and education programmes in order to fund their endeavours. The lack of public subsidy has not resulted in their inability to function as theatres and their survival in the aftermath of the 2008 funding cuts row suggests that, perhaps, not all theatres need regular funding in order to balance their books.

A brief examination of the 8 theatres which showed Shakespeare in all three seasons further emphasises the varied nature of publicly-funded theatre in England. The Royal Shakespeare Company, Liverpool Everyman and Playhouse, Sheffield Theatres, the Theatre Royal, Plymouth and Contact Theatre, Manchester, together with three venues classified as 'combined arts' - the Salford Lowry, Norden Farm Centre for the Arts in Maidstone and South Hill Park Arts Centre, Bracknell all had Shakespeare performances in every one of their season line-ups. These 8 theatres represent a disparate group which receive vastly different levels of funding from the Arts Council. In the period between 2007 and 2008 – which formed part of the 2005-8 funding round – the RSC received over £14m in subsidy, Liverpool Everyman over £1.5m and the Lowry exactly £1m. At the other end of the subsidy scale, South Hill Park Arts Centre received only £216,006 whilst Norden Farm received even less: £133,104. The difference in the economic value of the subsidies reflects the size of the theatres, the population they are catering for and the kinds of productions they put on. It will also impact upon the ability of the various theatres to provide facilities, special effects, celebrity actors and new and innovative performance spaces.

The differing subsidies need to be taken into account when considering the cultural value of institutions and it is especially significant that Shakespeare's the theatre in question received 15% of the £100.4m given to the organisations in this survey.[132] The other theatres which received large grants were the National Theatre (18%) and the Royal Opera House (26%). Together, these three theatres make up 59% of the funding received with the other 41% being shared amongst 64 theatres. The next most highly funded are Opera North (9%), Northern Ballet Theatre (3%), Royal Exchange Theatre (2%), Sadler's Wells (2%) and Birmingham Repertory Theatre (2%). The least subsidised theatres are Lichfield Garrick (0.03%), Georgian Theatre Royal (0.03%), Guildhall Arts Centre (0.02%), Old Town Hall, Hemel Hempstead (0.02%) and the Gulbenkian Theatre, Canterbury (0.02%).[133] With this vast difference in the share of financial aid it is likely that the theatres in the second list create hugely different types of theatre. They are likely to be smaller, with fewer staff and lower production costs, it is possible that they are in smaller communities and thus benefit fewer people and receive rather than produce the performances they put on.

Of the 70 theatres which showed Shakespeare between September 2007 and December 2008, 26 theatres produced one or more productions themselves. The remaining 44 theatres received touring productions, both from the commercial and subsidised sectors, many of which were performed at more than one RFO. In total there were 53 touring productions during this period, of these 14 were produced by companies that do not receive funding from any of the UK Arts Councils. These included HAIR, Rock Valley Productions, Shakespeare 4 Kidz, Love&Madness, London Shakespeare Workout, Reduced Shakespeare Company, Phizzical Productions, People's Playhouse, Fast Forward, Back and Forth, Long Overdue, Original Theatre Company and Filter. Of this group, Filter is an interesting example as it

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[132] For all raw data relating to this chapter see appendix.
[133] Neither the Old Town Hall nor the Gulbenkian theatre are still funded by the Arts Council.

frequently collaborates with publicly-funded theatres such as Battersea Arts Centre, the National and the RSC. In this instance, a small company without a permanent home can use the stages of Arts Council funded theatres without having to adhere to the demands placed on those theatres. Shakespeare 4 Kidz, despite setting itself up as the 'national' Shakespeare company for children, does not receive funding and this suggests that by adapting plays for children and exploiting the educational possibilities of theatre they have been able to survive without the help of government or charitable donations.

Aside from separating the productions into touring and in-house, another dividing line is whether they are adaptations or classical performances. 'Adaptation' and 'classical' both require some definition and are problematic in the current context. For example, *Romeo and Juliet* by Prokofiev is a musical adaptation of Shakespeare's play. However, when performed by the Royal Ballet it could be interpreted as classical. Another problem arises with the classification of the work of the Reduced Shakespeare Company who do not present their audience with an adaptation of one play but rather, with numerous mini-versions of many plays. Taking this into account, I have chosen to use the terms 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' to denote on the one hand a production of a Shakespeare play which follows the playtext closely and presents the narrative through language. The term 'non-traditional' denotes all other kinds of engagement with Shakespeare including opera, ballet, spin-offs, sequels and plays like *I Am Shakespeare* which did not engage with Shakespeare's works, but with his biography.

Overall during this period, there were 104 individual Shakespeare productions either being performed in-house or on national tours. Of the 51 in-house productions 29 (57%) were traditional and 22 (43%) were non-traditional. Of the 53 touring productions 23 (43%) were traditional and 30 (57%) were non-traditional. The data suggests that building-based,

producing houses tend towards text-based, traditional engagement with Shakespeare whilst touring companies prefer to encounter Shakespeare in adaptation. It is possible that the inclusion of ballet and opera is skewing the results and if we remove them from the sample we are left with 44 touring productions, of which 21 (48%) are non-traditional. If we do the same to in-house productions the change is more marked: 44 productions, of which 16 (36%) are non-traditional. Overall, there were 52 traditional and 52 non-traditional productions (or 37 if ballet and opera are removed). However, I am reluctant to remove ballet and opera from this survey as they represent a significant part of the public's interaction with Shakespeare and are suggestive of an interesting alternative to the language-based Shakespeare encounter. What the data most strongly suggests is that there is a tendency towards adaptation within touring companies and a surprising equality overall with non-traditional Shakespeare making up 50% of the total over the period.

Looking at both the in-house productions and the touring theatre we can see that 30 of Shakespeare's works were performed either in adaptation or as written.

Figure 8 – Plays by Number of Different Productions

Plays by number of different productions
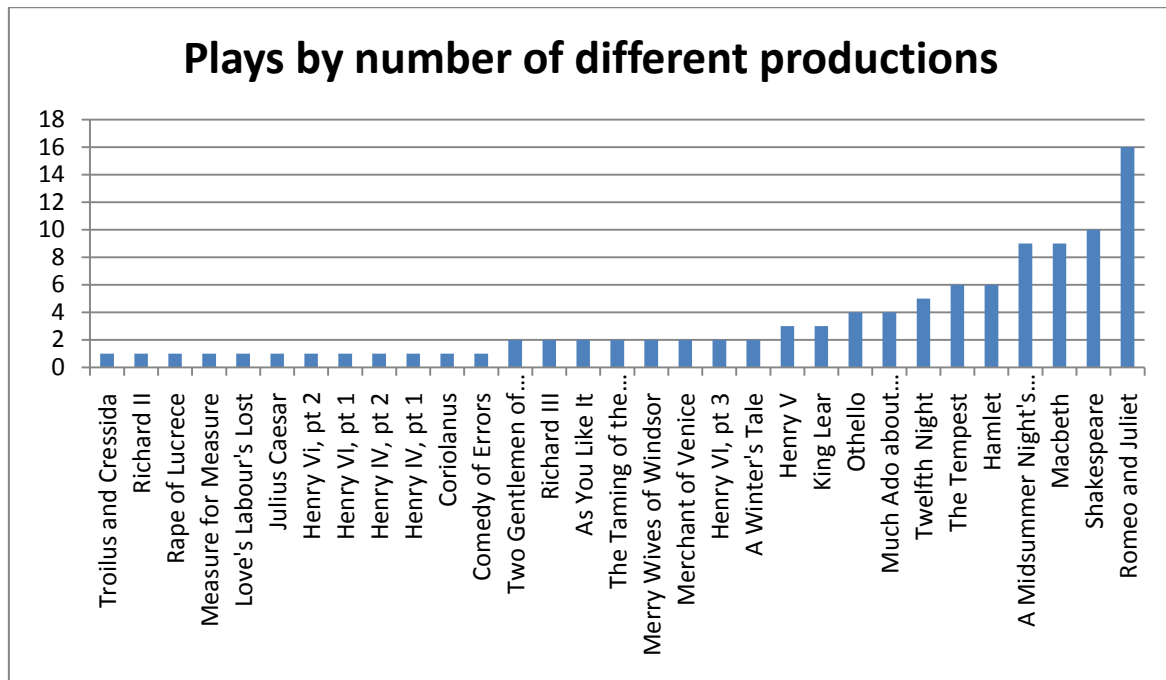
A breakdown of these works seems to confirm the theatres' concern with playing the classics or 'favourites'. The individual works performed included 16 different productions of *Romeo and Juliet*, 10 plays which dealt with some aspect of Shakespeare and his biography, 9 different productions of *Macbeth* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 6 of *Hamlet* and *The Tempest*, 5 of *Twelfth Night*, 4 of *Much Ado about Nothing* and *Othello*, 3 of *King Lear*, *Henry V*, 2 of *Winter's Tale*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Henry VI part 3*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and single productions of *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Richard II*, *Henry IV parts 1 and 2*, *Henry VI parts 1 and 2*, *Richard III*, *Measure for Measure*, *As You Like It*, *Love's Labours Lost*, *Troilus and Cressida* and *Rape of Lucrece.* Entirely absent from performance in publicly-funded theatre during this time were *Henry VIII*, *All's Well That Ends Well*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline*, *Edward III*, *King John*, *Timon of Athens*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Pericles*, *Sir Thomas More* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

This list makes a powerful statement about what Shakespeare is in publicly-funded theatre: he is the canonical, well-known plays, dictated by school syllabi and the national curriculum. That said, nearly half of these plays were non-traditional performances. On the one hand, then, this list suggests that publicly-funded Shakespeare is everything we might expect but on the other hand, behind this list is a non-traditional Shakespearean counterpart who is presented to audiences in a variety of cultural forms. What is interesting is that this 'non-traditional', adapted Shakespeare reaffirms one of the key cultural values assigned to Shakespeare – his universality, malleability and relevance to the modern world. What appears to be a simple, numerical list of productions becomes a site for debate, an area of tension. It is in negotiating between 'traditional' Shakespeare and other Shakespeare – Shakespeares which are less binary opposites and more *différances*, differed within the same system of 'tradition' - that theatres, audiences and cultural commentators express their own cultural values and create and maintain the cultural values of Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatre.

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What emerges most clearly from the survey above is that Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatres is an ambiguous mixture of the canonical and the iconoclastic. Theatres appear to be offering their audiences a selection of the firm favourites: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. But, at the same time, this canonical approach is balanced out by the proliferation of adaptations and the proportion of plays like *I Am Shakespeare* and the Reduced Shakespeare Company's *The Complete Works (Abridged)* which deliberately disrupt and interrogate Shakespeare's cultural status. Shakespearean encounters of this kind will frequently serve to highlight his cultural value as a free resource. They will often have the seemingly paradoxical effect of confirming, rather than denying, his

cultural authority.[134] In some cases, this confirmation of authority is performed consciously. Malachi Bogdanov's adaptation *Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare*, for example, was intended to underline the similarities between Tarantino and Shakespeare rather than to cast aspersions on Shakespeare's irrelevance in the twenty-first century.[135] Other instances, such as Mark Rylance's Oxfordian *I am Shakespeare* effected its confirmation of Shakespearean cultural authority even as it denied the historical William's claim to authorship. Cultural values - whether they are expressed through a comparison of a contemporary film director with an early modern playwright or in the confrontation between different versions of history – are always embodied in tensions.

These tensions do not come solely from the aesthetics and ethics of performance and can emerge from elsewhere. In publicly-funded theatre, cultural values are influenced by the policies and processes of funders. In the second half of this chapter I want to examine the way in which the process of public funding inflects the eventual cultural output of subsidised theatres. Arts Council policy and its shift in recent years from the ethical to the aesthetic will form a major part of this analysis, but I will also be looking at a particularly influential document published by the DCMS in order to ascertain how ideas circulate and proliferate from government, to NGOs, to subsidised organisations.

The Arts Council's Cultural Values

Rather than baldly stating their case for funding the arts, Arts Council England tends to write manifestos or policy documents which set out their vision of the ideal artistic future. These documents contain within them evidence of the way in which Arts Council believes the arts can justify their existence within the UK subsidised sector and the wider economy. They

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[134] See Dobson, *National Poet*, Holderness 'Radical Potentiality' and my own work in chapter 4.
[135] For more on this production see chapter 4.

also demonstrate, implicitly, the value Arts Council assigns to culture. Six key documents have been published since the beginning of the Cultural Value project in 2006: *Our Agenda for the Arts 2006-8* (Arts Council, 2006), *Theatre Policy* (Arts Council, 2006), *Supporting Excellence in the Arts: From Measurement to Judgement* (DCMS, 2008), *Great Art for Everyone* (Arts Council, 2008) and *Theatre Assessment, 2009* (Arts Council). Each of these documents reveals cultural values which are both assigned to and acquired from the theatre during the process of public funding. The above list of available Shakespeares suggests that theatres are interested in attracting children and young people, fulfilling educational expectations, producing canonical plays and also adapting these plays. Some of these concerns can be mapped directly onto the values which emerge from the Arts Council and DCMS policy documents.

There are striking similarities between the values espoused in the majority of these documents but the general consistency of sentiment is slightly interrupted by a perceptible shift in the focus of evaluation. *Our Agenda* and *Theatre Policy* both champion ethical cultural values such as diversity, community, education and internationalism whilst *Supporting Excellence in the Arts* and *Great Art for Everyone* focus on aesthetic cultural values such as excellence, quality and innovation. In 2006 the Arts Council wanted to see changes in the arts and 'a more confident, diverse and innovative arts sector which is valued by and in tune with the communities it serves' and 'more active participation in the arts by adults and young people.'[136] In 2008 the Arts Council wished to promote art which provided something 'beyond economic well-being' offering its consumers 'a challenge, conflict, insight, understanding, amusement, an intellectual or an emotional connection'. The communal, educational and participatory element of culture in 2006 was displaced by a

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[136] Arts Council England, *Our Agenda*, p. 1.

deeply personal, individual aesthetic experience in 2008. This shift from ethics to aesthetics suggests that the cultural valuation of publicly-funded theatre has altered over the course of the first decade of the twenty-first century and, as such, the valuation of the Shakespeare performed in these theatres will also have altered.

The 2006 agenda is separated into six areas: 'Taking part in the arts', 'Children and Young People', 'The Creative Economy', 'Vibrant Communities', 'Internationalism' and 'Celebrating Diversity'. Inherent in each of these six focus areas is a need to create a democratised cultural sector which encourages participation from a wide range of different audiences. The values which emerge from the detailed discussions of each area are largely ethical and do not apply uniquely to theatre. They deal with separating art from the idea of the 'elite', embracing new technologies, encouraging interactivity, educating children, improving the management of cultural industries, giving communities 'soul' through culture and helping to 'develop a sense of our identity' through a connection with our differing cultural backgrounds.[137] Put simply, the cultural values expressed here include: participation, education, democratisation, community and diversity. In stating their support of these values, the Arts Council is equally denying any links to passive observation, elitism, metropolitanism and national uniformity. Cultural value tensions remain apparent within these documents even where they are not explicitly evoked.

Most of these values are assigned values and can be added to publicly-funded theatre in order to enhance the cultural offer. Theatres like the RSC can adhere to the Arts Council's vision for the arts by encouraging audience participation; building education centres and promoting shows for young people; taking part in the burgeoning creative economy; creating links between the theatre and the community and fostering connections with international and

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[137] *Our Agenda*, pp. 12-13.

national theatre companies. All of these activities will have an impact on the Shakespeare produced within a publicly-funded theatre but many of the values they create – from feelings of inclusion to global unity to economic prosperity – emerge from the *Agenda* rather than from any specific art form or artist. The organisations that the Arts Council funds are expected to respond to this agenda and those that are involved with Shakespeare will be negotiating what Shakespeare means to twenty-first-century audiences whilst simultaneously seeking to make Shakespeare more diverse and more rooted in the community, a global asset and a local regenerator.

The largely ethical focus of the Arts Council's 2006 publications stands in contrast to the aesthetic approach taken by Brian McMaster's *Supporting Excellence in the Arts: From measurement to judgement* published in January 2008. The report appeared just as the debate over the cutting of Arts Council funding to theatres such as the Bush and Northcott Theatres was erupting.[138] McMaster's Report was heralded by the Arts Council's opposition – including practitioners such as Ian McKellen and Kevin Spacey - as a piece of clear-thinking in a world-gone-mad and was used as evidence for the differing directions of the government on the one hand and Arts Council England on the other.[139] The document itself was influenced by the Arts Council's public value report of the previous year and by research McMaster had conducted with practitioners from all arenas of cultural production.[140]

Like John Holden, McMaster wishes to put an end to target-driven funding by stopping culture from being a 'tool of government policy' and instead fostering an 'appreciation of the

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[138] Alistair Smith, 'Scores of arts groups lose all funding as ACE wields its axe', *The Stage*, 18 December 2007, <http://www.thestage.co.uk/news/newsstory.php/19307/scores-of-arts-groups-lose-all-funding-as-ace> [accessed 20 July 2009].

[139] Mark Brown, 'Actors boo Arts Council over swingeing cuts', *Guardian*, 10 January 2008 accessed at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/jan/10/theatrenews.artsfunding> [accessed 20 July 2009]; Richard Brooks, 'Stars force Arts Council to drop cuts', *The Times*, 27 January 2008 <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article3257291.ece> [accessed 20 July 2009].

[140] Catherine Bunting, Public Value and the Arts in England: Discussions and Conclusions of the Arts Debate (London: Arts Council England, 2007).

profound value of art and culture.'[141] In order to do this, McMaster suggests placing an emphasis on 'excellent' art and that public funding should prioritise innovation. By shifting the emphasis away from theatres which present the classics, galleries whose exhibitions remain unchanged and museums whose artefacts sit inertly behind glass walls; McMaster is suggesting that the value of public funding is that it allows organisations the space, time and finances to take risks.

This renewed emphasis on innovation, which was taken up by the Arts Council in their 2008 manifesto, could explain the proliferation of Shakespearean adaptations in the survey data. Innovation is frequently confused with novelty and the process of adaptation offers directors, playwrights and theatres the opportunity to make something new from Shakespeare.[142] The process of adaptation suggests that, whether or not the work is innovative, theatres want to work through the tension between Shakespeare as heritage and the theatre as a site for innovative creativity.

Today, influenced by McMaster, both the DCMS and the Arts Council are encouraged to look favourably on those companies that innovate. McMaster argues that 'to be truly excellent' an organisation 'must' innovate.[143] This puts pressure on organisations which have been linked to heritage – including the RSC – to innovate. In a cultural context that values innovation, companies like the RSC will need to combine the confirmation of their cultural authority with the production of the new. McMaster's work thus raises important questions about the value of the RSC and brings to the fore the tensions which I highlighted in the introduction. If the RSC's value is located in its links to tradition, how will it fare in a climate which favours innovative production? Will it be able to successfully negotiate between innovation and tradition in order to maximise, rather than decrease, Shakespeare's cultural

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[141]see Holden, Capturing Cultural Value and McMaster, Supporting Excellence, p. 5.
[142] See my discussion of novelty and innovation in chapter 4.
[143] McMaster, Supporting Excellence, p. 10.

value? During the lifetime of this project, the RSC has frequently worked to try and resolve the tension between innovation and tradition. The plethora of other theatre companies at the Complete Works Festival; the encouragement of new writing within the company itself; the collaboration with Told by an Idiot to produce a young people's *Comedy of Errors* and the *Such Tweet Sorrow* project are all testament to a company exploring new avenues and experimenting with new theatrical techniques.[144]

In 2008, influenced by McMaster's DCMS report and its own public value survey, there was a significant shift in Arts Council England discourse. In *Great Art for Everyone* the then Chief Executive of the Arts Council reminded readers that the arts offer 'something beyond economic well-being' and restated the aims of the Arts Council: 'creating the conditions by which great art can happen, and then making sure as many people as possible can engage with the arts and discover what art can do for them.'[145] Access is still clearly important to the Arts Council but it is the discourse of excellence, so championed in McMaster's *Supporting Excellence in the Arts*, that is explicitly invoked in *Great Art for Everyone*.

The Arts Council's updated agenda for 2008-11 includes an 'ambitious vision' to offer 'excellent art to the widest range of people' whilst encouraging the arts sector to 'take artistic risks and innovate.'[146] In *Great Art for Everyone,* as in their 2006-8 *Agenda*, the Arts Council lays out key points for development. The only point which remains constant between the two agendas is the focus on 'children and young people' suggesting that assigned educational values continue to be a priority for the Arts Council and funded organisations.[147] The new manifesto focuses on digital technologies, visual arts and London 2012: all pointedly non-theatrical in orientation. Despite the shift in the types of culture that need to be developed and

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[144] See chapter 6 for a discussion of the Complete Works Festival. For *Comedy of Errors* see RSC, <http://www.rsc.org.uk/whats-on/comedy-of-errors-yps/> [accessed 22 August 2010].
[145] Arts Council England, *Great Art for Everyone* (London: Arts Council England, 2008), p. 1.
[146] Arts Council, *Great Art*, p. 3.
[147] For the aesthetic impact of this continued focus see chapter 4.

a seeming change in the values from ethics to aesthetics, *Great Art for Everyone* ends with a gesture towards outcomes reminiscent of those found in the *Agenda* and the *Policy*: the values of 'reach', 'engagement' and 'diversity' continue to be assigned to culture along with the renaissance in the aesthetic focus on 'excellence' and 'innovation.'[148]

Specifically focused on theatre and offering the most current evidence for the Arts Council's valuation of theatre, the *Theatre Assessment 2009* contains a detailed account of how theatre has changed and developed during the first years of the twenty-first century and how these changes have impacted upon the publicly-funded theatre sector. It lays out plans for the future and highlights areas on which the Arts Council should focus its attention. These include risk and innovation, touring, audiences, talent development, diversity and leadership.[149] Many of the concerns of *Theatre Assessment* are the same as those of 2006's *Agenda* and *Policy* and 2008's McMaster report and *Great Art for Everyone*. However, some of the values of theatre which emerge from the 2009 document are strikingly different from previous manifestos both in their focus and in their simplicity. In all the ethical and aesthetic rhetoric detailed above, the most basic function of theatre seems to have been lost. Barbara Matthews's use of the word 'enjoy' in her introduction to the document reminds readers that theatre is principally for entertainment and that the cultural value of a theatrical experience will originate in this entertaining quality.[150]

Three Case Studies

From this overview of the recent trend in theatre policy, I now want to move on to examine three publicly-funded theatres and through these case studies I hope to see how the agendas and policies of the Arts Council are put into practice by regularly funded organisations. The

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[148] *Great Art*, p. 8.
[149] Arts Council England, *Theatre Assessment 2009*, pp. 5-6.
[150] *Theatre Assessment 2009*, p. 6. For more on this survey and the values it espouses see chapters 5 and 6.

three theatres I will be examining in this section had consistent engagement with Shakespeare from 2007-8.[151] The Royal Shakespeare Company is of key importance within this project as a whole and the large amount of funding it receives makes it a valid case study for assessing the impact of public funding on cultural output. The Theatre Royal, Plymouth is a regional producing theatre and sits roughly in the middle of the funding ladder. Over the period surveyed it received an average annual grant of just under £1.2m and its status as a producing house makes it an interesting comparison with the RSC. South Hill Park Arts Centre, Bracknell is situated towards the lower end of the funding ladder and receives £219,894 per annum. It is currently a receiving house which contrasts with the work of theatres like the RSC and Theatre Royal and the smaller grant probably reflects this. However, South Hill is beginning to produce and commission its own work and it is interesting to look at a theatre in this stage of its development. The Shakespeare that it presented in 2007-8 was a mixture of adaptation and tradition allowing for an interesting comparison with the more traditional RSC and the similarly mixed Theatre Royal.

In 2006/07 the RSC received over £14m from the Arts Council. In 2007-8 this grew to over £15m. The Arts Council's grant makes up a substantial amount of the RSC's annual income and especially because the RSC is non-profit making (the theatre made a loss of £0.4m in 2007/08) this grant represents a necessary contribution to the company's work.[152] The RSC's main theatre, the Royal Shakespeare Theatre is coming to the end of a major renovation project and many of the Arts Council's values can be seen in the plans for the future of this building.[153] The new building will improve public spaces, making them more welcoming and user-friendly for modern audiences. It will have improved access for people

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[151] See results of survey in Appendix.
[152] Royal Shakespeare Company, *Annual Report and Accounts 2007/2008* (Stratford-upon-Avon: RSC, 2008), pp. 34-35.
[153] Royal Shakespeare Company, 'Transforming our Theatres' <http://www.rsc.org.uk/transformation/project/701.asp> [accessed 16 February 2009].

with disabilities thus increasing their ability to take part in the arts. The RSC also aims to improve its educational facilities by providing a dedicated space for learning workshops which it hopes will deepen children and young people's understanding of Shakespeare.[154]

The RSC is clearly eager to engage more people in the arts, particularly young audiences. This is also evident in the family shows they put on every Christmas and the 16-25 £5 ticket deal which has been running for five years. Their educational campaign 'Stand up for Shakespeare' was designed to improve the teaching of Shakespeare in schools and to place far greater emphasis on theatrical rather than text-based learning.[155] The campaign has crossed the Atlantic and involved collaboration with Ohio State University. Its international reach and high profile emphasises the importance of education to the RSC. It helps to reinforce the assigned values of Shakespeare and potentially create new audiences for the theatre, whilst also raising important revenue. In addition to this, the RSC will be participating in 'A Night Less Ordinary' – offering 50 free tickets to under-26s every Tuesday.[156] The RSC also emphasises its role as a training ground for 'artistic and technical talents' – demonstrating its value for both the commercial and non-commercial sector. Overall, the RSC's vision for itself has much in common with the values of the Arts Council; an emphasis on education and training, a global outlook and the encouragement of innovation through new writing all demonstrate the blend of ethical and aesthetic values prioritised by the Arts Council.

The Theatre Royal, Plymouth received £1,174,558 from the Arts Council in 2007. It presents itself as the largest and best attended regional producing theatre in the UK with an

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[154] 'Transforming our Theatres'.
[155] Royal Shakespeare Company, 'Stand up for Shakespeare' <http://www.rsc.org.uk/education/sufs.aspx> [accessed 20 July 2009].
[156] Royal Shakespeare Company, '16-25', < http://www.rsc.org.uk/content/6455.aspx> [accessed 16 February 2009].

annual audience of 360,000.[157] This exceeds the city's population of 250,700 in 2007. This means it is either attracting audiences from outside of its immediate geographical area or that some of its audience are made up of repeat business.[158] It hosts visiting companies and produces or co-produces about four shows a year in the Drum studio theatre and two on the main stage.[159] The language of its website can be identified with the language of the Arts Council's *Agenda*. Words such as 'international', 'artistic significance', 'diverse', 'education' and 'community' all show the aims of the theatre to be similar to those of the Arts Council. The Theatre Royal is overtly tied to its community, running the People's Theatre Group and *Participate* programme both of which give a chance for 'everyone to take part'.[160] Education is particularly emphasised due to the theatre's specialist education facilities which provide 'a large range of bespoke activities [which] reach deep into many areas of our community, ranging from skill-based workshops to large-scale performance pieces, from targeted local initiatives to adventurous international exchange.'[161] Through its community outreach programmes and its commitment to participation and diversity, internationalism, education and new works the Theatre Royal actively promotes the Arts Council's agenda and fulfils its policy requirements.

South Hill Park Arts Centre in Bracknell opened under its current guise in 2002 after receiving £3m from the Arts Council to refurbish the facility. It is a multipurpose building which includes a 330-seat theatre. The grant from the Arts Council goes towards the funding of a diverse range of different art forms and in their funding lists, the Arts Council make

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[157] Theatre Royal Plymouth, 'About us', 2007, <http://www.theatreroyal.com/content.asp?CategoryID=969> [accessed 4 September 2007].
[158] See chapter 3.
[159] Theatre Royal Plymouth, 'About us'.
[160] Theatre Royal Plymouth, 'Support us', 2007, http://www.theatreroyal.com/content.asp?CategoryID=971 [accessed 4 September 2007].
[161] Theatre Royal Plymouth, 'About us: TR2', 2007 <http://www.theatreroyal.com/content.asp?CategoryID=976> [accessed 4 September2007].

particular reference to South Hill's commitment to 'culturally diverse' theatre.[162] Compared to Plymouth, Bracknell is a relatively small town with a population of just over 50,000. However, South Hill receives over 100,000 visitors a year suggesting that its appeal reaches further than its hometown.[163] It offers a wide range of educational activities for children, young people and adults.

South Hill's mission statement clearly aligns it with the Arts Council's *Agenda* and later *Great Art*. South Hill wish to 'surprise and delight' visitors to their complex, 'create a unique dynamic between observation, education and participation', explore the potential of partnerships with businesses, the education sector and other cultural producers, increase their links with international cultural producers, be sustainable and inclusive and recognised nationally as a 'centre for excellence.'[164] The mission statement is a synthesis of the Arts Council's three policy documents – the emphasis on participation is apparent, the desire to create links between private and public sector businesses, the drive towards globalisation, the urge to grow audiences and become more inclusive and the discourse of excellence all feature in South Hill's manifesto for their centre.

Since 2007, South Hill has become more interested in producing or co-producing work and their production of *Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare* with Wales Theatre Company is discussed in more detail in chapter 4. This particular production was seen by just over 800 people at South Hill and by a further 3000 when it toured nationally. With an eye on the scale and impact of such productions it is worth noting that the RSC's Courtyard theatre can seat 1000 people a night. The money which South Hill receives reflects the scale of its operations. The difference in audience size underlines the gap between the potential impact and reach of an

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[162] Arts Council England, 'Regular Funding for Organisations'.
[163] South Hill Park Arts Centre, 'About Us', <http://www.southhillpark.org.uk/aboutUsWelcome.jsp> [accessed 18 February 2009].
[164] South Hill Park Arts Centre, 'Mission Statement', < http://www.southhillpark.org.uk/aboutUsMission.jsp> [accessed 18 February 2009].

RSC production and the potential impact of one by South Hill, further emphasising Shakespeare's relative importance within this particular cultural field.

The Chief Executive's summary demonstrates the difficulty that cultural institutions have when they try to balance all the values of the Arts Council in one performance. In 2007-8 South Hill reduced the number of theatre promotions in order to 'concentrate on more focussed experiences for the participants in our activities.' The Chief Executive explains:

> whereas in 06/07 we produced the hugely popular *The Adventures of Mr Toad* in the Easter slot (45 participants played Stoats and Weasels and the show attracted an audience of 1,367), in 07/08 we had an intense exploration of Brazilian culture with our *Macunaima* project [...] (a similar number of participants, but an audience of only 107). It is important to embrace a broad range of cultures as well as to celebrate our own indigenous culture, and I believe it is healthy to vary our approach to the work we do with young people in the Easter slot. In 08/09 we plan to present *Oliver* [...] which will increase the attendance figures in the "young people" part of our statistical analysis in 08/09. In 09/10 we would plan a more international theme which may see an increase in participation, but without the same mass appeal of Oliver.[165]

From year to year, the ability of South Hill to fulfil various parts of the Arts Council's manifesto changes. One year it may be able to attract children and young people, another year its work might appeal to minority ethnic groups. In 2006 it was able to offer a show which had wide popular appeal and could accommodate a large audience. In 2007 its cultural offer was a more intense experience at the expense of wide appeal and accessibility.

South Hill is taking into account the multitudinous demands placed on publicly-funded theatre but not trying to meet them all at once. What is interesting about the repertoire is its emphasis on heritage and childhood. Both *The Adventures of Mr Toad* and *Oliver* occupy a nostalgic part of the English cultural landscape, evoking an England of rolling green hills, endless picnics by the riverside and rosy-cheeked urchins. The texts from which these plays

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[165] South Hill Park Arts Centre, 'Chief Executive's Summary' by Ron McAllister <http://www.southhillpark.org.uk/aboutUsExecutive.jsp> [accessed 18 February 2009].

were adapted form part of the English literary canon and are, in this sense, similar to Shakespeare. They are certainly not innovative or culturally diverse but they are inflected with nostalgicly and idealised views of the 'child' and 'childhood' and their place within South Hill's repertoire says much about what theatres think culture should be; to whom they should be supplying it and what will have the mass appeal which will guarantee that they meet the Arts Council's policies on access and participation.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Many of the tensions of cultural value which I articulated in the introduction circulate around publicly-funded theatre. The tensions between access and excellence, popular and elite, innovation and tradition are as evident in early campaigns for national theatres as they are in Arts Council documents and government policy of the twenty-first century:

> The National Theatre must be *its own advertisement* – must impose itself on public notice, not by posters and column advertisements in the newspapers, but by the very fact of its ample, dignified and liberal existence. It must bulk large in the social and intellectual life of London. There must be no possibility of mistaking it for one of those pioneer theatres which have been so numerous of late years, here and elsewhere [...] It must not even have the air of appealing to a specially literary and cultured class. It must be visibly and unmistakably a popular institution, making a large appeal to the whole community.[166] [their emphasis].

Theatres may present tensions in onstage performances but they also have to negotiate between them in their backstage operations. They are expected to be accessible but excellent, diverse and local, international and yet representative of England, fostering tradition whilst encouraging innovation. These values were instituted into the very fabric of buildings such as the RST and the National Theatre. They continue to circulate through proliferating policy documents and reports. As cultural funding becomes tighter over the next twelve months,

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[166] 1904 preface to William Archer and Harley Granville Barker, *A National Theatre: Schemes and Estimates* (London: Duckworth, 1907), p. xviii.

these cultural value tensions will become increasingly important as a means of justification for continuing public support of theatres.

The amount of money theatres receive is informative for the study of cultural values. While the policy and ideology articulates the value culturally, regular funding demonstrates it economically. By placing the funding that culture receives into a wider governmental and commercial context it is possible to see that publicly-funded culture represents a very small part of English economic life. However, the impact the funding has at a micro level is far greater since many companies rely on public funding for survival.

Any public subsidy needs to provide value for money and it is here that the Arts Council's policies become important. They must balance a fine line between excellence and accessibility, always maintaining an emphasis on measurable outcomes. In turn, funded organisations must prove their worth to the Arts Council by demonstrating their alignment with Arts Council values through the language they use to describe their work in grant applications. Using key concepts like 'participation', 'access', 'diversity', 'excellence', 'education' and 'community', organisations like those surveyed here espouse the value of culture as it comes to them, distilled through Arts Council and government policy.

Institutions like the RSC have their own artistic agendas which they place on the cultural offer. However, their connection with the Arts Council suggests that some values, at least, are articulated in the same terms by funders and creators. Twenty-first-century productions of Shakespeare's plays will thus be more participatory, increasingly educational, diverse and international and companies like the RSC will seek to gain a foothold in the creative economy through the production of saleable commodities such as the 2007 *Complete Works* edition, CDs like *Royal Shakespeare Company Live* and the forthcoming apocrypha project. Equally, the pressure to present audiences with innovative work will result in new forms of

Shakespeare being produced and new production techniques being embraced. The quantitative section of this chapter reveals how many different kinds of Shakespeare are on offer to the English theatregoing public and the increased emphasis being placed on innovation, youth culture and excellence goes some way to explaining the varied approach to Shakespeare as cultural object. This is just one example of the way in which culture's value is altered, possibly augmented, by the processes of public-funding and the philosophies of those who manage these processes.

A final thought, perhaps post-script, with which to close the chapter: Lyn Gardner, theatre critic for the *Guardian* newspaper provides an introductory quotation to the 2009 *Theatre Assessment* which also constitutes a neat précis of its conclusions. She summarises all the changes which have occurred in theatre since 2004 as follows: 'those changes have been about where we make theatre, who we make theatre for and what form it takes.'[167] In short, the very definition and understanding of what theatre is and how it is constituted has been called into question by those who fund it, those who produce it and those who write about it.

In this theatrical environment – an environment which leads the Arts Council to acknowledge that theatre is 'more than plays on stages' and to encourage theatre to 'adapt and alter' – the role of Shakespeare must also be interrogated.[168] The entrenched values of Shakespeare outlined in the introduction and chapter 1 – traditionalism, national identity, quality, canonicity and consistency – are not evoked in this picture of England's changing theatrical landscape. If regional theatre is indeed 'more than plays on stages' and audiences are seeking 'events, or stuff that happens' as opposed to traditional, building-based work then the value of Shakespeare within the publicly-funded theatre must be reconsidered.

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[167] Lyn Gardner in Arts Council England, *Theatre Assessment, 2009*, p. 2.
[168] Theatre Assessment, 2009, p. 11; p. 8.

In order to maintain his value at current levels, productions of Shakespeare will have to adapt to new playing environments and artistic spaces. In this changing landscape, free-resource Shakespeare will become an increasingly valuable commodity. Its ability to encompass a range of different values, both upstart and traditional, will ensure its survival. As funding priorities continue to shift and change, universally available resources like Shakespeare will simultaneously adapt and alter. Shakespeare's status as free resource remains the foundation of his cultural value but the tensions of value through which this is expressed will develop with the external pressures of public funding and government policy.

Michael Bristol, thinking through the relationship between authorship and cultural authority argues that 'the unfinished and provisional character of textual artifacts […] prove[d] highly advantageous in the later development of the supply side of culture.'[169] As those working in the supply side of theatre begin to rethink their roles as creators of value, 'the unfinished and provisional character' of cultural objects like Shakespeare continues to be 'advantageous.' Shakespeare's twenty-first-century identity as 'free-resource' will be his most valuable asset in order to stay 'big-time', at least in the relatively small-time world of twenty-first-century publicly-funded theatre.

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[169] Bristol, Big-Time Shakespeare, p. 58.

'SHAKESPEARE GOT TO GET PAID SON':

ECONOMICS AND CULTURAL VALUE

Of all the tensions which govern the creation and maintenance of cultural value the binary between culture and the market receives a vast amount of attention in the media and in academic analyses.[170] The tension itself is almost unanimously upheld by art critics, cultural historians and cultural producers. However, despite - or perhaps because of - the construction and general acceptance of this binary the economics of culture remains a fruitful area of study. This chapter examines the encounters between cultural producers and the cultural market and asks why the binary between art and economics exists. In considering the roots of this tension, the cultural value of theatre's uniqueness and incommensurability reveals itself. Like all the tensions identified in this thesis, the relationship between culture and money needs to be seen as a link rather than a distinction. While the tension reveals cultural value it also allows for that value to be reinvigorated. The different ways that the relationship is negotiated by economists, arts managers and cultural commentators will inflect the cultural value which is produced. If we accept the existence of a relationship between culture and commerce we can examine the impact of economics on culture, for value in general and cultural value in particular. An examination of cultural production, from conception to selling

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[170] This attention functions both in terms of a critique or investigation of art mingling with crass commercialism and in terms of art not being the best way to spend public money. In the first category examples might include: Bruce Barber, 'Ideas without Work/Work without Ideas: Reflections on Work, Value and the Volk in *Capital Culture: A Reader on Modernist Legacies, State Institutions, and the Value(s) of Art* ed. by Jody Berland and Shelley Hornstein (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), pp. 82-96; Donncha Kavanagh, Clodagh O'Brien and Maurice Linnane, 'Art, Work and Art Work', *Creativity and Innovation Management*, 11 (2002), 277-86; Thomas Sutcliffe, 'For the Love of God: A £50m work of art', *Independent*, 2 June 2007 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/for-the-love-of-god-a-16350m-work-of-art-451413.html> [accessed 8 July 2009]; Pernilla Holmes, 'The Branding of Damien Hirst', *ARTnews*, 106 (2007) <http://www.artnews.com/issues/article.asp?art_id=2367> [accessed 8 July 2009]; Kuspit, 'Art Values or Money Values?' In the second category see examples in John Holden, *Crisis of Legitimacy*, pp. 42-3.

to consumption, reveals how values accrue during this process and asks that we re-evaluate the locus, origin and potentiality for growth of cultural value.

There are several reasons why an examination of the cultural value of Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatre needs to consider the relationship between art and money. First, the exchange of money for goods is the most common way of displaying our valuation of an object. Value is frequently associated with monetary worth, so much so that many analyses of the value of culture resort to detailing its contribution to the economy. This is particularly true of studies which are trying to get at a numerical measure of cultural value rather than thinking about it in terms of a discursive field.[171] This thesis's focus on the idea of cultural value as part of a dialectic rather than a statement of measurable quantity does not, however, occlude the use of cultural economics. This chapter shows that a discursive field can be created by working through the tensions between culture and commerce. The second impetus for examining cultural economics is that the phenomenon of 'public funding' is predicated on the giving and receiving of money. Culture needs money in order to survive and proliferate. Public subsidy provides the bulk of this money but it never represents the entirety of theatres' incomes.[172] Therefore, all producers of culture, including theatres, will have to engage with the market to a greater or lesser degree.

These are both important considerations which alone could justify an extensive analysis of current economic theory. However, what makes a study of cultural economics crucial to this particular thesis is the link with its overall conceptual framework. Its contention that cultural value is manifested in the negotiation between tensions and that the cultural value of

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[171] John Myerscough, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1988); Bernard Casey, Rachael Dunlop and Sara Selwood, *Culture as Commodity? The Economics of the Arts and Built Heritage in the UK* (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1996); Jeanette D. Snowball, *Measuring the Value of Culture: Methods and Examples in Cultural Economics* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 2008); Hasan Bakhshi, Alan Freeman and Graham Hitchen, *Measuring Intrinsic Value: How to stop worrying and learn to love economics* (London: Mission Models Money, 2009).
[172] See chapter 2.

Shakespeare arises from his function as a locus for such tensions is best illustrated by examining particular tensions in detail. Furthermore, the binary which is created between culture and economics can lead towards the construction of other value tensions. The problematic of commercialised culture is at the root of the divides constructed between innovation and tradition, local and global, mass and elite. By examining the relationship of one binary opposition, we can begin to understand how others are created and how the relationships are managed – either as negotiations or confrontations – within the cultural sector. This chapter argues that free-resource Shakespeare allows theatres to manage the culture/commerce relationship as a negotiation and thus release and create cultural value.

In considering theatre as a locus for both the display and the production of value this chapter is also constructing a Shakespeare in which value inheres and to which value can accrue. In this sense, it neither adheres to an essentialist model of intrinsic, stable value or a more contingent idea of value which shifts and changes over time. Instead, it suggests that value can reside in an object like Shakespeare but that this value needs to be interacted with in order to be released. Economic processes can allow this interaction to take place. Further, these processes can also allow for value to accrue to an object, potentially altering its cultural value and the kind of interactions it can precipitate. Value is, therefore, both inherent and external and can be both released and created through a process of cultural production.

Culture's relationship to the market is inherently one of tensions and negotiation. Culture exists simultaneously within and without the market. It is in this duality of purpose that cultural value is created, maintained and augmented. This duality is a way of negotiating within rather than contrasting between the binary of culture and commerce. The dichotomous relationship between culture and the market is a catalyst for economic activity. Pushing this idea further, the 'doubleness' with which culture operates is the source of its most valuable

function; providing a dialectic of value and an abstract space in which value tensions and binaries can be negotiated and worked through. This chapter also examines the impact external activities can have on the maintenance and the creation of value within theatres. However, what remains most important throughout is the recognition that cultural tensions act as catalysts for valuation and that Shakespeare provides a dialectical space within which these tensions can be negotiated.

The Roots of the Tension

Marx's definition of the commodity is a revealing place from which to begin to examine the art/market or culture/commerce value divide. Marx identified a key characteristic of capitalist economies as the fetishization of the commodity. A commodity is, at its simplest, 'an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another.'[173] The other important facet of a commodity is its exchangeability for other, different commodities. Commodity fetishism prizes this comparability but it is critiqued by Marx, and later Theodor Adorno and the Frankfurt School, for its tendency to blur distinctions between 'culture and practical life'.[174] In the criticism of festishization, commodities become impossible to see for their own value in an economy which values replaceability, commensurability and sameness above all else. Idealised art exists in opposition to this fetishism, offering to bring us into 'confrontation with things as they really are' in and of themselves.[175] Thus, embodied in Marx's and Adorno's idea of the commodity is the tension or binary between art and commodification.

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[173] Karl Marx, *Capital*, ed. by David McLellan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 13.
[174] Adorno, p.61. See also 'On the Fetish Character in Music', pp. 29-60 and 'The Schema of Mass Culture', pp. 61-97. Also, my discussion of Adorno in chapter 1.
[175] Jonathan Rée, speaking on *In Our Time*, BBC radio 4, 14 January 2010.

Marx's ideas surrounding commodification resonated with the work of the Frankfurt School in the twentieth century and continue to have influence over twenty-first-century readings of the relationship between art and money:

> The irrational exuberance of the contemporary art market is about the breeding of money, not the fertility of art, and […] commercially precious pieces of art have become the organ grinder's monkeys of money. They exist to increase the generative value of money and staying power of money to fertilize itself – not the value and staying power of art.[176]

Crystallized in Donald Kuspit's opening salvo of his campaign against the commercial art market is the fear that monetary value will become a substitute for cultural value. He argues that the oppositional role which culture should play in a market economy is cancelled out by the commercialisation of cultural goods. 'Art's esthetic [*sic.*], cognitive, emotional and moral value -- its value for the dialectical varieties of critical consciousness -- has been subsumed by money.' In contrast, I would argue that if art or culture can exploit its opposition to money it can create just such a dialectic. It does not need to be actually divorced from the art market but it does need to foster an apparent opposition to it.

We might expect economists to be more receptive than art critics to the relationship between culture and economics. As academics and practitioners who operate within an economic framework it seems likely that their valuation of culture would be predicated on a connection between culture and the market. To some extent this assumption is correct. There is a branch of economics specifically dealing with culture and the *Journal of Cultural Economics* dedicated to its study. However, much of the work of this journal, and the economists writing in it, is concerned with keeping culture out of the market at the same time as keeping it in the economy. Cultural economics is a growing field but it is frequently marginalised by mainstream economists. This is evidenced by the symbolism of the *Journal*

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[176] Kuspit, 'Art Values or Money Values?'.

*of Economic Literature'*s taxonomy of the subject – Z1 – which David Throsby describes in *Economics and Culture* as, 'as far down the alphabet from the rest of economics as it is possible to be.' Even those working within the field are troubled by analysis which brings the market and culture too close together. For Russell Keat, the fundamental problem is that bringing cultural goods into the free market undermines 'the integrity of cultural institutions.'[177]

For art critics, art historians and cultural economists the value of art is its ability to reflect and refract reality. In this sense, valuable culture creates a discursive realm within society and embraces tensions and binaries of value. Market values, which embrace similarity and erase conflict, thus deny the value of culture. This 'truth', however it is propagated, underlines one of the principal values which is attached to cultural endeavour. This value is located in the nonsaleability and hence, priceless, nature of art. If art exists in a realm of incomparability with other products of human labour it can retain what both Igor Kopytoff and Walter Benjamin have identified as a 'special aura' and value, a value which is apparently incalculable.[178] In nearly all writings on culture, art retains a special position. It is presented as incomparable and incommensurable with other products of human labour and, as such, it exists outside of the market.

The tension between culture and commerce thus reveals one of culture's key values: its apparent uniqueness. In working through the art/market binary the cultural value of art as oppositional, authentic and incomparable can be realised. However, recognising pre-established values is only one part of the role played by cultural value tensions. If the

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[177] Cultural Goods and the Limits of the Market (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p. 2.
[178] Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, ed. by Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty and Thomas Y. Levin, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2008); Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process' in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 64-91 (p. 69).

relationship between culture and commerce is defined by negotiation rather than confrontation, value will not only be released but will also be created. By constructing itself as part of the opposition to the market but continuing to operate within it, art can create further cultural value for itself. Free-resource Shakespeare that draws value from its ability to work through tensions is ideally placed to create value in this way. It can simultaneously take part in the market and appear to remain in opposition to it. This is why both the traditional cultural and traditional economic readings of culture's relationship to the market need to be revised. Cultural institutions engage in practices such as branding and marketing in order to sell their products. Indeed, this is a crucial part of the production process which ensures cultural objects are interacted with and that cultural value continues to be propagated. Often, what they will be marketing is the incommensurable nature of their output. In doing so, they are negotiating between culture's special aura of uniqueness and the need to sell products. This is the source of culture's dual identity – as at once incommodifiable and commodified – and, as such, the catalyst for cultural value creation.

Shakespeare and the Market

Shakespeare is as much involved in this kind of duality as any other cultural object, although a recognition of this is often lacking from analyses of his cultural value. Whether he is conceived of as the commercial bard, or the struggling artist-in-the-garret, constructions of Shakespeare's relationship to the market tend to operate as a meeting of apparent binary opposites. When Shakespeare and Shakespearean institutions are recognised as being involved in the market, their relationship to it is presented as complicated and fundamentally opposed.[179] Frequently imagined to be problematic, the incongruity of a relationship between

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[179] John Drakakis, 'Theatre, ideology and institution: Shakespeare and the roadsweepers'.

art and commerce, Shakespeare and the market provides a rich source of comedy. As Russell

Jackson notes, John Madden's *Shakespeare in Love* (1998) uses 'Shakespeare's relationship

with Henslowe – and through him "the money"' – as the source for 'a multitude of jokes'.[180]

These jokes rely on the perceived clash between Shakespeare on the one hand and 'show

business' on the other. However, the reality is often more nuanced and, as Jackson goes on to

argue, the 'tension between "Shakespeare", ideas and big business' can yield interesting

creative results.[181]

Another example of the tension between 'Shakespeare' and business is provided by

internet comic *Married to the Sea*:

> Oh god. People are still reading *Hamlet*? Jesus. I wrote that shit in like one
> fortnight. I owed some people some money, you know what I'm saying?
> Shakespeare got to get paid, son.[182]

Positioned alongside a Victorian-style pencil drawing of the playwright this caption

exposes one of the key cultural value tensions surrounding the production of Shakespeare and

culture more generally. The humour of the passage arises partly out of the use of twenty-first-

century Americanized English and partly from this laid-back Shakespeare's dismissive

attitude towards the creative process. Primarily, however, we laugh at the apparent clash

between writing inspired by a need to pay debts and writing inspired by an artistic impulse.

By imagining a *Hamlet* that was written purely to pay off Renaissance loan sharks, *Married to

the Sea* mocks the cultural process which has placed this play at the epicentre of the Western

canon. It also prompts us to question the cultural values which allow *Married to the Sea*'s

joke to function. It may be funny but it seems problematic that this imagined Shakespeare's

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[180] Russell Jackson, 'Introduction: Shakespeare, films and the marketplace' in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Film*, ed. by Russell Jackson (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2000), pp. 1-12 (p. 1).
[181] Jackson, 'Introduction', p. 1.
[182] 'Shakespeare got to get paid, son', *Married to the Sea*, 3 December 2006 <http://www.marriedtothesea.com> [accessed 30 September 2008]; another examples is Hugh Laurie and Rowan Atkinson's sketch 'A Small Rewrite' in which Atkinson plays Shakespeare's (Laurie's) editor shortening Hamlet's soliloquy in order to get 'bums on seats'.

impetus to write is economic because of the traditional binary which has been created between art and money.

The tradition which keeps art and money separate is the same as that which imagines Shakespeare as the poet of nature.[183] It stems from Romanticism and developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through modernism and the preoccupation with the utopian primitive.[184] Utopian primitivism rejects commercialised culture as a trope of modernity. It champions the culture of the 'primitive' because this is produced without the promise of financial gain and, as such, represents a purer form of cultural endeavour. Introducing money into the cultural exchange creates distance between the producer and consumer and denies art's connection to the spiritual. Authentic art of the kind ostensibly created in primitive utopias apparently maintains a deeper connection between performer and audience. As Sean Kingston explains, the elision of this difference is contingent on a repudiation of economic exchange and monetary value.[185] This kind of analysis is evident in literary criticism which places Shakespeare in opposition to the money-oriented culture of the early modern and modern eras.

Literary criticism which embraces economic paradigms is careful to highlight Shakespeare's aversion to 'this yellow slave.'[186] Peter Grav, for example, imagines a historical Shakespeare who shared a commonly-held belief 'that money had become *the* controlling influence over Renaissance societal values' [original emphasis]. In this reading of Shakespeare's works, his view of 'how economic determinants influence and shape humanity seems to progressively darken' over the course of his career demonstrating a 'discomfort with

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[183] John Drakakis, 'Introduction' in *Alternative Shakespeares*, pp. 1-25.
[184] For more on this concept see chapter 5.
[185] 'The Essential Attitude: Authenticity in Primitive Art, Ethnographic Performance and Museums', *Journal of Material Culture*, 4 (1999), 338-51.
[186] Timon of Athens, 1.4.34.

the way of the world.' [187] Criticism of this kind places Shakespeare in opposition to capitalism, creating a relationship between art and commerce that is defined by conflict. Even when his image is appropriated for the branding of commodities, or printed on banknotes, Shakespeare's relationship to the economic remains contested and problematic. Most importantly, it is always defined through dichotomy and 'a discourse both acculturated and commodified, constituted by the alien but strategically related languages of art and economics, bardolatry and business.'[188] Holderness and Loughrey's observation is pertinent to this argument because they recognise that behind the tensions between the alien languages of art and economics there lies a covert cooperation. Developing this idea further, this chapter describes these languages as part of the same constructed axis of value for which Shakespeare represents a mediator. In the middle of this axis they must converge, revealing their 'multiple (and sometimes colliding) meanings.'[189] Bardolatry, after all, can be turned into business, as the entrepreneur who sold cuttings from Shakespeare's mulberry tree and the eighteenth-century forger William Ireland understood all too well.[190] Holderness and Loughrey underline how culturally important it is that Shakespeare, like art more generally, should be presented as operating outside of the market and even acting in opposition to it, despite the interrelation of their languages.

Changing Viewpoints

The language we use to describe Shakespeare's relationship to economics, commerce and the market needs to be carefully examined. It is important to remember that the terms

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[187] Grav, p. 1; p. 2.

[188] Graham Holderness and Bryan Loughrey, 'Shakespearean Features' in *The Appropriation of Shakespeare,* ed. by Marsden, pp. 183-201 (p. 186).

[189] Diana E. Henderson, 'From Popular Entertainment to Literature', in *Shakespeare and Popular Culture* ed. by Shaughnessy, pp. 6-25 (p. 6).

[190] For more on Stratford-based entrepreneurship and making money from bardolatry see Holderness, 'Bardolatry: or, The cultural materialist's guide to Stratford-upon-Avon', in *The Shakespeare Myth*, ed. by Holderness, pp. 2-15 and Barbara Hodgdon, *The Shakespeare Trade*.

'economics', 'commerce' and the 'market' are not the same or even commensurable. Economics is the study of monetary systems, commerce is the trading operations within a monetary system and the market is the geographical or abstract place where this trading occurs.[191] In this sense it is possible for economists to value culture economically without allowing it to enter the free market, which is generally associated with the sale of commodities. Many economists designate cultural goods as public goods and explain their lack of success in the market by referring to market failure. They suggest that cultural goods produce more value than can be accurately measured by their exchange-value and call these values 'externalities.' Economists use the existence of these external values to justify state subsidy of the arts. This is because public funding pays for the externalities which remain unvalued in ticket prices. The external values created by cultural goods are generally accepted to be:

- **Existence value** - the appreciation of the existence of a particular cultural good even if you do not consume it.

- **Option value** - the option to become users of art in the future.

- **Education value** - 'some cultural goods might create intellectual and cultural capital spillovers among users and non-users.'

- **Prestige value** - 'the arts might produce prestige for a region or country.'

- **Economic impact** - 'the consumption of cultural goods may create secondary and tertiary economic activity – ie hotels, restaurants and transport.'

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[191]As the *OED* defines them: *Economics* is 'The branch of knowledge (now regarded as one of the social sciences) that deals with production, distribution, consumption and transfer of wealth'; *Commerce* is 'Exchange between men of the products of nature or art; buying and selling together; trading; exchange of merchandise' and *Market* is 'The arena in which commercial dealings in a particular commodity or product are conducted.'

- **Bequest value** – valuing the ability to pass arts, culture or heritage objects down to future generations.[192]

The list is invoked in numerous forms in various studies of the economic impact of the arts, as well as studies justifying state intervention in order to explain why the arts are a special economic case.[193] Because these values or benefits are external to the product they will not be seen in the level of demand or the price people are willing to pay for cultural objects. Hence, although cultural objects produce a large amount of externalised value their economic worth will not reflect this. For this reason, states intervene and subsidise culture so that those taxpayers who value the existence or the option to use or the prestige of cultural objects can still benefit from them without actually consuming them.

The externalities argument is the cornerstone of cultural economics but it is important to consider its shortcomings. This assessment of cultural value in terms of external value is not only unsatisfactory because it perpetuates the never-ending splitting of cultural value into more and more varied (often arbitrary) categories but also because it perpetuates the separation of culture and the market. Even with support from the state, publicly-funded theatres have to operate as businesses. The twenty-first-century cultural economy is developing in such a way that there is a greater interaction between profit and not-for-profit organisations and increased reliance within the formal economy on those in the informal

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[192] Arthur C. Brooks, 'Do People Really Care about the Arts for Future Generations?', *JCE*, 28 (2004), 275-284 (p. 276).

[193] Throsby, *Economics and Culture*, pp. 137-52; Keat, *Cultural Goods*; Casey, Dunlop and Selwood, *Culture as Commodity?*; Bruno S. Frey, 'Evaluating Cultural Property: The economic approach', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 6 (1997), 31-246; John W. O'Hagan, *The State and the Arts: An analysis of key economic policy issues in Europe and the United States* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1998); Bruno S. Frey, 'State Support and Creativity in the Arts', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 23 (1999), 71-85; M.B. Holbrook, *Consumer Value: A Framework for Analysis and Research* (London: Routledge, 1999); M. Pulh, *La Valorisation de l'Experience de Consummation d'Activités Culturelles: La cas de festivals d'arts de la rue* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université de Bourgogne, 2002); Holden, *Capturing Cultural Value*; Holden, *Crisis of Legitimacy*.

economy.[194] As Andy Pratt has argued, the creative industries of film, television, publishing, advertising and music production have proved that it is possible to make a profit from cultural goods. Market failure no longer provides an adequate account of the value of culture or the role of culture within the wider economy.[195]

Externalities raise further problems because of the emphasis they place on ethics. Listing only these ethical values denies art's relation to the aesthetic and suggests that it is the extrinsic, rather than the intrinsic which provides culture's surplus value. In traditional analyses, culture is valuable either (in economics) because of the ethical values it creates or (in cultural studies) because of its inherent aesthetic worth. It would be better to see the relationship between the ethical and the aesthetic as reciprocal and the value which arises from culture as a product of negotiation between the two. Neither of the traditional readings of cultural value are satisfactory in the twenty-first century and this is beginning to be reflected in shifts in both economic and cultural theories.

Many now agree with Xavier Greffe's contention that the 'strong tradition according to which culture begins where the market stops […] is unsustainable today.'[196] Greffe is referring here to the growth of the twenty-first-century 'creative industries' – publishing, digital media, advertising, music production, film – but his ideas can just as easily be applied to publicly-funded cultural institutions. The RSC, for example, has entered the commercial marketplace and expanded its remit by lending its name to an edition of the Complete Works of Shakespeare.[197] Cultural institutions draw up business plans and use the language of

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[194] Andy C. Pratt, 'Locating the Cultural Economy' in *The Cultural Economy*, ed. by Helmut Anheier and Yudhishthir Raj Isar (London: Sage, 2008), pp. 42-51 (p. 47).
[195] 'Locating the Cultural Economy', p. 48.
[196] Xavier Greffe, 'European Cultural Systems in Turmoil' in *The Cultural Economy*, ed. by Anheier and Isar, p. 164. See also, in same volume, Andy C. Pratt, 'Locating the Cultural Economy', pp.42-51 and Throsby, *Economics and Culture*.
[197] Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, eds., *William Shakespeare: Complete Works* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007).

corporations to describe their endeavours.[198] Supplementing their income through commercial operations allows cultural institutions to produce higher amounts of high quality cultural products. Higher production values will lead to higher experience values for consumers and will succeed in augmenting the value of the original cultural object.

How entering the market can create cultural value

Private and public organisations alike will increase their value by using Shakespeare to negotiate between the cultural and the economic. Moreover, they will also allow Shakespeare to accrue value. Douglas Lanier describes this process as part of the creation of the Shakespeare brand:

> adding Shakespeare's face to a product has become a means for adding value, both of certain connotations and, consequently, of commodity value, but in the process of adding value to other products, the value (and values) of the Shakespeare brand have been preserved, extended and transformed.[199]

It does not have to be Shakespeare's face which is used in this way. Performances of Shakespeare's plays can have the same effect. Preserving, extending and transforming his cultural value even as they create new value for the theatres in which they take place. Yet, this value can only be created if the productions operate within the market whilst still remaining apparently non-commercial and thus retaining the important special aura which surrounds cultural work.

If arts organisations cannot overtly operate inside the market and still retain their incomparability or their value as authors of a dialectic, then they will have to find alternative solutions to the realities of cultural production in the twenty-first century. Culture needs money to survive at the same time as its producers and consumers wish to distance it from

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[198] Bakshi, Freeman and Hitchen, *Measuring Intrinsic Value*; Robert Hewison, John Holden, Samuel Jones, *All Together: A creative approach to organisational change* (London: Demos, 2010).
[199] Lanier, 'Shakespeare™', p. 94.

commercial exchange. Public funding serves as a non-market method by which cultural organisations can obtain the money they need to create art, pay their staff and maintain their buildings. This money may be given to organisations without them having to participate in market activities but it does not preclude the commodification of culture. Indeed, Arts Council England regular funding is given to organisations on the basis that it will 'provide a base from which arts organisations can generate income.'[200] It exists to further the 'generative value of money' as much as to foster the 'fertility of art.'[201] By examining the economics of culture and the commercial operations of publicly-funded theatres we can begin to understand how the value of art is affected by market forces. An interrogation of this kind allows for a determination of the origin and loci of value within publicly-funded theatres and further explores the way in which cultural value tensions create and maintain value. Looking specifically at Shakespeare we can begin to untangle the cultural value strands and consider how value is created, maintained and perhaps lost in the production, sale and consumption of a cultural object.

The relationship between culture and the market does not have to be negotiated by capitalist firms. As is suggested above, publicly-funded organisations also have to engage with the market in order to produce economic and cultural value. An examination of this relationship requires us to ask different questions to those posed by economists studying the private-sector creative industries. If the producers of culture are not directly seeking monetary gain does the relationship between culture and the market change? And if so, is the value which is produced by these institutions different from that produced by capitalists?

In many ways, the activities of organisations like the RSC do not differ greatly from a profit-making company. The work of David Throsby and Stephen Preece in the fields of

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[200] Arts Council England, Criteria for Arts Council England Regular Funding, p. 2.
[201] Kuspit, 'Art Values or Money Values?'.

cultural economics and cultural management suggests that cultural organisations can be closely aligned with capitalist firms.[202] However, using Shakespeare as a case study reveals a more nuanced reality behind the theoretical analysis and problematises both the theories of traditionalists and more radical thinkers. Shakespeare is neither commercial nor non-commercial; he is both a brand and a free resource. As a cultural object, Shakespeare does not function in binary oppositions but as a mediator between tensions. By examining the theories which bring culture closer to the market, the rest of this chapter illuminates the way in which Shakespeare complicates both traditional and radical readings of the culture/market divide. In doing so, it illustrates how economic and commercial activities impact upon cultural value and how, if used effectively, they can create further value for a cultural object like Shakespeare.

The Cultural Production Process

The goods produced by publicly-funded organisations have aesthetic and semiotic value but in the action of taking them to the market is it only the economic value which is increased? I would argue not. Indeed, the production processes through which any cultural good must pass form part of the value construction of the object. Every show put on in a publicly-funded theatre will go through a process of creation, marketing, distribution and consumption that is not dissimilar from a non-cultural product. At each of these stages value is added, reinvigorated and reflected back from the cultural object being produced and re-produced. Recognising the role of production, selling and consumption in the creation and maintenance of cultural value is not an outright denial of the problems of bringing culture to

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[202] Throsby, *Economics and Culture*; Stephen Preece, 'The Performing Arts Value Chain', *International Journal of Arts Management*, 8 (2005), 21-32.

market. Rather, it is a step towards understanding the numerous ways in which creativity creates value and cultural value accrues both within and without a particular object. Production, governed by economics, augments a cultural object's value. From a core of free-resource Shakespeare an experience or product is created that, in every step it takes away from the raw material, accrues value. It is in pursuit of this accruing value and Shakespeare's relationship to it, that this chapter turns to the theories of value chains and of one particular cultural economist, David Throsby.

Value chains offer a pictorial representation of one of the processes which creates and maintains cultural value. The value chain is a concept from business management and was first popularised by Michael Porter in *Competitive Advantage*.[203] A value chain details the stages that a product passes through from initial conception to ultimate consumption, accruing value at each point in the journey. In Porter's model a product is designed or conceived, manufactured, distributed, marketed, sold and finally used by the consumer. These are all primary activities. The support activities which occur simultaneously include the infrastructure of the firm, the skills available to the company, the technology the company has access to and the procurement ability. Together the primary and support activities help the firm to accrue value to both the product and itself. This is returned to the firm in the form of greater profit margins.

Cultural organisations such as the RSC function in a similar way to the firms Porter is describing in that they add value to their final product through a process of production. However, this process and the language used to describe it differ from that delineated by Porter. For those who believe that the separation of art and the market is no longer tenable value chains can yield fruit. The uptake and development of value chains by cultural

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[203] (New York: Free Press, 1985), p. 37.

managers and academics suggests that there has been a shift in the conception of culture from being either 'in' or 'out' of the market to being able to exist both within and without it. However, in order to be relevant to cultural institutions, these new value chains must take into account the differing styles of production between cultural and non-cultural objects which are not captured in Porter's model. A theatre's value chain would be better described as a process of conception, rehearsal, marketing, simultaneous production and consumption and user reviews.

Two different forms of performing arts value chain have been developed by academic Stephen Preece and cultural consultant Richard Brecknock.[204] These value chains cater specifically to the non-profit performing arts sector and display interesting divergences from Porter's model and from each other. Preece's value chain is clearly based on Porter's.[205] It contains the same emphasis on primary and support activities and tries to fit the hypothetical cultural organisation into an existing framework. The value chain begins as soon as artistic directors make choices about programming. By hiring the right actors the director can then accrue value to their programming choice. Value is further augmented in Preece's model through promotion of the event and finally the performance itself. The support activities are less concerned with the artistic process and more with the running of the company. Good governance, efficient administration, able fundraisers and a strong outreach programme will further enhance the end-value of the product. Significantly, these support activities are all criteria that the Arts Council looks for in its RFOs.[206] The ability to augment value through such activities could impact upon an organisation's viability for funding and thus their ability to improve their production values. This is reflected in Preece's main

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[204] Preece, 'The Performing Arts Value Chain', *International Journal of Arts Management*, 8 (2005), 21-32; Brecknock, *Creative Capital: Creative Industries in the "Creative City"* (Unpublished paper: Brecknock Consulting, 2004).
[205] For Preece's value chain see 'The Performing Arts Value Chain', p. 2.
[206] Criteria for Regular Arts Funding, pp. 3-4.

alteration to Porter's model. The exchange of 'margin' for 'viability' mirrors the exchange of economic for cultural value but also maintains a connection between them. Economic and cultural values are clearly interlinked in Preece's model.

Preece's model lacks a recognition of the importance of venue to theatre production. The close relationship between production and the venue in which it takes place is a trait particular to the performing arts. There are few industries where the production and consumption of a product occur in the same place and at the same moment. A play is consumed by its audience whilst it is simultaneously being produced by its actors. There are elements of the production process which take place before the performance – casting, rehearsal and marketing – and while these add to the value created it is the moment of consumption which confirms the cultural value of an object. The locus of production will inflect this consumption value. Consumption value has been defined by Dominique Bourgeon-Renault as 'the consumer's affective response to the object consumed. It is dependent not on the object itself but on the consumption experience resulting from its use (extrinsic value) or from the enjoyment of it (intrinsic value).'[207] The unique nature of theatre – as a site in which production and consumption happen at the same moment – implies that this kind of value will be affected by the venue in which the simultaneous consumption and production take place. I return to the importance of venue to cultural value later in the chapter but would encourage readers to consider the dual function of theatres as places of production and consumption throughout my observations. It is with this in mind that the chapter turns to the value chain of Richard Brecknock, whose model shifts towards a more nuanced understanding of where value is located within the theatre and how further value can be created.

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[207]Dominique Bourgeon-Renault et al., 'An Experiential Approach to the Consumption Value of Arts and Culture: The Case of Museum and Monuments', *International Journal of Arts Management*, 9 (2006), 35-76 (p. 35).
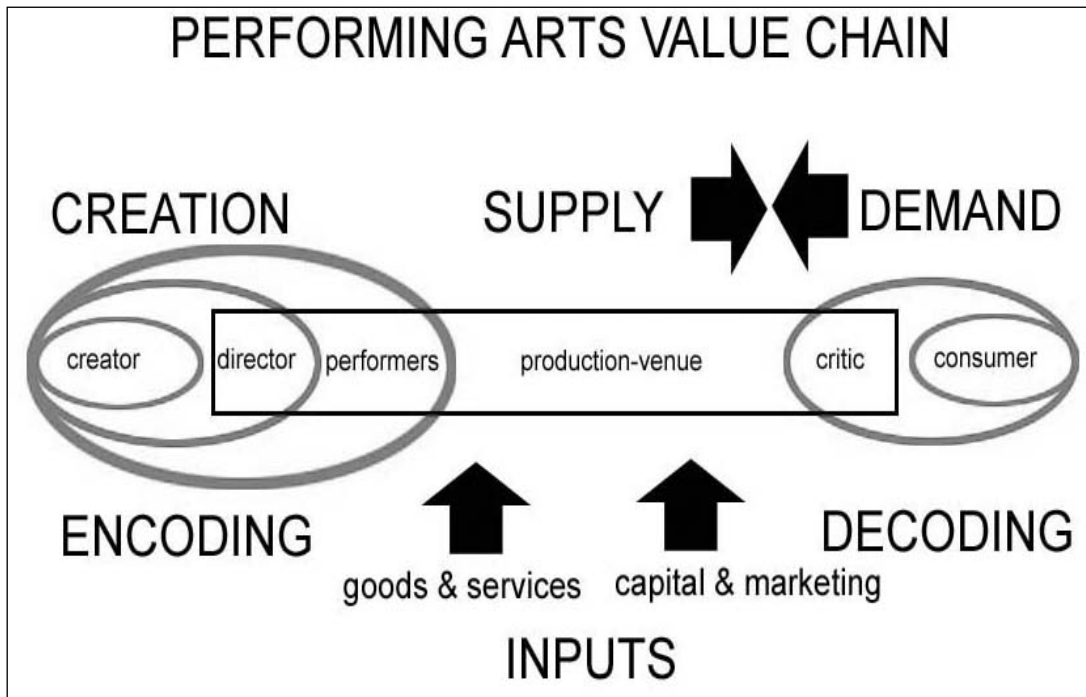
Richard Brecknock's value chain model is noticeably different from both Preece's and Porter's. Brecknock's model suggests that production is closely allied to venue and receives value from this relationship. The second important difference between Brecknock's model and that of Preece or Porter is that he does not present the act of production as the endpoint of the value chain and chooses instead to situate this with the critic and the consumer. In Brecknock's model the value continues changing as the work is decoded. This opens up an interesting line of enquiry to which I return later in the chapter: the idea that in twenty-first-century cultural industries, value is not simply produced by institutions and consumed by audiences but is instead the result of co-creation between producers and consumers who are joint partners in the value-making process.

What Brecknock's model does not show is that once we recognise the importance of venue to value production, we must also recognise the importance of peripheral activities. Clean toilets, car parking, friendly staff and comfortable seats all have their part to play in the

construction of a valuable experience.[208] Brecknock's diagram also fails to explain what the value being created amounts to – there is no clear goal towards which the chain is moving. Whereas Preece offers us a reading of non-profit organisations whereby increased viability is the desired goal, Brecknock is not so clear. He seems to suggest that the act of decoding by the consumer is the ultimate aim of performing arts organisations but does not provide any firm explanation of what value comes out of this process.

Value chain modelling is initially attractive because it seems to offer a reconciliation between economic and cultural value. It is, as Stephen Preece demonstrates, a useful way for publicly-funded companies to make decisions and remain accountable by rationalising their activities.[209] However, there are shortcomings to these chains. They do not explain existing or accrued cultural value. Therefore, these theoretical models cannot show that value is both released and created during the production process. Cultural objects which pass through these theoretical value chains will accrue new value but do not appear to have existing value. Instead, they assume that each product begins with nil value and that this increases with every link in the chain. It is not possible to see how an RSC production of a Shakespeare play would function in these models. The values already attached to the institution and Shakespeare cannot be taken into account. Similarly, the value which is created through the production process has an endpoint. In neither model is it recycled back into the chain in what Andy Pratt identifies as the 'feedback system' of critics, consumers and charts.[210] If the value to the consumer is increased by programming, personnel, promotion and production then it would make sense that this value would increase the institutional value and would be churned back into the system. There are also, as the link between production, venue and consumption

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[208] Margee Hume, 'Developing a Conceptual Model for Repurchase Intention in the Performing Arts: The Role of Emotion, Core Service and Service Delivery', *International Journal of Arts Management*, 10 (2008), 40-85.
[209] Preece, p. 26.
[210] Pratt, p. 47.

demonstrates, some differences between cultural and non-cultural products. These nuances are not always apparent in value chain models and a development of these would see cultural production as equal but different, inflected by the market, involved in the market but not governed by it. Value is created through a process of production but this process may not fully resemble that of a non-cultural, for-profit organisation.

Using Cultural Capital

An analysis of the cultural production process thus underlines both the similarities and differences between cultural and non-cultural organisations. Applying these models to the case of Shakespeare initially appears to corroborate the generally received opinion that while cultural and non-cultural organisations may use similar tools to create value, the value they create will be different. On closer inspection, the relationship between Shakespeare and value creation reveals itself as more nuanced than this. Economic and cultural values are constituted differently but what is really different about value creation in connection with Shakespeare is that he already has pre-established value. The term 'pre-established' may suggest that Shakespeare has a set value. However, the accretion of value through the production process demonstrates that this is not the case. Shakespeare's value is constantly shifting and this changing value will be churned back into the value chain, becoming part of the pre-production value of Shakespeare. The effect of this pre-production value can be further investigated by looking not at the production process as a whole but by concentrating on the initial impetus for production: an organisation's cultural capital.

For cultural organisations like the RSC, the pre-production value of Shakespeare represents an important form of cultural capital. As was argued earlier in thesis, the conception of Shakespeare as free cultural resource is particularly valuable to theatres and it is

this which provides both the impetus and the material with which to create further cultural value.[211] The term 'cultural capital' was usefully co-opted from Bourdieu and reinverted to economic ends by David Throsby in order to explain the relationship between culture, the market and the creation of value. In economic theory there are three standard types of capital: physical capital (the stock of real goods an organisation owns), human capital (the skill and experience of the people working for the organisation) and natural capital (the stock of resources provided by nature).[212] Throsby's 'cultural capital' exists as distinct from these three standard capitals and is defined as 'an asset that contributes to cultural value.'[213] However, in Throsby's theory, cultural capital must interact with the other forms of capital in order to produce economic value. It is not cultural objects themselves that produce economic value but the 'flows of services to which these stocks give rise' that 'yield both cultural and economic value.'[214] At first glance it appears that Throsby is arguing that we can begin to value culture by valuing the bricks and mortar of its institutions – how much, for example, did the building materials for the Angel of the North cost? How much would they now be worth if it was taken down and sold on?

This assessment of cultural capital makes evident the problems with defining cultural value purely in relation to economic value. The stones that built Stonehenge were free – unless we count the human capital needed to pull the stones from Wales to Salisbury as a cost – and their value in monetary terms remains difficult to assess. This complicates Throsby's concept but he confronts this by suggesting that:

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[211] See introduction.
[212] Throsby, Economics and Culture, p. 46.
[213] David Throsby, 'Cultural Capital', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 23 (1999), 3-12 (p. 8).
[214] 'Cultural Capital', p. 8.

PHYSICAL VALUE + CULTURAL VALUE = ECONOMIC VALUE[215]

Throsby argues that it is through the interaction between the physical existence and the spectre of cultural value that grows up around bricks and mortar or in the case of Shakespeare, wattle and daub, that true economic value is realised. In this model cultural value is merely a counterpart to the economic; nevertheless it is a counterpart that is necessary in order to extract maximum economic value from the 'stock of real goods' which an organisation owns.

While it is perfectly possible to identify the physical elements of a structure like the Angel of the North it is more difficult to identify those of a theatre company like the RSC. Just as Shakespeare disrupts the theoretical modelling of value chains, so the RSC's relationship with him complicates Throsby's economic solution to the problem of cultural value. Throsby considers a cultural object as a 'thing' and cultural capital as a group of 'things'. The RSC's cultural capital not only resides in objects but in the collection of meanings, symbols and value built up around them.[216] We can assume that the buildings, props, costumes, sets and lighting rigs will be included in a list of the RSC's cultural capital. However, the RSC also has a unique relationship with Shakespeare and his plays. Should this also be included? On the one hand, they are a free cultural resource and are not the sole intellectual property of the RSC, on the other, the existence of the buildings and other physical capital that the RSC owns is contingent on the existence of and continuing demand for Shakespeare's works as well as the financial support of the Arts Council.[217]

Shakespeare offers the RSC culturally valuable capital from which they can create further value. Other value-making assets such as their royal charter and publicly-funded status stem from their connection to Shakespeare. The link between the tangible and intangible assets of

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[215] Economics and Culture, p.47.
[216] See précis of Laurajane Smith's paper, 'Heritage and its Intangibility' in Charlotte Andrews et al., 'Conference Report: Tangible-Intangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' The 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 2 (2007), 123-9 (p. 126).
[217] See chapter 2.

the RSC suggests that cultural capital may function differently within publicly-funded theatres. Whereas a profit-making organisation values its stock of goods for their ability to accrue economic value, theatres like the RSC value Shakespeare because of his potential to accrue cultural value. Seeing free-resource Shakespeare as a form of capital underscores the shifting nature of cultural value. Value may inhere in a cultural object like Shakespeare but it can also adhere to it. This accretion of value can only occur when cultural capital is put through a process of production. The cultural capital of Throsby's theory cannot sit statically accruing value.[218] It has to be engaged with dynamically by its institutions and hence, though there may be inherent or intrinsic value, it has to be unlocked and recreated through communication to an audience. Cultural value is not only inherent but 'always in process, always propagating.'[219]

Thus, though there is a locus of cultural value in an intangible object like Shakespeare, this value can only be maintained through the work of others. Shakespeare is both a locus of and conduit for value and must be interacted with. A cultural organisation must find some way of engaging with its cultural capital and encouraging engagement from the public in order to maximise its value. This is where interaction with market processes becomes not only unavoidable but welcome. By engaging in these processes, publicly-funded theatres can maintain and create value around the site of their cultural endeavour. In the case of the RSC this 'site' would be Shakespeare. The long-maintained binary between culture and the market reveals some of the cultural values surrounding Shakespeare and other cultural objects. From this tension a Shakespeare emerges that is unique, oppositional and authentic. However, it is only when this binary is viewed more as a link than a distinction that we can see how these values can be augmented. Publicly-funded theatres can increase the cultural value of their

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[218] Throsby, Economics and Culture, p. 103.
[219] Stuart Cunningham, John Banks and Jason Potts, 'Cultural Economy: The shape of the field', in *The Cultural Economy*, ed. by Anheier and Isar, pp. 15-26 (p. 15).

products by trading on Shakespeare's incommensurability; making use of market processes and engaging creatively with cultural capital. Culture and the market do not represent a dichotomy but rather a relationship which relies on the value making properties of difference and tension. An antithetical relationship that is ultimately exploited for its contrasts in a process which creates and maintains the cultural value of objects such as Shakespeare.

Culture and Car Parks

Over the last few pages, it has been established that cultural goods have to go through a process of production in order to create and accrue value. This same process also allows cultural institutions to release or realise the pre-determined value inherent within cultural objects. This section moves from an analysis of the primary activities which theatres engage in – using Shakespeare as cultural capital through a process of casting, rehearsal and production – to an examination of the role of auxiliary products in value creation.

The production process accrues value directly through intelligent casting choices, costuming decisions, set design and music programming.[220] However, it can also increase value indirectly through branding, venue and peripheral services. It is my contention that these auxiliary activities are, in fact, central to the creation and maintenance of cultural value. While the key cultural product of the RSC is Shakespeare-in-performance, its brand identity, theatre construction and other onsite offerings also have a significant role to play in informing and inflecting Shakespeare's value. This is because auxiliary products rely upon and enable the co-creation of value which is an intrinsic part of the theatrical experience – an experience which is governed by the simultaneous production/consumption moment.

The idea of value co-creation has become increasingly influential in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Its prominence in the academic marketing literature of the last ten years

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[220] Preece and Brecknock.

demonstrates an increasing concern with the power of the consumer and a desire to present capitalist production as a willing partnership between a firm and its customers rather than a relationship based on domination.[221] These theories have manifested themselves into the manifestos of the Arts Council detailed in chapter 2 and are evident in discourse which champions the accessibility and interactivity of arts organisations. By focusing on three areas of value co-creation within the Shakespeare industry this section shows that cultural value does not only inhere in cultural objects nor does it only exist on the periphery of culture. Instead it exists in the tensions created between the two; in the negotiation between culture and car parks, Shakespeare and gift shops.

The Theatre as a Cultural Offer

Theatres' relationships with their audiences are mediated through a variety of channels. Many of these would be defined as secondary activities that do not form part of the core cultural offer. Despite this, these different interactions constitute part of cultural value creation, particularly when this is constructed as an idealised co-creative process. Rémi Mencarelli and Mathilde Pulh's assertion that the cultural offer is a 'complex supply, a varied service, a general relationship and an experience' is helpful in thinking through the interconnectedness of cultural goods and their auxiliary products.[222] The supply is complex and the service varied because theatres do not rely solely on a key cultural product but include peripheral services such as cafes and gift shops. A relationship is created between a theatre and its customers through brand and marketing management. The experience offered to customers will, therefore, be a combination of the key cultural product, the auxiliary services

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[221] Compare with Drakakis, 'Theatre, Ideology and Institution'; Kavanagh, O'Brien and Linnane, 'Art, Work and Art Work' and Barber, 'Ideas without Work/Work without Ideas'.

[222] 'Positioning the Supply of Live Performance: Innovative managerial practice relating to the interaction of spectator, performance and venue', *International Journal of Arts Management*, 8 (2006), 19-29 (p. 22).

and prescribed notions of institutional value. These factors will affect the value created by a theatre production and the value which is churned back into the institution in its aftermath.

Theatre productions are unique. Their uniqueness arises from their liveness, intimate nature and their experiential quality. Each night a different audience will experience a different performance of the same play. An actor might pause for two seconds longer during a speech, she might forget a line or be moved in a new way by the words she is speaking. The audience might laugh at a joke or be offended by it. An audience member who is well-versed in the play's script or has seen the production several times might notice such changes. Yet, even if they remain inconspicuous, these alterations form part of the incommensurable - because unrepeatable - nature of theatre. They stand in contrast to the uniformity of mass cultural production and can be invoked when arguing that theatre is not a market product. However, theatre and other cultural products need to enter the market to attract customers and to generate cultural value. In this scenario, theatre's unique values become market selling-points rather than barriers to entry. This is the method by which cultural production and the marketing of cultural goods becomes a dual process. Cultural goods, like theatre, are represented as existing externally to the market because their incommensurability renders them unsuitable for commodification. At the same time, they are marketed as desirable commodities by virtue of this very incommensurability.

This duality of purpose is mirrored in the dual function of theatres as a site of production and concomitant consumption. Indeed, the simultaneity of this process is the root from which many of theatre's values stem. Liveness, the audience's intimacy with actors, the lack of comparability with other goods and the experience itself are all contingent on production and consumption happening at the same moment. These are the very features which will be promoted to consumers. These cultural values arise from the form theatre takes rather than the

content of an individual production and are not, therefore, specifically related to Shakespeare. Nevertheless, since publicly-funded Shakespeare is primarily a theatrical object simultaneous production and consumption will impact significantly on its cultural value.

The most important observation to make about such values is that there must be a level of interaction between performer and audience in order for them to be created. Both the production and consumption sides of the performative moment must be realised in order for a play to be as culturally valuable as possible. The production side of this equation can be maximised through directorial and creative decisions. In order to maximise consumption value, theatres must ensure that they have an audience which is ready and willing to consume their products. This will inevitably involve the communication of ideas and values between the producer and the consumer, even before the performance of the play. If cultural value is created in the theatre at the simultaneous moment of production and consumption then this value relies on an audience. Audiences are attracted to productions by the marketing and branding and this, in turn, will inflect the cultural value created both by the consumer and the producer. Thus, when looking at how values are transmitted between producer and consumer, it is imperative to consider the role of branding and marketing.

Branding

Branding is, first and foremost, a method by which firms take ownership of their product and the values which it releases or creates. However, in the twenty-first century it is being increasingly refigured as a negotiation or relationship between two value-making partners: the producer and the consumer. At the end of the twentieth century, branded goods were being presented as the epitome of corrupt consumer culture. The backlash against brands is best

represented in Naomi Klein's polemical *No Logo* in which she takes on the 'brand bullies' she sees as controlling consumer choice.[223]

More recent and more nuanced approaches to brands look instead at the cooperation between consumers and the brands they buy. These studies conclude that we buy brands in order to make statements about our identities and values. What is significant about this development in the reading of brands is that it suggests that we are not controlled by branding but rather collude with firms, or even work in opposition to them, in order to make and remake brands and their meaning. Rob Walker provides the example of Timberland boots, intended and marketed as hard-wearing, outdoor shoes for middle America but co-opted by the black, urban hip-hop scene.[224] The boots are now associated with this scene to such an extent that one of its most high-profile pop stars uses the moniker Timbaland. This demonstrates that 'neither managers nor consumers completely control branding processes' and that the value that emerges from such processes will be shifting, contingent and open to interpretation.[225] Branding thus becomes as much about providing a space for the consumer to create their own value as about communicating the values of the brand itself. Free-resource Shakespeare operates in a similar way by opening up a dialectical space onto which audiences can project their own meaning and values. Shakespeare thus becomes the ultimate in twenty-first-century projectable branding.

Brands in the twenty-first century are not only recognisable labels of an organisation's ownership. Branding is 'really a process of attaching an idea to a product' and 'if a product is successfully tied to an idea, branding persuades people […] to consume the idea by

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[223] No Logo, no space, no choice, no jobs: Taking aim at the brand bullies (London: Flamingo, 2000).
[224] I'm with the Brand: The secret dialogue between what we buy and who we are (London: Constable, 2008), pp. 83-5.
[225] Jonathan E. Schroeder, 'The Artist and the Brand', *European Journal of Marketing*, 39 (2005), 1291-1305 (p. 1291).

consuming the product.'[226] This idea may be attached to the brand by the producers or it may become associated with it inadvertently. However it happens, the process of branding has been refigured as a reciprocal one, allowing both producers and consumers to create value which is funnelled back into the production process as a whole.

A strong brand will differentiate an organisation from its competitors. The RSC must create such a brand to ensure that RSC-Shakespeare is not confused with Globe-Shakespeare or Birthplace-Shakespeare. A well-known brand which is perceived as being of high quality and associated with the salient elements of its product will not only attract consumers but foster a sense of loyalty and encourage continual engagement between customer and producer. Every brand must have a logo. The RSC's brand is signified to its audience through the distinctive red and white lettering which adorns every programme, product and press release. During the Complete Works Festival this logo was added to the programmes of visiting companies underlining the RSC's ownership of the event.[227] Logos, like the brands they represent need to have a certain level of what Rob Walker calls 'projectability'.[228] They start as potentially meaningless and accrue meaning and value through a manufacturing process which involves both producer and consumer: 'a cultural symbol that catches on is almost never imposed, but rather is created and then tacitly agreed upon by those who choose to accept its meaning.'[229]

But what does the RSC's logo represent? The simple lettering makes little or no statement about Shakespeare. However, an idea of the RSC brand exists to which this lettering adds meaning and value. Only through cooperation with consumers can the RSC fully realise its brand. By keeping the logo simple the RSC can ensure visual impact and allow its audiences

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[226] Walker, *I'm with the Brand*, pp. 8-9.
[227] For more on this see chapter 6.
[228] I'm with the Brand, p. 16.
[229] Walker, *I'm with the Brand*, p. 19.

to interpret, create and recreate brand meaning. Whenever the RSC logo is invoked it reminds the audience what kind of Shakespeare they are consuming – the kind of Shakespeare that 'comes between the words Royal and Company.'[230] What this Shakespeare actually is – whether it is representative of the nation, ensemble-focused, high quality, embedded within locality, committed to education, innovative – does not have to be defined either by the RSC or its consumers. Free-resource Shakespeare remains valuable because it can be made and remade and crucially co-created by the institutions which produce it and the audiences which consume it.

Auxiliary Products

Thus, the ideas and values connected with brands and their products are malleable. Different consumers, each with different needs and identities, consume products in a multitude of ways. In the theatre, these differing modes of consumption will alter the cultural value which is released at the moment of value co-creation. In his study of arts marketing, François Colbert identifies four different types of cultural consumer and hence, four different potential marketing strategies. 'Cultural needs seekers' attend arts events in order to accrue cultural or knowledge benefits, 'symbolic needs seekers' consume arts products in order to 'communicate their personality and values via their customer choices', 'social needs seekers' attend arts events in order to spend time with their family and friends whilst 'emotional needs seekers' needs are met through the experience and content of the event.[231] In this reading of cultural consumers' habits, differing parts of the cultural offer will appeal to different people. Colbert's needs seekers will also be governed by rational choice theory. Rational choice

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[230] Michael Dobson, 'Watching the Complete Works Festival: The RSC and its fans in 2006', *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 25 (2007), 23-34 (p. 27).
[231] François Colbert, 'Entrepreneurship and Leadership in Marketing the Arts', *International Journal of Arts Management*, 6 (2003), 30-9 (p. 31).

theory states that individuals will choose the best action according to stable preferences and the constraints facing them:

> Rational choice theories hold that individuals must anticipate the outcomes of alternative courses of action and calculate that which will be best for them. Rational individuals choose the alternative that is likely to give them the greatest satisfaction.[232]

Making rational choices and distinguishing between preferences in order to consume the commodity which will give them the greatest satisfaction, Colbert's needs seekers may choose to attend a performance of *Cymbeline,* go to the IMAX cinema to see the latest instalment of *Harry Potter* or go out for dinner with friends. For each need or preference which the theatre does not fulfil a potential moment of consumption value is lost. Therefore, in order to maximise on value, it makes sense for theatres to expand their offer and create a complex supply of varied services in the hope of enhancing the relationship between consumer and producer. This is true even if consumers act in a way not predicted by rational choice. Colbert believes that the needs expressed by consumers will be felt in varying degrees although one will be the primary need. So, a cultural needs seeker may also be attracted by the social potential of attending the theatre with friends. Being a social needs seeker does not preclude a consumer from having an emotional response to the play, exhibition or concert they attend. In either reading of consumer behaviour, what emerges is the necessity for theatres to be adaptable and to provide a wide range of products in addition to the core cultural offer.

For this reason the auxiliary products on offer become the key tool for augmenting the value of a cultural organisation in the eyes of the consumer. Often the price of the ticket to an RSC production is the only cue that a customer has to judge the quality or value of the

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[232] John Scott, 'Rational Choice Theory' in *Understanding Contemporary Society: Theories of the Present*, ed. by Gary Browning, Abigail Halcli, and Frank Webster (London: Sage, 2000), pp. 126-38 (p. 127).

product. Marketers cannot go into detail about the experience of seeing a live show – or at least cannot reproduce experience as language – but they can promote and foreground the secondary products in order to attract customer attention. For example, the RSC's café may attract social needs seekers who will then come to see a play, whilst a director's talk might attract cultural needs seekers to a particular production on a particular night.

The RSC's website promotes the season's theatrical offerings but also reminds users of its connection with a historical Shakespeare and Stratford-upon-Avon. There is a website dedicated to holidays which encompass a visit to the RSC.[233] The most conspicuous peripheral offer cultural consumers are presented with is the opportunity to consume in the most literal sense. The café sells 'freshly prepared food' made with 'local ingredients', 'why not pre-order interval drinks?' or even a 'celebratory feast?' Between June and September customers can order an 'exclusive', 'beautifully packed' RSC picnic hamper.[234] The language used here is significant and is suggestive of luxury, celebration, a rootedness in locality and high-quality merchandise. The descriptions of the café's offerings implicitly connect the aesthetic values of the RSC's live experience with those of the ultimate consumption moment. These products which circle around the periphery of the key cultural product are often the difference between consumption and non-consumption and thus of the creation or non-creation of value. In this sense, the peripheral products become as much part of the value of the theatrical or artistic experience as the key product on offer.

Venue

It is because it is the place where production and consumption occur and the place where a cultural institution makes 'the supply of its service as tangible as possible' that venue is of

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[233] <www.rscshortbreaks.co.uk> [accessed 13 July 2010].
[234] Royal Shakespeare Company, 'Eating and Drinking' <http://www.rsc.org.uk/visit-us/stratford/eating-drinking.aspx> [accessed 13 September 2009].

importance to the creation of cultural value.[235] The venue does not necessarily have to be physical. The discussion of *Such Tweet Sorrow* in the introduction demonstrates that 'theatrical' performance can take place in a virtual realm and underlines the impact that the locus of performance can have on the cultural value of Shakespeare. Its identity as a Twittersphere production – in which Twitter became the venue - enabled *Such Tweet Sorrow* to open up value-generating negotiations between old and new media, mass and elite, innovation and tradition. Whether it is physical or virtual, a venue is the point of interaction between a company and its consumers and is the site where the consumption value of the product will be realised. However, virtual venues like Twitter allow consumption to take place at a different time from production. In the physical theatre, this cannot happen and it is this unique quality of actual theatres which is examined further over the coming pages.

The RSC offers its customers a core product of Shakespeare-in-performance but its venue also offers a café, gift shop, bar, theatre tours, education workshops, summer schools, directors' and actors' talks and open days. The RSC's current building project will further enhance these features of the theatre. The new building on Stratford's Waterside will offer new public spaces, better disabled access and a dedicated education space. It is designed as a place for the people of Stratford to meet and spend time as much as it is intended to be a theatre. By upgrading and improving access, café facilities, public areas and disabled provisions, the RSC will improve the communication of its services, enhance people's viewing, socialising and shopping experiences and hence augment the value of the organisation. In this instance the peripheral becomes central to creating and maintaining an individual's valuation of their experience.

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[235] Mencarelli and Pulh, p. 26.

Whether consciously or not, a company's chosen (or thrust upon 'em) venue is important in communicating and involving its audience in the creation of value. It helps the consumer to consume the product whilst simultaneously facilitating the production of the cultural good. In some circumstances, as Margee Hume has shown, consumers do not make a distinction between 'the ownership of the show and ownership of the venue' and see 'the venue as intrinsic to the experience'.[236] A venue's impact on an individual's experience is both aesthetic and practical. Certain venues encourage audience participation, others shut it out entirely. The RSC's move to a thrust stage in their main auditorium is testament to their desire to improve the interaction between audience and actors. However, it is not just the aesthetic experience which is important to consumers. They also want clean toilets, reasonably priced food, plentiful parking spaces and easy access to the box office.

Many cultural and heritage organisations recognise the importance of amenities to their customers and promote this on their websites. The National Trust, for example, places particular emphasis on one specific advantage of its membership: '**FREE** entry and parking at more than 300 historic houses and gardens. **FREE** parking at our countryside and coastal locations.'[237] A lack of these amenities can have an impact on the values of the cultural experience as can the lack of a café, gift shop or educational facilities.[238] If, as this thesis argues, the value of Shakespeare, or at least Shakespeare in the twenty-first-century theatre, lies in the experience (and the simultaneous moment of production and consumption), some value must be added by the coffee shop and the parking facilities. On a less prosaic level value may be added by the excitement at seeing the fake blood and props thrust into small

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[236]Hume, p. 49. See also Holden, *Capturing Cultural Value*, p. 11.
[237] National Trust, 'Membership Benefits' (2008) <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-trust/w-support/w-jointoday/w-jointoday-membership_benefits.htm> [accessed 28 June 2008] (original emphasis).
[238] Hume, p. 50.

spaces behind the stalls in the Courtyard Theatre or the wonder and appreciation at the skill of the builders who constructed the temporary building.

Value Co-creation

An institution's role in the transaction or exchange of money for cultural goods changes when emphasis is shifted towards an individual's experience and their valuation of it. In the twenty-first century, companies and consumers must not simply act on each other but interact in a process which involves co-creating value. In much the same way as brands are now made and remade by those who buy them, the economic and cultural value created by companies and institutions is contingent on the interaction between producers and consumers. The twenty-first-century concept of value co-creation has developed out of ideas about co-production which Solveig Wikström describes here:

> The company's role is no longer limited to supporting the customer by providing goods and services. Rather it is a question of designing a system of activities within which customers can create their own value. From this interaction in time and space, value emerges that is the result of co-production.[239]

In Wikström's assessment the company is still in control of the system within which consumers create value. Over the last ten years, the emphasis has shifted away from what C.K. Prahalad and Venkat Ramaswamy call a 'product and firm-centric' view of co-production towards 'personalized consumer experiences' in which consumer and producer are equal partners in the co-creation of value.[240] Prahalad and Ramaswamy's concept of value co-creation is predicated on an idealised relationship between the firm and the consumer in

[239] Solveig Wikström, 'Value Creation by Company-Consumer Interaction', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 12 (1996), 359-74 (p. 360).
[240] 'Co-Creation Experiences', p. 5.

which they can have 'active dialogue' and in which consumers have endless choices because although 'products may be the same […] customers can construct different experiences'.[241]

In this idealised environment the roles of cultural and market goods seem to have reversed. While cultural goods need to enter the market in order to attract audiences and create value, producers of non-cultural goods can use value co-creation as a way of denying commodification because 'products can be commodified but co-creation experience cannot be'.[242] Experiences are difficult to commodify because they are intangible and incomparable. Every individual's experience will be personalised. This links neatly to the current theses about branding and our use of it to create self-identity. Consumption becomes more than simply about buying and using a product; it becomes part of a self-making, value-creating process.

The co-creation of value is not exclusive to theatres. Yet, its relevance to theatre's unique production/consumption moment is both notable and suggestive. It not only highlights the importance of interaction between producers and consumers, performers and audience, but underlines the impact that space can have on this interaction. Co-creation of value occurs within a 'system of activities' and is predicated on the provision of a variety of participatory and interpretation-free content. People want to create their own Shakespeare, their own theatrical experience and even their own RSC. Indeed, this is what some cultural economists believe marks out cultural products from non-cultural ones. They encourage the consumer to make their own evaluation of their 'symbolic power.'[243]

This co-production and interaction, as well as the emphasis on individual experience rather than prescribed event, are inextricably linked to the utopian primitive on the one hand and to

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[241] 'Co-Creation Experiences', p. 8.
[242] 'Co-Creation Experiences', p. 9.
[243] Daniel Drache and Marc D. Froese, 'The Global Cultural Economy: Power, Citizenship and Dissent' in *The Cultural Economy*, ed. by Anheier and Isar, pp. 52-66 (p. 54).

the proliferation of Web 2.0 content on the other. Utopian primitivism, which is dealt with at greater length in chapter 5, is motivated by the desire to create an unmediated, authentic culture in which there is not a divide between audience and performer. A similar impetus governs the production and consumption of culture on Web 2.0 sites YouTube, Twitter and Facebook, all of which privilege interactivity and co-creation. A brief overview of Web 2.0 content reveals how far theatres are behind other media in terms of co-creation. Tracy Harwood and Tony Garry's assessment of digital media post-production – in which video game customers can recreate the games they have bought – underlines the distance between old and new media:

> To avoid becoming a "legacy industry" the success of firms operating within such contexts will no longer be determined by the process of adding value or indeed, the co-creation of value between firm and consumer. Instead, it will be determined by the extent to which consumers participate in "post-product" manipulations and the ongoing acceptance and further manipulations of their output by other consumers so as to optimise the consumer experience within the experience environment.[244]

For Harwood and Garry, co-creation has been displaced by an even more interactive process in which consumers not only make and remake value but make and remake products. If the pinnacle of consumer/producer relations resides in consumers' participation in post-production then how can theatres compete? Will the cultural value they produce be as highly regarded – or as cutting-edge - as that which is co-produced through digital media?

In considering the answer to these questions it is worth invoking the critique of value co-creation. There is an argument which sees co-creation as a form of firm domination, manipulating consumers into producing intellectual property in a process which is actually based on 'the expropriation of free cultural, technological, social and affective labor [*sic*] of

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[244] '"It's Mine!" – Participation and Ownership within Virtual co-Creation Environments', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 26 (2010), 290-301.

the consumer masses.'[245] Co-creation is an idealised process which figures both producer and consumer as equal. However, critics of co-creation argue that firms will always dictate the nature of consumption moments, whether they do this through viral marketing on the internet, outlandish stunts or by encouraging post-production input from customers. In this reading co-creation represents a 'veneer of consumer empowerment' in which the firm remains dominant.[246]

The actual relationship between consumer, producer and co-creation is more ambiguous than this. Certainly, the economic value created from interactions between a firm and its customers will return to the firm. However, the experience and consumption values will remain with the customers. In publicly-funded theatre, economic gain is not the principal aim of producers but the cultural value created during a performance will reflect back on a theatre and its cultural capital. In this unique industry, where production and consumption occur at the same moment, the co-creation of cultural value is an important aspect of the process which assigns value to Shakespeare. Whether consumers are being manipulated is not what is at stake here, rather it is the outcome of the co-creative, performative moment and its impact on Shakespeare's value which is significant.

That said, it remains important to recognise that no exchange within a theatre can be unmediated. Consumers may be figured as joint or co-producers but they are working within the value framework of the organisation in which they find themselves. It is a value framework which sees the promotion of co-production as beneficial but still wishes to promote co-production of the right kind. The performative moment is the place where value is created and this value can be shaped by the aesthetics and practicalities of venue. The space

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[245] Detlev Zwick, Samuel K. Bonsu and Aron Darmody, 'Putting Consumer to Work: "Co-Creation" and new marketing govern-mentality', *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 8 (2008), 163-97.

[246] Samuel K. Bonsu and Aron Darmody, 'Co-creating Second Life; Market-Consumer Cooperation in Contemporary Economy', *Journal of Macromarketing*, 28 (2008), 355-68 (p. 356).

where the interaction takes place can determine the type of experience and the value created. This space, the venue, is in the control of the institution and not the public. Through a successful manipulation or exploitation of their cultural capital, an organisation can augment the cultural value of the experience for the consumer and ensure that its customers return in the future to augment the economic value of the business.

Venue, brand and production work together to provide audiences with the space to create and absorb value. The performative moment in which production and consumption occur and value is released or realised is a culmination of a number of activities. Each of these activities – programming choices, casting decisions, rehearsal periods, press releases, the planning of complementary events, the designing of restaurant menus, purchasing of production-based souvenirs and the provision of a well-stocked bar – contributes to the moment of valuation. The 'feedback system' which governs the cultural economy ensures that the value created in this moment is churned back into the theatre, providing the impetus for further productions of Shakespeare. Importantly, it is the live nature of theatre, rather than something inherent in Shakespeare, which guarantees that this moment of valuation will take place. The increased emphasis placed on allowing individuals to create and enjoy their own experience further underlines the importance of the production/consumption moment for the generation of value. This performative moment is not replaced by monetary exchange or the commodification of culture but, in order to further its value-generative power, it is surrounded by numerous moments of such economic processes. The cultural value of Shakespeare is not as far removed from economics as commonly constructed binaries might suggest. In working through this tension and allowing Shakespeare to exist both within and without the market, cultural value is generated and sustained.

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It is in the way that cultural objects like Shakespeare are mediated, marketed, distributed and contextualised that meaning and value are created. Crucially, what arts management theory demonstrates is that this does not have to take place at a highly spiritual or symbolic level. Basic amenities and practicalities such as car parking can influence an individual's experience and thus their part in the co-production of cultural value. This is part of the 'flow of services' that Throsby associates with cultural capital and it is important to bear in mind that without the existence of the cultural capital there would be no need for the amenities. The cultural object is the necessary catalyst for the flow of services which builds up around it, keeping the value constantly in motion and, therefore, constantly reviving it.

This is not to suggest that a performance does not have any value in and of itself but rather that it is in the interaction between the apparent binary opposites of commerce and culture that both cultural and economic value continue to be invigorated. The performative moment is the moment of valuation, a moment of creation and affirmation of cultural value. However, it is also a moment of culmination, of bringing together the numerous peripheral activities which surround cultural endeavour and extracting value from them. Cultural value is not solely located within a cultural object. It grows and adapts through the production process and, in the theatre at least, is interpreted in the moment of performance. It is the nature of theatre, not Shakespeare, which dictates the way in which cultural value functions in this moment.

Past chapters have alluded to interlocking strands of value. Nowhere are these more evident than in an analysis of culture's relationship to the market. Shakespeare, the cultural object, is presented as existing outside of the market. It is, indeed, difficult to isolate a particular commodified Shakespeare and consequently, impossible to determine a monetary value through which Shakespeare can be accurately compared to other commodities. Theatre is similarly difficult to commodify. The unique qualities that spring from its unusual status as

a space for both production and consumption suggest that it is incommensurable. However, the cultural values which emerge from this incommensurability – theatre's liveness and its ability to offer an experience to its consumers – can only be fully realised when interaction occurs. It is in order to encourage this interaction that theatres enter the marketplace. The very characteristic of theatre which should keep it outside of the market becomes its biggest selling point. Theatre is incommensurable, non-commodified and hence, unique.

The moment of concurrent production/consumption provided by theatre creates value and releases the value which is already existent within an object like Shakespeare. In this sense, Shakespeare provides the impetus for the creation and consumption of value and it is a value which is constantly shifting. It is added to, augmented, altered, shaped and reformed by the process of production and the form of theatre itself. Cultural value arises not simply from Shakespeare but from an audience's interaction with him through the medium of theatre. That this interaction takes place at a point of tension and involves negotiation within an apparent binary is paradigmatic of the way in which all culture is invoked, discussed and utilised. Free-resource Shakespeare, which allows this form of interaction and negotiation to take place, is not only valuable in and of itself. It is also valuable because it allows for the creation of further value. By acting in a dual fashion, theatres create a space for a dialectic to be opened up. This dialectic – in which the tension between culture and the market can lead to a negotiation between other tensions (local/global, tradition/innovation, mass/high) – allows theatres to reinvigorate Shakespeare's value not only through performance but also in the system of activities they provide to surround him. Economics may seem as far removed from art as it is possible to be but it too has a role to play in the creation and maintenance of Shakespeare's cultural value.

KILLING BILL?

THE CULTURAL VALUE OF ADAPTING SHAKESPEARE

This chapter examines Shakespearean adaptation in the twenty-first century and argues that it constitutes a significant part of the production and reproduction of Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatre. Since the 1660s, adaptation has proved an enduring and prevalent way for audiences and critics to encounter Shakespeare. The narrative which details Shakespeare's return to the Restoration stage, subsequent years as a 'victim' of travesty and eventual triumphant emergence in his original form in the nineteenth century is well-known. The study of his narrative has become its own independent branch of Shakespeare studies, with a multitude of monographs and even its own journal, *Borrowers and Lenders*.[247] The continual use of adaptations and appropriations of Shakespeare in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is no less well-documented. Indeed, it is one of the most common ways in which Shakespeare's impact on our contemporary culture is analysed.[248] My own research lends weight to the assertion that Shakespearean adaptation is both present and prolific in the publicly-funded theatre sector today. Of the Shakespeare performed in publicly-funded theatres between September 2007 and December 2008, 50% were adaptations.[249] This statistic

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[247] George C.D. Odell, *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, 2 vols, (London: Constable, 1921); Hazelton Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927); Christopher Spencer, ed., *Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 1965); Gunnar Sorelius, *The Giant Race before the Flood: Pre-Restoration Drama on the stage and in the criticism of the Restoration*, Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1966); Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*; Dobson, *National Poet*; Jean I. Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995); Laura J. Rosenthal, '(Re)Writing Lear: Literary property and dramatic authorship' in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* ed. by John Brewer and Susan Staves, (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 323-38; Peter Sabor and Paul Yachnin, eds., *Shakespeare and the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
[248] See, for example, Holderness, The Shakespeare Myth and Cultural Shakespeare; Taylor, Reinventing Shakespeare; Marsden, Appropriations of Shakespeare; Hodgdon, The Shakespeare Trade; Burt, Unspeakable ShaXXXspeare; Lanier, Shakespeare and Modern Popular Culture; Thomas Cartelli and Katherine Rowe, New Wave Shakespeare on Screen (Cambridge: Polity, 2007); Margaret Jane Kidnie, Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation (London: Routledge, 2009); Purcell, Popular Shakespeare.
[249] See chapter 2.

alone suggests that adaptation, its processes and its implications are worth studying since half the audiences for Shakespeare during this period saw plays which had been updated, reset or altered in the pursuit of contemporary relevance.

The pursuit of contemporary relevance and its continued connection to Shakespeare can be at least partly explained through an examination of Arts Council England's policy documents. The first decade of the twenty-first century has seen a noticeable shift in the Arts Council's plans for and valuation of the arts. In 2008, their policy moved from a focus on the ethical values of culture: diversity, education, community building, internationalism, the creative economy and participation to a greater emphasis on the aesthetic: quality, excellence and innovation.[250] Some ethical values have remained prominent; particularly the imperative to engage children and young people in culture and the commitment to creating diverse, internationalised art work.[251]

Shakespeare has continued to be produced within a funding context that prioritises new cultural creation and champions accessible art. It is a Shakespeare which is inflected by Arts Council funding policy and altered in line with both ethical and aesthetic priorities. These alterations will necessarily affect the cultural value which is both released from and accrued to Shakespeare in twenty-first-century performance. One noticeable effect of ethical and aesthetic drivers is Shakespearean productions which are created specifically to appeal to 'new' audiences. This could be an educational performance for children, an intercultural performance intended to increase an audience's diversity or a production which significantly alters Shakespeare's work in order to make it more relevant, contemporary or even cool. The aesthetics of innovation will thus be used in order to achieve ethical ends.

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[250] Arts Council England, *Our Agenda* and *Great Art.* For further information on the ideological move from ethics to aesthetics see chapter 2.
[251] For more on diversity and internationalism see chapter 5.

What is Innovation?

'Innovation' has become as much of a buzzword in the wider arts world as it is in Arts Council policy. From Brian McMaster's DCMS report *Supporting Excellence in the Arts*, to the Cultural Policy and Practice Seminar (CPPS) 'Maximising the Importance of the Arts and Culture throughout the Economic Downturn', to Hasan Bakshi and David Throsby's NESTA report *Culture of Innovation* (2010), innovation has become a major concern for policymakers, practitioners and cultural commentators.[252] However, the approach to and use of innovation is as shifting in these contexts as it is in Arts Council policy. In 2008, Brian McMaster specifically linked innovation to excellence, arguing that these two potential outcomes of cultural production were symbiotic and mutually reaffirming: 'Innovation is […] an integral part of the search for excellence, and should be encouraged if we are to encourage excellence.'[253] Innovation, according to McMaster, has an aesthetic impetus and increases the overall quality of the work created by an institution like the RSC. In theory, this will in turn increase the cultural value of the product, the experience and the institution in which that experience takes place.

Where the shift has occurred is in the conception of what kind of value the process of innovation is intended to produce. Where McMaster, writing before the collapse of Lehman Brothers, envisaged innovation leading to excellence and therefore to cultural value; Bakshi and Hasan, writing in the aftermath of a worldwide recession, champion innovative art as an economic regenerator. Bakshi and Hasan's message was prefigured at the Cultural Policy and Practice seminar in 2009 which promoted the view that Britain's future prosperity will be determined by the economic success of its creative and cultural industries. Further, the speakers at the event all argued that the arts and culture's significance within Britain is

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[252] McMaster, Supporting Excellence, Hasan Bakshi and David Throsby, Culture of Innovtation: An economic analysis of innovation in the arts and cultural organisations (London: NESTA, 2010).
[253] McMaster, Supporting Excellence, p. 10.

inextricably linked to their ability to promote innovation. The process of innovation, however, remained obscure and difficult to comprehend; it was not always clear whether arts organisations are supposed to be producing innovative art or acting as a catalyst to inspire innovation in other industries.

What was clear was that the majority of speakers believed that it was this potentially innovative element of the arts which would not only ensure Britain's prosperity but the arts' prosperity as well. Refiguring the cultural sector as an economic reinvigorator creates a justification for continued public support, even in the face of swingeing funding cuts. When the emphasis is shifted towards the economic value of the arts, then innovation becomes similarly inflected by economics. It thus becomes a value in and of itself because the process of cultural innovation creates new, different and therefore saleable products and potentially increases a country's wealth.

Despite calls to innovate from both economists and cultural practitioners it is not always clear what form such innovation should take or even what constitutes innovation in the first place. McMaster provides a definition of innovation as 'the introduction of something new, where old methods and systems are insufficient' but this definition is often confused with other kinds of practice.[254] In aesthetic terms innovation is not the same as 'novelty for its own sake'.[255] Novelty suggests frippery and tokenism whilst innovation suggests a serious advance in technical ability or an addition to knowledge that can inspire others. Innovation is about finding new ways of doing things and, as a result, of producing entirely new, progressive, evolutionary pieces of art. Novelties might seem new and exciting but they do not develop or change working practices or, more importantly, produce ground-breaking cultural forms.[256]

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[254] McMaster, p. 10.
[255] Kate Oakley, Brooke Sperry and Andy Pratt, *The Art of Innovation: How fine art graduates contribute to innovation*, ed. by Hasan Bakhshi, (London: NESTA, 2008), p. 25.
[256] For more on this see chapter 5.

Equally, economists remind us that innovation is not the same thing as variety or diversity of work.[257] If a theatre simply produces a multitude of plays by different playwrights they are not necessarily innovating. If the RSC only produces plays by Shakespeare but is constantly reworking and redeveloping the form and presentation of those plays it has greater potential to be innovative. Kate Oakley, Brooke Sperry and Andy Pratt's description of innovation at a Rolling Stones concert is a neat example of the way in which innovation can occur within the performance of an established cultural product:

> Few fans at a Rolling Stones concert want to see the Stones take an entirely new musical direction; most come to hear old favourites and relive youthful memories. […] However, at the same time, the production technology and skill required to reproduce a simulacrum of a recorded disc in a live setting – or the character of earlier performances – is considerable, and may be regarded as innovative.[258]

Cultural innovation does not necessarily need to produce an entirely new cultural product but it does need to embrace new technologies and to use these in order to rework and redefine the modes of cultural production.

Access/Excellence

While economists see innovation as an end in itself, arts organisations and funders tend to see innovation as part of a system for creating and maintaining cultural value. Chapter 1 detailed Tessa Jowell's attempts to grapple with the access/excellence binary which is associated with publicly-funded art.[259] As a politician she wanted to provide access to culture for as many people as possible but she still wanted that culture to be excellent. According to McMaster, in order for that culture to be excellent it 'absolutely must' innovate.[260] Producers

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[257] Xavier Castañer and Lorenzo Campos, 'The Determination of Artistic Innovation: Bringing in the role of organizations', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 26 (2002), 29-52.
[258] p. 26.
[259] See chapter 1.
[260] McMaster, p. 10.

of publicly-funded culture are, like Jowell, constantly trying to resolve the apparent gap between aesthetics: excellence, innovation, quality and ethics: access, education, community, diversity. In the twenty-first-century, providing access to culture is not only about opening a gallery at convenient times or removing economic constraints by making museums free. Culture is now championed for its ability to encourage participation. Arts institutions no longer pose the question: 'what do you want to do'? But 'how do you want to do it?' 'Taking part in the arts' was one of the six manifesto points as laid out in Arts Council England's 2006 *Our Agenda for the Arts*. Encouraging participation means providing audiences with the kind of work in which they want to participate or with which they want to interact.

The access/excellence binary forms part of the same set of assumptions that see innovation as the polar opposite of tradition and culture as the antithesis of commerce. Whether or not accessible, participatory art can also be excellent is not the issue at stake here. Instead, the focus is the way in which publicly-funded organisations grapple with this tension and negotiate within it. The binary is constructed with the aesthetics of innovation and excellence on one side and the ethics of physical and emotional accessibility on the other. Taking a particular group of people amongst whom the Arts Council is keen to foster increased cultural participation and looking at how Shakespeare is altered in order to achieve this goal, this chapter illuminates the effects and impacts of cultural policy on the cultural value of Shakespeare.

Children and Young People

I have already alluded to the way in which Arts Council policy has shifted from ethics to aesthetics during the first decade of the twenty-first century.[261] Despite this shift, certain ethical concerns have remained embedded within both the Arts Council's and publicly-funded theatre's ideologies. One such emphasis is the continued need to encourage children and young people to engage with the arts. The Arts Council includes people up to the age of 25 in their definition of 'children and young people' and continues to strive to encourage their participation. The motivation for this is presented both in terms of personal development - a child who engages with the arts is more likely to develop 'as a communicator, as a problem solver, as a team worker, as an innovator, as a thinker' – and in terms of the country's economic wellbeing – 'the country's long-term aspirations as a creative economy depend on opportunities being provided now for children and young people to participate in arts and creativity.'[262]

The Arts Council's emphasis on children and young people is mirrored in publicly-funded theatres' approach to them. The RSC's Annual Reports frequently contain references to their work with young people as part of their 'key achievements': 'Over 5000 £5 tickets were sold to 16 – 25 year olds in a new initiative to attract young people to the theatre'; 'RSC launches new CAPITAL centre with the University of Warwick'; '2,300 young people involved in Mini-Complete Works Festival'; '4245 young people performed on RSC stages', '40,000 school children took up the £10 ticket offer.'[263] One of their most visible and measurable outcomes is the participation in and interaction of young people with Shakespeare. The emphasis on participation is most noticeable in the outcomes from the Complete Works Festival year when young people performed on the RSC's stages in both the Mini-Complete Works and as part of the Drama Schools project. Education also forms an important part of the RSC's work with children and young people. They work with teachers to 'inspire a life-long love

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[261] See chapter 2.
[262] Arts Council England, *Our Agenda*, p. 4.
[263] Royal Shakespeare Company, *Annual Report and Accounts*, *2004/2005* (Stratford-upon-Avon: RSC, 2006), p. 15; *Annual Report and Accounts, 2005/2006* (Stratford-upon-Avon: RSC, 2006), p. 20; *Annual Report and Accounts, 2006-2007* (Stratford-upon-Avon: RSC, 2007), pp. 8-9.

of Shakespeare' run educational workshops with school children and, until recently, collaborated with the University of Warwick as part of a project funded by the Higher Education Funding Council of England (HEFCE).[264] Using educational tools to connect young people with Shakespeare is only one part of the RSC's strategy. The other involves removing financial barriers to access through the £5 ticket scheme for 16-25 year olds and the £10 ticket scheme for schoolchildren. Both the education and financial approaches are practical examples of the way in which theatres can try to attract a newer, younger audience to their theatres.

Practicalities aside, theatres also want to retain the new audience that can be brought in through educational workshops or financial incentives. In order to do this, theatres need to produce plays which are appealing – and thus emotionally accessible – to this young audience; to make 'Shakespeare fresh and relevant to a new generation.'[265] When the ethical guidelines to appeal to children and young people meet the aesthetic imperative to innovate it is the idea of 'contemporary relevance' which emerges. It is this idea of innovation-through-relevance which I want to focus on in this chapter. Indeed, Brian McMaster maintains that not only does excellent culture have to be innovative but that 'for something to be excellent it has to be relevant, and for it to be relevant it has to be continually reinterpreted and refined for and by its audience.'[266] Thus, according to McMaster, a cultural object's excellence, innovation and contemporary relevance are inextricably linked. This relevance is especially important when trying to appeal to a new generation of playgoers since it provides them with the rationale for spending their time and money at the theatre.[267]

Shakespeare is readily associated with the idea of contemporary relevance because of his status as free resource and his perceived universal availability. His works can thus be altered and changed in order to create products which appeal to young people. His plays can be set in

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[264] Royal Shakespeare Company, 'About Us: Our Work', <http://www.rsc.org.uk/about-us/our-work/> [accessed 20 August 2010].
[265] Sir Christopher Bland, <http://www.rsc.org.uk/transformation/project/701.asp> [accessed 20 August 2010].
[266] McMaster, p. 10.
[267] See chapter 3.

new times and locations; coupled with contemporary music or reworked to give their narrative new emphasis. Thus, Shakespeare-plus-relevance tends to equal adaptation. It is Shakespeare's identity as a free cultural resource which allows adaptation to happen in the first place. He can be made 'relevant' and 'accessible' because the meanings and interpretations of his plays are freely available and up-for-grabs. This is not because he is the universal authority on the human condition but because, in our increasingly plural and digital cultural environment, he has been refigured as a universally available resource and reserve of cultural value.[268] Thus, in order to fulfil the Arts Council requirement that culture should appeal to children and young people, free-resource Shakespeare can be adapted in numerous, eclectic ways. His work can be 'mashed-up' with Quentin Tarantino's films, turned into a modern-day, modern English fairytale or become a vehicle for teenage rebellion through the addition of framing narrative. Each of these forms of adaptation is analysed here through three specific productions: the filmic mash-up in Wales Theatre Company and South Hill Park Arts Centre's *Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare* (2007), the modernisation in Kneehigh's *Cymbeline* (2007) and the framing narrative in Original Theatre Company's *Shakespeare's R&J* (2008).[269] However, before turning to these plays, this chapter examines how adaptations function within publicly-funded theatre in general and what they do with Shakespeare in order to make him 'relevant' to the twenty-first century.

Shakespeare-in-Adaptation: The Context

Two of the adaptations listed above were performed in smaller theatres which are much less well-funded than the RSC. Of the three case studies detailed in this chapter only

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[268] See introduction.

[269] *Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare*, dir. Malachi Bogdanov, UK Tour: The Wales Theatre Company and South Hill Park Arts Centre; *Cymbeline*, dir. Emma Rice, UK Tour: Kneehigh; *Shakespeare's R&J*, dir. Alastair Whatley, UK Tour: Original Theatre Company.

Kneehigh's *Cymbeline*, which was conceived for the Complete Works Festival, was performed in Stratford. *Shakespeare's R&J* and *Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare* were performed in theatres without a national or international reputation and which do not benefit from million-pound Arts Council subsidy. As such, adaptations of this kind represent a different sort of encounter with Shakespeare from that offered by the RSC. Although the RSC produces appropriations of Shakespeare as part of its new writing programme – the recent *Dunsinane* being a notable example – such work is not discussed here. This is because RSC-supported new writing tends to be much further removed from the Shakespearean original than the plays detailed below and the production values of these plays are often similar to the RSC's more traditional offerings. The kind of Shakespeare this chapter focuses on does not involve expensive set designs, large-scale productions or innovative stages. Instead, this Shakespeare offers small casts, simple sets and an intriguing locus of cultural value.[270] Adaptations provide a method of using free-resource Shakespeare which is inflected differently from 'straight' productions and allows a greater connection with young people.

What is a Shakespeare adaptation?

In order to answer this question it is necessary to think about the process of adaptation in general and the way in which it has been, and continues to be, perceived. The signifier adaptation is generally used to refer to literary works which have been relocated to a different time period, geographical location or genre and through this relocation have become another literary work or performance entirely. Or, as Julie Sanders more succinctly suggests,

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[270] A recent RSC production which does fit this model is *Comedy of Errors*, dir. Paul Hunter (2009-10), UK Tour produced in collaboration with Told by an Idiot and created specifically for young people. For more on this production see Sarah Olive, *Shakespeare Valued*.

adaptation is 'the interpretation or re-reading of a *canonical* precursor.'[271] This link between an object's cultural status and its viability for adaptation suggests that the process of interpretation or re-reading will exploit canonicity with the hope of nurturing the success of the new work. However, Sanders's definition, which appears at the beginning of *Adaptation and Appropriation*, is quickly problematised and the difficult of delineating 'adaptation' in such clear terms becomes apparent. Sanders, in an echo of Ruby Cohn's *Modern Shakespeare Offshoots*, adds extensively to the potential types of 'adaptation' which exist:

> Variation, version, interpretation, imitation, proximation, supplement, increment, improvisation, prequel, sequel, continuation, addition, paratext, hypertext, palimpsest, graft, rewriting, reworking, refashioning, re-vision, re-evaluation.[272]

The longer the list of words created, the stronger the impression that adaptation is not the simple re-telling of a story in a different time or locality. A 'sequel' to Shakespeare implies something very different from a 're-vision' although the two may not be mutually exclusive. Ruby Cohn chooses to settle on 'offshoot' because she wants to communicate how far some adaptations can grow from the Shakespeare 'stem'.[273] Inherent in this choice of nomenclature is Cohn's recognition that no word used to describe adaptation is neutral.

The effect that an unexamined word choice can have on interpretation was highlighted during the 'Shakespeare Spin-Offs' panel at the Shakespeare Association of America, 2009. While many taking part in the panel had used the term 'spin-off' as a synonym for adaptation; one participant was keen to point out that they were not automatically interchangeable terms. A 'spin-off' is associated with the medium of television and is related to, but not explicitly

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[271] Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation*, (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 2.
[272] Sanders, p.3. Compare this with Ruby Cohn's similar list: 'abridgements, adaptations, additions, alterations, ameliorations, amplifications, augmentations, conversions, distortions, emendations, interpolations, metamorphoses, modifications, mutilations, revisions, transformations, versions', *Modern Shakespeare Offshoots* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 3.
[273] Cohn, p. 3.

linked to, the original. For example, *Frasier* is a spin-off of *Cheers* but knowledge of the latter is not necessary in order for a viewer to enjoy the former.[274] In spin-offs, narrative, setting and many characters are mutually exclusive. The link between the two will often be maintained by one recurring character who may have only featured slightly in the original. Thus, even a term which seems relatively neutral brings with it a set of associations and assumptions which govern the way in which they are read. With so many possible definitions – even adaptations – of the same phenomenon available to her, Sanders returns to the umbrella signifier 'adaptation.'[275]

Where Sanders and Cohn provide their readers with a plethora of different kinds of adaptation and emphasise adaptation as a product, I want to look at adaptation as a process and define it as such. In order to keep my analysis focused I suggest that there are two different forms of the adaptation process, both of which can be applied to Shakespeare's plays. These two processes – one which uses Shakespeare as a free content provider and the other which uses Shakespeare as a 'jumping-off point' – will result in a wide variety of different kinds of adaptations. Indeed, included in my survey of publicly-funded Shakespeare – detailed further in chapter 2 – are plays that might be described as mash-ups, modern translations, abridgements, responses, intercultural performance and alterations. However, by keeping the content provider and jumping-off point categories in mind, we can analyse and interpret the adaptations more effectively and concisely.

Crucially, whatever the approach taken, the ultimate goal is to create a Shakespeare that is more relevant to a twenty-first-century audience. This pursuit of relevance is evident in numerous adaptations which have been produced and performed in the last few years. Frantic Assembly's *Othello* retained the original script but cut the play dramatically and reset it in a

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[274] *Frasier*, 1993-2004, NBC. *Cheers*, 1982-1993, NBC.
[275] Sanders, p. 3.

twenty-first-century pub, complete with fruit machines, gang violence and casual drug use. Reviewers were polarised in their response to the play but what emerges from both sides of the critical debate is a sense of the difference and relevance of the production: 'it's as if, trouncing the new-writing competition at a stroke, the Bard had become Broken Britain's finest contemporary chronicler.'[276] Here, Dominic Cavendish's review constructs a Shakespeare who is at once a traditionalist 'trouncing […] new-writing' and a twenty-first-century 'contemporary chronicler'; a blend of new and old which is paradigmatic of the adaptation process and the way in which we read its products. Michael Coveney's review for the *Independent* is more interested in the difference between Frantic Assembly's Shakespeare and that produced by the RSC: 'Music, movement and above all, sexy attitude, create a kind of Shakespearean theatre that you won't find at the Globe or the RSC (not yet, anyway). And for some, many even, that's a bonus.'[277] Coveney may not have appreciated the play himself but he sees within it something which would appeal to an audience put off by the kind of productions created at the RSC.

Many other adaptations were produced during the lifetime of this project. Tara Arts *Rape of Lucrece* adapted the narrative poem into a play which was therefore more readily producible and hence consumable in the theatre. Back and Forth's *Beyond Measure* borrowed from one-woman play conventions to imagine what Isabella might do after refusing the Duke's proposal of marriage.[278] As well as dealing with ideas of female oppression and

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[276] Dominic Cavendish, 'Neil Bartlett's Romeo and Juliet and Frantic Assembly's Othello', *Telegraph*, 27 October 2008, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/drama/3562596/Neil-Bartletts-Romeo-and-Juliet-and-Frantic-Assemblys-Othello-reviews.html> [accessed 22 August 2010].

[277] Michael Coveney, 'Othello, Lyric Hammersmith, London: Rank, Tricycle Theatre, London', *Independent*, 11 November 2008 <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/reviews/othello-lyric-hammersmith-london-rank-tricycle-theatre-london-1009351.html> [accessed 22 August 2010].

[278] *Othello*, dir. Scott Graham and Steven Hoggett (2008), UK Tour: Frantic Assembly; *Rape of Lucrece*, dir. Mukul Ahmed, adapted by Todor Dimitrov, (2008), London: Tara Studio; *Beyond Measure*, dir. Juliet Forster, written by Bridget Foreman, (2008), UK Tour: Back and Forth.

subsequent emancipation, *Beyond Measure* sought to make itself more relevant to the twenty-first-century audience through an accompanying multimedia show. *Jack Lear*, the tale of a fisherman and his three daughters was performed at the Stephen Joseph Theatre in Scarborough. Phizzical Productions borrowed from filmic aesthetics in their production *What You Fancy*, a Bollywood-style version of *Twelfth Night*. Theatre Centre's *Romeo and the City* told the story of forbidden love between a British-Pakistani girl and a Somali refugee in London.[279] *Romeo in the City* was described by one reviewer as 'a timely reminder of just how relevant Shakespeare's themes of forbidden love, family honour and the pull of violence still are on the streets of modern Britain'.[280] Both the adaptations themselves and their reviews demonstrate the inextricable link between making Shakespeare relevant and adapting or altering his plays.

How much Shakespeare?

How much Shakespeare remains in adaptation and the kind of Shakespeare that emerges depends on whether his works are content-providers or simply jumping-off points. Adaptations which 'jump off' from Shakespeare may use, at their core, a key idea or quotation from the play. These ideas may not even come directly from Shakespeare but could be related to recent academic theory or twenty-first-century values. Productions of this kind will locate their value in their difference to Shakespeare and draw value from extrinsic sources. An example of this would be Nós do Morro's *Knock Against My Heart* which used a

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[279] *Jack Lear*, dir. Barrie Rutter, written by Ben Benison (2008), Scarborough: Stephen Joseph Theatre; *What You Fancy*, dir. Leylah, written by Omar Khan (2007-8), UK Tour: Phizzical Productions; *Romeo in the City*, dir. Michael Judge, written by Amber Lone (2007), UK Tour: Theatre Centre.
[280] Nuala Calvi, 'Romeo in the City', 8 October 2007, *The Stage* <http://www.thestage.co.uk/reviews/review.php/18465/romeo-in-the-city> [accessed 22 August 2010].

post-colonial reading of *The Tempest* to produce an entirely new play.[281] Similarly, *Beyond Measure* used the much-debated silence of Isabella in the closing moments of *Measure for Measure* to create a piece of drama which tried to explain her psychology. Even as a jumping-off point Shakespeare's value remains: being universally available, up-for-grabs and open to interpretation. The numerous and proliferating readings of *Measure for Measure* and *The Tempest* are what allow Nós do Morro and Back and Forth to exercise their creativity.

Adaptations which treat free-resource Shakespeare as a content provider will more closely follow his narrative arc and characterisation. Despite changes in language, geography and temporal setting, such adaptations will extract most of their cultural value from Shakespeare. Thus, Frantic Assembly's *Othello* was also Shakespeare's *Othello* and drew on the cultural values of heritage and tradition this connection invoked. This simultaneously led to the creation of new cultural value. By contrasting traditional values with their own upstart values of innovation and creativity, Frantic Assembly created a play which appealed to a different audience and which seemed relevant to the twenty-first century.[282] The combination of the seemingly irreconcilable in the play's clash of tradition and innovation became part of a dialectic in which Shakespeare was the negotiator or mediator. Through this dialectic, new cultural value was created. Frantic Assembly's *Othello* provides a useful example of the way in which cultural value tensions function within adaptations.

It is these tensions and their use within adaptation that gives this account of the process of 'making Shakespeare relevant' its strongest impetus. Adaptation is necessarily oppositional. Like theatre in general, it is a site of debate and the process itself highlights many of the

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[281] *Knock Against My Heart*, dir. Michael Judge, written by Oladipo Agboluaje (2008), UK Tour: Nós do Morro and Theatre Centre. For more on *Knock Against My Heart*, see chapter 5.
[282] See Coveney and Cavendish above.

cultural value tensions identified in the thesis's introduction.[283] Crucially, the process of adaptation brings binaries and tensions together in the same theatrical moment, thus creating a dialectic that both the audiences and actors must work through. Adaptations ask us to consider what high and low culture are; how we should negotiate between expert opinion and popular theatre; whether we want traditional or innovative approaches to Shakespeare; whether we value local or global aesthetics; whether theatre audiences should be passive observers or active participants; whether the function of a publicly-funded theatre is to preserve past cultural object or produce new ones and whether Shakespeare remains relevant or is, in the twenty-first century an irrelevant relic of the past. These questions are not necessarily answered by the creators of adaptations or their audiences. Neither are they expected to be. Stephen Purcell highlights the ambiguous nature of such moments of tension in his study of popular Shakespeare: 'inconsistent and contradictory attitudes can exist without synthesis in the same piece of theatre.'[284] The value of theatre is that it is dialectical; it does not offer a reconciliation between differing cultural values but provides a space for their discussion.

Adaptation is an ideal site for such discussion because of its formal qualities and its interaction with content. Its existence is predicated on the notion that old cultural objects need to be made new and in the process of 'making new' the old cultural object will also become more 'relevant.' Embedded within this assumption are all the tensions detailed above: innovation/tradition, high/low, mass/elite, new media/old media. In the adaptation process, these tensions arise from the construction of a binary between original/adaptation and authenticity/inauthenticity. Much anxiety surrounds these imagined dichotomies. Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier struggle with the implications of adaptation as a process: 'it echoes natural adaptation and a residual myth of progress, the word adaptation implies that

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[283] See Stephen Purcell, *Popular Shakespeare*, Robert Weimann, *Popular Tradition* and Eugenio Barba, *The Paper Canoe: A Guide to Theatre Anthropology*, trans. by Richard Fowler (London: Routledge, 1995).
[284] p. 36.

adaptations are better than originals.'[285] While this statement explicitly suggests that the semiotics of the adaptation process privilege the product rather than the source; implicitly it communicates the opposite view: that adaptations cannot be better than originals. The assumption here is that there is something 'original' to which Fischlin, Fortier and theatre audiences can refer. Originality suggests authenticity and, in the case of Shakespeare, the text thus becomes a reified object in which such authenticity is situated. Conversely, adaptation becomes unoriginal and inauthentic – the opposite of the excellent, innovative culture championed by Brian McMaster.[286]

However, the relationship between adaptation and original and between authenticity and inauthenticity is more nuanced than this. Viewing Shakespeare as everything an adaptation is not implies that there is a stable object called 'Shakespeare.' As Alan Sinfield suggests, this belief is fundamental to the continued production of Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatre:

> The whole business of producing Shakespeare in our society, and all the cultural authority which goes with that, depends upon the assumption that through all the metamorphoses to which the plays are subjected we still have the real presence of Shakespeare.[287]

The cultural object Shakespeare, is thus imagined to have a real presence and a stable value. The previous chapter demonstrated that, in fact, cultural value is constantly shifting and is part of a process which makes and remakes value. Cultural value is thus inherently unstable. As an unstable and free resource, Shakespeare can be authentic and inauthentic in the same moment and draw value from this instability and ambiguity. Instead of seeing adaptation as inauthentic and therefore problematic, it would be better to see that it is in the link (and not the distinction) between constructed authenticity and inauthenticity that value is created. The

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[285] Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier, Adaptations of Shakespeare: A Critical Anthology of Plays from the Seventeenth Century to the Present (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 3.
[286] For more on the construction of authenticity see chapter 5.
[287] 'Royal Shakespeare', p. 198.

Shakespearean adaptation embraces both the authentic and inauthentic and negotiates between them. This creates value which in turn reignites the value of the source-text – the purportedly authentic Shakespeare.

The idea of authentic Shakespeare is, of course, problematic. When we claim something is an adaptation of an original text then we are simultaneously claiming that we know what this text is (which we do) and how it should look when presented to us (which we do not). In this sense, the problem of authenticity is also – as Margaret Jane Kidnie points out – the problem of adaptation.[288] Fischlin and Fortier assert that because there is a stable, authentic entity – 'the Shakespearean original' – then any production of a play has the potential to be an adaptation. However, Kidnie finds this problematic suggesting that 'people feel able […] to flag not all but specifically *some* Shakespearean production(s) as "not quite" Shakespeare' (p.5). Thus, she argues, adaptation becomes a major tool in assessing what is and is not Shakespeare:

> By classifying just *some* productions as adaptation, as a departure from the thing in itself, communities of users generate through a negative logic the effect of conceptual stability. The work thus emerges in history as that which its adaptations are not (p.9) [original emphasis].

Here, Kidnie identifies with the mutually reaffirming function of tensions and binaries and illustrates how this works within the production and reception of adaptation. What she demonstrates is that our notions of authenticity not only govern our reading of adaptation but are governed by it.

Modelling adaptation as the offspring of the authentic original or assuming that the process of adaptation privileges the outcome rather than the source does not take into account the circular relationship between the two. Adaptations rely on the reputation of the original to fuel

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[288] Problem of Adaptation.

their reception but they can in turn reignite interest in the original. The circular relationship between adaptation and original opens up a dialectical space in which value can be revealed, maintained and created. Whether its reliance on the original is implicit (jumping-off point) or explicit (content provider), adaptation signals to its audience that the source text has some value and confirms it canonical status since 'citation infers authority.'[289]

Crucially, this confirmation of authority does not only move in one direction. The canonicity of a source text can lend weight to the resulting adaptation. Shakespearean adaptation and cultural value thus interact in two different ways. On the one hand, adaptation is an exploitative tool which by figuring itself as a reflection of Shakespeare's work releases cultural value. On the other, Shakespeare's work, and thus its value, can be reinvigorated through a perceptive, challenging or imaginative re-visioning. These forms of adaptation are contrasting: one is a dynamic and informative relationship with the source, the other a passive acceptance of the source and its values. The approach to value tensions in these differing forms of adaptation will be similarly divergent. In the former, tensions will be presented as straightforward confrontations between, for example, mass and elite culture, revealing but not creating cultural value. In the latter, tensions will be figured as negotiations, forming part of a dialectic which generates and reinvigorates Shakespeare's cultural value.

The effect on Shakespeare's value will also depend upon the audience that watches the production. Thinking through the relationship between Shakespeare and filmic adaptation, Tony Howard argues that there are three types of audience to whom producers market: 'those who compare knowingly to the original, those for whom the films are introductions to Shakespeare's plots and those who are simply guaranteed "interest and excitement" because

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[289] Sanders, p. 9. See also my discussion of Holderness, 'Radical Potentiality' and Dobson, *National Poet* in the introduction.

of the source material's proven strength.'[290] A single adaptation can potentially appeal to all three kinds of audience but the cultural value produced will be different. A 'knowing' audience will be able to identify tensions of value circulating around the production. These tensions will be framed in terms of the audience's past experience of Shakespeare: is this production more or less relevant than the last *Romeo and Juliet* they saw? Is it different from the way it is presented at the RSC? An audience for whom the play is an introduction to Shakespeare might still notice tensions but they will be framed in terms of their past cultural experiences – in the theatre, on the television or at the cinema – rather than a past experience of Shakespeare.

The twenty-first-century commitment to innovation and contemporary relevance, however it is manifested, is tempered by the obligation for arts organisations to be realms of tradition and heritage. Adaptation may be a useful tool with which to navigate between these two poles. Shakespeare offers a link to literary heritage which is disrupted and subverted by the process of adaptation. Innovation and tradition can thus exist simultaneously but 'without synthesis' in the same theatrical moment.[291] By using Shakespeare to navigate through this tension, adaptations can potentially create further cultural value for themselves, for Shakespeare and for the institutions in which they are performed.

Making Shakespeare Relevant or Killing Bill?

The second half of this chapter examines three productions in order to ascertain how they tried to make Shakespeare relevant in the twenty-first century. Not all of the productions were successful in this attempt. Indeed, while *Shakespeare's R&J* and *Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare*, strive for relevance they frequently fail in this task. Instead, they present

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[290] 'Shakespeare's Cinematic Offshoots' in *Shakespeare on Film*, ed. by Russell Jackson, pp. 295-313 (p. 297).
[291] Purcell, p. 36.

Shakespeare in a way which is clunky, clichéd and anything but cool. An analysis of these productions underlines the fact that relevance, excellence and innovation are not automatically products of a Shakespeare adaptation. On the other hand, Kneehigh's *Cymbeline* managed to achieve a feeling of relevance whilst remaining connected to the traditions of fairytales and pantomime. *Cymbeline* was thus a striking example of the value-generative potential of working with and through tensions rather than presenting them as clashes.

Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare

In its quest for relevance Malachi Bogdanov's mash-up adaptation coupled Shakespeare with a twentieth and twenty-first-century film director who, in 2007, asserted that he 'might have been Shakespeare in a past life.'[292] Despite its title and the apparently irreverent shortening of 'William', Bogdanov's production was not a subversive bardicide but instead a tribute to two different cultural figures: William Shakespeare and Quentin Tarantino. Starting with the question 'So what if Quentin Tarantino had written *Macbeth*?', Bogdanov and a group of students from Newcastle University had developed the piece which was consequently produced and toured by The Wales Theatre Company and South Hill Parks Arts Centre.[293] This play interspersed the narrative with scenes from Tarantino's films *Reservoir Dogs*, *Pulp Fiction* and *Kill Bill volumes I and II*.[294]

The first change which the blend of Tarantino and Shakespeare wrought on the production was the removal of *Macbeth* from Scotland to Japan. This re-setting was signalled to the

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[292] World Entertainment News Network, 'Tarantino: "I may have been Shakespeare in a Past Life"' (2007) <http://www.hollywood.com/news/Tarantino_I_May_Have_Been_Shakespeare_in_a_Past_Life/3673530> [accessed 10 January 2008].
[293] For a discussion of South Hill Park see chapter 2.
[294] *Reservoir Dogs*, Live Entertainment. 1992; *Pulp Fiction*, A Band Apart, 1994; *Kill Bill vol. I*, Miramax. 2003; *Kill Bill vol. II*, Miramax. 2004.

audience through a simple backdrop of three Japanese screens. Duncan's kimono and samurai sword further underlined the Japanese setting. In the opening moments of the play it was the exotic past of Ancient Japan that was emphasised - albeit a Japan distilled through Tarantino's filmic gaze. This ancient Japanese setting was later interrupted by the modern-day suits worn by Macbeth, Banquo and Macduff which recalled the clothes worn by many characters in *Reservoir Dogs* and the hitmen, Jules and Vincent, in *Pulp Fiction*. This clash of time periods and geographical settings was never reconciled and was instead embraced as part of the Tarantinoesque aesthetic.

Aside from altering the setting, the main difference between Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and Bogdanov's was the interpolation of scenes from Tarantino films and the inevitable narrative shifts that occurred as a result. The play began with the sergeant's speech describing Macbeth's bravery to Duncan. The scene then shifted to I.i and the witches. In *Kill Bill Shakespeare* the witches were reduced to one witch who appeared on the platform above the middle screen dressed in a bride's gown. The bloodied belly of the witch aligned her with Beatrix Kiddo of *Kill Bill* who has lost her child and been savagely attacked on her wedding day. Llinos Daniel played both the witch and Lady Macbeth, creating a link between the pregnant witch who, like Kiddo, had lost her baby and Lady Macbeth's violent invocation of her own maternity to persuade Macbeth to kill Duncan.

Once the witch had left the stage Macbeth and Banquo entered. However, instead of the lines beginning 'So foul and fair a day I have not seen', Banquo and Macbeth enacted a scene from *Pulp Fiction* in which Vincent Vega (John Travolta) and Jules Winnifield (Samuel L. Jackson) discuss the merits of being a cannabis user living in Amsterdam:

> It's legal to buy it. It's legal to own it. If you're the proprietor of a hash bar it's legal to sell it. It's illegal to carry it but-but that doesn't matter 'cause get a

load of this. Alright, if you get stopped by a cop in Amsterdam it's illegal for them to search you. That's a right the cops in Amsterdam don't have.[295]

What Tarantino achieves in this scene is the partial normalisation of his violent, psychopathic characters. It is the first time his audience has met them and their demotic language and childish enthusiasm belie the violent tendencies which reveal themselves in the next scene. In *Pulp Fiction* Jules and Vincent's musings about the French words for a Big Mac, 'le Big Mac' and a quarter-pounder with cheese: 'Royale with cheese' and the ability to buy beer at European cinemas serves to complicate characters that could have simply been presented as one-dimensional caricatures.

In *Kill Bill Shakespeare* this scene was 'translated' into a faux-Shakespearean dialogue with hash translated into 'insane root' and McDonalds becoming MacDougals. In this sense, the scene became part of the kind of stereotyping that Tarantino was avoiding in *Pulp Fiction*. However, instead the typecast objects being the characters within the play, it was the language that ultimately emerged as stereotypical. Shakespeare's heightened language became, in *Kill Bill Shakespeare*, associated with fussiness and defined by his use of thees and thous. As a result, Bogdanov not only trivialised Shakespeare's play but also the effect that Tarantino achieves in his film.

Thus, in his dealings with language, Bogdanov succeeded in emphasising Shakespeare's irrelevance and not his relevance. In a scene conceived entirely by the company and not rooted in either Shakespeare or Tarantino, Macbeth became increasingly frustrated and confused by Banquo's instructions to go 'thither' and 'hither'. In this way, the heightened language of Shakespeare's drama was reduced to a comic set piece which emphasised neither the poetry nor the art of Shakespeare's verse. Instead it provided the audience with confirmation about the difficulty and obscurity of Shakespeare's language, potentially

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[295] Vincent Vega played by John Travolta in *Pulp Fiction*.

alienating them further from the language that the marketing promised to elucidate and make more accessible and relevant. Even in an adaptation which did not drastically change the language of Shakespeare's work, the issue of language remained apparent.

While the language of Shakespeare's play was retained, if problematised, the narrative and style of the production were dictated by filmic references and twentieth-century music. On promotional web pages for the production *Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare* was branded as accessible for younger audiences and the marketing explicitly recognised the problems that Shakespeare's language can cause for twenty-first-century theatregoers. It was not only those who already considered themselves theatregoers who were supposed to be attracted by the production. In the press release it was presented as a 'perfect way in for theatre sceptics and students.'[296] Both the press release and later marketing suggested that there was something about this production that was more accessible and even more enjoyable than watching *Macbeth* uncut and unadapted. The elements of the production which were intended to appeal to a twenty-first-century audience were the 'thrilling contemporary soundtrack' and the combination of 'cinematic form and theatrical convention.'[297] The value, according to the marketing was located in the production's inherent tensions.

By combining the mass art of cinema with the apparently more difficult and older conventions of the theatre, the production hoped to attract a new, younger audience to the theatre and to Shakespeare. However, in presenting Shakespeare through a cinematic lens, Bogdanov was not innovating but making use of novelty. In this post-cinema age, the variety of entertainment options available is increasing exponentially and Richard Burt's 'loser' – a person who gains their knowledge and understanding of the world from pop culture - has

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[296] *Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare* press release, 16 July 2007,
<http://www.macarts.co.uk/?page=press/releases.html> [accessed 11 November 2007].
[297] The Midlands Arts Centre (mac), 'Press release'; The mac, Events Exhibitions & Cinema: September-October 2007, (Birmingham: mac, 2007), p. 13.

become 'cool.'[298] In this sense, a filmic version of *Macbeth* might seem attractive to a director trying to appeal to a younger generation. As Burt shows in *Unspeakable ShaXXXspeares*, filmic adaptations of Shakespeare increasingly transpose the narratives of the plays to twentieth and twenty-first-century settings, often those designed to appeal to a teenage market. In post-cinema Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew* takes place in Padua High School; Viola falls for Duke whilst impersonating her brother at his elite boarding school and *Romeo and Juliet* meet in Verona Beach, USA.[299]

By cinematising and transposing Shakespeare into teen-friendly worlds, the directors of films like *10 Things I Hate About You* aim to bring a new, younger audience to Shakespeare. By exploiting the symbiotic nature of adaptation, they assert their own artistic value through the coupling of their work with Shakespeare's. It is hardly surprising, considering the ubiquity of teen-Shakespeare films-of-the-play that theatre practitioners would attempt to adopt similar techniques. Bogdanov is not alone in combining Shakespeare and film or theatre and film, either in the cinema or in the theatre. Play-of-the-film adaptations have become increasingly popular over recent years with productions of *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*, *Calendar Girls*, *The Shawshank Redemption* and *Hairspray* demonstrating that a filmic link can increase a show's popularity.[300] In 2008, a tour of Phizzical Production's *What You Fancy* transposed *Tweflth Night*'s narrative to a Bollywood setting, creating a truly post-cinema Shakespeare – a live theatrical experience that relies heavily on 'techno-media-inundated'

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[298] See for example, Burt's discussion of Cher (Alicia Silverstone) the main character in *Clueless* who recognises a misquotation from *Hamlet* because she 'remember[s] Mel Gibson accurately' in *Unspeakable ShaXXXSpeares*, p. 8.

[299] *10 Things I Hate About You*, dir. Gil Junger. Touchstone Pictures. 1999; *She's the Man*, dir. Andy Fickman, Dreamworks. 2006; *William Shakespeare's Romeo + Juliet*, dir. Baz Lurhmann, Bazmark Films, 1996.

[300] *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*, dir. Terry Johnson and Tamara Harvey (2004-6), London: Garrick Theatre; *Calendar Girls*, dir. Hamish McColl (2009), London: Noël Coward Theatre; *The Shawshank Redemption*, dir. Peter Sheridan (2009), London: Wyndhams Theatre; *Hairspray*, dir. Jack O'Brien (2007-10), London: Shaftesbury Theatre.

audiences' knowledge and understanding of a specific cinematic genre.[301] Kneehigh's hugely

successful *Brief Encounter* maximised on the popularity of David Lean's 1945 film version in

order to market the play.[302] Indulging in the nostalgia of the film, Kneehigh's marketing and

the production itself benefited from the original's reputation. In London, the production was

performed in an old cinema and utilised filmic techniques including projecting images onto a

large screen in order to blur the distinction between film and theatre. The production

embraced the tension between the live and the mediated generating value from both its

cinematic source and the live, experiential qualities of theatre. Like their *Cymbeline*,

Kneehigh's *Brief Encounter* not only exposed cultural value tensions but created further value

by negotiating between them. The combination of filmic techniques, music hall songs and

theatrical practice worked together to redefine established modes of production and ensure

that the audience were presented with an innovative evening at the theatre.

In *Kill Bill Shakespeare* the conglomeration between film and theatre did not work so

effectively. Rescripting Tarantino's emblematic scenes into faux-Shakespearean dialogue

neither elucidated the text nor allowed its audience to think through the formal differences

between Tarantino and Shakespeare. The tension between film and theatre was apparent in the

production but was not exploited in the same way as Kneehigh's *Brief Encounter*. The

Tarantinoesque set pieces obfuscated the narrative and trivialised both Shakespeare and

Tarantino's ability to write appropriate and effective speech for their characters and the

situations in which they find themselves. Theatrical innovation was sacrificed for the

potentially meaningless. This was most apparent in Bogdanov's rendering of one of *Pulp*

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[301] D.J. Hopkins, Catherine Ingman & Bryan Reynolds, '"Nudge, Nudge, Wink, Wink, Know what I mean, Know what I mean?": A Theoretical Approach to Performance for a Post-Cinema Shakespeare' in *Performing Transversally: Reimagining Shakespeare and the Critical Future*, ed. by Bryan Reynolds (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 137-70 (p. 138).
[302] Dir. Emma Rice (2008-10), International Tour: Kneehigh.

Fiction's most iconic scenes. In *Kill Bill Shakespeare*, the drug-dealing Banquo watched as a stoned Fleance recited Tarantino's version of Ezekiel 25:17:

> The path of the righteous man is beset on all sides by the inequities of the selfish and the tyranny of evil men. Blessed is he who, in the name of charity and goodwill shepherds the weak through the valley of darkness, for he is truly his brother's keeper and the finder of lost children. And I will strike down upon thee with great vengeance and furious anger those who attempt to poison and destroy my brothers. And you will know my name is the Lord when I lay my vengeance upon thee.[303]

When Jules Winnifield recites this faux-biblical in *Pulp Fiction*, the audience is challenged. The heightened language jars with the situation in which it is used. The apparently fundamentalist roots of the speech expose the fantasy of just violence and omnipotence which both Jules and Vincent subscribe to: Do the audience recognise that this is not actually a Biblical quotation? Do they feel uncomfortable that it is being used prior to an execution? In other words, Tarantino recognises the importance of presenting tensions to his audience in order to create hermeneutic value. As the audience negotiates between Jules's violence and the poetry of his death knell they also add layers of interpretation and meaning to the film. Within its narrative and aesthetic context, Tarantino's pretend – and thus potentially meaningless - Bible quotation accrues meaning and value. In *Kill Bill Shakespeare* the heightened language of Tarantino's Bible quotation was lost in the already heightened language of Shakespeare's play. Without its marked contrast to surrounding language, the scene was reduced to the comic ramblings of a stoned teenager. Blending Tarantino and Shakespeare became an opportunity for novelty rather than innovation and emptied this moment of meaning. It also denied the theatre its identity as a locus for discussion. The potentially value-generative power of the tension between innovation and tradition was sidelined in favour of banal novelty.

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[303] Pulp Fiction.

Indeed, throughout *Kill Bill Shakespeare*, the tensions between innovation and tradition, relevance and irrelevance was less noticeable than an emphasis on nostalgia. Whilst *Kill Bill Shakespeare* was updating *Macbeth* through its combination of Tarantino and Shakespeare it was also lionising the past. The yellow tracksuit worn by Macduff at the end of *Kill Bill Shakespeare* perfectly encapsulates the function of the filmic references within the play. The tracksuit seemed to situate the play firmly in the twenty-first century, linking it overtly to *Kill Bill vols. I and II*. However, the tracksuit not only reflected Tarantino's films but also Robert Clouse's *Game of Death* starring Bruce Lee (1978).[304] Tarantino appropriated the tracksuit from Clouse and it was then reappropriated – perhaps hyperappropriated - by Bogdanov. This layering of appropriation which began with *Kill Bill vol. I* was also picked up by Michael Boyd in a 2005 production of *Twelfth Night*. In this instance, the yellow cross-gartering that Olivia abhors was transformed into a Bruce Lee/Uma Thurman-esque tracksuit which Malvolio wore to practice Kung Fu in the garden during the gulling scene.[305] In this example, the tracksuit had no bearing on the narrative or interpretation of the play. Instead this tokenistic reference to popular culture demonstrates a desire to make Shakespeare relevant extended to a 'straight' production of the play for an immediate comic effect that did not need the Tarantino reference to make it work.

This recycling of the yellow tracksuit by film and theatre directors demonstrates a reliance on cultural shorthand and audiences' abilities to read that shorthand. The tracksuit stands in for all the heritage values of seventies Kung Fu films; evokes the man heralded as the greatest actor of the genre and represents Tarantino's manipulation of the genre for ironic and ethical effect a quarter of a century later. An audience member can read Boyd or Bogdanov's tracksuit as 'from *Kill Bill*' or, if they are well-versed in film culture, as 'from *Game of Death*

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[304] Concord Productions.

[305] *Twelfth Night*, dir. Michael Boyd (2005), Stratford-upon-Avon: Royal Shakespeare Theatre.

and then *Kill Bill*.' In either situation the audience member will feel the glow of recognition but it will be the Burtian 'loser' – well-versed in popular but not elite culture – who gains the greatest satisfaction from reading the play-of-the-film correctly. This play was not creating a dialectic between the ultra-modern and the early modern but instead was fostering an idea of heritage cinema combined with heritage theatre. While it is important to remember that cultural value tensions must be treated as links rather than distinctions, blurring the gap too much can equally create meaningless – because muddled - and potentially valueless, theatre.

The filmic nostalgia which characterised Bogdanov's adaptation was mirrored in the use of what was claimed by one theatre in which the play was performed to be a 'highly charged modern soundtrack'.[306] Where Kneehigh's *Cymbeline* blended Shakespeare's verse with original and contemporary hip-hop music style to create an original and innovative soundtrack to the play, Bogdanov simply inserted songs from Tarantino's films. These songs included Chuck Berry's 'You Never Can Tell' (1964), Al Green's 'Let's Stay Together' (1972), Kool and the Gang's 'Jungle Boogie' (1973) and Stealer's Wheel's 'Stuck in the Middle' (1973). Tarantino's soundtracks are explicitly not contemporary: when 'Stuck in the Middle' is played on the radio in *Reservoir Dogs* it is introduced by the DJ as follows:

> Joe Egan and Gerry Rafferty were a duo known as Stealers Wheel when they recorded this Dylanesque, pop, bubble-gum favourite from the April 1974, that reached up to number five, as K-Billy's Super Sounds of the Seventies continues.[307]

Tarantino's choice of music is influenced by retrocool and often it is the association with Tarantino's films that has served to give songs a new following and a cult audience.[308] In order to read these songs as contemporary, highly charged or simply 'cool' it is necessary for them to be read in the context of Tarantino's filmic aesthetic. If an audience member had not

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[306] Midlands Arts Centre (mac), 'Events Exhibitions & Cinema', p. 13.
[307] Reservoir Dogs.
[308] See for example Audio Bully's 2004 remix of Nancy Sinatra's 'Bang Bang (My Baby Shot me Down)'.

seen the films they may have instead identified the soundtrack with a bygone era or their parents' record collection.

The assumption of Tarantino's musical contemporaneity is mirrored in the assumption that Tarantino's films themselves speak to a modern audience. The play, recommended for students and theatre sceptics also carried an age guideline of 14+. Even assuming that no audience member was younger than 14, the youngest audience members would not have been born when *Reservoir Dogs* was first released and would only have been two when *Pulp Fiction* won its Academy Award. When *Kill Bill* was released they would have been ten and are still not legally old enough to have seen any of Tarantino's films which all bear 18 certificates in the UK. There are two issues at stake here, the first is that Tarantino's work may not have the cultural resonance or relevance for a teenager that it has for someone ten or twenty years older. The second is that ironically a 14 or 15 year old studying for their GCSEs may well have a better knowledge of Shakespeare's work than of Tarantino's. The tensions between Shakespeare and popular culture which governed the adaptation process were not worked through for the audience. *Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare* can only constitute a dialectic between film and theatre, Shakespeare and Tarantino, parody and tribute if the audience can locate the binaries within the performance. By blending the Tarantinoesque with the Shakespearean and de-modernising Tarantino's dialogue Bogdanov emptied the adaptation process of its value.

Frequently, then, adaptations which try to make Shakespeare relevant only succeed in creating a sense of Shakespeare as culturally irrelevant. This is a phenomenon that Alan Sinfield has noted, 'if you push the Shakespeare-plus-relevance combination too hard, it begins to turn into a contradiction.'[309] In the case of *Kill Bill Shakespeare* this 'pushing too

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[309] 'Royal Shakespeare', p. 201.

hard' was a result of the retro soundtrack and the outdated filmic references. Instead of being cool, *Kill Bill Shakespeare* began to seem as if it was trying too hard to be 'down with the kids'. This not only results in a clunky approach to modernising Shakespeare but also leads to a re-establishment of entrenched cultural values. By incorporating Tarantino's retro soundtrack into his production Bogdanov perpetuates the heritage values associated with Shakespeare in the theatre.

Kill Bill Shakespeare was an attempt to attract new, younger audiences to Shakespeare through the use of the modern medium of cinema. Shakespeare, it seems to say, is no longer relevant but it is important for young people to connect with his work. That notions of cultural irrelevance and cultural importance can exist within the same performance underscores the prominence of value tensions in publicly-funded theatre. However, without the process of negotiation between binaries there is no catalyst for the production of cultural value. Putting the work of Tarantino and Shakespeare side by side does not automatically create a modern, relevant or innovative production. Bogdanov's play reveals some of the cultural values surrounding Shakespeare's work in the twenty-first-century but does not allow theatre to be a locus for their discussion. Bogdanov identifies tensions of value but does not reinvigorate them in spite of his attempts to modernise and create a theatre which embraces the 'new'. Whilst adaptation in general works through the tension of new and old and draws value from it, this particular adaptation reiterates and reaffirms the value of the literary author and the filmic auteur. In Bogdanov's production the act of adapting Shakespeare underlines his position within publicly-funded theatre; 'he is the cultural token which gives significance to the interpretations which are derived from him' and continues to be presented as the source of heritage and history within English theatre.[310]

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[310] Sinfield, 'Royal Shakespeare', p. 198.

Shakespeare's R&J

The Shakespeare-plus-relevance combination was made overt in Original Theatre's production of Joe Calarco's *Shakespeare's R&J*. The shortening of the protagonists' names coupled with the allusion to Baz Luhrmann's *William Shakespeare's Romeo + Juliet* immediately signalled that this production was making Shakespeare relevant. The play tells the story of four schoolboys who sneak out of the dormitory of their repressive boarding school in order to perform *Romeo and Juliet*. What was interesting about Original Theatre's production of Calarco's play was that it changed the role of Shakespeare within the narrative. In the published version of the script, the book of *Romeo and Juliet* is presented as a magical and desirable cultural object. In the script the following stage direction describes the moment when Shakespeare's text is uncovered:

> **Student 1** *lifts an object from beneath the floorboards wrapped in a vibrant swathe of red fabric. He unwraps it [...]*
>
> *The other boys' flashlight beams hit the book's cover, revealing it is a copy of* Romeo and Juliet. *They fall back excited and scared. Moonlight streams magically into the dark room. The boys lunge for the book and then look around, terrified of being caught.*[311]

In Calarco's 'original' adaptation, Shakespeare's play is presented as a transgressive text which has been held back from the boys during their repressive boarding-school education. In the 2008 production, Shakespeare is identified with compulsory education and patriarchal authoritarianism. Chanting his sonnets in an English class is part of the repression of liberties the boys experience at school. *Romeo and Juliet* is not the primary object for the boys sneaking out of the dormitory but rather the vehicle by which they smuggle *Playboy* into the school.

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[311] Joe Calarco, *Shakespeare's R&J* (London: Methuen, 2003), p. 11.

However, although in Original Theatre's production, the discovery of *Romeo and Juliet* is not the 'magical moment' Calarco envisioned in the published script, the ability of Shakespeare's texts to liberate is more heavily underlined. The boys think they are transgressing boundaries by hiding *Playboy* in a classical text, even more so by sneaking out of their dormitory to look at the pictures of naked women. What they discover as they are dragged further into the narrative of *Romeo and Juliet* is that by performing the play themselves, not chanting it mechanically, they can widen their field of experience. *Playboy* might seem transgressive but in reality it underlines and reinforces the normative gender roles and sexual orientations the boys are being taught in school. Performing Shakespeare allows the students playing Romeo and Juliet to liberate their homosexual urges and demands that the other students accept the possibility that their friends might be gay. By sneaking *Playboy* into the chapel inside the covers of a Shakespeare play, the students are forced to confront latent desires which otherwise might not have come to the fore. *Playboy* becomes the establishment text whilst Shakespeare stands for liberation, tolerance, equality and even 'the authentic idea of the human'.[312]

Embedded in this narrative of sexual discovery and freedom from an oppressive authority are many of the accepted cultural values of Shakespeare (particularly Shakespeare-in-education). By taking part in the secret performance the students learn more about themselves than about the playwright. What they discover, is that there is a tension between educational and entertaining Shakespeare and that it is through performance that they can gain a greater understanding of his works. Shakespeare's ability to speak to times other than his own is reaffirmed and his status as a traditional figure is at once highlighted and eroded through the comparison with *Playboy*. Ultimately this play suggests that Shakespeare is good for you as

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[312] Harold Bloom*, Shakespeare: The invention of the human* (London: Fourth Estate, 1999), p. 716.

long as it is a personal Shakespeare, a Shakespeare created by you. Whereas *Cymbeline* and *Kill Bill* graft pop culture reference onto Shakespeare in order to make him more entertaining and relevant to a twenty-first-century audience, Original Theatre's production suggests that Shakespeare can be both pop culture and the transgressive vehicle for teenage rebellion and self-discovery. Calarco's play is perhaps the least fraught interpretation detailed here. Yet, despite its seemingly unified approach to the play, the process of adaptation denies Calarco's audience the opportunity to take ownership of Shakespeare. It is his interpretation of the text which the audience is left with and the interpolation of Puck's lines from *Dream* at the end of the play could lead to confusion for audience less familiar with Shakespeare's works.

Cymbeline

Kneehigh's *Cymbeline* was originally conceived to form part of the Royal Shakespeare Company's Complete Works Festival. The most overt alteration that this production made was to translate the play from early modern to modern English in a script written by company member Carl Grose. Very few lines from the source text remained - the most striking inclusion being the funeral dirge 'Fear no More the Heat of the Sun' which remained largely untouched in Grose's version. This suggests that certain, famous parts of Shakespeare's plays remain difficult to excise even in a modern version. Characters were also altered in order to facilitate the shift into modern English. The Queen, no longer simply an evil archetype, was given a new role as Cymbeline's nurse. She was as much a social climber as a stepmother, intent on controlling Cymbeline's actions through the administration of sedatives. Belarius was no longer hiding Guiderius and Arviragus in a cave but was instead keeping a low profile in a cardboard city. Imogen's alter-ego 'Fidele' would not have lasted long in such a place. 'Ian' became a more suitable disguise. Iachimo was the frequenter - perhaps even proprietor -

of a brothel making Posthumus's trust in him even more ill-advised. However, it was in the addition of a narrator in the form of Joan Puttock that Grose's script moved furthest from Shakespeare.

Joan – played by a cross-dressing actor – referenced both the popular theatrical form of pantomime and served as a comical figure within the play. Having given the audience a brief exposition of past events, Joan addressed them directly: 'Dear me, it's just like a Shakespeare play, isn't it? All misery and death'. At this moment and other similar moments throughout the production the distance between Kneehigh and Shakespeare was at its furthest. Yet, simultaneously, Kneehigh's reliance on Shakespeare's cultural status was strongest when he was overtly referenced. Other additions which had a similar impact included Imogen's misinterpretation of the word 'strumpet' as 'trumpet' and Iachimo's entrance in which he appeared onstage surrounded by scantily clad women and accompanied by pounding dance music. In these performative moments the cultural values of Shakespeare and Kneehigh were brought into stark contrast, demanding that the audience consider what is and is not Shakespeare. By drawing direct attention to the differences between a 'Kneehigh *Cymbeline*' and a 'Shakespeare *Cymbeline*' Grose is both dismissing and embracing the cultural impact of Shakespeare.

Just as the tensions, but also the values, involved in the cultural production process stemmed from a root tension between culture and the market; the tensions located in adaptations originate in an imagined binary between high and mass culture. In this imagined dichotomy, Shakespeare represents the epitome of high culture whilst the hip hop music, Tarantino references and pornographic magazines of the adaptations present an obvious and violent contrast. The root binary of high and mass culture perpetuates the other cultural value tensions: tradition/innovation, film/theatre, relevance/irrelevance, cleverness/emotional depth,

immediate pleasure/slow gratification, parody/affection. Each of these tensions is governed by a conservative reading of the separation between Shakespeare on the one hand and late-twentieth, early twenty-first-century culture on the other. While they are governed by aesthetic conservatism, these tensions can be dealt with in nuanced and interesting ways in order to create new cultural value rather than reiterating entrenched values. Productions, like *Cymbeline* can resist using tensions as dichotomies and instead work through them as links. In doing so, they will reject simplistic and conservative readings of Shakespeare and will, therefore, reinvigorate Shakespeare's cultural value.

Nowhere are tensions – and attempts to negotiate between them - more apparent than in *Cymbeline*'s dealings with language. For Emma Rice, director of *Cymbeline*, Shakespeare's language presented both a barrier to access and a value. Her ambiguous relationship to the language of the play foreshadows the inevitable representation of it as a binary within the production. A familiar conversion narrative surrounds Rice's account of her initial encounter with the play. At first she battles with Shakespeare's archaism but through a period of struggle she is able to build an understanding of it. She admits that she found the language 'tough, dense and archaic' and claims that no one 'talks about how hard Shakespeare can be, what an alien form his work has become.'[313] It emerges that it is the narrative of the play which caught her imagination; whilst the language remained hard to penetrate, the story became 'edgy, touching, ridiculous and heart breaking, a soap opera and an epic.'[314] Her struggles with the language meant that Shakespeare's play was revealed to her 'slowly in delicious technicoloured layers' and it is in this slow consumption process that Rice locates cultural value. She 'love[s]' the play for the time she spent decoding it.[315]

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[313] Emma Rice, 'Families and Foes' (2006) <www.kneehigh.co.uk/html/cymbeline_director.html> [accessed 26 January 2007].
[314] Rice, 'Families and Foes'.
[315] Rice, 'Families and Foes'.

What Rice seems to be valuing here does not appear dissimilar to the value of culture as expressed by the Leavisites and the Frankfurt School. The delayed pleasure Rice describes stands in contrast to mass pleasure which 'hardens into boredom, because if it is to remain pleasure it must not demand any effort.'[316] Those who seek to disparage the pleasure-seeking principles of mass-culture consumers berate them for their idleness and infantilism. Leonard B. Meyer emphasises the laziness of those who listen to popular music; 'the primitive seeks almost immediate gratification for his tendencies […] It is not his mentality that is limited it is his maturity.' Conversely, 'one aspect of maturity both of the individual and of the culture within which a style arises consists then in willingness to forego immediate and perhaps lesser gratification, for the sake of future ultimate gratification.'[317] For some cultural critics and practitioners, Shakespeare's cultural value is located in the difficulty and obscurity of his language and the archaism of his poetic and dramatic forms.

Despite Rice's experience of reading and consuming Shakespeare slowly, Kneehigh's adaptation chose to foreground the narrative instead of the language. Championing Shakespeare's relevance over his links to tradition and high culture, this *Cymbeline* connected the play to twenty-first-century issues such as family breakdown, homelessness and drug abuse. For some theatre critics this reading of Shakespeare's play coupled with the loss of Shakespeare's language rendered the adaptation unsuccessful. Michael Billington's reservations about the production are specifically related to its method of adaptation. He complains that it 'taught [him] nothing new about the play' and that 'this production ducks the challenge of making Shakespeare live through his language.' For Billington struggling or grappling with Shakespeare's language becomes the key to unlocking his value. Billington

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[316] Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. by John Cumming (London: Verso, 1979), p. 137.

[317] Leonard B. Meyer, 'Some Remarks on Value and Greatness in Music', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 4 (1959), 486-500 (p. 494).

sees the updated language as 'soap opera phrases' and attributes the ending of the play to 'Mills and Boon' rather than Shakespeare.[318]

To condemn Kneehigh's production because of its use of popular culture, including hip-hop, rap and pop music is to agree to some extent with Meyer or Adorno or F.R. Leavis. However, as Tony Bennett has noted, these ideas come from: 'an assumption […] that there was something wrong with popular culture and […] once that assumption had been made, all the rest followed: one found what one was looking for – signs of decay and deterioration.'[319] Bennett uses the past tense here. Billington's reaction to Kneehigh's use of feminised, popular culture genres demonstrates that the bifurcation between the mass and the elite and high and low culture remains very much in the present. Despite being produced in a postmodern moment, Kneehigh's *Cymbeline* exposed the tensions of cultural value surrounding the production and consumption of Shakespeare-in-performance. These divergent values are intrinsic to the onstage, performative moment. When Kneehigh's audience realises it is watching a modern-language version of *Cymbeline* it must make value judgements, assessing what is and is not Shakespearean and the value of these differing elements.

What Billington's review does not or cannot acknowledge is the work that Rice claims she did in reading Shakespeare's play. In her slow struggle with the language Rice learned to value Shakespeare in the same way as Billington. However, by re-presenting Shakespeare's language onstage she allows for a discussion of his value to take place. Further, she encourages inconsistent readings to exist within the same production: is *Cymbeline* a 'soap opera' or an 'epic', 'touching' or 'edgy'? Rice's production exposes preconceived cultural values and works through them in order to form new value.

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[318] Michael Billington, 'Review of *Cymbeline*', p. 44.
[319] Tony Bennett, 'Popular Culture: Themes and Issues' in *Popular Culture U203* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1982), p. 6 as cited in John Storey, *Cultural Consumption and Everyday Life*, pp. 26-7.

It is extremely interesting that the 'soap opera' quality which Rice values in Shakespeare is the element of the production which Billington believes distances it from Shakespeare and thus de-values it. In Billington's review the loss of Shakespeare's language and the use of mass culture become mutually reaffirming. For Billington, soap operas and Mills and Boon novels exist at one end of the cultural value spectrum with Shakespeare at the other. However, to see the cultural value spectrum as both linear and fixed is to ignore the ambiguous relationship that exists between the 'high culture' Shakespeare object and other, mass culture objects:

> Although it is undeniable that Shakespeare has become the Bard of high culture, he has never been exclusively or stably held aloft. Indeed, his story convincingly demonstrates the instability of the line dividing high and low, elite and popular, revealing the multiple (and sometimes colliding) meanings of those terms.[320]

Diana Henderson highlights how defunct fixed binaries tend to be and suggests that part of Shakespeare's value arises from its ability to make the line between mass culture and high culture a connection rather than a division. Shakespeare's identity as free resource and cultural mediator allows for the development of this flexible and shifting relationship. In their production, Kneehigh create a dialogue between twenty-first-century mass culture and Shakespeare rather than an outright confrontation. Through this dialogue the entrenched values that read mass culture as worthless and Shakespeare as priceless are examined and called into question and the instability of the line between them is exposed.

Adaptation and the tensions it exposes generate value judgements but they can also encompass tensions of value within the production process. The binary between a mocking tone and an affectionate one was particularly noticeable within Kneehigh's *Cymbeline*. Rice attributes value to *Cymbeline* though a process of what Andy Mousley calls 'reading without

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[320] Henderson, 'From Popular Entertainment to Literature', p. 6.

irony' which permits 'a search for, and embrace of, life-affirming moments, scenes or characters, which purportedly show us how to live a fulfilled life.'[321] Contrastingly an ironic interpretation of a text is characterised by 'detachment' from the text and, at its worst, the 'danger' of 'potentially meaningful human endeavours, such as literature and history becom[ing] merely externalised objects, unhooked from human concerns.'[322] Once again, *Cymbeline* shows how such a tension can be worked through in a more nuanced fashion. Rice demonstrates her love for the text in her essay 'Families and Foes', using emotive language, identifying with the characters in the play and finding within it 'life-affirming moments'. Yet, the production itself disrupted Rice's non-ironic reading of the play. The introduction of the narrator who declared that Shakespeare plays are 'all misery and death'; the addition of popular culture references; the mock deference shown to Stratford-upon-Avon and the gentle lampooning of Shakespeare's language in the 'trumpet', 'strumpet' confusion all conspired to present the audience with a pointedly ironic reading of *Cymbeline*.[323]

Parody and irony do not have to be prompted by antipathy. Rice and Grose may take cracks at Shakespeare but their play remains a tribute. By working through Mousley's dichotomy and presenting their audience with an affectionate yet ironic performance, Rice and Grose succeeded in not only exposing a tension but negotiating within it. In this process of negotiation cultural values are created. Reviewers who liked the production praised it for the 'blackly comic clash of tone and anarchic knowingness' and its avoidance of 'earnestness.'[324] Theatre's dialectical function and adaptation's capacity to embody a locus of value tensions strengthened Kneehigh's ability to create a production which negotiated

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[321] Andy Mousley, *Re-Humanising Shakespeare: Literary Humanism, Wisdom and Modernity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 61.
[322] Mousley, pp. 61-2.
[323] 'You can't swear here'!
[324] Paul Taylor, 'Perverts, Porn and Parkas', *Independent*, 27 September 2006, p. 20; Dominic Cavendish, 'A shot in the arm from the Junkie King', *Daily Telegraph*, 26 September 2006, p. 27.

between irony and affection and generated cultural value for the company, the RSC and Shakespeare.

Shakespeare-plus-Relevance?

In answering the Arts Council's call to innovate and trying to reinvigorate established cultural forms, directors risk creating a trivialised or even nonsensical Shakespeare where they were attempting to create a Shakespeare that is more accessible and more relevant. If the medium through which Shakespeare is adapted is not carefully selected the production can become niche or cultish and begins to draw its cultural value from the same elitist sources that the adaptation was trying to reject. Cultural value in adaptation is always a circular, reflective value which decreases or increases as a result of the status of the original and the effectiveness of the adaptation.

Theatre's value as a locus for negotiation between tensions can be exploited both successfully and unsuccessfully by adaptors of Shakespeare. Such tensions and binaries may seem false, even anachronistic, in the plural, inclusive culture of twenty-first-century. Yet, in performances where Shakespeare is contrasted with Tarantino, modern prose confronts early-modern verse and hip-hop music provides the backing for a funeral dirge they are hard to ignore. These tensions may not be theoretically, or ethically, fashionable but they govern the aesthetics of cultural production in twenty-first-century theatre. In a theatrical environment in which adaptations constitute nearly half of all productions, notions of 'high' and 'low' culture, 'mass' and 'elite', 'live' and 'mediated' continue to influence the cultural value of Shakespeare-in-performance.

If these tensions are managed as negotiations rather than confrontations; if the value-generative power of allowing inconsistencies to exist 'without synthesis' in the same

performative moment are recognised; then Shakespeare's value will not only be reaffirmed but reinvigorated. In this way adaptations form part of the process by which value is made and remade in an ever-changing cultural environment. Shakespeare's status as both free resource and mediator between shifting cultural binaries form the basis of his value within the publicly-funded theatre. It is these initial values that facilitate the production of adaptations of his work and which allow for further value to be created.

Despite their difference, both forms of adaptation – those that present tensions as straightforward confrontations and those that figure tensions as negotiations – make statements about the cultural value of Shakespeare in the twenty-first century. He is presented as both potentially relevant and already irrelevant. As a cultural object he becomes part of a process which champions the new whilst still idealising Shakespeare as a locus of tradition. It is this canonical status that provides the impetus for adaptations. Shakespeare in all his disparity, embodying many cultural value tensions, remains immanent in all twenty-first-century adaptations. This inherent Shakespeare provides legitimisation and cultural clout and, in irreverent reworkings, the opportunity to reject Shakespearean hegemony. This rejection will always be predicated on an initial acceptance of Shakespeare as content provider or jumping-off point. Thus, it is not really a rejection at all. It is an opportunity to play with Shakespeare and manipulate his cultural value. Successful adaptations create a dialectic between high and low culture, the modern and the early modern. In this way they communicate cultural values but also participate in the creation of value by constructing theatre as a site for discussion and debate. Adaptations can often be dismissed as silly or even faintly ridiculous. However, a detailed study of the process and its products reveals how Shakespeare's cultural value is both restated and recreated in the theatre. Adaptations are thus

evidence of the contingent and fluctuating nature of Shakespeare's value and the processes by which it continues to shift and propagate.

INTERCULTURAL SHAKESPEARE:

In an increasingly global marketplace it is not surprising that cultural output from international markets is so readily available in the UK. Dance, theatre, music and art from around the world find their way into publicly-funded cultural institutions, often providing the impetus for full-scale festivals and themed programming. In 2008, the Barbican's 'Worlds and Roots' festival included music from Mali, Senegal, Portugal and India. Sadler's Wells hosted the Australian Ballet in collaboration with the Aboriginal company Bangarra Dance. The National Theatre's autumn season included music from an Argentinian tango band, Kyrgyzstani muscians and Daphna Sadeh, a musician from the Middle East. The travelling exhibitions at the Tate Modern included the work of Cildo Mereiles, a Brazilian artist whose art is influenced by his childhood encounters with the Brazilian 'other'. Away from London, the Birmingham Rep hosted the Young Vic's production of *The Brothers Size,* a re-telling of a Nigerian Yoruba myth by a young American writer, whilst the Coventry Belgrade's *Malaysian Night: Home* promised to blend the 'traditional and contemporary' as a young man struggles to find his roots in a strange country.[325]

The culture of the world is accessible to English audiences at their local theatre and this has the effect of 'glocalisation' – creating a culture that is (oxymoronically) specifically local and simultaneously global; able to speak to and entertain people in places far removed from the originating roots of the cultural endeavour. Shakespeare is, and has been, as much a part of this globalised culture as the examples given above. From the first performance of his works

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[325]Barbican, 'Worlds and Roots',< http://www.barbican.org.uk/music/series.asp?ID=255>; Sadler's Wells, 'The Australian Ballet with Bangarra Dance', <http://www.sadlerswells.com/show/Australian-Ballet-Bangarra>; Tate Modern, 'Cildo Mereiles', <http://www.tate.org.uk/modern/exhibitions/cildomeireles/about.shtm>; Birmingham Rep, 'The Brothers Size', < http://www.birmingham-rep.co.uk/event/the-brothers-size>; Coventry Belgrade, 'Malaysian Night', <http://www.belgrade.co.uk/site/scripts/show_details.php?showID=282> [all accessed 12 November 2008].

outside Europe, on board the *Red Dragon* in 1607, to the proliferation of translations, adaptations and reworkings in the twenty-first century, Shakespeare has been and continues to be a 'global commodity'.[326] According to Graham Holderness and Bryan Loughrey, 'Shakespeare belongs wholly to the flux of global culture, and is no longer the property of any one national constituency.'[327] This chapter considers how the globalisation of culture affects not only the Shakespeare performed in publicly-funded theatres but also the aesthetic and ethical guidelines for culture laid out by Arts Council England. It shows that – as well as the process of globalisation - a perceived link between innovation and interculturalism lies at the heart of international productions of Shakespeare. Further, it argues that the impact of 'world' culture on Shakespearean performance can be linked back to the primitivism of the Modernist era and contends that the attraction of primitivism is situated in its links with utopianism. By mapping the associations between modernism, primitivism and utopianism we can see the continuing influence of twentieth-century cultural values in the 'innovative' theatre practice of the new millennium.

Connecting Interculturalism and Innovation

In 2006, internationalism and diversity formed two of the six key elements of the Arts Council's *Our Agenda for the Arts*. In this document, the Arts Council set out what they saw as the ethical value of working internationally and celebrating diversity. According to the *Agenda*, internationalism is 'a state of mind, intrinsic to modern life.'[328] It is for this ethical reason that the arts must operate internationally in order to 'develop their own international

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[326] Graham Holderness and Bryan Loughrey, 'Arabesque: Shakespeare and Globalisation' in *Globalisation and its Discontents: Writing the Global Culture* ed. by Stan Smith, Essays and Studies 2006 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006), pp. 24-46 (p. 43).
[327] 'Arabesque', p. 43.
[328] *Our Agenda*, p. 10.

knowledge and capacity to help internationalise English culture.'[329] Diversity is also important in the *Agenda* for ethical reasons: 'race, ethnicity and faith will remain major preoccupations in this country and the arts are fundamental to such debates.'[330] However, in this section of the *Agenda* the Arts Council also gestures towards the aesthetic advantages of embracing diversity and 'turning the diversity debate away from a focus based purely on remedy of past imbalances towards a positive celebration of diversity and the artistic and creative opportunities it offers.'[331]

The shift towards an aesthetic imperative for producing diverse and international work is picked up and developed in the Arts Council's 2008-11 manifesto: *Great Art for Everyone*. This title alone suggests that the focus of the Council has turned back from emphasising accessible art towards supporting art that is both accessible and excellent. This constitutes a reassertion of their founding mission, to spread 'the best culture' across Great Britain.[332] The Arts Council's move towards emphasising aesthetics over ethics, first identified in chapter 2, is demonstrated in the intended outcomes of *Great Art*: 'excellence', 'reach', 'engagement' and 'innovation.'[333] That engagement remains an issue demonstrates that, even in the aesthetic shift of the late noughties, ethical values continue to be important. Within a manifesto which privileges innovation, excellence and quality above all, there is still a focus on appealing to children and young people and audience diversity. Yet, *Great Art* inflects these focuses differently. In the *Agenda*, appealing to children, celebrating diversity and internationalising art were the projected outcomes of public funding. In *Great Art* they have

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[329] p. 10.
[330] p. 12.
[331] p. 12.
[332] Arts Council England, '1946-1950, The Arts Council Takes Shape' <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/about-us/history-arts-council/1946-50/> [accessed 2 July 2010].
[333] *Great Art*, p. 22.

become the ethical vehicles by which aesthetic outcomes – namely excellence and innovation – are achieved.

For the purposes of this thesis innovation is defined, as it is in the OED, as: 'the alteration of what is established by the introduction of new elements or forms.' It also borrows from Bakhshi's and Throsby's assertion that innovation occurs in four ways in the cultural industries: through audience reach, artform development, value creation and business models.[334] Of particular interest in this chapter is the process of innovation through artform development which Bakhshi and Throsby argue is 'one of the most significant innovative contributions cultural institutions can make […] through the encouragement of new and experimental work in their programming.'[335] The idealised innovation of culture within publicly-funded theatre thus operates as an alteration of established modes of production and the subsequent reinvigoration of the products with result from them.

This understanding of innovation – as opposed to the alternative 'introduction of novelties' – is what permeates the work of John Holden, Brian McMaster, the Arts Council and many cultural economists.[336] The process of innovation is assumed to be radical and risky but, most importantly, value-generative.[337] It thus becomes part of an idealised process of production which ensures both the aesthetic excellence and cultural value of the resulting product.[338] Chapter 2 argued that innovation is enabled by public funding because it gives organisations the time and money to take risks. Chapter 4 showed that innovation frequently becomes subsumed into the idea of relevance. Developing these ideas, this chapter focuses on the way

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[334] *Culture of Innovation*, p. 13. Each of these areas is explored in the thesis: audience reach in chapters 2 and 4, value creation throughout and business models in chapter 3.
[335] Culture of Innovation, p. 13.
[336] 'Introduction of novelties' is the second definition of 'innovation' offered in the OED. See my discussion of innovation and novelty in chapter 4 and my discussion of the cultural economy in chapter 3.
[337] See McMaster, *Supporting Excellence in the Arts* and also Maria Crealey, 'Applying New Product Development Models to the Performing Arts: Strategies for Managing Risk', *International Journal of Arts Management*, 5 (2003), 24-33; Castañer and Campos, p. 32.
[338] McMaster, Supporting Excellence in the Arts, p. 7.

in which idealised innovation – in terms of recreating established forms – is actively encouraged by the Arts Council and other commentators on cultural policy.

The Arts Council suggests that, in the early twenty-first century, at least some of this innovation will come from working internationally through cultural exchanges.[339] Their manifesto, *Great Art*, acknowledges its debt to McMaster's 2008 report *Supporting Excellence in the Arts*. His contention that 'working internationally builds an organisation's morale, broadens horizons and opens up different perspectives on an artist's or an organisation's work', has clearly influenced the Arts Council's thinking about how to achieve artistic innovation.[340] This is further emphasised in their *Theatre Assessment 2009* when they state that they 'will make sure our funding and processes challenge arts organisations to even greater ambition, whether they are working in traditional ways or discovering new ones. Greater exposure to international work and international influence is part of this.'[341] Here we can see the culmination of internationalism's journey from outcome in its own right to conduit for innovative creativity. In *Theatre Assessment 2009*, the Arts Council suggests that if theatres work internationally they will be able to challenge tradition, discover new ways to make theatre and thus fulfil the objective of cultural innovation.

According to the Arts Council, a mixture of cultural diversity and international work should thus allow theatres to create innovative, exciting productions. Underlying the Arts Council's renewed focus on innovation is the problem of how to make theatre – particularly theatre like Shakespeare – 'more than plays on stages'.[342] If international cultural endeavour provides the opportunity to innovate perhaps it also offers the solution to this problem. Certainly Decibel – the Arts Council's project to encourage the work of black and minority

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[339] *Great Art*, pp. 18-9.
[340] McMaster, p. 12.
[341] p. 5.
[342] Arts Council, *Theatre Assessment*, p. 8.

ethnic artists – champions the redefining qualities of more culturally diverse work. Writing in Decibel's *Reinventing Britain*, Naseem Khan asserts that 'the time has passed when "ethnic arts" could be put in a box with the title Ethnicity. Now they challenge basic assumptions – what constitutes arts, what makes up professionalism, how is [*sic*] quality assessed, how the cake is shared.'[343] This list can be added to. Here, Khan seems to implicitly suggest that minority ethnic art might be able to answer the question, how can theatre be made into theatre differed from itself, how can stage-bound, text-driven work be remade as more than just a play on a stage?

While the Arts Council and Decibel suggest that both international and more diverse English culture can help with the push towards innovation, this chapter focuses on international, intercultural theatre. This is partly motivated by the international nature of the Complete Works Festival – discussed at greater length in the next chapter – partly by the increasing globalisation of culture and partly by the productions of Shakespeare that I have seen during the time that I have been working on this thesis.[344] A Polish *Macbeth*, an Indian *Midsummer Night's Dream*, an 'African' *Pericles*, a Japanese *Titus Andronicus*, a Brazilian *Tempest* and a Bulgarian *Rape of Lucrece* have all contributed to my thinking about the connection between theatrical interculturalism, the drive to innovation and Shakespeare's cultural value. In focusing on the international, intercultural reworking of Shakespeare this chapter shows how Shakespeare's value can be made and remade.

The Discourse of Interculturalism

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[343] 'The Arts in Transition' in *Reinventing Britain: Cultural diversity upfront and on show*, *Guardian* and Decibel, p. 4 <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/media/uploads/documents/publications/reinventingbritain_phpTnX0lJ.pdf> [accessed 13 July 2010].
[344] For a fuller discussion of my case studies and their effect on the thesis see introduction.

The development of the twentieth-century idea and practice of 'interculturalism' in the theatre has been described and critiqued by Bonnie Marranca:

> interculturalism…orients itself around the notion of "people's theatre", in reaction to Western theatre convention and the more formalist, literary impulses of modernism. Generally this theatre demonstrates a less formal separation of performer and audience, independence from the dramatic text of a single author and disinterest in the work of an aesthetic object to be viewed.[345]

Marranca's identification of interculturalism as an antidote to Western theatrical convention demonstrates that activities labelled 'intercultural' may have less to do with an interaction between cultures and more to do with one culture providing a contrast and relief from another. Her recognition that intercultural theatre tends to flout Western conventions, by breaking down the barrier between performer and spectator and by removing authorial voice from performance, situates the interculturalism she is critiquing in the discourse of primitivism.

This chapter develops and reassesses Marranca's definition of the intercultural for the twenty-first century. She sees in interculturalism a break away from modernist impulses and a disinterest in aesthetics. This chapter argues that in fact, because of its primitivism and exoticism, intercultural Shakespeare tends to do the very opposite. Marranca sees a denial of modernism in the intercultural. However, what the case studies detailed below demonstrate is that interculturalism is deeply embedded in and indebted to modernist ideals of consensual artistic realms, the complete and authentic work of art and the ability of culture to reconnect the pieces of an increasingly fragmentary society.

Cultural Authenticity

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[345] Bonnie Marranca, 'Thinking through Interculturalism' in *Interculturalism and Performance: Writings from PAJ* ed. by Bonnie Marranca and Gautam Dasgupta (New York: PAJ Publications, 1991), pp. 9-23 (p. 14).

The connection between interculturalism, modernism and primitivism is further explored later in the chapter and forms the basis of the contention that innovation often operates through a paradoxical connection with the past. Underpinning this argument is the idealisation, by cultural commentators and producers, of cultural authenticity. 'Authenticity' is a constructed and idealised cultural value. In this chapter, and throughout the thesis, the term is intended to relate not to an idea of an authentic Shakespeare, but to an idealised cultural product or experience which is imagined to be more real and more connected to some form of inherent humanity. The concept of the 'human' is itself problematic but Natasha Distiller's suggestion that 'we agree to allow "the human" to stand for something ultimately uncontainable' seems to provide some solution to the problem of humanist essentialism.[346] However, the notion of authenticity with which this chapter is concerned tends towards a more essentialised reading of 'the human' as responding in universally applicable ways to culture, theatre and Shakespeare. It is this idealised authenticity, connected to an essentialised concept of humanity, which Artaud imagines exists in Balinese theatre and which Adorno fears is lost when cultural goods become commodified.[347]

This idea of authenticity is connected by cultural producers to intercultural products' perceived spontaneity and non-commerciality.[348] It is, as Erik Cohen argues, 'a socially constructed concept' which is predicated on an over-generalised notion of itself as 'a quality of pre-modern life, and of cultural products produced prior to the penetration of modern Western influences.'[349] It is from this privileging of the 'pre-modern' as the site of authenticity that the connection with spontaneity and non-commerciality grows. Each of these idealised elements is mutually reaffirming. Spontaneity implies that an event is unplanned.

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[346] Shakespeare, South Africa, and Post-Colonial Culture (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 2005).

[347] Artaud, *Theatre and its Double*; Adorno, *The Culture Industry*. See chapter 1 for a discussion of both.

[348] In chapter 6, I argue that the same constructed values are used to create utopian spaces at festival events.

[349] 'Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15 (1988), 371-86 (p. 374; p. 375).

This explains its non-commercial nature since there is no infrastructure created in order to receive payment for a performance. The lack of commerciality itself becomes a precipitant of authenticity because an unplanned, unpaid-for event seems to avoid the apparently alienating process of monetary exchange.[350] Cohen questions the constructed and idealised nature of authenticity and suggests that commercialism can actually rescue cultures and cultural goods which would otherwise become obsolete and allow those cultures and goods to accrue new meanings. Equally, he argues that authenticity is a subjective rather than an objective value which can emerge from apparently 'inauthentic' experiences.

Yet, although Cohen and others have suggested that the relationship between authenticity and commoditisation is nuanced and complex, it continues to be presented in the theatre as a simple clash or binary. This is because the entrenched and constructed cultural values already identified within this thesis continue to inform Shakespearean performance.[351] The idealised authenticity which emerges from the non-commercial and the spontaneous needs to be considered when analysing intercultural Shakespeare because primitivist readings of the 'authentic', 'spontaneous' and 'non-commercial' other continue to circulate in publicly-funded theatre and hence to inflect intercultural performance.

International Culture in Publicly-Funded Institutions

Free-resource Shakespeare is available to be adapted interculturally but, like the adaptations aspiring to relevance and accessibility in the last chapter, this does not always result in increased and increasing cultural value. That said, the drive towards innovation – whether successful or not – forms an important part of the cultural production process and tangibly affects the work of publicly-funded theatres. The perceived relationship between

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[350] See Cohen and Dennis Kennedy, 'Shakespeare and Cultural Tourism', *Theatre Journal*, 50 (1998), 175-88.
[351] See, particularly, chapter 1.

innovation and interculturalism results in numerous intercultural interpretations of Shakespeare's plays and thus palpably influences the output of publicly-funded theatres. Intercultural Shakespeare productions provide a practical example of the way in which the relationship between public funding, theatre and Shakespeare functions and the potential moments of cultural value creation which this relationship generates. Whether innovation is really achieved through intercultural endeavour is not the issue at stake here. Rather, it is the perception that there is a link between interculturalism and innovation. The effect that this perceived link has on the Shakespeare produced in publicly-funded theatres – both in terms of aesthetics and cultural value creation – is the main focus of the chapter.

What is it about international culture which seems to allow innovation to take place? The answer to this question lies in the tensions interculturalism constructs between the local and the global or, indeed, between 'our local' and 'another's local.' As Sonia Massai notes, these tensions are often part of a false dichotomy that reaffirms long-held values. However, despite generating what she describes as a 'critical impasse', the tension between local and global continues to inform the intercultural performance of Shakespeare's plays.[352] This is because working internationally encourages the exposure of contrasts between different cultures. Some productions' relationships to the idea of local and global are more nuanced than others but, however they are presented, a drive towards innovation underpins them.[353]

An examination of intercultural Shakespeare in performance demonstrates how the idea of aesthetic innovation becomes linked to internationalisation and interculturalism. Baxter Theatre's 2009 production of *The Tempest* provides a useful example.[354] In this South African production, the spirits which inhabited the isle and performed the wedding masque for

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[352] 'Defining Local Shakespeares' in, *World-wide Shakespeares: Local Appropriations in Film and Performance* ed. by Massai (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 3-11. See also Natasha Distiller, *South Africa, Shakespeare, and Post-Colonial Culture* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 2005).
[353] Examples of both types of production follow.
[354] Dir. Janice Honeyman, 2009, International Tour: Baxter Theatre.

Miranda and Ferdinand were transformed into brightly-coloured puppets and the eponymous tempest was 'accomplished with the aid of a vast, slithering serpent which, in Zulu cosmology, embodies the force of nature.'[355] By making use of a variety of different African mythologies and combining this with a generalised African aesthetic, director Janice Honeyman made 'this all-too-familiar play' unfamiliar.[356] Michael Billington's review suggests that the mixture of the Shakespearean and the African has succeeded in re-creating the play for a twenty-first-century audience. His perception of its innovation is tied to interculturalism and the clash it provides between the familiar and the unfamiliar.

However, this production only functions as innovative if the audience watching the play is indeed familiar with it, both in its textual form and in at least one other performed iteration. In this sense, Honeyman is trading on a similar set of assumptions to those made by Shakespearean adaptors or film directors who 'gamble on their sense of what the viewing public is used to' in order to present something which is a 'welcome surprise.'[357] An audience well-versed in *The Tempest* as both performance and text may not expect to see Shakespeare's 'Mediterranean isle […] inhabited by spirits disguised as witch-doctors and totem poles' or Ariel covered in white body paint or even a dignified yet dispossessed Caliban.[358] Intercultural Shakespeare thus has the potential to innovate because it blends and contrasts cultures and presents its audience with a play which simultaneously draws on a pre-established idea of Shakespeare and represents Shakespeare as 'different and deferred in the economy of the same.'[359] To put it simply: because Shakespeare is not South African, South African mythologies and performance techniques can be applied to his plays in order to

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[355] Michael Billington, 'Myths and Metaphors create stunning African Tempest', *Guardian*, 19 February 2009, p. 38.
[356] Billington, 'Myths and Metaphors', p. 38.
[357] Jackson, 'Introduction', p. 10.
[358] Benedict Nightingale, 'High pressure roars in from the Cape', *The Times*, times2, 19 February 2009, p. 16.
[359] Derrida, p. 17.

revive, refresh and remake them.[360] Intercultural Shakespeare can thus be constructed as innovative Shakespeare, provided that audience members have pre-established concepts of Shakespeare with which to work.

Showcasing this kind of cultural work serves to fulfil the Arts Council's emphasis on internationalism. This provides further impetus for the RSC and other publicly-funded bodies to commission, put on and produce intercultural art. This impetus can be seen in the eclectic range of intercultural, international culture available in the publicly-funded organisations of England. However, this eclecticism is underpinned by a long-running tradition of reading other cultures in terms of a primitivist aesthetic. Why does the world culture displayed for English audiences so frequently seem to have its roots in primitive ritual, 'traditional' and native cultures – cultures which come most frequently from Africa, Asia or South America, rather than Europe or North America? The answer to this questions is not solely rooted in their ability to innovate the 'old' forms of English culture. The attraction of the cultures showcased in English theatres, galleries and concert halls is as much associated with the exoticism and mystery of 'other' cultures and the assumed primitivism and authenticity of non-Western traditions.

Thus, the internationalising of publicly-funded culture – Shakespeare included – is a paradoxical process. It is focused on providing innovative ways of staging and producing theatre but in order to perform this innovation it looks to the past. Intercultural Shakespeare tends to innovate through tradition and to place great emphasis on creating authentic theatrical experiences. These are authentic experiences which depend on the simplification of complex and problematic concepts. They imagine that the theatrical experience can connect to something 'authentically human' within its audience – a concept which this chapter has

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[360] The definition of 'South African' is also fraught with nuance. Distiller, pp. 31-48.

already problematised. They are experiences that are innovative because of their distance from the realities of twenty-first-century England and authentic because they seem to embrace spontaneity, communality and non-commerciality. Thus, authentic theatre is also innovative theatre because it moves away from generally accepted forms of cultural production and attempts to redefine the established concept of what theatre is and what it should do.

Cultural producers' perceived connection between intercultural theatre and innovation can be seen borne out in two twenty-first-century productions. Performed as part of the Complete Works Festival, *Macbeth*, directed by Grzegorz Bral, and performed by his company Teatr Pieśń Kozła and *Pericles*, directed by Dominic Cooke, and performed by the RSC provide examples of the way in which intercultural Shakespeare functions in publicly-funded theatre. The differences in the plays' performance styles and their encounter with free-resource Shakespeare will become apparent in the course of the analysis but it may be worth highlighting one obvious but important point. Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth* was intercultural because it blended the English historical Shakespeare with a Polish avant-gardist aesthetic. The British-made *Pericles*, on the other hand, borrowed the vestiges of the intercultural in order to innovate the RSC's approach to Shakespeare.

Teatr Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth*

Teatr Pieśń Kozła's work has been described by theatre critic Mark Brown as sitting on the 'cusp between ancient ritual and theatrical modernism'.[361] This metaphor of the 'cusp' deserves attention. It raises productive questions about the concepts of and relationship between 'ancient' and 'modern.' It asks us to question how the seeming antitheses of the ancient and the modern are connected. It suggests that ritual can tip over the cusp and become

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[361] Mark Brown, 'Grotowski in the 21st Century Theatre: Teatr Piesn Kozla (Song of the Goat Theatre), Wroclaw, Poland', *Critical Stages: The Webjournal of IATC*, 1 (2009) <http://www.criticalstages.org/criticalstages/146?category=36> [accessed 14 June 2010].

an embedded part of theatrical modernism. Finally, in the case of Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth*, the metaphor of the 'cusp' demands an examination of the role that Shakespeare plays in negotiating between the ancient and the modern. Throughout this thesis the importance of treating tensions as links instead of distinctions has been emphasised. Brown's assessment of Pieśń Kozła's theatrical work suggests that it operates, or at least appears to operate, within such a linked yet binary relationship. It is the blending of these two disparate elements which is paradigmatic of intercultural Shakespeare productions. The connections between intercultural endeavour, ritual and modernism form a key part of this chapter's argument that despite its connection to innovation, intercultural endeavour is frequently rooted in the aesthetics and practices of the past. In outlining what this particular production did with free-resource Shakespeare, the interplay it created between ancient and modern and ritual and theatre comes to the fore.

Teatr Pieśń Kozła's work-in-progress *Macbeth* was performed in the Swan theatre in 2007 and was the only *Macbeth* to be presented during the Complete Works Festival. The replacement of a complete *Macbeth* with this incomplete version was also a replacement of a Shakespeare based on text with a Shakespeare removed from text. The production was largely non-verbal and was not driven by narrative. In this way, it moved away from Shakespeare and away from the kind of production normally presented at the RSC. Pieśń Kozła demonstrated a method by which Shakespeare can be transformed and made into a different Shakespeare, a Shakespeare which draws its value from its alternative identity. This method thus has the potential to make the RSC's Shakespeare about 'more than plays on stages.'[362]

Scenes from the play were presented to the audience and intercut with short talks from the company's director. After each scene Grzegorz Bral took to the stage in order to explain the

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[362] Theatre Assessment 2009, p. 11.

aesthetic and ethical motivations which drove his directorial decisions. Chief among these was what Bral described as a desire to create 'authentic' theatre. In order to do this, he had pared the script back to a small number of scenes which were presented out of chronological sequence and without context. Every scene was accompanied by the background hum of polyphonic singing, lending the performance an eerie and esoteric quality. The songs themselves were based on those of an isolated Siberian village – dubbed the 'Siberian Atlantis' – whose culture was nearly lost after serious flooding wiped out the population. Bral and his company had visited the village in order to save the cultural memories and reproduce them in their own work.

The key elements of this production were its status as work-in-progress, its absence of narrative, its emphasis on the non-verbal and its celebration of lost communities. It is in these elements that we can see the drive – successful or not – towards innovation. In the case of Teatr Pieśń Kozła, a privately-funded theatre company, this drive towards innovation was not prompted by the Arts Council's funding policies. However, the presentation of the play at the RSC underlined the innovative potential of intercultural work and allowed the RSC to meet Arts Council criteria on internationalism.

By flagging the production as a work-in-progress, Teatr Pieśń Kozła brought the creative process to the forefront of the theatre. Aesthetically it suggested that the piece was malleable and shifting. It also opened up the possibility of a co-creative role for the audience.[363] Effective and ineffective parts of the play could be worked on and changed after the company had seen the audience's reaction. There was a sense, then, that the actors and the audience were sharing the creative space within the theatre. The play's status as work-in-progress

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[363] For more on co-creation see chapter 3.

suggested that the audience were more involved in the production of the work than they would have been had they watched a complete piece.

The work-in-progress nature of the production led to the performance's denial of narrative. The scenes which the company performed were in non-chronological order and represented a series of symbolic and allegorical moments rather than a definite storyline. Scenes were titled 'crown' or 'cauldron' and the company used the images of these objects in order to present the audience with polyphonic soundscapes blended with a minimal amount of Shakespearean dialogue. *Macbeth* had been mined for its symbolism and metaphors rather than its narrative content. Whereas Kneehigh's *Cymbeline* maintained only the narrative of Shakespeare's play, Teatr Pieśń Kozła's production made Shakespeare innovative through a different process whereby his play was dismantled and reconstructed as a different kind of cultural object.

This different cultural object, this Shakespeare-differed, resists the kind of co-creation that the production's status as work-in-progress tries to encourage. Instead of creating an accessible and easily readable piece of theatre, Bral is keen to distance Pieśń Kozła from the easy-to-interpret and the banal. He relies on his audiences' abilities to unpick the symbolism of his productions: 'if you are intelligent enough or sensitive enough, you know what we are talking about.'[364] Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth* relied on its audience's cultural capital and hence ability to decode the play. Thus, the seemingly communal and inclusive nature of the work-in-progress was disrupted by a simultaneous modernist elitism which denied the audience narrative satisfaction and, potentially, understanding. The work-in-progress, artisanal nature of the piece evokes Pieśń Kozła's link back to 'ancient' cultural forms, whilst their denial of easy accessibility aligns them with modernist sensibilities. The push for innovation which is

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[364] Bral quoted in Mark Brown, 'Poetry in Motion', *New Statesman*, 2 August 2007
<http://www.newstatesman.com/arts-and-culture/2007/08/goat-theatre-poland-song> [accessed 16 June 2010].

evident in Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth* was interrupted by the inability to reconcile these two elements of the production.

The drive towards innovation which was linked to Pieśń Kozła's emphasis on metaphor was mirrored in their approach to Shakespeare's language. Although some spoken dialogue was used in the performance it was dominated by the polyphonic soundscape of singers. In its emphasis on physical movement and polyphonic singing over linguistic representation, the performance denied the mimesis we tend to expect from a Shakespeare play. Indeed, by privileging song and dance over Shakespeare's language, the production could be seen as an iconoclastic rejection of its author. However, at the same time it relied on its audience's prior knowledge of the play, without which Pieśń Kozła's interpretation would lose its value as an apparently innovative and iconoclastic production.

Bral, the artistic director of a theatre company that wants to innovate, sought for innovation in the disappearing traditions of a lost culture. In order to make Shakespeare 'new', Bral blended his work with the Siberian 'old'. This was done not only to create innovative Shakespeare but also to create what Bral described as an 'authentic' work of art. By blending Shakespeare's *Macbeth* with the nearly-lost songs of the Siberian Atlantis, Bral hoped to produce a play which could lay greater claim to authenticity than the work of a company that simply reproduced the Shakespearean text. Importantly, he was not trying to produce an authentic Shakespearean performance but rather an authentic theatrical experience. Theatrical pleasure resulting from visual and aural cues was more important to Bral than providing his audience with narrative satisfaction or a verbal Shakespeare. He was trying to create a production which was more than a play on a stage; a production which not only remade Shakespeare but remade the idea of performativity.

The celebration of cultures like the Siberian Atlantis is characteristic of Bral's company that also curates the Brave Festival for those 'who do not agree to be expelled from their traditions and those who embark upon a search for their roots.'[365] Creating communities from those whose cultures are disappearing, the Brave festival embodies many tensions of value. It tries to make new culture from old traditions and works with the specifically local but performs it on a global scale. Perhaps most suggestively, it is always an inauthentic expression of apparently authentic culture. The 2008 Brave Festival was dedicated to African artists. 'Everything we will see is a *quotation* from an African ritual, both a performance and a ceremony' the website tells us.[366] It is in this act of quotation, of decontextualisation, that the aspiration to authenticity turns into inauthenticity. The same balance between authenticity and inauthenticity was evident in *Macbeth*. The Siberian songs were performed as part of a dismantled, symbolic, non-narrative Shakespeare performance and as such became equally detached from their own social and cultural context. Both the Shakespeare and the Siberia on display to audiences of *Macbeth* were idealised as authentic but were in fact performances of an authenticity which is always an intangible and constructed cultural value.

The RSC's *Pericles*

Where Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth* was an unfinished, non-narrative, non-verbal performance, the RSC's *Pericles*, directed by Dominic Cooke, was a completed, narrative-driven, linguistically complex production. Unlike *Macbeth*, *Pericles* tried to combine theatrical and narrative pleasure in order to give its audience an exciting and innovative evening at the theatre. The play was not adapted or rewritten. Its action was, however, removed from a Middle Eastern to an African setting and was performed in promenade in the Swan Theatre. It

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[365] 'Brave Festival: Against Cultural Exile' (2007) <www.bravefestival.pl> [accessed 15 March 2007].
[366] Brave Festival, 'Rituals: Out of Africa', 2008
< http://www.bravefestival.pl/en/news,4th-BF-marked-by-Africa> [accessed 17 November 2008].

is these two elements of the production, its African setting and its promenade performance style, that are focused on here and examined in the light of the move towards intercultural, innovative Shakespeare.

Pericles began with Gower entering the performance space in the guise of a ritualised African storyteller. Endowing Gower with this identity created an opportunity for a reinterpretation of the part of a Shakespearean narrator and the role he plays in the dramatic action. Gower's prologue gave way to a scene set in an African dictatorship, with camouflage-clad soldiers pointing guns threateningly into audience members' faces. In Tyre the performance shifted to an 'altogether more relaxed and ceremonial place, all coloured robes and pyjamas, like a tourist's fantasy of Ghana.'[367] Pentapolis was a Mediterranean country where Pericles had to take part in a mini-Olympics in order to win Thaisa's hand. Ephesus was represented by a hippie commune and the brothels of Mytilene – in which black girls were sold to white men – became symbolic of the colonial exploitation of Africa. Each of these settings provided Cooke with opportunities for innovation. The pentathlon which Pericles took part in, the New Age healing ritual which revived Thaisa and the threatening, claustrophobic atmosphere of Antiochus's court were all results of the decision to change the play's geographical locations.

However, the individual opportunities for innovation were overshadowed by the use of promenade staging. It was this element of the production which was intended to create theatrical pleasure for the audience by involving them in the action. Yet, instead of the play being exciting for the audience, it was deemed functionless and thought to leave the audience 'uncertain'.[368] An ideal promenade would have lent the production a sense of the unmediated cultural happening – in which there is apparently no barrier between audience and actors and

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[367] Michael Dobson, 'Shakespeare Performances in England, 2007' in *Shakespeare Survey 61*, ed. by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 318-50 (p. 319).
[368] 'Shakespeare Performances in England, 2007', p. 319.

thus 'unity and flow of communication' can be achieved.[369] With this idealisation, theatre resembles ritual – in which the whole community is involved and actors and spectators are interchangeable. However, the idealisation of the promenade staging quickly falls apart under scrutiny. Unlike in Eugenio Barba's theatre of barter and exchange, the audience had paid money for their place at the event, unlike in ritual, the audience did not know what their role in the event would be, whilst the actors' roles were clearly defined.

Pericles was not theatre turned to ritual but an attempt to turn ritualised performance style into theatre. Poh Sim Plowright argues that ritual is first and foremost a religious event, it has sacred meanings and through this link with religion it 'enables humans to understand their relationship with each other, with the world, and with the supernatural…the process of ritual helps to remind its performer or participant who he is.'[370] However, by decontextualising a ritual process and placing it in an alien setting, English theatre succeeds in re-mediating the process itself, theatricalising ritual, rather than ritualising theatre.

The Aims of Interculturalism

So what do these productions gain from their link to the intercultural and their push towards innovation? Bral's production was innovative, or at least unusual, because of its emphasis on Shakespeare as a producer of metaphor and symbolism rather than narrative. In this area Pieśń Kozła's approach to the play moved beyond straight-forward adaptation towards a more provocative and potentially interesting treatment of Shakespeare's text. The distancing of Shakespeare's language is not quite so new. It has already been noted in

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[369] David Williams, '"A Place Marked by Life": Brook at the Bouffes du Nord', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 1 (1985), 39-74 (p. 44).
[370] Poh Sim Plowright, 'The Desacralization of Puppetry: A Case History from Rajasthan', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 21 (2005), 273-98 (p. 283).

Cymbeline and in *Kill Bill* and is a common feature of many adaptations.[371] However, the hegemony of the non-verbal over the verbal is another example of a step away from the kind of Shakespeare which is normally privileged at the RSC and towards a Shakespeare that is differed from itself.

Bral's *Macbeth* was as much a meditation on the nature of performativity and the potential of theatre to provide an authentic cultural experience as it was a play. In order to reinvigorate the theatrical cultural offer, Bral searched for solutions in ancient culture and ritual. Shakespeare was employed as a vehicle which allowed ancient Siberian culture to mix with modernist theatrical techniques. Intercultural endeavour in general is governed by the tension between innovation and tradition and Shakespeare provides a potential mediator for this kind of cultural production. What is problematic about Bral's production is that in its quest for innovation and cultural authenticity it has lost sight of theatre's ability to entertain and to communicate a story to its audience. Further, the innovation which Bral seems to have achieved in the privileging of metaphor and the blend of new and old culture is actually part of a long tradition. Indeed, using Shakespeare as the conceptual space in which the ancient and modern coalesce is a common paradigm of intercultural performance. The link between interculturalism and innovation is always one of paradox in which old cultural forms are used to create new cultural objects.

Dominic Cooke used the same ideas about interculturalism - that the new can inform the old and that it can lead to innovative authenticity - when creating his African promenade production. However, unlike *Macbeth*, Cooke's production maintained a connection to Shakespearean language and narrative satisfaction. The staging tried to be innovative but, for

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[371] See chapter 4.

all the reasons detailed above, did not quite succeed. The setting was carefully constructed but was sometimes overly idealised and at other times risked generalising and exoticising Africa.

Whereas *Macbeth* was focused on the form and function of the performative and used its interculture to try to produce an authentic theatrical experience; *Pericles* used an intercultural and promenade aesthetic to provide its audience with an aesthetically pleasing evening at the theatre. This performance was about play and entertainment. However, in seeking to provide this highly exciting, rich, vibrant experience the production lost its claims to innovation. Gower became simply a 'smiling tribal elder', the promenade setting did not develop the audience's response and the representation of Africa remained glib, generalised and overly focused on exoticism.[372]

Despite differences of inflection, both *Pericles* and *Macbeth* actually dealt with intercultural Shakespeare in remarkably similar ways. Both the RSC and Teatr Pieśń Kozła assimilated cultures other than their own into their intercultural aesthetic. In each case, the cultures were appropriated in order to create a production that was aesthetically beautiful - whether this was through exotic costuming or eerie, esoteric soundscapes. In different ways, both *Pericles* and *Macbeth* encouraged a feeling of communality between audience and performer. This communality was intended to lead to the co-creation of cultural value and to result in an exhilarating theatrical experience. Further, this theatrical experience was intended, in both productions, to be authentically human. This sense of idealised authenticity was nurtured in the performance's apparent spontaneity, the purported breaking down of the barrier between spectator and actor and the display of non-verbal forms of communication.

At its root, this treatment of the intercultural is linked to a primitivist reading of the 'other'. The 'lost' Siberian songs of *Macbeth* and the generalised Africa of *Pericles* presented

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[372] Dobson, 'Shakespeare Performances in England, 2007', p. 319

the audience with a certain image of those cultures. Instead of focusing on complex cultural forms both Bral and Cooke chose to showcase what they read as 'simpler' folk culture. Bral and Cooke's linking of Shakespeare to this type of culture is motivated by the same imperatives that saw publicly-funded institutions like Sadler's Wells or the Barbican commission and present a plethora of aboriginal, native cultural work.

Primitivist Interculturalism

The drive towards achieving aesthetic innovation through primitivist interculturalism can be explained in a seemingly simple statement. It is, as Peter Brook argues, about making theatre not only valuable but necessary.[373] However, if we begin to unpick the idea of theatre which is both culturally valuable and necessary we begin to see how complex and interwoven these two ideas are. The value of intercultural innovation can be mapped out in a variety of ways. It tries to make theatre valuable by transforming old cultural objects like Shakespeare into objects which can be consistently relevant to the twenty-first century. McMaster aligns innovation with aesthetic quality suggesting that in order to be 'excellent' the arts must also be 'innovative.' Thus, innovation seeks to make theatre valuable by improving its aesthetic quality.

Making theatre valuable through intercultural innovation is not only about making it culturally valuable. By aligning themselves with the drive to innovation and presenting intercultural, international productions, publicly-funded theatres can make themselves valuable in the eyes of the Arts Council. This is because they are able and willing to fulfil the Council's funding objectives. Economic value – in terms of increased funding – could thus also result from a theatre's emphasis on innovation through interculturalism.

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[373] Peter Brook quoted in John Heilpern, *The Conference of the Birds, The Story of Peter Brook in Africa* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p. 24.

However, what is really intriguing and suggestive about the use of a primitivist intercultural aesthetic to innovate Shakespearean performance is that it strives to make theatre more than valuable, to make it necessary. By appropriating other cultures' aesthetics and cultural forms, directors can thus make 'authentic' theatre which is also 'necessary' theatre. Peter Brook, one of intercultural theatre's most influential proponents explains this thinking:

> The fundamental problem is "How to make theatre absolutely and fundamentally *necessary* to people, as necessary as eating and sex? I mean a theatre which isn't a watered-down appendage or cultural decoration to life. I mean something that's a simple organic necessity – as theatre used to be and still is in certain societies. Make-believe is *necessity*. It's this quality, lost to Western industrialized societies, I'm searching for."[374]

The contrast Brook creates here is clear. Western industrialised societies may create theatre which is beautiful, entertaining and perhaps even thought-provoking. What they are not doing – but what they should be doing - according to Brook, is creating theatre which forms a necessary part of human existence. Necessary theatre, as defined by Brook is something which is as vital as food or drink. In trying to create theatre which meets this remit, theatre directors are simultaneously asserting their belief in the value of culture and in their role as producers of it. Brook searched for necessary theatre in Africa whilst Bral believes he has found it in the lost songs of Siberia.

A Long Tradition

It should be evident from the quotation of Brook that neither Bral nor Cooke's production was performed in a cultural vacuum. Neither were they engaging with the intercultural in what could be termed an innovative way. There were certainly moments of the performances which had the potential to rework and reinvigorate Shakespeare. However, the mixture of primitivism and attempted innovation which characterised both *Pericles* and *Macbeth*

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[374] Brook quoted in Heilpern, *Conference of the Birds*, p. 24.

provides another example of a long-running encounter between Shakespeare and the cultural other. The tradition which imagines the 'primitive' as the source of authentic and thus, valuable culture, is far-reaching and has influenced both twentieth and twenty-first-century encounters with interculturalism. It has its roots in the avant-gardism and modernism of the early twentieth century and as such remains somewhat paradoxically connected to cultural innovation. Looking back to ancient, apparently primitive cultures in order to recreate and reinvigorate our own culture is an action which has recurred throughout the twentieth century and continues to occur in the twenty-first century.

As this chapter has already asserted, the link between interculturalism and innovation is a paradoxical one. It is a paradox which is better illuminated by thinking of it as originating in a link between primitivism and avant-gardism. Twentieth-century, avant-garde theatre, in particular, embraced the primitivist aesthetic.[375] According to Christopher Innes, whilst avant-gardism is seemingly forward-thinking it is characterised not by 'overtly modernist qualities' but by 'primitivism'.[376] In the twentieth century an artistic movement which was named for its innovative, progressive impetus became linked with an anthropological movement which idealised and even fetishized the culture of non-progressive, traditional societies. While avant-garde theatre was in the vanguard of twentieth-century cultural movements it was simultaneously beating a retreat into the past. In this sense, avant-garde theatre presents a practical example of the way in which a negotiation between cultural value tensions – in this case new and old – can be a catalyst for creativity. The cultural objects created through the avant-garde movement were prompted into being through a co-operation between ancient and modern, new and old. This is, to some extent, to idealise the products of primitivism and to efface the problematic nature of that movement. However, this kind of primitivism endures in

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[375] Christopher Innes, *Avant Garde Theatre 1892-1992* (London: Routledge), p. 3.
[376] Innes, p. 8.

twenty-first-century theatre and continues to influence intercultural productions of Shakespeare.

Modernism and the Utopian Primitive

Modernism, like avant-gardism, sought to find new ways to make art and to make art relevant to a modern society. In this sense, both movements were utopian. Modernists saw art as the vehicle by which an increasingly fragmented society could be reunited and with which they could make sense of the capitalist, alienated culture in which they lived. This drive towards a consensual, non-commercial, cultural utopia coalesced with a reading of primitive societies as authentic, communal and non-alienated. These idealised primitives offered a solution to modern 'problems' such as capitalism, commercialism and mass culture and thus, a way to reach an idealised, modernist utopia. Modernism's embrace of 'primitive art' led to the idealisation of the supposedly primitive aspects of other cultures. This was frequently combined with modernist utopian impulses in a process of utopian primitivisation.

In utopian primitivism, the primitive comes to stand for everything that the contemporary West is not: 'Is the present too materialistic? Primitive life is not – it is a precapitalist utopia in which only use value, never exchange value, prevails.'[377] Idealised utopian primitive culture is not concerned with exchange values; it is produced (often spontaneously) for the people, by the people and is deeply connected to ritual and religious practices. The value of culture in this scenario is based on its practical application at the moment it is produced or consumed, not in its later instrumental or institutional value.[378] Modernism's connection between the primitive and the utopian informed cultural production, cultural critique and

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[377] Marianna Torgovnik, *Gone Primitive* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 8-9.
[378] See Holden, Capturing Cultural Value and Crisis of Legitimacy.

cultural valuation. According to Richard Halpern, it also informed modernism's reading of Shakespeare, a reading that he sees as 'fundamentally mediated by a primitivist discourse'.[379]

The modernist assertion of a relationship between Shakespeare and the primitive forms the foundation for the kind of intercultural work which is apparent in Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth* and the RSC's *Pericles*. As Halpern reminds us, the connection between Shakespeare and the primitive is drawn in the work of numerous modernists including T.S. Eliot, Wyndham Lewis, Lytton Strachey and Antonin Artaud.[380] Eliot, for example, sees in Shakespeare's work a more refined expression of the primitive desire to beat a drum and create music: 'the next generation or civilization will find a more plausible reason for beating a drum. Shakespeare […] found his own reason.'[381] Comparing Shakespeare's version of drum beating with that of the twentieth century, Eliot evokes a sense of dispossession: 'we still have similar reasons but we have lost the drum.' According to Eliot something is missing from twentieth-century culture and although the desire to beat a drum remains, the instruments with which to do it have been lost.

Therefore, the solution to Eliot's sense of loss in his own community is to seek for the lost object in the communities of others. The culture of these 'other' communities leads him to end his poem of fragmentation and dissolution with the repetition of the words 'shantih shantih shantih' and to imagine Shakespeare as the last beater of the drum.[382] Halpern contends that this reading of Shakespeare-as-primitive continued to inform the cultural mediation of Shakespeare throughout the twentieth century.[383] We might want to think about Orson Welles's 'voodoo' *Macbeth*, Peter Brook's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or Ariane

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[379] Halpern, p. 16.
[380] Halpern, p. 16.
[381] T.S. Eliot, 'The Beating of a Drum', *Nation and Athenaeum*, 6 October 1923, pp. 11-12 as cited in Halpern, p. 16.
[382] T.S. Eliot, 'The Wasteland' in *The Wasteland, Prufrock and other poems* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1998), l. 434.
[383] Halpern, p. 16.

Mnouchkine's *King Lear* as examples both of this kind of mediation and the connected drive towards innovation. The encounter between interculturalism and Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatre today – as evidenced by Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth* and the RSC's *Pericles* – shows that utopian primitivism continues to be influential and informative of Shakespeare's production, dissemination and reception in the twenty-first century.

Artaud and Utopian Primitivism

Utopian primitivism found one of its most ardent proponents in Antonin Artaud. His theatre of cruelty sought to reinvigorate European theatre by turning to the ritual and traditions of the specifically non-European. What marked Artaud's work out from previous intercultural theatre was that the non-European culture he turned to was also '"uncivilized."'[384] Disillusioned with the modern world and modern culture, Artaud wanted to connect people with something primal, honest and authentic within themselves. In doing so he hoped to create a theatre which was more authentic – perhaps more necessary – than that currently offered to Western audiences. He wanted to redefine theatre as a place which was unified in thought and gesture and create meaning without using language and text.

For Artaud, this idealised, innovative theatre could be realised through a greater connection to the culture of indigenous populations. He devotes an entire chapter of *The Theatre and its Double* to Balinese theatre which he sees as 'pure theatre' ruled more by the producer than the playwright.[385] The theatre which Artaud is advocating claims to be far more vital and more necessary than Western theatre because it is also more real; it 'eradicate[s] any idea of pretence, a ridiculous imitation of real life.'[386] Artaud's sense of authenticity is fostered by the ritualistic and apparently magical nature of Balinese culture. His idealised

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[384] Innes, p. 59.
[385] Artaud, p. 37.
[386] Artaud, p. 42.

productions in which language gave way to song, dance and non-verbal gesture are mirrored in later utopian primitive performances, not least Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth*.

The connection between primitivism and innovation achieved through authenticity is clearly evident in Artaud's work. His desire to redefine theatre through a connection to Balinese cultural forms underlines the perceived link between utopian primitivism and cultural innovation. His influence over later directors ensured the continued link between innovation and theatrical primitivism. Theatre practitioners after Artaud continued to take up the ideas embodied in his text; that 'other' cultures could create theatre which was more authentic and more necessary; that in contrast Western theatre is merely a 'ridiculous imitation' and that 'past masterpieces' need to be remade in order to be 'good for us'.[387]

The Development of Utopian Primitivism

By the 1960s, the kind of intercultural dramatic work that Artaud is endorsing in *The Theatre and its Double* had become widespread. It was prevalent enough in 1965 for M.C. Bradbrook to feel that before she could begin her address to the British Academy, she must dispel certain misunderstandings that may have arisen from her choice of the title *Shakespeare's Primitive Art*:

> Today Bali rather than Athens supplies dramatic models, and the cult of the primitive theatre is so strong that it may have been suspected that I come to praise Shakespeare as a barbaric contemporary, after the fashion of Jan Kott – to enrol him in the theatre of cruelty.[388]

Bradbrook highlights the influence of Artaudian theory and, at the same time, underlines the paradoxical connection between Shakespeare as primitive barbarian and Shakespeare as modern contemporary. The notion that Shakespeare becomes our contemporary through a

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[387] Artaud, p. 55.
[388] M.C. Bradbrook, *Shakespeare's Primitive Art*, Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1965.

connection to primitive theatre neatly embodies the paradox of utopian primitivisation; reminding us that cultural innovation is frequently imagined to emerge from the action of looking back and searching into the cultural past. Bradbrook's recognition of the phenomenon identifies an aesthetic thread running through the first half of the twentieth century. The continued engagement with utopian primitivism in the latter half of the twentieth century was guaranteed by the work of theatre directors who followed in Artaud's footsteps.

Brook has already been identified as one of those directors. His fascination with primitive forms of culture is evident in the numerous productions performed at the Bouffes du Nord. Like Artaud, Brook sees in these cultures the potential to reinvigorate the Western theatre tradition. When he couples Asian or African performance styles with the Shakespearean cultural object he is not only trying to create innovative Shakespeare. He also wants to redefine and reshape the performative event and rethink the role of theatre within the life of his audience; to make theatre 'more than plays on stages.'[389] For Brook, innovation in theatre is coupled with a drive to make theatre necessary. His productions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* – which remains one of the most iconic Shakespeare productions of the twentieth century – *King Lear* and *The Tempest* all used a primitivist aesthetic in order to create innovative Shakespeare.

Brook was not alone in using utopian primitivism to reinvigorate Western theatre. The same belief in its potential can be seen in Eugenio Barba's theatre anthropology, Ariane Mnouchkine's Théâtre du Soleil, Jerzy Grotowski's Poor Theatre and Richard Schechner's continued interest in the future of ritual.[390] Each of these directors' aesthetics has grown out

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[389] Arts Council England, *Theatre Assessment 2009*.

[390] See Eugenio Barba, *The Paper Canoe: A Guide to Theatre Anthropology*, trans. by Richard Fowler (London: Routledge, 1995); Ian Watson, *Negotiating Cultures: Eugenio Barba and the Intercultural Debate* ed. by Ian Watson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Jerzy Grotowski, *Towards a Poor Theatre* ed. by Eugenio Barba (London: Methuen, 1968); Ian Watson, *Towards a Third Theatre* (London: Routledge, 1993); Schechner, Richard, *The Future of Ritual, Writings on Culture and Performance* (London: Routledge, 1993).

of the avant-garde movement and the connection between utopian primitive interculturalism and innovation. Grotowski tried to turn the theatre from which he had excluded scenery and other 'forms of pretence' back into ritual. Barba used theatre as a form of non-commercial exchange in which his company's performances were bartered for folk performances. In doing so he subverted the traditional economic model which sees money as the agent of exchange and encouraged a free and open relationship between audience and spectator.[391] Mnouchkine's attraction to Japanese Nōh theatre influenced many of her productions, including *King Lear*. In it, she hoped that the 'traditional ways of performing' which are 'still visible in the Orient' could be used to create a performance style worthy of Shakespeare's drama.[392] She was insistent, however that she was trying not to resuscitate 'ancient theatrical forms' but to 'reinvent the rules of the game.'[393] Like Brook and Artaud she was blending traditional and modern performance styles to remake the very idea of theatre and performativity.

Richard Schechner's preoccupation with ritual and ritualised theatre leads him to connect Shakespeare to other kinds of cultural performance: 'what is true of Shakespeare or clowning is also true of the Mass, an initiation rite of Australian aborigines, a Hindu puja, or a World cup Soccer match.'[394] Schechner's utopian primitivism is thus more nuanced than Brook or Mnouchkine's. He recognises the inherent performativity of ritual and hence its unavoidably inauthentic nature. He sees the connection between Shakespeare and a puja but equally aligns this sacred event with a World cup football match. He is not idealising the Hindu puja but is

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[391] Watson, Negotiating Cultures, p. 9.
[392] Ariane Mnouchkine, Interview in *Alternatives Theatrales*, 15 July 1983, p. 48 as cited in Adrian Kiernander, 'The Théâtre du Soleil, Part One: a Brief History of the Company', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 2 (1986), 195-203 (p. 203).
[393] Théatre du Soleil, L'Age d'or, Première Ebauche, Texte Program, Paris 1975, p. 13 as cited in Innes, p. 210.
[394] Richard Schechner, The Future of Ritual, Writings on Culture and Performance (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 230.

universalising and essentialising the kind of human response it engenders. It is this reading of the puja and of Shakespeare which lays his utopian primitivism open to criticism.

The homogenising of different traditions; the apparent ambivalence with which Schechner deals with his conversion to Hinduism and his enduring interest with the ancient cultures of the East rather than its new cultural products are symptomatic of the utopian form of interculturalism. Rustom Bharucha critiques Schechner's work, seeing his intercultural productions as exploitative and facile: 'our history is apparently of no concern to Euro-American interculturalists. It is our "tradition", our much glorified "past", to which they have turned to find revelations.'[395] What Bharucha is highlighting and what is evident in recent intercultural Shakespeare productions is that 'other' cultures presented to the English public are often merely gestured towards and generalised. The attempt to bring 'primitive' ritual and tradition into Western theatre often leads to a misrepresentation of both ritual practices and traditional performance creating an unsatisfactory hybrid of diluted, theatricalised ritual and Western performance conventions.

The Critique of Utopian Primitivism

It is critiques like Bharucha's that have led, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, to a move away from the discourse of interculturalism in the academy. The treatment of this discourse in *New Theatre Quarterly* provides a useful paradigm. While articles published in the first six years of the journal are characterised by an admiration for Brook and his contemporaries, the tone begins to change in the last decade of the twentieth century. Rather than regarding Brook's work as groundbreaking and original, articles written in the 1990s and beyond tend to consider his work as a new form of colonialism. In this

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[395] Theatre and the World: The Performance and Politics of Culture (London: Routledge, 1993).

reading of interculturalism, the colonialist theatre practitioner takes what he wants from an unsuspecting culture. It is then reproduced it in a decontextualised mode; creating theatre which is not only alien to the culture receiving it but theatre that bears little resemblance to the culture from which it originates. For some, Brook becomes anathema: 'I am not', says R.G. Davis, 'advocating what Peter Brook does which is to visit the native and revamp their culture in the frame of the Great Western European tradition, ripping off multitudes in his wake.'[396] John Russell Brown evokes a similar image when he argues against the 'theatrical pillage' of Asia by directors like Ariane Mnouchkine.[397] The kind of primitive interculturalism that Brook, Mnouchkine and Schechner espoused in the 1970s and 80s was, by the 90s, coming under greater scrutiny. It was refigured, in academic discourse at least, as a new form of colonialism with Brook and directors like him compared to Conrad's Kurtz, seeking to profit from their journeys in the heart of darkness and the strange, exotic elements of the 'other' they present onstage.[398]

In a more complex analysis of interculturalism, Rustom Bharucha criticises not only the colonising propensities of Western theatre directors but also the collusion between intercultural events and the market, 'a more nuanced position on the intercultural scenario would move beyond the strictures of domination to highlight the series of complicities between systems of power, which are ultimately determined by the state and increasingly by the market.'[399] Crucially, Bharucha refuses to criticise only the West as a coloniser, dominator and exploiter of Eastern culture. Instead, he argues, it is the global economic opportunities afforded by intercultural endeavour that result in the exploitation and de-authenticisation of

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[396] 'Deep Culture: Thoughts on Third-World Theatre', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 6 (1990), 335-42 (p. 338).
[397] 'Theatrical Pillage in Asia: Redirecting the Intercultural Traffic', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 14 (1998), 9-19.
[398] Michael Gibson, 'Brook's Africa', *The Drama Review*, 17 (1973), 37-51 (p. 41).
[399] 'Under the sign of the Onion: Intracultural Negotiations in Theatre', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 12, (1996), 116-29 (p. 117).

localised cultures.[400] Decontextualised 'folk' culture sells both in the West and, through tourism and 'the folklore bureau', in the countries from which it originates. Ironically, the marketability which Bharucha sees as the impetus for interculturalism undermines the idealisation of the primitive as a realm where exchange value is disregarded.[401] What Bharucha demonstrates is the lack of synergy between the ideal and the reality.

My own critique of utopian primitivism is inflected differently from the post-colonial approach and has to do with the potential it offers for cultural value creation. At its beginning, this chapter asserted that intercultural endeavour is one of the ways that publicly-funded theatres try to create innovative work. However, because of the kind of primitivist interculturalism that becomes connected to Shakespeare, it is not always innovation which arises from intercultural production. This is not only because utopian primitive Shakespeare forms part of a long aesthetic tradition. It is also because, frequently, the lack of aesthetic innovation is mirrored in a lack of cultural value creation. This chapter has highlighted the way in which innovation and interculturalism operate as part of a paradoxical, interconnected relationship. Utopian primitivism looks back to the past in order to innovate the culture of the present. In this sense, then, it seems to embody the kind of tension negotiation that has been identified as value-generative. The problem with the utopian primitivist aesthetic is that, despite being defined by negotiation, it frequently treats tensions as confrontations. The twentieth and twenty-first-century construction of the primitive is predicated on such clashes, as Marianne Torgovnick shows in *Gone Primitive*.[402]

In a performance which utilises the utopian primitivist aesthetic, these clashes will be brought to the fore. Shakespeare will be contrasted with folk culture, authentic with inauthentic, West with East. Even the Arts Council's projected innovation will form part of a

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[400] see also Kennedy, 'Shakespeare and Cultural Tourism'.
[401] Torgovnick, pp. 8-9.
[402] pp. 8-9.

confrontation as the utopian primitive privileges tradition and cultural heritage over modern cultural forms. Depending on how the production approaches Shakespeare, he will either be aligned with the primitive or stand in opposition to it. In either case, the traditional cultural values of Shakespeare: heritage, aesthetic quality, canonicity, authenticity, non-commerciality will be reaffirmed over the upstart values of iconoclasm, inauthenticity and marketability.[403] This reaffirmation denies Shakespeare's potential to accrue new value.

Utopian Primitivism in Twenty-First-Century Publicly-Funded Theatre

In spite of a post-colonial backlash and the problem of value generation, utopian primitivism remains prevalent in publicly-funded theatre. It continues to be used by directors and their theatre companies in order to create – or strive to create – innovative performances. The utopian primitive aesthetic was apparent in Baxter Theatre's *Tempest*, Teatr Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth* and the RSC's *Pericles*. The form this utopian primitivism takes is, however, different from the kind of theatre Brook, Mnouchkine and Schechner were promoting. What has not yet been highlighted, but what has perhaps been apparent, is the distinctly Continental flavour of utopian primitive theatre. Brook and Mnouchkine worked in France, Grotowski in Poland and Barba in Denmark. Brook's work received funding from the French government and various international foundations but was not part of the English publicly-funded theatre scene.

Utopian primitivism has been influential in England but its manifestation is often less avant-garde and less focused on redefining theatre as a cultural object. In the twenty-first century examples of utopian primitivist Shakespeare, the avant-gardist strand continues to be produced by European companies and not English publicly-funded theatre. Utopian

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[403] For more on traditional vs. upstart values see Introduction.

primitivist productions which are performed by companies like the RSC are more focused on Arts Council funding priorities and on providing audiences with an entertaining evening at the theatre.

What utopian primitivism provides in the publicly-funded theatre sector is the opportunity for innovation, the fulfilment of international funding priorities and the allure of the exotic. The RSC's presentation of Teatr Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth* suggests that they wanted to put pressure on the ideology behind theatre and the role of cultural performance. However, Pieśń Kozła's production actually constituted an unfinished work-in-progress which aligned itself with an increasingly traditional mode of theatre. The RSC's own production of *Pericles* also eschewed cultural radicalism and instead used its primitivist aesthetic to privilege audience participation.

Pericles and *Macbeth* tried to use other cultures to create innovative approaches to Shakespeare. However, by locating those other cultures within the realm of the primitive and generalising their response to them, they became part of a long tradition of utopian primitivism. They thus distanced themselves from the opportunities for innovation – in terms of rethinking established modes of production – which arise from international co-operation. Neither production functioned effectively enough to reinvigorate Shakespeare and Shakespeare's cultural value. *Macbeth* remained a work of theatre and therefore was always a performance in spite of Bral's eagerness to create an authentic work of art. *Pericles* tried to spice up the theatrical experience with its promenade setting but never managed to involve the audience in the play, instead leaving them 'uncertain'.[404] In either instance, Shakespeare's value was not necessarily invigorated. During these productions – which frequently treated tensions as confrontations – his value was not in process but was merely being reaffirmed.

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[404] Dobson, 'Shakespeare Performances in England, 2007', p.319

Can Intercultural Innovation work?

This is not to suggest that intercultural innovation is always an elusive concept. Companies and theatre directors can use it more effectively. Peter Brook's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is one example of the kind of intercultural theatre which asks audience and performers to redefine their concept of traditional Shakespearean performance. If productions can negotiate between the fraught tensions thrown up by utopian primitivism then it is possible to reinvigorate and remake Shakespeare's cultural value. I want to close this chapter by examining how Shakespeare's value became part of a propagating process in two recent productions: Tim Supple's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Michael Judge's *Knock Against My Heart*. Neither of these plays' aesthetics was entirely unproblematic and they still remained linked to a utopian primitivist reading of non-European culture. The critique of this is evident in the analysis of the productions.

However, despite their problems, both plays created performances that were both visually and aurally beautiful. Either through adaptation (*Knock Against My Heart)* or through translation (*Dream*) they encouraged their audience to see and hear Shakespeare's plays in a new way. The productions did not lose sight of theatre's ability to entertain and did not operate as part of a simply binary relationship. Instead, they functioned as dialectical spaces in which tensions of cultural value could be expressed and, ultimately, questioned. In doing so, established modes of production could be equally rethought. *Dream* and *Knock Against My Heart* were able to offer their audience both theatrical and narrative pleasure and use this to create further value for Shakespeare. In short, by managing cultural tensions and being at once innovative and traditional, simultaneously Shakespeare and Shakespeare-differed they succeeded in redefining Shakespeare's cultural value.

Dash Arts's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

The Indian culture of Tim Supple's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* shows that utopian primitivism can be approached in a way which is more nuanced and which does not wholly idealise other cultures but rather uses them to complicate and interrogate Shakespeare.[405] The production brought together an eclectic mix of Indian art forms and a broad range of Indian languages. Some characters spoke Shakespearean lines whilst others' dialogue was translated into Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, Sinhala and Malayalam. In many ways, Supple's production represents an archetypal engagement with utopian primitivism. The production used a mixture of rope work, music, acting, dancing and acrobatics and, in doing so, fully exploited the spectacular elements of India's eclectic culture. The theatrical potential of Shakespeare's play was thus enhanced through its connection to this culture. The production's many exciting coups de théâtres resulted partly from Supple's reading of *Dream* but largely from his assimilation of Indian performance techniques. As the scene shifted from the palace to the wood, fairies broke through the back of the set. As the lovers became increasingly disorientated in the forest, Puck created a cage for them out of elastic which made them stumble and lose their way. Titania, and later Hermia, slept in giant red scarves hanging from the ceiling of the theatre. Each of these moments provided aesthetic and theatrical pleasure.

The theatrical pleasure of the performance was mirrored in the narrative pleasure of the play itself. In Supple's production, the narrative satisfaction of the marriages and reconcilement of Titania and Oberon was coupled with extra-textual intercultural work. The closing moments of the play were the most spectacular and the most overtly utopian as they

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[405] dir. Tim Supple, 2006-7, International Tour: Dash Arts.

celebrated the 'moment of extraordinary harmony' with which *Dream* ends.[406] In the extra-textual ending, the company of actors sang and danced together, surrounded by glowing candles and returned to the stage to sing again after the curtain call. This was no longer Shakespeare's *Dream* or even Supple's *Dream*. It was instead a manifestation of the company's links to one another, of their enjoyment of their work and of the relationship they built with the audience during the performance. The audience willingly continued to participate in this moment of harmony, clapping the rhythm along with the drummers and thus demonstrating their communality with the actors.[407] From this idealised, shared moment the cultural values of spontaneity and authenticity emerged which were a product of the intercultural utopianism. By allowing this moment to occur outside of Shakespeare's text, Supple was suggesting that the truly utopian emerges not from the play but the way it is presented to its audience.

The link to utopia provided by the extra-textual ending was further underlined by the translation of Shakespeare's language into seven different Indian dialects. This could be seen as an anti-harmonious action. There were no surtitles to guide an English audience through the play and even an Indian audience member would have struggled to understand every single language spoken. However, this Babel of languages challenged the audience to access the play's meaning in new, potentially innovative ways. As the audience and performers worked together to re-create the play's meaning, so the cultural value of Shakespeare was negotiated and reinvigorated. The utopian primitivism of Supple's *Dream* enabled Dash Arts to present a challenge to Shakespeare's value as originator of the English language and offered the audience a spectacular, exotic, non-verbal Shakespeare. A Shakespeare, in other

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[406] Royal Shakespeare Company, 'Interview with Tim Supple' <www.rsc.org.uk/explore/dream/1780.htm> [accessed 17 May 2007].
[407] Shakespeare's Globe employs similar techniques to end their performances, again making a gesture towards (historical rather than cultural) authenticity.

words, who was differed and different from the kind of Shakespeare normally presented at the RSC. The Indian culture presented in *Dream* may have been part of an idealised aesthetic but it also complicated and challenged the audience's response to Shakespeare. In this way, Shakespeare's value was not only reaffirmed but reinvigorated through the process of performance and the co-creative performative moment.

Nós Do Morro's *Knock Against My Heart*

Nós Do Morro's *Knock Against My Heart*, written by Oladipo Agboluaje, approached intercultural Shakespeare differently from the other productions detailed in this chapter.[408] Whereas *Macbeth*, *Pericles* and *Dream* all purported to be offering 'straight' Shakespeare, *Knock Against My Heart* was an overt adaptation. Based on *The Tempest*, *Knock Against My Heart* tells the story of Hispanic Brazilian farmer and landowner Prospero, whose land was acquired cheaply from Sycorax during a drought. The play's action centres on his plan to divert a river through his land so that he controls the water for the entire region. Like Shakespeare's Prospero, he is fiercely protective of his daughter Miranda who is not allowed to leave his farmlands. Caliban, Sycorax's son, is the tribal prince of the region and fights Prospero's plans for enclosure and diversion of the river. Caliban and Miranda meet and fall in love but, in an allusion to *Romeo and Juliet*, must conceal their relationship from Miranda's father. Antonio, Prospero's brother, has come to visit from the city where his business is failing and spends most of play planning to murder of Prospero and steal his money. When Prospero finds out about Miranda's relationship he kills Caliban and locks his daughter in her room. She jumps from the window and her spirit is transformed into a bird that meets with Caliban's own spirit in a moment of Ovidian metamorphosis.

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[408] dir. Michael Judge, 2008, Brazil and UK Tour.

Nós Do Morro's play was not without its clichés and was, at times, governed by an over-simplified, post-colonial reading of *The Tempest*, which saw Prospero cast as the 'baddy' and Caliban transformed into the play's hero. However, this did not prevent the production from presenting its audience with exciting and interesting moments of theatre which were able to challenge and complicate Shakespeare's cultural authority and value. The play was developed interculturally as a collaboration between the publicly-funded Theatre Centre in London – a company focused on new writing – and Nós do Morro, a theatre company that works in Brazilian favelas.

Nós Do Morro is a company which uses the negotiation between tensions to define their work. This is partly due to their identity as a Latin American theatre company because 'one of the greatest obstacles […] to the reception of Latin American theatre [in Europe] is not so much that this theatre seems different but that it looks oddly the same.'[409] Nós do Morro must work through this problem by highlighting their culture's difference from that of European culture. In this play, and in other productions they have created for the RSC, they combined Brazilian and English culture in order to embrace tensions of value and negotiate between them.[410]

Originally, Theatre Centre and Nós do Morro intended to develop two separate productions – one in Portuguese and one in English. *Knock Against My Heart* became instead a bilingual production which, like Supple's *Dream*, used language to challenge the audience's response to the play. Caliban spoke only in Portuguese whilst the other characters used a mixture of Portuguese and English. There were no surtitles used in the production and so the audience had to interpret the physicality and musicality of the performance in order to access its meaning. Adapting and then translating Shakespeare's play generated new creative

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[409] Diana Taylor, 'Transculturating Transculturation' in *Interculturalism and Performance* ed. by Marranca and Dasgupta, pp. 60-74 (p. 66).
[410] *The Two Gentleman of Verona*, dir. Gutti Fraga et al. (2006-8) International Tour: Nós do Morro.

possibilities and aesthetic opportunities that would not have been available if *Knock Against My Heart* had remained *The Tempest*.

The music and physical movement of the piece had two interrelated but separate outcomes. They were a source of theatrical pleasure for the audience and a way in which to distinguish Caliban as the archetypal utopian primitive. The play opened with Caliban playing a berimbau – a stringed instrument built from a gourd – which has its roots in Southern African culture but has become incorporated into the Brazilian art of capoeira. With its African roots and Brazilian associations, this instrument encapsulated and underlined the interculturalism of the play and highlighted Caliban's difference from the Hispanic, colonizer characters. He was the only character to play the berimbau. Antonio, Miranda and Prospero all played the disctinctly European classical guitar. Their instrument was less rooted in nature and sounded less exotic to a European ear. The strangeness of Caliban's berimbau linked it to utopian primitive ideals of authenticity and 'real' culture. His ownership of the instrument recreated Caliban as the utopian primitive 'hero' of this play.

Shakespeare's narrative was reinterpreted through a privileging of Caliban-as-primitive but this was not the only outcome of the interculturalism of the play. The potential for theatrical pleasure offered by *The Tempest* was reinvigorated through *Knock*'s appropriation of capoeira. William de Paula, the actor playing Caliban, used capoeira to create a style of movement for his character which was reminiscent of an animal stalking its prey. The movement in the confined space of the Birmingham Rep's studio theatre was thrilling and beautiful to watch. Capoeira, combined with the exotic and unusual notes of the berimbau, thus contributed to the visual and aural aesthetics of the play. The theatrical pleasure which the audience derived from this contributed to the value-generating potential of the performative moment. The traditional instrument with which Caliban began the performance,

the colourful exoticism of the set, the Brazilian music which saturated the production and the animalistic movement of the fight scenes evoked a Brazilian landscape and culture which offered an escape from the realities of a drab October afternoon in Birmingham. It transported its audience and Shakespeare into an idealised South American world and thus altered the theatrical experience. The Brazilian setting and intercultural reinterpretation of *The Tempest* allowed for new performance styles to be attached to this Shakespearean performance. As such, *Knock Against My Heart* showed how intercultural Shakespeare can also be innovative, value-generating Shakespeare.

This play, which was inspired by Shakespeare but not written by him, was much farther divorced from the playwright than the other productions reviewed here. It did not just translate the play, it also adapted it. However, in many ways, *Knock Against My Heart* remained closer to Shakespeare than a performance like Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth*. Its links to Shakespeare are apparent in its retention of narrative and characterisation as well as its impetus to provide audiences with both theatrical and narrative satisfaction; to create theatre which was both innovative and entertaining.

Its Shakespearean aesthetic was underlined by the title's allusion to Shakespeare's play. *Knock Against My Heart* is an extract from Miranda's line in *The Tempest* 'O, the cry did knock/Against my very heart!' Aside from this allusion, only three words of the play echoed Shakespeare's: 'brave new world' (V.i.183). The contrast between the title, based on relatively obscure lines from Miranda's lament on the storm, and the frequently quoted 'brave new world' is interesting. The title of the play avows its links to Shakespeare without being explicit, whilst the words chosen to remain at the core of the play are now as frequently associated with Aldous Huxley, whose own *Brave New World* makes the connection between

Shakespeare and the primitive explicit but also problematic.[411] This fragmentary connection between Shakespeare, Huxley, primitivism and Nós do Morro, opens up an interesting moment of nuance in the production. *Knock Against my Heart* used utopian primitivism to create an exciting performance but their production contained within it the seeds of a critique of such primitivism.

The line 'brave new world' thus provided an interesting distortion of the utopian primitive presented by *Knock Against My Heart*. Agboluaje's Prospero stood for progress of the kind rued by Huxley, whilst Miranda and Caliban remained immersed in a primitive utopia and their 'brave new world' would in fact be figured in the rituals and traditions of the past. In this respect, Miranda and Caliban were far more closely aligned to the primitivism of Artaud, Brook and Mnouchkine than the critique of primitivism Huxley provides.

Huxley's engagement with the primitive is more complex than many of his contemporaries. He denies the past's claim to being a 'compensatory utopia' in *Music at Night and other Essays* and his depiction of the savages in *Brave New World* cannot be simply delineated as the utopian alternative to Lenina and Bernard's dystopian reality.[412] Instead, the savage reservation is violent and vengeful – unwilling to accept John's mother and prejudiced against John because of his parentage. The savage reservations seem little more attractive to the reader than the feely-house or the dormitories where children are indoctrinated by night. It is possible to accuse Huxley of xenophobia and certainly, as a member of the British Eugenic society he 'was not particularly interested in transcending cultural barriers.'[413] However, what Huxley recognises, is that both utopias and dystopias are fantasy worlds and as fictional as the works of Shakespeare in which John seeks solace. In

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[411] The search results for 'brave new world' on Google are placed in relevance order and there are seventy websites before a (tenuous) link to Shakespeare is evident.
[412] Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (London: Flamingo, 1994).
[413] Carey Snyder, '"When the Indian was in Vogue": D.H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, and Ethnological Tourism in the Southwest", *Modern Fiction Studies*, 53 (2007), 662-96 (p. 664).

Huxley's bleak reality, neither civilisation nor primitivisation provides a solution to the crisis of modernity. *Knock Against my Heart* did not offer its audience such an obvious critique of primitivism. However, in allowing their audience to create such a connection for themselves, Nós do Morro opened up a dialectical space between idealisation and reality, modernity and primitivism, utopia and dystopia.

The words 'Brave New World' were used to create a less metaphorical dialectical space at Theatre Centre's conference in October 2008. The conference, intended to challenge Shakespeare's cultural authority, actually had the effect of reaffirming Shakespeare's universalism, or at least universal availability. The host of the conference, Theatre Centre, is a theatre dedicated to new writing. In hosting this event, however, it had to recognise the hold that Shakespeare has over dramatic production both in the UK and internationally. Yet, through their work with Nós do Morro, Theatre Centre seem to be indicating that Shakespeare was not an international writer and recognising that his play as it was written cannot speak to all international audiences. Theatre Centre and Nós do Morro are simultaneously establishing and denying Shakespeare's universalism and thus creating a dialectical approach to the Shakespearean performance.

In their rewriting of both Shakespeare's *Tempest* and Huxley's reading of primitivism, this Afro-Brazilian hybrid play could be seen as making the ultimate act of ownership. Being able to read the play, extract its essence and create something new but still connected to the parent-text could demonstrate an immense knowledge and understanding of the original. On the other hand, it also confronts the text and its culture's dominance, questioning its role in cultural production. By refiguring, rewriting and creating a wholly new production, Nós do Morro are not only engaging with Shakespeare's text but exchanging it for their own. They are not dismissing Shakespeare but they are questioning his relevance in their culture and

suggesting that there might be alternative ways of encountering him. They are creating a dialectical Shakespearean performance which makes full use of Shakespeare's status as free resource in order to create further cultural value for both the theatre company and *The Tempest*.

Perhaps it is the rewriting that makes *Knock Against My Heart* a successful 'world' theatre version of Shakespeare. It does not attempt to place twenty-first-century Latin American theatre styles on to a Jacobean English play. Instead, it reworks Shakespeare so that his play fits into their theatrical model. This iconoclastic approach enables Nós do Morro to present an exotic, utopianised Shakespeare with more success than the RSC or Teatr Pieśń Kozła. Nos dó Morro have recognised what is interesting and marketable in their Brazilian culture. They have combined their marketable culture with a writer that is marketable around the world. Latin American culture may be closer to Western culture than that of Africa or Asia but by emphasising the points where they differ, *Knock Against My Heart* can present a translatable, understandable experience which still provides English audiences with something different and interesting. As we have seen, this can potentially lead to the creation of further value for Shakespeare. The play produced was by no means perfect and could be criticised for the abstracted, generalised Shakespeare that sometimes came to the fore. Nevertheless, by distilling and manipulating the utopian primitive and Shakespeare, *Knock Against My Heart* maximised the cultural value of its 'otherness' in order to create a successful and innovative performance.

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Over the course of the chapter numerous examples have been provided to show how idealised intercultural innovation operates in practice. What has emerged is that often the combination of Shakespeare, the intercultural and a drive towards innovation leads to a

reductive reading of other cultures which fails to reinvigorate Shakespeare's value. This is partly because, far from being innovative, intercultural Shakespeare actually taps into a long-running tradition which has used the cultural other to recreate Western theatre. Utopian primitivism – as I have defined the tradition – assimilates idealised and often generalised readings of non-Western culture into its encounter with the Shakespearean cultural object. In doing so it frequently represents its inherent tensions – authentic/inauthentic, West/East, ancient/modern – as confrontations rather than negotiations. This is not to suggest that every intercultural Shakespeare production in the publicly-funded theatre is redundant or defunct. Instead, if the tensions within intercultural theatre can be treated as links rather than distinctions - such that intercultural Shakespeare is both authentic and inauthentic, Western and Eastern, ancient and modern – then cultural value creation is possible.

The Arts Council's emphasis on innovation and internationalism has clearly influenced the kind of Shakespeare on offer in publicly-funded theatre. However, it is only when the inherent tensions of intercultural Shakespeare are worked through and dealt with in a nuanced way that cultural value can be created and the process by which Shakespeare's value propagates can continue. The potential for value generation and cultural innovation is apparent in the examples of Tim Supple's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Michael Judge's *Knock Against My Heart*.

Utopian primitivism is a problematic concept which can too easily lead to glib and generalised representations of non-Western cultures. Yet, its long-running conceptual link to cultural innovation ensures its prevalence in publicly-funded intercultural work. Paradoxically then, the cultural value of Shakespeare in the twenty-first century remains indebted to a twentieth-century understanding of culture and cultural innovation. The relationship between Shakespeare, innovation and interculturalism thus provides a useful example of the

intersecting of policymakers' and practitioners' values and the effects that this can have on the aesthetics of performance. Furthermore, it highlights the way in which a dialectical relationship between these interlocking strands of value can govern the creation of cultural value in the twenty-first-century publicly-funded theatre.

MORE THAN PLAYS ON STAGES?

THE RSC'S COMPLETE WORKS FESTIVAL

The Shakespeare of twenty-first-century publicly-funded theatre is a shifting Shakespeare. It is constantly being adapted and altered in order to make it relevant to the current cultural context and to align the production of Shakespeare's plays with Arts Council funding priorities. The Council's policies are themselves contingent on ever-changing theories on how to achieve the best value from art both economically and culturally. The move from ethical to aesthetic priorities in Arts Council documents is testament to the mutability of their valuation of culture. This thesis has provided numerous examples of the kind of Shakespeare which results from this combination of priorities and particularly the need to make Shakespeare relevant and innovative. In the four years since the cultural value project began, publicly-funded theatre has produced or presented Twitter Shakespeare, modern English Shakespeare, Tarantinoesque Shakespeare, South African, Brazilian, Polish and Indian Shakespeare. It has produced narrative-driven Shakespeare, non-verbal Shakespeare and musical Shakespeare. Shakespeare has been constantly refigured as a site of metaphor, a transgressive vehicle of teenage rebellion and as a source of creativity in others. This list reiterates that there is not a single entity called 'Shakespeare' to which we can point in order to accurately and neatly assess its value. Instead, publicly-funded theatres have provided Shakespeares – myriad, various, eclectic – through which audiences, funders and producers can make and remake value. On the face of it, twenty-first-century publicly-funded Shakespeare seems to be able to fulfil Arts Council policies, remain innovative and relevant and, as a result, to constantly renegotiate its cultural value.

Yet, in spite of this, problems persist. All the examples of eclectic Shakespeare previously discussed, innovative or not, remained stage Shakespeare. Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatre is usually a stage-bound, narrative-driven object. The Arts Council's vision for the future of publicly-funded theatre is thus potentially problematic for the myriad cultural objects that make up Shakespeare. It is not a that Shakespeare no longer functions theatrically but rather that the shift from an ethical to an aesthetic impetus within Arts Council policy has seen a greater emphasis being placed on innovative performance styles and theatre which is 'more than plays on stages'.[414]

The 'Rebranding' of Theatre

The Council's *Theatre Assessment* focuses more strongly on innovation than their previous policy documents. Where they previously highlighted the importance of individually innovative productions, Arts Council England now moved towards supporting the '"rebranding"' of theatre itself as 'more than plays on stages.' They increasingly encourage theatres to be flexible in their working practices and although they say that they do not endorse 'change for change's sake' they do assert that theatres which can alter themselves will be more 'effective, exciting and confident.'[415] The cultural context within which Shakespeare is being produced, indeed the very cultural field with which he associated, is undergoing a major shift with respect to the ideology of its processes and its outcomes.[416] As such, the kind of work which *Theatre Assessment* highlights as exemplary is drawn from a wide range of different sources. Although *Theatre Assessment* generally takes a broad overview of publicly-funded theatre the events it mentions by name – the London

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[414] Arts Council England, *Theatre Assessement 2009*, p. 11.
[415] Theatre Assessment 2009, p. 8.
[416] See Pierre Bourdieu's work on cultural fields in which he states 'no cultural product exists by itself, i.e. outside the relations of interdependence which link it to other products', *The Field of Cultural Production*, pp. 32-3.

International Theatre Festival (LIFT), ESSEXstreetdiversions, Barbican International Theatre Events (BITE), Spill Festival, the National Theatre's *Watch this Space* and Royal de Luxe's *Sultan's Elephant* – evoke a sector which is characterised by 'events or stuff that happens' as much as it is by building-based performances.[417]

This is not to suggest that the Arts Council is going to stop funding 'traditional' theatre that takes place onstage and remains tied to text. Indeed, even in this forward-looking document, the Council is keen to underline 'the foundation the classical theatre canon gives to contemporary practice.'[418] They are also concerned that Royal de Luxe's *Sultan's Elephant,* which saw a gigantic mechanical elephant moving through London's streets in September 2006, has 'placed the bar' for street theatre 'too high.'[419] The spectacle and impact of this free event was only possible because of a sizeable one-off financial investment. Funding for such work in the future will not be as high, particularly in the light of the ongoing cuts to the public purse. Therefore, part of the responsibility for producing this kind of work may be shifted from companies producing one-off shows to theatres which already receive funding. In this case the work produced may be inflected differently, perhaps focused more on expanding traditional theatre to the streets rather than entirely reshaping the field.

English theatres may not be able to reproduce the kind of spectacle seen in *The Sultan's Elephant* but they need to have an ambition to move in this direction. Publicly-funded theatre is becoming a much more mixed and diverse sector. Large, text-based, stage-bound theatre companies like the RSC and the National will be competing with smaller, fleet-of-foot, improvising companies that perform on the street, in found spaces, in pubs and in clubs. Both the National and the RSC have made some moves towards presenting theatre in different spaces. The National Theatre defines its *Watch This Space* festival as a 'summer celebration

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[417] Theatre Assessment 2009, p. 11.
[418] Theatre Assessment 2009, p. 11.
[419] Theatre Assessment 2009, p. 88.

of outdoor theatre, circus, dance, acrobatics, storytelling and film' whilst the RSC's outdoor Dell theatre accommodates community groups, universities and other theatre companies in a series of free performances. [420] The Shakespeare produced in publicly-funded theatres is not obliged to change its focus and performance locations but in this shifting cultural and economic context it might be seen as prudent in order to remain relevant and innovative. Companies like the RSC and the National will need to consider their role in a theatre sector which is becoming about 'more than plays on stages' and to develop a repertory – including Shakespeare – which fits into this new cultural model.

Shifting Shakespeare

The Shakespeares examined so far in this thesis are not 'more than plays on stages'. Instead, they are reinterpreted versions of Shakespeares which have been performed in the past. Twenty-first-century intercultural Shakespeares – even those which offer exciting and innovative performative moments – are part of a long-running tradition which has its roots in modernist primitivism.[421] Adaptations can offer a new way to encounter the Shakespearean text but they continue to be performed in the traditional spaces that building-based theatres provide. The potential problem is that whilst they may reinvigorate Shakespeare and his value they do not reinvigorate the medium through which this is communicated. In short, they have not taken part in the redefinition of theatre which Lyn Gardner highlights in *Theatre Assessment*: 'those changes have been about where we make theatre, who we make theatre for, the form that it takes, the tools that you use.'[422]

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[420] National Theatre, 'Watch This Space Festival 2010', <http://www.nationaltheatre.org.uk/wts> [accessed 25 July 2010]; Royal Shakespeare Company, 'The Dell – What's On', <http://www.rsc.org.uk/whats-on/dell/> [accessed 25 July 2010].
[421] For a further discussion of primitivism and Shakespeare see chapter 5.
[422] Lyn Gardner, quoted in Arts Council England, *Theatre Assessment 2009*, p. 2.

This is especially true of the Shakespeare being produced at the RSC. Often exciting, spectacular and innovative, Shakespeare at the RSC has remained, nevertheless, RSC-Shakespeare. Chapter 3 asserted that RSC Shakespeare constitutes a particular brand of a generic product and highlighted some of the elements which go into the RSC's construction of that brand: ensemble, a focus on education, high quality performances, national representation and a geographical link to the historical Shakespeare. Each of these elements is underpinned by a link to tradition and heritage which are themselves inflected by the Company's royal charter. RSC Shakespeare uses the 'original' text, communicates to its audience through narrative and is performed on a 'traditional' stage. This thesis has dealt with many plays which moved away from this model of Shakespeare. Often they were presented at the RSC but most of them were produced by other companies. Innovative, adapted, intercultural Shakespeare is, more often than not, not-RSC Shakespeare. If the Arts Council's *Theatre Assessment* is indicative of the future direction of funding grants then Shakespeare and particularly RSC Shakespeare still has a way to go. On the other hand, productions like Kneehigh's *Cymbeline*, Dash Art's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or Nós do Morro's *Knock Against My Heart* went some way towards redefining theatre in the way Lyn Gardner describes.[423] In their varying uses of vernacular language they contained within them the potential to disrupt entrenched cultural values. It is these disruptive qualities which the RSC needs to capture in order to develop in line with Arts Council policies and to further their value-generating potential.

For a company like the RSC which has an established and valued brand identity this could be both challenging and problematic. Their established identity is part of their saleability and attracts audiences both nationally and internationally. Changing the kind of Shakespeare they

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[423] For more on these productions see chapters 4 and 5.

produce could have a detrimental effect on the RSC's market and brand value. A more appropriate methodology might be for the RSC to continue to produce its own particular Shakespeare whilst somehow taking ownership of other kinds of Shakespeare as well. If they can do this they will be able to reinvigorate Shakespeare, simultaneously reaffirm and reshape their brand image and become a more germane part of the shifting cultural landscape of the twenty-first century. Earlier chapters detailed the way in which individual adaptations, intercultural Shakespeares and more traditional approaches have all been used to renegotiate Shakespeare's value. This chapter concludes the ongoing argument of the thesis by showing that festivals provide a space for publicly-funded theatres to collect all of these disruptive, value-generating elements of individual productions together. When this is done under the auspices of one theatre company then shifts in cultural value will not only affect Shakespeare, but the theatre company as well. Festivals thus have the potential to rejuvenate and remake a theatre and its products – to redefine theatre as 'more than plays on stages.'

The Idealised Festival

What do festivals offer that makes them potentially reinvigorating and redefining? They are, first and foremost, celebrations of a particular time or place. Their celebratory characteristics mark them out as potential sites for rejuvenation. Moreover, through festival practice and academic discourse a complex system of other values has built up around them which augments their reinvigorating quality. Festivals provide a metaphorical space in which both conceptual and practical elements of publicly-funded theatre can be gathered together. Festivals are sites of performance and variety; catalysts for both literal and figurative 'reconstruction' and events which offer up a challenge to the social order. They articulate the dichotomous elements of society; they create or recreate a sense of place and community and

can be presented as utopian events where the barrier between performer and spectator is collapsed and an authentically human experience takes place. Embodied in the values of festival are the cultural values that have been articulated throughout this study. The values of innovation, non-commerciality, community and utopianism are all crystallised within festival events.

The cultural values which are apparently located in festivals spring from a complex and intersecting discourse. It is a discourse which has both artistic and academic strands. The artistic is apparent in festivals' self-promotion – particularly the stories they tell about their origins – and in their content. The academic strand is epitomised in the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and Alessandro Falassi.[424] Both discourse strands contain cross currents and moments of similarity. It would, however, be inaccurate to suggest that arts festival producers are trying to reproduce Bakhtinian carnivals. Instead, this chapter asserts that there is a common conception of what a festival is and what it should do that influences both the artistic and academic encounter with the festive event.

Bakhtin's carnivals are utopian, anti-authoritarian, communal events.[425] The break in time they offer between the 'real' and the 'festive' allows these characteristics to emerge. This break encourages the willing suspension of normalised behaviour and the creation of topsy-turvydom. In festival time citizens are not expected to observe social conventions. Instead, rebellion and inversion of the social order are encouraged. Bakhtin also argues that this social inversion is concurrent with a renewal of the carnival participant through the experience of communality. He asserts that it is important that 'man experiences this flow of time […] in the carnival crowd' and 'is aware of being a member of a continually growing and renewed

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[424] Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. by Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1968); Falassi, ed., *Time out of Time: Essays on the Festival* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).
[425] Bakhtin, *Rabelais*.

people.'[426] The imagined communality of the carnival is coupled with a lack of separation between performer and spectator. In Bakhtinian analysis, festivals are sites at which the barrier between actor and audience breaks down and hence are authentic, spontaneous sites of cultural production. His emphasis on social inversion and communality results in his construction of the carnival as a site of 'utopian freedom.'[427] It is a utopian freedom which seems to situate its utopianism in its authenticity, spontaneity and communality. Bakhtin's carnivals are thus archetypal utopian primitivist events.

Similarly, Alessandro Falassi's analysis of festival focuses on their role as rejuvenating celebrations. He argues that 'the primary and most general function of the festival is to renounce and then to announce culture, to renew periodically the lifestream of a community by creating new energy and giving sanction to its institutions.'[428] Where Bakhtin champions the social inversion of carnivals, Falassi recognises the reaffirmation of authority that they provide. What is interesting is that this affirmation grows out of the renunciation and subsequent re-acceptance of cultural and social norms. Even idealised festivals are thus complex and complicated. They encompass tensions of value which need to be worked through in order to create the new energy that Falassi believes festivals can generate.

The Twenty-First-Century Festival

The realities of twenty-first-century cultural production disrupt the idealisation of festivals and lead to a more nuanced form of the festive tradition. It is a tradition that is inflected by a festival practice which lays claim to the values of authenticity, non-commerciality and spontaneity. At the same time, it is a practice which is always tempered by careful planning, corporate sponsorship and meticulously orchestrated performativity. An examination of the

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[426] Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, p. 92.
[427] Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, p. 89.
[428] Falassi, 'Festival: Definition and Morphology' in *Time out of Time*, ed. by Falassi, pp. 1-10 (p. 3).

contemporary music festival Glastonbury reveals how this set of tensions works to define festival events in the twenty-first-century.

The interconnectedness of its claims to authenticity, spontaneity and non-commerciality are revealed on its website as the organisers answer the question 'What is Glastonbury? Like many festivals, Glastonbury's claims to authenticity are connected to its geography. It presents itself as an 'area steeped in symbolism, mythology and religious traditions dating back many hundreds of years. It's where King Arthur may be buried, where Joseph of Arimathea is said to have walked, where leylines converge.'[429] This powerful mixture of the magical, mythological and the religious endows Glastonbury Festival with a link to its historical forbears and hence underlines its authentic roots as a celebratory event. This authenticity is further emphasised by the website's description of the spontaneous and wild happenings that occur during the festival:

> There will be enlightenments, awakenings, surreal happenings, Damascene epiphanies and people doing the strangest things in public. Sometimes the strangest things you'll see happening have been booked well in advance - but often it will be people spontaneously reacting to the spirit of the Festival.'[430]

The authentic nature of the festival's location will foster a festive spirit which leads in turn to spontaneous – and thus authentic – happenings.

Glastonbury also draws its authenticity from its origins as a free event. Although it now charges for tickets, it continues to displace the economic and champion the non-commercial. The organiser, Michael Eavis, donates large amounts of the ticket money to charity and where most festivals websites display their sponsor's logos, Glastonbury champions its three 'worthy causes': Oxfam, Greenpeace and Wateraid. As the website states: 'while other festivals prize profit above all, we actively support the work of our three official joint

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[429] Glastonbury Festival, 'What is Glastonbury?' <http://www.glastonburyfestivals.co.uk/information/what-is-glastonbury> [accessed 7 July 2010].
[430] Glastonbury Festival, 'What is Glastonbury?'.

causes'.[431] The lack of corporate sponsorship marks Glastonbury out from other festivals and makes a clear statement about the festival organisers' values. Part of their idealisation of Glastonbury as an authentic, spontaneous event is drawn from their displacement of profit-making activities. However, its lack of sponsorship also suggests that Glastonbury may be one of the more economically successful festivals since it does not rely on the support of other businesses. Glastonbury can afford to distance itself from the market.

The values underpinning decisions about corporate sponsorship open up an interesting nuance in the idealised festival. It is a nuance which is rooted in the culture/commerce binary that is analysed in chapter three. Like all cultural goods, festivals must act both within and without the market and, in doing so, can create both economic and cultural value. An examination of the relationship between sponsor and sponsored provides an interesting perspective from which to view the transformation of festivals in the twenty-first century. It not only reveals a shift from free to paid-for (or non-commercial to commercial) but also from authentic to performed and from spontaneous to carefully planned.

Most festive events need sponsorship in order to operate – particularly if they do not receive any public subsidy. Even if they do receive money from the public they may still need to acquire some private sponsorship. Edinburgh International Festival is largely supported by the Scottish Arts Council but still counts sixteen corporations amongst its 2010 supporters including Heineken, Bank of Scotland, BP and Renault.[432] In 2009 the festival received 27% of its income from sponsors and private donations.[433] Without these sponsors, the festival

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[431] Glastonbury Festival, 'Worthwhile Causes', <http://www.glastonburyfestivals.co.uk/worthy-causes-worthwhile-causes> [accessed 7 July 2010].

[432] Edinburgh International Festival, 'Supporters 2010' <http://www.eif.co.uk/supporters/supporters> [accessed 24 July 2010].

[433] Edinburgh International Festival, *Annual Review 2009*, <http://www.eif.co.uk/files/editor/documents/EIF%20Annual%20Review%202009%20low.pdf > [accessed 24 July 2010], p. 9.

claims it would be unable to maintain its 'ambition, scale and quality'.[434] Arts festivals may try to distance the commercial but will need to pay the performers, landowners and backstage staff. They will need to invest in sets, costuming, stages and theatres. In this sense, as Stanley Waterman reminds us, festivals can never be clearly delineated as simply 'art' or simply 'economic'.[435] They operate within an economic context which requires them to pay for the creation of their art. The same context provides one of the common measures of a festival's success: its economic contribution to the community.

Many organisers and festival funders, including the British Association of Arts Festivals (BAFA) and Arts Council England, emphasise the economic value of festivals in their published literature.[436] The title of BAFA's manifesto *Festivals mean Business* neatly demonstrates the advantages that they see being bestowed on towns, cities and cultural institutions that host festivals. While festivals like Latitude and Reading are connected to the economic through their sponsorship and ticket sales, publicly-funded festivals are expected to reinvigorate local economies by encouraging consumption in areas other than the cultural. Local hotels, shops and restaurants benefit from the occurrence of a local arts festival. In 2008, attendees of the Brighton Festival contributed £22 to the local economy for every £1 spent on tickets.[437] Festivals like Edinburgh are not aiming to make money but they do highlight their economic contributions in their annual review.[438] For them, sponsors are important because they ensure that the festival can produce the quality and quantity of work to which it aspires and, at the same time, allow for the generative value of money to operate

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[434] Edinburgh International Festival, 'Supporters 2010'.
[435] Stanley Waterman, 'Carnivals for Élites? The Cultural Politics of Arts Festivals', *Progress in Human Geography*, 22 (1998), 54-74 (p. 55).
[436] Arts Council England, West Midlands, *Arts Festivals and the Economy: Their Contribution and Potential in the West Midlands* (Birmingham: Arts Council England, West Midlands, 2006); British Association of Art Festivals, *Festivals mean Business III* (BAFA, 2008) <http://www.artsfestivals.co.uk/sites/default/files/FMB3%20Report%20FINAL3%20MAY%202008.pdf> [accessed 17 March 2010].
[437] BAFA, Festivals mean Business, p. 5.
[438] Edinburgh International Festival, *Annual Review 2009*, p. 9.

within the local community.[439] For festivals which do function as money-making businesses, sponsors provide a significant amount of income and could make the difference between a loss-making event and a profitable one.

Music festival promoter Festival Republic provides a useful example of the way in which sponsorship can both reflect and inflect and event's cultural value. Festival Republic owns the Reading, Leeds and Latitude Festivals. The managing director, Melvin Benn, is also the licence holder for the Glastonbury Festival – a fact which is obscured by the event's focus on Michael Eavis as farmer-turned-festival-organiser. Festival Republic began life as Mean Fiddler in the 1980s but in 2007 they changed their name and shifted the emphasis of their company away from fixed venues towards festive events.[440] Their brand transformation was mirrored in the alterations made to the festivals they run. Reading, which began life as a jazz festival in the 1960s, spent much of the 'noughties' being sponsored by Carling lager and branded as the 'Carling Weekend'. Since 2007, Festival Republic has removed this overtly corporate reference and has instead moved towards a mixed funding model including sponsorship from a variety of sources. The less prominent involvement of Carling at the festival over recent years suggests that Festival Republic is trying to negotiate between two poles of the festive event. Reading and Latitude Festivals are part of a profit-making business but they have grown out of a tradition which displaces the economic. By shifting back to the name 'Reading Festival' from the 'Carling Weekend' and moving sponsors' names to the bottom of the festival's website, Festival Republic appear to be displacing the economic whilst continuing to make a profit.

The simultaneous rejection and embrace of sponsors is mirrored in the use to which sponsors' brands are put. We have already seen how brands and consumers can work together

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[439] For a discussion of the 'generative power of money' see chapter 3.
[440] Festival Republic, 'About Us' <http://www.festivalrepublic.com/about> [accessed 24 July 2010].

to create and co-create value.[441] If we buy brands in order to make statements about our identities and values then we may make similar choices when purchasing tickets to a sponsored event. Certainly, the festival producers will see their relationship with sponsors as reciprocal and mutually defining. Just as consumers work with brands in order to make and remake brand meaning so festive events can use the meanings already attached to a brand in order to make and remake their festivals. In this sense, sponsorship is not only part of a necessary negotiation between what Waterman describes as the 'festival as art and festival as economic' but also an important element in the value-making process.[442] Latitude is sponsored by Vodafone, Gaymer's Cider and Absolute Radio. The Hay Literary Festival, on the other hand, is sponsored by the *Guardian*. Each of these events will be judged by consumers in relation to their sponsor. Alcoholic drinks and radio stations are an appropriate match for a popular music festival. Sponsorship by a broadsheet newspaper is indicative of a more cerebral event which is concerned less with music and more with the written word. Thus, before they attend the festival, audiences can use the event's sponsors to gain an understanding of its identity and values.

The relationship between sponsored and sponsor reveals the idealised nature of the non-commercial aspects of festival. At the same time it also leads to the careful planning and meticulously orchestrated performativity that ensure an event's success. Neither sponsors nor funding bodies will want to give money to poorly organised, haphazard events. Kirstie Jamieson makes this clear when she argues that the 'city *en fete* is also the result of painstaking planning by a city administration.'[443] Even Glastonbury describes itself as running 'like a huge clock'.[444] The planning is necessary in order to provide programming and

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[441] For a discussion of value co-creation see chapter 3.
[442] Waterman, p. 55.
[443] 'Edinburgh: The Festival Gaze and its Boundaries', *Space and Culture*, 7 (2004), 64-75 (p. 65).
[444] Glastonbury Festival, 'What is Glastonbury?'.

venues which suit the audiences, the funders, the locals and the sponsors. Festivals are not just celebrations of artistic endeavour but are what Jamieson describes, borrowing from Henri Lefebvre, as 'profitable pseudo-trangressions.'[445]

Lefebvre uses this phrase to refer to the separation of the sex industry from the 'normal' elements of city life suggesting that:

> This secondary and derivative existence is bestowed on them, at night, in sections of the city […] which are dedicated to that function, but which by the same token possess nothing aside from the accoutrements of entertainment […]. In these neighbourhoods, and during these hours, sex seems to have been accorded every right; in actuality, the only right it has is to be deployed in exchange for cash. In accordance with this division of urban space, a stark contrast occurs at dusk as the lights come on in the areas given over to "festivity", while the "business" districts are left empty and dead. Then in a brightly illuminated night the day's prohibitions give way to profitable pseudo-trangressions.[446]

The connection which Lefebvre draws between the exploitation of sex workers and the exchange of sex for 'cash' is reminiscent of that drawn by Donncha Kavanagh, Clodagh O'Brien and Maurice Linnane in their study of working artists.[447] It is through comparisons of this kind that the imagined binary between art and economics is created and sustained.[448] Jamieson's use of Lefebvre in her study of Edinburgh Festival suggests that she sees some form of exploitation in the use of the 'city *en fete*' by the city administration. Her reading of this exploitation is nuanced and complex. Where Lefebvre's pseudo-trangressions involve the manipulation and control of individuals, Jamieson's involve a weakening of idealised festivals from actual to pseudo transgression. As they move from transgression into quasi-transgression, festivals displace any claim to the authentic. Instead they become part of a performed cultural scene which remains, nevertheless, saleable. Indeed, the suggestion that

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[445] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Time and Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) quoted in Jamieson, p. 68.
[446] Lefebvre, pp. 319-20.
[447] 'Art, Work and Art Work'.
[448] See chapter 3.

such pseudo-trangressions are also profitable underlines the duality with which cultural events have to operate in order to create value.[449]

Like the more general tension between culture and the market, the relationship between festival and business can be fraught. The tension between for-profit and not-for-profit, free and paid-for appears to expose the way in which the utopian values of festival – community, renewal, celebration – fail in the economic environment of the twenty-first-century. However, this tension actually suggests something more nuanced – that the utopian ideal of 'arts for art's sake' is a necessary part of any festival's image. Festival Republic's re-re-naming of the Carling Weekend back to the original Reading Festival clearly demonstrates the perceived need for festivals to displace the economic. Yet, at the same time, Reading remains a commercial business which continues to rely on corporate sponsorship in order to make economic and cultural value. The performance of 'pseudo-trangressions' in which an event acts with duality towards the market allows festivals to succeed both economically and culturally.

Festivals' inherent tensions allow them to gather together a plethora of different kinds of performance event and to imbue these events with a variety of different meanings. Alessandro Falassi recognises this but focuses on it as a problem of definition rather than an opportunity for value creation:

> Little explicit theoretical effort has been devoted to the nomenclature of festive events or to the definition of the term *festival*. As a result, the meaning of *festival* in the social sciences is simply taken from common language where the term covers a constellation of very different events, sacred and profane, private and public, sanctioning tradition and introducing innovation, proposing nostalgic revivals, providing the expressive means for the survival of the most archaic folk customs, and celebrating the highly speculative and experimental avant-gardes of the elite fine arts.[450]

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[449] See chapter 3.
[450] Falassi, 'Festival: Definition and Morphology', p. 1.

Whereas Falassi sees the wide-reaching signifier 'festival' as symptomatic of a lack of effort to get to grips with the phenomena he describes, it is possible to see a highly contingent signifier that, like Shakespeare, is freely available and up-for-grabs. With its panoply of meanings and accrued cultural value, 'festival' adapts and changes in relation to the cultural work it is required to do. Shakespeare, a cultural object which can inhabit the cultural space of a festival, can thus benefit from festival's ambiguous nature.

It is festivals' inherent tensions and the variety of performances to which they give rise that is the impetus for publicly-funded theatre to present such events. The practical application of festivals' inherent variety in publicly-funded theatre can be better understood by returning to Lyn Gardner's assertion that in the twenty-first century we are starting to rethink 'where we make theatre, who we make theatre for, the form that it takes, the tools that [we] use.'[451] As well as being conceptual spaces of inherent tension, festivals are also practical spaces where cultural work can be reinvigorated. At festivals theatre can happen in the street, in a park, at the site of an ancient monument. Festivals turn public space into performance space and thus reshape the notion of theatre and performativity. Festivals are intended to appeal to a broad range of people. However, the association of music festivals with young people can be appropriated by those creating arts festivals and can lead to the creation of potential new audiences. Further, the public performance aspect of festivals leads to a more inclusive approach to audiences. No longer paying customers, audiences at public festival events become refigured as co-creators of the event. At festivals a wide range of eclectic events will be gathered together as theatre. Puppetry, improvisation, physical theatre, musical poetry, staged readings and other public happenings will all contribute to the conception of theatre within the event. Festival theatre will alter the tools it uses as it takes

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[451] Quoted in Arts Council England, *Theatre Assessment 2009*, p. 2.

over new spaces, works together with its audience in order to co-create the event and changes its formal qualities. In their approach to theatre, festivals are both disruptive and reforming, offering publicly-funded institutions a way to rework the theatre they produce and the way in which they produce it.

The second half of this chapter considers how festivals are constructed and used in publicly-funded theatre. It focuses on the RSC's Complete Works Festival and highlights the way in which the event allowed the RSC to gather up all the value-generating elements of publicly-funded theatre. Further, it ascertains how the Festival negotiated between authenticity and inauthenticity, non-commerciality and corporate sponsorship, spontaneity and careful planning. This second section examines how the Festival used these value tensions to facilitate its assimilation of different Shakespeares. In order to do so it looks at the inclusion of international productions, the emphasis on young people, the importance of new theatrical spaces, the performances of non-RSC theatre companies and the focus on new writing. Each of these constituent elements contributed to the event as a whole and worked to remake the RSC and reinvigorate Shakespeare's value.

The Complete Works Festival

The RSC's Complete Works Festival took place between April 2006 and April 2007 and encompassed a wide range of different kinds of Shakespeare. The programming of the festival included 23 RSC productions, 14 UK-based companies and 15 international shows.[452] During the festival Shakespeare's texts were set to music, translated into myriad languages (including some never before used on the Stratford stage), adapted, shortened and performed using puppets. Each performance contributed to a shifting of Shakespeare and a reassessment of his

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[452] Royal Shakespeare Company, *The Complete Works Yearbook* (Stratford-upon-Avon: RSC, 2007).

cultural value. They also tried to encourage their audiences to encounter Shakespeare in different ways and to think of the Shakespearean object as something contingent and constantly changing.[453] The festival's numerous events enabled the RSC to adopt a variety of approaches to Shakespeare including: international reinterpretations, performances focused on young people, played in new spaces and produced by other companies and new writing which took its inspiration from Shakespeare. These approaches were interlinked and overlapping. New performance spaces combined with new writing; other theatre companies aimed their productions at a younger audience; international companies rewrote and shortened the plays. It is important for the RSC is that these potentially disruptive elements of theatre could be brought together under their management. Shakespeare was being altered at the Complete Works but he remained the property of the RSC. Whatever kind of Shakespeare emerged from the festival would appear to be RSC Shakespeare. The festival was as much about reinvigorating and recreating the RSC as it was about celebrating Shakespeare's diversity.

Thus, the festival enabled the RSC to do several things. It could meet the Arts Council's injunction to innovate and challenge preconceived notions of cultural production. It could take ownership of all the eclectic, exciting Shakespeare being produced across the country and around the world. As a result of this, it could 're-enchant' its failing brand by becoming a storing house for Shakespeare's shifting value.[454] The festival-RSC became at once an individual theatre and a company which could be rebranded as the supplier of the most eclectic and interesting Shakespeare in England.

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[453] Some audience members resisted this by walking out of shows, including Kneehigh's *Cymbeline* and Teatr Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth*.

[454] David Picard and Mike Robinson, 'Remaking Worlds: Festivals, Tourism and Change', *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change: Remaking Worlds* ed. by Picard and Robinson (Clevedon: Channel View, 2006), pp. 1-32 (p. 8).

Academic Reviews

An examination the existing reviews of the Complete Works reveals that reviewers have concentrated on the content of individual parts of the festival. This chapter thus represents the first opportunity to fully interrogate the meaning of the festival itself. An interesting cluster of articles can be found in *Shakespeare Bulletin* in which Michael Dobson, Miriam Gilbert and Carol Chillington Rutter use the Complete Works as a way of considering what it means to watch Shakespeare and the role of the spectator in performance.[455] The inflection that this focus gives the articles means that they do not write extensively about the festival as a whole. Michael Dobson compares his experience of watching the Complete Works with that of watching the 2006 football World Cup. He considers the implication of watching a play with a group of fans and suggests that the Complete Works created such a group. Miriam Gilbert details three productions which took place during the festival and considers their interrelatedness but does not move beyond a discussion of these particular shows. Carol Chillington Rutter uses the festival as a means to consider what a Shakespeare spectator should do during a performance and focuses on one particular production with which to do this. Building on their work, this chapter considers the content of the festival as a whole, whilst still examining the contribution of some individual productions.

Katherine Duncan-Jones's 'Complete Works. Essential Year? (All of) Shakespeare Performed' considers the implications of the overall event in more detail.[456] Her interrogation of the festival's tagline, 'Complete Works. Essential Year', is grounded in her concerns about the programming and construction of the festival. This provides a way into thinking about the festival as carefully planned as opposed to an idealised spontaneous event. Duncan-Jones was

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[455] Dobson, 'Watching the Complete Works Festival'; Gilbert, 'Hearing with Eyes: Watching Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 25 (2007), 35-45; Rutter, 'Watching Ourselves Watching Shakespeare – or – How am I supposed to look?', *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 25 (2007), 47-68.
[456] Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'Complete Works, Essential Year? (All of) Shakespeare Performed', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 58 (2007), 353-66.

disappointed not to find a sense of coherence in the festival's timetabling: 'it was impossible […] to identify any coherent overview or narrative, or larger concept of Shakespeare's complete works underpinning the astonishing theatrical marathon of the RSC and this made decisions about what to see, and when, extremely perplexing.'[457]

Duncan Jones's search for a through-line and coherent whole within the festival suggests that she locates the value of the event in its ease of interpretability. It also highlights one of the complexities of analysing the Complete Works Festival as an 'event'. Its nature as a year-long 'marathon' which continued in the international tour of *King Lear* and the extended run of the History octology places it in contrast to short-lived events like Glastonbury or Reading Festivals. The way in which a year-long event is received and read by its audience will alter as the year progresses and the number of events offered increases. For these reasons, timetabling and planning could have an immense impact on the way in which an event is received by its audience. Duncan-Jones attempts to find meaning in the RSC's scheduling and to use this meaning in order to read the plays and productions available to her. But perhaps this meaning eludes her because any event planning is governed by practicalities. A particular company may only be able perform at a certain time of the year and, if this is the case, only one theatre may be available. The performance thus takes its place in the timetable and in a theatrical space without a consideration of the hermeneutics of such a decision.

Where Duncan-Jones focused on the coherence and completeness of the event, this analysis considers all the practical elements of the event alongside the more conceptual. What was it for? What do the RSC claim it achieved? And how do these fit with the ideology of festivals and the ideas raised in the Arts Council's *Theatre Assessment*? The answer to these questions has already been outlined: the festival was a celebration and renewal of Shakespeare

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[457] 'Complete Works, Essential Year?', p. 355.

and the RSC and as such it served to fulfil the Arts Council's emphasis on innovation and to prefigure their call for theatre to be 'more than plays on stages'. The next section assesses the RSC's aims and stated achievements and the work that individual productions did specifically to renew the RSC's approach to Shakespeare.

Aims and Outcomes

The aims of the Complete Works Festival, according to artistic director Michael Boyd, were to:

> stage one of the significant cultural festivals of the year in Stratford […and to] stage a programme that meets our ambitions for an outward-looking RSC that's truly engaged with the world.[458]

Here, Boyd invokes the key issues surrounding the cultural value of the Complete Works Festival. It was, from its conception, intended to align with other prestigious arts festivals such as Edinburgh and to show that the RSC is not just about making traditional, UK-centric Shakespeare. Boyd wants to use the festival in order to redefine audience expectations of the RSC; to move from being inward-looking to outward-looking, from national theatre company to international cultural institution. Whatever audience expectations of the RSC were, Boyd wanted to disrupt them. Festival, with its old traditions of subversion and its new traditions of managed anarchy, provided an appropriate way in which to do this.

Jonathan Bate suspects that the Complete Works Festival was an opportunity for Boyd to put his mark on the company and avoid being the artistic director whose regime was 'characterized above all by a building project.'[459] The festival certainly marked the end of Adrian Noble's difficult incumbency as artistic director and announced Boyd's entrance onto

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[458] As interviewed in Ben Lindon, 'All of Stratford will be a Stage', *Stratford-upon-Avon Observer*, 5 January 2006, p. 6.
[459] 'The RSC Complete Works Festival: An Introduction and Retrospective', *Shakespeare*, 3 (2007), 183-8 (p. 185).

the scene. This cynicism is perhaps unwarranted and it is possible to see Boyd's aesthetic, as well as practical, ambitions revealed in the festival as a whole and particularly in his own productions of the *Henry VI* plays. These were productions which focused on ensemble work, spectacular stage tricks and - in their presentation as a trilogy – event theatre. The 'new' RSC which the festival announced was not just about a new theatrical or a new international outlook. It looked forward towards a new directorial style which did not rely on the pre-established value of the RSC brand but rather sought to reinvigorate it through the creation of lasting bonds between the Company and other visiting organisations.[460] Festival's idealised ability to re-make and re-create institutions and localities was appropriated by the RSC to re-enchant audiences with what had become a failing brand.[461] Part of this re-enchantment was achieved because the festival allowed the RSC to take ownership of Shakespeare in performance. Festivals make statements about places, towns and their institutions. By dedicating an entire year to the performance of Shakespeare's work, the RSC could claim to be the definitive place to see Shakespeare.

In its review of the Complete Works Festival, the RSC highlights its instrumental outcomes. These include: the money spent in local businesses (£38.7m), the number of tourists that the festival attracted (roughly 49,000), its involvements with children and young people (4245 young people performed on the RSC's stages, 40,000 school children 'took up the £10 ticket offer', 2300 young people took part in the Mini-Complete Works Festival) and the creation of new cultural objects (32 writers commissioned to produce new writing).[462] In emphasising these achievements of the festival year, the RSC aligns itself with funders and policymakers who are similarly interested in the instrumental and economic benefits of

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[460] Michael Boyd as interviewed in Sandy Holt, 'RSC Festival sets out to satisfy all tastes', *Stratford-upon-Avon Herald*, 8 February 2006, p. 9.
[461] Michael Coveney, 'The RSC Showdown', *Prospect Magazine*, 22 January 2006
<http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/2006/01/therscshowdown/> [accessed 22 July 2010].
[462] Royal Shakespeare Company, Annual Report and Accounts, 2006-2007, p. 9.

cultural festivals. Some of this concern is evident in BAFA's *Festivals Mean Business* and the Arts Council's own reviews of arts festivals. It is also reflected in the Arts Council's criteria for regular funding: that the financial support they give institutions will further their generation of economic value.[463]

The Economics of the Complete Works

As with the other festivals detailed here, the economics of the Complete Works was not limited to its monetary contribution to the local economy. Although it offered some free events – including the open-air Dell theatre (sponsored by Warwickshire County Council), the Sky Orchestra (in collaboration with the Arts Council-funded Fierce Festival) and the public film screenings – it was largely an event predicated on economic exchange. The Complete Works offered numerous opportunities for economic value creation. The sale of special tickets which allowed the purchaser to attend a performance of every production and event is just one example. Others included the hugely increased number of tickets for sale, the Complete Works merchandising and the sale of an accompanying new edition of the Complete Works of Shakespeare. And, although sponsorship was not the most overt form of economic activity, it still formed part of the process by which the RSC created and controlled the year-long event.

The Complete Works was sponsored by Accenture, a consulting firm which describes itself as the 'exclusive High Performance Business partner'[464] of the RSC suggesting that the relationship is reciprocal and co-creative. Accenture provides the RSC with consulting services as well as financial support so that, in the RSC's own words, they can 'achieve the

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[463] See chapter 3.
[464] Accenture, 'Accenture and the RSC',
<http://www.accenture.com/Global/About_Accenture/Sponsorships/AccentureCompany.htm> [accessed 11 July 2010].

same unparalleled success commercially as we can artistically.'[465] For the RSC, the value of sponsorship is that it allows them to further their generation of economic value. Whilst the idealised festival might want to displace the economic, the RSC as an organisation is clearly interested in functioning effectively within the commercial marketplace. Accenture's perception of the relationship is similar to the RSC's in that it is constructed as economically valuable. The RSC provides them with a high profile client and through this association their consulting skills are confirmed. Accenture's support of the Complete Works Festival suggests their continued interest in working on high visibility events in order to showcase their brand to the world. Aside from these economic and practical benefits, the sponsor/sponsored relationship also allows Accenture and the RSC to redefine brand meanings. Both are recognisable global brands, both are associated with quality and excellence and their reciprocal relationship allows these values to be reflected from one on to the other.

Although Accenture was the only sponsor of the whole event, numerous other sponsors were attached to individual productions. Their names were therefore visible in the RSC programmes, posters and in *The Complete Works Yearbook* published as a photographic retrospective in 2007. Propeller's *Taming of the Shrew* was supported by solicitors Horsey Lightly Flynn; *Richard III: An Arab Tragedy* by real estate developers National Projects Holding Company and *Merchant of Venice* was aptly (or perhaps unfortunately) sponsored by Equidebt Ltd.[466] Of these companies, the Kuwaiti NPHC seems to have gained the most from their $100,000 sponsorship of Sulayman Al-Bassam's Culture Project. It was awarded a corporate social responsibility award in 2007.[467] In its press release announcing the award and the sponsorship, NPHC highlighted the Arabic nature of the production and the fact that it

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[465] Royal Shakespeare Company, 'Our Supporters: Title Partners' <http://www.rsc.org.uk/join-us/supporters/partners.aspx> [accessed 11 July 2010].
[466] Royal Shakespeare Company, *The Complete Works Yearbook*, pp. 60; 72 & 86.
[467] Arabian Business, 'NPHC receive Corporate Social Responsibility Award', 2007, <http://www.arabianbusiness.com/press_releases/detail/3477> [accessed 11 July 2010].

was the first production in Arabic to be performed in Stratford. Thus, the company could redefine itself as both cultural pioneer and socially responsible corporation – a company which exists on the dividing line between market and non-market. The benefits of sponsorship for both sponsor and sponsored further underline the value-generating potential of cultural interactions with the market.

Reinvigorating the Brand

However, unpicking the numbers presented in the *Annual Report* suggests that more than instrumental and economic value was created during the event. Beneath the surface of this numerical assessment is further evidence of the RSC's concern with appropriating and creating new Shakespeares and a new brand image. In highlighting their engagement with children and young people and new writing, the RSC is not only aligning itself with the Arts Council's ethical priorities. They are also moving the festival beyond the economic towards the kind of cultural rejuvenation that Falassi foregrounds. As has been reiterated within this thesis, audiences take part in the co-creation of value. The RSC used the Complete Works Festival to engage with potential new audiences and thus to maximise on the company's potential for value creation. New (younger) audiences will ensure that interaction takes place during the performative moment so that new value can accrue to Shakespeare.

A similar drive towards the new – specifically towards cultural innovation – influenced the RSC's encouragement of new writing during the festival. Both the engagement with young people and the encouragement of new writing suggest that the RSC embraced the role of festivals as cultural invigorators and sites for making new. What remains interesting about this embrace of the new is that it happened in the context of a festival celebrating Shakespeare and the establishment Royal Shakespeare Company. The simultaneity of tradition and

innovation which took place during the festival underlines the continued importance of negotiating between value tensions in order to generate new cultural value.

Aside from the statistics presented in the RSC's *Annual Report*, there were many other aesthetic and ethical drivers underpinning the festive event. Like Latitude, Glastonbury or Edinburgh, the Complete Works Festival embraced the ideals of utopian primitivism, cultural innovation and festive variety in order to facilitate the production and performance of an eclectic range of Shakespeares. Such engagement allowed the RSC to both define and re-define their relationship with Shakespeare and the publicly-funded theatre sector. In order to do this, the RSC worked internationally, presented plays which were focused on young people, created new theatrical spaces, incorporated the work of other theatre companies and encouraged new writing. Each of these elements of the festival contains a series of intersections and cross currents which worked together to reinvigorate both Shakespeare's and the RSC's value.

International Shakespeare

The festival was clearly intended to redefine and reaffirm the RSC as an international company and Shakespeare as an international playwright. The outward-looking company of Boyd's ambitions was created by bringing seventeen theatre companies from outside the UK into the festival. During the festival year, Shakespeare in Stratford was German, South African, Indian, Japanese, American, Brazilian, Chinese, Italian, Kuwaiti, Polish and Russian. Most of these productions were the only version of the play performed during the Complete Works. In displacing what is taken as the Shakespearean original, the international companies were offering audiences a new way to engage with Shakespeare and applying new models of performativity to his plays.

However, an undue focus on the 'newness' of international approaches obscures the continued appeal of utopian primitivism. I have already examined the impact that this aesthetic has on individual Shakespeare productions. Included in my analysis in chapter five were two productions from the Complete Works: Dash Art's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Teatr Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth*. Other production - including Sulayman Al-Bassam's *Richard III: An Arab Tragedy*, Shakespeare Theatre Company's *Love's Labour's Lost* or Yukio Ninagawa's *Titus Andronicus* – shared an aesthetic which can be productively compared to the performances analysed in the last chapter. Like *Macbeth*, *Dream*, *Pericles* and *Knock Against My Heart*, many international Shakespeares at the Complete Works used a utopian primitivist aesthetic as a method of reinvigoration.

However, instead of detailing the utopian primitivism of a production which continued to reaffirm a reductive reading of 'other' cultures and of Shakespeare, I want to focus on *Richard III: An Arab Tragedy*. This play used both the festive spirit of inversion and the utopian primitivist aesthetic in order to challenge traditional ways of playing Shakespeare and of reading Arabic culture. *Richard III: An Arab Tragedy* was produced by the Culture Project in Kuwait. The Arabic world it presented was a highly politicised twenty-first-century war zone, reminiscent of Iraq. Originally titled *Baghdad Richard*, *An Arab Tragedy's* emphasis was generalised in the title shift. That said, a comparison between the moustachioed, uniformed actor playing Gloucester and the real-life Saddam Hussein was difficult to avoid. The smooth-talking, Westernised Buckingham and the brash American Henry added to this political allegory and flagged the production as 'about Iraq.'

Yet, in spite of its overtly twenty-first-century concerns and its political message, *An Arab Tragedy* was received by reviewers in a similar way to Dash Art's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Dominic Cavendish's review describes the play as 'Putting the Sheikh into

Shakespeare' and claims that 'it is as though the Swan Theatre has been put on a magic carpet and flown to Saudi Arabia […] we hear not alarums but strange beguiling ululations.'[468] Instead of foregrounding the productions political and ethical focus, reviewers like Cavendish choose to highlight its exotic aesthetic. Graham Holderness emphasises this in his review of the play arguing that the production's British reception was 'intoxicated with orientalism.'[469] British reviewers' readiness to highlight the exotic qualities of the production underlines the attraction of such an aesthetic. It is this reading of international Shakespeare which leads to a reductive understanding of other cultures and perpetuates the association between utopian primitivism and intercultural performance.

Despite its critical reception, Al-Bassam's approach to utopian primitivism is actually ambiguous. The production features elements which could be aligned with this aesthetic: including beautiful bright costumes, dancing and singing. At the same time, as Margaret Litvin notes, 'by showing how the very tokens of cultural exchange […] were cynically theatricalized and exploited by those in power, the production undercut its own ethnographic lessons even as it imparted them'[470] Emir Gloucester manipulated his own culture in order to take control of it and Al-Bassam used exoticised perceptions of Arabic culture in order to sell his production to a global audience. However, Al-Bassam is aware of the problems of such theatricalisation and thus exposes them whilst simultaneously accepting exoticism's attraction for Western audiences. In negotiating within this tension he is challenging the traditions of international, utopian primitivist Shakespeare. The presentation of this challenge in the RSC's theatre complicates and reinvigorates the RSC's own approach to intercultural performance.

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[468] *Daily Telegraph*, 15 February 2007, p. 7.
[469] 'From Summit to Tragedy: Sulayman Al-Bassam's *Richard III* and Political Theatre', *Critical Survey*, 19 (2007), 124-43 (p. 132).
[470] 'Richard III: An Arab Tragedy', *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 25 (2007), 85-91 (p. 86).

Young People's Shakespeare

One particular intercultural performance – Nós do Morro's and Gallery 37's *Two Gentlemen of Verona* – also reinvigorated Shakespeare by suggesting that he can be relevant to young people in the twenty-first century. The inclusion and involvement of young people at the Complete Works Festival operated in two ways. On the one hand they represented a desirable and elusive demographic to which the RSC was keen to appeal. On the other, they constituted a small but significant group of festival performers. *Two Gentlemen of Verona* brought together young people from Birmingham and Rio de Janeiro. Nós do Morro created the play in Brazil whilst working with the RSC's voice coach Cicely Berry. The young people from Gallery 37 were integrated into the play during an intensive two-week rehearsal period. Both companies are interested in the instrumental value of culture and its ability to move children and young people out of poverty and to keep them away from drugs and criminal activity. Using Shakespeare to do this is another reaffirmation of his value as free resource. Further, the collaboration between two disadvantaged groups of young people from different parts of the world underlines Shakespeare's universal appeal. At the Complete Works Festival this was combined with the festive spirit of rejuvenation to produce a powerful statement about the healing power of culture. The involvement of young people in this way enabled Nós do Morro, Gallery 37 and the RSC to espouse a Shakespeare whose value is situated in his ability to rejuvenate, reinvigorate and inspire.

In the case of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Shakespeare was endowed with the power of rejuvenation. In other parts of the festival it was the young people themselves who were figured as potentially regenerative. Five drama schools performed at the festival and then toured their work around local schools. The emphasis on using Shakespeare instrumentally thus continued in the drama school project. This was coupled with an aesthetic interest in

providing foils to RSC productions. Three out of the five drama schools presented plays that were also performed by the RSC. In these instances, the young people's involvement was intended to provide contrast and variety within the festival. Two productions, the Royal Scottish Academy's *All's Well that Ends Well* and the Royal Welsh College's *The Comedy of Errors* were stand-alone. They were the only productions of these plays to be performed during the festival. In this instance the young actors were not only supplying a performative contrast; they were defining what the play could and should be.

Young people were also involved in performances at the Dell during the summer months. In the only move within the festival from private theatre to public performance, the RSC invited other professional companies as well as universities, schools and amateur dramatic groups to perform at the Dell. Like the festival as a whole, performances at the Dell were varied and eclectic and included adaptations, responses and straight-Shakespeare. Where they differed from the main festival was in their inclusion of plays by his contemporaries, providing another facet to the festival's programming. The image of young people performing and enjoying Shakespeare is always attractive to theatre producers.[471] It underlines his continuing relevance and ability to speak to contemporary issues. In showcasing their work, the RSC was taking ownership of a new generation of acting talent, laying claim to some of this relevance and using this to reinvigorate their own company.[472]

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[471] See, for example, director Paul Roseby's blog on BBC TV show *When Romeo met Juliet* and the subsequent responses: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/tv/2010/06/getting-to-know-the-cast-of-when-ro.shtml?scope=global&survey=no&surveyname=2010q2&site=tvblog&uid=d4eb2e94d02ddad7667818af81d32c9dc7875b9780c04114e41f50e2cc08d85c&url=http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/tv/2010/06/getting-to-know-the-cast-of-when-ro.shtml> [accessed 26 July 2010].

[472] Richard Goulding from Guildhall's version of *The Tempest* was later cast as Konstantin in *The Seagull*. Dyfan Dwyfor from Royal Welsh College and Joseph Arkley from Royal Scottish Academy are currently performing with the RSC ensemble (2010).

New Spaces and New Writing

Much of the work by and for young people was facilitated by the renewal of performance space during the festival. This shift in space was not only intended to encourage young people to get engaged with the event. There were other reasons, both practical and ideological, which prompted the redefinition of stage space. Part of the change was due to the fact that the festival marked the temporary closure of the Royal Shakespeare Theatre. This gave the company an opportunity to showcase its prototype thrust space at the Courtyard. These practical benefits were inflected by the idealisation of festivals which 'renounce and then announce culture' and seek to find new ways of making cultural goods. The new theatre space which opened in the summer of 2006 provided the RSC with a tangible example of the way in which they wanted to change and develop their method of playmaking. The Courtyard's thrust stage aims to bring even the audience in the furthest seats closer to the stage in order to improve the relationship between performer and spectator and is intended to be 'a modern take on the courtyard theatres of Shakespeare's day'.[473] With the emphasis on participation and bringing the audience closer, this thrust stage represents a festive space which encourages communality. That said, the gap between the stage and the stalls remain overt. This serves as a reminder of the potential limits of Shakespeare's flexibility and the limits of the courtyard model.

In order to produce more radical and inventive Shakespeares, the RSC needed to move away from traditional forms of Shakespearean playing space. The construction of a fringe-style event at the Complete Works allowed them to experiment with this concept. Fringe festivals are an important element of twenty-first-century festive events. They provide the oppositional, inversion of authority which forms part of the idealisation of festivals and helps

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[473] Royal Shakespeare Company, 'Transforming our Theatres'.

to construct their utopian image. In the past they existed on the geographical and metaphorical fringes of more establishment arts festivals. Edinburgh's Fringe began in 1947 when eight companies arrived at the festival without invitations and performed in venues outside the city. In its earliest conception, Edinburgh's Fringe stood in opposition to authority and rule. The utopian element of the fringe arose from its anti-authoritarian stance, its apparent spontaneity as an event unplanned by festival organisers and its self-identity as a festival making culture for the people, by the people.

As with all cultural value tensions the symbiotic relationship between the margins and the centre must not be ignored. One cannot exist without the other and they rely on each other for definition. The gap between fringe and centre must be viewed as a link and not a distinction. At Edinburgh this gap narrowed as part of the continual process by which the avant-garde becomes the mainstream, and the fringe was eventually subsumed into the Festival as a whole. Thus, it is the actual elision but apparent separation which allows the fringe and the centre of a festival to function as value-generative. The Fringe festival which was once the opposition to the Edinburgh Festival's high, traditional art offerings is now a defining part of the event. Not only it is widely acknowledged as the largest arts festival in the world but for anyone in Edinburgh during the Festival it is a dominating and highly visible force. The Fringe and the Festival are now almost synonymous with one another and this has shifted the cultural value of the event.

Like the Edinburgh fringe, the Complete Works' 'fringe' operated in conjunction with the central, traditional festival rather than direct opposition. As with all forms of Shakespearean adaptation and appropriation, the plays performed at the metaphorical fringes of the Complete Works festival worked to simultaneously affirm and disrupt Shakespeare's cultural authority. This fringe produced performances which were a combination of iconoclasm and bardolatry.

They were never entirely anti-authoritarian but they still worked to challenge and complicate the Shakespearean cultural object.

The Cube, a studio theatre built into the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, was opened for a month in November 2006. It seated 100 people within its white walls. For those familiar with the RSC, this venue continued to harbour the festival spirit of innovation by creating an unfamiliar space in familiar surroundings. For those unfamiliar with the space the Cube still created an attraction. Festival director Deborah Shaw cites as one of her strongest memories of the year: 'students queuing from 5am for the Tiny Ninja *Hamlet*'.[474] The manipulation of the traditional playing space allowed for the production of non-traditional performances. Shaw's memory of the Tiny Ninja *Hamlet* suggests that the inverted space of the Cube encouraged a new, younger audience to attend the festival. By offering audiences a performance which was not-RSC within a theatrical space which was at once RST and not-RST, the Complete Works festival created a Shakespeare which appealed to a new audience. The non-traditional performance in a once-traditional space worked both with and against audience expectation in order to allow for the potential creation of new cultural value. The Complete Works identity as a festival opened up opportunities for a redefinition of the RSC and a re-creation of the Shakespeare it presents.

The Cube showcased 'new' Shakespeare and new writing. The inversion of the space seemed to open up the opportunity for innovative approaches to theatre and to Shakespeare. Aside from *Hamlet* the plays performed in the Cube included: *The Indian Boy*, a response to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* written by Rona Munro, *One of these Days*, written by Leo Butler in response to *The Tempest*, Yellow Earth's *King Lear*, *Rough Magyck* performed by Forkbeard Fantasy and *Twelfth Night*, a work-in-progress performed by Filter. Each of these

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[474] Royal Shakespeare Company, *Annual Report and Accounts, 2006-2007*, p. 11.

adaptations and responses supplemented the festival, complicating, corroborating and contracting traditional readings of the plays. Sometimes they stood in opposition to Shakespeare, sometimes as a force with which to bolster his reputation. They were always an addendum or an appendix with which to interpret and reinterpret the cultural entity that was presented at the Complete Works as Shakespeare. What the response plays in the Cube demonstrate is the way in which an inversion or subversion of space can result in a challenge to authority. In this theatre project we can see the value strands of festival interlocking, interacting and helping to create new cultural value. Existing at the metaphorical fringes of the festival, the responses took place in an inverted space (big made small) which allowed them to invert the notion of the event as a straightforward celebration of Shakespeare. By challenging Shakespeare's cultural authority, the RSC was able to reinvigorate its own image, using different metaphorical and literal spaces to engineer a rebranding and re-creation for the company and for the Shakespeare they produce.

Not-RSC Shakespeare?

It was not only through the new writing and 'other' companies included in the Cube mini-season that the RSC incorporated innovative Shakespeare. The Festival as a whole allowed the RSC to take ownership of numerous Shakespeares being produced across the country and around the world. The RSC may not have produced these Shakespeares but they were being performed on its stages and branded with its merchandise and logo. As I have already established, consumers can work with or manipulate brands in order to recreate brand meaning. Sponsors and festival organisers can use the cultural value of brand and event in order to redefine the meaning of both. In the same way, applying the RSC's branding to a

production of the Berliner Ensemble's *Richard II*, Kneehigh's *Cymbeline* or Forkbeard Fantasy's *Rough Magyck* allowed the RSC to appropriate some of their brand value.

These theatre companies' own statements about their approach to theatre and performativity suggest some of the ways in which their brand identity could have worked in conjunction with the RSC's. Many of the other companies that performed at the Complete Works were what Kneehigh describes as 'outsiders, left-handers'.[475] At the festival they worked in unorthodox ways and challenged pre-established theatrical traditions. The style of their work reflects their brand of theatre and the way in which they describe themselves. Kneehigh, for example, present themselves as an 'inventive, brave, anarchic, cheeky, funny, magical and daring theatre.'[476] They are a theatre which values iconoclasm and irreverence and tries to find new ways to tell old stories. Their production of *Cymbeline* at the Complete Works dealt with Shakespeare in an anarchic way, offering audiences a modern English interpretation of the narrative. The Shakespeare which emerges from this type of production is more closely aligned to Kneehigh's inventive brand than to the RSC's traditional one. The collaboration between the companies creates an RSC Shakespeare which is simultaneously Kneehigh Shakespeare, a rebranded, remoulded cultural object.

Similarly, Forkbeard Fantasy identify with Kneehigh's description of theatrical 'outsiders.' Forkbeard Fantasy define themselves as a multimedia organisation whose work goes 'beyond stage shows'.[477] They are a company, therefore, which is already working towards creating theatre which is more than plays on stages. The ethos of their company is to present a wide range of different types of theatre and to incorporate film, animation and projection into staged events. The language of their website clearly communicates their brand

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[475] Kneehigh, 'About Us' <http://www.kneehigh.co.uk/about-us/an-introduction.php> [accessed 22 July 2010].
[476] Kneehigh, <http://www.kneehigh.co.uk> [accessed 22 July 2010].
[477] Forkbeard Fantasy 'Homepage' <http://www.forkbeardfantasy.co.uk/> [accessed 22 July 2010].

values: they are 'pioneers', 'experimental' and 'highly individual.'[478] Their performance at the Complete Works Festival was a participatory piece of new writing in which 'the audience embarked on a labyrinthine tour of belief and superstition which finally culminated in their arrival on the RST stage to take up spears with Pan against the superficiality of the modern world.'[479] Here, utopian primitivism and the attraction of multimedia coalesce to form a distinctly non-RSC performance. At the Complete Works, Forkbeard Fantasy's brand of theatre – which moves away from the stage, blends old and new media and encourages audience participation – challenged audiences to reconsider the type of theatre they want to see at the RSC and to share in producing something new.

Thus, Complete Works Festival Shakespeare was often 'not-RSC' but, with the RSC's logo clearly visible on the programmes, the venue and the event's title, it could never be completely 'not-RSC'. Instead, just as intercultural Shakespeare becomes 'Shakespeare-differed' so Complete Works Shakespeare was often RSC-differed. Many of the productions which took place during the Complete Works were simultaneously distanced from RSC Shakespeare and appropriated by the institution that produced that Shakespeare. In this negotiation between RSC and not-RSC, the Company could be redefined and the Shakespeare they produce recreated. Instead of being traditional, historical and canonical or irreverent, iconoclastic and inventive, the different brands worked together to create a Shakespeare that was traditional and irreverent, historical and iconoclastic, canonical and inventive. New cultural value accrued to Shakespeare from this negotiation as that which is 'not' became Royal Shakespeare Company.

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[478] Forkbeard Fantasy, 'Homepage'.
[479] Forkbeard Fantasy, 'Shows 2000-2010', <http://www.forkbeardfantasy.co.uk/new_shows_2000-2010.html> [accessed 22 July 2010].

It is significant, however, that the RSC itself did not veer away from 'that particular Shakespeare that comes between the words Royal and Company.'[480] Although they appropriated other Shakespeares under the RSC brand, their own Shakespeare remained traditional, non-adapted, performed with lavish costuming and focused on ensemble.[481] For the hosts, then, the festival also offered an opportunity to reinforce their cultural authority. The subversive element which forms an important part of idealised festive events was enacted by the visiting companies. Productions that truly challenged the notion of how Shakespeare should be performed were not part of the RSC's repertory. Instead, they came from other countries and other parts of the UK. Yet, even the apparent pedestal-toppling of a modern English *Cymbeline* or a Polish work-in-progress *Macbeth* served to remind audiences and performers of the dominance of Shakespeare's dramatic writing across continents.[482] Graham Holderness has argued that 'if the text can be reproduced in a virtually unrecognisable form, then the plurality of the text is proved.'[483] If Shakespeare-in-performance can be produced and reproduced in myriad styles and languages under the auspices of the RSC, then both Shakespeare's and the RSC's authority have been underlined.

In its plurality of Shakespeares the festival offered consumers the inversion of authority that Bakhtin sees as inherent to the festive. In its reinforcement of the RSC's cultural authority, the festival provided the sanction of an established institution that Falassi describes. In its simultaneous liberal and conservative programming, the Complete Works linked a binary together as a process of negotiation. It is too simplistic to read festivals as either anti or pro-authoritarian. Instead, festivals like the Complete Works hold both poles in balance, creating more cultural value by negotiating between the tensions which arise

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[480] Dobson, 'Watching the Complete Works', p. 27.
[481] For more on RSC branding see chapter 3.
[482] For a discussion of *Cymbeline* see chapter 4. For *Macbeth* see chapter 5.
[483] Holderness, 'Radical Potentiality', pp. 215-6.

Festive Success?

Earlier in the chapter I posed the question of the festival's overall success as an event. The answer to this needs to be approached from two different angles. Firstly, the success needs to be considered in the context of other festive events. Did the Complete Works represent a break in time? Did the event create plays that were more than rehearsed performance; that became spontaneous, authentic 'stuff that happens'? I think it is evident from the performances I have discussed above that although some took place in redefined and reshaped spaces they were always plays on stages. The Shakespeare of the Complete Works remained well-rehearsed, carefully plannned stage Shakespeare.

The lengthy process of performing nearly all of Shakespeare's plays and poems meant that the Complete Works overtook the 'break in time' which festivals are supposed to inhabit. Festival time in Stratford became normal time and in its twelve month lifespan created a sense of the quotidian around the visiting companies and constantly changing repertoire. The Festival's legacy continued in the three month world tour of *King Lear* and with Michael Boyd's History cycle which culminated in the 'Glorious Moment', a performance of the first and second tetralogies, from 14-16 March 2008. The Festival not only provided a driving force for its twelve-month schedule but continues to contribute to the company's economic and artistic endeavours.

This is where the second angle of approach comes in. The festival may not have been an ideal festival, either in its form or content but it did manage to perform another function successfully. It is a function which Michael Boyd and Deborah Shaw recognise in their foreword to the *Complete Works Yearbook*: 'The Festival has been an engine of change […] this will be its most important legacy.' [484] An eclectic range of different Shakespeares were

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[484] 'Foreword' in The Complete Works Yearbook , p. 1.

presented at the Complete Works Festival and Shakespeare emerged as potentially eclectic because of this. The festival reaffirmed Shakespeare's value as a free resource and underlined the RSC's role as keeper of that resource. The RSC was thus rebranded as not only the Royal Shakespeare Company but also as a company which involves an international, youthful, paradoxical mix of anti-authoritarianism and tradition.

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In this examination of the festive event as a whole we have seen how the Complete Works used the idea of festival as reinvigorating in order to recreate the RSC's role in English culture and thus to remake their cultural value. Equally, we have seen how the RSC used the variety which is necessary for a festival in order to appropriate other theatre companies' brand meanings and value. The Complete Works Festival formed part of the continual process by which Shakespeare's value is made and remade. Many of the performances that took place during the Complete Works Festival were subversive of audience expectation and worked in opposition to the RSC's aesthetic reputation. The free-resource Shakespeare which I have identified as culturally valuable was appropriated in numerous ways and took on numerous meanings as part of the year-long event.

The Complete Works Shakespeare was international, adapted, subversive, controversial, anti-authoritarian, performed in new theatrical spaces and in languages previously unheard on the Stratford stage. The identity of festivals as places of utopia and innovation was thus used by the RSC to reinvigorate their house playwright. At the same time, the celebration of Shakespeare, Stratford and the Royal Shakespeare Company underlined their deep connection with heritage, tradition and the local. The festival was both disruptive and affirmative of Shakespeare's cultural value and authority. It is because Shakespeare can hold both of these poles in balance and be at once traditional and innovative or simultaneously local and global

that 'festival' and 'Shakespeare' were able to interact in this way. It is in this interaction or negotiation between the cultural values of festival and of Shakespeare that cultural reinvigoration occurs. New value is created which accrues to Shakespeare's already pre-established value and thus his value is recreated and redefined.

Despite the RSC's stress on the instrumental outcomes of the event, an analysis of the Complete Works Festival reveals that far more was being enacted during the festival and extracted from it later. Using and working with the various value strands of festivals the RSC was able to reconstruct its brand image; test but ultimately sanction the cultural authority of Shakespeare; invite participation from audience members in such a way that ensured the creation of a fanbase and the encouragement of young people's engagement and manipulate space in order to redefine the RSC's cultural offering. The question at stake here is not whether the RSC's festival was true to the idealised notion of a subversive, utopian festival. Rather, the argument of this chapter is that it is the binaries that circle around and those embedded within festivals that allow event organisers to create and maintain cultural value. In this way, festival events like the Complete Works, Glastonbury and Edinburgh represent the culmination of my thesis. They highlight the importance of the tensions between culture and commerce and innovation and tradition. Through their engagement with the economic, their embrace of utopian primitivism and their emphasis on innovation festivals constitute a practical example of the intersection of different value-making moments. The real value of festivals lies in their ability to use this intersecting, value-generating potential to reconstruct and re-form institutions and cultural objects. By navigating through the cultural tensions inherent within festivals, the RSC has contributed to the creation and maintenance of Shakespeare's cultural value. What the audiences at the Complete Works Festival saw was both Shakespeare and not-Shakespeare, RSC and not-RSC. It was free-resource Shakespeare

differed from itself within a cultural context which uses the tensions between innovation and tradition, culture and commerce, relevance and irrelevance in order to remake and redefine its own cultural value.

'ALWAYS IN PROCESS, ALWAYS PROPAGATING'[485]

The early-twenty-first-century engagement with culture is defined by its plurality. This thesis has examined a single medium in a limited context – publicly-funded theatre – but it concludes by acknowledging some of the limitations of this approach. The provision of culture is managed or enabled by a wide variety of sources and it is consumed in numerous and eclectic ways. The phenomenon and general acceptance of the term 'media-stacking' underlines the mixed and complex way in which twenty-first-century cultural consumers access cultural goods.[486] The ready accessibility of digital culture has created a context in which we place greater emphasis on cultural objects which can expand into a variety of formats and can be freely and easily distributed. This emphasis has extended beyond the internet into the way in which we think about more traditional forms of cultural production. In general, publicly-funded culture is embracing digital culture's focus on interactivity, co-creation and cultural democracy. Specifically, publicly-funded theatre is becoming a broader and more diverse field; shifting and stretching away from its traditional formal qualities towards presenting 'more than plays on stages' and encompassing 'events, or stuff that happens.'[487] In our twenty-first-century, increasingly plural cultural context Shakespeare's value is thus partly drawn from his identity as free resource: seemingly freely available, open to interpretation and up-for-grabs.

Twenty-first-century free-resource Shakespeare functions with a plurality and flexibility that mirrors culture in general. In publicly-funded theatre Shakespeare can be 'mashed-up' with Tarantino, rewritten in modern English, coupled with Siberian folk songs, performed

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[485] Cunningham, Banks and Potts, p. 15.
[486] Media-stacking: watching television whilst surfing the internet, tweeting whilst at a football match, tweeting from your phone as you watch television and surf the web!
[487] Arts Council England, *Theatre Assessment 2009*, p. 35.

through the medium of capoeira, spoken in Arabic, German, Russian, Japanese or Italian. He can form the basis of a year-long cultural festival or provide the inspiration for others to write new plays. Outside the context of publicly-funded theatre, Shakespeare is less prominent but no less varied. *Such Tweet Sorrow*, with which I introduced this thesis, demonstrates one of the ways in which publicly-funded institutions are moving the Shakespearean cultural object out of the theatre and into new formats.

The effectiveness or appropriateness of *Such Tweet Sorrow* as a piece of Shakespeare is not the issue at stake. What is important is that the RSC wanted to create the work in the first place. In doing so, they are creating a Shakespeare which is paradigmatic of the twenty-first-century engagement with culture: a Shakespeare that is interactive, co-creative and experiential. It is the same kind of Shakespeare that is available in other online *Romeo and Juliets*. Warwickshire tourist board's viral game *Romeo, Wherefore Art Thou*? - which has been played by over twenty million people – features Romeo running through rural Warwickshire, killing wild boar and collecting 'chapters [*sic*]' from Shakespeare's plays.[488] If he runs, kills and collects enough he will be reunited with his sweetheart Juliet. *Romeo, Wherefore Art Thou?* has reached a much wider audience than the RSC's *Such Tweet Sorrow* but it is works in a similar way. It has shifted Shakespeare away from the stage and towards audience interaction, it has reduced *Romeo and Juliet* to the bare bones of its narrative and it aims to sell Shakespeare to a new audience. This not only underlines the continuing and varied proliferation of Shakespeare in formats other than theatre but also suggests something about his aesthetic limitations. Both *Such Tweet Sorrow* and *Romeo, Wherefore Art Thou?* retained the narrative and characters from Shakespeare's play. The play's ideas and poetry

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[488] BBC, 'Koko Digital Hype Shakespeare with Romeo computer game', 4 February 2010
 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/stoke/hi/people_and_places/arts_and_culture/newsid_8498000/8498497.stm>
[accessed 28 July 2010]. *Romeo, Wherefore Art Thou*, <http://www.shakespearegame.com> [accessed 27 July 2010].

were not communicated and were even misinterpreted. In online Shakespeare, 'wherefore' becomes a synonym for 'where' and Shakespeare plays are written in 'chapters' instead of 'acts'.

It is the idea of Shakespeare's potential limitations to which I want to turn before providing a conclusion to the thesis. The image of a contingent, constantly shifting, always propagating Shakespeare is the Shakespeare with which I want to conclude. But it is also a Shakespeare that I want to complicate. This is partly because the work of publicly-funded theatres is becoming more complex and far-reaching – the RSC 'performing' on Twitter, the National Theatre broadcasting their plays in cinemas, Punchdrunk creating interactive productions within found spaces[489] – but also because the way in which publicly-funded theatre and culture are conceptualised is changing. The field of cultural value analysis and critique is growing exponentially and is adopting a new focus. In 2006, John Holden was trying to pin down an accurate and useful measure of cultural value. In 2010 he is working with the Royal Shakespeare Company to look at ways of innovating the organisation.[490] A similar call to innovate is apparent in Hasan Bakhshi and David Throsby's *Culture of Innovation* which encourages arts organisations to rethink their working practices. Cultural analysis has moved from trying to measure cultural value towards trying to create it. Further, it has begun to think about arts institutions in the same way as other kinds of business. This is perhaps motivated by the increasing uncertainty over the future of arts funding. By presenting the arts as innovative, commentators can provide justification for their existence in recessionary times. Instead of being championed as spiritual regenerators, the arts are increasingly presented as the saviour of the UK economy.[491] This does not represent a turn back to the instrumental but rather a refiguring of the aesthetics of culture in order to make

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[489] <www.punchdrunk.org.uk> [accessed 27 July 2010].
[490] Hewison, Holden and Jones, *All Together*.
[491] Culture Policy and Practice Seminar, *Maximising the Importance of the Arts*.

them both economically and culturally valuable. As cuts to the cultural sector continue, the arts will be increasingly called upon to justify their position to funders and will increasingly have to innovate with less resource.[492]

It is not only in terms of the economic that theatre is being rethought. Throughout the thesis I have invoked the Arts Council's *Theatre Assessment* as not only indicative of the future of publicly-funded theatre but also potentially problematic for the production of Shakespeare. The problem arises from its emphasis on diversifying theatre and on moving work away from being only plays on stages. Chapter 6 suggested that festivals provided one way of institutions developing into new models of theatricality. However, what the case study of the Complete Works revealed is that there seems to be some limitations to the Shakespearean cultural object. Generally, it remains stage-bound and narrative driven.[493] If it is removed from the stage – as in *Such Tweet Sorrow* – then it will at least retain its links to the original narrative and characterisation. In the publicly-funded theatre Shakespeare's value is grounded in his flexibility and identity as a free resource. I do not want to deny what this thesis has already said about publicly-funded theatre but I do want to consider how Shakespeare proliferates (or not) when the walls of the theatre are removed. In doing so, I hope to provide a complicating and illuminating coda to the thesis; one which considers whether publicly-funded theatre's engagement with Shakespeare is limited to the work that goes on within the physical theatre building.

The RSC with(out) Shakespeare

The RSC, by its very nature is constantly and consistently engaged with Shakespeare. The branding of *Such Tweet Sorrow* as an RSC production was a strong signal of its relation to the

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[492] Jeremy Hunt, culture secretary announced cuts to both UK Film Council and MLA on 27 July 2010.
[493] See chapters 5 and 6.

Shakespearean cultural object. Even their new writing programme is permeated by Shakespeare and intended to 'transform [Shakespeare] and illuminate meaning.'[494] The RSC may produce new cultural products but they are always inflected by established readings and interpretations of Shakespeare's plays and the fact of their performance in Shakespeare's home town. However, there is one part of the RSC's work into which Shakespeare does not seem to have reached. Their productions at the Latitude festival are overtly not Shakespearean and provide an interesting contrast to their engagement with Shakespeare in the rest of their repertory. It is to these productions that I want to turn in order to initially complicate but finally corroborate my conception of the continually propagating Shakespeare.

The Big Lie, the RSC's contribution to the 2008 Latitude Festival, began with its writer Anthony Neilson taking to the stage to directly address the audience:

> This is a presentation by the RSC, obviously they are most known for Shakespeare. What you're going to see this evening is not Shakespeare. It is an example of the kind of contemporary classic that the RSC wants to present in the future. Thank you ladies and gentlemen. I present to you *The Big Lie*.[495]

In his short speech Neilson anticipated the audience's expectations of the RSC and the kind of plays they produce. He suggested that what was about to happen in the theatre tent of this popular music festival would subvert these expectations. Instead of Shakespeare the play was to be a 'contemporary classic'. The RSC-at-Latitude was setting out to present work which was new and not old, relevant not irrelevant, innovative not traditional. Neilson's introduction to his play thus communicated many of the cultural value tensions that this thesis has identified and suggested that in order for the RSC to function at a festival like Latitude it would have to significantly alter its cultural offer. Perhaps it was the music festival context

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[494] Royal Shakespeare Company, 'New writing at the RSC', <https://www.rsc.org.uk/supportthersc/6674.aspx> [accessed 15 March 2010].
[495] Anthony Neilson, speaking at Latitude Festival 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ebSchyDD6h8&feature=related> [accessed 29 June 2010].

within which *The Big Lie* took place that necessitated this change in production and performance. The audience was young, trendy and was attending a larger event which offered them a plethora of different activities. If the RSC's performance did not immediately appeal, the audience was likely to leave. They had, after all made no specific monetary investment in this particular performance or this particular theatre company. Shakespeare, it seemed, would not cut it.

But this play was, after all, called *The Big Lie*. As soon as the play began the 'lie' seemed to become apparent. As Neilson left the stage the lights came up on two white chairs and two actors dressed in tight black body stockings entered the playing space. They carried black folders containing the script. The overall effect was one of pretentious nonsense coupled with a lacksadaisical approach to both the acting and – the need for scripts being evidence of this – the rehearsal process. Was this the lie? That far from being determined to impress their new audience, the RSC were actually so unconcerned and uninterested in the Latitude festival that they had not bothered to rehearse and were not presenting anything that could accurately be described as a 'contemporary classic'? As the dialogue began the audience would certainly have been confirmed in this view. Neilson's script was in fact the iconic scene from *Eastenders* in which Den Watts announces to Angie that he is leaving her.

As the play continued noises from outside the tent became increasingly disturbing. Screams, cries and groans could be heard above Den and Angie's argument and the laughter of the audience. Suddenly a man lurched onto the stage, quickly followed by a security guard who could not stop him from attacking and biting 'Den'. Neilson took to the stage once more: 'I'm sorry ladies and gentlemen, but as you may have heard we have been having trouble with the living dead…I can't think why they're attacking the RSC [audience laughter].' Neilson led the audience outside and proceeded to chase after the living dead that surrounded the tent,

encouraging his audience to do the same. The 'big lie' was not that Neilson had recycled an *Eastenders* script and re-presented it as a pretentious piece of modern theatre. The big lie was that the play's main action had been taking place outside of the theatre tent and that the audience crammed in to watch the RSC had actually missed many of the most exciting parts of the performance.

Critical reviews of the show were mixed. Brian Logan, writing for the *Guardian*'s theatre blog was seated outside the tent and fully appreciated the horror show which emerged, lurching, from the surrounding woodland:

> It took account of the fact that there was a bigger audience outside than inside the theatre tent. […] It wasn't made for a paying audience, so it didn't even try to offer value for money. It sounds like the show was frustrating to those seated ringside. It certainly would have been to anyone expecting anything resembling a play. But to punters outside, and to passers-by who stumbled upon it, it was an unforgettable experience.[496]

What Logan valued about the production was its links to the twenty-first-century paradigm of cultural production: its seeming spontaneity, its interactivity and its experiential quality. To Lyn Gardner, who was seated ringside, the show could only be described as 'a damp squib.'[497] Gardner's critique suggests that she expected the theatre at Latitude, perhaps especially that produced by the RSC, to continue to adhere to the unspoken rules and regulations of theatre.[498] In contrast, Logan sees the performance as perfectly suited to its twenty-first-century festival context.

The Big Lie was thus entirely separated from the kind of work that is normally associated with the RSC. It was nonsensical and disrupted any search for meaning. It was less aesthetically beautiful and more experientially shocking. It was not Shakespeare and was not

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[496] Brian Logan, 'The Big Lie at Latitude: More alive than dead', *Guardian* Theatre Blog, 24 July 2008 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/stage/theatreblog/2008/jul/24/thebiglieatlatitudemorea> [accessed 29 June 2010].
[497] Lyn Gardner, 'Sets, dance and rock'n'roll', *Guardian*, 24 July 2008, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/stage/2008/jul/24/theatre.latitudefestival> [accessed 29 June 2010].
[498] Much like Tweeter alexandervelsky, see Introduction.

even really a play. There was no narrative thrust, no character construction and no script. This improvised, chaotic, Zombie-filled 'happening' created a sense of the RSC as a company which values subversion, spontaneity, audience interaction and experience and the creation of theatre which is 'more than plays on stages.'[499]

The same move away from Shakespeare is evident in the RSC's 2009 and 2010 contributions to Latitude. In 2009, *Here Lies Mary Spindler* was performed at midnight and presented as a supposed collaboration between the RSC and Suffolk Trial Society. This fictional society was created by the RSC for purposes of the play and was given its own website in order to make it seem more authentic. During the performance, an 'expert' from the society was asked to explain the festival site's connection with seventeenth century witch trials before a dramatic recreation of the trials took over the stage. In 2010, *The Thirteen Midnight Challenges of Angelus Diablo* told the story of an out-of-work actor who makes a Faustian deal with devil in order to earn a part in a play. Clearly an attempt to poke fun at the public's perception of the RSC, *Angelus Diablo* was the third production at Latitude to use the supernatural as a narrative device.

The other thread linking the Latitude productions is an overt rejection of Shakespeare:

> The RSC are hell-bent on putting living dramatists back at the heart of everything we do. In chucking out a few dead poets in favour of this new breed of living, breathing dramatists, we have learned how dangerous it is to disturb the past.[500]

The same push against 'dead poets' was apparent in a more muted form in the 2010 Latitude programme: 'the Royal Shakespeare Company produces work by brilliant living playwrights

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[499] Arts Council England, *Theatre Assessment 2009*, p. 11.
[500] Latitude Festival 2009, Theatre Arena Programme,
<http://2009.latitudefestival.co.uk/lineup/artist.aspx.AID=8cf3e20e-fa09-4041-8116-c20ff3787236&artist=Royal%20Shakespeare%20Company.html> [accessed 28 July 2010].

as well as brilliant dead ones.'[501] These statements are, to some extent, disingenuous. The RSC has not 'chucked out' dead poets and continues to perform Shakespeare's plays at Stratford. In fact, what the out and out rejection of dead playwrights achieves is to make Shakespeare noticeable even in his absence. The RSC-at-Latitude seems to be building a canon of its own. This is a canon built around irreverence, eerie supernaturalism and a rejection of 'dead poets.' Each of the RSC productions performed at Latitude has been overtly non-Shakespearean and has thus helped to create an RSC which is almost not-RSC, an RSC differed from itself. An RSC, in fact, where Shakespeare seems to have run its course.

Yet, the role of Shakespeare at Latitude is more nuanced than the RSC's approach might suggest. Firstly, his works have been performed at the festival. Filter's version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* has been described as both a 'remix' and a 'reinvigoration' of Shakespeare; a production which not only presented Shakespeare but used the festival setting as a context for rejuvenation.[502] His absence from the RSC's performances cannot, therefore, be explained by his lack of twenty-first-century relevance or his limitations as a free resource. Indeed, in other contexts, the RSC would argue for his continued relevance and his universal applicability. There seems to be something else underpinning the RSC's removal of Shakespeare from the Latitude repertoire.

That 'something else' may well have been the marketing opportunity that Latitude presents. Explaining the benefits of performing at Latitude to its readers, *The Stage* describes

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[501] Latitude Festival 2010, <http://www.latitudefestival.co.uk/lineup/artist.aspx?AID=f28cc40b-cb21-43a1-be2b-784c64e101df&venue=Theatre%20Arena&artist=The%20Royal%20Shakespeare%20Company%20presents%20The%2013%20Midnight%20Challenges%20of%20Angelus%20Diablo%20(Thur,%20Sat)> [accessed 28 July 2010].

[502] Alistair Smith, 'Latitude Festival, Theatre Arena', *The Stage*, 19 July 2010 <http://www.thestage.co.uk/reviews/review.php/28965/latitude-festival-theatre-arena> [accessed 27 July 2010].

it as 'an audience development exercise.'[503] The same emphasis on promotion is apparent in Anthony Neilson's description of the RSC's motivation for attending the festival:

> The RSC is trying to change, to get rid of its stuffy, establishment reputation and to show that it really is serious about new writing, and not just about Shakespeare. It sounds cynical to call it a marketing exercise, but us being here says to people that the RSC is not what you think it is.[504]

In rejecting Shakespeare, the RSC was trying to sell itself to a new audience. Whether *The Big Lie* was actually the 'damp squib' which Lyn Gardner saw or the 'firecracker' experience of Brian Logan, the aim of its writer remains the same. What drove the RSC's performance in 2008 and what continues to drive their Latitude productions is a desire to reach new audiences, to show that the RSC is more than just Shakespeare-on-stage and thus to re-create the RSC brand for a new generation of playgoers.

However, the vast majority of the RSC's cultural offer revolves around Shakespeare. Attracting a new generation of playgoers to the RSC will thus always involve attracting them to see Shakespeare. Their work at Latitude shows them rejecting Shakespeare in order to sell Shakespeare. I suggested at the beginning of the conclusion that Latitude might be an example of the conceptual limitations of Shakespeare. What an analysis the RSC-at-Latitude demonstrates is not that there are places into which Shakespeare cannot reach, but rather that what remains of Shakespeare in these places might be limited. At Latitude he existed in the name 'Royal Shakespeare Company', in the narrative of Filter's *Dream* and in the echoes of history, heritage and the supernatural.

Shakespeare somehow manages to permeate even the performances from which he was removed. He is made all too apparent in the overt rejection by Neilson. The emphasis on history and heritage in *Here Lies Mary Spindler*, the connection with the supernatural and one

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[503] Alistair Smith, 'Latitude Lines', *The Stage*, 23 July 2009 < http://www.thestage.co.uk/features/feature.php/25095/latitude-lines> [accessed 27 July 2010].
[504] Neilson, quoted in Gardner, 'Sets, dance and rock'n'roll'.

of Shakespeare's most familiar plays *Macbeth* and the contrast with *Eastenders* all serve to point up the absence of Shakespeare from these Royal Shakespeare Company productions. Shakespeare was notable at Latitude – even if it was only in his absence.

If events like Latitude which foreground experience over content and internet-based 'plays' and games like *Such Tweet Sorrow* and *Romeo, Wherefore art thou?* are paradigmatic of the way in which culture is shifting then what does this mean for the RSC? Will their future work include more links to digital culture, greater emphasis on audience interactivity and a foregrounding of experience over narrative? Is this the way in which publicly-funded theatre will ensure that it meets the Arts Council's injunction to produce work which is more than plays on stages? I cannot predict the kind of effects that an increasing emphasis on innovation, interactivity and experience will have on publicly-funded culture, theatre or Shakespeare. However, what the continuing changes in cultural production, dissemination and analysis underline is that conclusions about Shakespeare's value will be as shifting as Shakespeare himself. And Shakespeare will continue to shift, online, at festivals and most particularly in the cultural field of publicly-funded theatre. How his value will continue to function is impossible to say. That it will continue to propagate seems likely.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

A study of the RSC's work at Latitude and online not only highlights the paradigms of twenty-first-century cultural production. The duality with which it operates - rejecting Shakespeare at the festival to sell Shakespeare in Stratford – is also a signal of the importance of value tensions in the creation and recreation of cultural value. The critical reception of all the RSC's plays at Latitude suggests that other tensions – aside from that between Shakespeare/not-Shakespeare – were also created during performances including improvised and rehearsed, performance space and public space, authenticity and inauthenticity, value-for-

money and waste of money. At their root these tensions can be traced back to the overarching value tensions that have underscored this thesis. The RSC's Latitude productions have all been ultimately governed by the problem of how to do something new with something old and haunted by the spectre of commercialism.

This serves to underline that cultural values exist as a set of tensions. The RSC's foray into the Twittersphere, adaptations like *Kill Bill Shakespeare* and *Knock Against My Heart* and computer games like *Romeo, Wherefore art thou?* are all examples of the ever-changing, shifting Shakespeare of the twenty-first century. Yet surrounding this malleable, mutable cultural object are enduring and entrenched cultural values. Many of these have their roots in early writings about culture and cultural studies. Works like Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, Cecil J. Sharp's study of English folk songs or T.S. Eliot's *Notes Towards a Definition of Culture* frame their discussion in terms of tensions: culture/anarchy, civilised/uncivilised, mass/elite. These same tensions are manifested in the work produced by publicly-funded theatres in the twenty-first-century. Cultural value tensions have governed and continue to govern the production of culture, its dissemination and its critique. The potential list of tensions is inexhaustible. They are encountered in the binaries between high and low culture, local and global, authentic and inauthentic, new and old, preservation and production. However, at their root they can be reduced to two overarching binaries: that between economics and culture and that between innovation and tradition.

The influence of these overarching binaries is apparent in the production and consumption of adapted Shakespeare, intercultural Shakespeare and festivalised Shakespeare. Each of these Shakespeares contains within them specific value tensions: adaptation/original, local/global, private/public. However, their link back to the overarching, intersecting binaries of culture/commerce and innovation/tradition is readily discernible. Utopian primitivism, for

example, is predicated on a notion that culture and commerce should be kept separate. However, intercultural productions are frequently used to innovate publicly-funded theatre's approaches to Shakespeare and thus to make him more saleable in the twenty-first-century. Intercultural endeavour is not only about producing global art or even authentic, innovative art. As Rustom Bharucha reminds us, it is also about marketing.[505] A similar intertwining of innovation and economics governs the production of relevant, modern adaptations of Shakespeare.[506]

What is important is that Shakespeare's identity as free resource allows him to act as an intermediary between such value tensions. The interweaving of innovation, tradition, culture and commerce within intercultural endeavour, within adaptations and within festivals is enabled by Shakespeare. By this I mean that he can both assimilate and communicate a variety of different values simultaneously. The relationship between his identity as freely available and his flexible, value-holding quality is thus reciprocal and mutually reaffirming. He is a free resource because he can take on a variety of values at any time and he can take on a variety of values at any time because he is perceived to be a free resource.

This adaptable, changeable cultural resource is useful and valuable to theatres because they are inherently dialectical spaces. Their dialectical nature is alluded to by both theorists and practitioners. Stephen Purcell, taking his cue from Robert Weimann's assertion that theatre is not about confrontation but 'interplay', describes theatre as a place where 'inconsistent and contradictory attitudes can exist without synthesis in the same piece of theatre.'[507] Eugenio Barba evokes a similar image of theatre when he imagines the spectator 'for whom the theatre is essential precisely because it does not present them with solutions, but knots.'[508] We have

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[505] 'Under the sign of the Onion', p. 117.
[506] See chapter 4.
[507] Purcell, p. 36
[508] The Paper Canoe, p. 96.

seen this kind of dialectical space being produced in adaptations that were both bardolatrous and irreverent, in utopian primitivist Shakespeare which performs 'authenticity' and at the Complete Works Festival which branded productions as RSC even when they were not. Like Shakespeare, theatres provide a space for producers and consumers of culture to work through cultural value tensions. Placing Shakespeare in the theatre thus maximises on his qualities as a negotiator between tensions and on theatre's position as a site for negotiation.

Representing values as binaries might seem theoretically and ethically problematic and old-fashioned. The closing decades of the twentieth-century saw a sustained academic attack on the kind of binary constructions I have listed above. Conceptions of 'high' and 'low' culture became not only irrelevant but anathema, as did the separation of popular and elite. Authenticity was revealed to be a cultural construction. Inauthentic simulacra were revealed as the driving force in our increasingly consumer-driven society. I do not want to efface the ethical and theoretical problems of thinking about values in terms of tension. However, these tensions continue define the way in which twenty-first-century publicly-funded culture is written about, subsidised, created, produced and presented to its audience. They cannot be ignored because they are inherent in twenty-first-century encounters with culture, with theatre, with Shakespeare.

Rather than ignoring or disparaging such tensions we need to develop our approach to them. What I asserted in the introduction and have continued to reiterate throughout the thesis is that these tensions can actually be value-generative. If they are dealt with as negotiations rather than confrontations then new cultural value will be formed as entrenched and enduring cultural value is challenged and, ultimately, altered. On the surface they seem to exist as binaries but in practice they can be, and often are, mutually reaffirming differences; not just

distinctions, but links.[509] Shakespeare enables this negotiation process because, as Diana Henderson notes, his own status as either high or low, local or global, innovative or traditional is similarly shifting:

> Although it is undeniable that Shakespeare has become the Bard of high culture, he has never been exclusively or stably held aloft. Indeed, his story convincingly demonstrates the instability of the line dividing high and low, elite and popular, revealing the multiple (and sometimes colliding) meanings of those terms.[510]

It is the perception of these qualities which enabled the RSC to produce a Twittersphere Shakespeare. *Such Tweet Sorrow* is a pointed example of the way in which Shakespeare is constantly being remade for our current cultural context. In this sense, Shakespeare continues to be 'here, now, always what is currently being made of him.'[511] Holderness asserts that Shakespeare has never been a static cultural object. I have added to this assertion that the value of Shakespeare is equally mobile. Just as Shakespeare is a contingent cultural object, so his value is shifting and changeable. In the twenty-first-century, Shakespeare has metamorphosed from literary object into a free resource and tension intermediary. Instead of being a fixed 'thing' Shakespeare becomes a metaphorical space for the debate of value tensions and as such is always value-generative. He does not have a fixed value but is, instead 'always in process, always propagating.'[512] Shakespeare's pre-established value may be released through performance but it will also accrue, shift, change and develop.

The term 'pre-established' is thus a bit of a misnomer. A value which seems to be established at the beginning of a performance could be 're-established' by the end. Value is re-established in theatre performances through a negotiation between tensions. Shakespeare-

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[509] See my discussion of Douglas Lanier in the Introduction.
[510] 'From Popular Entertainment to Literature', p. 6.
[511] Holderness, 'Preface: "All This", p. xvi.
[512] Cunningham, Banks and Potts, p. 15.

as-negotiator works with and through tensions rather than presenting them as confrontations. He is commercial *and* non-commercial, new *and* old, local *and* global, authentic *and* inauthentic. Entrenched cultural values are challenged as the tensions between them become more nuanced. The relationship between adaptation and original can be mutually reaffirming rather than antithetical.[513] International, innovative productions can hark back to traditional readings of Shakespeare.[514] Theatres can sell Shakespeare even as they reject his commerciality.[515] The duality with which Shakespeare and theatre are able to operate creates cultural value. It is created because the object called 'Shakespeare' and its value is reinvigorated, redefined and remade in the process which negotiates between tensions.

This returns us full circle to the notion of Shakespeare as free resource and as flexible. Without these characteristics, Shakespeare cannot be a value-generating object. In publicly-funded theatre this manifests itself in an ambiguous relationship with the market; a myriad of adaptations like *Kill Bill Shakespeare*, *Shakespeare's R&J* and *Cymbeline*; international productions such as Teatr Pieśń Kozła's *Macbeth*, Baxter Theatre's *The Tempest* and Nós do Morro's *Knock Against My Heart* and special events like the Complete Works Festival. These all emphasise the continued effort by producers to change and remake the cultural object 'Shakespeare'. The cultural value of Shakespeare in publicly-funded theatre mirrors the continual redefinition of the Shakespearean object and, rather than being a concrete 'thing' is better defined as a constant process of propagation.

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[513] See chapter 4.
[514] See chapter 5.
[515] See chapter 3.

Appendix

Publicly-Funded Shakespeare in England September 2007- December 2008

Theatre	Arts Council Region	Play	Production Company	Date
Arena Theatre	West Midlands	Much Ado about Nothing	Red Shift	Mar-08
Arts Depot	London	A Midsummer Night's Dream	KAOS Theatre	Sep-07
Barbican	London	Two Gentlemen of Verona	Nos do Morro	Oct-08
Barbican Theatre	South West	Macbeth	Fast Forward Theatre	Sep-08
Birmingham Rep	West Midlands	Romeo in the City	Theatre Centre	Nov-07
		3 Henry VI: The Chaos	The Young Rep	Jul-08
		Knock Against My Heart	Nos do Morro	Oct-08
Bolton Octagon	North West	Merchant of Venice	In House	Sep-Oct 08
Brewery Arts Centre	Kendal, North West	A Tale for Winter	Quicksilver Theatre	Dec-07
Cambridge Arts Theatre	Cambridge, East	I Am Shakespeare	Chichester Festival Theatre	Sep-07
		Cymbeline	The Marlowe Society	Oct-07
The Castle	East Midlands	Hamlet	Shakespeare 4 Kidz	Oct-07
		Shakespeare, The Musical	Shakespeare 4 Kidz	Oct-08
Cheek by Jowl	London	Troilus and Cressida	In House	May-Jun 08
Colchester Mercury Theatre	East	Coriolanus	In House	Oct-Nov 07
		Julius Caesar	In House	Nov-07
Contact Theatre	North West	Romeo in the City	Theatre Centre	Nov-07
		A Midsummer Night's Dream	KAOS Theatre	Feb-Mar 08
		Beyond Measure	Back and Forth	Oct-08
		Knock Against My Heart	Nos do Morro	Oct-08
The Courtyard	West Midlands	Henry V for Kids	Theater Greune Sosse & Theatr Brycheiniog	Oct-07
The Customs House	North East	Romeo and Juliet	The Long Overdue Company	Oct-08
Donmar Warehouse	London	Othello	In House	Nov 07-Feb 08
Donmar at the West End		Twelfth Night	In House	Dec 08-Mar 09
Georgian Theatre Royal	Yorkshire	Romeo and Juliet	Northern Broadsides	Apr-May 08
Gloucestershire Everyman	South West	The Complete Works (Abridged)	Reduced Shakespeare Company	Apr-08
		As You Like It	Everyman Youth Theatre	Nov-08
		The Tempest	Everyman Youth Theatre	Nov-08
		Macbeth	Everyman Youth Theatre	Nov-08
Guildhall Arts Centre	East Midlands	Romeo and Juliet	Independent Ballet Wales	Nov-08
Gulbenkian Theatre	South East	The Tempest	Tara Arts	Oct-07

Publicly-Funded Shakespeare in England September 2007- December 2008

Theatre	Arts Council Region	Play	Production Company	Date
Hall for Cornwall	South West	Taming of the Shrew	Miracle Theatre	Sep-07
		The Complete Works (Abridged)	Reduced Shakespeare Company	Mar-08
Lawrence Batley Theatre	Yorkshire	A Midsummer Night's Dream	Pyramus and Thisbe	Oct-07
		Falstaff	Pimlico Opera	Oct-08
Lichfield Garrick	West Midlands	"One Man" Hamlet	In House	Oct-07
		A Midsummer Night's Dream	RDC Productions	Nov-07
The Lighthouse	South West	A Midsummer Night's Dream	KAOS Theatre	Sep-07
		The Complete Works (Abridged)	Reduced Shakespeare Company	Apr-08
Liverpool Everyman Playhouse	North West	I Am Shakespeare	Chichester Festival Theatre	Oct-07
		Julius Caesar	Everyman Youth Theatre	Oct-07
		Romeo and Juliet	Northern Broadsides	Apr-08
		King Lear	In House	Oct-Nov 08
The Lowry	North West	I Capuleti e I Montecchi	Pimlico Opera	Sep-07
		Comedy of Errrors	Royal Shakespeare Company	Oct-07
		A Midsummer Night's Dream	Dash Arts	Oct-Nov 07
		Romeo and Juliet	No Nonsense Theatre	Nov-07
		Falstaff, opera	Opera North	Nov-07
		Romeo and Juliet	Northern Broadsides	Jun-08
		Salford Macbeth	Community Arts and National Youth Theatre	Sep-Oct 08
		Othello	Frantic Assembly	Sep-Oct 08
		A Bard Day's Night	In House	Oct-08
		I Capuleti e I Montecchi	Opera North	Nov-08
		An Evening with Falstaff	So May Words Theatre Company	Nov-08
		Romeo and Juliet	Royal Shakespeare Company	Nov-08
Ludlow Assembly Rooms	West Midlands	What You Fancy	Phizzical Productions	Apr-08
Lyric Hammersmith	London	The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui	In House	Feb-Mar 08
		Othello	Frantic Assembly	Nov-08
Midlands Arts Centre (mac)	West Midlands	Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare	South Hill and The Wales Theatre Co.	25 - 27 Sep
Malvern Festival Theatre	West Midlands	I Am Shakespeare	Chichester Festival Theatre	Sep-07
		A Midsummer Night's Dream	Dash Arts	Sep-07
Millfield Arts Centre	London	Romeo and Juliet	In House	Jul-Aug 08
Miracle Theatre Company	South West	Taming of the Shrew	In House	Tour from Sep-08
National Theatre	London	Much Ado about Nothing	In House	Dec 07-Mar 08

Publicly-Funded Shakespeare in England September 2007- December 2008

Theatre	Arts Council Region	Play	Production Company	Date
New Theatre Royal	South East	A Midsummer Night's Dream	KAOS Theatre	Oct-07
		Shakespeare's R&J	Original Theatre Company	Nov-08
New Wolsey Theatre	East Midlands	Twelfth Night	Filter	Oct-08
Newcastle Theatre Royal	North East	Macbeth	Royal Shakespeare Company	Sep-07
		A Midsummer Night's Dream	Dash Arts	Oct-07
		Merchant of Venice	Royal Shakespeare Company	Oct-08
Norden Farm Centre for the Arts	South East	The Tempest	Love & Madness	Sep-07
		Twelfth Night	Friendly Bombs	Nov-07
		The Complete Works (Abridged)	Reduced Shakespeare Company	Mar-08
		Romeo and Juliet	Norden Lights Academy	Apr-08
		Puck's Bottom	In House	Oct-08
Northern Ballet Theatre	Yorkshire	Hamlet	In House	Feb-May 08
		A Midsummer Night's Dream	In House	Mar-Nov 08
			In House	May-08
Northern Broadsides	Yorkshire	Romeo and Juliet	In House	Feb-June 08
Nottingham Playhouse	East Midlands	Macbeth	In House	Oct-Nov 08
Oldham Coliseum	North West	The Tempest	Love & Madness	Nov-07
		Comedy of Errrors	HAIR	May-08
The Old Town Hall	East	Much Ado about Nothing	Red Shift	Nov-07
Opera North	Yorkshire	Macbeth	In House	Apr-Jun 08
		A Midsummer Night's Dream	In House	May-Jun 08
		Romeo and Juliet	In House	May-Jun 08
Oval House Theatre	London	Vakomana Vavirive Zimbabwe	Two Gents Productions	Nov-Dec 08
Oxford Playhouse	Oxford, South East	I Am Shakespeare	Chichester Festival Theatre	Sep-07
		A Midsummer Night's Dream	Dash Arts	Oct-07
Quay Arts Centre	Isle of Wight, South East	Lifting the Mask	London Shakespeare Workout	Oct-07
Queen's Hall	North West	Much Ado about Nothing (for kids)	Mad Alive Theatre	Nov-08
Queen's Theatre	Barnstaple, South West	Hamlet	Shakespeare 4 Kidz	Oct-07
Queen's Theatre, Hornchurch	London	Twelfth Night	Cut to the Chase Company	Apr-May 08
Roses Theatre Trust	South West	Shakespeare Schools Festival	In House	Apr-08
		What You Fancy	Phizzical Productions	May-08
		Romeo and Juliet	Independent Ballet Wales	May-08
Royal and Derngate	East Midlands	Humble Boy	In House	Apr-May 08
		Othello	Frantic Assembly	Oct-08

Publicly-Funded Shakespeare in England September 2007- December 2008

Theatre	Arts Council Region	Play	Production Company	Date
Royal Exchange Theatre	North West	Henry V	In House	Oct-07
Royal Opera House	London	Romeo and Juliet, the ballet	In House	Oct-Nov 07/ May-Jun 08
		A Midsummer Night's Dream	In House	Jan-Feb 08
Royal Shakespeare Company	West Midlands	Richard III	In House	Feb 07-Mar 08
		King Lear	In House	Nov 07-Jan 08
		Twelfth Night	In House	Aug-Oct 07
		Richard II	In House	Jul 07-Mar 08
		Henry IV pt 1	In House	Jul 07-May 08
		Henry IV pt 2	In House	Jul 07-May 08
		Henry V	In House	Jul 07-May 08
		Noughts and Crosses	In House	Feb-Apr 08
		Henry VI pt 1	In House	Feb-Mar 08
		Henry VI pt 2	In House	Feb-Mar 08
		Henry VI pt 3	In House	Feb-Mar 08
		Merchant of Venice	In House	Apr-Sep 08
		Taming of the Shrew	In House	Apr-Sep 08
		A Midsummer Night's Dream	In House	May-Nov 08
		Hamlet	In House	Jul-Nov 08
		Love's Labour's Lost	In House	Oct-Nov 08
Sadler's Wells	London	Macbeth, the opera	Glyndebourne on Tour	Dec-07
		Othello	Phoenix Dance Theatre	Apr-08
		West Side Story	In House	Jul-Aug 08
Salisbury Playhouse	South West	Othello	In House	Nov-07
		The Herbal Bed	In House	Jan-Feb 08
		Taming the Tempest	In House	Mar-08
Sheffield Theatres	Yorkshire	The Tempest	Love & Madness	Sep-07
		Romeo in the City	Theatre Centre	Nov-07
		The Complete Works (Abridged)	Reduced Shakespeare Company	Apr-08
		Romeo and Juliet	The Wales Theatre Company	Nov-08
South Hill Park Arts Centre	South East	Macbeth Kill Bill Shakespeare	in assoc. with The Wales Theatre Co.	Sep-07
		A Winter's Tale	People's Playhouse	Apr-08
		Shakespeare's R&J	Original Theatre Company	Sep-08
Southbank Centre	London	Tempest II	Lemi Ponifasio	Jun-08

Publicly-Funded Shakespeare in England September 2007- December 2008

Theatre	Arts Council Region	Play	Production Company	Date
Stephen Joseph Theatre	Yorkshire	Romeo and Juliet	Northern Broadsides	Apr-08
		Jack Lear	In House	Oct-Nov 08
Tara Arts	London	The Tempest	In House	Sep-Oct 07
		The Rape of Lucrece	In House	Sep-08
Theatre by the Lake	North West	Will Shakespeare Save the King?	In House	Apr-08
		Thou Art Mad Big Mac	In House	Apr-08
		Will Shakespeare Save us?	In House	Apr-08
Theatre Royal, Plymouth	South West	Much Ado about Nothing	Red Shift	Nov-07
		A Midsummer Night's Dream	Dash Arts	Nov-07
		Macbeth, the opera	Glyndebourne on Tour	Nov-07
		Romeo and Juliet	Rockvalley Productions	Apr-08
		Falstaff	Welsh National Opera	Apr-08
		Hamlet	Shakespeare 4 Kidz	Apr-08
		Othello	Frantic Assembly	Sep-08
Tricycle Theatre	London	I'll be the Devil	Royal Shakespeare Company	Feb-Mar 08
Trinity Theatre	Tunbridge Wells, South Ea	Much Ado about Nothing	Red Shift	Nov-Dec 07
Unity Theatre	North West	Back and Forth	Beyond Measure	Oct-08
Warwick Arts Centre	West Midlands	I Am Shakespeare	Chichester Festival Theatre	Oct-07
		Falstaff	Welsh National Opera	Apr-08
Watford Palace Theatre	East	As You Like It	In House	Apr-08
		Dogg's Hamlet Cahoot's Macbeth	In House	Oct-Nov 08
West Yorkshire Playhouse	Yorkshire	A Midsummer Night's Dream, the ballet	Northern Ballet	Sep-07
		Romeo and Julliet	Northern Broadsides	Mar-Apr 08
York Theatre Royal	Yorkshire	Much Ado about Nothing	In House	Aug-08

Funding for Theatres Showing Shakespeare 2007-8

Theatre	Funding Received 2007	Theatre	Funding Received
Arena Theatre	£29,273.00	Oxford Playhouse	£277,966.00
Arts Depot	£300,000.00	Quay Arts Centre	£79,616.00
Barbican	£213,535.00	Queen's Hall	£59,400.00
Barbican Theatre	£118,720.00	Queen's Theatre	£52,788.00
Birmingham Rep	£1,678,434.00	Queen's Theatre, Hornchurch	£274,497.00
Bolton Octagon	£571,300.00	Roses Theatre Trust	£52,788.00
Brewery Arts Centre	£143,300.00	Royal and Derngate	£697,134.00
Cambridge Arts Theatre	£176,060.00	Royal Exchange Theatre	£2,064,600.00
The Castle	£41,200.00	Royal Opera House	£26,252,600.00
Cheek by Jowl	£0.00	Royal Shakespeare Compa	£14,780,600.00
Colchester Mercury Theatre	£770,262.00	Sadler's Wells	£2,091,506.00
Contact Theatre	£863,200.00	Salisbury Playhouse	£836,561.00
The Courtyard	£171,964.00	Sheffield Theatres	£1,266,910.00
The Customs House	£123,450.00	South Hill Park Arts Centre	£216,006.00
Donmar Warehouse	£500,000.00	Stephen Joseph Theatre	£660,380.00
Georgian Theatre Royal	£21,120.00	Tara Arts	£341,266.00
Gloucestershire Everyman	£374,090.00	Theatre by the Lake	£436,700.00
Guildhall Arts Centre	£0.00	Theatre Royal, Plymouth	£1,174,558.00
Gulbenkian Theatre	£21,810.00	Tricycle Theatre	£722,841.00
Hall for Cornwall	£250,000.00	Trinity Theatre	£77,644.00
Lawrence Batley Theatre	£117,140.00	Unity Theatre	£241,500.00
Lichfield Garrick	£33,276.00	Warwick Arts Centre	£438,923.00
The Lighthouse	£339,080.00	Watford Palace Theatre	£717,651.00
Liverpool Everyman Playhouse	£1,530,000.00	West Yorkshire Playhouse	£1,492,840.00
The Lowry	£1,000,000.00	York Theatre Royal	£564,830.00
Ludlow Assembly Rooms	£61,268.00		
Lyric Hammersmith	£938,210.00	**Total**	**£100,399,353.00**
Midlands Arts Centre (mac)	£732,380.00		
Malvern Festival Theatre	£55,460.00		
Millfield Arts Centre	£0.00		
Miracle Theatre Company	£94,282.00		
National Theatre	£18,223,400.00		
New Theatre Royal	£34,840.00		
New Wolsey Theatre	£603,927.00		
Newcastle Theatre Royal	£47,040.00		
Norden Farm Centre for the Art	£133,104.00		
Northern Ballet Theatre	£2,621,700.00		
Northern Broadsides	£264,360.00		
Nottingham Playhouse	£1,342,165.00		
Oldham Coliseum	£472,700.00		
The Old Town Hall	£24,969.00		
Opera North	£9,153,800.00		
Oval House Theatre	£336,429.00		

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Based in	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11
Faceless	Yorkshire	£ 20,540.00	£ 21,095.00	£ 21,664.00
Greentop Circus	Yorkshire	£ 20,540.00	£ 21,095.00	£ 21,664.00
Theatre in the Mill	Yorkshire	£ 20,540.00	£ 21,095.00	£ 21,664.00
Bill Gee	London	£ 25,000.00	£ 25,675.00	£ 26,368.00
Helmsley Arts Centre	Yorkshire	£ 255,540.00	£ 26,230.00	£ 26,938.00
National Student Drama Festival	Yorkshire	£ 54,125.00	£ 55,679.00	£ 28,591.00
Geese Theate Company	West Midlands	£ 28,478.00	£ 29,247.00	£ 30,036.00
Rideout	West Midlands	£ 28,478.00	£ 29,247.00	£ 30,756.00
Georgian Theatre Royal	Yorkshire	£ 30,000.00	£ 30,810.00	£ 31,642.00
Third Angel	Yorkshire	£ 34,158.00	£ 35,080.00	£ 36,027.00
Spike Theatre	North West	£ 35,328.00	£ 37,282.00	£ 37,262.00
TiPP	North West	£ 27,934.00	£ 36,314.00	£ 37,295.00
Redbridge Drama Centre	London	£ 40,000.00	£ 40,000.00	£ 40,000.00
Alnwick Playhouse Trust	North East	£ 37,932.00	£ 38,956.00	£ 40,008.00
Hope Street Limited	North West	£ 37,999.00	£ 39,024.00	£ 40,078.00
Northants Touring Arts	East Midlands	£ 39,280.00	£ 40,340.00	£ 41,430.00
North Country Theatre	Yorkshire	£ 39,899.00	£ 40,976.00	£ 42,083.00
Full Body & The Voice	Yorkshire	£ 40,000.00	£ 41,080.00	£ 42,189.00
Webplay	London	£ 41,080.00	£ 42,189.00	£ 43,328.00
Broadway Theatre, Barking	London	£ 40,000.00	£ 40,000.00	£ 44,000.00
Millfield Arts Centre	London	£ 40,000.00	£ 40,000.00	£ 44,000.00
Stratford Circus	London	£ 40,000.00	£ 40,000.00	£ 44,000.00
Newcastle Theatre Royal Trust	North East	£ 47,040.00	£ 47,040.00	£ 47,040.00
Collective Encounters	North West	£ 45,000.00	£ 48,215.00	£ 47,463.00
Lawnmowers	North East	£ 34,173.00	£ 42,477.00	£ 47,999.00
Buxton Opera House	East Midlands	£ 45,570.00	£ 46,800.00	£ 48,065.00
Louth Playgoers	East Midlands	£ 45,570.00	£ 46,800.00	£ 48,065.00

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Based in	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11
Quondam Arts Trust	North West	£ 45,598.00	£ 46,829.00	£ 48,094.00
Blaize	Yorkshire	£ 46,944.00	£ 48,212.00	£ 49,513.00
Bolton Octagon	North West	£ 586,725.00	£ 48,212.00	£ 49,513.00
Chol Theatre	Yorkshire	£ 50,148.00	£ 51,502.00	£ 52,893.00
The Ashton Group - Theatre Factory	North West	£ 34,199.00	£ 42,748.00	£ 53,436.00
Burnley Youth Theatre	North West	£ 52,377.00	£ 53,791.00	£ 55,243.00
Roses Theatre	South West	£ 54,213.00	£ 55,677.00	£ 57,180.00
New Theatre Royal, Plymouth	South East	£ 56,126.00	£ 57,641.00	£ 59,198.00
North West Playwrights	North West	£ 56,793.00	£ 58,326.00	£ 59,901.00
Malvern Theatres Trust	West Midlands	£ 56,957.00	£ 58,495.00	£ 60,075.00
Theatre Resource	East	£ 57,551.00	£ 59,105.00	£ 60,701.00
Walk the Plank	North West	£ 58,230.00	£ 59,803.00	£ 61,417.00
Theatre Absolute	West Midlands	£ 58,324.00	£ 59,899.00	£ 61,516.00
Fuel	London	£ 60,000.00	£ 61,620.00	£ 63,283.00
Julie McNamara	London	£ 60,000.00	£ 61,620.00	£ 63,283.00
Ockham's Razor	London	£ 60,000.00	£ 61,620.00	£ 63,283.00
People's Palace Projects	London	£ 60,000.00	£ 61,620.00	£ 63,283.00
Project Phakama	London	£ 60,000.00	£ 61,620.00	£ 63,283.00
Upswing	London	£ 60,000.00	£ 61,620.00	£ 63,283.00
Metro-Boulot-Dodo	East Midlands	£ 60,000.00	£ 61,620.00	£ 63,285.00
Box Clever Theatre Company	London	£ 63,863.00	£ 65,588.00	£ 67,359.00
Rosehill Theatre	North West	£ 49,320.00	£ 59,184.00	£ 68,062.00
Vayu Naidu Company	London	£ 65,000.00	£ 66,755.00	£ 68,557.00
Monster Productions	North East	£ 68,346.00	£ 70,192.00	£ 72,087.00
Talking Birds Theatre Company	West Midlands	£ 58,549.00	£ 70,259.00	£ 72,156.00

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Based in	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11
Ridiculusmus	London	£ 70,471.00	£ 72,380.00	£ 74,334.00
The Red Room	London	£ 70,477.00	£ 72,380.00	£ 74,334.00
C & T	West Midlands	£ 72,640.00	£ 74,601.00	£ 76,615.00
Rasa Productions	North West	£ 47,550.00	£ 64,193.00	£ 77,031.00
Peshkar Productions	North West	£ 77,128.00	£ 79,210.00	£ 81,349.00
Theatre Company Blah Blah Blah	Yorkshire	£ 79,911.00	£ 82,068.00	£ 84,284.00
Theatre Writing Partnership	East Midlands	£ 84,450.00	£ 87,140.00	£ 89,490.00
Carnesky Productions Ltd	London	£ 85,000.00	£ 87,295.00	£ 89,651.00
Extant	London	£ 85,000.00	£ 87,925.00	£ 89,651.00
Punchdrunk	London	£ 85,000.00	£ 87,295.00	£ 89,651.00
Fevered Sleep	London	£ 85,000.00	£ 87,295.00	£ 89,652.00
Freedom Studios	Yorkshire	£ 86,000.00	£ 88,322.00	£ 90,707.00
Faulty Optic	Yorkshire	£ 86,740.00	£ 89,082.00	£ 91,488.00
Proper Job Theatre Company	Yorkshire	£ 89,698.00	£ 92,120.00	£ 94,607.00
Sixth Sense Theatre for Young People	South West	£ 89,858.00	£ 92,285.00	£ 94,777.00
Albert & Friends Instant Circus	London	£ 90,000.00	£ 92,430.00	£ 94,925.00
Company FZ	London	£ 90,000.00	£ 92,430.00	£ 94,925.00
Independent Street Arts Network	London	£ 90,000.00	£ 92,430.00	£ 94,925.00
Kazzum	London	£ 90,000.00	£ 92,430.00	£ 94,925.00
Mimbre	London	£ 90,000.00	£ 92,430.00	£ 94,925.00
Reckless Sleepers	East Midlands	£ 90,000.00	£ 92,430.00	£ 94,925.00
Tutti Frutti Productions	Yorkshire	£ 86,750.00	£ 89,092.00	£ 94,925.00
Unlimited Theatre Company	Yorkshire	£ 86,750.00	£ 89,092.00	£ 94,925.00

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Based in	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11
Nuffield Theatre (Lancaster University)	North West	£ 84,419.00	£ 97,082.00	£ 99,703.00
Miracle Theatre	South West	£ 96,828.00	£ 99,442.00	£ 102,127.00
Nutkhut	London	£ 102,700.00	£ 105,472.00	£ 108,320.00
Stan's Café	West Midlands	£ 103,062.00	£ 105,845.00	£ 108,703.00
Interplay Theatre Trust	Yorkshire	£ 103,296.00	£ 106,085.00	£ 108,949.00
Fittings Multimedia	North West	£ 77,743.00	£ 93,940.00	£ 109,075.00
Open Theatre Company	West Midlands	£ 103,525.00	£ 106,320.00	£ 109,191.00
Big Brum	West Midlands	£ 82,893.00	£ 110,166.00	£ 113,140.00
Circomedia	South West	£ 108,427.00	£ 111,354.00	£ 114,361.00
Fuse	North West	£ 109,312.00	£ 112,263.00	£ 115,295.00
Quarantine	North West	£ 80,500.00	£ 96,600.00	£ 115,920.00
Collective Artistes	London	£ 110,000.00	£ 112,970.00	£ 116,020.00
Chester Performs	North West	£ 150,000.00	£ 120,000.00	£ 120,000.00
Hoipolloi Theatre Company	East	£ 116,028.00	£ 119,161.00	£ 122,378.00
Forest Forge Theatre Company	South East	£ 119,952.00	£ 123,191.00	£ 126,517.00
Deafinitely Theatre	London	£ 120,000.00	£ 123,240.00	£ 126,567.00
Emergency Exit Arts	London	£ 120,000.00	£ 123,240.00	£ 126,567.00
Theatre Peckham	London	£ 110,000.00	£ 123,240.00	£ 126,567.00
Quicksilver	London	£ 120,000.00	£ 123,240.00	£ 126,567.00
Spare Tyre Theatre	London	£ 120,000.00	£ 123,240.00	£ 126,567.00
Told by an Idiot	London	£ 120,000.00	£ 123,240.00	£ 126,567.00
Barbican, Plymouth	South West	£ 121,925.00	£ 125,217.00	£ 128,598.00
Darlington Arts Centre	North East	£ 124,390.00	£ 127,748.00	£ 131,223.00
Horse+Bamboo Theatre Company	North West	£ 125,807.00	£ 129,204.00	£ 132,693.00
Rifco Arts	South East	£ 126,676.00	£ 130,095.00	£ 133,609.00

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Based in	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11
Theatre Royal Bury St. Edmunds	East	£ 130,588.00	£ 134,114.00	£ 137,735.00
Travelling Light Theatre Company	South West	£ 131,916.00	£ 135,478.00	£ 139,183.00
Company of Angels	London	£ 140,000.00	£ 143,780.00	£ 147,662.00
National Association of Youth Theatres	North East	£ 140,955.00	£ 144,761.00	£ 148,670.00
Duckie	London	£ 145,000.00	£ 148,915.00	£ 152,936.00
Shunt	London	£ 145,000.00	£ 148,915.00	£ 152,936.00
Pacitti Company	London	£ 145,000.00	£ 148,915.00	£ 152,936.00
Mind the Gap	Yorkshire	£ 147,734.00	£ 151,723.00	£ 155,819.00
Dodgy Clutch Staged Presentations	North East	£ 148,088.00	£ 152,086.00	£ 156,192.00
Natural Theatre Company	South West	£ 148,089.00	£ 152,087.00	£ 156,193.00
Harrogate Theatre	Yorkshire	£ 150,000.00	£ 154,050.00	£ 158,209.00
Arcola	London	£ 150,000.00	£ 154,050.00	£ 158,209.00
New International Encounter	East	£ 150,000.00	£ 154,050.00	£ 158,209.00
Tiata Fahodzi	London	£ 151,510.00	£ 155,601.00	£ 159,802.00
Theatre Hullabaloo	North East	£ 154,050.00	£ 158,209.00	£ 162,481.00
Yellow Earth	London	£ 154,050.00	£ 158,209.00	£ 162,481.00
Cardboard Citizens	London	£ 163,181.00	£ 167,580.00	£ 172,111.00
M6 Theatre Company	North West	£ 165,240.00	£ 169,701.00	£ 174,283.00
Foursight Theatre Company	West Midlands	£ 165,946.00	£ 170,426.00	£ 175,028.00
Frantic Assembly	London	£ 170,000.00	£ 174,590.00	£ 179,303.00
Tara	London	£ 170,000.00	£ 174,590.00	£ 179,303.00
London International Mime Festival	London	£ 170,267.00	£ 174,864.00	£ 179,585.00
Theatre Alibi	South West	£ 171,442.00	£ 176,071.00	£ 180,825.00

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Based in	2008/09		2009/10		2010/11	
IOU Theatre	Yorkshire	£	172,012.00	£	126,657.00	£	181,426.00
Theatre Is	East	£	175,097.00	£	179,824.00	£	184,680.00
Action Transport Theatre	North West	£	146,450.00	£	161,095.00	£	185,260.00
Theatre-Rites	London	£	189,748.00	£	194,868.00	£	200,130.00
Pentabus Theatre	South East	£	190,628.00	£	195,775.00	£	201,061.00
Oxfordshire Theatre Company	South East	£	193,086.00	£	198,299.00	£	203,653.00
Improbable	London	£	200,000.00	£	205,400.00	£	210,945.00
Kali	London	£	200,000.00	£	205,400.00	£	210,946.00
Half Moon Young People's Theatre	London	£	206,010.00	£	211,572.00	£	217,284.00
Actors Touring Company	London	£	211,430.00	£	217,139.00	£	223,001.00
Theatre Sans Frontieres	North East	£	216,388.00	£	222,231.00	£	228,231.00
Eastern Angles Theatre Company	East	£	115,000.00	£	224,136.00	£	230,188.00
Clean Break	London	£	220,000.00	£	225,940.00	£	232,040.00
Watermans	London	£	240,000.00	£	240,000.00	£	240,000.00
Forkbeard Fantasy	South West	£	238,537.00	£	244,978.00	£	251,592.00
Oily Cart	London	£	239,223.00	£	245,682.00	£	252,315.00
Red Ladder Theatre Company	Yorkshire	£	241,499.00	£	248,020.00	£	254,716.00
ARC	North East	£	244,426.00	£	251,025.00	£	257,803.00
Unity Theatre Company	North West	£	248,020.00	£	254,717.00	£	261,594.00
Trestle Theatre Company	East	£	262,183.00	£	262,183.00	£	262,183.00
Cheek by Jowl	London	£	250,000.00	£	256,750.00	£	263,682.00
Nitro	London	£	260,223.00	£	267,249.00	£	274,465.00
The Dukes Playhouse	North West	£	260,700.00	£	267,738.00	£	274,967.00
New Perspectives Theatre Company	East Midlands	£	268,785.00	£	276,045.00	£	283,495.00

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Based in	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11
Paines Plough	London	£ 270,000.00	£ 277,290.00	£ 284,776.00
Northern Broadsides	Yorkshire	£ 271,498.00	£ 278,828.00	£ 286,357.00
Forced Entertainment	Yorkshire	£ 271,611.00	£ 278,994.00	£ 286,476.00
Pilot Theatre	Yorkshire	£ 272,535.00	£ 279,893.00	£ 287,450.00
Queen's Theatre	London	£ 281,908.00	£ 289,519.00	£ 297,336.00
Oxford Playhouse	South East	£ 285,471.00	£ 293,179.00	£ 301,095.00
Gate Theatre	London	£ 290,212.00	£ 298,047.00	£ 306,095.00
Pegasus Theatre	South East	£ 231,075.00	£ 310,000.00	£ 318,370.00
National Youth Theatre of Great Britain	London	£ 311,151.00	£ 319,552.00	£ 328,179.00
Watermill Theatre	South East	£ 319,007.00	£ 327,620.00	£ 336,466.00
Tamasha	London	£ 320,000.00	£ 328,640.00	£ 337,513.00
NTC Touring Theatre Company	North East	£ 320,732.00	£ 329,391.00	£ 338,285.00
The Circus Space	London	£ 323,880.00	£ 332,624.00	£ 341,605.00
London International Festival of Theatre	London	£ 350,000.00	£ 359,450.00	£ 369,155.00
Kneehigh Theatre Trust	South West	£ 360,914.00	£ 370,658.00	£ 380,666.00
Complicite	London	£ 370,021.00	£ 380,012.00	£ 390,272.00
Orange Tree Theatre	London	£ 371,597.00	£ 381,630.00	£ 391,934.00
Hackney Empire	London	£ 375,000.00	£ 358,128.00	£ 395,523.00
Shared Experience	London	£ 375,919.00	£ 386,069.00	£ 396,493.00
Oval House Theatre	London	£ 376,429.00	£ 386,592.00	£ 397,030.00
Gloucestershire Everyman Theatre	South West	£ 384,190.00	£ 394,564.00	£ 405,217.00
Theatre Centre	London	£ 398,703.00	£ 409,469.00	£ 420,524.00
Talawa	London	£ 431,340.00	£ 442,986.00	£ 454,946.00
Artichoke	London	£ 500,000.00	£ 513,500.00	£ 527,364.00
Donmar Warehouse	London	£ 513,000.00	£ 527,934.00	£ 527,364.00

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Based in	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11
Alternative Theatre Company (The Bush)	London	£ 503,998.00	£ 517,606.00	£ 531,581.00
Oldham Coliseum Theatre	North West	£ 485,462.00	£ 524,299.00	£ 545,009.00
Hull Truck Theatre	Yorkshire	£ 532,690.00	£ 547,073.00	£ 561,844.00
Out of Joint	London	£ 535,625.00	£ 550,087.00	£ 564,939.00
Theatre by the Lake	North West	£ 448,490.00	£ 470,870.00	£ 577,958.00
Northcott Theatre Foundation	South West	£ 547,236.00	£ 547,236.00	
Live Theatre	North East	£ 554,836.00	£ 569,817.00	£ 585,430.00
Graeae	London	£ 564,097.00	£ 579,327.00	£ 594,969.00
York Theatre Royal	Yorkshire	£ 580,080.00	£ 595,743.00	£ 611,828.00
Polka Theatre	London	£ 580,255.00	£ 595,921.00	£ 612,011.00
Nuffield Theatre	South East	£ 591,106.00	£ 607,066.00	£ 623,456.00
Battersea Arts Centre	London	£ 635,000.00	£ 652,145.00	£ 669,753.00
Soho Theatre	London	£ 662,965.00	£ 680,865.00	£ 699,248.00
Stephen Joseph Theatre	Yorkshire	£ 678,210.00	£ 696,522.00	£ 715,328.00
English Touring Theatre	London	£ 691,758.00	£ 710,435.00	£ 729,617.00
Headlong	London	£ 691,758.00	£ 710,435.00	£ 729,617.00
Northampton Theatres (Royal and Derngate)	East Midlands	£ 715,960.00	£ 735,290.00	£ 755,145.00
New Wolsey Theatre	East	£ 723,927.00	£ 743,473.00	£ 763,547.00
Watford Palace Theatre	East	£ 737,027.00	£ 756,927.00	£ 777,364.00
Tricycle	London	£ 742,357.00	£ 762,401.00	£ 782,986.00
Derby City Council (Derby Live)	East Midlands	£ 742,810.00	£ 762,865.00	£ 783,460.00
The Mercury Theatre	East	£ 791,059.00	£ 812,417.00	£ 834,353.00
Theatre Royal Stratford East	London	£ 854,077.00	£ 877,139.00	£ 900,820.00
Salisbury Playhouse	South West	£ 859,148.00	£ 882,345.00	£ 906,168.00
Contact Theatre	North West	£ 886,506.00	£ 910,442.00	£ 935,024.00

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Based in	2008/09		2009/10		2010/11	
Hampstead Theatre	London	£	890,000.00	£	914,030.00	£	938,708.00
New Vic Theatre	West Midlands	£	948,809.00	£	974,427.00	£	1,000,737.00
Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith	London	£	963,541.00	£	989,557.00	£	1,016,275.00
Belgrade Theatre	West Midlands	£	1,002,045.00	£	1,029,099.00	£	1,056,886.00
Almeida Theatre Company	London	£	1,002,942.00	£	1,030,021.00	£	1,057,832.00
Unicorn	London	£	1,021,550.00	£	1,049,133.00	£	1,077,459.00
Theatre Royal Plymouth	South West	£	1,206,271.00	£	1,238,840.00	£	1,272,289.00
Bristol Old Vic Trust	South West	£	1,156,000.00	£	1,283,750.00	£	1,318,411.00
Northern Stage	North East	£	1,277,992.00	£	1,346,435.00	£	1,369,739.00
Sheffield Theatres	Yorkshire	£	1,301,117.00	£	1,336,247.00	£	1,372,326.00
Nottingham Playhouse Trust	East Midlands	£	1,378,405.00	£	1,415,625.00	£	1,453,850.00
Young Vic	London	£	1,511,094.00	£	1,551,894.00	£	1,593,795.00
West Yorkshire Playhouse	Yorkshire	£	1,533,147.00	£	1,574,542.00	£	1,617,054.00
Liverpool Everyman & Playhouse	North West	£	1,571,310.00	£	1,613,735.00	£	1,657,306.00
Chichester Festival Theatre	South East	£	1,572,179.00	£	1,614,628.00	£	1,658,223.00
Birmingham Repertory Theatre	West Midlands	£	1,935,217.00	£	1,903,173.00	£	1,968,365.00
Leicester Curve	East Midlands	£	1,751,555.00	£	2,000,000.00	£	2,054,000.00
English Stage Company (Royal Court Theatre)	London	£	2,189,627.00	£	2,248,747.00	£	2,309,463.00
Royal Exchange Theatre	North West	£	2,373,088.00	£	2,437,162.00	£	2,502,968.00
Royal Shakespeare Company	West Midlands	£	15,179,676.00	£	15,589,527.00	£	16,010,444.00
The Royal National Theatre	London	£	18,715,431.00	£	19,220,748.00	£	19,739,708.00
Total		£	101,890,500.00	£	104,314,377.00	£	106,781,316.00

Theatre	Average Received	Percentage of Funding
Faceless	£ 21,099.67	0.02%
Greentop Circus	£ 21,099.67	0.02%
Theatre in the Mill	£ 21,099.67	0.02%
Bill Gee	£ 25,681.00	0.02%
Helmsley Arts Centre	£ 102,902.67	0.03%
National Student Drama Festival	£ 46,131.67	0.03%
Geese Theate Company	£ 29,253.67	0.03%
Rideout	£ 29,493.67	0.03%
Georgian Theatre Royal	£ 30,817.33	0.03%
Third Angel	£ 35,088.33	0.03%
Spike Theatre	£ 36,624.00	0.03%
TiPP	£ 33,847.67	0.03%
Redbridge Drama Centre	£ 40,000.00	0.04%
Alnwick Playhouse Trust	£ 38,965.33	0.04%
Hope Street Limited	£ 39,033.67	0.04%
Northants Touring Arts	£ 40,350.00	0.04%
North Country Theatre	£ 40,986.00	0.04%
Full Body & The Voice	£ 41,089.67	0.04%
Webplay	£ 42,199.00	0.04%
Broadway Theatre, Barking	£ 41,333.33	0.04%
Millfield Arts Centre	£ 41,333.33	0.04%
Stratford Circus	£ 41,333.33	0.04%
Newcastle Theatre Royal Trust	£ 47,040.00	0.04%
Collective Encounters	£ 46,892.67	0.04%
Lawnmowers	£ 41,549.67	0.04%
Buxton Opera House	£ 46,811.67	0.05%
Louth Playgoers	£ 46,811.67	0.05%

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Average		Percentage of Funding
Quondam Arts Trust	£	46,840.33	0.05%
Blaize	£	48,223.00	0.05%
Bolton Octagon	£	228,150.00	0.05%
Chol Theatre	£	51,514.33	0.05%
The Ashton Group - Theatre Factory	£	43,461.00	0.05%
Burnley Youth Theatre	£	53,803.67	0.05%
Roses Theatre	£	55,690.00	0.05%
New Theatre Royal, Plymouth	£	57,655.00	0.06%
North West Playwrights	£	58,340.00	0.06%
Malvern Theatres Trust	£	58,509.00	0.06%
Theatre Resource	£	59,119.00	0.06%
Walk the Plank	£	59,816.67	0.06%
Theatre Absolute	£	59,913.00	0.06%
Fuel	£	61,634.33	0.06%
Julie McNamara	£	61,634.33	0.06%
Ockham's Razor	£	61,634.33	0.06%
People's Palace Projects	£	61,634.33	0.06%
Project Phakama	£	61,634.33	0.06%
Upswing	£	61,634.33	0.06%
Metro-Boulot-Dodo	£	61,635.00	0.06%
Box Clever Theatre Company	£	65,603.33	0.06%
Rosehill Theatre	£	58,855.33	0.06%
Vayu Naidu Company	£	66,770.67	0.06%
Monster Productions	£	70,208.33	0.07%
Talking Birds Theatre Company	£	66,988.00	0.07%

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Average		Percentage of Funding
Ridiculusmus	£	72,395.00	0.07%
The Red Room	£	72,397.00	0.07%
C & T	£	74,618.67	0.07%
Rasa Productions	£	62,924.67	0.07%
Peshkar Productions	£	79,229.00	0.08%
Theatre Company Blah Blah Blah	£	82,087.67	0.08%
Theatre Writing Partnership	£	87,026.67	0.08%
Carnesky Productions Ltd	£	87,315.33	0.08%
Extant	£	87,525.33	0.08%
Punchdrunk	£	87,315.33	0.08%
Fevered Sleep	£	87,315.67	0.08%
Freedom Studios	£	88,343.00	0.08%
Faulty Optic	£	89,103.33	0.09%
Proper Job Theatre Company	£	92,141.67	0.09%
Sixth Sense Theatre for Young People	£	92,306.67	0.09%
Albert & Friends Instant Circus	£	92,451.67	0.09%
Company FZ	£	92,451.67	0.09%
Independent Street Arts Network	£	92,451.67	0.09%
Kazzum	£	92,451.67	0.09%
Mimbre	£	92,451.67	0.09%
Reckless Sleepers	£	92,451.67	0.09%
Tutti Frutti Productions	£	90,255.67	0.09%
Unlimited Theatre Company	£	90,255.67	0.09%

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Average		Percentage of Funding
Nuffield Theatre (Lancaster University)	£	93,734.67	0.09%
Miracle Theatre	£	99,465.67	0.10%
Nutkhut	£	105,497.33	0.10%
Stan's Café	£	105,870.00	0.10%
Interplay Theatre Trust	£	106,110.00	0.10%
Fittings Multimedia	£	93,586.00	0.10%
Open Theatre Company	£	106,345.33	0.10%
Big Brum	£	102,066.33	0.11%
Circomedia	£	111,380.67	0.11%
Fuse	£	112,290.00	0.11%
Quarantine	£	97,673.33	0.11%
Collective Artistes	£	112,996.67	0.11%
Chester Performs	£	130,000.00	0.11%
Hoipolloi Theatre Company	£	119,189.00	0.11%
Forest Forge Theatre Company	£	123,220.00	0.12%
Deafinitely Theatre	£	123,269.00	0.12%
Emergency Exit Arts	£	123,269.00	0.12%
Theatre Peckham	£	119,935.67	0.12%
Quicksilver	£	123,269.00	0.12%
Spare Tyre Theatre	£	123,269.00	0.12%
Told by an Idiot	£	123,269.00	0.12%
Barbican, Plymouth	£	125,246.67	0.12%
Darlington Arts Centre	£	127,787.00	0.12%
Horse+Bamboo Theatre Company	£	129,234.67	0.12%
Rifco Arts	£	130,126.67	0.13%

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Average		Percentage of Funding
Theatre Royal Bury St. Edmunds	£	134,145.67	0.13%
Travelling Light Theatre Company	£	135,525.67	0.13%
Company of Angels	£	143,814.00	0.14%
National Association of Youth Theatres	£	144,795.33	0.14%
Duckie	£	148,950.33	0.14%
Shunt	£	148,950.33	0.14%
Pacitti Company	£	148,950.33	0.14%
Mind the Gap	£	151,758.67	0.15%
Dodgy Clutch Staged Presentations	£	152,122.00	0.15%
Natural Theatre Company	£	152,123.00	0.15%
Harrogate Theatre	£	154,086.33	0.15%
Arcola	£	154,086.33	0.15%
New International Encounter	£	154,086.33	0.15%
Tiata Fahodzi	£	155,637.67	0.15%
Theatre Hullabaloo	£	158,246.67	0.15%
Yellow Earth	£	158,246.67	0.15%
Cardboard Citizens	£	167,624.00	0.16%
M6 Theatre Company	£	169,741.33	0.16%
Foursight Theatre Company	£	170,466.67	0.16%
Frantic Assembly	£	174,631.00	0.17%
Tara	£	174,631.00	0.17%
London International Mime Festival	£	174,905.33	0.17%
Theatre Alibi	£	176,112.67	0.17%

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Average	Percentage of Funding
IOU Theatre	£ 160,031.67	0.17%
Theatre Is	£ 179,867.00	0.17%
Action Transport Theatre	£ 164,268.33	0.17%
Theatre-Rites	£ 194,915.33	0.19%
Pentabus Theatre	£ 195,821.33	0.19%
Oxfordshire Theatre Company	£ 198,346.00	0.19%
Improbable	£ 205,448.33	0.20%
Kali	£ 205,448.67	0.20%
Half Moon Young People's Theatre	£ 211,622.00	0.20%
Actors Touring Company	£ 217,190.00	0.21%
Theatre Sans Frontieres	£ 222,283.33	0.21%
Eastern Angles Theatre Company	£ 189,774.67	0.22%
Clean Break	£ 225,993.33	0.22%
Watermans	£ 240,000.00	0.22%
Forkbeard Fantasy	£ 245,035.67	0.24%
Oily Cart	£ 245,740.00	0.24%
Red Ladder Theatre Company	£ 248,078.33	0.24%
ARC	£ 251,084.67	0.24%
Unity Theatre Company	£ 254,777.00	0.24%
Trestle Theatre Company	£ 262,183.00	0.25%
Cheek by Jowl	£ 256,810.67	0.25%
Nitro	£ 267,312.33	0.26%
The Dukes Playhouse	£ 267,801.67	0.26%
New Perspectives Theatre Company	£ 276,108.33	0.27%

Theatre	Average		Percentage of Funding
Paines Plough	£	277,355.33	0.27%
Northern Broadsides	£	278,894.33	0.27%
Forced Entertainment	£	279,027.00	0.27%
Pilot Theatre	£	279,959.33	0.27%
Queen's Theatre	£	289,587.67	0.28%
Oxford Playhouse	£	293,248.33	0.28%
Gate Theatre	£	298,118.00	0.29%
Pegasus Theatre	£	286,481.67	0.30%
National Youth Theatre of Great Britain	£	319,627.33	0.31%
Watermill Theatre	£	327,697.67	0.32%
Tamasha	£	328,717.67	0.32%
NTC Touring Theatre Company	£	329,469.33	0.32%
The Circus Space	£	332,703.00	0.32%
London International Festival of Theatre	£	359,535.00	0.35%
Kneehigh Theatre Trust	£	370,746.00	0.36%
Complicite	£	380,101.67	0.37%
Orange Tree Theatre	£	381,720.33	0.37%
Hackney Empire	£	376,217.00	0.37%
Shared Experience	£	386,160.33	0.37%
Oval House Theatre	£	386,683.67	0.37%
Gloucestershire Everyman Theatre	£	394,657.00	0.38%
Theatre Centre	£	409,565.33	0.39%
Talawa	£	443,090.67	0.43%
Artichoke	£	513,621.33	0.49%
Donmar Warehouse	£	522,766.00	0.49%

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Average	Percentage of Funding
Alternative Theatre Company (The Bush)	£ 517,728.33	0.50%
Oldham Coliseum Theatre	£ 518,256.67	0.51%
Hull Truck Theatre	£ 547,202.33	0.53%
Out of Joint	£ 550,217.00	0.53%
Theatre by the Lake	£ 499,106.00	0.54%
Northcott Theatre Foundation	£ 547,236.00	0.00%
Live Theatre	£ 570,027.67	0.55%
Graeae	£ 579,464.33	0.56%
York Theatre Royal	£ 595,883.67	0.57%
Polka Theatre	£ 596,062.33	0.57%
Nuffield Theatre	£ 607,209.33	0.58%
Battersea Arts Centre	£ 652,299.33	0.63%
Soho Theatre	£ 681,026.00	0.65%
Stephen Joseph Theatre	£ 696,686.67	0.67%
English Touring Theatre	£ 710,603.33	0.68%
Headlong	£ 710,603.33	0.68%
Northampton Theatres (Royal and Derngate)	£ 735,465.00	0.71%
New Wolsey Theatre	£ 743,649.00	0.72%
Watford Palace Theatre	£ 757,106.00	0.73%
Tricycle	£ 762,581.33	0.73%
Derby City Council (Derby Live)	£ 763,045.00	0.73%
The Mercury Theatre	£ 812,609.67	0.78%
Theatre Royal Stratford East	£ 877,345.33	0.84%
Salisbury Playhouse	£ 882,553.67	0.85%
Contact Theatre	£ 910,657.33	0.88%

Amount given to Regularly Funded Theatres, 2008-11

Theatre	Average	Percentage of Funding
Hampstead Theatre	£ 914,246.00	0.88%
New Vic Theatre	£ 974,657.67	0.94%
Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith	£ 989,791.00	0.95%
Belgrade Theatre	£ 1,029,343.33	0.99%
Almeida Theatre Company	£ 1,030,265.00	0.99%
Unicorn	£ 1,049,380.67	1.01%
Theatre Royal Plymouth	£ 1,239,133.33	1.19%
Bristol Old Vic Trust	£ 1,252,720.33	1.23%
Northern Stage	£ 1,331,388.67	1.28%
Sheffield Theatres	£ 1,336,563.33	1.29%
Nottingham Playhouse Trust	£ 1,415,960.00	1.36%
Young Vic	£ 1,552,261.00	1.49%
West Yorkshire Playhouse	£ 1,574,914.33	1.51%
Liverpool Everyman & Playhouse	£ 1,614,117.00	1.55%
Chichester Festival Theatre	£ 1,615,010.00	1.55%
Birmingham Repertory Theatre	£ 1,935,585.00	1.84%
Leicester Curve	£ 1,935,185.00	1.92%
English Stage Company (Royal Court Theatre)	£ 2,249,279.00	2.16%
Royal Exchange Theatre	£ 2,437,739.33	2.34%
Royal Shakespeare Company	£ 15,593,215.67	14.99%
The Royal National Theatre	£ 19,225,295.67	18.49%
Total	**£ 104,328,731.00**	

Total Funding Given to Regularly Funded Theatres

Region	2008/09		2009/10		2010/11		Average	
Total London	£	45,104,468.00	£	46,296,471.00	£	47,559,912.00	£	46,320,283.67
Total North West	£	8,367,228.00	£	8,131,979.00	£	8,523,199.00	£	8,340,802.00
Total Yorkshire	£	7,383,712.00	£	7,297,007.00	£	7,523,586.00	£	7,401,435.00
Total West Midlands	£	19,824,599.00	£	20,310,731.00	£	20,873,648.00	£	20,336,326.00
Total South West	£	5,674,994.00	£	5,909,982.00	£	5,507,587.00	£	5,697,521.00
Total East Midlands	£	5,222,385.00	£	5,564,955.00	£	5,715,210.00	£	5,500,850.00
Total South East	£	3,685,306.00	£	3,857,494.00	£	3,961,648.00	£	3,834,816.00
Total North East	£	3,369,348.00	£	3,500,368.00	£	3,585,188.00	£	3,484,968.00
Total East	£	3,258,460.00	£	3,445,390.00	£	3,531,338.00	£	3,411,729.33

Region	2010/11		Average	
Total London without NT	£	27,820,204.00	£	27,094,988.00
Total North West	£	8,523,199.00	£	8,340,802.00
Total Yorkshire	£	7,523,586.00	£	7,401,435.00
Total East Midlands	£	5,715,210.00	£	5,500,850.00
Total South West	£	5,507,587.00	£	5,697,521.00
Total West Midlands without RSC	£	4,863,204.00	£	4,743,110.33
Total South East	£	3,961,648.00	£	3,834,816.00
Total North East	£	3,585,188.00	£	3,484,968.00
Total East	£	3,531,338.00	£	3,258,460.00

Total Funding Given to Regularly Funded Theatres

Funding	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	Average
Theatres which receive less than £100000	£ 4,622,008.00	£ 4,829,723.00	£ 4,676,263.00	£ 4,709,331.33
Theatre which receive between £100,000 and £499,999	£ 19,785,286.00	£ 19,754,024.00	£ 20,213,032.00	£ 19,917,447.33
Theatres which receive between £500,000 and £999,999	£ 19,804,560.00	£ 20,247,324.00	£ 18,784,891.00	£ 19,612,258.33
Theatre which receive £1,000,000+	£ 23,783,539.00	£ 24,673,031.00	£ 27,356,978.00	£ 25,271,182.67
RSC	£ 15,179,676.00	£ 15,589,527.00	£ 16,010,444.00	£ 15,593,215.67
National	£ 18,715,431.00	£ 19,220,748.00	£ 19,739,708.00	£ 19,225,295.67

Average Funding by Region, 2008-11

- Total London
- Total North West
- Total Yorkshire
- Total West Midlands
- Total South West
- Total East Midlands
- Total South East
- Total North East
- Total East
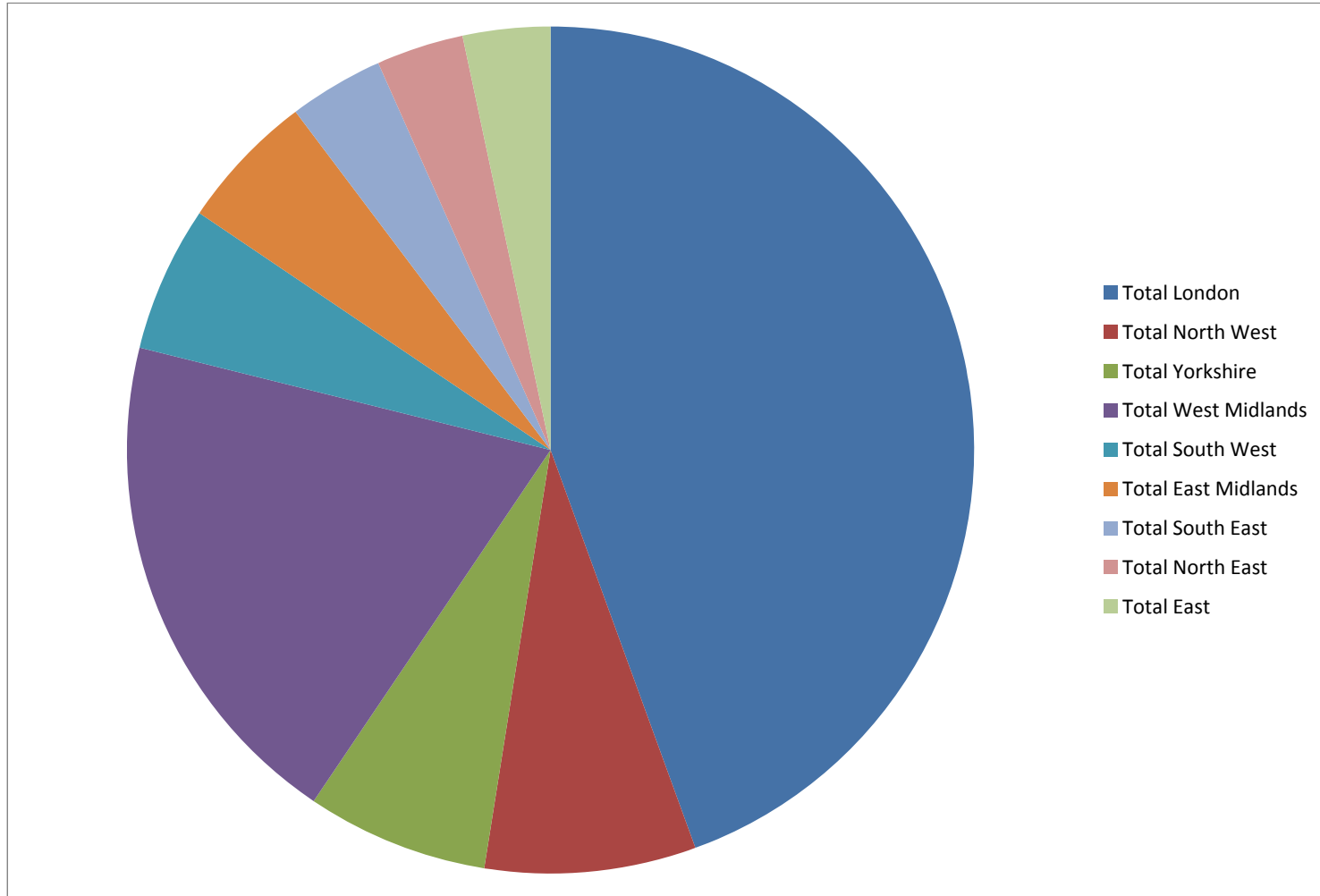
Average Funding by Region without National Theatre and RSC, 2008-11

- Total London without NT
- Total North West
- Total Yorkshire
- Total East Midlands
- Total South West
- Total West Midlands without RSC
- Total South East
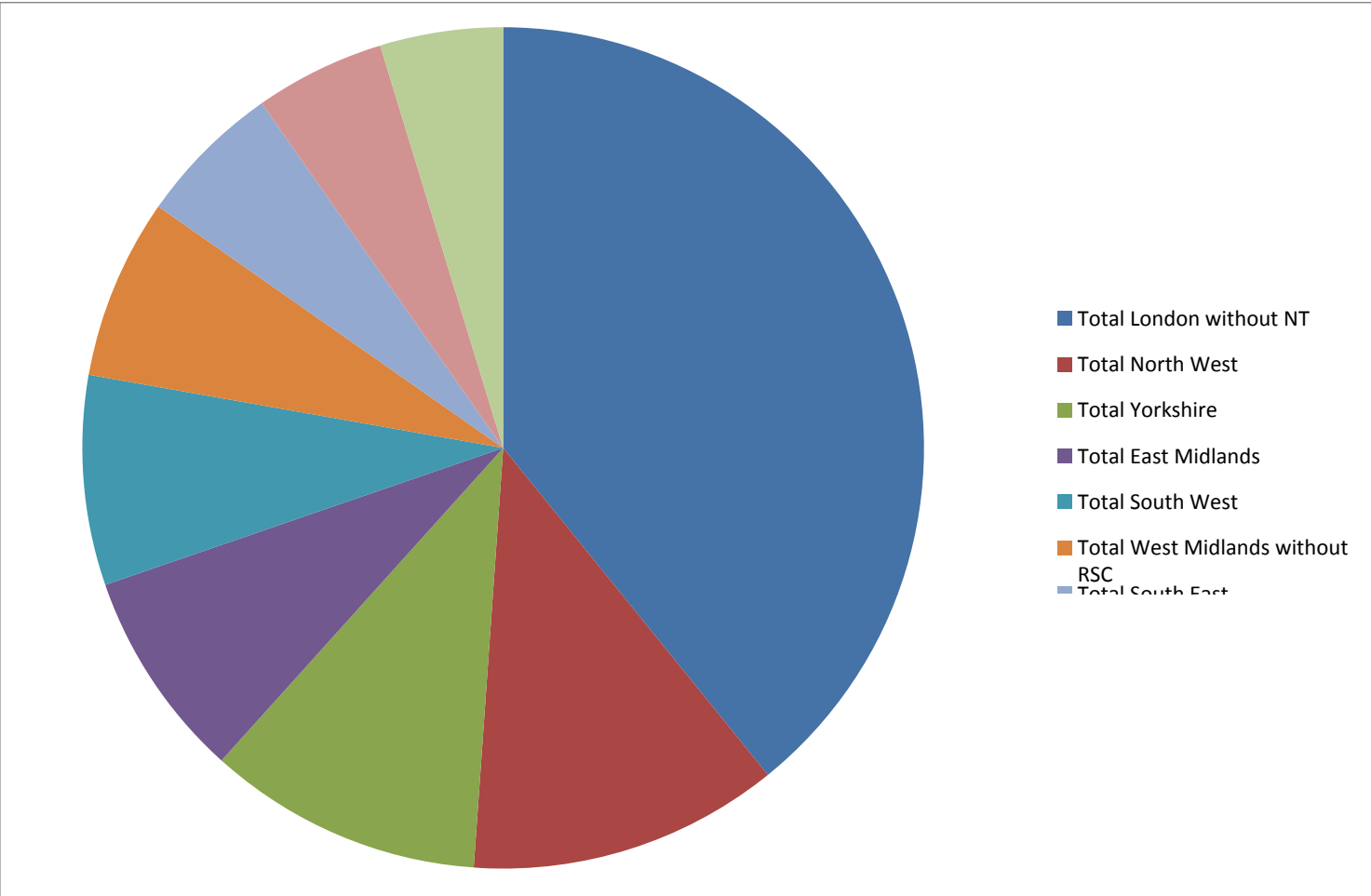
Funding by average amount received, 2008-11

- Theatres which receive less than £100000
- Theatre which receive between £100,000 and £499,999
- Theatres which receive between £500,000 and £999,999
- Theatre which receive £1,000,000+
- RSC
- National
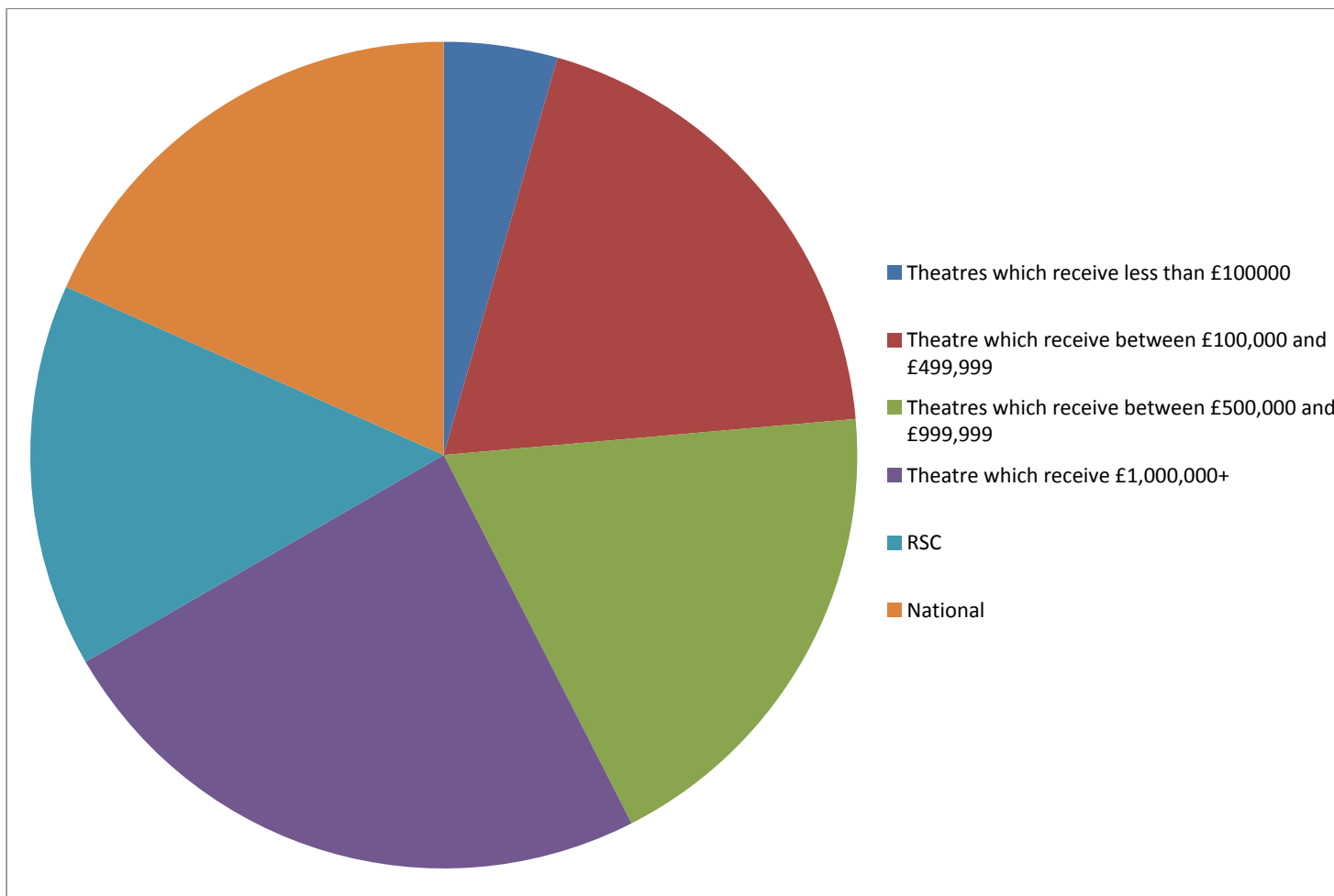
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