

**Title of Paper:**

Sellars and the 2002 Adelaide Festival of Arts: an organisational nightmare or a 'wake-up' call for arts leadership?

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"...the reason I came to Adelaide and the reason I was so excited to be here, and actually still am excited to be here, is because I think South Australia is where the future not only of this country is going to be written, but where the future of the industrialised world is going to be written... Why I love that it says, "The Festival State" on the licence plates here is: let us juice it, let us heat it up, let us get festive." (From speech given by Peter Sellars to the Hawke Centre, Adelaide, 2000)

**Background**

The first Adelaide Festival of Arts took place in March 1960. It was proposed publicly as a concept by a local character and writer, Bill Lindsay, in a letter to the *Advertiser* (the main local newspaper) in April 1958 (Whitelock 1980: 33). It was then pursued as a real possibility by the then head of the Elder Conservatorium, Professor John Bishop, and was supported by the then managing director of the *Advertiser*, Sir Lloyd Dumas. It is noted by Bishop's biographer that Bishop recognized

"...the value of staging an arts festival in a relatively small city. An Australian festival would be swamped in a city the size of Sydney or Melbourne. Adelaide's population in the 1950s was very much that of Edinburgh, while its climate about March was ideal." (Symons 1989, 264).

The Adelaide Festival was originally modelled on the Edinburgh Festival of Arts and the then Artistic Director of the Edinburgh Festival, Ian Hunter, visited Adelaide in 1959 to advise on the establishment of the Adelaide Festival (Whitelock 1980: 27).

The first few festivals were financed by a guarantee against loss provided by several wealthy Adelaide businessmen (Symons 1989: 267-270). To initiate this in December 1958, a letter was sent by the then Lord Mayor 'Gerry' Hargrave, to local

wealthy citizens requesting their financial support for the Festival concept. Hargrave notes in his letter that,

“As the purpose of the Festival is to add to the prestige of Adelaide and to bring visitors to the city, with increased business, most firms will be able to charge any cost to expenses in the ordinary way”(Whitelock 1980: 32).

Thus the business sector was encouraged to be involved, as another way of generating increased income for the city and for themselves. This was a different vision than that proposed on the artistic side which saw the Festival as an opportunity to do ‘new’ artistic work (Whitelock 1980:35). Given the Calvinistic and Non-Conformist ancestry of the City Founders, it is noted that Adelaide “...provided a reasonable environment for the fine arts. So long as they remained respectable of course”(Whitelock 1980: 22). John Bishop, regarded as the founder and the Artistic Director of the first three Festivals, said after the first Festival, that “...it is important to keep up standards. It is important too, to stir people up.”(Whitelock 1980: 40). So from the outset there were several different visions driving the Festival. For some it was a business opportunity and a way of bringing prestige to the city, for others it was an opportunity to showcase new artistic work, while the first Artistic Director saw it as an opportunity to present both a high quality event which nevertheless had the power to shock people.

These mixed expectations naturally led to conflict from the beginning. Prior to the first Festival in 1960, a proposal to produce *One Day of the Year*, a new play by Alan Seymour, was rejected by the Board of Governors of the Festival, as unsuitable fare (Symons 1989, 274-5). At the next two Festivals (1962 and 1964) two plays by Patrick White, *Ham Funeral* and *Season at Sarsaparilla* were also rejected by the Board of Governors (Symons 1989: 274-5). So while the Adelaide Festival did attempt to present work that had never been seen in Australia before and generally tried to lift the artistic standards expected of cultural production, there was a tension from the outset, between the Adelaide establishment who bankrolled the Festival and

the artistic advisers who wanted to present cutting-edge work (Sloan in McCredie 1988: 144). Tom Lehrer, the noted American satirist, when visiting Adelaide for an early Festival publicly congratulated South Australia for having the best 18<sup>th</sup> century government he had encountered (Whitelock 1980:14). Sloan notes in her article "The Cultural Mirror that,

"The vast majority of artistic directors - Sir Robert Helpmann, Lewis Van Eyssen, Christopher Hunt, Elijah Moshinsky and Anthony Steele - were enticed from overseas to take up this demanding position. As a consequence most of them found it difficult to reconcile the contrast of organising an arts festival of world stature with the small-time nature and organisation of Adelaide - especially in relation to finance" (Sloane in McCredie 1988: 147).

The nineties saw more home-grown Artistic Directors namely Rob Brookman, Barrie Kosky and Robyn Archer. Generally they seemed to receive a more positive response from the media, than some of their predecessors, perhaps reinforcing the parochial nature of the media. Peter Sellars was the first Artistic Director appointed from overseas since the 1994 Festival, and the first American, and the expectations of him therefore, were likely to be considerable.

### **Peter Sellars**

Peter Sellars is an internationally renowned and eminent American theatre and opera director. He has been the Artistic Director of the Boston Shakespeare Company, the American National Theatre at the Kennedy Centre and the Los Angeles Festival. He is renowned as a director of 20th-century opera and has worked particularly at both the Salzburg and Glyndebourne Festivals. ([www.amrep.org/people/sellars](http://www.amrep.org/people/sellars)). He is also an iconoclast and he describes himself as a 'cultural activist' (Lloyd 1999(a)). When Sellars's appointment was announced in January 1999, there was a general feeling that Adelaide was really lucky to get him, given his major international reputation as an opera and theatre director. The *Advertiser* noted,

"The Adelaide Festival has again made an inspired choice of artistic director... an internationally respected director of opera, theatre, TV and film, Sellars is also the first American to take the challenge of the Adelaide Festival" (Nunn 1999: (a) ).

It was felt that the choice of Sellars as artistic director, further served to affirm the Adelaide Festival as a major international player in the arts and Adelaide felt justly proud.

The Adelaide Festival was not the first multi-arts Festival that Sellars had directed. In fact he had been appointed as the artistic director of the Los Angeles Festival for a ten-year period in 1987 (Breslauer 1993). It is noted that in the Los Angeles Festival,

"Sellars, who has said that he dislikes autocratic arts administration, claims to have turned his power over to 20 people (although considerably fewer than that appear to have the lion's share of it)." (Breslauer 1993).

In a report funded from the Ford Foundation about the 1993 Los Angeles Festival and edited by Karen Ito, it is evident that some of the ideas that Sellars brought to the Adelaide Festival, had already been explored in the 1993 Los Angeles Festival. In this report Sellars's process is described where he focuses on the importance of the 'idea' and the nature of the Festival being essentially a 'dialogue about the ideas' (Ito 1995:5). It is also noted in the report that there were difficulties with the 1993 Festival such as matching the organisational process with the artistic goals, reaching new audiences and clarifying the central role of the Festival (Ito 1995: xxii-xxv). In addition the Festival had a problematic relationship with the *Los Angeles Times* because the staff of the Festival felt that the newspaper was focused on success being interpreted as box office returns, rather than the nature of what they were doing. (Ito 1995:xi). The Los Angeles Festival was discontinued for financial reasons after 1993 (Haithman 1994).

### **What was Sellars's vision?**

Sellars came to Adelaide with a vision. He wanted to create an entirely new and different model of a festival (Lloyd 2001:(b)). Sellars stated that he was determined to reject the 'shopping trolley' approach to festival programming (Ward 2001: (a)). Instead he wanted the 2002 Adelaide Festival to embrace indigenous work and

community arts, arguably not given such prominence previously, in this mainstream high arts festival (Love 2001:4). Central again to Sellars's vision as noted earlier with the Los Angeles Festival, was a process of power sharing or collaboration (Nunn 2000: (c)). He convinced the Festival Board to accept a model where he worked with a group of associate producers and advisory committees, in addition to the on-going organisational and administrative staff already employed by the festival (Nunn 2000:(c)). His team of nine associate directors, plus various advisory committees, were to assist him in developing a program which addressed the themes of the 'Right to Cultural Diversity', 'Truth and Reconciliation' and 'Ecological Sustainability'. (Nunn 2000: (c)). Sellars believed that these associate producers would bring to the table a broader range of expertise and knowledge than he could provide, as one individual. They were also all Australians, and given his desire to make the Festival authentically Australian, perhaps he believed that they would provide him with some credibility to do this, as a visiting American. He also wanted to make the Festival *in* Adelaide, as opposed to bringing *to* Adelaide overseas product (Nunn 2000: (b)).

The nine producers represented a broad platform of interests including indigenous arts, food, architecture, new technology, community arts, film and performing arts. This structure obviously produced an additional expense for the Festival with an estimated cost average of \$80,000 per producer per year, culminating in an expenditure of \$1.8 million over the two years leading up to the Festival. This of course was \$1.8 million that could not be therefore be available for programming, and in so doing, created a rather expensive administrative model for an arts organisation, largely still dependent on public subsidy for survival. Sellars's original plan was that the associate producers would find for themselves, additional sponsorship to cover their costs. (Nunn 2000: (c))

It is relevant here to recognise that Sellars comes from an American cultural context where relationships between arts organisations, sponsors and private individuals are very different from those in Australia. In Australia most major arts organisations receive their main unearned income from government, whether they be the Australian Opera Company, The Australian Ballet Company or a small dance or theatre company. In this case, the major funder of the Adelaide Festival is the State Government. In addition however, in South Australia the involvement of the government in arts activity, is much greater structurally than in any other Australian State. This is exemplified by the example of the Festival which is now a government corporation reporting directly to the Minister for the Arts.

On the other hand, private wealthy donors to the arts in the American tradition, are few and far between in Australia. Adelaide, not being a major Australian city population wise, has even less of them. In addition sources of sponsorship are also limited. There are very few major companies with head offices in Adelaide and those that are located there, have limited resources to donate to the arts. The Sydney Olympics in 2000 further compounded this restricted climate for sponsorship, draining many large companies of sponsorship support for other activities, for the next couple of years. Then various disasters befell the global and national environment in 2001, including the September 11<sup>th</sup> attack in the United States and the subsequent collapse of Ansett Airlines in late September. Ansett was a major carrier for arts organisations in Australia and was an official sponsor for the 2002 Adelaide Festival. Its collapse in September 2001 left a hole in the Festival 2002 budget of over \$250,000 (Sexton 2001:33). Thus the general environment was poorer than usual for additional fundraising, while at the same time the Festival was experiencing additional costs which had not been budgeted for, such as air travel.

The new organisational structure with ongoing staff, contracted associate producers, advisory committees and the artistic director, presented other challenges for the Festival. Essentially there was one group who were accustomed to working on a conventional Festival model where programming decisions were usually made 18 months ahead. Their job was to deliver the outcomes of those decisions. The other group of paid and unpaid people (associate directors and advisory committee members) were focused on a process of participation and cultural enfranchisement. In addition many of the associate producers had no previous experience of how a conventional festival was produced, yet they were expected to find sponsorship to support themselves and their projects. Thus in some ways, there were irreconcilable differences between these two different groups, both in terms of their objectives and practice: one group were less interested in process and were more focused on implementation while the other group were focussed on process and were less interested in final outcomes.

At the outset Sellars had encouraged broad participation in the Festival. This raised expectations from both the arts community and the general community (Nunn 2000: (b) ). The process for decision-making was unclear and this left many organisations out in the cold. Many professional arts organisations, both locally and nationally, approached the 2002 Festival to participate, and their proposal was rejected and/or they did not hear from the Festival again. This poor communication or lack of communication completely, caused tension in the arts community. Leigh Warren, Artistic Director of Leigh Warren Dancers, an Adelaide based contemporary dance company, said,

“There was all this stuff about having wide consultation because it was going to be inclusive...In fact, what I have experienced is just the opposite. I never even got to first base.” (Warren quoted in Brown 2001:21).

In addition, visual artists were disappointed to hear in late 2000, that “Artists Week” was to be abandoned for the 2002 Festival (Lloyd 2001: (b)).

Nevertheless Sellars had high aims for the Festival. He believed that he was doing something that was revolutionary both in terms of content and process. He had invited eminent people such as Michael Baryshnikov, Susan Sontag and Frank Gehry to Adelaide for the Festival. He said,

"This is a major watershed of programming and the programme we will do here is going to change the way those people run their institutions in the future...It's really exciting because these people are coming South Australia to see this breakthrough." (Lloyd 2001: (b))

Sellars not only wanted to create something that was unique in artistic terms, he also wanted to create something new in philosophical and environmental terms (the Hawke Centre). He also made the point that the Festival he was making, was not about maximising about box office return, but was serving higher goals. (Lloyd 2001:(b)).

### **The challenges of the journey**

From March 2001 various events occurred, which affected the Festival organisation dramatically. A deficit of \$1.5 million from the 2000 Festival was revealed, resulting in the departure of the then finance director of the Festival (Lloyd 2001:(b)). The Minister turned up un-announced to a Board meeting in April and attacked the Board for their incompetence in not disclosing the deficit earlier (Lloyd 2001:((b)). In late April 2001, the then Chair, Ed Tweddell, a leading Adelaide businessman, resigned from the Board, stating he had work commitments that prevented his continuation. A new chair, John the Morphett, a retired architect, was then appointed immediately by the Minister. In May 2001 the interim program for the 2002 Festival was released. The lack of detail in this programme caused disquiet and anxiety about the Festival, less than one year hence (Debelle 2001: (a)).



In July/August 2001 both the CEO and the Operations Director, announced their departures from the Festival for other employment (Ward 2001:8). This came on the back of the Finance Director and the Board Chair resigning in April 2001. When the CEO resigned, an interim CEO was appointed by the Board, until the 2002 Festival, in August 2001. Shortly after this appointment, the Festival announced that the duration of the 2002 Festival would be reduced from the conventional 17 days to 10 days. This decision created further disquiet in the media (Lloyd 2001: (c) ). In September 2001, the new interim CEO revealed that there was a \$3.4 million shortfall in funding for programming. As a result in October 2001, the Festival Board requested and received an additional \$2 million in government funding from the State government to cover a part of this shortfall. (Ward 2001:(b)) However this also meant that certain aspects of the program that had originally been planned, were not able to be delivered. This produced a reaction from the various communities affected by this change (O'Brien 2001:8).

The full program of the Festival was due to be launched in early October 2001, but world and local events impacted on the timing of this (September 11<sup>th</sup> and the Ansett collapse). The Festival program launch had to be pushed back to late October, which meant that Sellars would not be available to be at the launch, as he was committed to begin directing an opera in Paris at the same time. This was very unfortunate for him and for the Festival. On the weekend prior to the program launch, the Festival became embroiled in a new controversy about its media campaign, which was due to be released on the Sunday evening, prior to the Festival program launch (O'Brien 2001:1). The *Advertiser*, released a front page story on Saturday 27<sup>th</sup> October revealing that the 2002 Festival media campaign featured the image of Adolf Hitler (O'Brien 2001:1). The Festival's major sponsor, Telstra, then declared that they would withdraw their sponsorship, unless the image of Hitler was removed (Debelle 2001: (b)). So to keep their sponsorship, the Festival withdrew the

offending images (Debelle 2001: (b)). The whole issue provoked serious concern about the judgement of the Festival organisers from the community, the government and of course the media (Ward 2001(c)). It was difficult of course to make a judgement about the images, as only a few people had seen the actual advertisement.

Later that same week on Wednesday the 31<sup>st</sup> October, the Festival program was launched at the Aboriginal Tauondi College in Port Adelaide. As Sellars was unable to be there in person, a video of him presenting the program had been produced. Unfortunately it did not arrive from Paris in time to be seen and the CEO had to do the launch instead (Debelle 2001: (c)). There appeared to be a general feeling of negativity from both the arts community and the media at the launch, because the program, after all the preceding hype, was very limited in scope and content (Harris 2001:4). In addition most local arts organisations had not been included in the program (Brown 2001:21). Instead there was an emphasis on either amateur/community activity or high art product with little in between. On November 13<sup>th</sup> it was announced that Peter Sellars had resigned as Director of the 2002 Festival. It appeared that on the previous weekend he had been rung by John Morphett, Chair of the Festival, and asked to widen the program content. He said he was happy to do this but would need more money. Morphett said this was not possible and so Sellers resigned (Love & Kelton 2001: 1).

The Festival also had one more problem to contend with, in staging the 2002 Festival. The Adelaide Festival Centre Trust which historically was the main Centre for Festival activity, was under major renovation throughout 2001 and early 2002. In March 2002 at the time of the Festival, the Festival Centre resembled a demolition site, creating a physical impediment for Festival goers. It also meant that the Festival was without a central meeting place or heart for the Festival.

## **The Festival Outcomes**

Given the Festival themes of 'truth and reconciliation', the 'right to cultural diversity' and 'ecological sustainability', most of the content of the 2002 Festival program reflected this. The opening ceremony of the 2002 Festival on March 1st was both spectacular and moving. It was called *Kaurna Palti Meyunna* and it brought together indigenous communities from around Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, New Mexico and Tibet. Starting from the four squares of the city of Adelaide processions of indigenous people, schoolchildren and local communities walked to the central main square or *Tandanyungga*, lighting a huge fire and celebrating in dance, music and storytelling. Other highlights of the 2002 Festival included a new film programme which featured five new Australian films, focusing on indigenous and multiracial themes, specifically commissioned for the 2002 Festival. While one of these, *Australian Rules*, provoked divided feelings amongst the indigenous community, the films were of a high standard and were well received by the audiences. In particular Rolf de Heer's *The Tracker* could even be regarded as a masterpiece. It is likely that none of these films would have been produced without the catalyst provided by the 2002 Festival. Other indigenous offerings such as *Skin* from Bangarra Dance Theatre, *Bone Flute* from Mau Dance and Black Swan's *The Career Highlights of the Mamu* were also of high-quality.

The major opera production for the 2002 Festival was Sellars's own production of John Adams's *El Nino*. Because of lack of money for programming acknowledged in late 2001, this was only done as a concert version. While acclaimed for its music, the production received mixed reviews for its concert staging. There were also major community projects at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital, at the Parks Community Centre in the western suburbs of Adelaide and a new arts project at the Oak Valley Aboriginal community in the north of the State. However none of these projects were

particularly visible to the media, to the visiting arts community or to the community at large, given their location outside of the central city area. In addition there was a symposium program addressing the Festival themes. The add-ons to the Festival introduced by Sue Natrass, as the replacement Artistic Director in November 2001, were generally poorly attended and did not integrate particularly successfully into the overall Festival themes. The exception to this was Max Gillies one-man show, *You're Dreaming*, which sold out.

Some of the comments about the actual 2002 Festival from the critics included:

*The Adelaide Review*

"...he and the associate directors made not only South Australians, but a national and international audience, pay attention to aboriginal culture and the themes of truth and reconciliation... but, whatever their merits these events did not add up to enough to justify the expense and the planning time of the biennial Festival. Having made a claim to raise questions and show case culture, Sellars and his group bungled their opportunity " (Bramwell 2002: (b))

*The Advertiser*

"This would go down as the worst-run, worst financed and worst marketed Festival of all time. While there has been a popular move to sheet the blame home to Peter Sellars for the shortcomings of this Festival, he is just a convenient and not very deserving target. Instead, we have to look at the failings in Adelaide's ability to stage a Festival." (Lloyd 2002: (e))

*The Melbourne Age*

"The events I saw were mostly fine and, in their way, challenging. What I missed, though, was the cumulative effect. For the first time, I did not feel there was a Festival happening all around me with a cohesive multiplicity of choices." (Shmith 2002)

## **Conclusions**

While the story of the 2002 Adelaide Festival may be interpreted as a 'one-off', it offers many reminders of the challenges facing leadership in the sector such as: matching a creative process with an appropriate organisational model, achieving a healthy bottom line while pursuing a vision, addressing the nature of the relationship between funders and arts organisations and finally the nature of the relationship between an artistic director and the board and management of an arts organization. The history of the Adelaide Festival demonstrates that the Festival enjoys an

ownership that includes the media, the business community, the government, the arts community and the general community. These various communities have different expectations about the Festival and so it's inevitable that at times, these will come into conflict. This conflict is usually focused on the artistic director and the 2002 Festival was no exception.

It would seem that the heart of this conflict related to Sellars's vision and the success or lack of success in its implementation. Sellars wanted to have a different kind of Festival which was not focused on imported major events. He wanted to have a Festival that was organised differently and achieved very different kind of aims from traditional festivals. He wanted the Festival to operate within an organisational model that allowed for wide participation and consultation. He also wanted a Festival that focused on communities not normally embraced by major arts Festivals. However from the outset there were difficulties with this plan. Insufficient thought was put into the marriage of the traditional festival organisational structure and the new imposed structure of the associate producers and committees. Thus a very expensive and top-heavy administrative model was created, without attention paid to the mechanisms for it to work. It would appear that Sellars wanted leadership from below, but did not know how to effect this in practice (McDonald 2002:(a)). The desire for broad participation and inclusion was also flawed in its implementation. Expectations were raised about participation and then disappointed in the final outcome.

In the desire to create a revolutionary Festival, Sellars also raised an expectation that the Festival in March 2002, would be a revelation for the audience. However most of the different elements of the 2002 Festival occurred outside of the city and were community focused rather than event focused. Thus the Festival itself seemed thinner and less substantial than usual. It should be said that Sellars's desire to

embrace the Indigenous community in the process and outcomes of the Festival, did succeed in many ways. Certainly the opening event and the film programme, were substantial contributions to raising the profile of Indigenous art and artists in the broader community. However, one of the associate producers (Lynette Walworth), makes the comment that the process orientated and community outcomes desired by Sellars, are not compatible with a Festival model (in Meehan 2002). This is something that needs to be considered. The nature of a Festival is about celebration and transitory activity. Community cultural development is a long-term, process orientated methodology and philosophy. Matching a transitory event with a long-term goal, may not be wise and this raises a central conceptual question about Sellars's vision. While the desire to involve a broad community in the Festival was laudable, the nature of this involvement may have needed closer scrutiny.

There is no doubt that the Festival organisation had problems from early 2001. The Festival organisation appeared to become increasingly dysfunctional throughout 2001, impacting on their planning, communication and operation. It was noted that,

"This Festival has notoriously been bogged down with unwieldy structures, murky communication and sloppy management... in his effort to create a democratic artistic process Sellars created a monster." (Bramwell 2002:(a))

The Board appeared to be unable to come to terms with the problems being faced by the Festival. Their action of forcing Sellars's resignation in November 2001, only served to humiliate Sellars and did not benefit the Festival as a whole. It would appear that the Board reneged on their responsibilities at an early stage of the proceedings and did not provide the leadership appropriate to their role. It would seem also that the Festival could not adequately address the challenges of Sellars presented to them both organisationally and conceptually. In addition comments by the Chair of the Board, John Morphett suggest that the board did not understand their role re financial matters. When an associate producer complained about the cancellation of an event that she had designed, the Chair commented that that:

"The board did know what the budget was. That's a matter of detail for the artistic director." (Archdall 2002)

It would seem axiomatic that the Board and particularly its Chair, should be absolutely across the budget at all times.

It could be said that Sellars also created problems for himself in the role of artistic director. While eschewing the concept of the American guru and overseas expert, arguably he acted as a guru and overseas expert during his time in Australia. He certainly exhibited 'messiah' quality at times. On departing and subsequently in interviews overseas, he generally railed at the Australian media, the Adelaide community and the arts community for not appreciating or valuing him as a famous international artist. He said,

"It's embarrassing when you bring one of the biggest international fish you've ever had into your fish tank and treat them the way I was treated." (Sellars quoted by Love 2002: (b))

There is no doubt that Sellars felt hurt by the way he had been treated in Australia and it is true that the media were generally hostile to him from around the middle of 2001. He also expressed the view that he was battling with a white supremacist attitude from both the media and the establishment in Adelaide (Plane 2002:16). There does not appear to be overt evidence of this, because most media response to the indigenous program in the Festival was positive. In addition the next Artistic Director of the Adelaide Festival, is leading Aboriginal artist, Stephen Page who was appointed in 2001. Sellars believed however that racism prevented appropriate appreciation of the program that he delivered in March 2002. On the other hand, Sellars seemed to assume that community cultural development practice had never happened before his arrival in Australia, whereas it has a significant thirty-year history in arts practice throughout the country (Williams 1995, Binns 1991).

The 2002 Festival can be regarded as a kind of success if you see it as the 'journey there', rather than the 'outcome' in March. During the two-year preparation process, the Festival was constantly being talked about and it received huge national media attention. Sellars's public appearances were performances that stayed in the mind for a long time afterwards. It could be said that Sellars the individual, was in fact the Festival. By his input and presence, Sellars made people question their existence, their attitudes and their behavior. Sellars was embraced by a broad cross section of the community: architects, health workers, property developers, academics and business people. Many notable people received a hug from him.

There is no doubt that Sellars also succeeded in de-stabilising the Festival structure and organisation, causing a large turnover of staff and Board members. This upheaval could have been used as a positive in the longer term, enabling a questioning and re-evaluation of the role and structure of the Festival, given its significance to the state. It would appear instead that it has led to an over-reaction in another direction, given the public statements made by the new Chair and the new CEO in mid 2002, where they talk about their desire to make the 2004 Festival a profit-making venture (McDonald 2002: (b)). Whether Sellars has made a lasting impact on the Adelaide Festival or the Australian community at large, remains to be seen. He asserts that the impact of his presence will be felt 10 years hence when he says,

"One of the things I'm sticking by is that this will be a festival of seeds and not trees... you will see the trees in 2010" (Sellars quoted in Lloyd 2001: (b))

We will have to wait and see.

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