Creating Cultural Events: The Role of Design within Culture-led Regeneration Strategies

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When I started PhD, he was my boyfriend and by the end, he was my husband. To Daniel, this final acknowledgement is for his tolerance, patience, and love.
Declaration of Originality

This thesis is entirely my own work, and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere. The work within this thesis has not been published before, with one small exception: substantially different parts of Chapter Five have been published as online conference proceedings under the title “Festivalising Design: Seoul’s New Tourism” following a presentation at the Global Events Congress IV: Events And Festivals Research: State Of The Art (Leeds Metropolitan University/UK Centre for Events Management, July 2010).
Abstract

This thesis brings together theories from multiple disciplines in order to investigate the role of design and cultural events in city branding and urban regeneration, through a specific focus on the case study of the Gwangju Biennale in South Korea. This research responds to developing trends: spurred by globalisation, cities are becoming increasingly competitive, as policymakers seek new ways to develop a distinct identity (brand image) in order to boost tourism, as well as economic vitality and urban regeneration.

This thesis argues that design, as a creative problem-solving process, plays a broad and important role in the creation of these city-based cultural events, informing management and leadership decisions as well as shaping the promotion and imagery of the event. Furthermore, this thesis attempts to investigate the extent to which cultural events can be determined to have a direct affect on the perception of a city's brand and its drive towards social, economic, environmental and cultural regeneration.

Through one major case study (based on extensive fieldwork experience) and four minor case studies of city and place-based cultural events taking place in the UK and South Korea, this thesis compares and contrasts the varying approaches and outcomes on a global scale, concluding with a series of observations and recommendations that suggest a new way to understand how these events can use design in order to achieve their potential for truly transformative change.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACHG</td>
<td>Asian Culture Hub Gwangju</td>
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<tr>
<td>AD</td>
<td>Artistic Director</td>
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<tr>
<td>BERR</td>
<td>Department for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform</td>
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<tr>
<td>BFQ</td>
<td>Belfast Festival at Queen’s / Ulster Bank Belfast Festival at Queen’s</td>
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<tr>
<td>CABE</td>
<td>The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment</td>
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<tr>
<td>CDO</td>
<td>Chief Design Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>Chief Executive Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSCB</td>
<td>Coin Street Community Builders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCAL</td>
<td>Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCMS</td>
<td>Department for Culture Media and Sport</td>
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<tr>
<td>DDP</td>
<td>Dongdaemun Design Plaza</td>
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<tr>
<td>DSC</td>
<td>Defense Security Command</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECoC</td>
<td>European Capital of Culture</td>
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<td>EIP</td>
<td>Event Identity Program</td>
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<td>ENWRS</td>
<td>England’s Northwest Research Service</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>GB</td>
<td>Gwangju Biennale</td>
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<td>GBP</td>
<td>British Pounds (Currency)</td>
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<td>GDB</td>
<td>Gwangju Design Biennale</td>
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<td>GDP/GRDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product/Gross Regional Domestic Product</td>
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<td>GVA</td>
<td>Gross Value Added</td>
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<td>ICSID</td>
<td>The International Council of Societies of Industrial Design</td>
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<td>ICT</td>
<td>Internet Communications Technology</td>
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<td>ILB</td>
<td>The Independents Strand of the Liverpool Biennial</td>
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<td>IPA</td>
<td>Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis</td>
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<td>KAMS</td>
<td>The Korea Arts Management Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>K CIA</td>
<td>The Korean Central Intelligence Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>KRW</td>
<td>South Korean Won (Currency)</td>
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<tr>
<td>LB</td>
<td>Liverpool Biennial</td>
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<tr>
<td>LCC</td>
<td>The Liverpool Culture Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDC</td>
<td>The Merseyside Development Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIAF</td>
<td>Mullae International Arts Festival</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIAO</td>
<td>Northern Ireland Audit Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODPM</td>
<td>Office of the Deputy Prime Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSMU</td>
<td>One Source Multi Use</td>
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<tr>
<td>QUB</td>
<td>Queen’s University Belfast</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDF</td>
<td>Seoul Design Fair</td>
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<td>SDO</td>
<td>Seoul Design Olympiad</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDH</td>
<td>Seoul Design Headquarters</td>
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<td>SMG</td>
<td>Seoul Metropolitan Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>USARC</td>
<td>The Urban Society and Art Research Center</td>
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<tr>
<td>USP</td>
<td>Unique Selling Point</td>
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<td>VAIL</td>
<td>Visual Arts in Liverpool</td>
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<td>WDC</td>
<td>World Design Capital</td>
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<td>YTMP</td>
<td>Yangdong Traditional Market Project</td>
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Introduction

Cities are self-perpetuating generative forces.
- Jane Jacobs

This is a study of the design of city-based cultural events within culture-led regeneration strategies, with a particular focus on the city of Gwangju in South Korea. Since the late 1990s, the urban development strategies pursued by the local government in Gwangju have been driven by creativity and ambition, resulting in a strategic, design-aware push to re-brand the city and promote sustained prosperity. For much of the past decade the entire South Korean political spectrum was preoccupied with an assortment of concerns about Korean civil society. Whilst there was economic progress in the traditionally more conservative areas of Eastern South Korea between 1948 and 1997, greater social and political progress (especially towards democratisation) was made in the South-West (particularly in the Gwangju region), though at the cost of economic success.

This research will bring together concepts and theories from various academic disciplines, and engage with a wide range of important topics. The central aim of this thesis assesses the role of design in cultural events, and the role of these events in creating city brands and affecting meaningful regeneration. Gwangju, and its biennial event (the Gwangju Biennale) is the central example, because it provides an opportunity to explore concepts and ideas created in reference to place-based cultural events taking place in the West in the relatively unexplored context of East Asia. The aims, ambitions, methods and results of the GB are all comparable to other events taking place both in the UK and elsewhere in Korea, and so this thesis builds a series of case studies, with Gwangju at the heart, to assess these issues (see Research Questions and related discussion, below).
0.1 Culture and the City

In the current climate of globalisation, manufacturing decline, urban regeneration and city branding, it is claimed that culture can be employed as a 'panacea' for urban economic revitalisation to stimulate their competitiveness on an international stage. Culture can also offer the chance to fuse together 'social justice' and 'economic growth' through production-based strategies, such as creative sectors, and consumption-based strategies, such as city marketing and cultural imagineering (Yeoh 2005). Based on the concept of culture as 'a way of life', cultural resources in cities contribute to 'the making of a place'. Such qualities are all assumed to be staples of the post-industrial economy (Amin 2006) for competitive global cities. In fact, although this practice has become globalised, it occurs more in cities in economically wealthier nations. Cultural strategy-originated urban policies shifted their emphasis towards greater economic gain, and these strategies also bring dramatic effects in physically transforming urban landscapes and environments.

During the last thirty years, the use of culture in the regeneration of post-industrial cities is linked to urban design through the process of creating what is known as the 'entrepreneurial city' (Hall and Hubbard 1996). The idea of 'city marketing' was devised for, and has almost exclusively been applied to, Western cities. However, only in this era of globalisation has the term 'city marketing' finally become as integral to Far East Asian cities as it has to European or North American cities (Jacobs 1996). For example, the Chinese government arguably used the 2008 Olympic Games as a huge marketing
strategy to improve the international image of the city of Beijing. The city of Seoul has likewise tried to improve its marketing with a focus on temporary events and physical transformation rather than social change, with a constant drive towards new attractions and iconic structures at the centre of a positive tourist image (the 1988 Olympic Games are a good example of this). This push for city brands now extends outside of Korea's capital and reaches cities in many regional areas, such as Gwangju. It is safe to assume that culture is not only related to improving cities' attractiveness to both corporate business and tourism, and helps to define them in an increasingly competitive and image-obsessed world.

There is no doubt that city governments have recognised the merit of the cultural sphere to rebranding and regeneration. Since such events began to occur, city governments have been able to split the financial costs and share the financial rewards with business, promoting tourism and investment and sharing in the prestige and innovation of the culture sector. In this context, cultural policies are viewed as valuable tools to diversify the local economic base and attempt to compensate for jobs lost in traditional industrial and service sectors (Bianchini 2002). An unexpected example of this scenario from South Korea is the city of Boryeong, which discarded its long-standing identity as a fishing town with the introduction of the Boryeong Mud Festival, an annual 9-day event geared primarily towards non-Koreans. The resulting success of the festival led to the development of many new buildings, restaurants, and facilities; this development is ultimately beneficial not just to the festival participants but also to the year-round local residents. Culture (specifically, a single cultural event) can therefore become the driving force for an entirely new city identity ('city brand') and economic (touristic) infrastructure.

However, the cities are 'made' not simply by the presence of creative workers, but also by the creative people who like to live there. Malanga (2004) is critical of the fact that the existence of vibrant, bohemian neighbourhoods was mostly a consequence of economic growth rather than a cause of it. Building on these conjectures, Pratt (2008a) points out that this is an instrumental policy that seeks to use culture or creativity to achieve specific non-culture ends. It could bring a particular form of cultural gentrification as a pattern

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1 Recently, this concern has raised a hot debate on the topic of the relationship between culture, creativity and the city; the notion of the creative class by Richard Florida (2002) is especially important here. He argues that advanced economies are driven by 'creativity', and are dominated by a 'Creative Class' at the top end of the labour market. The creative class is defined by occupations ranging from artists and IT designers (the super creative core) to management and legal experts (the creative professionals) for, entrepreneurial, college-educated and highly skilled professionals. He argues that technology, talent and tolerance (the '3Ts') will be welcomed into the area by the creative class. He reinforces the idea that cities should focus on promoting creativity, and attracting creative people. In short, the clustering of human capital is the key to successful urban regeneration and growth. His arguments about the nature of urban revitalisation are no longer driven by large factories or companies, but rather by the location selection of 'creative class' people.
observed in many cities such as Camden, Hoxton and Brick Lane in London, whereby
the artists are forced out because of rising prices.

These observations are both reflected by and challenged by the case of Mullae-dong in
South Korea. Mullae-dong is a small district of Seoul. The local industry there is entirely
based on manual labour and manufacture, specifically metal work. However, recently, a
community of artists has established a base in Mullae. There are now several studios
there which serve as the base for collaborative art projects, some of which have an
international scope. The work of these artists has spread beyond the confines of the
studios, and since 2007, there has been an annual festival. Mullae is interesting
because, unlike many other places, there is no connection between the local
industry/economy and the creative activities. Mullae also has no brand identity, and there
was no encouragement for these creative activities from the local government. What
economic growth there has been is, in fact, due to this new cultural community, in
opposition to Malanga’s (2004) claim above. Thus, even the example of Mullae (explored
in detail in Chapter 6) demonstrates the value of adding East Asian cases into the mix of
these Western-based theories. Further, as the above discussion suggests, culture plays
a role not just in a city’s branding and sense of identity, but it its efforts for regeneration;
thus, it is necessary now to explore precisely the relationship between these factors:
culture, city image and regeneration.

0.2 Culture’s Contribution to Regeneration

Since the 1970s, culture has become an increasingly significant strategy of economic
and physical regeneration in many western cities. The UK’s Department for Culture
Media and Sports (DCMS) claims that the cultural turn in policies for urban regeneration
can deliver revitalisation of the post-industrial world (Mile and Paddison 2005). Whilst
these cultural strategies had relatively little effect on the labour market, they were judged
to be very effective in their potential for influencing the image of a city, as well as
encouraging tourism (Bianchini 1993: 2). This makes it possible to identify how a cultural
development policy can focus on large cultural events and offer opportunities for local
governments to explore financing options through them. Haubermann et al. (1993) refer
to this phenomenon as the “festivalisation of urban policy.”

Significantly, Evans identifies three models of regeneration through cultural projects:
Culture-led regeneration, cultural regeneration and Culture and regeneration (2005: 968-
70; see Figure 0.2, below).
Culture-led Regeneration
Cultural activity is seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration. The activity is likely to have a high-public profile and frequently to be cited as the sign of regeneration. The activity might be the design and construction (or re-use) of a building or buildings for public or business use (e.g. Baltic and Sage Music Centre in Gateshead, Tate Modern in Southwark); the reclamation of open space (e.g. Garden Festival); or the introduction of a programme of activity which is then used to rebrand a place (e.g. Ulverston Festival Town; Window on the World Festival, North Shields).

Cultural Regeneration
Cultural activity is fully integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere. (e.g. Birmingham's Renaissance) This model is closely allied to the 'cultural planning' approach to cultural policy and city regeneration.

Culture and Regeneration
Cultural activity is not fully integrated at the strategic development or master planning stage. The intervention is often small-scale: a public art programme for business park, once the buildings have been designed; a heritage interpretation or local history museum tucked away in the corner of a reclaimed industrial site. Although introduced at a later stage, cultural interventions can make an impact on the regeneration process enhancing the facilities and services that were initially planned.

Figure 0.2: Evans' Three Models of Regeneration through Culture (2005: 968-70)

There are examples of all three 'types' of regeneration to be found in South Korea. For example, the Busan International Film Festival (BIFF), in its 17th year in 2012, can be seen as a case of 'Culture-led Regeneration', as the festival has arguably become more internationally recognised than the city of Busan itself. An example of 'Cultural Regeneration' is the Global Fair & Festival in Incheon, a 'fully integrated' cultural event.

Arguably, the success of regeneration and culture-led development depends on the extent to which the recovery and repositioning of the urban space suits its previous identity. It thus appears that the concept of community is crucial. While Bailey, Miles, and Stark (2004), meanwhile, have pointed out that culture-led regeneration provides a framework within which local people can re-establish ownership of their own sense of

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2 BIFF was previously known as PIFF - using an older spelling of the host city, Pusan (rather than Busan).
place and space and of their own sense of history, Delanty argues that ‘global cities’ play a role in displacing their own urban communities (2003:56-62).³

As globalisation intensifies, the topic of city branding and positioning in urban space is becoming an increasingly popular field amongst scholars. City branding is a response to increased inter-urban competition (Jensen 2005), and cities are increasingly being marketed as trademarks, with numerous intensive and extremely costly company and product branding campaigns (Mollerup 1995). De Chernatony (1992) argues that brands are complex identities existing in the minds of consumers. This is also true of city brands: the popular perception of a city establishes the brand’s initial reputation, with places like New York, Paris, Rome or Milan possessing an identity and intangible value through the mention of their names alone (Branding Strategy Insider 2007). Many cities, therefore, have used a variety of large cultural events as tools for positioning the city’s brand image and tourist potential. In terms of branding, ‘culture’ is often thought of as a resource, be it the arts, sport, food, visitor attractions or faith, shifting patterns of behaviour and mobilising potential in order to achieve economic, social and environmental goals (Comedia 2004). The relationship between culture, city branding, and regeneration is therefore complex and inherently interrelated.

Of all of the cities deliberated on in literature on culture-led regeneration and city branding, Liverpool has received particular attention. Awarded the title of European Capital of Culture (ECoC) in 2008, the city has used this cultural event to reorganise its image as a city suffering from economic decline, high unemployment, high poverty rates and rising crime into a culturally abundant and attractive service-driven contemporary city internationally and nationally. Therefore, the city of Liverpool provides one of the case studies for this thesis, as it serves as a revealing and representative example from the UK. However, globalisation and city branding are equally important in South Korea. Korean policy makers at the national and regional level are continually devising city branding strategies. Yet, once again, among the English-language academic discussion of this topic, Asia is neglected, in spite of how readily these strategies have been adopted in the Far East, and how easily these theories can be applied to further academic research of Korea.

³ Significantly, this debate over urban regeneration through culture, and its relationship to the politics of city branding, has been primarily associated with David Harvey. He claimed that, from the mid-1970s onwards, urban governance has become increasingly preoccupied with the exploration of new ways to foster and encourage local development and employment growth. This trend towards “entrepreneurialism”, as Harvey (1989a) terms it, is in stark contrast to the “managerialism” of the welfare state attitude of earlier decades in which urban governments were preoccupied with their role of redistribution, such as the local provision of services and facilities to urban populations. Harvey observes that the shift from Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism meant that cities have needed to appear innovative, exciting, and creative to attract potential investors.
It is useful to consider not just the causal relationship between cultural events, city brands, and regeneration, but also through what creative and administrative processes these are achieved. A key question to be addressed by this thesis – and one that must be asked – is how design contributes to this process of culture-led regeneration.

**0.3 Design’s Contribution to Cultural Events and the City**

The field of design is fundamentally connected to the push to brand cities, turn them into creative hubs of innovation, and thus to drive urban regeneration. As Moor (2009) argues,

> The British state’s interest in design, so I want to argue, has not been limited to its role in creating potent national symbols, nor simply to encouraging the development of creative industries because of their potential contribution to national economic competitiveness or local regeneration, but has in recent years expanded to include the possibility that designers may have a significant role to play in redesigning public services, communicating government policy and – indirectly – shaping political subjectivities and forms of citizenship [...] these policy developments [...] raise normative questions about who should be involved in the design and delivery of public services and under what kinds of terms, and how the use of design fits in with particular philosophies of government (2009: 24).

Design therefore must be defined as much more than simply the creation of products and ideas. As defined by the former Mayor of Seoul, Se-hoon Oh, design is “a creative problem-solving process” and it can offer solutions to almost every aspect of planning and managing a city (Personal Interview with Kang 2011). As Cooper et al. note, “design is not just the domain of the professional designer: everyone who makes decisions to invest in, produce and sell products, places, services have a role in determining the form of such outcomes” (2011: 3). It is important, therefore, to consider the widest and most progressive possible definition of the term ‘design’. Further, Moultrie and Livesey (2010) have noted that while design is a difficult term to define, this is complicated further by different national applications of the term (and the practice of) design (these issues are discussed in greater detail in chapters 6 and 7).

As will be seen in the following chapters, design’s sub-fields – which include service design, graphic design, exhibition design, urban design, environmental design, universal design, branding, architecture, marketing, public relations, social media, and interactivity – all play a vital role in the creation of cultural events and the use of these events in a holistic, integrated way to enact change for cities.

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4 All quotes from Jihye Kang come from a personal interview conducted in Seoul on 22 November 2011.
0.4 Defining ‘Culture’

The notion, and the definition, of ‘culture’ in terms of cultural industries and activities has been the subject of debate within the areas of cultural policy, geography, sociology, management and media studies. In fact, Raymond Williams argues “culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language” (1976: 87). Analysis of culture in relation to the field of cultural industries has been concerned with close economic relationships and the spatial forms of industrial activities. In the last few years the debate around cultural industries has been related to employment, contribution to national, regional and local GDP, and the labour market. Therefore, the disagreement and confusion of what ‘cultural activities’ actually comprises has been exacerbated by the government’s encouragement for local authorities to produce ‘cultural strategies’.

According to a recent UNESCO report (2009), however, the classification of cultural activities is different, dependent on nations and countries (see Figure 0.3, below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Cultural Statistical Frameworks for Countries/Territories/Block/Bilateral organisations</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Publishing/literature</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performing arts</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadcasting (TV and radio)</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine arts</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design (not fashion)</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museums, built and landscape environment</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photography</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries and archives</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactive media (web, games, mobile etc.)</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Software</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG TW CN WIPO Qc Zu</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaming and visitor attractions</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI TW CN Qc</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community and government activities</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CN Qc</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports and recreation</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CN Qc</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intangible cultural heritage</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG Qc</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festivals, fairs, festivals</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG Qc</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG Qc</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural environment</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG Qc</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toys and games</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG Qc</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other information services (trade unions)</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG Qc</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass cultural services</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG Qc</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass cultural services</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG Qc</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment in more than 1 field of culture</td>
<td>AU NZ CA UK EU FI CL HK SG Qc</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 0.3: Review of the 'Breadth of Cultural and Creative Activities across 14 Frameworks' (UNESCO 2009)

As suggested in the sections above, local governments have stressed the importance of culture activities through big events. Shore and Parry (2004: 4) define events as “those non-routine occasions set apart from the normal activity of daily life of group of people”. Thus, accordingly, cultural events should supposedly be creative, and original, and not
dependent on scale. However, there is much confusion in cultural sectors that are excluded from the ‘borderline’ sector, such as sports and gambling events.  

Theoretically, while there has been lots of hype about the stimulus that cultural events can encourage in terms of the vitality of economy/tourism, various evaluations and measurements of large-scale cultural events have investigated the diversity of future impacts on social, cultural, economical, political, physical and environmental considerations. Evans (2005: 962) clearly warns that regenerative effects typically centralise upon a financial ‘number’ (even with an intangible effect) and user-related outputs, for instant visitor numbers, direct employment and so on. Hall (1992) argues that environmental, social, cultural and political influences are more important than economic ones. This is precisely the concern of this thesis: rather than focusing only on simple measurements of success in economic terms, the case studies discussed asses the ‘impact’ of these events in much broader terms, considering the effect not just economically, but in terms of regeneration and branding, in ways such as perception and reputation, that cannot be measured by a tangible number. Further, such measurements of success as discussed above fail to consider all stakeholders, such as local residents who do not visit the events. Again, this makes such number-based measurements less meaningful than qualitative studies and sensitive consideration of the wider contextual factors.

0.5 Research Questions and Chapter Summaries

The aims and research questions of this these have been designed to bring the fields of design and cultural events together, and to apply the theories of Western cities to the South Korean context. The central investigation of this thesis concerns a two-step process: firstly, to determine the role of design in the creation of city-based cultural events, and secondly to determine the impact of these events on regeneration and an improved city brand. Thus, the overall role of design in regeneration and city branding will be assessed.

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5 One of the most contentious areas within definitions of ‘cultural events’ is sport. Several organisations and categorisations include sporting events within the broader field of cultural events; other definitions of culture industries, however, exclude sporting events. In terms of this thesis, with its focus on the Gwangju Biennale, consideration of sporting events seems irrelevant and unnecessary. Artistic and cultural festivals, such as the Gwangju Biennale, are designed to bring people to a city or country – people who will have an interest in engaging with the culture of the place. Competitive sporting events, however, tend to attract people with a very specific focus on the event itself, the teams or individuals participating. These participants represent other cities or countries, and the people who attend international sporting events arguably have a greater interest in nationalism than tourism. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, competitive sports are excluded from the working definition of what constitutes a ‘cultural event’.
0.5.1 Aims

The two aims of this thesis are:

- To examine the role of design in cultural events and how it is being integrated into urban regeneration processes and city branding strategies, and to what effect, with particular reference to South Korea.
- To consider how cultural events can lead to urban regeneration and/or improved city brand image, comparing Western approaches to East Asia.

0.5.2 Research Questions

Further, this thesis is based on answering six research questions:

1. How do different interests contribute to the creation of cultural events?
   a. Specifically, how do designers and non-designers contribute to the creation of the Gwangju Biennale and other cultural events?

2. What do different stakeholders/policymakers do in this process?

3. What contribution do designers and non-designers make to the overall branding?

4. What contribution do these events have on regeneration?

5. Is this process the same in South Korean cities as in Western cities?
   a. How does the case of the Gwangju Biennale reflect the wider possibilities and practices of city-based cultural events, both in the East and the West?

6. Can a model be developed to illustrate and inform decision-makers of the design process used in cultural events, and the relationship of these events to regeneration and improved brand image?

These research questions address the primary concerns of the process and effectiveness of cultural events, and will be answered systematically through close analysis of five separate case studies covering a total of six cultural events.

0.5.3 Chapter Breakdown

This thesis constitutes an Introduction, seven chapters, and an Epilogue that includes a concluding discussion and a series of recommendations. Chapter 1 presents a literature review of the field related to city culture and urban regeneration, and provides a
theoretical groundwork on which the case studies will be based. Chapter 2 has the exact same purpose, offering a literature review of the field of design, which will also form the basis of the categories and definitions of design used throughout the subsequent chapters. Chapter 3 systematically describes the research methodology used in this thesis, and explains and justifies the choices of different methods used. In particular, the fieldwork participant research is discussed, as this was a centrally important aspect of the data collection. In this sense, the first three chapters combine to form an introductory section. Chapter 4 is the first of three case study chapters, covering specific examples of how cultural events have used design, and have been used to achieve rebranding and regeneration of their host cities. Chapter 4 covers ‘the West’ by focusing on two cities from the UK and a total of three cultural events: the Liverpool Biennial, and its equivalent Independent event, and the Belfast Festival at Queen’s. Chapter 5 contains the major case study of this thesis, and focuses on the Gwangju Biennale (specifically, the 2010 event). Chapter 6 offers contrasting examples from elsewhere in South Korea: the design-led Seoul Design Fair of the capital city, and the smaller-scale, neighbourhood based Mullae artistic community (specifically its Mullae International Arts Festival). Thus, Chapters 4-6 form the case study section of the thesis, and constitute a significant body of original research. Chapter 7 is part of the ‘final section’ of the thesis, and it summarises the findings of the case study chapters, presenting both individual and comparative analysis of these events, directly answering the research questions. Finally, in the Epilogue a framework of practical recommendations is offered, in order that the findings of this study may be of some practical use to cultural curators and urban policymakers in the future.

0.6 Note about Language and Names

This thesis necessarily involves the extensive use of Korean names and Korean-language sources. All Korean sources quoted are based on my own translation, and all quotes from Korean interviewees are likewise translated personally. All Korean names are written according to Western convention: given name first, family name second. Exceptions are made for individuals who have well-known public names. Korean names follow a simple and consistent structure: the family name/surname is always one syllable, while the given name is always two syllables, and is usually hyphenated.
Chapter 1:
An Abuse of Culture: Exploring the Relationship Between
Cultural Activities and Urban Regeneration

We use the word culture in these two senses: to mean a whole way of life - the common meanings; to mean the arts and learning - the special processes of discovery and creative effort. Some writers reserve the word for one other of these senses; I insist on both, and on the significance of their conjunction. The questions I ask about our culture are questions about deep personal meanings. Culture is ordinary, in every society and in every mind (Williams 1989: 4).

1.1 Introduction

During the last two decades, urban policies involving cultural strategies have increasingly focused on economic benefits. As discussed above, whilst these cultural strategies had relatively little effect on the labour market, they were judged to be very effective in their potential for influencing the image of a city, as well as encouraging tourism. This boom has created a new rhetoric such as the “creative class” (Florida 2002), “creative city” (Landry and Bianchini 1995) and “creative economy”. This also makes it possible to identify how cultural development policy can focus on large cultural events and offer opportunities for local governments to explore financing options through them. Examples include the Tate Modern on the South Bank and the Millennium Dome in London. While the conversion of the Bankside Power Station into the Tate Modern has become one of the top two visited tourist attractions in all of England (Tate Modern 2009), the Millennium Dome failed to attract a wide audience in spite of its international scope; only those from Northern England, Scotland, and Wales really visited the venue, making it very much a ‘national’ rather than international project. Surprisingly, while the Millennium Dome displayed a high technological standard, the Tate Modern has attracted audiences based only on its exhibitions of contemporary art. Sir Nicholas Serota, Director of the Tate, insisted that the recorded 5.2m visitors in 2006-2007 “showed the high level of public interest in modern art which no one could have imagined 20 years ago” (Market Watch 2007). Of course, the Tate Modern does not charge an entrance fee, except for major exhibitions, with profits coming only from sales from its café, restaurant and bookshop. It is part of the Tate’s success story that the cultural centre of London has moved across the river to South London; the consequences of this, however, are that a socially diverse public has become an increasingly homogenised community of culturally elite who go there to meet, be seen, eat and buy. This dilemmatic problem is that every country could build fantastic iconic architecture, galleries, museums and opera houses in cultural vein,
The debates of "culture-led" strategies for urban policy/regeneration constitute three factors: Firstly, economic impacts involving economic diversification (Bianchini 1993), energising creativity and innovation (Pratt 2007b), and the revitalisation of the job market (Scott 2004); Secondly, there is the creation of iconic buildings ('signature architecture') as part of urban strategies to develop a city image or brand (Evans 2003); Finally, the aim of the 'Art of City Making' (Landry 2006) policy has increasingly been considered to be 'social cohesion' above all else (Matarasso 1997: 26-36). Andy Pratt argues that "the cultural industries embody and promote alternative aesthetics and market values," and concludes that "some of the contributions of the cultural industries to society (and particularly the economy) can be measured in economic terms" (Pratt 2005: 31). In the following sections, this chapter investigates the instrumental usage of 'culture' and the relationship between the production and consumption of cultural events in various contexts, and its meaning in the process of urban regeneration.

This chapter therefore examines the relationship between culture, creative industries and urban regeneration, and the various ways these relationships are manifested in the decision-making process of city policies. This chapter addresses the following questions:
Can city-wide cultural events lead to urban regeneration? How do cultural events lead to an improved city brand image? What is the impact of creative activities and cultural events to the culture, society, economy and environment of a city? What is the relationship between culture and urban regeneration? These questions are related directly to the research aims of this thesis, thus they provide a basis on which to build with case studies in later chapters.

1.2 Making a Fuss Over Cultural/Creative Industries

In recent years ideas of ‘the cultural industries’ have often acted as a symbolic catalyst for the economic revitalisation and regeneration of urban and rural environments. Academically, the debate of evaluating cultural contribution to society or the economy has been a hot topic of focus in books and journal articles on cultural industries across a wide range of disciplines, such as economics, management, sociology, geography, and media studies. This issue can be divided in to two parts: cultural value and economic value.

1.2.1 Defining the Cultural Industries

It is useful to redefine the term ‘culture’ to include new ideas and the current situation, and to explore how culture has been defined, and how the term ‘cultural industry’ has been used since Adorno and Horkheimer’s work of 1944. As Garnham (2005) argues, in the early 20th century, the gap between ‘High Culture’ and ‘Mass Culture’ was identified; specifically, the problems of mass culture in terms of an elite/mass distinction. A group of French sociologists, including Miège (1979), introduced the plural term ‘cultural industries’ to highlight the complexity of this sector (Drake 2003), as well as the diversity within the various cultural industries.

Griffiths insists that the “instrumentalisation” of culture has had the effect marginalising or displacing local cultural distinctiveness, weakening the connections between cultural production and consumption, and damaging the long-term visibility of cultural organisations” (2006: 416). However, these theories and debates regarding culture typically focus only on Western examples, and neglect to discuss specifically Asian examples of cultural practices.

In the UK, the term ‘cultural industries’ had been used by the Greater London Council in policy circles in the 1980s, and later the term “creative industries” was developed by the
British government in 1997 under new Labour administration to replace the term "culture industries". Tony Blair's new government set out to define the term of 'creative industries' (See Figure 1.2, below).

"Those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property."

Figure 1.2: The UK Definition of the Creative Industries, DCMS (2009a)

This definition (DCMS 2009a) identifies thirteen distinctive industries comprising the creative industries. In this case, a number of different existing activities were united under the banner of 'creative industries'; it might be argued that these industries were politicised as part of the government's image-improvement agenda as much as they were promoted for the purposes of cultural gain – a clear example of the 'instrumental' usage of culture.

However, the term 'cultural industries' (Scott 2004) has also continued to be used in urban regeneration, referring to entrepreneurial, 'product' oriented cultural activities that emphasise the market value of cultural goods and services within the cultural sector. Whilst these cultural strategies had relatively little effect on the labour market, they were judged by others to be very effective in their potential for influencing the image of a city, as well as encouraging tourism (Bianchini 1993).

1.2.2 Defining the Creative Industries

Among cultural policy makers and theorists, both terms – 'cultural industries' and 'creative industries' – are used. The two terms co-exist, but they are used in different contexts to signify slightly different things. The cultural industries originally comprised only elitist 'high culture'. Hesmondhalgh and Pratt argue that the creative industries, on the other hand, could appear as "democratising and anti-elitist, as opposed to the supposed elitism of arts policy aimed at subsidising cultural production that could not meet its costs through the market" (2005: 7). However, from the late 1980s, due to the marketisation of the media and communication and the commodification of culture, the cultural industries have developed in different ways, and now have a great deal in common with creative industries. The differences between these two concepts are

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inconsistent and subtle, and a definitive distinction does not yet exist. The following case studies featured in this thesis refer exclusively to ‘cultural events’ rather than ‘creative events’ because it is a more-widely used and, arguably, a more fitting term: the events under consideration emphasise existing city cultures as much as creative arts; they are about showcasing what these cities are, more than what they can create.

1.3 The Role of Creativity in Planning

Cultural planning is centrally about encouraging a culturally sensitive approach to any type of public policy. So, you can have a cultural planning approach to physical planning, to economic development strategies, to tourism and place marketing, to youth and social policies. So this really tries to be culturally sensitive in the sense of being interdisciplinary, innovation-oriented and critical, cultured; demonstrating knowledge about the cultural expression and representations of a place (Bianchini 2008).

The concept of using culture for urban policy is a result of the view that local authorities have to engage with a wider range of interest groups than in the past. Currently, cultural planning is thought of as more than a policy framework for culture. While culture and creativity can be developed, measured, marketised or traded internationally, cultural planning itself has been conceptualised and underpinned politically as a way of achieving of creative, social, economic, physical and economic goals (Stevenson 2004). As in Pratt’s argument, the current trends in cultural policy have been changed by three forces: economy, culture and state. He highlights the fact that due to “the expansion of service industries and technological substitution or migration to lower-cost labour locations, creativity and innovation or customisation of products are needed in competitive global market” (Pratt 2007b: 5). The ‘USP’ (Unique Selling Point) became therefore one of the most important marketing tools in cultural policy.

This approach has been adopted in urban policy in forms such as ‘unique’ buildings (such as the Guggenheim in Bilbao) or ‘peculiar’ cultural events (like the Glastonbury festival). Hence, cultural consumption is the new ‘hot’ strategy for the “promotion of endogenous economic activity” (Pratt 1997: 6). It is evident that cultural planning affects the creation of spaces of consumption and “enclaves of exclusivity” designed specifically to attract cultural connoisseurs (Stevenson 2004: 122). A variation of this is the idea of Florida (2002), measuring and developing the “Creative Class” as being used re-imagine cities and cultural industries instrumentally in order to attract investment.7 Policymakers have further looked to improving creativity and local cultural infrastructure as a strategy for reversing social marginalisation within communities. Regeneration can thus be led by

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7 For a more detailed discussion of Florida’s concept of the ‘creative class’, see Introduction.
Increasingly, more and more ‘handbooks’ and ‘toolkits’ have come out to guide social inclusion in cultural planning. Ghilardi states cultural assessment assesses a community’s strengths and potential within a framework of cultural development. It establishes an inventory of local culture and takes a hard look at resources, gaps and need enabling us to plan for better, liveable, socially just and responsive communities (2004).

However, the mobilisation of cultural meaning within cultural planning has raised tensions. Stevenson argues that the anthropological meaning of culture in cultural policy is an "unwieldy basis for strategic policy intervention" because “authorities cannot avoid making a range of judgements (aesthetic, social, economic) about what is and is not a ‘legitimate’ cultural activity” (2004: 124). Difficulties in defining and categorising ‘culture’ and the multiple activities, practises and media that may qualify as ‘cultural arts’ and/or ‘cultural products’ have led to a great deal of ambiguity on this subject. Kunzmann also suggests “integrated cultural planning may not be the right approach as it tends to raise expectations beyond reality” (2004: 399).

In summary, therefore, policy makers have increasingly used cultural events and creative planning as a potential ‘quick fix’ for problems in society and in the economy. However, without an emphasis on cultural education, such cultural events are essentially undemocratic, and can only appeal to a small sector of the community. This problematic situation will be demonstrated in the case studies of this thesis, which show that alienating local audiences in favour of attracting a global audience of culture connoisseurs is a significant failing of many cultural events. So, too, is a lack of meaningful education for audiences about the meaning and relevance of the art/culture on display.

1.4 Cultural Transformers: Cities in Disguise

1.4.1 From Urban Decline to Urban Regeneration

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, urban regeneration was acknowledged, in particular in North America and Western Europe, as the solution to housing problems around cities. For example, the city of Detroit in North America (primarily a centre for car manufacture), Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and East London (all major industrial areas) had experienced a declining population, growing unemployment statistics, social exclusion and worsened living condition (especially in the 1970s and 80s). Urban decline is caused by the “general process of economic and social restructuring from industrial to post-industrial society” (Haase et al. 2003). The
phenomenon of “urban shrinkage” manifested slums, crime and political marginalisation. Another cause of urban decline is globalisation, with production factories moving to developing countries for cheap labour, and causing unemployment and a collapse of local industrial sectors. However, Haase et al. (2003) insist that urban decay could lead to a reorganisation, a “correction of the town” – taking the form of depopulation by suburbisation and a new transport infrastructure; an overall decentralised population.

The problem of urban decline leads to policies of urban regeneration, and the high rate of unemployment, social polarisation and socio-economic mobility in the inner city affected structural change in the global community (Martin and Rowthorn 1986: xviii). Consequently, urban regeneration has been used widely as an important urban policy for successive governments. However, at the same time, various concepts such as urban renewal and regional development were commonly used instead – concepts that are narrower in focus and grounded in an emphasis on physical change: environmental regeneration, focused on city centres only. In the UK, the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) noted that different spatial areas are classified differently. Various urban policies are used to distinguish between different kinds of ‘problem areas’. In this case, ‘regeneration’ refers to inner city areas, areas facing imbalance and decline, and rural areas; ‘urban renewal’ targets deprived neighbourhoods and housing estates; while ‘regional development’ considers other regions and sub-regions.

Terms like ‘regeneration’, ‘renewal’ and ‘regional development’ typically do not have simple definitions. The distinguishing characteristic of these interventions is that they have a strong spatial focus and often, as a result, distributional impacts. They tend to aim at, or contribute to, the overall goals for sustainable development of target area and groups, and have the specific objective of improving outcomes in social, economic and environmental terms (ODPM 2004).

Culture-led regeneration thus tends to target particular areas with their initiatives, focusing on the needs of city centres and suburban areas, rather than inner-city residential ‘problem’ areas. While understanding the terms related to urban revitalisation, urban regeneration was defined by Roberts as a

comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change (2000: 17).

Hence, urban regeneration is distinguished from what can be called “construction-led transformation of cities” which refers to simple, unimaginative and narrowly focused development. Construction-led transformation is therefore an intervention from the local management that does not attempt to deal with challenges that materialise in the intricate
urban, social, economic and cultural structure. This type of physical regeneration may do little to solve social problems and contribute to overall regeneration in meaningful ways. Culture-led regeneration needs to stimulate the development and recovery of the community's conditions, not just the physical infrastructure of a city. Whatever terminology is used, delivering urban policy has become a priority for most local authorities in the UK. The decision-making process of determining policy is increasingly influenced by ambitions to become a creative city.

Meanwhile, urban regeneration started leading the kind of large-scale, prestige projects through 'cultural magnet' cities such as Bilbao and Rotterdam. However, Harvey (1989b) criticised "the modernist idea that planning and development should focus on large-scale, metropolitan-wide, technologically rational and efficient urban plans". Conversely, Gonzalez argues that Bilbao has shown a plan to renew the city as it moves "from industrial to post-industrial, from modernity to post-modernity" (1993: 81). Meanwhile, urban policy underwent a change from a central government-led approach to local ownership-based regeneration. Power has shifted to local governments, local businesses and independent sponsors, who have a large stake in the creation and ongoing management of cultural activities in cities. Harvey notes that the competition among urban regions brought a consumerist style of urbanisation. He observed "gentrification, cultural innovation, and physical upgrading of the urban environment, consumer attractions and entertainment, have all become more prominent facets of strategies for urban regeneration" (1989b: 9).

Subsequently, in recent years, the challenges of urban regeneration and sustainability have been produced in the reshaping of central and inner cities. The World Commission on Environment and Development has defined sustainable development as "the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Rosen and Dincer 2001: 8). As will be discussed in later chapters, the use of culture and design to 'meet the needs' of a city and its citizens is precisely the most positive potential function of cultural events. 'Sustainability' and 'sustainable communities' are key targets, then, within the wider processes of regeneration of culture, society, economy and environment.

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8 Carmon (1999) detected three phases of regeneration policies that presented different approaches (and levels of importance) to the redevelopment of inner cities as urban spaces to make them liveable. The first phase, between the 1930s and the 1950s, was distinguished by physical redevelopment and rehabilitation of old towns suffering from poverty and poor public health (see Couch 1990). This focused on the improvement of living conditions of urban residents. From the 1960s to 1970s, the second phase emphasised neighbourhood redevelopment, preferring a comprehensive policy and focalising the linking of economic prosperity to social welfare as from 'top-down' to 'bottom-up'. The third phase, during the 1970s and 1980s, brought out an economic incentive and co-operation between private investors and public authorities. According to the UK government publication "White Paper Policy for the Inner Cities" in 1977 (Clark 1982: 204), urban policy needs to take action to remedy both economic and physical problems, through the creation of commercial and profitable offices to bring an economic regenerative effect.
This development was a reflection of the view that urban regeneration should aim to contribute to economic vibrancy and social inclusion and thus encourage an urban environment that has local character and is able to economically stimulate local reconstruction (Weingaertner and Barber 2007). It also aims to create sustainable communities. So, urban regeneration can be regarded as the result of external and internal forces that create a need to adapt, to experience physical, social, environmental and economic transition, and to respond to the challenges and opportunities presented by urban degeneration (Roberts 2000: 9). Urban regeneration is a fundamentally democratic practice in theory, aiding all sectors of society. The implementation of urban regeneration policies has moved from the manufacture of 'hardware' such as buildings to an emphasis on 'software' – with a less tangible production of benefits for people, and the environment they live in. This issue will also be addressed in Chapter 7 of this thesis: how to measure the intangible benefits of regeneration.

1.4.2 Globalising Competitiveness: City Culture as an Instrument of Industry

As a result of globalisation, and in order to survive in the new marketplace, local governments have taken more risks and become more competitive when operating with other regional authorities (with policies focused on foreign direct investment, environmental issues and increasing 'cultural attractiveness') (Painter 1998). The creation of the 'entrepreneurial city' (or, more usefully, the 'creative city') has been introduced as the means of managing, organising and governing urban areas (Gedikli, 2001). Harvey claimed that, beginning from the mid 1970s onwards, urban governance has become increasingly preoccupied with the exploration of new ways to foster and encourage local development and employment growth (1989: 3).

This growing interest in urban entrepreneurialism reflects recent changes to the global economic and political sensibility, manifesting itself in the regulation of urban spaces so as ‘to promote market-based approaches to the restructuring of the built environment and to the shifting priorities of global market economics’ (Oakley and Rofe 2003: 1-2). These practices attempt to enhance the economic value of urban space and attract mobile capital for wealth and accumulation (Short 1999: 43). As such, within this changing framework, there has been growing interest in city branding, urban marketing, and place marketing; and image politics have gained importance in order ‘to build a physical and social imaginary of cities suited for that competitive purpose’ (Harvey 1989b: 14).
In summary, therefore, in various Western countries in the 1970s and 80s policy-making power was largely decentralised and increasingly moved to local governments. Local policy-makers had more freedom to develop new kinds of cultural events that reflected more accurately the specific makeup of local communities. Decision-making power was distributed more widely, and innovation increased. However, this greater freedom led to increased desire among individual cities to establish distinctive individual identities, or brands. With local funding often proving inadequate to support such events, local governments therefore increasingly turned to the creative industries for financial and economic gain. Businesses and investors – both local and from outside the region – put money into the development of various local industries. This could be in the form of promoting public tourism and tax breaks to attract new businesses to the area. The ultimate aim of these activities is to revitalize local businesses and communities; generating greater business potential from existing infrastructures. Another possible outcome of partnerships between entrepreneurs and local governments is an investment in cultural events designed to promote the region and generate profit. The irony here is that local policy makers gave just as little consideration to the demands of local communities as the central government had; with the drive to create strong city brands, local cultural events were strongly outward-looking. Again, culture became an instrument of industry.

1.4.3 Culture-Led Strategies for Urban Regeneration

The Acropolis of the urban art museum or concert hall, the trendy art gallery and café, restaurants that fuse ethnic traditions into culinary logos-cultural activities are supposed to lift us out of the mire of our everyday lives and into the sacred spaces of ritualized pleasures (Zukin 1995b: 282).

In summary, over last two decades, notably in Western European countries and North America, cultural planning has increasingly emerged to become one of the most significant policies at both local and regional levels of government.9 Meanwhile, the increase in the purchase of mass media products and the 'consumption of culture' (in the form of heritage sites, leisure and tourism) were changing the role of culture in society. Zukin pointed out that culture "is cycled through mass media, especially fashion and 'urban music' magazines [...] where, divorced from their social context, they become images of cool" (1995a: 9). She remarked that cities were deprived of the function as place of production. Rutheiser (1996) coined the term 'imagineering' to refer to the promotion or marketing of cities in the post-industry era. Nevertheless, without scruples,
many city authorities have still been attempting to use consumer-oriented or cultural forms to develop different identities from other cities and culturally vibrant images in order to draw international attention. Even during the current economic downturn, triggered by the financial crisis, the Working Group within DCMS in the UK has agreed that the first 'UK City of Culture' – the 'UK version' of the European Capital of Culture – should be held as a catalyst for economic, social and civic benefits and experience of culture in 2013.\(^\text{10}\) They believe that

This is especially important during the current recession. We know that increased unemployment has a negative impact on well-being and social capital – but we also know that evidence shows the potential for cultural sectors to contribute to increasing both these. Participation in culture can increase social capital and well-being. Relevant industries – tourism, digital and creative – can also contribute to and benefit from the BERR\(^\text{11}\) strategy for business, to come through stronger from the recession-industrial activism (DCMS 2009b).

However, there is undoubtedly a danger in assuming that cultural events can always be a symbol of successful transition to a new form of governance. This reflects a broader debate among scholars; for instance, Binns (2005) has suggested that creative activities have a significant role in the concept of 'world-cityness' that has been largely defined by middle class, high-tech 'knowledge' industry workers and that "cultural activities are one sellable asset that, along with a clean and safe environment, congenial climate, social capital, aesthetic qualities, and so forth, can be added together to make up city dwellers' 'quality of life.'"

Evans (2005) has extensively discussed the role of culture in regeneration, and has determined guidelines and categorisations for measuring different types of regeneration (see Table 1.1, below). As described in the Introduction, Evans divides these as 'culture-led regeneration', 'cultural regeneration', and 'culture and regeneration' (2005: 968-9). These categories will be used later in the thesis as a way to discuss the regenerative impacts of cultural events, and their design imperatives.

\(^{10}\) As briefly discussed in Chapter 4, the 2013 UK City of Culture is Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland.

\(^{11}\) BERR is the UK government's Department for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform.
<table>
<thead>
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<td>Clusters</td>
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<td>Examples of evidence of impacts:</td>
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<td>Increased property values/rents (residential and business)</td>
<td>A positive change in residents’ perceptions of their area</td>
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<td>Increased public use of space— reduction in vandalism and an increased sense of safety</td>
<td>Corporate involvement in the local cultural sector (leading to support in cash and in kind)</td>
<td>Displacing crime and anti-social behaviour through cultural activity (for example, youth)</td>
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<td>Cultural facilities and workspace in mixed-use developments</td>
<td>Higher resident and visitor spend arising from cultural activity (arts and cultural tourism)</td>
<td>A clearer expression of individual and shared ideas and needs</td>
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<td>High density (live/work), reduce environmental impacts, such as transport/traffic, pollution, health problems</td>
<td>Job creation (direct, indirect, induced); enterprise (new firms/start-ups, turnover/ value added)</td>
<td>Increase in volunteering and increased organisational capacity at a local level</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Employer location/retention; Retention of graduates in the area (including artists/creatives)</td>
<td>A change in the image or reputation of a place or group of people</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Environmental improvements through public art and architecture</td>
<td>A more diverse workforce (skills, social, gender and ethnic profile)</td>
<td>Stronger public–private–voluntary-sector partnerships</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The incorporation of cultural considerations into local development plans (LPAC, 1990)</td>
<td>Creative clusters and quarters; Production chain, local economy and procurement; joint R&amp;D</td>
<td>Increased appreciation of the value and opportunities to take part in arts projects</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Higher educational attainment (in arts and 'non-arts' subjects)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Heritage identity, stewardship, local distinctiveness/ vernacular</td>
<td>Investment (public–private sector leverage)</td>
<td>Greater individual confidence and aspiration</td>
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Table 1.1: Categories and Measurements of Regeneration (Evans 2005: 971)
By dividing regeneration into these three categories, Evans covers the vast majority of regenerative policies and effects, and the different areas that policy tends to focus on. Further, this table is useful for making the distinction between policy imperatives (what was intended and what attempts were made to achieve regeneration), tests and measurements (how regeneration can be determined to have occurred), and evidence of impacts (what are the tangible/intangible, but measurable and detectable, indicators that regeneration has had an effect). These ways to assess policy imperatives and measure tangible impacts will be applied to the cultural events covered in this thesis, and this framework will be returned to in Chapter 7.

1.4.4 Iconic Buildings: Symbols of the City

In urban policy there are predominant interventions that have been used to generate cultural regeneration. These are the development of iconic buildings and infrastructures as well as the introduction of festivals and cultural events. This chapter will explain how from this point of view, ‘quality of city’ has overhauled ‘quality of life’ as the main factor influencing why people live where they live. Hence, it could be suggested that iconic buildings for arts or cultural activities generate tangible evidence of ‘quality of city’. Especially, urban elites (i.e. business people, real-estate investors) and politicians can reform “collective feelings of identity, emotion and consciousness” of cities (Quinn 2005: 931). This feeling is certainly shown surrounding the UK government, which in 2009 announced the plan ‘Lifting people, Lifting places’, commenting that

We are not simply arguing culture for culture’s sake, but that a vibrant cultural base has economic benefits, particularly for the visitor economy. Regeneration on the Bilbao model, led by cultural projects can be the most successful and durable. (DCMS 2009b)

The Tate Modern on the South Bank in London, the Opera House in Sydney, the Millennium Dome in London, the Baltic and Sage Gateshead in Newcastle, the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao and Watershed Media Centre in Bristol show how ambitious culturally driven flagships and hallmark iconic buildings or waterfront projects tend to contribute to the regeneration of an area. NewcastleGateshead, which re-braded themselves as a joint promotion of culture, tourism and business within Newcastle upon Tyne and Gateshead, is a good example of culture-led regeneration originated by the local authority and supported by national and as regional private and public funds (IFACCA 2006). Miles argues that the Newcastle waterfront project stimulates “the relationship between culture, place and personal identity and offer a permanent legacy” (2005: 921). Likewise, the waterfront project expresses the hope for urban vitality (Marshall 2001: 5). Meanwhile, the Watershed Media Centre in Bristol, supported by
public and private funders and network collaborators, is not just a performance place. It promotes the creative industries by providing workspaces for the incubating of innovation, collaboration, participation and creative ideas and a café/bar and cultural tourist attraction as well. Griffiths (1995) insists the Bristol case certainly has displayed a powerful illustration of the capacity to act as a catalyst for partnership (Arts Council England South West, Bristol City Council and Business).

However, this burst of cultural iconic buildings would not always fit into the cultural projects of every city. Cities have their own identities and culture. Zukin points out "urban spaces constitute people's perceptions, interactions, and sense of well-being or despair, belonging or alienation" (1991: 268). She also claims that culture in regeneration is inclined towards the avant-gardism of modern art or traditional high art for museums. Consequently, these iconic buildings could grow into a contest of value between the internationalism of elite cultures and a grassroots interest in the arts as nationalism (Gonzalez 1993; Miles 2005). Moreover, the transformative effects of iconic architecture will inevitably bring about cultural gentrification. Iconic choices always accompany cultural facilities such as an attractive bar, sky lounge, restaurant, café, bookshop, and high-tech multimedia as investment targets. These landmark buildings also attract luxury designer boutique shops and malls to create a shopping-friendly atmosphere. The problem with this sort of contemporary urban cultural consumption is that local people colonise cheap and dilapidated property due to rising house prices by city boosters. This is a paradigmatic case of the binary concepts of production and consumption-based regeneration. Returning to the case of NewcastleGateshead: in 2006 it was named arts capital of the UK in a BBC survey (BBC 2006b). Attendance numbers at cultural places, accessibility of the arts and the participation of events and the level of funding from local and Art Councils were considered. As was noted, the Sage Gateshead was opened in December 2004 and NewcastleGateshead was launched in 2005. It is noteworthy that this title could be seen as a "one-time" political gold medal for urban managers rather than people who live in city.

The inherent contradiction in the very concept of an iconic building representing – and becoming symbolic of – a given city is that for any building to stand out, to be obviously impressive, it must be inherently different to all other buildings in the surrounding area. This means that, arguably, these iconic buildings are further examples of outward-looking cultural policy that have little meaning or resonance for long-time local residents (this concept is developed further in Chapter 2). The different groups involved with cultural events, such as community groups, policy makers and commercial interests must be acknowledged in these discussions. Depending upon who the 'stakeholder' is in cultural
events, the various groups will have different stakes, degrees of influence and power in respect to the cultural events. Freeman defines a stakeholder as “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation’s objectives” (1984: 46). Therefore, the capacity of cultural policy to congregate stakeholders would have a huge consequence on the success of events.

For example, in London’s Coin Street, ‘stakeholders’ have a major influence. Coin Street represents a highly successful example of urban regeneration. According to the London Parks and Gardens Trust,

In 1984 the developers sold their land to the Greater London Council, which, in turn, sold the whole site to newly created Coin Street Community Builders. Between 1984 and 1988, CSCB demolished derelict buildings, completed the South Bank riverside walkway and laid out a new riverside park. This opened up spectacular views of the Thames, St. Paul’s Cathedral and the City. There are now a number of regeneration and restoration projects being managed by community and business groups in the area including several garden projects (2009).

Coin Street is now a thriving area of culture and business. For example, the refurbished Oxo Tower is now the site of luxury shops and restaurants. But in the Coin Street area, local residents have genuine stewardship, and community representatives are involved in project development policy at the decision-making level. It proved the best example of involving people with time and capacity to take responsibility for and effectively manage assets (Future Communities 2009).

1.4.5 Festivalising Cities

Since the 1980s, due to the fact that developed countries have changed from a production-based to a consumption-based economy, cities have increasingly recognised that they have to draw a consuming public in order to support the local economic infrastructure and strategies for revitalisation. The dramatic distension of cultural events or festivals in cities is arguably a reflection of this context. The Cannes Film Festival, Edinburgh Fringe Festival, the European Capital of Culture, Arena di Verona Opera Festival, Glastonbury Festival and Venice biennale can be exemplars. It is not surprising that many cities use festival/cultural events with positive associations (sociability, playfulness and joyfulness and so on) for fixing their image. Dimopoulou (2009) argues “event-led regeneration is an ‘opportunistic’ regeneration, where public and private investors are on the lookout for available land for the big project”. Hosting cultural events can accelerate diffusion of a desirable image to potential tourists and investors. As discussed later in Chapter 4, having a culture-related title awarded can be of great value...
for marketing purposes (Evans 2003). The UK government also claims that the depth and breadth of the European Capital of Culture programme has also done much to transform the image of Liverpool and it is now the UK’s third favourite city to visit. These successes are due in no small part to the considerable public investment which has underpinned the regeneration of a city once regarded as one of the most deprived in the country (DCMS 2009b).

Urban elites and politicians think that major cultural events deliver a sense of pride and self-esteem among citizens (Mueller and Fenton 1989: 275). This idea of cultural events polarises on consideration of exactly who the “stakeholders” are in cities. There is a wide range of stakeholders affected in the development, production and consumption of cultural events. Crespi-Vallbona and Richards observe that stakeholders can be from “the cultural associations that are usually responsible for organizing the event, to the municipality which usually provides funding and gives permission for the use of public space to sponsors and the visitors who attend, as well as the local community” (2007: 108).

However, although it became a significant part of a broader phenomenon that has seen increasing use of ‘new economic model’ of city competitiveness in urban regeneration, the social impacts of culture in redevelopment are not always positive, as in the ‘just add culture and stir’ approach to urban regeneration (Gibson and Stevenson 2004: 1). Dicks’ discussion of the underlying rationale behind the cultural flagship revitalization project in which cultural projects attract new consumers/visitors/shoppers to come and therefore “is rarely directed primarily at improving the quality of life of existing residents” (2003: 82). Arguably the European Capital of Culture title (launched in 1985) expresses this point. At the time the main idea was to “help to bring the peoples of the member state closer together” and was purely cultural, being concerned with cultural exchange, innovation and diversity (Griffiths 2006: 417). Nevertheless, while competition among cities for gaining the title was increasingly fierce, the original aims were transfigured differently such as non-cultural measurement (visitor numbers, ticket sales, job creation and amount of investment) to calculate the event’s criterion of success.

Also, with such enormous stakes come huge risks: the failure of an expensive event can be financially damaging and humiliating to a reputation. Sensitivities need to be observed; one culture cannot just be imposed upon another. Equally current concerns need to be considered. The environment is one such consideration. With huge spectacle events, such as the floating opera stage in Bregenz festival, the environment can be an obvious issue. At Bregenz, the stage was a mass of earth resting on old oil barrels and other debris (Loomis 2005). Montgomery argued that successful cultural economies are
characterised by "increasing volumes of trade, constant innovation and the building up of new products and services, networks of suppliers and purchasers" (2003: 297). This festivalisation of cities is a further example of the instrumental usage of culture. In this case, festivals are used primarily politically, for the benefit of reputation and city images more generally, rather than being 'for the people' in any meaningful sense.

1.4.6 City Branding

Another important factor in the growing competitiveness of cities is the increasing prevalence of city 'brands'. The process and concept of applying branding theory to cities and places is also discussed from a design perspective in the following chapter, but the cultural implications of this should also be addressed here. Questions of image and identity are directly tied to the prosperity and attractiveness of cities, countries and places; as Gertner (2007) suggests, poverty at a national level can often be the result of either anonymity, or "image problems" (quoted in Wills and Moore 2008: 254). The creation and effectiveness of a city brand is, as suggested in previous sections, tied to global competitiveness and iconic architecture:

The scale of city branding and place marketing has been rising. Cities increasingly compete against each other with the grand gesture of large-scale investment projects. With each round, the stakes get bigger [...] Bilbao's iconic Guggenheim brands the city and sets the standard for the next round of investment. These marketing icons are ever more costly and spectacular; yet the greater the investment, the larger the market share required (Eisenschitz 2010: 83).

Anholt (2006) emphasises the important distinction between the processes of national branding and city branding, but notes that for those involved in marketing and branding, cities and their countries can be difficult to distinguish, with either an individual city's reputation overwhelming that of the entire country, or the opposite, occurring. However, one key advantage of city branding over national branding is that "it is always hard to generalise about a whole country, since there can be wide discrepancies in climate, culture, people and infrastructure from one region to another, but cities are simpler, smaller and easier to envisage as a single entity" (Anholt 2006: 19).

In fact, though city branding may be a relatively new concept, born of globalisation, Kavaratzis and Ashworth argue that this process "has been practised consciously or unconsciously for as long as cities have competed with each other for trade, populations, wealth, prestige or power" (2006: 189). Thus, cities have always had 'brands' regardless of the newfound emphasis in place marketing that characterises the current trends.
One of the key issues here is, as with many other aspects of regeneration and cultural development, the inclusion of stakeholders. According to de Chernatony and Dall’Olmo Riley, city brands can only successfully reflect a single entity if they “cover a multitude of stakeholders” and that “the values that are developed as the core of the brand are bound together by a vision which gives them meaning, impetus and direction” (1998, quoted in Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2006: 191). Anholt agrees:

When the brand image of a heavily promoted city does change for the better, a closer look reveals that the advertising and marketing did not achieve the change: what they did was to reflect a real change that was taking place in the conditions, the people, the policies and the opportunities of the city, and help the world to realise and understand those changes a little faster and a little more fully than perhaps they would have done otherwise. What advertising and marketing cannot ever do is to make a bad city look good: that is propaganda, not brand management, and it is as wasteful as it is ineffectual (Anholt 2006: 31).

Therefore, at the heart of any positive new city brand must be genuine prosperity (economic and/or cultural), meaningful change, and the participation of citizenry. Marketing must reflect reality. Bianchini and Ghilardi also emphasise this aspect in their guidelines for a “culturally sensitive approach” to place branding (2007: 281). They argue that place branding must be “holistic”, “innovative”, and “critical” and should reflect the realities of the city and its citizens (Bianchini and Ghilardi 2007). They recommend that

Place branding and marketing strategies should be more people-centred and humanistic, by celebrating and giving voice to the imagination and the desires of different individuals and communities of interest within the city […] place branding and marketing should be more ‘cultured’, knowledgeable and critically aware of traditions of cultural expression, by being rooted in research on the history, on the socio-economic realities, on the internal and external image, and on the cultural life and cultural representations of a particular locality (Bianchini and Ghilardi 2007: 285).

As will be seen in the case study chapters of this thesis, ensuring that the tools of city branding – such as cultural events – take place with the involvement and for the benefit of citizens, is a major concern.

1.5 Conclusion

As presented above, cities and regions become more competitive in their efforts to redevelopment themselves, and the emphasis is increasingly being placed upon activities that enhance their appeal as residential and tourist locations rather than as places of industry. By placing the focus on consumption rather than production, this runs the risk of undermining local economies. However, one of the aims of regeneration is to attract
business and investment as much as tourism; concepts such as ‘Nation Branding’, ‘Region Branding’, ‘Destination Branding’ and ‘City Branding’ (Morgan et al. 2002) are intended to strike the balance between the public and private sectors of society.

Put simply, the city is a complex entity consisting of many overlapping interests and interpretations. The impact of culture-led regeneration can sometimes be divisive. However, consultation can play a key role in easing the development process of cultural activities. Good community representation within arts, development and funding organisation should be widely accessible.

Finally, an important issue raised by Yeoh (2005), Kong (2004), and O’Connor and Wynne (1996) is the international measurement of cultural policy/regeneration with regard to cultural industries. Moss argues that

Western models of cultural growth are not always appropriate models [...] because the history of cultural development and consumption has followed entirely different patterns; concepts of the fundamental roles of culture are different; and culture-led regeneration has to tackle different problems from those in the West (2005: 193).

For this reason, the case studies of this thesis cover both East and West, and the final chapters directly address the differences – both generally and specifically – between cultural events, city branding and regeneration in the UK and East Asia.

The relationship between cultural events and urban regeneration is clear. As has been discussed in the sections above, governments at the national and regional level use cultural events, activities, festivals and architecture as tools to promote regeneration and economic growth. The next chapter will develop these concepts and argue that design (of various types) has an important contribution to the creation of successful cultural activities and is therefore highly influential in urban regeneration, and that regeneration is vital for cities establishing brand identities (though regeneration is not necessarily essential for maintaining a strong city brand). The relationship between the production of these cultural activities and the consumption of these events by members of the public will be assessed in light of these debates.

1.5.1 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored the cultural theory behind the key concepts of the city that are of relevance for this thesis. In particular, this chapter as examined the reasons for, and the consequences of, city competitiveness and the role of cultural industries. The introduction provided an overview of the aims, scope and structure of the chapter, and
the first section was divided into two parts, which aimed to define the cultural industries and the creative industries. The following section examined the role of planning and the concepts and theories that inform policymakers, as well as their use of culture to solve the problems facing cities. The next section included several sub-sections that investigated the various factors and processes contributing to city's images and efforts to regeneration. These subsections focused on urban regeneration, iconic architecture, and city branding, and the argument developed the idea that these processes are all interconnected and dependent on each other. Finally, the conclusion presented ideas on how the culture industries can best be used by cities. This chapter functioned as a review of key literature and theories in the area of cities and the culture industries, and the next chapter of this thesis does the same for theories of design.
Chapter 2: Designing City Culture

“Design is not style. It’s not about giving shape to the shell and not giving a damn about the guts. Good design is a renaissance attitude that combines technology, cognitive science, human need and beauty, to produce something the world didn’t know it was missing”

- Paola Antonelli, head of design at the New York MoMa (Pearlman 2001)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter complements Chapter One, which discussed the role of culture in city regeneration, by examining the theoretical principles of design and emphasising how these ideas play a role in city branding and identity. This chapter functions as a literature review of the design field, focused on areas that will be relevant to the case studies covered in the following chapters. This chapter begins with an attempt to summarise definitions of design. There is a great deal of disagreement and debate about what is meant by the word ‘design’ – and as can be seen in the subsequent sections, this lack of clear definition is also an issue with specialised forms of design. Following this basic summary of design theory, this chapter argues that design can have relevance to culture-led regeneration, thus bringing together these two important areas of study.

The main focus of this chapter is on specialised forms and fields of design, all of which can play an important role in the creation of city-based cultural events. This chapter categorises and sub-divides these specialist design fields based on their thematic connections to each other. The section ‘Design + Communication’ includes summaries of theory and research on branding, advertising, graphic design, public relations, and online social media. These are all important factors in the way that business and cultural organisations communicate with customers and users. The next section, ‘Design + Interaction’, covers service design, exhibition design, and the interactivity of contemporary curatorial and experience design. The following sections are of less direct importance to the case studies of this thesis, but are worth covering in at least brief summaries. The section entitled ‘Design + Place’ looks at the role of design in creating a physical space, through the disciplines of architecture and urban design, and the section ‘Design + Society’ contains an overview of research into environmental design and inclusive (or ‘universal’) design. Finally, the concluding section summarises these concepts, and provides a graphical representation of how design theories and fields can be applied to cultural events and culture-led regeneration.
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2.2 Living in a Design World

2.2.1 What is the D-word?

Although design approaches to business and society have developed most significantly in the 2000s, the term 'design' has been used in multiple ways. Walker has noted the difficulty of even defining the word 'design':

it can refer to a process (the act or practice of designing); or to the result of that process (a design, sketch, plan or model); or to the products manufactured with the aid of a design (designed goods); or to the look or overall pattern of a product ('I like the design of that dress') (1989: 280).

Designer Charles Eames expressed the idea that "design is a plan for arranging elements in such a way as to best accomplish a particular purpose" (1972 [1989]: 14). Fuad-Luke defined design as "the act of deliberately moving from an existing situation to a preferred one by professional designers or others applying design knowingly or unknowingly" (2009: 5). Mayall stressed that "design is a process of change" in that design both responds to change while it encourages change (1979: 121).

The UK Design Council's former chairman, Sir George Cox (2005), defined design as what "links creativity and innovation. It shapes ideas to become practical and attractive..."
propositions for users or customers. Design may be described as creativity deployed to a specific end. However, although design and innovation are often linked, and even assumed to mean the same thing, experts caution against employing a too narrow definition of the term, and urge a consideration of design as a wider practice of delivering goods and services and understanding customer needs (Moultrie and Livesey 2010). For Cooper and Press, design is a connection between economy and culture, empowering social, industrial and technological change, of benefit to people (improving quality of life) and businesses (boosting revenue) (1995: 2). Gorb suggests that all design is unified as "a plan for an artefact or a system of artefacts;" these artefacts can be products, or retailers, or even sectors of the service industries (1990: 16). Design, therefore, can be defined as a plan or concept for making communication smoother and more efficient.

Archer advocated the prioritisation of design in manufacturing companies, as a key way to ensure product appeal (1967: 40). This remains an issue, however, as Kotler and Rath (1984) also suggest that the strategic value of design is often neglected in spite of its role as a potentially powerful tool which is capable of generating huge competitive benefits for companies and their products. Lockwood also argues that design, as a tool, adds value to business processes, driving innovation and creating "social, economic, and environmental benefits," and has theorised a framework for categorising design in four areas: Design Thinking, Design Management, Design Strategy, and Design Leadership (2009: 30; see Table 2.1, below). He distinguishes between 'design thinking' as the process of innovating and creating new problem-solving concepts, and 'design management' as the leadership and organisation of these projects and processes. Finally, he sees both 'design strategy' and 'design leadership' as aspects of these processes, respectively initiating and improving new policies (Lockwood 2009). Most experts agree that design has a profound impact on society, but it is important to carefully consider potential consequences before implementing design decisions, as often the complexities of design result in unexpected outcomes (Børenholdt et al. 2010: 10).

Design management has been defined in various ways. Farr (1965) suggested that design management involves identifying a problem, finding a designer to solve that problem, and overseeing the process as they work. Bruce and Cooper define the practice as *managing those corporate expressive activities that generate products, services and

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12 Some academic research proposes an important distinction between the terms 'user' and 'consumer.' For example, Morello argues that the term 'consumer' is "frequently misunderstood"; he suggests that the key difference between a user and a consumer is that a consumer "chooses" what they engage with (1995: 70). However, Moor (2009) interestingly suggests the opposite, that a 'user' is a 'new consumer' defined exactly by the fact that they exercise choice. The contradictions of these debates and the subtleties of these differences are not a factor in this thesis. For the purposes of my research on city brand and cultural events, I will use the word 'user' when describing a non-purely-commercial cultural experience (such as a museum or an arts festival) and the word 'consumer' or 'customer' in the context of profit-based services or products.
corporate communications which aim to optimize customer satisfaction and business success" (1997: 30). Design management is a useful tool, therefore, in generating profit and business efficiency. Kotler and Rath argue "design management can lead to heightened visual impact, greater information efficiency, and considerable consumer satisfaction" (1984: 17).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Design Thinking</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Scope</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Typical Player</th>
<th>Reasoning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Innovation; clarifying fuzzy front end; direction finding</td>
<td>Concept of objects, services, and processes</td>
<td>Collaborative, conceptual, iterative, idea formulation and demonstration</td>
<td>Designers, researchers, managers, individual contributors, anyone</td>
<td>Abductive thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design Management</td>
<td>Direct design operations, processes, resources, and projects</td>
<td>Corporate level, business unit, project level</td>
<td>Management of people, processes, projects and budgets</td>
<td>Design manager, brand manager, project manager</td>
<td>Inductive and deductive thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design Strategy</td>
<td>Clarify design attributes and policy</td>
<td>Define use of design and design style, including look and feel</td>
<td>Define and guide, continuous process</td>
<td>Designer owners, design discipline managers, brand managers, program managers</td>
<td>Inductive thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design Leadership</td>
<td>Connect design to business; lead design operations; build competitive advantages</td>
<td>Design and business integration; top-level advocacy; design for the triple bottom line</td>
<td>Influence and guide top management decisions</td>
<td>Chief design office, design council, expert consultant, CEO, VP</td>
<td>Deductive thinking</td>
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Table 2.1: Profile of Design Terminology (Lockwood 2009: 31)

Design thinking, on the other hand, involves applying design methods and concepts to other areas, such as business and politics (Joziassse 2011: 411). Tim Brown, the CEO and president of design agency IDEO, argues that design thinking “is a discipline that uses the designer's sensibility and methods to match people's needs with what is technologically feasible and what a viable business strategy can convert into customer value and market opportunity” (2008: 86). As with design management, design thinking has an obvious application in industry and a clear financial benefit. Design thinking is a popular new field, creating a new ‘buzz word’ and inspiring the training of a new generation of concept makers (Joziassse 2011: 411). Design thinking gives businesses and organisations a “competitive advantage” and an opportunity for innovation (Brown 2008: 86).

Design strategy is different from design management primarily in terms of its scope: design management is concerned with short-term solutions and administration, while design strategy “refers to the long-term strategic planning and development of brand and
product direction" (Jun 2008: 24). This is a different process to the "strategic role of design", which is concerned with businesses exploiting new markets (Bruce 2011: 340). In the corporate arena, design strategy is used to achieve specific aims, and remain competitive in terms of research and development, as well as design (Jun 2008).

Design leadership is distinct from design management in several ways. According to Joziasse, design management can be defined as "pattern optimization (perfecting the known)" while design leadership is "pattern creation (seizing the unknown)" (2011: 399). In the case of regeneration, for example, design leadership makes the aesthetic and social aspirations of regeneration internal to the practical process of physical urban reconstruction. The design leader (or team) synthesises the demands of client, site and public and 'translates' these demands within a specific unified vision, for which they then must act as advocate, rationalizing and arguing this vision through multiple decision-making contexts with disparate stakeholders (Vickery 2008: 38).

Design management, and its connected roles, play a role in bringing design ideas to a higher level of leadership and decision making, and have proven value to both business and cultural industries.

These conceptual categories are useful in understanding how designers define and compartmentalise their roles, and can be a valuable framework for understanding creativity and decision-making in cultural events. However, an even broader and more flexible concept of design is necessary to truly encompass every form and iteration of design and designers. The following sections of this chapter will argue that design (of various types) makes an important contribution to multiple areas of cultural production and management theory. The areas of design explored in the sections below suggest how the diverse field of design studies is of relevance to an understanding of globalized city identities and cultural events, and argues that design management and design theory have a great deal to offer other areas of academic research and interdisciplinary understanding.
2.2.2 Why is Design Important for Culture-led Regeneration?

"Designers are particularly well equipped to understand and articulate culture, bringing forth order from apparent chaos. Designers use a sensorial vocabulary, a truly international language which utilizes language, symbols, rituals, myths and values in order to control and manipulate the world around us”

(Kirkpatrick 1993: 79)

The focus of the design theory covered in this chapter is related specifically to the ways in which design thinking can be applied to cases of Culture-led regeneration. This chapter looks at the way design, in many forms, can contribute to new thinking about regeneration and city culture. The forms of design summarised in the sections below have multiple and varied uses and applications. Design has been a tool of the creation and sale of products and services for profit, by businesses and organisations. However, a close examination of theories and histories of these specialised forms of design will reveal that design can play a vital role in cultural events and city regeneration. The principles of brand design, advertising, graphic design, PR and social media, architecture and urban design, environmental design, inclusive design, and experience and communication design, can all be found being used in efficient and innovative ways in cultural events and city branding activities around the world. Design is a broad field, with multiple uses. It contributes more than visual invention; design provides strategy guidance and management thinking at the highest levels of decision-making. In its broadest definition, design has the ability to solve problems with no obvious solution, to inspire creative thinking and innovation, and to use new and non-verbal media in unexpected ways (Cross 1995). At the theoretical summaries of design studies below demonstrate, design thinking is an important – if often invisible – part of contemporary culture-led regeneration.

2.2.2.1 Design + Communication

Communication is at the heart of almost every form of design. Design is fundamentally about the communication of ideas, or images, or persuasive messages, to a public comprised of users and/or consumers. In particular, the specialised design utilised in the processes of branding, advertising, graphic design, public relations, and online social media. Communication design is defined as the configuration of elements to create and alter meaning (Storkerson 2008: 3). The forms of design discussed below are all concerned with the manipulation of messages and the importance of transmitting and translating ideas, visually and physically.
2.2.2.1 Brand

Design is, as argued above, a powerful tool in shaping communication, and an even sharper application of design to this field creates brand image. Keller defined brand image as "perceptions about a brand as reflected by the brand associations held in consumer memory" (1993: 3). The key to a successful and effective brand image is the creation of positive associations, through such means as celebrity endorsement or promotional events/activities (Keller 1993). One of the most interesting applications of brand design is to cities and places. By positioning a city as a brand, its image can be controlled and reinvented, with new associations created in order to establish a desirable appeal for both visitors and residents – both are ‘consumers’ of a city.

More generally, it is important to establish exactly what is meant by the word ‘brand’, and how the term has been defined in the design management field. De Mozota argues that a brand is

the sum of all the characteristics - tangible and intangible - that make the offer unique. A brand is a set of perceptions that are driven both by communications and experiences. It is a distinctive sign, a symbol, and a source of added value (2003: 98).

In essence, branding creates the identity, differentiation, and appeal of consumer products (Kotler 1994; Jerrard et al. 2002; Anholt 2010). Brands “influence, if not quite control, modern economies” (Fletcher 2010, quoted in Smith and Zook 2011: 8).

As globalisation intensifies, the topic of city branding and positioning is becoming an increasingly popular field amongst scholars. City branding is a response to increased inter-urban competition (Jensen 2005). Cities are being marketed as ‘trademarks’ with numerous intensive and extremely costly company and product branding campaigns (Mollerup 1995). The idea of generating a Unique Selling Point (USP) to make a city or place more attractive to ‘customers’ has only emerged recently, while the strategies of place branding and city marketing are the result of the need for cities to ‘reinvent’ themselves in the face of economic decline (Eisenschitz 2010: 80).

However, it is important not to indiscriminately apply all the principles of branding and product marketing to cities and places; Anholt argues that “countries aren’t for sale, aren’t easily mistaken one for another, aren’t fast-moving consumer goods, and certainly don’t come in wrappers, so the principles simply don’t transfer” (2010: 9). Likewise, Pryor and Grossbart observe that a “relatively reductionist understanding of place branding may contribute to the application of traditional branding theory and strategy in contexts in
which these were not intended, nor tested" (2007: 294). Place brands are also unlike other product brands in that they are more flexible and open to interpretation; the standardised and fixed identities carried by other brands are not suitable for the requirements of place brands (Pryor and Grossbart 2007: 302).

Gertner insists that place branding strategies balance political ideology and economic pragmatism; he notes that the economic development of nations is best achieved through market-oriented and consumer-focused courtship of investment (2007: 3). Brand consultant Hildreth (2010) defines the tools of place branding as “graphic design”, “advertising and marketing communications”, “architecture and events” and “branded exports.” In this new climate, policymakers, city planners and politicians are increasingly required to think differently and use new skills to achieve this development (Gertner 2007). Pryor and Grossbart agree that place branding is fundamentally different to other forms of city management, arguing that “place branding is a process that derives from interpretive, rather than managerial, techniques” (2007: 294). Kotler et al. (1993) developed the idea of strategic place marketing, which advocated that places needed “to run themselves like businesses, and market themselves like businesses, if they were to respond adequately to the threats of global competition, technological change and urban decay” (quoted in Anholt 2010: 2).

Anholt argues that place branding enhances an existing reputation, rather than creating an entirely new identity (2010: 5). Eisenschitz notes that the push for clear place brands has an affect on the cities and citizens themselves, noting that gentrification and a focus on economies driven by middle class residents is one result (2010: 81). He further argues that the images required to brand and sell cities internationally are often in opposition to the policies required for meaningful urban regeneration (Eisenschitz 2010: 84). Anholt (2010) is also highly critical of many place branding processes: he believes that policymakers are too easily influenced by designers and branding agencies, and that the results of new approaches to marketing are purely superficial. He argues that “many governments end up believing that the practice of nation branding corresponds to this simple design and print process, but they somehow also believe that its effect will be to make the place more famous” and that, finally, the attempt to establish a ‘core brand identity’ of a city is reductive and of limited value (Anholt 2010: 9).

With cities increasingly aiming to establish brand identities, the role of marketing and selling these brand images is even more important. Heeley (2011) argues that city brands are “rooted in the consumer perspective” and are conceived purely on the basis of how they can be packaged and promoted through marketing processes. Hospers
argues that "city marketing is manipulation; it is a tool to construct the tourist gaze" and notes that city marketing is most effective as ‘photogenic images’ appearing in media channels such as tourist guides and websites (2009: 232). However, Hospers also urges policymakers and city managers to ensure that the positive images created by city brands exist in reality as well as in marketing, so that visitors will be satisfied with their experience, and the brand itself will retain credibility and longevity (2009: 232). One of the key tools to ensuring an attractive visitor experience and a dynamic and appealing cultural offering is through city-based creative events and activities. It has been suggested that events which prove successful in branding a destination and enhancing its image usually have longevity, professional organization and community support from within the destination (Brown et al. 2004: 290-1).

According to Eisenschitz the emergence of the creative industries in cities is a response to increased global competitiveness (2010: 80). These cultural events attract media attention, and therefore the host city will therefore benefit from a positive image and enhanced awareness, which will provide it with a stronger competitive position (Bornhorst et al. 2010: 583-4). It’s clear that a truly successful city brand must be built on an effective synergy of brand design, city marketing, and a distinct offering of cultural events to ensure satisfactory visitor experience. Cities cannot successfully rebrand themselves through cultural events alone. Designers involved in city branding need a better sense of the specific demands of place branding, and policymakers and city managers involved in the same process need a deeper understanding of design and branding. The reinvention of city brands is only possible through effective regeneration and the involvement of stakeholders.

2.2.2.1.2 Advertising

Advertising is an important part of communication design, and is one of the most visible types of design. Each piece of advertising has a carefully designed message intended to inspire interest in its target market. Advertising is generally thought of as the communication of a promotional message through media outlets and can therefore be considered a sub-discipline of design because it draws on techniques from communication design, graphic design, and branding. Advertising is one of the most competitive areas of design, due to the pressure to attract customers from rival products. Advertising strategies aim for success in two different ways: either by engaging in a high level of advertising, ensuring a wide level of exposure (Butters 1977, quoted in Iyer et al. 2005: 463) or by targeting a specific demographic to improve effectiveness (Iyer et al.
Pieters et al. found evidence that visually complex images are more effective in terms of marketing, and therefore advocated a time- and money-saving model of "design complexity" in "pictorial advertising" that could set guidelines for advertisement designers (2010: 50). New technology can be utilised to create new ways for consumers to actively engage with the products being sold to them. Methods of advertising 'experience goods' differ greatly from advertising for products. Nelson (1974) argues that 'intensity' in an advertisement is necessary to signal the quality of an experience or service (quoted in Byzalov and Shachar 2004: 287). It is important to consider, therefore, that advertising is applied to areas much wider than simple product marketing. The principles of advertising and advertisement design are used in many fields, and have collaborative and crossover connections with the areas of experience design and service design. Advertising is therefore an important tool in the growing area of cultural events and culture-led regeneration, where its value is in selling identity and experiences to festivalgoers and cultural tourists.

2.2.2.1.3 Graphic Design

Graphic design is a specialised area within the broader field of communication design. The principles that are fundamental to communication design – transmitting messages and meanings to a targeted market – are at the heart of graphic design, which represents these messages visually. Graphic designers produce advertising materials, product packaging, typography and signage; graphic designers create images that advertise and also educate, that both promote and inform. Their work is based on "an understanding of the psychological and perceptual qualities of communication" (Bruce and Cooper 1997: 12). Graphic design therefore plays a small but highly significant role in almost every designed interaction between an organisation and its consumer/user/audience. Cooper and Press note the near-interchangeability of the terms 'graphic design' and 'information design' and also suggest that graphic designers must employ a range of technical skills (such as video production and photography) in the creation of their work (1995: 29).
Graphic designers are required to communicate a brand identity or product philosophy through a graphic, or logo, or visual design. Graphic design creates simple images that communicate vital messages, and creating "visual clarity and ease of access" are essential for marketing service products (von Stamm 2008: 530). The creation of logos is a key application of graphic design, and De Mozota notes the rise of 'logomania' and the requirement on graphic designers to create an image that contains "a promise of value" (2003: 98).

In the case of city branding, logo design can play a powerful role.14 The importance of logos and the power of images to communicate ‘brand essence’ are particularly important because of the increasing globalisation of businesses (and the global competitiveness of cities), as images are universal and face no language barriers (De Mozota 2003). In fact, cities around the world are increasingly commissioning graphic designers to create iconic logos. Lau and Leung (2011: 137) note that participation from the public and government in graphic design process is vitally important, and that a city logo cannot be the undemocratic work of a single designer. They focus on the case of the city of Chongqing in China, which created a new logo with input from locals at the concept stage, and the final design was chosen via an online public vote (Lau and Leung 2011: 137). Interestingly, although city logos often work in synergy with local architecture (the iconic buildings of a city), this is not always necessary. In the case of Chongqing, the logo was chosen to represent the city's 'spirit' rather than featuring a particular landmark or cultural icon (Lau and Leung 2011: 136), thus suggesting that iconic architecture does not always have to feature as the ‘core’ identifying image of a city. Regardless of the specifics of which images are represented, “graphic design should be an integral component of any city’s overall brand strategy” (Lau and Leung 2011: 137).

2.2.2.1.4 Public Relations

According to Grunig et al., “the purpose of public relations is to help organisations build relationships with the public” by creating clear channels and methods of communication between the organisation and various types of stakeholder (2002: 2). Broom et al. have described PR as a “management function” which creates mutually beneficial relationships between organisations and their public (2000: 4). PR has ‘monetary value’ as it increases the effectiveness and profitability of businesses by building long-term customer

14 Lau and Leung cite the example of Milton Glaser’s iconic “I ♥ New York” logo (in this case, a “rebus” – a pictorial representation of a sentence). The “I ♥ New York” logo became a marketing and branding sensation, and is now arguably powerfully associated with the conceptual identity of New York City. Interestingly, this logo boosted the city’s reputation at a time of social and economic decline, with high crime rates and businesses leaving the city (2011: 132-3).
relationships (Grunig et al. 2002: 10). PR is fundamentally connected to other areas of broad communication design, as it shares with these other strategies a focus on the user/customer and the value of their participation and satisfaction. PR also has a "wider cultural significance", because the way PR uses media outlets can "set agendas, create or promote ideologies, shape myths and icons, promote goods and thus create international reference points and touchstones" (L’Etan 2006: 390).

However, as with many form of design, the processes and practices of PR have not been precisely defined and it remains difficult to measure or quantify (Bruning and Ledingham 2000: 169). Grunig et al. recommended that the key qualities of effective PR are “reciprocity, trust, credibility, mutual legitimacy, openness, mutual satisfaction, and mutual understanding” (2002: 124). These qualities are shared by the principles of experience design and curatorial practices taking place at cultural organisations around the world.

### 2.2.2.1.5 Social Media

Social media has added a radical new dimension to various fields of design. Communications can now take place over an entirely new medium, and reach audiences/customers/users in a totally distinct way. Advertising and branding messages, even some of the principles of service design, can be translated to the new digital online medium, creating new challenges and opportunities for designers willing to embrace this new technology. Social media offers designers access to a community without national boundaries, and a culture defined by its own interests. By using social media, cultural organisations can interact with users on both a one-to-one and a 'many-to-many' basis.

Social media is defined as “online tools and utilities that allow communication of information online, and participation and collaboration” (Newson et al. 2009: 49). According to Valtysson, “cultural expression and public opinion will increasingly be mediated through electronic communication networks and thus alter the way people access and participate in culture” (2010: 202). Cultural organisations have responded to social media in increasingly innovative ways, viewing it as a tool to increase the financial and cultural value of their work. The arguments made by Valtysson demonstrate the new thinking required in the social media age:
The defining nature of new media promotes individual customization [...] Furthermore, this digitalisation of culture not only creates new cultural forms, but redefines older forms like photography, cinema, radio and TV, and will therefore re-conceptualise many of the terms cultural policy has grown accustomed to [...] The interactive and participatory aspects of new media objects further erode the distinction between artists and audience and offer a model which has been termed the rise of the prosumer, i.e. the consumer is simultaneously a producer (2010: 203).

Social media therefore offers a targeted, customised experience, and the user is increasingly given power to shape their own experience (as a ‘prosumer’). One potential use of the social media experience is marketing. Designers responsible for advertising have direct access to customers with a particular interest in their product (or experience). This dialogue between opinion-formers, customers and marketers has been described as a “trialogue”, and these digital conversations often take place outside the ‘official’ space of controlled, brand-defined marketing (Smith and Zook 2011: 10). Qualman notes that customers are ‘taking ownership of their brands’ and that new marketing ideas are now being generated by customers themselves (2010: 63). Edelman has called this customer-created content (from “communities of brand enthusiasts”) “earned media” and emphasises the importance of online word of mouth (2010: 66). In fact, this new process has been dubbed “socialnomics” and described as “word of mouth on digital steroids”; therefore, “marketers’ jobs have changed from creating and pushing to one that requires listening, engaging, and reacting to potential and current customer needs” (Qualman 2010: 135).

Advertising in the online context is no longer defined as “one-way promotional communication;” rather, it involves creative participation from consumers/prosumers (Tuten 2008: 2). The consequence of this is a threat to the role of the marketing designer thanks to the potential power of social media to reduce the necessity of marketing and middlemen (Qualman 2010: 133). The final result of the rise of social media is a more positive user-focused, market-sensitive process in which companies at the highest levels must strategise for engagement (Smith and Zook 2011: 363).15

The balance between a genuine desire for meaningful interaction of cultural value, and a business-motivated desire for increased earnings, can often be achieved. For example, the ‘Ask a Curator’ project on Twitter encouraged users to ask questions of museum curators in their local areas; the conversations that followed were received positively by users, and results also crucially showed an increased desire among participants to visit

15 A good example of a global brand embracing social media is the massive success of Coca-Cola’s ‘page’ on the Facebook website; the page was started by fans, then absorbed by the company, as is now used to interact with more than 36 million fans worldwide (Working 2011). Content is tailored to local cultural sensibilities, and the company encourages both participation and interaction, achieving success by “keeping social media social” (Working 2011).
the museum in question (Sumo 2011). Many cultural policies involving interactive and participatory social media strive for this kind of result, but the emphasis is typically on adding educational and cultural value to the experience as a priority. According to Bakhshi and Throsby, arts organisations are innovative in their use of Internet Communications Technology (ICT) in three key areas: interactivity, connectivity, and convergence (2009: 18-9). These new forms of communication design “provide radical new opportunities to deepen the cultural experience” of visitors and users of museums, cultural events and festivals (McMaster 2008: 19). The relative ‘newness’ of social media design practices, especially in the area of city-based cultural events, has caused a period of great experimentation and variation. The shift in focus from product-centric to experience-centric experiences has led to “co-created experiences” (Bakhshi and Throsby 2009: 19). Cultural events are generating their own prosumers.

However, the great potential for interaction – and equal control – in the cultural arts and education experience is a topic of concern and debate, with both pros and cons emerging. The open access nature of online media could provide art and culture to audiences for free, or it could create a new revenue stream; likewise, a virtual online version of the museum or festival experience could either replace actual in-person participation, or encourage it (Bunting 2010). It has been suggested that the popularity of ‘smart’ mobile phones could provide a way for ICT/social media to enhance the experience of visiting a cultural event, with a phone ‘app’ (multimedia software application) functioning as a ‘cyberdocent’, defined as a “a virtual guide who takes on not just the informative and instructional activities of its human equivalent, but also new forms of expression enabled by the additional functionality that the technology provides” (Bakhshi and Throsby 2009: 20). While the potential use of this theory is impressive, it will cause concern for cultural organisations (and their staff) who value human interaction and the work of real docents.

Bakhshi and Throsby believe the next logical step of this developing technology to be an entirely virtual museum “which visitors attend only in cyberspace” and which removes the local (as well as social and socio-economic) restrictions of museum visitations (2009: 20). One of the problems of this suggestion, according to Grincheva (2011), is that it still privileges specific audiences: only in countries with strong, well-developed economies where internet use is common will this process be possible. She argues that these new online communities are fundamentally undemocratic because they are not truly open to audiences from all national, social and cultural backgrounds (Grincheva 2011). It is clear that the way social media can be used as a tool of cultural events is still a subject of heated debate and continuing development.
2.2.2.2 Design + Interaction

Professional design practices typically focus on the client/customer/user. Designers are continually thinking about satisfying or engaging another person, or group of people, with their design. The user is the target. However, increasingly, design has not just focused on a user as a passive figure, it has aimed to engage in a two-way exchange. Participation and interaction are the new buzzwords dominating design. The final product, or service, should not simply be consumed, it should be prosumed: shaped by the user. Services and products are becoming more interactive, just as cultural events are more and more often aiming for audience participation as well as visitation. Artworks and the experience of absorbing culture are now active experiences, and the user in the process is also one of its creators.

2.2.2.2.1 Service Design

Service design has taken on a significant role in economies around the world. The service industry is challenging the dominance of the manufacturing industry, and therefore service design is becoming as important – arguably more important – than product design. The service industry now overshadows manufacturing and comprises 70% of the GDP of developed nations (Cant et al. 2006: 284).

Service design has been defined as “the activity of planning and organising people, infrastructures, communication and the material components of a service, in order to improve its quality, the interaction between service provider and customers and the customer’s experience” (British Design Innovation 2005). Like product design, ‘interaction’ is the central process in service design, with the ‘user-device interface’ of product design replaced by the ‘user-service interface’ (or ‘service encounters’) of service design (Junginger and Sangiorgi 2011: 483). Holmlid (2007) likewise considers ‘user orientation’ as key to service design, and urges a consideration of the field within a wider context of “service development, management, operations and marketing.”

Creative thinking and specialized inventiveness are crucial factors to the process of service design. Service designers “visualise, express and choreograph what other people can’t see, envisage solutions that do not yet exist, observe and interpret needs and behaviours and transform them into possible service futures, and express and evaluate, in the language of experiences, the quality of design” (Service Design Network 2005, quoted in Holmlid 2007). Although service design is often focused on elements which are difficult to identify is specific ways, those working in the field refer to the key tasks as
“touchpoints” as a way to make their work more tangible (Design Council 2011). To ensure good design and high customer satisfaction, the “atmospherics” of service design (such as “facilities, equipment, employees, communication materials, other customers”) must be controlled and considered to ensure an overall sense of strong design (Bruce and Cooper 1997: 7).

The ultimate goal of service design is customer satisfaction and stakeholder wellbeing, and according to Parker and Heapy, it must be capable of flexibility and change based on user participation and feedback, offering “a vision for transformation, as well as a set of tools and a model of change for bringing it about” (2006: 81). Moor (2009) notes the increasing trend of commercial sector staff training methods utilised by public sector service organisations. She observes that the “experience metrics” of customer experience, defined in the context of commercial industries, can be usefully applied to cultural industries; she argues that “borrowing techniques from retail and consumer-oriented service organisations means that public service users are imagined as relatively atomised individual consumers who are, nonetheless, free to choose” (Moor 2009: 34).

Hollins agrees that service design involves customer interaction at all possible stages, and service designers are effectively designers of a customer experience (2011: 219). The necessarily high level of customer involvement in service design also puts pressure on the service providers; Edvardsson and Olsson (1996, quoted in Hollins 2011: 219) note that “customers cannot fail to notice if the service has been poorly designed.”

The interdependent relationship of service design with customers is often emphasised as an important factor to discuss. Design is “interpreted relationally” by customers, as they perceive signals from service design about the value they represent to the industry or business (Lo 2011: 12). Service design is a highly personalised process, responsive to the specific needs of people rather than companies (Parker and Heapy 2006). It is crucial for policy-makers, when applying these ideas to a larger system, to retain the focus on satisfying the demands of individual users and ensuring that legislation and bureaucracy isn’t a barrier to innovation (Parker and Heapy 2006).

Because of the high number of important factors in service design, designers themselves take a holistic approach, considering all aspects of the process (Mager and Sung 2011: 1). Although the approach to design is unlike product design, service designers can create “service ecologies and stakeholder maps” in order to “visualize the system and make it an object to design”, thus creating a more fixed and manageable task (Mager and Sung 2011: 1). However, recent theories of service design suggest a move away from
viewing tasks in terms of design objects, and instead considering service design more broadly as societal transformation (Sangiorgi 2011: 37).

In terms of city-based cultural events, service design plays a key role. According to Koskinen (2009), “service design is closely associated with tourism and tourism industry development and especially with multilevel brand building.” Shi (2009) discusses one example: cultural tourism in China, where service design is vital to the quality management and sustainable development of tourist sites and cultural events. Shi argues that service designers have accomplished this by “appreciating the needs and wants of the users” of these sites (2009: 197). Service design is therefore a specific design discipline with unique strengths and challenges, however, interestingly, service design also has broader connections to many other forms of design, including communication design and marketing.

2.2.2.2 Exhibition Design

“It’s not a problem when malls act as museums but a problem when museums act as malls. We are seeing people as consumers and not as citizens”

(Adélia Borges, chief curator of the Brazilian Design Biennale 2010)

Exhibition design is the term given to the activities of designers who contribute to the construction of spaces of interaction at museums, fairs, festivals and numerous other cultural centres and contexts. Locker defines exhibition design simply as “the idea of communicating a story in three-dimensional space” in either a commercial or a cultural context by “creating environments that convey messages that can be clearly understood by an audience” (2011: 9). According to Lorenc et al., ‘exhibition design’ is merely a new term for an old practice, as people have been positioning objects and designing spaces as “environments that communicate” since the beginning of human existence (2007: 2).

Unlike many other specialist designers, exhibitions designers typically work collaboratively, in teams made up of professionals from various fields, all focused on a particular project (Lake-Hammond and Waite 2010: 79). Lorenc et al. agree, and further define exhibition design as “an integrative process, bringing together in varying degrees architecture, interior design, environmental graphic design, print graphics, electronics and digital media, lighting, audio, mechanical interactives, and other design disciplines” (2007: 2). Exhibition designers view curators as collaborators rather than clients, and the two roles must work together in consideration of the specific target audience and physical

16 Quoted in Drenttel and Lasky (2010).
exhibition space (Lake-Hammond and Waite 2010: 79). Nonetheless, exhibition design is a distinct practice, and exhibition designers draw out the communicative potential of environments and spaces (Lorenc et al. 2007: 2). Ultimately, designers and curators collaborate to produce “creative, audience-centered exhibitions that have conceptual integrity” and represent an example of “culturally and environmentally responsive design” with an emphasis on community participation (Lake-Hammond and Waite 2010: 93).

Exhibition designers must conduct research at the start of a project, in order to fully understand the audience being targeted, and to ensure a tailored experience that is “accessible, educational and enjoyable” (Locker 2011: 33). Miles suggests “the successful exhibit designer is the person who can work from the gallery downwards and from the message upwards, where design starts with an analysis of the ideas to be communicated and the methods used in communicating them, at the same time” (1988: 8).

According to von Stamm, exhibition design is short-term, developed quickly and lasting only as long as the event (2008: 528). However, exhibition design is also part of brand design and is a key component in an overall marketing strategy (Locker 2011: 37). Further, von Stamm (2008: 529) urges companies to consider the wider uses of exhibition design, and make use of the service to “make a statement” about their organisation’s personality and value. However, Miles suggests that some exhibitions that seek self-promotion fail to properly include educational objectives (1988: 2). The key role of exhibition design is to bridge the educational and culturally valuable aspects of content with a desire to appeal to a wide commercial audience, to create an environment that can both stimulate learning and function as entertainment (Urry and Larsen 2011: 145). A crucial point in the development of the discipline of exhibition design and recognition of the importance of showcasing commodities in an international forum was the opulent 1851 Industrial Exhibition at Crystal Palace in London (Lake-Hammond and Waite 2010: 78). But exhibition design is also used in a large number of contexts, and is sometimes ‘invisible’ or unconscious. Shopkeepers and market traders display an intuitive sense of exhibition design in the layout of their trading spaces and the arrangement of their products.

The role of designers in museum exhibitions is the result of an increasing commercial and competitive pressure on curators to avoid simple “static object displays” and produce “diverse experiential narratives” (Lake-Hammond and Waite 2010: 88). The primary role of the designer is to facilitate engaging communication between contents and audience. Lake-Hammond and Waite suggest “the curator retains an expert knowledge of the exhibition content” while “the exhibition designer’s main concern is the relationship
between this content and its audience” (2010: 89). Urry and Larsen provide examples of the way exhibition design can create national themes around spaces, such as the British pub or German beer garden (2011: 132). They argue that “involved in such national displays are the mobilities of people, objects, sighs and even rooted attractions” contributing to the creation of a national brand (Urry and Larsen 2011: 132). Thus, once again, the connections between brand design and exhibition design are clear.

The wide use of the internet is an important tool for exhibition designers, though the virtual experience of an exhibition space supports the physical experience rather than replacing it (Hughes 2010: 18). Website and online marketing must complement the exhibition to deliver a “single linked experience” to visitors, and everyone involved in the exhibition (both curators and visitors) should interact with the physical site by promoting and reviewing the experience on various social media websites (Hughes 2010: 18). Exhibition design is the bridge between customer and content. Interaction is the crucial factor which makes the content appealing and comprehensible, and which makes exhibitions and their spaces both entertaining and education. As with so many other forms of design, the fundamental principle is communication.

2.2.2.2.3 Designing the Interactive Experience

Curatorial design relies on a clear understanding of the importance of communication, education, and engagement through interactivity. According to Drenttel and Lasky (2010) “curators possess multiple areas of expertise: they are by turn historians, archivists, connoisseurs, educators and impresarios.” Liu predicts the emergence of a new discipline of “socially-distributed curation” and proposes seven role archetypes that break curation design into distinct specialised roles (2010: 22-3). These roles are archivist, librarian, preservationist, editor, storyteller, exhibitor, and docent. Interestingly, while designers are increasingly taking a holistic view of their roles, and trying to be involved in as much of the process as possible, Liu proposes splitting and specialising curatorial design tasks, and using designers only for small, specific, and non-collaborative roles (2010: 22-3).

Curators and designers, like those in other fields, focus on the user in their conceptions of the role. Curatorial designers think of the visitor experience as “a journey” through the exhibition space, however, there is disagreement about the extent to which the curator should control that journey (Drenttel and Lasky 2010). Some exhibitions have highly structured and fixed ‘routes’ that aim to tell specific stories, while others are open to discovery of artworks in any order. Many curators are interested in creating a sense of
‘wonder’ in visitors, while museum managers prefer a more didactic, structured experience (Drenttel and Lasky 2010).

A common theme in contemporary exhibitions is social change and political problems, especially with a focus on the past (though very different to the positive nostalgia seen in many other form of design). Yet these exhibitions are sometimes criticised for failing to offer solutions or speculations on the future of social movements; as Paul Thompson, rector of the Royal College of Art and former director of New York’s Cooper-Hewitt and London’s Design Museum, argues: “Once you have captured the past, what do you do with it in the present?” (Drenttel and Lasky 2010). Another topic of debate concerning historical social problem exhibitions is the potential ignorance of curators of political and social issues, and their reliance on archival documents and artefacts, as well as the question of how important physical objects are to giving the visitors a sense of history and an exhibition with ‘objects’ to focus attention (Drenttel and Lasky 2010).

In broad terms, service design, exhibition design, and curatorial design are all part of the process of ‘experience design’. De Mozota argues that even more fundamental principles of communication design are at the heart of experience design, and that the primary focus is on identifying and making contact with the targeted user (2003: 31). Thus, she also refers to experience design as ‘interface design’ (2003: 31). Very differently to Liu (2010), De Mozota argues that experience design must be collaborative and wide-ranging. Design is increasingly focused on service, and exhibition, and experience, and the ‘products’ it creates are becoming more difficult to define. De Mozota passionately believes that this is the future of design, as it moves from a focus on products to an equally meaningful role in “intangible design” – the design of a personal experience, the design of an engagement with culture and art (2003: 98).

### 2.2.2.3 Design + Place: Architecture and Urban Design

The role of design in creating and shaping places is vital. Design, in the form of architecture, creates the buildings that constitute a place (usually a city). Urban design contributes to the space between those buildings. In collaboration, these two fields of design create an atmosphere that can define a place in the global market, reinventing it for local citizens and establishing an appealing and iconic site for tourism. Urry and Larsen argue that “tourist consumption” is one of the main purposes of buildings, and that they contribute powerfully to national branding in the tourism trade (2011: 120). Cultural events, whether their scope is local or global, cannot fail to be partially defined by the buildings and urban spaces that host them.
Architecture is one of the fundamental bases of city identity. The way a place looks – and the atmosphere it creates – is influenced to a high degree by the architecture of its buildings. Architects create a statement with each building they design, and these designs, collectively, define a city in multiple ways. The role of architecture in city identity, therefore, is immense. Lynch suggested a theory determining “place legibility”: the qualities of the city that would make it distinct and give it an individual character (1960: 9-10). Kavaratzis cites Trueman and Cornelius (2006) for their theory of a “place branding toolkit” based on the ‘five Ps’ of place branding: presence (the visual and emotional impact of iconic symbols and environments); purpose (the extent to which the ‘city brand’ is inclusive of local communities and facilitates regeneration); pace (the speed of the collaboration between public and private sectors in response to market conditions); personality (the combination of the above factors, the ‘emotional identity’ of the city); and power (the extent to which the place brand creates true change and is supported by the city’s stakeholders) (2009: 32). The emphasis that this toolkit places on the support and participation of local communities suggests that true city brand invention is impossible without genuine regeneration, but that carefully considered and visually striking building design is also a crucial component.

Thus, the city brand to which local governmental policies and a cultural event contribute is already determined to a large extent by the way a city physically looks. In isolation, architectural design can produce buildings of notable beauty and historic value, but in considered collaboration with policies and processes of regeneration, tourism, experience and urban design, architecture represents a key factor in the global branding of cities and places.

Urban design is also worth considering as a specific discipline within design, distinct from – but connected to – city design, place design, and urban planning. Urban design also has obvious connections to service design and branding. Julier (2009: 42) offers a basic definition of urban design that covers the fundamentals of the practice: he argues that urban designers “give form to the space between buildings” with consideration of practical concerns (such as accessibility and ergonomics) and cognitive aspects (the “legibility” of the space). Cook defined urban design based on four fundamental qualities: it seeks to achieve “visual consideration, functional consideration, environmental consideration and the urban experience” (1980, quoted in Rowley 1994: 182). Urban designers therefore have to consider multiple factors in their design process; some user-focused, others based on formal aspects of design. Rowley defines urban design as constituting “the design, creation and management of ‘good’ urban spaces and places”
The blossoming of urban spaces, thanks to effective cooperation with cultural development, has led to the rise of 'cultural quarters' in cities (especially in the UK). Key examples include the Temple Bar in Dublin, the Cathedral Quarter in Belfast, and plans for a new 'media city' in Salford created from the relocated BBC Television Centre. Montgomery refutes views of cultural quarters as too common, or that they function purely to increase property values; rather, he argues "it is necessary to have knowledge of the history of each cultural quarter in order to understand the motives of policy makers and the success or otherwise of change and development as it occurred" (2003: 294).

Loukaitou-Sideris develops the idea that urban design can, and should, be an empowering and participatory process. She argues that with the support and collaboration of local communities, good urban design can create meaningful regeneration (1996: 98). However, Grodach is sceptical, and believes that "cities should consider the flagship cultural project as a means of building on existing arts-based activity rather than creating it in its own right" (2008: 210). Thus, according to this theory, urban design is supported by regeneration, it does not create it. These considerations suggest that, as with architecture, urban design has a considerable impact on the appeal and accessibility of city-based cultural events, and rebranding processes, but is typically a fixed quality, a known and unchanging aspect of the premises and surrounding area of a cultural event: important, but beyond the remit of decision makers at the level of practical event-planning.

This section briefly covered the pertinent aspects of how design – in the form of architecture and urban design – shapes the spaces and places that host cultural events, which in turn play a key role in the processes of city branding and regeneration. However, while these aspects of city design are important and highly influential, they are almost always utterly outside the control of the designers and non-designers responsible for creating the artistic contents and policy directives behind cultural events. Architecture and urban design are therefore important contextual qualities in examining city-based cultural events, but, like other largely unchangeable aspects of a city's DNA, a creative event designer must respond to, rather than try to influence or re-shape, the physical context of an event.
2.2.2.4 Design + Society: Environmental and Inclusive Design

While the value of design in creating sites of creativity and attractiveness, and in establishing positive brand perceptions is clear, it is also necessary to acknowledge the role design has to play in contributing to the social responsibility of cultural events. Effective regeneration cannot be achieved without the full collaboration and cooperation of the local community, and so the impact these events have on their local environments – both physical and psychological – are an important factor. For cultural organisations (and businesses), social responsibility initiatives “are useful organisational tools to build positive relationships with the external environment - and to find socially beneficial opportunities for design” (Best 2010: 42). The sections below therefore consider the wider importance of environmental design and inclusive design, and in particular their importance to cultural events that aim to have a positive impact on the local citizenry.

Environmental design is a relatively new field, and reflects the growing emphasis on ecological responsibility across industries and societies worldwide. Since the 1990s, ‘designing for sustainability’ has been a concern, and, interestingly, a requirement of businesses and service providers in a variety of fields (De Mozota 2003: 30-1). Responsible environmental design is not concerned with offsetting the waste produced, or solving the problems created by emissions and refuse. Instead, the role of the designer in this context is preventative, and it involves ‘green design’: the process of “designing waste and mess out of the system in the first place” (De Mozota 2003: 31). Design thus meets a need, it doesn’t solve a problem. The role of environmental design is a potential concern for permanent exhibition sites which host year-round shows and attract frequent visits, and it also has an impact on temporary sites of seasonal festivals and one-off exhibitions. In situations where cultural events must balance a limited budget with a genuine desire to contribute to the local community and environment in only positive ways, sensitive and efficient environmental design is crucial.\(^\text{17}\) The power of environmental design in this context is to transform the requirements of sustainability into an opportunity for creativity and marketability, opening a potential avenue for positive public relations.

\(^{17}\) The annual Ganesh Festival in India, for example, is a religious celebration that causes a considerable amount of water pollution and environmental damage, attracting widespread disapproval (Bansal 2010). On the other hand, the annual Glastonbury music festival has used responsible environmental design to contribute to its brand image. The festival’s iconic Pyramid Stage was rebuilt in 2000 to conform to Greenpeace Environmental Audit standards, and the festival prides itself on its passion to environmental design, and it includes many sustainable aspects, such as solar power, recycling, biodegradable materials and even reforestation. These initiatives present an image of the festival as modern, responsible, and sensitive to its environment in a way that obviously appeals to its visitors, the majority of whom camp at the site during the festival.
Inclusive Design – also known as Universal Design, or sometimes as ‘Design for All’ – is another aspect of contemporary design, especially visible in the service and cultural industries. Like other forms of design, inclusive designers work collaboratively, are required to innovate and think in new ways, and focus as much as possible on the user experience (Fletcher 2006). Inclusive design is based on the basic principle that products and services should reach as wide an audience as possible, “irrespective of age or ability” (Design Council 2012). Contemporary inclusive design considers every possible user/customer, acknowledging difference rather than aiming for a standardised design for an ‘average’ person. Inclusive design, therefore, is not a special design addition intended to compensate for a particular non-mainstream user; rather, it is a way of design thinking that integrates all requirements and creates a truly universally accessible product, service or venue (Inclusive Design Toolkit 2011). In terms of cultural events, this is an important aspect of venue design and the construction of spaces of exhibition. Inclusive design is a tool that can assist in the oft-stated aims of making art accessible to all, inviting a truly universal access and appeal. However, though environmental and inclusive design are important, especially to the users who most benefit from them, these aspects are often seen as less important than the more pressing concerns of artistic management, curatorial design, and the economic concerns that make cultural events profitable. In the case studies that follow, therefore, universal and environmental design will, regrettably, rarely be examined.

2.3 Designing City Experience

Design has been acknowledged as a vital tool of industry in the twentieth century, and design – both in terms of the creation of new products, and the application of design management thinking – has contributed to the global growth of businesses and organisations, and has been proven to increase revenue and boost reputations. Design, as suggested in the sections above, is increasingly diverse and is used in totally different ways in different contexts by different clients.

In terms of using design effectively, marketing professionals need to consider how design fits into their business, which design specialisms to use, the contribution design can make to their business, as well as developing skills in sourcing, briefing, liaising and evaluating design. The detail of managing design will of course vary from design discipline to design discipline and is also dependent upon whether design is insourced or outsourced (Bruce and Cooper 1997: 30-1).

In terms of cultural events and activities, design’s role is still being defined. Festivals, museums, art exhibitions, and a wide range of other events are all using different kinds of
design to reach their audience and achieve their ambitions. However, it is rare to see
design fully integrated and used to its best potential in these contexts. The two worlds of
cultural planning and design thinking have yet to fully come together.

It is important to consider the broadest and most progressive possible definition of
‘design’ when applying it to this context. Design is no longer merely the innovation and
creation of products and images. Design is a style of management, and a part of an
ongoing process of leadership and strategy. Design can be – and perhaps should be –
embedded in every part of the process of regenerating cities and their brands. Design’s
many specialisms all have a role in these events (see Figure 2.2, below).

This thesis will propose a model for integrating culture and design: a way to apply design
theories to cultural events. Many design ideas are ideally suited to be used as a tool of
culture-led regeneration, however, there are also many aspects of design thinking that
are inappropriate for this purpose. Design, when used by businesses, is a tool for profit.
Commercial design views its targets as customers. Commercial design is used to
manipulate, instead of transmit, communication. Kotler et al. advocate that cities “run
themselves like businesses”, but this is not necessarily the most appropriate approach for
an attempt at changing the lives of stakeholders and citizens through culture (1993,
quoted in Anholt 2010: 2). Zaccai (1995: 5) is critical of the limitations of design thinking
in a product-based context. He attacks design thinking for its obsession with “short-term
financial performance” and he criticises design experts because they “are trained to value
the quantifiable in areas such as price and performance and dismiss the ephemeral in
areas such a psychological and social concern” (Zaccai 1995: 5-6). He further believes
that design must focus “on the needs of human users” and his view is that

We need to understand that aesthetics is not simply a visual exercise, but rather
the appropriate and harmonious balancing of all user needs and wants within
technical and social constraints. The designer must successfully integrate all of
the requirements that balance the rational, sensory and emotional expectations of
the individual user and of society as a whole. To accomplish this in a complex
social and technical environment, the designer must be able to complement and
leverage the depth of knowledge resident in other specialists (Zaccai 1995: 6).

Design therefore must focus unselfishly on the ‘user’ in order to create a valuable cultural
experience. Interestingly, in the process of creating and maintaining international cultural
events in cities in the UK and South Korea, although design is often used very effectively,
it can potentially also be overlooked, misunderstood, or ignored. Partially, the reason for
this is the frequent occurrence of “silent design”. Gorb and Dumas (1987 [2011]: 56)
created the term ‘silent design’ because “a great deal of design activity goes on in
organisations which is not called design. It is carried out by individuals who are not called
Designers and who would not consider themselves to be designers.” Although design is widely used as a valuable tool, with experts using their special skills, it is interesting to note that in spite of the diversity and strength of design as a professional field, professional designers are often excluded from design processes in a variety of contexts. Cross (1995: 112) has noted that many non-designers possess low-levels of design ability, and that in some contexts, there is “no clear distinction between professional and amateur design abilities.” It is often the case that while design is a vital part of the creation of cultural events, designers themselves are excluded or ignored.

This thesis will develop a broader understanding of design and the role of a designer, in order to account for the diversity of practises taking place at cultural events around the world. Design can be, and should be, more than just the creation of a product or the development of an idea. Design offers a creative way to solve a problem, or a new way to meet a need. The quote that opens this chapter proposes that design provides “something the world didn’t know it was missing,” and in design’s inventive routes to regeneration, this is precisely how the discipline proves its power.

2.3.1 Conclusion/Chapter Summary

The theoretical summaries contained in the subsections above suggest ways in which design can be a tool of cultural events, city branding, and transformation in society. These specialised and fragmented design disciplines have not been combined in this way. Significantly, the integration of these theories with this topic is the purpose of this thesis. Design has a role to play in cultural events, whether it is hidden or emphasised.

This chapter approached each field of design systematically, discussing general definitions and understandings of each specialised type of design. Furthermore, each section covered the ways these design fields have interacted with issues relating to city planning, cultural events, regeneration, and the promotion of places and spaces to tourists and visitors. The chapter began with a basic definition of design, establishing how problematic and contested this term is; primarily, the chapter examined the relevance of design to cities, events and regeneration. For conceptual clarity, the numerous sub-fields of design were categorised in four broad areas: ‘Design and Communication’, ‘Design and Interaction’, ‘Design and Place’, and ‘Design and Society’. Because of their emphasis on communicating messages, concepts and identities (both for informational and promotional purposes), the fields of branding, advertising, graphic
Figure 2.2: From Design Theory to Design for City
design, public relations, and social media were all included in the first of these sections ('Design and Communication'). This section argued that in the case of cities and the events they host, it is essential to communicate a clear, fixed and memorable message in a way that is specific to a broad but desired demographic. The next section focused on interaction in cultural events, and included the specialist fields of service design and exhibition design, concluding with a section on the increasing importance of an interactive experience; consumers and users are having a greater influence on the way they interact with art and culture. These 'prosumers' actively shape their own experience, contributing to the creation of the exhibition through their participation in it. The following section, 'Design and Place', focused on the design thinking behind architecture and urban design, examining the role of physical structures and spaces in making cities appealing and distinct for tourists and marketers. Finally, 'Design and Society' collected theories concerning environmental and inclusive design; these areas are ethically and commercially valuable to the establishment on successful city-based cultural events. Overall, by structuring and categorising these design fields in this way, greater trends in designing city events were identified, and the relevant aspects for this study were emphasised.

The case studies in the following chapters will show how design makes an impact on culture-led regeneration, applying all of the design theories from all of the sections above in order to examine the role of design in cultural events. These case studies will show the effect of the involvement (and, importantly, the exclusion) of designers from the key stages of the planning and running of these city-based events. Firstly, however, the thesis methodology will be described in the next chapter.
Chapter 3:
Creative Participation: Methodological Review

3.1 Introduction

The research methods used in this study have been selected according to the demands of central research questions and aims of this thesis. This chapter offers a comprehensive summary of the interdisciplinary nature of this thesis, and the research methodology employed. The key steps in planning and conducting research – both original fieldwork and the synthesis of exiting frameworks – are accounted for. Furthermore, the theoretical basis of a wide variety of research methodologies, approaches, processes, and categories are described, as well as the reasons for selecting the chosen methods among this group of theories and approaches. This chapter describes how and why particular methods were chosen for this study, and it aims to justify the approaches utilised.
This chapter begins by summarising theories of research methodologies with particular relevance to this thesis. The following key words are discussed and defined: triangulation; qualitative and quantitative data; inductive, deductive, and abductive approaches; and exploratory, descriptive and explanatory research. This thesis employs a variety of methods in order to construct its arguments. These are covered in turn, and they constitute several components. A literature review of key sources in several fields is conducted in order to provide the research background and context, and ensure originality (this method is used in Chapters 1 and 2). Secondly, the reasons for using case studies are discussed, and the selection of each case study is justified (Chapters 4-6 are based on case study research). Next, the period of fieldwork at the Gwangju Biennale is accounted for, and the benefit of this professional participant observation resulted in access to extremely rich data (Chapter 5). The use of interviews, both in-
person and in-depth, and more structured interactions via email, are explained (interviews are used in Chapters 4-6 to support and develop the case study analysis). The following section discusses the use of questionnaire surveys, which form an important part of the analysis in Chapter 5; two surveys are utilized here: a large-sample Korean-language visitor survey conducted by the GB Foundation, and a smaller-sample English-language self-conducted survey designed to complement and compensate the larger data. Finally, the use of the document analysis method is explained, as access to many internal and unseen documents forms an important aspect of the analysis in Chapter 4-6.

Subsequent sections of this chapter describe the methods used for converting, presenting and analysing the data collected. It is vital to consider the differing approaches to analysing qualitative and quantitative data. This thesis aims to have a wider impact outside the academic sphere, and so the value of grounded theory and generalisability are emphasised. The final section considers the importance of research ethics and validity when conducting a study such as this, which is reliant on numerous forms of data.

3.2 Research Approaches

3.2.1 Determining the Research Method

The multiple disciplines and research approaches in this study necessitate a triangulation of methods. "Triangulation" is the combination of multiple views of a single topic; in terms of social science research, it reflects the process of comparing different types of data gathered in different circumstances with different methods (Silverman 1993; Miller 1997). Berg argues that each individual research method offers a "different line of sight" towards the object of study, and that by utilising multiple methods the researcher can gain a richer set of data, a more reliable outcome, and a deeper understanding (2000: 4). The purpose of this approach has several benefits. Triangulation allows researchers to combine and compare qualitative and quantitative data (Gray 2009: 193). The data collected this way is arguably more reliable, because it has been obtained using more than one method, and thus is less vulnerable to the weaknesses of an individual approach (Flick 2006, cited in Gray 2009: 213; Silverman 1993). Berg puts this as 'counteracting' "the threats to validity identified" in each method (2000: 5). Miller (1997) notes that this method is particularly useful in the social sciences, where the aim is to understand a perspective or process rather than a single reality. Another advantage of triangulation is its flexibility:
Davies highlights that “triangulation can be planned at the outset or it can be settled upon in the course of the project as new questions arise” (2007: 243).

In the case of this study, as the ideas and theories from different disciplines were collected, new insights were revealed and a triangulation of methods was therefore developed before the case study was undertaken. By the end of the case study period, a variety of data-collection methods had been employed and multiple perspectives had been gained. This mixed-methodology approach continued into the comparative case study chapters, contributing to an overall study that examines several diverse examples of cultural events from a variety of perspectives and approaches. However, it is important to emphasise that triangulation still involves the careful and discriminatory selection of methods and approaches, and that this study involves only the research methods most beneficial to the type of data and source material required.

The first task in developing a research plan was to determine the most suitable approach and develop the aims of the thesis. The aims that were chosen (and included in the Introduction to this thesis) are:

- To examine the role of design in cultural events and how it is being integrated into urban regeneration processes and city branding strategies, and to what effect, with particular reference to South Korea.
- To consider how cultural events can lead to urban regeneration and/or improved city brand image, comparing Western approaches to East Asia.

These aims necessarily require a diverse methodological approach, and so initial triangulation was necessary. The Gwangju Biennale was chosen to be the focus of this study (see specific reasons below, in section 3.3.3.1.1) and a fieldwork method (which would include within it multiple data-gathering methods) was chosen. The areas covered in the aims also required the study of more than one academic discipline. The creation of these aims led naturally to the decision to focus on seven key Research Questions (some with focused sub-questions). The research questions chosen are:

1. How do different interests contribute to the creation of cultural events?
   a. Specifically, how do designers and non-designers contribute to the creation of the Gwangju Biennale and other cultural events?
2. What do different stakeholders/policymakers do in this process?
3. What contribution do designers and non-designers make to the overall branding?
4. What contribution do these events have on regeneration?
5. Is this process the same in South Korean cities as in Western cities?
   a. How does the case of the Gwangju Biennale reflect the wider possibilities and practices of city-based cultural events, both in the East and the West?

6. Can a model be developed to illustrate and inform decision-makers of the design process used in cultural events, and the relationship of these events to regeneration and improved brand image?

These research questions (1-4) are addressed directly in Chapter 5 of this thesis. The case studies are given context and background through the Literature Reviews contained in Chapters 1 and 2. Finally, the most important questions – Questions 5 and 6, about the wider international generalisability of the case of the GB – are answered through case studies covered in Chapters 4 and 6, the summative discussion in Chapter 7, and the concluding recommendations contained in the Epilogue chapter.

As Gray argues, the advantage of multiple methods allows the researcher to answer different research questions with the appropriate method (2009: 36). The specific methods used are discussed in section 3.3 (below), and this thesis shows that carefully considered methodological triangulation was not just advantageous, but necessary to a full understanding of this particular topic.

This thesis is highly interdisciplinary, and faced particular challenges and opportunities as a result. The interdisciplinary nature of this thesis is a result of the questions it seeks to explore. The original research aim of this thesis was not necessarily to work across so many academic disciplines: it was the result of approaching this important topic in a holistic and effective way. As Szostak (2011) suggests, the question being asked by the researcher is of highest importance, and it must be investigated by any theory or method that is appropriate. He argues that disciplinarians (limited to a single field) ignore many other aspects that might offer a new understanding of their topic, while the interdisciplinarian ignores nothing, considering every possible relevant angle (Szostak 2011: 4). This study's approach was not limited to the field of design, or cultural studies only. This study combines the relevant parts of multiple areas in order to draw conclusions that could have practical, real-world value and application, as well as academic value to many fields of study.

This is the value of interdisciplinary research: it results in genuine discovery, a "new understanding, a new product, or new meaning" (Repko et al. 2011: xviii). Tayler cites the definition offered by Newell (1998) of interdisciplinary research as "a process of answering a question, solving a problem or addressing a topic that is too broad or complex to be dealt with adequately by a single discipline or profession" (2011: 25). In
the case of this study, these ideas apply: to determine the combination of influences and impacts of diverse factors involved in city culture would be impossible within a single discipline. To truly understand the role of cultural events in regeneration and city branding, and the role of design in these processes, requires attention to multiple academic disciplines and professional areas (discussed in further detail in section 3.3, below). Finally, Tayler argues that, based on a statement issues by the National Academy of Sciences in 2005, interdisciplinary research is more than the sum of its parts: it is "an integration and a synthesis of ideas and methods" (2011: 26).

3.2.2 Types of Research Data

The fundamental categorisation of data is based on the division between quantitative and qualitative data. Basically, quantitative data has a numerical, fixed value, while qualitative data is based on data that is richer – but difficult to translate into fixed and universal terminology. This study uses methods of collecting both types of data, based on the strengths and weaknesses of each.

Quantitative data in the social sciences typically involves the collection and analysis of survey responses. The definition of a quantitative interview method is to survey of a large sample with fixed-choice answers to set questions (the qualitative version, on the other hand, involves asking open-ended questions to a smaller sample) (Silverman 1993). Quantitative data is ‘closed-ended’ and is typically analysed on a statistical basis, in order to prove or disprove a particular hypothesis (Creswell and Clark 2011: 177). Quantitative data is thus useful for showing causation and demonstrating change between an earlier period and the current situation (Maxwell 2012: 78).

Qualitative and quantitative research methods are usually defined by scholars based on how they are different to each other. Quantitative research is reliable because it is repeatable, while qualitative research methods (such as observation) are very difficult to repeat with the same results, due to the subjective nature of researcher observations (McNeill 1990; Silverman 1993). Maxwell argues that while quantitative research is concerned simply with the cause of a situation or a variance, qualitative research seeks to discover how and through what processes the situation or variance was created (2012: 31).

Qualitative research is better suited to an investigative (inductive) approach (see section 3.2.3, below), because the hypothesis comes after, not before, the data. Gerson and
Horowitz argue qualitative approaches "aim to discover or develop new concepts rather than imposing preconceived categories on the people and events they observe" (2002: 199). Qualitative data is also collected 'over a sustained period' rather than in a brief window of data collection, and its results thus offer much more than just a 'snapshot' of the situation (Miles and Huberman 1994: 120). For the researcher, qualitative studies have an advantage in their flexibility, returning to modify the research questions and research design throughout the process (Miles and Huberman 1994; Gerson and Horowitz 2002: 200).

All of these factors were important in this study, which was based on fieldwork conducted over a long period (see section 3.3.4) and developed new ideas throughout the process. Especially in the case of understanding the cultural context of these events, rich qualitative data was highly important. Miles and Huberman suggest that with qualitative research, "the influences of the local context are not stripped away, but are taken into account. The possibility for understanding latent, underlying, or nonobvious issues is strong" (1994: 10). They also argue that in the case of fieldwork, the data gathered has the potential to "gain a 'holistic' (systemic, encompassing, integrated) overview of the context under study" which was of vital importance in this study (Miles and Huberman 1994: 6).

For this research project, which involved analysis of multiple different types of data, the openness and flexibility of a qualitative focus was necessary. Creswell and Clark (2011: 121) note that qualitative data collection involves 'artifacts' and 'documents' as well as interviews and observation, and that the analysis of this data involves "presenting the diversity of ideas gathered." The final result from the fieldwork included discussion of a wide range of topics and different perspectives, thanks to the rich variety of data collected. However, it is important to note that a large proportion of that data was quantitative: this study used a mixed-method approach. It focussed on qualitative data, but did not neglect relevant quantitative methods. As Creswell and Clark note, using both methods in combination "provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone" (2011: 5).

In this study, therefore, there was reliance on both data collection methods. Qualitative data included participant-observation fieldwork, in-depth interviews, document analysis, and also literature reviews and historical-comparative research. Quantitative data gathered consistent primarily of a considerable amount of survey data (both original research and data to which access was provided). The research design and motivation
for each of these methodological approaches will be discussed in more detail in section 3.3.

3.2.3 Research Context: Inductive and Deductive Reasoning

Inductive and Deductive Reasoning are the two fundamental approaches to investigation in scientific (and social science) research, though they are often combined. In aiming to discover or investigate a potential causal relationship – as this study does, via quantitative and qualitative data – both approaches are useful in different ways; Mayer and Greenwood argue that inductive and deductive reasoning are “contrasting but complementary” (1980: 34).

Deductive reasoning is more common in the ‘pure’ sciences, and is based on hypothesis testing (Berg 1995; Gray 2009; Davies 2007). Deductive reasoning (or the “hypothetico-deductive method”) relies more on empirical data (Davies 2007: 235), and the data collected is typically quantitative rather than qualitative. Therefore, deductive reasoning seeks to explain the relationship between two things, and the result of data collection can either prove or disprove the original hypothesis (Gray 2009: 14). There are narrow limitations to deductive research, however: through the use of “operational indicators” the process of research and data collection focuses only on relevant and observable data, ignoring subjective (and much qualitative) evidence (Gray 2009: 14).

On the other hand, inductive reasoning is based on the opposite process; while deductive reasoning follows from the hypothesis, inductive reasoning begins with the research and ends with the formulation of a hypothesis (Gray 2009: 14-5). Mayer and Greenwood describe the inductive process as drawing generalisable conclusions after a series of observations. Inductive reasoning is highly investigative, and the researcher begins without expectations or predictions (1980: 34). Berg cites Abrahamson’s (1983) notion that researchers using the inductive method “immerse” themselves in a research context (2000: 245). Thus, inductive reasoning is closer to qualitative than quantitative research.

Although these two approaches are distinct and philosophically opposed, there is a considerable advantage to combining them. Mayer and Greenwood argue that the inductive and deductive reasoning are interdependent (1980: 250) and Berg notes that in many circumstances it is necessary to combine both approaches (2000: 246). This combined approach is called ‘abductive reasoning’ and it involves “the researcher moving
back and forth in the field in order to construct theoretically sound positions that accurately reflect the nature and range of the empirical evidence" (Davies 2007: 234). In this process, "theory is generated side by side with data collection and analysis" and so an investigative approach is balanced with hypothesis-testing (Davies 2007: 234). In the majority of research processes, both reasonings are considered and incorporated to some extent. Berg notes that even in a primarily inductive research project, deduction should not be excluded (2000: 246).

This study is based on inductive reasoning: the research and case studies were undertaken in order to understand and investigate a cultural process. The aims of this thesis do not seek to prove any hypothesis or theory, but to consider the relationship between events and contexts; thus, data was collected broadly and openly. This study seeks to understand the influence of design and events on social, cultural and economic contexts, and it was undertaken without preconceptions about what conclusions would be reached. As a result of the originality of this research (applying theories developed in specific reference to Western cities to an East Asian context), there was no way to predict the extent to which these ideas would be valid in this new context (Chapter 7 focuses on answering this question by discussing existing theories in the East Asian context and by directly comparing the UK case studies of Chapter 4 to the Korean case studies of Chapters 5 and 6). Inductive reasoning gave this study the freedom to consider new aspects of this topic. This study aims to develop a new framework that has generalisability. As Gray suggests, inductive research is a process of discovers, and does "not jump to hasty inferences or conclusions" (2009: 15). He argues that with an inductive approach, "the researcher often takes multiple cases or instances, through, for example, multiplying observations rather than basing conclusions on one case" for reasons of reliability (Gray 2009: 15). For this reason, this thesis considers multiple case studies (the reason for choosing each of these is discussed in section 3.3.3, below) in order to offer a holistic and comparative view.

Finally, it must be acknowledged that, as with many studies in the social sciences, this thesis is not reliant only on inductive reasoning. This study includes a deductive element, and it is therefore – while primarily an inductive study – also an example of an abductive approach. The deductive elements are incorporated into the research aims (stated above); this thesis aims to consider the extent to which cultural events and design may have a role in regeneration and city branding. Once again, the multiple fields involved, the mixed methodology and interdisciplinarity of this thesis requires more than a single approach.
3.2.4 Multiple Research Methodologies

This study uses multiple research methodologies and approaches according to several different categorisations. In terms of the purpose of a study, research theories suggest that there are three primary categories: exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. More recent thinking has added a fourth category: interpretive, or emancipatory research (Gray 2009; Marshall and Rossman 2011). As with many other theories of research methodology, these categories are typically defined in relation to each other. For example, Grinnell and Unrau have categorised ‘explanatory’ research questions as those requiring a high level of pre-existing knowledge, and a focus on quantitative data, while they argue that ‘exploratory’ questions are at the opposite end of the scale, focusing on qualitative data and requiring little previous knowledge; ‘descriptive’ is placed in the middle of this scale (2011: 111). Thus, these categories are related to the research definitions discussed above: ‘explanatory’ research is equivalent to deductive reasoning, while ‘exploratory’ research is a reflection of inductive reasoning.

Exploratory studies are conducted when new areas are investigated; it involves the process of literature review and the initial steps of fieldwork (Gray 2009: 35). Exploratory studies are conducted at the outset, in order to establish parameters and determine an original and valuable area of study. Descriptive studies are the next stage of the process. Veal defines this as finding out about and describing an existing situation (2006: 3). Gray notes that "descriptive studies seek to 'draw a picture' of a situation, person or event or show how things are related to each other" but their weakness is that they do not ask ‘why?’ (2009: 35).

Explanatory research has this purpose: its role is explaining how and why situations have occurred, and using this information to make predictions and wider generalisations (Veal 2006: 4). Gray suggests that this follows on from descriptive information, attempting to determine the causal relationship between different processes (2009: 36). Finally, interpretive research focuses on individual participants’ experiences of the research context, and is the most qualitative of these categories (Gray 2009: 36). Davies sees interpretive analysis (which he calls ‘Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis’ or ‘IPA’) as the final step that draws conclusions and ties together the other research processes (2007: 238). He argues that interviews and other qualitative data are vital here, as the researcher "attempts to infer meanings from the completed analysis" (Davies 2007: 238). Marshall and Rossman (2011: 69) have drawn up a useful table that categorises these different process and uses the example of a study of a social program (see Table 3.1, below).
The four categories of research analysis discussed above were all utilised in this study, based on careful consideration of the appropriateness and value of employing each method. The literature review (in Chapters 1 and 2) constitutes an exploratory study. It was important to determine the important theories in the two main fields of study; this thesis aims to make an original contribution by exploring a new angle of approach to this well-studied area (specifically by looking at a case study from a different cultural/national context). The historical-comparative research in each case study chapter, and a significant proportion of the case study analysis in Chapters 4-6, is primarily descriptive. This material offers an insight into processes of decision-making that were previously unknown, and in this sense the descriptive analysis is important. All of the case studies also include an explanatory discussion, which analyses the causes and consequences of these cultural events, and assess their strengths and weaknesses. Finally, the discussions contained in Chapter 7, and the Conclusion of this thesis, provide an interpretive discussion of the topic and this study’s original research, moving beyond discussion of the causal relationship and considering generalisability, offering a framework and conclusions that have the potential to make an impact outside academia.

### 3.3 Research Design

The purpose of research design is to formulate a plan and order for research, with distinct categorisations for different research tasks (Mayer and Greenwood 1980; Maxwell 2012). The reasons for conducting this study, and the justifications for choosing each of its multiple approaches, will be detailed in the sections below. Maxwell notes that...
good research design should result in several different research components working ‘harmoniously together’ (2012: 2). One of the most important qualities of effective research design is that it is not fixed and rigid, but remains flexible and open to modification throughout the process (Mayer and Greenwood 1980; Maxwell 2012). This has been described as a “systemic” or “interactive” model of research design (Maxwell 2012: 106-10). Marshall and Rossman suggest that research design begins by confirming the achievability of the study by reviewing previous related research, thus ensuring that the research task will be completed even if problems arise (2011: 6-7).

This section gives an overview of the multiple methods involved in the research of this project, and describes the flexible planning undertaken. From an initial literature review and focused case study, further key decisions were made, particularly the selection of complementary minor case studies. Each subsection below covers a category of research methodology, and these discussions combine to form an account of the ‘research journey’ of this thesis, from start to finish.

3.3.1 Literature Review

The purpose of a literature review is to summarise existing studies in the field in order to establish expertise and relevance for the current study (Mayer and Greenwood 1980; Berg 1995; Silverman 2005; Marshall and Rossman 2011; Flick 2009). This process can be regarded as a ‘conversation’ between the researcher and existing research, and a literature review broadly serves four purposes: 1) to establish the research questions, 2) to demonstrate knowledge and 3) originality, and 4) to suggest the wider field related to the main thesis study (Marshall and Rossman 2011: 78). These sources should be evaluated rather than simply summarised, and must be established as the ‘grounding’ for the research project being conducted (Hart 1998; Flick 2009). The literature review provides context for the findings of the study, which will demonstrate how the research undertaken either develops or contradicts existing conclusions (Flick 2009: 53).

The literature is surveyed over two chapters, divided into Chapter 1, on cultural policy and urban regeneration, and Chapter 2, on design. The purpose of covering these areas is to review specific theories and research in order to: 1) investigate current theories of cultural policy; 2) verify the relationship between cultural events, design and the city; 3) determine the broader definition of design as it relates to multiple aspects of the creation of cultural events, urban regeneration and city brands. Chapter 1 seeks to understand how academic frameworks have viewed the relationship between cultural policy and urban regeneration; Chapter 2 uncovers academic notions of the relationship between
design and city branding and cultural events (therefore the subsequent focus of the thesis is to combine these lines of enquiry into an original study). Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the thesis, it was important to focus on the relevant aspects of these theories, and to develop a definition of contested terms such as ‘design’ and ‘cultural industries.’ The field of design is growing in scope and size, and the role design plays in creating city’s iconography, urban atmosphere, and cultural service industry is one of the important lenses through which this thesis views cultural events.

The purpose of this literature review was also to demonstrate the commonalities of these fields. This research project is substantiated by its clear links to theory, and it gains relevance by responding to the developments and weaknesses of the existing field. In the vast majority of the influential literature in these areas, case studies and analyses focus on the Western context. This study adds to this field by transferring its theories to the East Asian context, and assessing the extent to which these ideas apply in this process. Finally, the literature review aims to connect its ideas to the real-world context. As Silverman notes, a literature review can add to the generalisability of a study; the wider applications of the findings of this study are discussed in its final chapter (2005: 295).

The studies and theories summarised and analysed in the two literature review chapters come from a variety of sources: academic books and journals primarily, with additional reference to magazines, newspapers, reports, and online articles. Sources were accessed from the libraries at Lancaster University and Queen’s University Belfast. Inaccessible books were purchased from other suppliers. Online resources, particularly for access to academic journal articles, were also used: the keywords searched for included ‘culture-led regeneration’, ‘creative industries’, ‘design’ (its various sub-fields), and ‘cultural events’. Sources were obtained via portals through Lancaster MetaLib, Project MUSE, JSTOR, EBSCO Host, Google Scholar, and Queen’s University’s QConnect service. Literature was selected and surveyed using a “snowball referencing technique” (Cooper et al. 2011: 5) through which the references cited in chosen publications were themselves investigated and considered, and then included in the preliminary survey.
In order to stress originality, and a valid contribution to the academic field, this thesis focuses on case studies. The definition of a case study is generally agreed to be a detailed, in-depth study of a particular situation or organisation (McNeill 1990; Yin 2003; Marshall and Rossman 2011; Gray 2009: 275; May 2011). Although a case study can lead to generalisability of research, it does not attempt to be totally representative (McNeill and Chapman 2005: 120). The objects of analysis in case study research are documents, interviews, as well as observation-based data collection, sometimes in an on-site or 'naturalistic' context (Marshall and Rossman 2011; Piekkari et al. 2009). Case studies are flexible, and have numerous advantages. They are well suited to follow-up studies or repeat research, they employ multiple methods of data collection, and they provide a higher level of detail than many other research methods (McNeill 1990; Marshall and Rossman 2011; May and Perry 2011). Furthermore, the approach to planning case studies also has flexibility: researchers may plan every detail in advance, and base their study on clear expectations (this is called 'intentional design logic' and is based on deductive reasoning) or, alternatively, the specific focus of the case study research can be determined during the process of data collection (called 'emergent logic', and based on inductive reasoning) (May and Perry 2011: 222-3).

One of the drawbacks of the case study method is the high research commitment, both in terms of the length of time the study takes, and the vast amount of data collected (Gray 2009: 415). In the case of this thesis, the case study method was chosen for several reasons. The inductive (investigatory) approach suggested that a case study would reveal new insights. Furthermore, the decision to focus on a major case study and four smaller supporting case studies was informed by the desire to produce a comparative analysis with real-world relevance. The major case study is used to investigate the first five research questions of this thesis. The level of detail and insight gained through the case study method reveals new insights and deep data regarding the creation, aims, and results of one cultural event. The minor supporting case studies provide a valuable comparative framework and address research questions 6 and 7. The combination of one major and four minor case studies, therefore, answers all research questions and provides a balance of unique detail and general conclusions.
3.3.2.1 Case Study Selection Method

The following sections describe how and why each individual case study was chosen, and the particular points of interest and intellectual strengths that these brought to this study. This thesis uses the 'multiple case, holistic' method of case studies, as identified by Gray (2009: 258), in that it uses comparative analyses of different cases in order to draw wider conclusions.18

3.3.2.1.1 Gwangju and the Gwangju Biennale

Gwangju met the key criteria for selection for this study: it hosts a major cultural event that aims to play a role in both local regeneration and the reinvention of the city's brand image. Thus, the GB provides a suitable model for investigating the first five research questions: the event is the largest and longest-running art biennale in Asia, thus giving it historical significance; the city of Gwangju receives considerable funding for its culture initiatives, thus providing a good example of a major event supported by policy and a government budget; Gwangju has suffered from social decline and neglect, thus making it a testing ground for new methods of regeneration; the GB is embedded within a larger scheme of events that contribute to Gwangju’s ambitions to become the Asian Hub of Culture, thus offering a model of city rebranding through culture.

The choice of a city in South Korea, as suggested in sections above, was motivated by a desire to bring the Asian city into the context of Western-focused research. Finally, Gwangju was specifically chosen, in addition to the reasons listed above, due to an opportunity for access via an extended period of fieldwork and participant observation (discussed in section 3.3.3, below) which yielded rich data and revealed many new insights.

3.3.2.1.2 Liverpool and the Liverpool Biennial

One of the aims of this study is to compare cultural event processes in cities in East Asia and the West. Liverpool was chosen as a minor case study specifically to provide a contrast and parallel with Gwangju, and the two cities/events share some key similarities. Liverpool has a comparable size and population as Gwangju. More importantly, similar processes of cultural reinvention and regeneration are taking place. Like Gwangju, Liverpool has suffered from neglect and social decline, and its external reputation has

18 Gray (2009) divides case study research into four categories: single/holistic, single/embedded, multiple/holistic, and multiple/embedded.
historically been negative. Furthermore, as with Gwangju, the city has sought to create meaningful regeneration and develop its brand image for tourists through the instrumental use of culture. The Liverpool Biennial is the event focused on in this case study (the 2010 event in particular), and the similarities and differences between the roles and results of the two events provide the necessary context for a wider development of ideas and analysis.

3.3.2.1.3 Belfast and the Belfast Festival at Queen’s

In order to provide wider generalisability and richness of comparative analyses, a second minor case study from the UK was chosen. The city of Belfast in Northern Ireland, again, has parallels with Gwangju that justify its inclusion in this study. The Greater Belfast area is a similar size to Gwangju, and the cities share a difficult political past that continues to dominate external perceptions. As with Gwangju, Belfast is gradually transforming into an appealing cultural city through efforts to change its image and a diverse programme of cultural events. The Belfast Festival at Queen’s was chosen as the representative event for the case study, and this choice was also based on personal experience of life in Belfast.

3.3.2.1.4 Seoul and the Seoul Design Olympiad

In considering a cultural event in a city in South Korea as the main focus of the case study research, it was determined that it would also be important to cover additional examples from the country, to add a deeper understanding of cultural processes on the national level. South Korea’s culture and tourism, even its national brand image, is intensely focused on its capital city, suggesting that this is an important example to consider. The event chosen, the Seoul Design Olympiad, is a revealing counterpoint to Gwangju. The SDO centralises design more visibly than other events discussed. The SDO emerged as a result of the Seoul Mayor’s obsession with design, but after he left office, the event has been suspended. Thus, this is an example of a cultural event tied closely to a specific policymaker and with little permanence, unlike the GB and other events considered.

3.3.2.1.5 Mullae and the Mullae Art Community

The final case study also focuses on South Korea, yet it provides an interesting counterpoint to all of the cultural events described above. While these other events are driven by policy and funded by governments, the case of the Mullae Art Community is a
natural and unpredicted blossoming of culture in an industrial neighbourhood. The Mullae-dong district is a hub of a metal works industry in rapid decline, and cultural regeneration has been driven by a local community of artists and other creative individuals. This is a cultural hub that has been created without planning or any input from designers or policymakers, and the anonymity of this small industry has been replaced with a sense of creativity and independence. This final case study therefore provides a further example of South Korea’s transforming city culture while analysing a totally different type of regeneration.

3.3.3 Fieldwork: Participant Observation

The basis for the data collection for the major case study was a period of participant observation at the Gwangju Biennale Foundation. This was an example of fieldwork, and it provided a rich and deep understanding beyond the other qualitative and quantitative data collected (see sections 3.3.4 – 3.3.6, below). The experience of being based ‘in the field’ in the city of Gwangju and working at the GB before, during and after the event was the lens through which data was both collected and analysed.

Fieldwork is the process of ‘immersion’ in an environment in order to gain first-hand knowledge of events and/or situations (Silverman 1993; Marshall and Rossman 2011). The field researcher observes and records, conducting both data collection and data analysis simultaneously; this method of participant-observation provides rich and reliable data that has ‘face validity’ (Sánchez-Jankowski 2002: 145). Participant observation allows researchers to draw valid conclusions based partially on their personal experiences, and is an ‘essential element’ of all qualitative research (Marshall and Rossman 2011: 140). Participant observation is strengthened if the researcher has some experiential knowledge of the environment (Sánchez-Jankowski 2002: 146); in this case, there was an opportunity to visit the GB a year before the start of the research, to conduct a preliminary observation and experience an induction into the working environment (furthermore, prior personal professional experience at other cultural organisations in South Korea provided additional comparable contextual knowledge). Gerson and Horowitz (2002: 202) suggest that the site and context of participant observation should be chosen to be theoretically strategic, convenient, and of personal interest; in this case, the GB fulfilled all three of these criteria. One drawback of the participant observation method is that just one person is the sole instrument of recording data (Sánchez-Jankowski 2002: 146). This was an unavoidable aspect of this research.
project, but the significant amount of data gathered through other methods arguably offsets this weakness.

The fieldwork and participant observation of this study took place from 20 May 2010 until 30 November 2010. During this period, I was employed as a member of the Exhibition Team, with the title of Exhibition Coordinator. I was responsible for administration and liaison tasks, and I was the primary manager of the 'Uncanny' special section in Gallery 4 as well as the Yangdong Traditional Market Project. I interacted with colleagues in various departments, and worked closely with the Chief of the Exhibition Team, and the Artistic Director of the 2010 GB.

The benefit of this fieldwork was considerable. In addition to providing an opportunity to collect the data described in the sections below, I gained a sense of the atmosphere in the GB Foundation, as well as its working practices, specifically the organizational structure and decision-making process, as well as the funding and financing of the event. In terms of appreciating the specific qualities of the GB event, I was able to be present every day and observe visitors interacting with the exhibitions and other activities; this allowed me to witness various levels of engagement and satisfaction among visitors, as well as the public face of the GB’s service. Furthermore, living in the city during this period, conversing with citizens on a daily basis, provided a deep insight into how the city is viewed by its residents, and how they feel an event such as the GB can make a difference to their lives.

3.3.4 Personal Interviews

In aiming to uncover the role and transformative potential of cultural events, it is important to understand the aims of the people involved in creating them. Decision makers and key creative contributors were interviewed – via a variety of carefully selected methods – on topics related specifically to the research questions and aims of this thesis. Thus, interviewees were asked about their professional positions and their views on the importance of design and the social impact of cultural events.

The interview method is well suited to abductive/investigative research such as this, and it often uncovers new insights that would otherwise remain unknown (Arksey and Knight 1999: 7; Gray 2009: 370). The interviews conducted in this study took advantage of different research contexts, and fall into two categories, described below.
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<td>Former board chairman</td>
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<td>Former Chief Seoul Design Officer/ Professor of Industrial Design at KAIST</td>
<td>23 November 2011</td>
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<td>Interviewee 24</td>
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<td>Former Manager of the Seoul Design Fair</td>
<td>April 2010</td>
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3.3.4.1 In-person Interviews

Interviews conducted during the period of participant observation at the Gwangju Biennale Foundation were based primarily on a semi-structured or non-directive method, chosen in order to yield honest and open responses about the difficult task of rebranding and regenerating the city through culture. Interviews of this type result in rich qualitative data and require careful targeting and planning (Gerson and Horowitz 2002: 204; Gray 2009; May 2011). Thus, interviewees were chosen who have particular insights into the way the GB attracts visitors, brands itself, and contributes to change in local society.

The semi-structured method requires preparing a list of topics to explore and/or questions to ask, and guiding the interviewee through these; however, this method is flexible, and questions or new topics may emerge naturally from the conversation (Gray 2009: 370-5; May 2011). Responses have a high level of detail, making this method valuable for qualitative and case study research. Furthermore, a less structured method was also used for several interviews, in an attempt to gain a wider understanding of key issues. The non-directive method requires less formal preparation, and is conducted as a conversation rather than a question-and-answer process (Gray 2009: 374-5). The non-directive method is only possible when trust is evident between the interviewer and the interviewee, and this was one of the benefits of the fieldwork experience to this study: as a result of establishing a good professional relationship, interviewees were relaxed and honest. These personal, face-to-face interviews (of both the semi-structured and non-directive type) were conducted in either Korean or English, and recorded with a digital recording device for later transcription.

The research questions were considered in planning and selecting these interviews. Questions 1 and 2 were answered via expert interviews with core staff members from the GB Foundation. These interviewees were also asked open-ended questions about the issues raised by questions 1a, 2a, 3 and 4, but to get a fuller picture of the role of designers, interviews were also conducted with design professionals from outside the GB organisation.

In considering question 5, it was important to court the opinions of an even wider pool. Thus, in addition to asking key GB decision-makers about what they thought the event could contribute to the local citizens, it was also valuable to interview the service staff who interact with visitors every day (such as docents), and even citizens who have no desire to visit the GB at all (such as taxi drivers). Thus, a rich sample of interviewees were asked questions (in both semi-structured and non-directive contexts) which
addressed the key concerns posed by the first five research questions. In this sense, the interviews were framed at all times by the aims of the thesis.

The interviews conducted during the fieldwork period are complemented by several additional interviews gathered in other contexts. In order to bolster research for one of the minor case studies discussed in Chapter 6, it was necessary to conduct interviews with staff involved in the Seoul Design Olympiad about the role of design and the event's long-term impact (providing a comparative example to Gwangju). These additional semi-structured personal interviews also developed research into the GB: to understand the successes and failures of the GB in terms of both visitor survey data and personal reflections, a series of post-event follow-up interviews were conducted with GB staff. Finally, to give a stronger emphasis to research into the design aspects of this study's research questions, additional interviewees from the design profession were consulted.

### 3.3.4.2 Email Interviews

The comparative UK case studies covered in Chapter 4 also required rich and original data. Therefore, interviews were conducted via email with key staff from the Liverpool Biennial, the Independent Liverpool Biennial, and the Belfast Festival at Queen's; I interviewed 3 staff from the LB, 1 staff from the ILB, and 2 staff from the BF (see Table 2, above). The method used for these interviews was structured: each interviewee was asked the same basic questions (though with some variation) (Gray 2009: 233).

Interview questions focused on the same key topics explored through the Gwangju interviews, and related the cultural events under consideration to the research questions, by seeking responses about: 1) the organisational structures behind these events, 2) the role of design in the creative and managerial process, 3) the relationship between the event and its host city, and 4) the importance of regeneration and local citizens in this process. In order to provide useful responses for discussion in Chapter 7, interviewees were also asked about their impressions of the differences between city-based cultural events in the West and in East Asia. These structured, email interviews therefore provided necessary originality to the UK case studies, which in turn developed the holistic perspective of this thesis.
3.3.5 Questionnaire/Survey

The qualitative method has been used extensively and in varied ways to produce rich data, but it is also useful to use the quantitative method, which can provide an alternative analysis of the dynamic between cultural events and the region that stages them (the mutual benefits and raised profiles). The questionnaire is the most common method to do this, with standardised questions enabling a response that can be categorised so that every participant responds to identical stimuli (Burns and Bush 2004: 302). A questionnaire can be used to measure attitudes, behaviour and opinions about a research topic (Tull and Hawkins 1990: 393). This study uses questionnaire data collected in two ways: a set of responses collected by a professional method targeting a wide sample, and complementary data obtained through personal individual efforts targeting a smaller (but proportionally representative) number of respondents.

3.3.5.1 Questionnaire (GB Foundation)

The Research and Policy Department of the Gwangju Biennale Foundation conducted a questionnaire survey in order to measure visitor satisfaction. GB staff, located in the area of the exit of the main GB gallery site, and during weekends only, handed out a 33-question survey to visitors. The final sample consisted of 1000 respondents chosen at random (but excluding children); demographic information was also obtained to add detail to the final analysis of the data. The survey questions focused on visitors' evaluations of the GB's service and contents; the survey also aimed to determine the success of the GB’s local reputation and marketing efforts. These questions were used to effectively measure the ‘success’ of the event: the extent to which it provided an enriching experience of international art, the level of engagement and interaction from visitors from the local region and beyond, and the likelihood of visitors returning to the city for future events (thus creating a permanent and continuous benefit to the local economy).

These issues are all important to the research questions of this thesis, and part of the fieldwork experience involved professional participation in conducting this survey. Therefore, the resulting data was made available and is incorporated into the other original research analysed in detail in Chapter 5.
3.3.5.2 Questionnaire (Self-Conducted)

The process of participating in the GB’s survey process suggested the necessity for an additional self-conducted survey, in order to compensate for the limits of the original sample. This thesis aims to consider the broader – potentially international – impact of events such as the GB, yet the GB survey was conducted in Korean-language only, and no non-Korean-speakers were invited to participate. Therefore, a survey of 100 English-speaking visitors was conducted. The GB survey was used as a model in order to ensure that the two sets of data were compatible and comparable in as many ways as possible: this second survey used exactly the same questions, translated into English; it also targeted GB visitors only, collection samples in the same location as the ‘main’ survey.

This survey data is instrumental in fully attending to research questions 4 and 5 of this thesis, which investigate the role of the GB in branding the city (for outsiders and non-Koreans as well as residents) and regeneration (which will necessitate a significantly improved tourist trade). Thus, this additional data provides a valuable perspective on the visitor experience for foreigners who may otherwise not come to the city of Gwangju.

3.3.6 Document Analysis

An additional source of data, chosen to complement the other research collection methods described above, was the collection and analysis of numerous primary sources: documents, records and reports from the organisations and city governments central to this study. Primary sources are a valuable resource in historical and social science research (Madge 1953; Mayer and Greenwood 1980; May 2011). Original documents have several advantages: they have high reliability, because they were written by experts; they provide a range of information, because nothing has been summarised or omitted by another researcher; they reveal the motives and causes of events and situations, and thus suggest areas for further study (Madge 1953; May 2011). These primary sources fall into two broad categories: ‘solicited’ documents have been created as public records with the specific intention of aiding future research, and ‘unsolicited’ documents are private and internal, and are used in studies as a result of the efforts of the researcher to acquire them.

Among the numerous solicited, public documents acquired was a series of extensive reports commissioned and conducted by the ‘Impacts 08’ research initiative in order to measure the social impact of Liverpool’s ECoC 2008 title. These findings are critically
analysed in Chapter 4, and in combination with other easily accessible government policy documents, it is possible to gain a more detailed understanding of exactly how Liverpool has used the conjuncture of several high-profile cultural events to achieve regeneration over a long-term period.

The availability of these documents indicates the openness of Liverpool’s city government and its many cultural organisations, and also suggests the high level of interest in the city’s identity as a capital of culture. In fact, there is a notable difference in the public availability of these kinds of sources in the UK and South Korea. Internal government policy documents and reports are rarely made publicly available in Korea, necessitating a greater effort in order to obtain this information for analysis in Chapters 5 and 6.

Several ‘unsolicited’ internal documents were acquired in the process of the fieldwork period at the GB: access was granted to the event’s final report, survey results and other statistical analyses, as well as financial budget documents; this rich level of documentation was accessible not only for the 2010 GB, but for every event since the first GB in 1995. It was also possible to acquire documents enriching an understanding of the Seoul Design Olympiad; three final reports, covering the SDOs from 2008-10, gave valuable insights into the role of design in cultural events and city branding. Finally, internal policy documents were also obtained from staff at the Liverpool Biennial: these internal marketing reports and organisational structure documents provided an important insight into their vision and strategy for creating a distinctive identity at both the global and local level.

The document analysis method was therefore utilised when it could offer new information and lines of investigation into the research questions guiding this thesis, and the material discussed is used to bolster the other data obtained, working in combination to present a ‘full picture’ of cultural events from creation and funding, to marketing and evaluation.

3.4 Research Analysis (Data Analysis)

This section discusses the methods used in the analysis of the data collected. The fieldwork and post-fieldwork period yielded a vast but manageable quantity of both qualitative and quantitative data, and it was necessary to sift through and sort this material before embarking on content analysis and drawing conclusions.
3.4.1 Quantitative Analysis of Data

The quantitative data produced by the two surveys carried out (the 1000-sample Korean survey and the 100-sample non-Korean survey) was presented and categorised in identical ways, in order to retain comparability and the unity of the two data sets. The 1000-sample survey data collected by the GB Foundation was analysed and summarised as part of the process of producing the final report. The statistical analysis of respondents focused on categorising them in four ways: gender, age, occupation and area of residence. Thus, the GB survey drew conclusions about the levels of satisfaction, for example, among professionals from a particular profession or people from a particular area outside Gwangju. After participating in the GB survey process, it was therefore important to break down the self-conducted survey in the same categorical ways, creating comparable data.

In terms of analysing the data through content analysis, it was crucial to select and dissect data of direct relevance to the research questions of the thesis. Therefore, new categorical divisions between question and response types were created, based around the different aspects of design being investigated. These design categories are drawn from the definitions and theories covered in the literature review in Chapter 2, and relate specific questionnaire topics to different fields of design: thus, a section considering the result of data pertaining to Communication Design covered survey questions 9, 18, 20 and 29; Exhibition Design covers questions 7, 8, 10, 11, 12 and 15; Environmental Design covers questions 13, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26. In this sense, theory was mapped on to the data and new meanings were created. The value of interpreting this data in this way yielded insights not present in the GB Foundation’s own analysis of the data, also contained in its 2010 final report.

3.4.2 Qualitative Analysis of Material

The analysis of original qualitative data focused primarily on the interviews conducted for this study. The initial task was to collect all interview data in a format that could be analysed appropriately. In the case of interviews conducted via email, the text format made further conversion unnecessary. For the numerous face-to-face interviews, the digital recordings were first transcribed; in the majority of cases, these were also translated from Korean into English.
In order to make the best use of this data, key passages and quotes were identified, and interviewee comments were categorised as they relate to the aims of the thesis. Hence, insights relating to the global and the local ambitions of events, to their intentions for regeneration, and to their ties to city brands were discussed. It was also important to gain an understanding of the role of each individual in the organisation and wider processes of cultural event creation. Therefore, broad categories were not used, and each interviewee is considered individually. Formal coding was not used when analysing the interviews, but the questions and answers were based on specific topics such as ‘design’, ‘citizens’, ‘international branding’ etc. No data coding method was used because the sample of interviews was so small, and each interview was with a different type of expert. May argues “interviews have different aims and the convenience of analysis should not be a reason for choosing one method rather than another” (2011: 150). Therefore, the method of “conversation analysis”, in which each response is treated totally individually, was chosen for use in analysing the interview responses. Interview responses can be interpreted in a richer and more reliable way if the researcher was present in the original context (such as participant observation, as was done at the GB) (May 2011: 156). These quotes are embedded in the content analysis conducted in Chapters 4-6, and offer a level of expertise on specific issues.

### 3.4.3 Grounded Theory

Grounded Theory combines experimental (deductive) and qualitative (inductive) research, and it proposes a process of ‘theory building’ while collecting data and conducting analysis simultaneously (Silverman 1993, 2005; Davies 2007). Grounded research involves developing a sense of categories, and in the process coming to understand more deeply the subject of study (Bernard 2013: 547). This method requires flexibility and is suited to longer-term and wider-ranging studies.

Although this study was primarily inductive rather than abductive, the experience during the fieldwork period provided the focus for further research. The specific details of the supporting case studies and other further research were determined only after a period of reflection and analysis on the Gwangju case study. The data collection methods used in the case studies of Liverpool, Belfast, Seoul and Mullae were all influenced by the findings of the Gwangju case: interviewees were asked more specific questions about insights that had emerged from the fieldwork period, and in several cases respondents were asked to speculate on the differences between Western and East Asian cultural event identity and practice. Furthermore, developing ideas during the post-fieldwork period led to a series of follow-up interviews with GB staff that addressed theoretical
concerns that emerged only after the GB results had been analysed. The grounded theory method therefore was influential on this study, as a deeper understanding of the connections between events across different national contexts emerged; however, it was not the primary or the dominant method chosen. Merely, the way this research project developed and refined its concepts and research over a period of time have some common qualities with the grounded theory method.

3.4.4 Generalisability

Generalisibility is not necessarily an aim of all qualitative research studies, but it is an important aspect of this thesis. Generalisibility often results from Grounded Theory studies (Silverman 2011: 74), and its aim is to produce results that have wider application and transferability (Robson 1993; Blaikie 2010). Research studies can ensure transferability by focusing on ‘typical’ rather than unusual case studies, and/or by considering multiple case studies at different sites and in different contexts (Blaikie 2010: 193).

These considerations motivate the case study selection process. This study considers the locally specific aspects of cultural events alongside much broader, universal concerns. The GB was chosen as a case study because it has a distinct identity and faces challenges particular to its host city, yet the dynamics affecting the GB can also be observed in numerous other cultural events in other cities worldwide (and especially in Korea). Producing generalisable results requires removing ‘threats to external validity’ by ensuring that there is nothing in the selection, setting, history or constructs studied that will make the findings impossible to transfer (Robson 2011: 91). The content analysis in Chapters 4-6 carefully explains the case-specific qualities of each study, while the summative analysis in Chapter 7 draws attention to the parallels between these different cultural events and suggests the universal qualities these case studies share. As documented in the conclusion to this thesis, and explored in the Epilogue chapter, one aim of this study is to create a framework for the integration of design, city branding and cultural events into policies for meaningful regeneration. This is only possible due to the structured transferability of the findings produced.
3.5 Research Ethics

In studies involving a period of fieldwork and a great deal of original data collection, ethics and validity are important concerns. This study, which is reliant on fieldwork data and personally conducted interviews, has ethics carefully considered at the planning, research and writing up stages. Furthermore, linked to aims of generalisability, this study has aimed to ensure valid data and conclusions at all times.

3.5.1 Validity and Reliability of Research

Validity in research studies – also described as reliability – aims to ensure that the data collected is a true reflection of the object(s) of study (McNeill 1990; Janesick 1998). This can be a common concern regarding social science studies that rely on survey data, as the answers given by survey respondents may not necessarily express a true opinion (McNeill and Chapman 2005: 63). In the case of this study, survey data was collected using as much reliable methodology as possible provided by the resources of the GB. However, while this data is valuable, it is partially because of concerns about over-reliance on one type of data that this study measures the impact of cultural events in many more ways than just visitor satisfaction polls.

Scientific and purely quantitative studies have a different method of measuring validity and reliability, based on numerical accuracy, but in qualitative studies validity is determined based on description and explanation, and the credibility of the conclusions drawn (Janesick 1998: 50). This study uses systematic analysis (such as conversion analysis) based on varied data sources across several case studies in order to address this, and its explanations and speculations are drawn from clearly grounded arguments.

3.5.2 Issues of Anonymity

Anonymity is another important ethical concern in studies that solicit the participation of interviewees and survey respondents. In the case of both questionnaire surveys used in this thesis, respondents provided only basic demographic information, and were not asked for their names, thus ensuring full anonymity for this large sample of 1,100 GB visitors.
The interviews, both in-depth/in-person and structured/email, ensured the satisfaction of all participants in terms of anonymity. Utilising the personal interview method requires that all interviewees give their 'informed consent' after the purpose of the research project, and their contribution, has been explained (Morse 1998: 79). For this study, participants did not demand, nor were they offered, full anonymity. Alternatively, interviewees agreed to participate based on promises of privacy: their names and job titles are revealed, but they were assured that the thesis is for internal university use only, and will not be published or available publicly. If this thesis is ever published in any format (journal article, etc.) then all respondents will be fully anonymised unless they provide their consent. Through this method of guaranteeing privacy, this study gained access to numerous valuable interviews.

3.6 Conclusion/Chapter Summary

This chapter has contextualised and summarised the carefully selected variety of research approaches, data collection methods, and analytical tools utilised in this study. The research methodology of this thesis is drawn from pioneering work conducted in several sub-fields of the social sciences. This study of cultural events has aimed to combine different disciplines and to suggest new ways of interaction between different academic, intellectual and professional groups. Furthermore, this study has used a variety of research methods in order to demonstrate that flexibility and an open-minded approach are fundamental to contributing genuinely new ideas to these growing areas of international importance.

Each method utilised has been justified above: the literature review of two fields was a necessary step in establishing both the originality and theoretical frameworks of the study; the case studies were chosen to complement each other and, in combination, offer a full picture of the variety of approaches and environmental, cultural, historical and political contexts for place-based cultural events taking place today; participant observation unlocked access to rich data and new insights that would have been otherwise unavailable; interviews were used as the situation allowed (either face-to-face, based on trust and a personal relationship, or via email, using a structured and fixed set of questions); questionnaire data was also used, to gain a wider sense of visitor experience and provide some quantitative data to bolster the considerable qualitative research; finally, document analysis revealed details of policy and practice that were unavailable or inaccessible from any other sources. Therefore, this mixed methodology was necessary for this particular study. The methods used in the steps of this research
project have been mapped on to various conceptual scales of methodology, such as exploratory/explanatory/descriptive/emancipatory research, and grounded theory, in order to offer a relatable framework for categorising the methods chosen. This study has used each method of data collection and analysis for a specific reason, and is an example of interdisciplinarity in the study of global issues in the social sciences.
Chapter 4: How the West has Won

4.1 Introduction

Cities in the world have recently been increasing their globally competitive edge through their focus on acquiring prestigious city titles and hosting major events. This chapter examines the role of design, cultural events and city titles in creating regeneration (in both the short term and long term). It also considers how these factors contribute to city branding and a city's wider identity. The focus of this chapter is cities in the United Kingdom, and the processes it discusses are related to this specific context. This chapter will provide examples against which to compare the major case study of the Gwangju Biennale (discussed in Chapter Five). The purpose of including this discussion is to suggest ways in which the process of designing city events and city brands in the UK, as well as the role of these events in regeneration, has significant differences – as well as similarities – to those in Asia.

The two case studies have been chosen because they are both significant examples of the power of cultural events to the perception and regeneration of troubled cities. The first case study focuses on the city of Liverpool in England, and examines how the city's massive and ongoing decline throughout the second half of the twentieth century has shaped attempts to rebrand the city: in particular, this section examines the importance of Liverpool's 2008 status as European Capital of Culture (ECoC), and includes original research into the 2010 Liverpool Biennial (LB). The ECoC title, though not the main case study involving the city of Liverpool, is crucially important, because of the high level of synergy between this title and the LB events. Consideration of the ECoC reveals Liverpool's difficulties in terms of its brand image, and also the attempts by policymakers to create meaningful change. Thus, while not the focus of this chapter, the ECoC sections are an essential component of the overall study of Liverpool's use of design and events for rebranding and regeneration.

The second case study focuses on Belfast, a city with a troubled political past, scarred by violence and traditionally extremely unappealing to visitors (like Gwangju in many ways). This section looks at how Belfast has used its recent period of peace and prosperity to relaunch its image, and the original research is focused on the Belfast Festival of 2010. These two case studies show that there is a growing interest in cultural events, and an increasingly common instrumental use of culture, in UK cities. It was arguably the
success enjoyed by the city of Glasgow, in Scotland, as European Capital of Culture in 1990, which sparked this trend.

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Europe’s Shining Example: Glasgow’s Cultural Re-invention

4.2 City Case Study I: Liverpool, England

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4.2.2 Regeneration, Culture and Tourism in Liverpool

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4.2.2.1.2 Planning the ECoC

4.2.2.1.3 Results from Reports

4.2.2.2 Designing Liverpool’s Brand

4.2.2.3 Results: Tourism and Regeneration

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4.2.2.4.6.2 Design and the Educational Experience

4.2.2.4.7 Designing the Interactive Experience at the 2010 LB

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4.2.2.4.8.1 Design and Apps

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4.2.3 Case Study I Conclusion: Can Culture Save Liverpool?

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4.3.2.1 Belfast’s Bid for Cultural Capital

4.3.2.2 Not a Sinking Ship: Branding Belfast’s Titanic Recovery

4.3.2.3 Looking Back and Moving Forward: Tourism in a Post-Conflict Society

4.3.3.4 Event Case Study: Belfast Festival at Queen’s 2011

4.3.3.4.1 Commercial Ambitions: The 2011 BFQ

4.3.3.4.2 Designers and Decision-Makers at the 2011 BFQ

4.3.3.4.3 Marketing the 2011 BFQ

4.3.3.4.4 The BFQ’s Role in Tourism and Regeneration

4.3.3 Case Study II Conclusion: Belfast’s Bright Future?

4.4 Conclusion/Chapter Summary

Figure 4.1: Chapter 4 Contents
4.1.1 Europe's Shining Example: Glasgow's Cultural Reinvention

Glasgow showed the potential for successful cultural regeneration through its successful bid for European Capital of Culture in 1990 and is "widely regarded as an example of the positive, long-lasting cultural and social benefits which the designation brought" (DCMS 2003); it has served as an inspiration to other UK ECoC cities since. Glasgow, like Liverpool, once had a thriving economy based on industry and trade, but has seen sharp decline in the post-war period (Booth and Boyle 1993: 24). Mooney describes Glasgow as a 'twin track' or 'two-tier' city due to its impressive economy, based on tourism and cultural events, and its ongoing problematic levels of poverty and social degeneration on a large scale (he argues that these two factors are related, and that this market-led regeneration has partially caused the growing social polarisation of the Glasgow population) (2004: 334).

The ECoC title was seen by the city's policymakers as the ideal opportunity to regenerate the city's culture, economy, society, and touristic image. It was just as important that the ECoC achieved a meaningful reinvention of the city’s image as it was that the quality of life for citizens and stakeholders was improved: its ambition was regeneration “both in image and in actuality” (Reason and Garcia 2007: 316).  

The results for the city of the ECoC were generally viewed in highly positive terms, and Glasgow was seen to have successfully reinvented itself in 1990, particularly in terms of a "progressive reduction of negative Glasgow stereotypes" in images and stories in the media (Garcia 2003: 14). However, local citizens were generally less impressed with the event. Thus, although the image politics were successful, the ECoC title failed on a social level. According to Garcia, the success of the event was measured purely in terms of increase in jobs and benefits to business, while the "underlying structural economic problems" were ignored and left unsolved (2005: 845). In fact, she argues that even these minor positive changes were part of a longer-term and previously-established programme, and cannot be directly and solely attributed to the ECoC (Garcia 2003: 14).

Despite these weaknesses, however, other cities since have looked to Glasgow as a model for successful cultural regeneration. This view of the 1990 ECoC as a successful event is arguably superficial, yet policymakers around the world consistently demonstrate 

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19 According to Booth and Boyle, there was an intentional instrumental use of the ECoC title, and that the bid by Glasgow to win the title was based on ambitions to promote high-quality Scottish cultural events and use the ECoC as a strategic regeneration tool (1993: 32).

20 This is based on the research of Reason and Garcia (2007: 324), who conducted a detailed statistical survey of media reports on Glasgow as ECoC, and interestingly concluded that the initiative was essentially an "image campaign" which was more effective on people outside Glasgow (and, wider, outside the UK) than local citizens.
their preference for image politics over real (if invisible) change. However, Glasgow is undoubtedly influential, and Liverpool directly patterned itself after Glasgow in its attempts to use culture to escape its negative image and social reality (Mooney 2004; McGuigan 2005; Garcia 2005).

4.2 City Case Study I: Liverpool, England

4.2.1 Liverpool's History and Cultural Identity

The city-port of Liverpool is a metropolitan borough of Merseyside in the North West of England. Liverpool today has a population of approximately 1.47 million around the city region (The City of Liverpool 2011). Although internationally famous as the hometown of The Beatles and for its two famous football clubs, Liverpool and Everton, and a still thriving music scene, the city has long suffered from economic decline in the form of factory closures, long-term unemployment and poverty (Meegan 1994). By the late 1970s, Liverpool had become one of the poorest cities within the EU, 75% below the average EU Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Couch 2003: 190). The city therefore has a strong cultural identity, but has suffered considerably from economic and educational crises.

4.2.2 Regeneration, Culture and Tourism in Liverpool

Regeneration is political as well as economic and social. If inclusion in decision-making of communities affected is a goal of regeneration policy—and it would be our argument that it should be—then there needs to be space for community influence on the evolution of the policy. A test for any national strategy for neighbourhood renewal will, therefore, be the degree to which the national strategy is modified by its operation on the ground in truly empowered neighbourhoods.

(Meegan and Mitchell 2001: 2192)

Chris Couch (2003) has conducted a comprehensive study of Liverpool's modern history of regeneration and urban planning, and his findings reveal the changing patterns of strategies for revitalising Liverpool's culture and economy (see Table 4.1, below). The 1990s saw more changes to Liverpool's urban regeneration strategies and policies, such as more cooperation between different branches of local and national government, and a new notion of regeneration that was based on more than just property (Couch 2003: 8). During this period Liverpool's regeneration strategies focused increasingly on the wider, international field and "the need for cities and city-regions to be competitive" (Couch 2003: 185). However, the importance of social inclusion was key, and the value of community participation resulted in a new process where "top-down" meets "bottom-up" (Meegan and Mitchell 2001: 2177).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What was the relationship between planning and urban regeneration?</th>
<th>New forms of urban policy (early 1970s)</th>
<th>Property-led regeneration in the Thatcher era (from 1979)</th>
<th>Developing the Unitary Development Plan (up to 1996)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emerging studies on urban deprivation were informing the planning process. Urban regeneration was becoming a central aim of planning policy.</td>
<td>The planning system began to be seen as part of the &quot;problem&quot; inhibiting economic development. Urban regeneration became increasingly detached from the planning process.</td>
<td>Urban regeneration was setting the local policy agenda. Development plans were increasingly expected to accommodate rather than formulate urban regeneration policies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growing understanding of the nature of urban deprivation. New policies for urban regeneration and restricting urban sprawl. Emergence of a nascent environmental agenda in planning.</td>
<td>Some reuse of vacant and derelict land and buildings. Successful area improvement and housing renovation programmes in the inner areas. Increasingly effective controls over urban sprawl.</td>
<td>Many &quot;brownfield&quot; sites and &quot;heritage&quot; building reused. Evidence of an emerging reurbanisation process with growing investment and a return of population to the city centre.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatively balanced approach. The need for economic development, environmental protection and social inclusion were all represented in policy.</td>
<td>Economic development dominated political debate and action. Investment in and building projects partly encouraged Environmental enhancements were justified on the basis of supporting economic development.</td>
<td>Growing environmental dimension to policy making. As the economic situation eased there emerged an improving balance between economic, environmental and social aims.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnership between central and local government. Growing community participation in the planning process and in area improvement programmes and the urban deprivation studies and experiments.</td>
<td>Severe fractures in relationships between central and local government. Central government increasingly used direct action, for democratic agencies and the private sector to implement urban regeneration, and encouraged community participation as a mechanism for bypassing local government.</td>
<td>Central government continued to exercise tight control over local government and set the planning agenda. However, the role of local government clarified as facilitator and coordinator of urban regeneration programmes. Continued use of non-democratic agencies and the private sector to implement urban regeneration programmes. Strong encouragement for community participation in urban regeneration at the local level.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Structure Plan rests fairly well within regional strategy. Both taking a long-term view. Some friction appearing between strategic (County) and local (District) Policies.</td>
<td>Many area based or place based urban regeneration programmes. Proposals tended to be shaped by the characteristics of the area or place with little strategic coordination.</td>
<td>Rapid changes in the institutional and policy framework for planning and urban regeneration. Despite rhetoric to the contrary both central and local government policies appeared to be fragmented and lacking in coordination. Local planning shifted towards a satisfying criteria based rather than optimizing (zoning) approach to the control of development.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Chris Couch's Findings on Planning and Urban Regeneration in Liverpool during Three Periods (Couch 2003: 109).
Couch et al. argue “old industrialised cities or agglomerations of the ‘rust belt type’” present particular challenges to regeneration, “where various forms of shrinking set rather peculiar conditions for urban development” (2005: 117). The case of Liverpool is no different, and the city’s sharp decline after the highs of the Industrial Revolution left its economy devastated. With nothing to lose, the city “has been a laboratory for almost every experiment and innovation in modern urban policy and planning” (Couch 2003: 3). The city’s sharp decline is similar to Leipzig (Couch et al. 2005), as well as Naples, Duisberg, Le Havre and Liège (Wilks-Heeg 2003: 36); but Liverpool’s policymakers have been determined to make the best of the city’s roller-coaster pattern of success and decline, and come out of the depression with a new energy to achieve a success that will equal the heights of the city’s best years.

In that sense, Liverpool’s culture is not ‘new’, or an invention of recent years. The city has a rich heritage of cultural organisations and institutions that have showcased fine art and classical music since the 1800s (O’Brien and Miles 2010: 6). A concerted attempt to revitalize the city began in the 1980s, after the creation of the Merseyside Development Corporation (MDC) by the national government in 1981, with the specific purpose of regenerating the Docklands area. The Albert Dock became host to a new Tate Gallery in 1982 (an expansion of the prestigious London gallery) and a major new museum – the Merseyside Maritime Museum – opened in 1980 on a trial basis and was completed in 1986.

Liverpool’s first major regeneration project was the International Garden Festival, launched in 1984 as a five-month event in the South Docks area, intended to boost tourism and aid that area’s reinvention. After an initial success (3.4 million visitors between May and October), the site fell into disrepair and has unfortunately become an icon of Liverpool’s wastefulness and shortsighted policies (Wright 2011). For 27 years, the site was unused and in a state of gradual decline and degeneration; the city’s inability to capitalise on the wildly successful event of 1984 demonstrates why Liverpool has had so many difficulties reinventing itself.

In the 1980s, the key political debate around Liverpool was whether to spend money on housing for working class citizens in the outskirts of the city or to focus on cultural facilities in the city centre; by the end of the decade, it was clear that the city centre’s leisure attractions were the focus (Bianchini 1993: 16).\(^{21}\) Thus, the need to regenerate affected

\(^{21}\) The 1980s were a period of problematic political division in Liverpool, and conflicts between Conservative and Labour ideologies slowed progress in the city (Griffiths 2006). In 1987 the council published its first strategy document specifically devoted to cultural policy: “An Arts and Cultural Industries Strategy for Liverpool” – after which point the new leadership focused on economic strategies for the city centre such as retail, culture tourism, and leisure (Parkinson and Bianchini 1993: 165-8).
Liverpool much earlier than many other cities, resulting in the push to build up a ‘New Liverpool’ in an attempt to shake off the image of decay.

4.2.2.1 Liverpool, European Capital of Culture in 2008

Perhaps the most significant, prestigious, and transformative cultural activity to take place in Liverpool is the city’s title of ‘European Capital of Culture’ in 2008. The rehabilitative effects of this rebranding have been the subject of many academic studies (Griffiths 2006) and longitudinal research from 2005 to 2010 (IMPACT08) seeking to account for how the city prepared for its bid for the title, how the title was awarded to Liverpool, and what the consequences of the new image have been.\(^\text{22}\)

The European Capital of Culture (ECoC) title was launched in 1985 to both recognise and encourage the development of cultural activities in European cities. The ECoC title seeks to draw attention to the “shared cultural heritage” or European cities, while motivating regeneration and a distinct city identity (Cogliandro 2001). The ECoC was designed to promote a unified sense of European citizenship and belonging, by encouraging intra-European tourism and cooperation. The European Commission (2011) insists that the ECoC title is an extremely effective tool in city rebranding and a potential major boost to tourism and the economy. The cities chosen as ECoC since 1985 (see Table 4.2, below) have ranged from larger and better-known cities (especially during the ECoC’s early years) to smaller, less famous destinations (increasing recently). As noted above, the results for Glasgow of its 1990 title were highly influential.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Athens</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Lisbon</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Graz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Genoa and Lille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Copenhagen</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Cork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Thessaloniki</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Patras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Liverpool, Stavanger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Antwerp</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Bruges, Salamanca</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Turku, Tallinn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2: Cities Awarded the ‘European Capital of Culture’ Title, 1985-2011.

\(^{22}\) Impacts 08 is a research initiative commissioned by Liverpool City Council as a longitudinal study of the impacts of Liverpool’s ECoC title, conducted as a joint project between the University of Liverpool and Liverpool John Moores University. The research aims to determine the economic, environmental, social and cultural impacts of the ECoC title in the pre-ECoC period, the duration of the events, and the post-ECoC period. An important further aim is to develop a model for research that can be applied to other major cultural events in the UK (Garcia et al. 2010).
4.2.2.1.1 Designing and Branding the ECoC

Design played a key role in Liverpool's ECoC title, even from the bidding stage. With the establishment of the Liverpool Culture Company (LCC) in 2000, a logo was created (see Figure 4.2, below) to represent the bid for the European Capital of Culture (a process lasting 8 years). A new logo was required after the bidding period, and was designed to better represent the (desired) international perceptions of the Liverpool brand. The new logo (see Figure 4.3, below) was developed by a local design agency, and was described as a "bold design" containing "an impressionistic representation of the City's World Heritage waterfront" (BBC 2004).

After the European Commission (EC) granted the UK one of the ECoC titles, and the DCMS finally chose Liverpool after its convincing campaign, they released a report (DCMS 2003) explaining their decision. Liverpool won the bid based on its impressive architecture and pre-existing cultural event infrastructure (especially the Liverpool Biennial). The city's modernisation, and appealing popular music and sports heritage were also important factors. The DCMS also cited active "public participation" as one of the city's strong points, and concluded the city was "most likely to deliver a successful year-long celebratory festival in 2008, and would represent the United Kingdom to Europe and the world with flair, energy and distinction" (DCMS 2003). Thus, Liverpool was seen as a city with both a rich heritage and considerable potential; it is also interesting that public participation was key, given the city's ongoing struggles with an alienated and marginalised working-class population.

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23 Throughout this chapter, the abbreviation LCC will refer only to the Liverpool Culture Company, and not the Liverpool City Council.
24 According to the Final Report (2003-2008) of the Liverpool Culture Company, the new logo "was designed to appeal to a national and international audience, as well as local people," the previous bidding campaign logo was unavailable due to commercial restrictions, and so a new logo was required (Liverpool Culture Company 2008).
4.2.2.1.2 Planning the ECoC

The leader of Liverpool City Council reacted to the news of the award with massive enthusiasm, optimistically predicting that ECoC would surpass all of the city's previous achievements (BBC 2003). One of the official slogans on the run up to the event was the optimistic and proud declaration “It's our time. It's our place.” (see Figure 4.4, below). The ECoC programme for Liverpool had a budget of £96 million, and it was anticipated that around 11 million visitors would come to events in 2008. It was also hoped that the ECoC would rehabilitate the city's poor image, and generate significant economic growth, with a direct income from visitor spending estimated at £500 million (The City of Liverpool 2006).

![Figure 4.4: Liverpool ECoC Advertisement on a Bus Window (Thomond 2008).](image)

However, although the title was awarded based on the city's impressive qualities, and the news of the ECoC title was met with enthusiasm, there were significant problems in the pre-event period, as the city struggled to adequately prepare for 2008. The same problems that had made regeneration impossible for decades were still an issue leading up to the ECoC. In particular, council staff lacked specialist knowledge of arts and culture, music festivals were cancelled due to a budget crisis, there was conflict between the LCC and the national government, and it became apparent that the city's provisions and infrastructure were inadequate for the required scale of the ECoC (O'Brien and Miles 2010: 11).

4.2.2.1.3 Result from Reports

According to the final report of the 'Impacts 08' research group, 'Creating an impact: Liverpool's experience as European Capital of Culture', in 2008, the city hosted 7,000
activities and attracted an audience of 9.8 million people (García et al. 2010). These results reveal some of the defining qualities of the ECoC in Liverpool, and bring attention to the strengths and weaknesses of the event. This section provides a critical summary of the factual and statistical conclusions of this report.

The report frequently reveals that Glasgow’s title of ECoC and its subsequent benefits have been a model or a target for planners in Liverpool. However, these planners and policymakers seem to have a shallow understanding of the ‘success’ of the Glasgow ECoC, and do not consider deeper factors in how the ECoC affected that city. The long-term regenerative potential of the Liverpool ECoC was also not considered carefully enough. Insufficient attention was paid to long-term impacts, and there were not adequate methods available for assessing non-direct ("intangible") impacts on local society and culture (Langen and Garcia 2009: 4). There was little consideration given to ways in which first-time visitors could be encouraged to return to visit Liverpool in the post-ECoC period. In spite of frequent reports of optimism about the permanent benefit of the ECoC, there was almost no long-term planning around the event.

The outside appeal of the ECoC was limited, and most of the visitors from outside Liverpool came from the North West of England, with very few international visitors (Raymond 2010). This suggests that the ECoC, though an ‘international’ title, was not an international event in any meaningful way. For sponsors as well, the target market was no wider than the ‘entire city of Liverpool’, and there was no attempt to target an international audience (O’Brien 2008: 5). Furthermore, a report by Garcia (2010) suggests that the international media views Liverpool in a highly positive (but superficial) way (unlike the local media, which focuses on social problems). However, this report has a very problematic and limited notion of what ‘international’ means: it refers only to Western European countries, excluding Eastern Europe, and focuses only on English-speaking media in countries such as the USA and Australia.

An unforeseen consequence of the ECoC is greater social division in the city. Reports by Garcia et al. (2008b) and Melville et al (2010) showed inter-regional inequality in levels of participating in cultural activities in Liverpool: essentially, people from affluent/middle-class areas had high participation rates in events, while citizens from working-class and poverty-stricken areas felt excluded from activities. The ‘high culture’ content and city-

\[25\] Over a total of six years, the ECoC (and related initiatives) generated an income of £130 million, the highest of any ECoC to date. In total during this period there were 41,000 activities (including 276 highlight events, 21,000 performance and exhibition days, and 20,000 workshops and training sessions) attended by a total audience of 18 million people (including 1,000 volunteers) (García et al. 2010).
centre focus led working-class people to assume that the events were 'not for them.' Thus, the ECoC failed in its aims of social inclusion.

For developers, also key stakeholders, the ECoC has had little impact. According to a report by Garcia et al. (2007: 74), the ECoC has not affected investment at all. In terms of a business impact, Sapsford and Southern found that businesses in the city had improved, but that Liverpool was still one of the most struggling cities in the UK (2007: 3). Therefore, the run-up to the ECoC has improved the city's business economy, but it has not transformed it.

Finally, the role of design was an important and positively received aspect of the ECoC. Reports found that the brand recognition and satisfaction was extremely high, especially in the city and local area (Garcia et al. 2008a: 12). The ECoC's service design was also successful, with a highly effective volunteer programme that attracted enthusiastic and well-informed volunteers (Rodenhurst et al. 2010). The volunteer programme was clearly useful for art lovers and had value as a tool of cultural education for visitors. The ECoC's 'success' must be judged relatively: though it represented a breakthrough achievement for the city, it was far from a 'perfect' event.

4.2.2.2 Designing Liverpool's Brand

Liverpool City Council

Figure 4.5: Liverpool's Most Recent City Council Logo (using the 'Liverpool Brand') (2011).

Liverpool's rebranding campaign sought to reverse negative images, associations, and stereotypes of the city and its inhabitants. Negative perceptions such as these are created and perpetuated by the media; television, newspapers and the Internet play a

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26 Negative stereotypes of Liverpudlians were the cause of controversial newspaper reporting at the time of the Hillsborough Disaster (see section 4.1.1, above). Interestingly, the national prejudice against this city/region is similar to the way in which South Koreans have a negative stereotypical view of people from Gwangju (and the Jeolla Province).
key role in reinforcing the ideas people have about cities like Liverpool (Boland 2008). Policymakers and tourism promoters, therefore, use these same tools of media to try to change perceptions and create new, positive stereotypes, thus rebranding the city’s image. However, Boland (2008) argues that the promotional images used are also highly selective, and in presenting an idealised version of a city, these notions are just as misrepresentative as the negative stereotypes.

In addition to the ECoC of 2008, the ‘Liverpool Brand’ was established to maintain a strong positive and proud image of the city. This brand was designed to be permanent and ongoing, with no specific connection to any temporary events in the city (Liverpool City Brand 2011). Based on the concept, ‘Liverpool’ is not just the city name, but is a powerful brand, with supposedly positive associations (see one example in Figure 4.5, above). Thus, for example, Liverpool John Lennon Airport carries the Liverpool ‘brand’ in its title and logo (see Figure 4.6, below) as well as being situated in the city. This brand design is intended to be flexible, and can be applied to multiple different contexts, and has no fixed aesthetic image, so it can be adapted to match the logo and design concept of associated companies, events, etc. (Liverpool City Brand 2011).

![Figure 4.6: Liverpool John Lennon Airport, Current Logo and Slogan, 2011.](image)

After initial designs, feedback from local businesses suggested that the brand design was valuable and effective, but it was requested that the brand concept “more explicitly associate creative business credibility with the Liverpool brand, as opposed to the broader cultural credibility” (Collett et al 2009: 48). The Guardian newspaper reported on a study of city brands that concluded that Liverpool was “overplaying” its brand image and exaggerating its attractiveness, but the article also admitted that the city was a good example of implementing a focused brand strategy, and noted that Liverpool has “decided it wants to be a hip city and it has a plan to achieve it” (Adetunji 2008). Liverpool is arguably a good example of a city using design and branding to effectively reinvent itself, but is limited by the negative reality of its city’s personality. Furthermore, this strategy applies a more literal meaning to ‘city brand’ than is typical; whether or not this

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27 A survey, conducted by the Merseyside Partnership (England’s Northwest Research Service 2008), shows that culture and sports are strongly associated the Liverpool brand: ‘Sport’ (golf, football, horse racing) is felt to be the most significant brand (90% of respondents), followed by ‘Capital of Culture’ (72%), ‘Culture, art & galleries’ (70%) and ‘Nightlife’ (69%).
develops into a wider trend remains to be seen.

4.2.2.3 Results: Tourism and Regeneration

Boosting tourism is a key objective for Liverpool's policymakers, both in association with the ECoC and in general. Tourism has the obvious potential to boost the economy, through bringing visitors (and their spending money) to the city, and by "changing the image of the city in order to attract inward investment" (Garcia et al. 2010: 24). According to the United Kingdom Tourism Survey, Liverpool is ranked in the top 10 most visited cities and towns in England in 2010 by residents of the UK (VisitEngland 2010a), and between 2006 and 2009 was the sixth most attractive UK destination according to international tourists, behind London, Edinburgh, Manchester, Birmingham and Glasgow (VisitEngland 2010b).

The Digest of Tourism Statistics by The Mersey Partnership (England's Northwest Research Service 2011), (see Table 4.3, below) reveals that in 2009 the Merseyside Maritime Museum, Mersey Ferries, World Museum Liverpool, Tate Liverpool and Knowsley Safari Park are the five most attractive places for visitors. Culture is clearly important to tourists: among the top fifteen free attractions, eight are museums or galleries; likewise, among the top fifteen paid attractions, six are cultural organisations.

The Liverpool city region received 52.4 million visitors in 2009, just after the ECoC, with the visitor economy worth £2.8bn. This report unsurprisingly shows 2008 as the peak year for visitors to the city, during which time the vast majority of visitors were from the UK, but an impressive 26.1% came from overseas. The perceived success of the ECoC therefore had a strong influence on subsequent events in the city.

28 According to the VisitEngland website, "the analysis is based on the Office for National Statistics International Passenger Survey Some 50,000 individual travelers every year (2006 - 2009) were questioned on where they stayed (ie. a total of 200,000)" (VisitEngland 2010b).
29 International visitors came from Western Europe (33%), North America (23%), Asia (12%), Ireland (Including Northern Ireland) (11%), Eastern Europe (10%), Australia/New Zealand (10%), Africa (3%) and South America (2%). Irish ferries and cruise stops accounted for some visitors as well.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Visitors</th>
<th>Visitor Spend</th>
<th>Allocation of expenditure</th>
<th>Visitor origin</th>
<th>Factor prompting visit to Liverpool</th>
<th>Liverpool Appeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Overnight Visitors</td>
<td>Day Visitors</td>
<td>Type of visitor</td>
<td>Origins of Visitor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>52.4m</td>
<td>£ 2.8bn</td>
<td>Shopping (38.6%), Food and drink (29.7%), Transport (12.4%), Accommodation (10.3%), Recreational (8.8%) (Total 1.8bn)</td>
<td>(Total £814m)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>80m</td>
<td>£ 3.1bn</td>
<td>Day trip from home (53%), Staying trip in Liverpool (24.2%), Day visit with stay on holiday (staying outside the Liverpool City Region) (14.6%), Day visit with stay on holiday (staying in the Liverpool City Region) (8.4%)</td>
<td>(Total £846m)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Liverpool (37.3%), UK (29.3%), North West England (16.3%), Overseas (16.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>48.7m</td>
<td>£ 2.6bn</td>
<td>Day visitor (64.0%), Staying (15.4%)</td>
<td>(Total £801m)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2.4 Event Case Study: Liverpool Biennial 2010

"What can artists do for a city like Liverpool? They certainly cannot change the economic misery but by addressing historical and topical aspects, by disseminating non-conformist ideas they add unexpected and non-conformist imagery to the dream a better tomorrow."

(Vogel 2010: 64)

The Liverpool Biennial (LB) was established in 1998, by an artist (James Moores) rather than a policymaker; its first event ran in 1999, and it is now the largest city-wide contemporary visual arts event in the UK. The LB aims to have a distinct identity and reputation in the city of Liverpool and around the UK; however, it has also become connected to the ECoC title. According to Hazel Williams, the Mayor of Liverpool, the LB "has been key in highlighting the city's cultural credentials, particularly in the run-up to Capital of Culture" (Liverpool City Council 2011a). In fact, the LB was one of the elements demonstrating Liverpool's strong 'cultural foundation' in its bid for the ECoC. Furthermore, although the first LB took place in 1999, the second was scheduled for 2002, "three years after the first - rather than two years - to make the year sequence fit with the potential for Liverpool to win European Capital of Culture in 2008, which of course it did" (Personal Interview with Mark Wilcox 2011). This combination of events and prestige was cited by British Prime Minister David Cameron "as an example of how 'cultural tourism' can boost a region's economy" (Youngs 2010).

The way the LB and the ECoC events have responded to and represented the city are quite different. While the ECoC focused on events emphasising Liverpool's best cultural strengths and its possibility for positive transformation, the LB has been more balanced in its relationship with the city's problems. One of the distinctive philosophies of the LB is that its artwork is not pre-selected. Rather, artists are invited to come to the city and create work on-site, in direct response to local problems (Vogel 2010: 64). According to Lorenzo Fusi, the Curator of the 2010 LB, the event's "two defining qualities are its emphasis on commissioning new art, and its ties to the 'fabric' of Liverpool" (Personal Interview with Lorenzo Fusi 2011). In this way, the work exhibited at each LB supposedly uses the worst (or the best) aspects of the city as inspiration for its ideas and images, based around a theme chosen by the curator. The LB can therefore potentially play a role in regeneration by highlighting social problems while increasing cultural attractiveness.

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30 All quotes from Mark Wilcox come from a personal interview I conducted with him via email in October 2011.
31 All quotes from Lorenzo Fusi come from a personal interview I conducted with him via email in December 2011.
4.2.2.4.1 Creating the 2010 LB

The sixth LB, themed 'Touched', was held in 2010 (from 18th September 2010 to 28th November 2010). The Artistic Director of the 2010 LB was Lewis Biggs, and the Programme Director was Paul Domela. The 2010 LB had 628,000 visitor trips to Biennial exhibitions or displays (less than in 2008, the ECoC year, but significantly more than in 2006) (ENWRS 2010). Paul Domela, the Programme Director of the LB (responsible for public programmes, international exchanges and liaising with universities), believes that each biennial around the world "is unique in as much as they embrace the city in which they take place" and is critical of biennials which fail to do this (Personal Interview with Paul Domela, 2011). Domela takes pride in the way he sees the city of Liverpool influencing the LB:

Our platform is Liverpool. That means taking on the condition of the city, its urgencies and its possibilities. These are of course constituted by developments globally and in everything we do we constantly try to makes these linkages. Our mission: 'Engaging art, people and place'. Each biennial we try to formulate a response which resonates with the way the world appears to us from this specific place. One of the ways we do this practically is through collaboration, with many different organisations, agencies, residents and visitors (Personal Interview with Domela, 2011).

Although the LB likes to include local artists, it does not prioritise their work simply because they're local; the curator chooses artists regardless of their regional origin. As Fusi notes,

The provenance of the artists does not interest me much as such. To me a biennial should be the platform for presenting ambitious and radical projects. If the place of birth or nationality of the invited artists are more relevant than the work, we have failed in our mission (Personal Interview with Fusi 2011).

The event therefore seeks to balance artistic merit and local concerns; this is a debate that frequently occupies these kinds of cultural events (and is discussed again in subsequent case studies).

4.2.2.4.2 Marketing and Branding the 2010 LB

Anthony Pickthall, the Head of Marketing & Communications of the LB, is presently in charge of devising the strategy and delivery plans for all marketing and communications
activity across a variety of media (including on-line), is also responsible for Visitor Services during the event, and manages a team comprising both permanent full-time staff as well as freelancers. He shares Domela’s view of the aims and methods of the LB, and suggested that "we commission art as a priority and we work to deliver the Festival collaboratively. Everything we do aims to 'engage art, people and place'" (Personal Interview with Anthony Pickthall, 2011). Pickthall shares the view held by Liverpool’s Mayor, that the LB played a key role in the ECoC award; more generally, he noted that:

The event is played out across the city over ten weeks and by producing high-quality art creates an event that is regarded as the UK’s Biennial. We believe the strength of Liverpool’s visual arts offer was key to the city being European Capital of Culture in 08. We think that the Biennial is one of the reasons that culture is positioned in the narrative used by the city and its stakeholders to differentiate itself from other cities (Personal Interview with Pickthall, 2011).

The ambition to be the 'UK’s biennial’ is interesting, and it reflects an occasional wider trend for cities to aim for a national or international status (as in the way Gwangju seeks to be the ‘Asian Hub of Culture’, as discussed in the next chapter).

The way that the LB’s leaders aimed for a distinct event, with relevance to the city which hosts it, leads to obvious questions about the potential for regeneration and permanent change. Domela sees the city’s history as a fundamental influence on the LB’s content, while the event itself is a part of the city’s brighter future:

The city is our prism. I am interested in reflecting upon its history and identity - which is to re-imagine it […] the city and the Biennial shape each other. Sometimes this can lead to a 'paradigm shift'. The combination of the Biennial and European Capital of Culture did turn around the perception of Liverpool. Perhaps the most important impact the Biennial has left is the way people talk about the city. Stories. Memories. This affects the possibilities people see for the city and for themselves. Regeneration is most importantly a matter of changing mindsets. To be able to see something can be done is the first step in doing it. There are different kinds of connection, art works often on the level of metaphor or symbol but sometimes we work also very concretely (Personal Interview with Domela, 2011).

The way Domela defines regenerative success is in entirely intangible terms. This is a point that consistently frustrates policymakers: regeneration can potentially achieve sweeping change in terms of perceptions and happiness, but without statistical support for economic and social transformation, this kind of regeneration will be seen as inadequate. Problematically, too often the reverse situation occurs, when policymakers centralise an arbitrary economic goal and ignore the feelings and collective quality of life of citizens.

33 All quotes from Anthony Pickthall come from a personal interview I conducted with him via email in October 2011.
4.2.2.4.3 Designers and Stakeholders in the 2010 LB

Biggs was able to take advantage of Liverpool's growing cultural profile for the 2010 LB, and he described the city as a "cultural asset" of which the local residents should be proud (Youngs 2010). However, while the 2010 event (see Table 4.4, below) benefited from a general increase in tourism to the city, it struggled to raise adequate funding in spite of financial support from the Arts Council England, Liverpool City Council and the North West Development Agency; Biggs admitted that "it's very difficult to do anything with no money, but creative people are good at doing surprising and wonderful things with not a lot of money" (Youngs 2010). In spite of these difficulties, Biggs is regarded as a successful AD, and the 2010 event described as "a well-respected art festival and essential component of Liverpool life" (Brown 2010).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Touched</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consisting of around 40 new projects by leading and emerging international artists. Principally new commissions as well as several key works previously unseen in the UK, Touched was presented across multiple venues: Tate Liverpool, the Bluecoat, FACT (Foundation for Art &amp; Creative Technology), A Foundation and Open Eye Gallery. with half the exhibition sited in public spaces across the city.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programmes</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bloomberg New Contemporaries</td>
<td>The very best from up-and-coming artists' studios throughout the UK presented at A Foundation. Greenland Street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City States</td>
<td>International exhibitions on the cultural dynamics between cities and states, presented at Contemporary Urban Centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Moores Painting Prize 2010</td>
<td>The UK's leading contemporary painting competition, presented at the Walker Art Gallery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Q U A T. Liverpool 2010</td>
<td>A collaboration between No Longer Empty and The Art Organisation re-animating abandoned premises around the city centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>There was also a host of fringe activity under the banner of the Independents, providing an inspiring and diverse mix of exhibitions and events by internationally established as well as national and local young and mid-career artists.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The festival also included a series of complementary programmes including Liverpool Biennial's year round work - such as Richard Wilson's Turning the Place Over - which were highlighted in the Festival Guide.

Table 4.4: The 6th 2010 Liverpool Biennial Programmes (Liverpool Biennial 2010).
The organisational structure of the LB\textsuperscript{34} (see Figure 4.7, below) reveals the strong desire for social inclusion, regeneration in the city centre, and collaboration with higher education. The role of the Partnership Coordinator, working with Social Inclusion Organisations, supports the comments of organisers regarding the accessibility and wide appeal of the events; Pickthall admits that although 'vocationals' (professionals), 'lifestylers' (culturally active, 'cool' 20-40-year-olds), tourists and students are specifically targeted, it's also important that "we are interested in everyone and believe that everyone should have access to high-quality contemporary art" (Personal Interview with Pickthall 2011). Regeneration (particularly focused on the inner city) is also an important aspect of the organisational structure, linked closely to the notion of public art. Domela believes that "Biennials are, or should be, very public events welcoming everyone. That also entails a responsibility to understand how we link with people, to make the exhibitions accessible. One important way we have been doing this is to work in public space - the street, squares, the railway station etc." (Personal Interview with Domela 2011). The LB's events are 'integrated' into the city, designed with a specific awareness of how best to take advantage of the city's physical space and infrastructure (Brown 2010).

The LB's organisation also shows an interest in higher education, a broader sense of the role of arts events in transforming the city and its citizens, and the distinct department of Visitor Services shows the awareness of the importance of carefully planned Service Design (Personal Interview with Pickthall 2011). However, the LB neglects design in other ways: it has no permanent design department and outsources many of its design tasks. Pickthall in his role in marketing has "been working with a number of designers to understand our ability to make our marketing effective. We involve them in many discussions around brand, content and channels" (Personal Interview with Pickthall 2011). However, these design ideas are obviously generated in a relatively short period, and with no permanent design staff, the designers involved have no long-term creative investment in (or understanding of) the LB.

\textsuperscript{34} This document was produced for internal use only, and is not in the public domain. It was provided to me by Anthony Pickthall for confidential use in this thesis only.
Figure 4.7: 2010 Liverpool Biennial of Contemporary Art Ltd. Organisation Structure.
4.2.2.4.4 Branding the 'Touched' Concept of the 2010 LB

In spite of the lack of a permanent marketing group, the LB showed consistent brand design and marketing strategies. The official logo (see Figure 4.8, below) was re-used, and some images based around theme of 'Touched' were also created (see Figure 4.9, below).

The long-standing LB logo was used again for the 2010 promotional activities, and was incorporated into the catalogue cover and other 2010-specific marketing images, giving the LB a clear and consistent visual brand identity. Newer images, related to the theme of 'Touched', dominated the marketing, as per the LB's philosophy of image-making: according to the LB's internal marketing strategy mission statement document, it is essential that the brand be kept vigorous and that each Biennial festival continues to be eagerly anticipated as something new, innovative and challenging (Pickthall 2011).

The LB's brand image, based around buzzwords, encapsulates the following concepts: "Contemporary, Socially aware, Confident, Considered, Approachable" (Pickthall 2011). The marketing team at the LB worked closely with the partner organisation Visual Arts in Liverpool (VAIL) in order to 'raise the profile' of the city as well as the LB itself. The marketing if the LB, in relation to its host city, reveals some surprising contradictions and mixed messages. The official

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35 This document was also produced for internal use only, and is not in the public domain. This report is 29 pages long, and it was provided to me by its author, Anthony Pickthall, for confidential use in this thesis only.
marketing strategy document proposes a “focused approach communicating Liverpool Biennial as ‘the UK’s Biennial’ to target international audiences and media” (Pickthall 2011). This has arguably failed as of the 2010 LB, with perceptions of the event tied strongly to the city. This is understandable, given the LB’s commendable desire to reflect specifically ‘Liverpudlian’ culture and identity in its art. However, the marketing team apparently wanted to escape this association: Pickthall (2011) argued that

The success of Liverpool Biennial depends on the international connotation of the brand. Liverpool Biennial must be seen as part of a global community, springing from, and influencing, that community. The brand must be positioned in that context and ‘Liverpool’ will be treated as a passive while important part of the brand. This is best expressed as “Our place is in the world, we happen to be in Liverpool.”

This contradiction suggests that there is an urgent need for greater synergy between the artistic and curatorial departments of the LB organisation, and its marketing wing. Indeed, correcting misunderstandings and misperceptions of the brand is a high priority for the LB, as Pickthall (2011) admitted “the brand is well established but there remain differences between our ambitions and external perceptions of the brand. The first priority for development is to build understanding and create correspondence between ambition and perception.”

4.2.2.4.5 Marketing and Design Strategies at the 2010 LB

In terms of the working practice of the LB marketing and brand team, the majority of the actual design work is outsourced to design agencies.36 The LB collaborated with its partners to ensure consistency of brand image across all forms of marketing and communications; the LB was also aware that marketing campaigns must circulate in the public eye long before, and long after the actual period of each LB, to ensure a regular and ongoing brand awareness (Pickthall 2011); this gives the event the potential for a greater sense of permanence and belonging than if awareness was only high during the festival itself. The LB worked in collaboration with tourism organisations in Liverpool, although Pickthall (2011) expressed that it will take more time to fully transform Liverpool’s reputation.

More specifically, the LB engages in highly targeted demographic marketing, reaching out not just to the obvious targets (young people, art enthusiasts) but also more difficult potential audiences,

36 In 2012, for example, the creative design company Thoughtful are working with the marketing officer to create a ‘toolkit’ of elements to be used to create leaflets and posters, etc.) (Pickthall 2011). The official marketing aims focused on five specifics goals: 1) “Capitalise on the Biennial brand across target audiences locally, nationally and internationally; 2) Lower the marketing cost per visitor ratio and meet or exceed visitor, audience and participant expectations of programme and experience; 3) Increase the commitment, buy-in and engagement of our target audiences; 4) Communicate that Liverpool Biennial operates on a world as well as a local and national stage; 5) Assert the Festival over the Biennial exhibition” (Pickthall 2011).
categorised as "non arts attenders" (local people with no knowledge of/interest in art) and "stakeholders" (local professionals, policymakers, businesses and politicians); Pickthall (2011) admitted that "non arts attenders" are the "hardest to communicate with," but they also represent "the largest area for growth" and are "essential if the Biennial is to increase local attendance."

In terms of the actual distribution of marketing materials, the report estimates that there were "45,000,000 opportunities to see Liverpool Biennial messages" during the marketing period, and one result was "450 Media articles about Liverpool Biennial and 20 Broadcast articles" (Pickthall 2011). The success of the 2010 LB marketing can be measured by visitor survey responses and other statistics. Awareness of the LB during the marketing period was "very high" for city residents (68%) but the results showed less awareness for those in the wider Liverpool City Region and the North West of England (30%), slightly higher at the national level (41%), and a significant but small sample of overseas visitors (15%) (ENWRS 2010). The marketing was also effective in attracting visitors to the city, with over half of LB attendees (57%) citing the LB as their main reason to visit the city (ENWRS 2010).

4.2.2.4.6 Design of Event and Regeneration

One of the stated core aims of the 2010 LB involved regeneration: to "strengthen the art infrastructure (buildings, funding, organisations) and profession (artists, curators, arts administrators, networking) in Liverpool" (Pickthall 2011). However, the limits of the regenerative possibilities are inconsistent, depending on the decision makers and their personal views. For example, though Domela saw the value in using the cultural arts to improve the lives of Liverpool's citizens, Lewis Biggs was focused more on the importance of art itself: although Biggs admitted that the city itself might benefit from the LB, he claimed that his motivation was a love of art, stating that "we're not here to create employment, we're not here as a social work agency" (Davis 2011). For Fusi, the LB played a crucial role in the regeneration of Liverpool's identity and society, although he noted that the LB's efforts are only the first step:

The biennale in Liverpool has greatly contributed to reshaping the identity of the city (its self-perception and external projection). Our goal, besides producing high quality and relevant art, is that of a cultural facilitator so as to generate a diffuse awareness around the complex processes underpinning Liverpool's transition from a post-industrial city to a hub of cultural and tertiary services [...] The "brand identity" has been already partially changed (i.e. European Capital of Culture), but no change is as effective as the shift that happens in the mind-set of people. It is up to the Liverpudlians to take ownership of their future. Artists can only suggest possibilities (Personal Interview with Fusi 2011).

The LB contributed to regeneration in large, conceptual ways as well as more practical, quantifiable ways. One example of this is the extremely responsible environmental design
policies and practices. The LB’s events were all within walking distance of the city centre, and their publicity materials encouraged visitors to walk or use public transportation to reach the venues, rather than driving, thus ensuring that less pollution and a smaller ‘carbon footprint’ was caused by the LB (Liverpool Biennial of Contemporary Art Ltd 2009).

### 4.2.2.4.6.1 Regeneration: Results

The effort on the part of the LB’s programmers to make the art accessible to local citizens can be measured as largely successful, with 92% of survey respondents agreeing that the LB is “for the general public, not just for visual arts specialists” (ENWRS 2010). Fusi believed that although international recognition is important, it is local attendance that really means the most to the LB.

Liverpool Biennial has primarily attempted to foster and nurture a strong relation with local and regional audiences. Naturally, the support (and appreciation) of the national and international art world are key if one aims at avoiding cultural insularity. The global sets the standards, the local provides responses” (Personal Interview with Fusi 2011).

However, there was also a more tangible economic impact, in terms of visitor spend: one third of 2010 attendees stayed in city centre accommodation, for an average of 3.3 nights, of obvious benefit to the local hospitality industry, and the total amount spent by LB visitors provided a huge boost to the tourism trade, with an estimated £27.2 million generated (ENWRS 2010). This was part of a determined effort to create a financial benefit for the local hospitality sector, as the LB communicated to visitors suggestions for accommodation and activities, as well as special offers with local businesses (Pickthall 2011).

### 4.2.2.4.6.2 Design and the Educational Experience

One of the LB’s most passionate commitments was to making a positive social impact in the form of education and outreach programmes. In 2010 there was a series of five public talks on the theme of ‘Touched’ between February and June, and then a further 10 talks (and a conference) during the LB itself; a total of 1,200 people attended these ‘Touched Talks’ (Pickthall 2011). Even more significant is the fact of further educational events, organised by the LB, which take place totally outside the context of LB events, even on non-LB years. For example, in autumn 2011, the LB’s marketing team collaborated with Liverpool John Moores University and held a workshop for undergraduate art and graphic design students. The LB’s online digital archive is also an example of its commitment to education; the entire website contents from all previous LBs is stored and

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37 The official statistics compiled and published by ENWRS clearly record that the average length of stay of “staying visitors” was 3.3 nights. This seems unlikely, and I am skeptical about the accuracy of this particular statistic.
easily accessible, giving online visitors an understanding of the event’s history and the varied art exhibited in previous years. Also notable is the ‘2Up 2Down’ project, which encourages young people to work together and use design to invent solutions to Liverpool’s social and housing problems; this is a long-term (two year) project that has a clear identity outside the LB’s biannual event.

4.2.2.4.7 Designing the Interactive Experience at the 2010 LB

Design has a central role in both the planning and problem solving associated with the LB. Domela suggests that design is a crucial aspect, and that “of course we also borrow some of its methodologies in ‘designing’ the event” (Personal Interview with Domela 2011). Specifically, the LB shows a high level of awareness of the principles of Service Design, and many of the events and exhibitions in the LB involve audience interaction and participation. Pickthall (2011) argued that a range of activities, including special itineraries and visitor competitions, added value to the exhibitions. The organisers of the LB created these innovative, service-focused events to satisfy investors and stakeholders as well as visitors. The 2010 event was designed to appeal to a broad demographic, as the visitors at the events were from a variety of backgrounds. Domela said, “we like all kinds and from everywhere” (Personal Interview with Domela 2011), and it was therefore important to create appealing and engaging events, rather than static displays of artwork.

A good example of this is the ‘Art Mediation Tour’, which invited visitors to participate in tours and talks from art experts and lecturers. In one case, interestingly, participants were asked “to note down and discuss the thoughts that come to mind throughout the tour,” and these notes were then compiled and displayed as an artwork itself, so visitors could return to see their own anonymous contribution to the show (Linnell-Simmons 2010b). This process is highly interactive. The focus is on creating additional artistic value and satisfaction for participants: they are educated by an expert, encouraged to engage in a dialogue about the art, and finally assume the roles of contributing artists themselves, when their hand-written ideas are exhibited publicly. This level of creative user-orientation is noteworthy, and demonstrates the ambitious experience design of the LB.

Other special events include late-night activities, enabling working citizens to experience the LB by attending city-centre evening events. On several occasions, music was provided by a DJ.

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38 According to the statistics reported by the ENWRS (2010), 44% of those attending the LB lived within the Liverpool City Region, 15% were from elsewhere in the North West, 30% came from elsewhere in the UK, and 11% of visitors were from overseas. In terms of age, 33% of LB visitors were aged 16-24, and 31% were aged 25-44. 43% had some professional or academic interest in visual arts, and interestingly, 20% did not agree that the LB was an "arts event," describing it instead as a "cool event." The LB was also increasingly successful in attracting repeat visitors, as 40% had visited in 2008, and 23% in 2006; the 2010 LB was the first one for 60% of visitors.
“creating a *Touched* mood to accompany your stroll through all the artworks” (Linnell-Simmons 2010a). The purpose of the music, as suggested by the promotional description, was to create an atmosphere to enhance the experience of art. This is an example of the ‘atmospherics’ being clearly designed to create and overall more effective service experience. One final example of the LB’s creative service design and emphasis on visitor interaction is use of the official LB website, and its very open blog. In some cases, LB volunteers, rather than art experts, wrote blog entries, describing their personal experience and discovery of art. The way the LB website gave visitors access to non-expert insights and ideas further encouraged participation and ideas-sharing. In 2010 the LB took extra measures to ensure professional and courteous service from its volunteers, by utilising training methods from the consumer service industry: the LB’s volunteers were trained by staff from the retail chain store John Lewis, who were also one of the sponsors of the LB that year.

### 4.2.2.4.8 Social Media and the 2010 LB

One of the ways the LB has maintained positive visitor feedback and high levels of satisfaction is through varied uses of online social media to promote the events and distribute educational information. Several marketing and curatorial initiatives have taken place though online media, establishing an extension of the LB experience into the online world. As Pickthall has said, “nothing beats word of mouth, except maybe word of mouse” (Pickthall 2009).

![Figure 4.10: Liverpool Biennial Official Website, 2011.](image)

The LB’s marketing team used a variety of online social media in addition to the official LB website (see Figure 4.10, above). As Pickthall views it, “we have an integrated approach, working with our partners to target key audiences. We have a specific engagement strategy for on-line audiences. Social media is critical to our ability to sustain high visitor numbers” (Personal Interview with Pickthall 2011). One obvious advantage of sites such as Twitter and Facebook is
that online marketing is less expensive to create and maintain than advertising through traditional media outlets (such as radio and local television commercials, advertisements in magazines, etc).

The LB also sent out a monthly newsletter via email to its subscribers, even outside of the event period. On the whole, the LB used its social media tools as more than just marketing: they aimed to enhance the overall experience for visitors (and even non-visitors), creating a significant cultural value as well as the obvious financial benefit. Pickthall suggested that “we are currently refining our social media use to match our capacity and our improved understanding of what it means to be a biennial in the social media age” (Personal Interview with Pickthall 2011).

4.2.2.4.8.1 Design and Apps

In 2010, the LB created an official application (or “app”) for use on Apple-brand devices (such as the iPhone and iPod Touch) (see Figure 4.11, below). This free-of-charge app featured maps to guide visitors and information about the exhibition, thus functioning as a companion to the experience of visiting the show. Interestingly, the app also included integration with YouTube and Flickr so that users could view some of the art and events without even attending, thus giving the app an additional function as an alternative to visiting the LB that could even benefit users outside the UK.

Figure 4.11: LB iPhone App, 2010.

Websites and media portals used by the LB in 2010 included the micro-blogging service Twitter, the social networking site Facebook, video hosting providers Vimeo and YouTube, photo sharing service Flickr, and location-tracking mobile software FourSquare. Through these sites, the LB maintained relations with 3,500 Facebook fans and over 5,000 followers on Twitter (Pickthall 2011).
The LB, particularly in 2010, demonstrated a high level of awareness of design theories, philosophies, and processes. Its user-focused service design, its brand concept, regenerative policies, and organisational structure exhibit this. Determining an effective balance between marketing and cultural concerns were occasionally a problem: Pickthall (2011) admitted that the LB brand was important to communications and marketing, but that the artists themselves do not want their work to be ‘branded’ or commercialised. In fact, concerns about the commercialisation of the LB has led to an ‘alternative’ event with a greater emphasis on satisfying and empowering local artists (see section 4.2.2.6, below). Thus, while design has led to efficiency and commercial/cultural success, the size and formality of the event has arguably compromised the original aims of the event as a ‘pure’ celebration of local art.

4.2.2.4.8.2 Results

The outcome of the LB’s focus on innovative, user-focused service in 2010 was highly successful and well appreciated, as demonstrated by the survey results: the average results for visitor satisfaction were universally high, particularly for event organisation and staff (4.64 out of 5), suitability of the venues (4.5 out of 5), and value for money (4.85 out of 5) (ENWRS 2010). These results were an increase even on 2008’s results.\(^\text{40}\)

4.2.2.5 The Independent Strand of the Liverpool Biennial

The Liverpool Biennial has evident connections with, and influences on, many other cultural activities in the city, especially the ECoC. However, the LB has also inspired a ‘rival’ alternative biannual event: the Independents strand of Liverpool Biennial (ILB), with no official affiliation with the main LB organisation. The event was created as a result of the dissatisfaction of local artists at the insufficient representation of their work at the LB. According to Mark Wilcox, the former Board Chairman of the ILB, “ignored and disgruntled Liverpool and Merseyside-based artists were encouraged by Tracey Emin to set up their own festival and the first incarnation of the Independents started as a protest against the Biennial” (Personal Interview with Mark Wilcox 2011).

Given that the ILB started out as a ‘protest’ against the LB, it has several administrative and

\(^{40}\) The most negative feedback from survey participants focused on the signposting (3.60 out of 5) and event publicity and promotion (3.66 out of 5) which is nonetheless an improvement on previous years. The relatively low score here is probably a consequence of the way the events are spread across the city, and may be difficult to discover for many visitors used to single-site exhibitions.
philosophical differences from the larger event: primarily, the ILB is not 'designed' as an event in the same way the LB. The ILB has no consistent sources of funding; instead, they must bid for support from various agencies before each event (Seven Streets 2010). Due to the perception that the main LB is "only interested in artists from outside Liverpool" and that the ILB was founded to promote local art, the curatorial policy is strongly focused on local artists (Personal Interview with Wilcox 2011). However, rather than curating themed shows based around specific concepts, the ILB is completely open to all artists: there are no criteria for involvement, no curating policy and no themes set by the managerial board (Personal Interview with Wilcox 2011). Part of the reason for this is practical, due to the smaller size and more limited resources of the ILB; the LB has a functioning curatorial body, while the ILB is not large enough to manage the curatorial process (Seven Streets 2010). The ILB encourages pro-active artists to work with venues and self-curate their work. If particular themes emerge, they are created by the artists themselves, rather than imposed by curators (Personal Interview with Wilcox 2011). This method arguably safeguards the artistic community of Liverpool against the uncertainty that is a fundamental part of the main LB, due to its reliance on government funding and international artists. The ILB encourages local art to propagate and establish a line of communication and engagement with the general public, and the organisation has worked hard to establish its own identity.

4.2.2.5.1 Marketing and Branding the ILB

The ILB uses design as an instrument to express its unique identity and distinguish itself from the LB. Its logo (see Figure 4.12, below) and its 2010 poster (see Figure 4.13, below) clearly give prominence to the word ‘Independents’ with much less emphasis on the Liverpool Biennial concept. The use of the colour red (like the iconic Liverpool Football Club) also ties the ILB more directly to ‘local’ concerns, unlike the international LB. Interestingly, the ILB’s use of social media (such as Twitter and Facebook) closely resembles the strategies implemented by the main LB. The ILB also has an official website (see Figure 4.14, below), the visual design and contents of which strongly resembles the LB website. The ILB thus makes an attempt to replicate the

41 The ILB is proud of its distinct reputation, and is increasingly regarded as a meaningful event with its own identity; local journalists have described it as "no poor relation" to the LB, and "one of the largest and most exciting contemporary visual arts festivals in the UK" (Seven Streets 2010). The event inspires local pride, and it specifically showcases the work of artists who live in the city permanently ("those who are here all year round"), rather than international artists with no ties to Liverpool (Davis 2010). Yet the relationship between the LB and the ILB is changing. According to Wilcox, the ‘protest’ concept behind the foundation of the ILB made communications ‘patchy […] feisty and frosty’ (Personal Interview with Wilcox 2011). Although there has been a recent desire to establish a "more open and cordial" relationship, Wilcox believes that it is important that the two events “remain separate entities” (Personal Interview with Wilcox 2011; Seven Streets 2010). The two events engage in some marketing collaboration, referring to each other’s events on the websites and in their printed guides, and also ILB staff were invited to the LB’s press briefing meetings (Personal Interview with Wilcox 2011). In spite of a lack of large-scale cooperation, the ILB takes obvious advantage of the LB’s visitors, and so the ILB takes place "at precisely the time when many thousands of culture visitors come to Liverpool to see the main Biennial" (Personal Interview with Wilcox 2011). Significantly, though, Wilcox also strongly believes that the ILB generates its own distinct visitors as well (Seven Streets 2010).
successful design strategies and online marketing of the LB, while maintaining its distinct and oppositional identity.

The 2010 ILB took place without any funding from the Arts Council, which put additional financial pressure on the event organisers and artists. However, the 2010 ILB was also relatively successful, and it expanded the area of exhibitions much more, with events taking place across Merseyside, not just in the city centre (Davis 2010). The dates of the 2010 ILB exactly matched those of the main LB (18th September ~ 28th November). Like the 2010 LB, the 2010 ILB achieved fewer visitors than in 2008, when the ECoC title brought a huge number of tourists to the city. According to Wilcox, there were approximately 500 artists at 60 venues in 128 events at the 2010 ILB, making it a “significantly bigger” event that the main LB (Personal Interview with Wilcox 2011).
4.2.2.5.2 Designing the Interactive Experience at the ILB

The ILB demonstrates several examples of innovative design thinking, creating forms of communication and participation that suggest an awareness of effective design theory. At the most basic level, 2010’s ILB had its “high-quality” printed event guide designed by Alexander MacGregor, the Liverpool design consultancy (Seven Streets 2010). Examples of more creative curatorial thinking include “Found a Pound - a creative treasure hunt taking place in art galleries, public spaces and on the street” which offered a ‘fun’ participatory experience for visitors with an obvious appeal to a wider demographic (Davis 2010). Another interesting show to use urban design was “Rush Hour” which exhibited artwork at randomly-selected train stations on the Merseyrail network (Jones 2010), giving people a chance to experience art without interrupting their personal daily routine, and showcasing work to a wide variety of non-art lovers who might otherwise be hesitant to view artwork in a gallery or exhibition context. The ILB also provided online coverage of its events, bringing artwork into people’s homes, making it accessible to anyone, anywhere; this demonstrates a good understanding of the potential use of technology and social media.

Wilcox’s policies have had a clear impact on the local artistic community, and the 2010 event contributed to regeneration in other ways. Wilcox notes that the original aim of the ILB had no regenerative component, but that the event has grown into an “all pervasive” event that “breathes new life in some of the city’s spaces” by choosing empty shops of disused industrial buildings – which have an obvious negative impact on the local community – as venues to host exhibitions (Personal Interview with Wilcox 2011). Thus, though on a smaller scale, the ILB is also an example of a cultural event using design to contribute to regeneration.

4.2.3 Case Study I Conclusion: Can Culture Save Liverpool?

The role of design is evidently instrumental in the two Biennials taking place in the city of Liverpool, yet design is also neglected, and utilised only sparingly. Perhaps with a greater sense of the managerial and problem-solving potential of design as a broader field, these events would achieve greater harmony and success in achieving meaningful change. In fact, although the LB and the ILB have different aims and guiding principles, and are in opposition in many philosophical ways, both events are built on the notion of bringing about regeneration.

Unfortunately, on the basis of statistics on Liverpool’s economy and society, it appears that the
city is still in alarming decline.\textsuperscript{42} However, regeneration is extremely difficult to measure in any meaningful way, because of the long-term period over which changes can take place, and the unmeasurable and intangible changes that are a key part of any regenerative effort. Perhaps without the LB and other events, these statistics would be even worse. Nonetheless, Liverpool is still undeniably a poor city, and the aims of local government to transform its reputation using culture have failed. Liverpool is a city in decline, as it was before the ECoC, and the LB.

Arguably, the declining condition of Liverpool’s society and economy is precisely why cultural events are so important. What is powerful and meaningful about the LB and other events is the attempt at regeneration, at adding cultural and economic value to the city. Without these events, there would be even less in the city to attract tourists and engage local citizens with culture and arts. The city would arguably be in a much worse condition – in ways that statistics cannot measure. The positive and considerable success of the LB, the ILB, and the ECoC should not be measured only by the ways in which they succeeded in their transformative aims. Their success should be measured in the passionate efforts and the impressive aims of their organisers, who continue to invest in the belief that culture can change lives, and change cities.

4.3 City Case Study II: Belfast, Northern Ireland

4.3.1 Troubled Times: Belfast’s History and Cultural Identity

The capital and largest city of Northern Island, Belfast obtained the title of city in 1888.\textsuperscript{43} As of 2009, Belfast has a population of approximately 268,000 citizens in the city, and 651,000 in the wider metropolitan area (Belfast City Council 2009).\textsuperscript{44} Undoubtedly the defining aspect of the city’s history and cultural identity has been “The Troubles,” a period of political division and violent conflict that the city is still, in terms of its image, struggling to recover from. From the late 1960s (from ‘Bloody Sunday’ in 1968) until the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, there were more than 3,600 deaths and 40,000 people injured in the city (Belfast City Council 2009). The predominant image of the city for three decades has been that of “bombs, bullets and balaclavas”...
The major initiative of Belfast's regeneration plans involves creating a new city culture and identity in order to escape the violent images of the past and the city's related economic difficulties. The effect of The Troubles has been devastating not just for Northern Ireland's society and culture, but also for its economy (O'Dowd and Komarova 2011: 2014). The problems of the city's poor and run-down areas are directly linked to its difficult political and religious divisions. The industries of Northern Ireland have declined along with its population (Fletcher 2002), and investments from British (and a small number of American) companies have been vital to the economy of Northern Ireland, but since the 1960s foreign investment has declined and unemployment has risen (O'Hearn 2000: 186-7). The result was "de-industrialisation and the emergence of a service-oriented economy that was dependent on security-related jobs and large subsidy from Britain" (O'Hearn 2000: 187).

4.3.2 Regeneration, Culture and Tourism in Belfast

With a poor economy and a disastrous public image, the country of Northern Ireland and the city of Belfast struggled to attract any positive word-of-mouth from visitors. British Cabinet Minister Reginald Maulding famously described Northern Ireland as a "bloody awful country" (Fletcher 2002: 2). Belfast, therefore, was a city in desperate need of regeneration of its culture, economy, society, and brand image. Policymakers have tried to develop strategies, influenced by cities such as Barcelona, Baltimore, Detroit, and Dublin (Neill 2004). According to a recent study,

There is evidence of some cross-communal support for the project of re-imaging Belfast as a new consumerist city. Yet, the new capitalist project of enhancing the city's global connectivity may be simultaneously generating internal disconnection—marginalising local communities imbued with the logic of territorialism and zero-sum thinking (O'Dowd and Komarova 2011: 2025).

Regeneration, therefore, has been aimed at community participation and social inclusion

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45 Although the violence of The Troubles is over, and the city is enjoying a sustained period of peace, the environmental and social scars of the conflict remain. The walls of the city are still decorated with political murals, and its citizens are still largely residentially and ideologically divided between Irish nationalists and British unionists (McDonald 2001). One result of Belfast's difficult history is the lack of ethnic variety; with a 98% white population, the city has been described as a "homogeneous enclave" (Nagle 2009: 326). The ethnic breakdown in the city, as mentioned above, is that 98% are white ethnic origin (the largest minority ethnic group is the Chinese community with 0.5%).

46 O’Hearn has determined that “Northern Ireland is the most economically deprived region of the islands of Britain and Ireland,” and that within the city, West Belfast has suffered most (2000: 185). The residents of West Belfast are poor, and the region has an extremely negative external reputation (Hamill 2011: 17). The area has been the focus of violence throughout The Troubles, although almost every city, town and village has been negatively affected by violence (Fletcher 2002). Many of the residents of West Belfast still see themselves as victims of long-standing institutional prejudice and discrimination (O’Hearn 2000: 186). In fact, the physical divisions of the conflict still remain, with barriers, called ‘peace-lines’, constructed to protect Catholic and Protestant communities from each other, initially as a temporary measure, but later as a permanent feature of new architecture and construction (Calame and Charlesworth 2009: 74). The statistics collected about The Troubles show that the violence was focused in this part of the city, "with six percent of the population, it was the site of one of every five conflict-related fatalities during 1969-1998" (O’Hearn 2000: 186).
Through its endeavors, Belfast impressively became the UK's second most attractive city after London for foreign direct investment (FDI) in 2009 (Ernst & Young 2010). However, in diametric opposition, Belfast was ranked the 10th highest city for unemployment benefit claims in the UK (Centre for Cities 2011). Belfast, in spite of great enthusiasm and determination for development, seems unlikely to be able to drive the reinvention of Northern Ireland, and it will be extremely difficult for Belfast to establish a cultural identity as positive as any of the leading European cities (Gaffiken and Morrissey 1999: 43).47

The policymakers behind the bid were reportedly “gobsmacked” not to have passed the first stage, and felt that the city’s chances “may have been wrecked by the region’s volatile politics” (Ward and Carter 2002). The national government’s Department of Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS) provided feedback to explain why Belfast’s bid was unsuccessful, naming the key factors as: doubts about the feasibility of the city’s plan included in its bid; an inadequate infrastructure; a weak artistic programme that failed to meet international standards; and a lack of preparation in the business plan for tourism (Comptroller and Auditor General 2004). Overall, “there were strong

**4.3.2.1 Belfast’s Bid for Cultural Capital**

The unbalanced focus of arts funding and regeneration only in the city of Belfast shows the priorities of the local government and funding bodies. One key example of this is that in 2002 Belfast was involved in a concerted effort to bid in competition with other British cities to hold the ECoC title in 2008.48 In spite of great efforts and an optimistic bid campaign, involving a new brand identity for the city (‘Imagine Belfast’ - see Figure 4.15, below, for the logo), Belfast failed to pass even the shortlisting stage of the process, causing a huge amount of shock and disappointment to the city council.49

![Imagine Belfast 2008 Logo.](image)

The policymakers behind the bid were reportedly “gobsmacked” not to have passed the first stage, and felt that the city’s chances "may have been wrecked by the region’s volatile politics" (Ward and Carter 2002). The national government’s Department of Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS) provided feedback to explain why Belfast’s bid was unsuccessful, naming the key factors as: doubts about the feasibility of the city’s plan included in its bid; an inadequate infrastructure; a weak artistic programme that failed to meet international standards; and a lack of preparation in the business plan for tourism (Comptroller and Auditor General 2004). Overall, “there were strong

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47 Examples of flagship urban development projects in Belfast include the renovation of the Grand Opera House in the 1980s (one of the city’s proudest buildings), and the construction of new facilities like the Waterfront Hall, the Titanic Quarter, the Odyssey Arena, and the Victoria Square shopping centre development with the slogan ‘A Renaissance for Belfast’.  
48 As Carter notes, Glasgow can serve as a highly appropriate model for Belfast, as it has suffered (and recovered from) many similar problems: “The ties between Glasgow and Belfast in particular are long and deep as both cities share long histories of sectarian divisions articulated in ethno-religious discourses. These sectarian fractures did not manifest themselves as extended political violence in Glasgow, but the divisions in that city nonetheless continue to feed sectarianism in Belfast” (2003: 259).  
49 Particularly because Belfast City Council expected a huge potential economic impact from the title: potential employment impact was predicted to be 7,757 to 8,628 new jobs per year, and private sector sponsorship would be in the region of £13 million (Comptroller and Auditor General 2004).
doubts that the city had sufficient existing cultural assets and about whether it could deliver its proposed programme in time for 2008" (Comptroller and Auditor General 2004).

After receiving this feedback from the DCMS, the Northern Ireland Audit Office (NIAO) compiled a series of recommendations for improving future policy and bids for cultural titles. The primary areas of improvement must be that the 'vision' of the final goal is agreed by all parties; that everyone involved has a distinct role with no confusion about who is responsible; a realistic timetable is essential; that the project has sufficient funding and that personnel have the appropriate skills and experience; and that communication must be clear, effective, and fair, so that all input is considered and recorded properly (Comptroller and Auditor General 2004).

4.3.2.2 Not a Sinking Ship: Branding Belfast's Titanic Recovery

After failing to win the bid to rebrand the city, several new policies and banding strategies emerged. However, although some of these ideas were interesting, they arguably lacked the foresight and creativity necessary to truly rebrand the city. In 1996, Belfast created its first city brand, and in 2007, the council launched a new branding initiative with the Belfast Visitor and Convention Bureau to find a new image to compete with other cities in the global market (see Figure 4.16, below, for two examples of Belfast's logo design).

![Belfast City Logo](image)

Figure 4.16: The Belfast City Brand, 2000 (left) and the New, Relaunched Belfast City Brand, 2008 (right).

The importance of a clear brand is at the heart of new strategies for cultural growth, and for making the city's image more attractive through new events. According to Alex Maskey, the city mayor in 2002, the benefits of culture are both financial and personal, for the improvement of both the city and its citizens. He stressed that culture has "a huge amount to offer us by improving the quality of life and breaking down barriers and creating wealth - both financial and in terms of adding real value to people's lives" (BBC 2002). Thus, the combination of a determined

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50 The failure of Belfast's bid was a significant disappointment, but ironically, the smaller city of Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland later won the prestigious title of "City of Culture 2013" and proved that achieving prestigious titles is possible in other parts of the country.
effort to brand the city with an emphasis on cultural events is seen as the route to recovery for Belfast.  

4.3.2.3 Looking Back and Moving Forward: Tourism in a Post-Conflict Society

Belfast has tirelessly endeavoured to boost tourism as a major part of its overall efforts at regeneration. Redefining the city's image is crucial to enticing visitors in greater numbers; this will only be possible through careful planning and acknowledgement of the inter-connectedness of tourism and the city's culture and infrastructure. Urry (1990: 33) argues "the way in which 'tourism' has been historically separate from other activities, such as shopping, sport, culture, architecture and so on, is dissolving. The result of such processes is a 'universalising of tourist gaze.'"

Belfast has benefited from an increasing, even thriving, climb in tourism over the past five years, but the majority of visitors come to the city not to see local attractions, but for business/conferences or shopping (Tourism, Culture and Arts Development Unit 2005-2009). Thus, the city must develop a wider touristic appeal. Belfast's potential for post-Troubles 'political tourism' is an issue the city's tourist board has tried to carefully balance. Although this kind of tourism might generate revenue for the city, it will obviously do little to rebrand Belfast in a positive way. Simone-Chateris and Boyd argue that political tourism “might cause negative changes as tourists might have been told and shown things carefully selected by their hosts to further their political claims thus involuntarily becoming promoters of political messages, which might further strengthen existing misconceptions and stereotypes” (2010: 183). Tourism policy in the city certainly tries to downplay political difficulties as much as possible, and marketing

51 Examples of new initiatives include the 'Belfast Regeneration: Streets Ahead Artwork' project, which involved three public art pieces that will be installed to attract positive attention to the city and encourage tourism (Northern Ireland Executive 2009). Another example of popular public art is the now-iconic 'Big Fish' at the riverside. There are a total of 75 cultural festivals taking place in Belfast in 2011-12, such as Culture Night (23rd September), Belfast Fringe Festival (14th-16th October, 21st-23rd October), Belfast Festival at Queen's (14th-29th October), and Cinemagic (14th November – 2nd December) (Tourism, Culture and Arts Unit 2011). The city-focus of these projects also reflects arts funding patterns: 43.5% of art funding awards have had a leaning towards arts organisations or artists living and working in Belfast city during 2007-2008 (Arts Council of Northern Ireland 2008a).

52 Ironically, the manner in which the violence of The Troubles ravaged the city's reputation and devastated perceptions of Belfast as a safe and appealing city as served to preserve its unique historical appeal. Journalist Martin Fletcher argues the legacy of The Troubles can benefit tourism, as Belfast's architecture and even its culture, were unable to modernise along with the rest of Great Britain: "The Troubles also slowed the modernisation and homogenisation that have rendered so much of Britain and America bland. Since the late 1960s the province has been caught in a time-warp from which it is only now emerging. The pace of life remains slow and an old-world charm survives" (Fletcher 2002: 5). After a proposal in 1992 to 'sell' The Troubles as a ‘tourist draw’ was met with controversy and, ultimately, successful opposition, Belfast has nonetheless acknowledged that the iconic areas of conflict are a real attraction to visitors (Neill 2001: 822). O'Neill noted that "in the summer of 2000, one of the main tourist attractions in Belfast was the massive peace line at Cupar Way in the city which separates the well-known landscapes of fear on the Shankill and Falls" (2000, cited in Neill 2001: 822). In addition, a significant and often underestimated source of tourism is the string of cruise ships that briefly stop at Belfast's docks to allow their passengers to explore the 'conflict zones.' In fact, cruise tourism significantly contributes to the local economy (approximately £15m per year) and "continues to provide a key role in introducing visitors to Belfast” (BBC 2011). Neill (2001: 822-3) quotes official sources noting that, interestingly, these cruise passengers are disappointed that Belfast doesn't look more like a real war zone.
materials are “dominated by the impulse to banish apprehension and fear by appealing to a vapid but cosy transcendent cosmopolitan culture in whose reflection most city inhabitants would not be able to recognise themselves” (Neill 2001: 820).

However, in spite of the obvious difficulties Belfast must overcome in order to rebrand itself as a top-tier tourist destination, the city has enjoyed marked success in recent years, even described as “the new Berlin” (Pape and Calkin 2007). From a turning point in 2007, Belfast became known as one of the top 10 UK “cities on the rise,” creating an increasing ‘buzz’ in the UK news media (BBC 2006a; Peterkin 2006; The Independent 2006; Katz 2006).53

Therefore, success has come at the cost of misrepresenting the city, and potentially alienating its long-term residents. Furthermore, the statistics compiled by the Tourism, Culture and Arts Development Unit show that the vast majority of visitors (an average of 85% per year) to Belfast (both one-day and overnight) are from either the Republic of Ireland, or Great Britain. This is ‘tourism of convenience’ and Belfast therefore may need to more aggressively target the international market when planning tourism strategies and cultural events that have variety and a distinct local identity.54

4.3.3.4 Event Case Study: Belfast Festival at Queen’s 2011

“The Festival is something that lifts our spirits as we face into a dark winter in Northern Ireland”
Roisin McDonough, Chief Executive of the Arts Council of Northern Ireland.
(CultureNorthernIreland, 2010)

The Belfast Festival at Queen’s is one of the city’s longest running cultural events. Launched in 1962, Belfast Festival at Queen’s (BFQ), is the biggest international multi-arts festival in the city, and it includes classical music, theatre, visual arts, literature, film dance, jazz, comedy, folk music and popular music (Ulster Bank 2011). Given that the event has existed, in some form or another, for almost fifty years, the BFQ has been used instrumentally as a tool of tourism or simply to lift local spirits, during periods before, during, and after The Troubles. Its changing identity and different incarnations reflect the needs of the local culture, and the BFQ is therefore a key event.

53 In 2008 Belfast placed third in The Guardian newspaper’s ‘Favourite UK City’ travel award; in 2009 Belfast ranked fourth (The Guardian 2008/9). The city is also optimistically predicting a synergy effect from the 2012 London Olympic Games, the 2013 World Fire & Police Games, and Derry/Londonderry’s title of UK City of Culture 2013.
54 In a survey by Margaret Sutherland of 3,000 households in Belfast (2007), citizens were found to believe that tourism does not really impact on their day-to-day life. Among respondents living in Belfast, only 38% associated a positive relationship between tourism and their ordinary life. 72% of respondents, however, indicated that increasing the number and/or frequency of festivals and events in city could contribute to the creation of positive local community spirit. Interestingly, more than half of Belfast citizens (57%) felt that tourism increases residents’ awareness of their own city’s culture. Furthermore, Simone-Charteris and Boyd praise political tourism because of the role it plays in “fostering better relations between the loyalist and nationalist communities across Northern Ireland, and assisting the peace process and reconciliation efforts in the Province” (2010: 195).
through which to examine the role of cultural events in Belfast’s ongoing drive to regenerate.

4.3.3.4.1 Commercial Ambitions: The 2011 BFQ

The 2011 BFQ took place from the 14th to the 30th of October, and featured over 225 events at more than 36 venues across the city. The BFQ is the most prominent annual event in Belfast’s city culture, and it benefits from government support (with funding from both public and lottery sources), a base at Queen’s University (the biggest university in Northern Ireland), connections to tourism initiatives (through collaboration with the City Council’s Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure) and prominent sponsorship from Ulster Bank (Arts Council of Northern Ireland 2008b). The commercial ambitions of the festival are obvious: it seeks to boost tourism and attract locals, and its corporate sponsorship is, unusually, part of the event’s official title (thus, the BFQ is usually called “The Ulster Bank Belfast Festival at Queen’s” in printed materials) and embedded in the design of its logo (see Figure 4.17, below).

![BFQ Logo Before Sponsorship](image1)

**Figure 4.17:** The BFQ Logo, Before Its Sponsorship in 2007 (left), and After, in 2011 (right).

The BFQ is a diverse arts festival, with an emphasis on performance and ‘entertaining’ events, rather than traditional exhibitions of artwork; it includes classical and contemporary music and opera, dance performances and plays, film screenings and other visual arts events, as well as educational talks and family activities. Seana Skeffington, Marketing Manager at the BFQ in 2011, believes that the event has created a distinct identity based on its connection to Belfast and the university (it prides itself on being one of the only university-based festivals in the world) (Personal Interview with Seana Skeffington 2012). Furthermore, the festival’s long history is seen internally to be part of its USP, especially as preparations are underway for the 50th anniversary festival in 2012 (Personal Interview with Mark Prescott 2012). Former BFQ director Graeme Farrow believed the festival was an “arts and entertainment Olympics” comparable only to the Edinburgh Festival, and the international quality of the BFQ is (understandably) frequently

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55 The BFQ has been primarily sponsored by Ulster Bank since 2008, after a financial crisis in 2007 nearly caused the festival to close down (Belfast Telegraph 2008).
56 All quotes from Seana Skeffington, Marketing Manager of the BFQ, come from an interview conducted via email on 4 January 2012.
57 All quotes from Mark Prescott come from an interview conducted via email on 29 January 2012.
emphasised by those involved (Arts Council of Northern Ireland 2008b).

4.3.3.4.2 Designers and Decision-Makers at the 2011 BFQ

Figure 4.18: The BFQ’s Organisational Structure, 2011.

The organisational structure of the BFQ (see Figure 4.18, above) reflects its emphasis on commercial goals, with specific heads of financial and marketing teams, but less focus on cultural contents. According to Skeffington, the permanent staff is “an extremely small team” and the help of volunteers during the festival period is essential (Personal Interview with Skeffington 2012). Designers are marginalised within the organisation: Mark Prescott, the BFQ’s Festival Director in 2011 and part of 2012, notes “although the festival is multi-disciplinary, the role of professional designers at best is a very small one” (Personal Interview with Prescott 2012).58 Designers are used only to produce marketing materials, and they do not take a role in the conception or management of the festival (in 2011, the Belfast-based design company Darragh Neely Design Works was used). According to Skeffington

We don’t employ designers, we outsource this role. Designers are extremely important for the programme, media campaign and in helping get the message across to the audience. We brief the designers so that they know exactly what the message is, who are audience are and how we want to communicate with them. It is then the role of the designer to make sure that this is carried out in the most effective way (Personal Interview with Skeffington 2012).

The additional tasks associated with design, therefore, are carried out in the BFQ by non-

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58 Prescott was Director of the BFQ in 2011, and at the time of my interview with him. However, Prescott has since quit his role at the BFQ and is no longer involved with the festival at all. The current Director of the BFQ (as of April 2012) is Shan McAnena.
designers, and without awareness of the design theories behind them. Thus, the BFQ demonstrates another example of ‘invisible design’ in the planning of a cultural event.

4.3.3.4.3 Marketing the 2011 BFQ

The marketing of the BFQ carried a message of entertainment rather than culture, and a television commercial for the festival was created which promoted the festival as a ‘fun night out’ and a reason to visit Belfast for its value for money and party atmosphere. Unusually, there is no mention of arts or any cultural activities apart from music concerts, thus suggesting that the BFQ arguably has ambitions to be a more ‘mainstream’ and populist festival.

In addition to television advertising, the 2011 BFQ also made use of their official website (see Figure 4.20, below) and online social media (specifically Twitter and Facebook) to promote the event. Skeffington revealed that the levels of activity on these websites is carefully paced, with an increasing number of messages posted each week as the festival gets closer, reaching a peak during the festival period (Personal Interview with Skeffington 2012). The content on these social media sites, as well as the other publicity material, emphasised the varied events and activities of the festival, and promoted the concept of ‘something for everyone’ in order to achieve as many visitors as possible. All of these websites featured the same logos, colour schemes, and basic EIP, which was also seen in the BFQ’s printed brochure (see Figure 4.19, below).

The BFQ was also advertised through online media outside its direct control, via a number of websites in the UK and Europe that detailed festivals and promoted tourism (Personal Interview with Skeffington 2012). One of the key aims of the BFQ (and its sponsors) is to boost tourism to Belfast and project an appealing image of the city for outsiders. Prescott claimed that both local and international audiences were targeted with a programme aimed at as broad an audience as
4.3.3.4.4 The BFQ’s Role in Tourism and Regeneration

One of the challenges of the BFQ is overcoming Belfast’s existing negative ‘place imagery’ which is, as suggested above, still based on The Troubles. Skeffington agreed that the city has suffered from a negative reputation, but believes perceptions of Belfast are constantly improving, thanks to the BFQ (Personal Interview with Skeffington 2012). Prescott, too, believes the BFQ is “a platform through which to promote and communicate” which can have an effect on Belfast’s ‘brand identity’ and change how the city is perceived (Personal Interview with Prescott). Skeffington summarised her views of the importance of the festival’s high profile during and after the city’s difficult period:

During “The Troubles” the festival continued year after year, sometimes under the most trying of circumstances. Many artists have supported the festival over the years, and when others would not have felt comfortable visiting Northern Ireland, artists such as Michael Palin, Billy Connolly and Judi Dench appeared a number of times and continued to support the festival during the bleak times. These people became ambassadors for both the festival and Belfast, and helped to bring the city to the attention of others and to reinforce the positive aspects of Belfast and Northern Ireland. The festival has played a huge role in this over the years and in turn is supported greatly by the Northern Ireland Tourist Board, Tourism Ireland, Belfast City Council and the Arts Council for Northern Ireland. We work closely with [these organisations] to attract overseas visitors (Personal Interview with Skeffington 2012).

Skeffington acknowledges the difficulty in making Belfast appealing, especially at its worst times, and her comments also clearly reveal the nature of the festival: the people she describes as ‘artists’ are really better defined as celebrities.\(^{59}\) Thus, the commercial rather than cultural/artistic nature of the BFQ is reinforced.

Interestingly, in spite of the emphasis on attracting non-local visitors to the festival, the majority of visitors have nonetheless been from “a 10 mile radius from Belfast” (Personal Interview with Skeffington 2012). The importance of the BFQ’s touristic efforts is arguably less about visitor numbers and more concerned with an intangible benefit: an attempt to rehabilitate the city’s brand image and, as a consequence, improve the quality of life for its permanent residents. In fact, Skeffington argues that tourism and regeneration are totally interconnected, and that the BFQ’s ability to attract international visitors “shows the communities what can be achieved” (Personal Interview with Skeffington 2012). Northern Ireland’s former Arts Minister, Carál Ni Chuilin, described the BFQ as the ‘flagship’ event in the country and argued that “it operates at the very highest level and is a shining example of the vital role arts and culture plays in

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\(^{59}\) All three ‘artists’ named are actors and comedians known for their work in film and television.
contributing to our social economy and tourism” (Walker 2011). Prescott also supported the notion that the BFQ has a direct impact on regeneration, by arguing that it has stimulated “the artistic life of the city” and Belfast’s “cultural infrastructure” more generally (Personal Interview with Prescott).

The BFQ has, furthermore, aimed to have a more direct and tangible influence on local citizens; through curatorial design (by programming events specifically to appeal to them) and through targeted marketing and outreach campaigns encouraging them to attend.60 Prescott notes that the programme always aims to reflect “stories of the city” and Skeffington argues that the BFQ, especially during The Troubles, was “a source of entertainment that people could rely on” (Personal Interview with Skeffington 2012; Personal Interview with Prescott 2012).

The BFQ has grown as part of a larger trend of urban regeneration, as Belfast recovers from its difficult recent history. The city centre is expanding through a process of gentrification, creating a revitalised waterfront neighbourhood adjacent to the city’s river (Carter 2003: 261). However, in spite of increased tourism and an improved economy, Belfast has yet to fully achieve its goals. In Mercer’s 2011 survey of the quality of life in cities around the world, Belfast scored lowest (63rd) among the UK cities surveyed (Mercer 2011).61

4.3.3 Case Study II Conclusion: Belfast’s Bright Future?

The team of permanent staff at the BFQ are currently preparing for a special festival, as 2012 marks the 50th anniversary of the first Belfast Festival.62 Looking forward, the creative and managerial staffs involved are hopeful that the festival can continue to grow in size and scope, and make an increasingly meaningful impact on improving Belfast’s brand image and quality of life. Prescott aims to develop the BFQ to embrace new partnership, new technology, and the possibilities offered by social media:

60 According to Skeffington, the BFQ runs a ‘community ticket scheme’ which gives more than 1000 free tickets to local community groups, and an additional 500 tickets allocated to a group identified as “non-traditional festival goers” (ie people who would not usually attend cultural events) in order to encourage them to return again in the future (Personal Interview with Skeffington 2012). This would also, of course, result in additional paying customers, and so cannot quite be described as a selfless scheme.

61 Interestingly, Belfast’s score for ‘Personal Safety’ was higher than London’s, in spite of its overall lower ranking.

62 2012 also marks another key anniversary: 100 years since the launch and sinking of the Titanic, constructed in Belfast’s shipyards. The Titanic has always been a part of the city’s hopes for tourism, but this aspect is being relaunched and re-emphasised for 2012. A new five-story building, called simply 'Titanic Belfast', provides tourists with an educational and entertaining experience covering the construction, launch and sinking of the ship (Calder 2012: 4). Local policymakers believe this attraction “may be the salvation of the city” and that Belfast will surpass Bilbao as a new tourist destination; Calder argues this is likely because unlike Bilbao, where the contents of the Guggenheim have no connection to the local context, the Titanic Belfast reflects truly local culture and history (2012: 5). The venue also shrewdly mixes cultural contents with consumer potential, with its top floors offering luxury restaurants and facilities for weddings and conferences (Calder 2012: 5).
In future years I hope the festival can adapt to 21st century society with a programme that takes into account the relatively young age of the population, responds to how the digital and social media world is altering society habits and methods, acts as an enabler and innovator with partners arts organisations both local and international and makes new work (Personal Interview with Prescott 2011).

If the festival aims to innovate, and to respond to the digital media that is transforming cultural events, it will inevitably increase its focus on designers and design. The BFQ is a ‘less designed’ event than others in the sense that its emphasis is on entertainment rather than art, concerts rather than exhibitions, and generally activities requiring less detailed curatorial and experiential design. Arguably, the BFQ models the service it delivers more on the retail and leisure industries, thus it employs a different skill set in terms on design tasks. Yet, again, the design is largely invisible and unrecognised. The biggest challenge facing Belfast, and Northern Ireland, is its relative isolation and its reliance on attracting local citizens in order to sustain cultural events. Prescott, who worked previously as Head of Cultural Campaigns for the London Mayor’s Office, sees key differences between the two cities: “London is a much bigger city, it has probably the biggest cultural offer in the world. Festivals in London don’t have the same city wide cut through that festivals in smaller cities like Belfast have” (Personal Interview with Prescott). The advantage, then, of the BFQ is that, if its programming is sufficiently appealing, it can reach the entire city, giving it considerable potential for creating ways for citizens to interact, participate, and benefit from events. In fact, Belfast and Northern Ireland are characterised by intense local pride, as reflected in the current tourism campaign, “our time, our place” (see Figure 4.21, below) which interestingly seems to be targeted more to local civic pride than attracting outsiders to visit the country.63

![Figure 4.21: Northern Ireland’s 2012 Tourist Campaign Leaflet.](image)

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63 Also of note is the lack of originality in this slogan: it is plagiarised directly from the Liverpool ECoC slogan (“It’s our time. It’s our place” as discussed above), and shows the repetitive cycle of imitation that takes place in the planning of city events: Liverpool hoped to copy Glasgow, just as Belfast is now imitating Liverpool.
4.4 Conclusion/Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided detailed and focused analysis of two UK cultural events, the Liverpool Biennial and the Belfast Festival. The introduction to this chapter provided a breakdown and overview of the structure and focus of these case studies. The first section briefly discussed the European Capital of Culture title, and the case of Glasgow as ECoC in 1990. Though not one of the chosen case studies of the chapter, it was essential to cover the case of Glasgow, because it was so influential for ambitious cities across the UK. Policymakers have admitted that Glasgow provided an inspirational basis for imitation in plans to create regeneration and rebranding through city titles and events. This is especially true in the case of Liverpool, which was itself ECoC in 2008. Thus, the first few sections of the first half of this chapter provided a summative overview of Liverpool’s cultural identity and history, as well as some early efforts to use culture and design as tools of regeneration. These sections gave essential contextual information, and create an appreciation of Liverpool’s contemporary efforts in the wider framework of long-standing problems and attempted solutions. Subsequent sections focused on the design, branding, planning and results of the ECoC and Liverpool in 2008, again, because this is vital to understanding the accomplishments and ambitions of the LB, as the two events are so closely linked. The next sections looked at other relevant and noteworthy city branding and tourism policies in the city, leading up to the main case study of the 2010 LB. These sections drew on numerous personal interviews and extensive document and statistical analysis to systematically summarise the 2010 LB in terms of the role design played in its creation, marketing, branding, the interactivity of exhibitions, its use of social media, and the event’s results. The first half of this chapter concluded with a discussion of the Independent Liverpool Biennial, as it provided a revealing comparative case study that demonstrated a different use of design and a different approach to branding and regeneration.

The second half of the chapter examined the case of Belfast. For the same reasons as with Liverpool, and to ensure structural consistency, the first sections covered the cultural history of the city to provide context for the event case study. The following sections, likewise, analysed current cultural policies towards regeneration and rebranding, leading to several sections on the BFQ in particular. These sections argued that the BFQ is a highly commercial event, and assessed the contribution to tourism, branding and regeneration, and the role of design in the event, through further personal interviews.

The cultural events hosted by Liverpool and Belfast show two different approaches to solving the same problem, and there are several distinct parallels between the LB and the BFQ. Both events were initiated in cities in decline, in hope of creating positive city brand images and creating
cultural, societal and economic regeneration. Both events were started independently – by a former student in the case of the BFQ, and by an artist in the case of the LB – but are now fully supported by government and part of the cultural infrastructure of the cities. The independence of the events may have been compromised, though not necessarily with negative consequences (the apparent benefits of maintaining independence from policymakers and funding bodies is an issue in the case of Mullae; see Chapter 6).

The events have both achieved some measure of success (based on their own aims and targets), and continue to grow, yet both still face challenges and limitations. Arguably, the use of design in both events is still too limited: design and designers are used only in the most limited ways, to create graphic design and marketing materials, but little more. There is potential in these cultural events to embrace the wider possibilities of design – design as a creative process, design management, and the way design can solve problems – in order to gain a new perspective.

The Liverpool Biennial has arguably been more successful in embracing new ideas and creating meaningful change (see Tables 4.5 and 4.6, below). Due to the productive synergy with the ECoC title, the LB has helped to boost Liverpool’s international and national reputation. The city’s economy is still in decline, and the regeneration of society and culture are still in a process of development; but the LB has changed perceptions of the city, helping to establish an ongoing perception of Liverpool as a city of culture, and putting it on the map as a truly ‘global’ city. Belfast, meanwhile, continues to struggle to reinvent itself, in spite of the efforts to create an appealing event with a meaningful contribution to branding and regeneration (see Tables 4.7 and 4.8, below).

These two case studies – Liverpool and Belfast – will be compared and contrasted in greater detail in Chapter 7. The case study in the next chapter demonstrates a similar problem faced by a city in a totally different cultural, historical and national context.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Designer</th>
<th>Non-Designer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>· How did different interests contribute to the creation of the 2010 Liverpool Biennial?</strong></td>
<td>Designers were not directly involved in the conception or creation of the LB. However, the principles of design management and service design were used to plan and solve problems. External design agencies are consulted later in the process, and their input is limited to marketing/advertising/branding activities only.</td>
<td>The Liverpool City Council has enthusiastically supported the LB, providing funding and infrastructure support, without interfering in the specific creative process of the LB. However, the funding provided was inadequate, and the 2010 LB had to use cost-saving measures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>· What do different stakeholders/policymakers do in this process?</strong></td>
<td>Designers are involved in discussions with LB staff and are consulted extensively on marketing and branding issues. Designers offer advice and strategy to help make the LB’s communication channels more effective.</td>
<td>The LCC plays no active role during the LB event. However, the LB is highly involved with local council organisations for social inclusion, as well as educational outreach programmes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>Designer</td>
<td>Non-Designer</td>
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<tr>
<td>• What contribution did designers and non-designers make to the overall branding?</td>
<td>Designers contributed to the brand firstly, by creating the marketing images and designing promotional materials. Designers also created a 'toolkit' enabling the LB staff to produce more promotional items.</td>
<td>The local city council has been involved in the overall rebranding of the city and the creation of the concept of 'Liverpool' as a brand (not just a city name). In terms of the LB, however, the LCC had no input. There were programmes for citizen participation throughout the LB, including educational events, interactive art, and a wide spread of exhibitions across the city designed to reach as many locals as possible. The organisation had a key role in the overall branding of the LB, as well as the city of Liverpool. Although external designers created the branding materials, the LB staff had a role in this process.</td>
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Table 4.5: Research Questions applied to the 2010 LB.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Social Regeneration</th>
<th>Economic Regeneration</th>
<th>Environmental/Physical Regeneration</th>
<th>Cultural Regeneration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• What contribution did the event have on regeneration?</td>
<td>The LB aims to take a positive role in social regeneration, although there is disagreement about how highly this is prioritised. The event targets all citizens, and educational outreach programmes aim to have a tangible impact on the younger generation of local citizens.</td>
<td>There is significant tourism to the city generated by the LB, with visitors typically staying overnight. Statistical research suggests that 57% of LB attendees claimed the event was the main reason they visited the city, and the total boost to the tourist trade in 2010 was estimated at GP£27.2 million.</td>
<td>The LB has a particularly strong commitment to environmental responsibility. It aims to make all its at accessible, and has a determined scheme to reduce the 'carbon footprint' generated by the event, by encouraging visitors to use public transportation as much as possible.</td>
<td>Local artists can use the LB as a platform for their work, as a way to receive wide exposure and potential career development. Further, the LB's theme always reflects the city of Liverpool, aiming to enrich the local culture with art and themes that are highly specific and meaningful. The LB also runs events and activities in non-event-periods, providing a permanent and ongoing positive contribution to the local cultural regeneration.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 4.6: Regeneration and the 2010 LB.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Designer</th>
<th>Non-Designer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>How did different interests contribute to the creation of the 2011 Belfast Festival at Queen’s?</strong>&lt;br&gt;o Specifically, how did designers contribute to the creation of the Belfast Festival at Queens?</td>
<td>Designers were not directly involved in the conception or creation of the BFQ. External design agencies were consulted later in the process, and their input was limited to creating materials and graphics for marketing/advertising/branding activities only.</td>
<td>The local government had traditionally provided the funding necessary for the event, but a recent crisis resulted in the event gaining corporate sponsorship. The government, therefore, has very little influence in the creation of the event. Citizens were not directly represented in the decision-making process, but they were an important consideration in the creation of programmes and content specifically aimed at local cultural concerns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>What do different stakeholders/policy makers do in this process?</strong>&lt;br&gt;o Specifically, what do designers do in the process?</td>
<td>Designers take no role in this process apart from the creation of promotional graphics and publications. Designers are briefed, and trusted to complete their task based on their expertise and skill.</td>
<td>The local government plays no direct role in this process, but the BFQ is used instrumentally by the tourism board and other organisations to boost the appeal of the city. The government express great pride in the festival, calling it a “flagship” event. Many of the events feature the talents of local artists, thus representing citizens in the process. The event has no formal community groups involved in the process, however. During the event period the permanent staff is expanded with the addition of numerous event-period-only volunteers, who are “essential” to the process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>What contribution did designers and non-designers make to the overall branding?</strong></td>
<td>Designers contributed to the brand in the most direct way: they designed the visuals that appeared on all official promotional documents and media.</td>
<td>The local city council has been involved in the overall rebranding of the city; however, they had no involvement in the branding of the BFQ. Citizens had no direct impact on the branding of the BFQ.</td>
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</table>

Table 4.7: Research Questions applied to the 2011 BFQ.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Social Regeneration</th>
<th>Economic Regeneration</th>
<th>Environmental/Physical Regeneration</th>
<th>Cultural Regeneration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• <strong>What contribution did the event have on regeneration?</strong></td>
<td>The BFQ includes educational talks and events, which are important due to the festival's connection with the university (QUB). The BFQ also more broadly seeks to boost local spirits and enhance civic pride.</td>
<td>The BFQ works with local tourism operators to try to boost the hospitality trade. The festival also contributes to job creation and skill training by hiring staff and volunteers each year.</td>
<td>The BFQ makes little efforts towards physical and environmental regeneration, though its programmes do bring life and activity to the city centre.</td>
<td>The BFQ aims to enhance local culture and emphasise the best aspects of the local community, primarily with a view to 'selling' Irish culture to visitors.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8: Regeneration and the 2011 BFQ.
Chapter 5:
The Jewel in the Crown or the Emperor’s New Clothes?
The Gwangju Biennale

5.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the central research questions of this thesis, with a specific focus on the city of Gwangju in South Korea, and the role design plays in creating its most notable cultural event, the Gwangju Biennale (GB). The GB has been used in an attempt to create both rebranding and regeneration, yet the context, content and outcome of this event is significantly different from other cultural events discussed (Liverpool and Belfast in the previous chapter, Seoul and Mullae in the following chapter).

5.1 Introduction

5.2 The Old Brand: Gwangju’s History and Cultural Identity

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5.5.5.4 Environmental Design
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5.5.5.8 Government Survey

5.6 Conclusion

5.6.1 Measuring Gwangju’s Regeneration
5.6.2 Designing Gwangju’s Future

5.7 Summary

Figure 5.1: Chapter 5 Contents.
The first sections of this chapter provide an overview of Gwangju’s history and cultural identity, in order to demonstrate that the city has a long-established ‘brand’ image as the result of its particular historical importance. This historical identity has an influence on all of the image politics and rebranding strategies currently considered by policymakers in the city. The following sections of the chapter provide further relevant background information, covering the cultural activities and touristic strategies in Gwangju, and the creation of the Gwangju Biennale. The primary case study is the 2010 GB, explored in several sections evaluating the event in terms of the research questions: the different parties (designers and non-designers) who worked in the creation and running of the event, its impact on regeneration and city brand image (expressed through debates about satisfying local or global ambitions), and the success of various forms of design, as determined by a detailed analysis of the quantitative data collected in the process of this research. This chapter also draws on extensive original qualitative interview data. Many of the conclusions and observations made in this chapter are drawn from my personal experience during my fieldwork research.

5.2 The Old Brand: Gwangju’s History and Cultural Identity

Gwangju,64 (literally meaning ‘village of light’), the sixth-largest city in South Korea, was established in the historical period of the Three States in 57 BC. Besides producing many scholars, it has given birth to Namjonghwa, the Southern School of Chinese Painting and Pansori, a traditional Korean singing genre. Generally, Gwangju has had a strong reputation for justice, staunch political opposition, and social conscience (Yea 2003: 125). The capital of the South Jeolla province, with a population of 1.4 million citizens (Statistics Korea 2010b), Gwangju has experienced much in the course of its history: colonial rule; dictatorship; the blind adoption of western standards; and crippled modernisation. In spite of this, the people of Gwangju have a strong sense of identity that has been shaped by their specific regional culture and unique history.

During the 36 years of Japanese colonial rule in Korea, beginning with the annexation of 1910, the Gwangju Student Independence Movement was created to protest against the perceived injustices and abuses of colonial rule, and became the instigator of a nationwide movement (Gwangju Metropolitan City 2010). After the liberation of Korea from Japanese rule at the end of World War Two in 1945, the city returned to relative anonymity. Throughout the Korean War (1950-53) and the subsequent period of rapid

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64 Under the previous system of romanisation, Gwangju was spelled as ‘Kwangju’ and its province, Jeolla, as ‘Cheolla’.
modernisation and Westernisation, Gwangju was largely neglected, and changed little compared to other major cites such as Seoul and Busan.

From 1961, when General Park Chung-Hee seized power by military coup, until his assassination in 1979, the regime skewed regional economic and political power towards the Gyeongsang province in the southeastern part of South Korea (which contains the cities of Deagu and Busan) at the expense the Jeolla province in southwestern part of South Korea (which includes Gwangju and Mokpo) (Yea 2003: 116-7). Citizens from Jeolla showed intensified indignation at the export-led industrialisation (or development-oriented) policies of the Park regime, which included pumping funds into the development of new industrial foundations in his native province, while leaving the Jeolla province as a backward agricultural region (Kim 2007). Furthermore, the disproportionately favourable representation of Gyeongsang province personnel in central government, in addition to the other ongoing preferential treatment given to the region, left the citizens of Gwangju and other Jeolla province cities and towns feeling psychologically, culturally, politically and economically neglected and mistreated (Sonn 2003; Yea 2003). While the military dictatorship was stimulating imbalance, the social unrest and flaring anger of Gwangju had spread throughout the country, and South Koreans nationwide increasingly had intense aspirations for political rights, freedom of expression and assembly. These gestures of protest only intensified in the post-Park regime of General Chun Doo-Hwan, which suppressed prodemocracy movements and freedom of the press (Ahn 2002).

5.2.1 The May 18 Democratic Uprising

This strong democratisation sentiment reached its peak in Gwangju in 1980, where a particularly passionate demonstration was crushed with excessive lethal force, an event that undoubtedly defines the city for historians today. Gwangju had remained a centre for the pro-democracy movement; students and their professors led demonstrations against the new junta, demanding the creation of a democratic government and respect for human rights (Shin 2003: xx). Demonstrators were stopped on the street, and their activities were banned; student activist groups later changed the focus of their struggle from democratization of the Chonnam National University campus to the democratization of the entire city of Gwangju, if not the entire nation (Shin 2003). These small protests

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65 The official term for this is “excessive suppression.” In 1988 at a National Assembly meeting held in Seoul, Yi Hui-seong, the martial law commander during the uprising, formally confirmed that excessive suppression was one of the causes of the Gwangju uprising” (Choi 2006: 76).
66 These human rights abuses included imposing a strict nightly curfew, arresting dissidents and subjecting them to illegal and abusive interrogations, cracking down on hair length (supposedly the cause of corruption of public morals), illegal personal searches, and invasive, unjustified police questioning (Shin 2003: xii).
grew in size, culminating in what historians refer to as the ‘Gwangju Democratic Uprising’ of May 1980.

This notorious event began on 18\textsuperscript{th} May 1980, when about 100 students gathered to protest in front of the Chonnam National University gate, and were joined by a significant number of non-students ('ordinary citizens') (Kern 2009: 308). Army soldiers were called in to maintain order, and subsequently attacked this large group of unarmed protestors, killing many. This slaughter created chaos, and for the following ten days the entire city of Gwangju was subject to martial law and was blockaded, with no one allowed in or out (including, crucially, national and international press) (Underwood 2003: 33). One of the most significant aspects of this crisis is the way that ordinary citizens rallied to help the protestors: families sheltered fleeing protestors in their home, in spite of the serious threat of violence. The local residents joined with students and protestors to organise an informal crisis council to deal with the situation diplomatically and peacefully, a source of great pride at the time (Shin 2004: 622). However, these citizens, using the Chonnam Council Hall (ordinarily the headquarters of regional government) as their base of operations, also prepared for further conflict, arming themselves with whatever weapons were available (Shin 2003: xvi). On the tenth day of the crisis, 27\textsuperscript{th} May 1980, President Chun (under the authority of the American government) ordered the massacre of all the organised protestors. Tanks, helicopters, and a huge number of soldiers stormed the city, defeating the small group of armed protestors, and also firing on ordinary citizens; these attacks were notoriously brutal, as even pregnant women, elderly people, and teenagers were killed, beaten and arrested (Shin 2003: xvii).

Although the protestors were defeated by Chun’s military force, this was a clear moral victory for the people of Gwangju, as citizens in cities and towns throughout South Korea were disgusted with the actions of the new government.\footnote{According to the official statement on the meaning of the May 18\textsuperscript{th} Gwangju Democratic Uprising, written by The May 18 Memorial Foundation, “it was not a disgrace but an honorable event, full of glory. The eternal spirit of the Gwangju citizens did not spring from either a mere love of their own home town or a simple rebellious spirit, but from a deep desire for democracy that even the oppression of the authorities and their distorted propaganda could not erase [...] The long campaign for democratization provided an opportunity for the justification of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising and for the restoration of the city’s honor” (The May 18 Memorial Foundation 2010b).} In the immediate aftermath of the event, the government confirmed 4,369 casualties (including 154 deaths) (The May 18 Memorial Foundation 2010a). These numbers, however, are still debated, and it is believe that the original reports did not accurately reflect the true number of citizens injured and killed. A numerous sources estimated a total of more than 5000 casualties (this number includes the many, many citizens ‘missing’ in the aftermath of the event, and the final number may even be higher) (Shin 2003; UNESCO 2010).
Throughout the rest of the 1980s, the Gwangju Democratic Uprising became an inspiration for political activists protesting against the military regime, in spite of government suppression of coverage of the event in the Korean news media. In fact, apart from one German magazine, which published a photo of a bereaved boy that became iconic of the massacre (see Figure 5.2, below), there was very little meaningful coverage of the event in the international media either.

5.2.2 The Cultural Legacy of the Uprising

One of the key figures of Gwangju’s politically oppositional status was Kim Dae-Jung, a politician from Jeolla province who emerged as a figurehead of the democratic movement in the 1970s (and in 1998 became President of Korea). Undoubtedly, President Kim was the most persecuted dissident politician under the military regime of Park Chung-Hee and Chun Doo-Hwan, as he was frequently arrested, threatened and injured; he was ultimately imprisoned and politically marginalised. The relationship, thus, between Kim and the military regimes has been remembered as symbolic of the marginalised status of Gwangju (and the rest of the Jeolla province) during this period of “intensified regionalism” (Shin 2004: 622). One of the enduring associations that people in Korea still have of the city of Gwangju, therefore, is as the hometown of Kim Dae-Jung.

The cultural and political legacy of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising of May 1980 is immense, and its importance to perceptions of the city of Gwangju cannot be exaggerated. The violent suppression of protestors has led the event to be often compared to China’s Tiananmen Square Incident of 1989 (Scott-Stokes and Lee 2000: xvii). The event has been the subject of numerous novels, poems, plays, comic books
and films produced in the last 30 years in South Korea. Despite a sense of pride in Gwangju’s past heroism, however, a lack of cultural progress and distinct economic hardships have led to an increasing public weariness with the city’s reputation as the symbolic centre of oppositional politics throughout the 1980s (Lewis 2002: 144). After 30 years of remembering, commemorating, discussing and debating the events of May 1980, the city of Gwangju has aimed to create a new cultural identity for itself, while honouring the difficult cultural legacy of the democratic uprising.

5.3 Gwangju’s Facelift: Rebranding the City through Cultural Policy

Gwangju citizens have undoubtedly suffered ruin, deteriorating living conditions and an impoverishment of culture. The need to recover and rebuild the cultural values and the image of Gwangju has been essential; this has been attempted through an embrace of both the city’s heritage and a wider sense of Asian culture, providing a valuable opportunity to restore a sense of pride and identity. The citizens of Gwangju have much to be proud of, as historian Lee Jae-eui argued, “there had come into existence a family-like tradition of outstanding pride and self-awareness regarding the democratization movement” (Yea 2003: 125). Since the 1990s, the South Korean government adopted a neololiberalist cultural policy “as an instrument for strengthening the competitive capability of culture, tourism and regional economic growth” (Yim 1995). When Kim Young-Sam was democratically elected the first civilian president of South Korea in 1993, he made a conscious effort to reverse the discriminatory policies against Gwangju and the Jeolla province. Under this new government, the first official memorial to the Democratic Uprising was created (the Mangwol-dong May 18 Memorial Cemetery, in 1997), a new foundation was established (The May 18 Memorial Foundation, since 1994), and new policy was put into place to acknowledge the tragic event (the Gwangju Uprising Act of 1997); finally, significant funds were given to create a new international cultural event based in the city: the Gwangju Biennale.

Subsequent presidents also played important roles in supporting the development of new cultural ventures in Gwangju. Significantly, as discussed above, the first president from

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69 In 2009, for example, the city of Gwangju had the lowest GRDP (Gross Regional Domestic Product) among Korea’s seven metropolitan cities (Gwangju’s GRDP was GBP£12.1 billion compared to Seoul’s GBP£141.5 billion), and Gwangju citizens had on average a much lower personal income (Gwangju’s citizens had a collective nominal personal income of GBP£9.8 billion in 2009, much lower than the collective nominal personal income of citizens of Seoul, which was more than eight times higher at GBP£87.1 billion) (Statistics Korea 2010a).

70 18.2 billion Korean Won, roughly GBP£10 million (Gwangju Biennale Foundation 1996).
Jeolla province was elected: Kim Dae-Jung, Gwangju’s political hero. Elected to office in 1997, he gained an incredible 92.9% vote from citizens of the Jeolla province (Sonn 2003: 48). President Kim’s successor was Roh Moo-Hyun; during his election campaign in 2002 he pledged to transform Gwangju into a “Cultural Capital.” After he took office, the government established Gwangju’s new identity as “a Hub City of Asian Culture.” Given that Gwangju was seen as ideally suited to benefit from rebranding through cultural events, the ‘Hub City of Asian Culture’ project aimed at balancing national development with the creation of an ideal urban environment model.

5.3.1 Architecture and Urban Design for Gwangju

In addition to the title of ‘Hub City of Asian Culture’ (and of course the Gwangju Biennale and Gwangju Design Biennale), Gwangju has established several further cultural festivals to promote itself. Part of the ‘Hub City of Asian Culture’ will involve the construction of a new cultural centre in Gwangju, planned for 2014, with most of its rooms and halls constructed underground. Many of Gwangju’s citizens, however, want this cultural centre to also function as an architectural landmark to become the symbol of local pride and imprint the city’s identity on the map (like the Sydney Opera House or the Guggenheim in Bilbao) (Jo 2007). Rising to meet this challenge, a team of architects has been commissioned to undertake just such a project: simply entitled ‘Landmark,’ it seeks to mark a unique or important historical moment in the city’s history. Many Gwangju citizens have claimed that the Democratic Uprising of May 1980 truly represents Gwangju; in many ways the choice of subject is itself a struggle for identity caught between the past and the future (Personal Interview with Mi-hee Ahn 2011). The problem then follows whether the present project’s architectural design is sufficiently distinctive. Opinion is divided; but all have raised questions about the design and two main points in particular: the edifice is to be mostly underground; and it will lack a supersized performance hall (Lim 2008).

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71 These are: Im Bang Ul’s Korean Traditional Music Festival (annually, since 1997), Gwangju World Kimchi Culture Festival (annually, since 1994), World Photonics Expo (in 2010), Gwangju Youth Music Festival (annually, since 2006), Gwangju Jeongyuulseong International Music Festival (annually, since 2005), 7080 Gwangju Chungjiangro Festival (annually, since 2004), Gwangju International Performing Arts Festival (annually, since 2007), and Gwangju Art Fair (annually, since 2010). Additionally, the Gwangju Summer Universiade will begin in 2015.

72 All quotes from Mi-hee Ahn come from a personal interview conducted in Seoul on 9 July 2011.

73 Those opposed include the residents of Dong-gu District Council, local NGOs (especially those from the fields of culture and art), Gwangju City Council and its Mayor. They have constantly said that these shortcomings will undermine the project’s function as a landmark. They have continued to send their requests for fundamental changes in these respects to both the central government and the President at Chungwha-daeh (the Blue House). These debates and requests culminated in a council meeting in 2007, at which the designer proposed only slight changes to the original plan. The project’s opponents maintained that the underground edifice will not serve as a suitably prominent and visually symbolic landmark to attract international visitors (Lim 2008).
overground landmark which incorporates Gwangju’s sense of culture and art. As such, they believe the designer should completely redesign the plan in accordance with public opinion (Lim 2008). These controversies, alongside continued scheduling delays to completion, enhance the need for the landmark even more. The value of an iconic structure to tourism and culture (Lynch 1960; Anholt 2006; Urry and Larsen 2011) is well known to the policymakers and public citizens of Gwangju; yet, again, the city is caught between the old and the new, between moving forward with a new identity or holding on to images of the past. Arguably, Gwangju needs buildings, events, and a brand image that can honour the city’s difficult history while projecting a modern and appealing image to compete in the global market.

5.3.2 Marketing Gwangju’s New Brand

Another major initiative in the attempt to rebrand Gwangju was the launch of the City Marketing Headquarters in 2007. This was the first dedicated City Marketing department in the history of South Korea’s regional government, and it created the slogan “Your Partner Gwangju” as its central message, along with a symbol, character and logo (see Figure 5.3, below) which, according to the city’s official description, were intended to represent friendliness and togetherness.

Figure 5.3: Official Slogan, Logo, and Character Created in 2007 by the Gwangju City Marketing Headquarters.

During the brief period that the Gwangju City Marketing Headquarters was functioning, it is arguable that its attempts to rebrand Gwangju failed. A survey conducted by the Gwangju Development Institute shows that the slogan has not been effective (Min and Lee 2010). Among South Korean citizens living outside Gwangju, only 23.6% associated the new slogan and images with the city of Gwangju. The results were equally disappointing when Gwangju citizens were polled: only 23% recognised the intended associations of the images and slogans. The results of this survey clearly demonstrate the failure of this particular brand identity and its associated slogan; arguably too

74 After a new Gwangju Mayor was elected in 2010, the organization structure of the city government has changed; the City Marketing Headquarters has been closed down, and two new Policy Departments were created instead: the Policy Department of Culture, Tourism and Sports and the Creative City Policy Planning Team.
indistinct and non-specific to mean anything to people viewing Gwangju from either the inside or outside.

In spite of the failure of the Gwangju City Marketing Headquarters department and the stalled ‘Landmark’ project, the numerous other cultural events established in Gwangju (including, of course, the Biennale) have been more effective. The success of these cultural contributions in changing national and international perceptions of Gwangju can be measured by the data collected in the survey conducted by the Gwangju Development Institute in 2008 (Min and Lee 2008). According to the results collected, foreign residents in Gwangju mostly associated the city with such politically charged images as ‘the May 18 Gwangju Democratic Uprising’ (37.5%), ‘the Democratic Movement’ (10.7%), and ‘Kim Dae-Jung’ (2.4%). Also present in the results were cultural associations such as ‘Pansori’ (10.7%), ‘the city of culture/art’ (4.8%), and finally the ‘Gwangju Biennale’ (4.2%). In a survey conducted just two years later by the same organisation, results showed that South Korean citizens living outside Gwangju associated the city primarily with ‘May 18th 1980’ (79.6%), ‘Democratisation’ (54.6%), the ‘Gwangju Biennale’ (54%), ‘Kim Dae-Jung’ (43.6%), and the ‘Hub City of Asian Culture’ project (1.2%) (Min and Lee 2010). Undoubtedly, therefore, the city’s cultural initiatives have failed to overshadow or even equal the uprising in terms of external perceptions.

Results from the same survey showed that Gwangju citizens held many of the same associations of their city, with the only major differences being a much stronger impression of Gwangju’s status as Hub City of Asian Culture (18.5%), and a significantly increased perception that Gwangju is a city of ‘art’ (18.5%). The Gwangju Biennale was chosen by 59% of respondents, a similar number to those outside the city. This shows the significant success of the Biennale in changing perceptions of the city, in comparison to many of the other cultural enterprises designed to rebrand Gwangju. While political and recent historical events still dominate perceptions, the fact that the Biennale is so strongly recognised and associated with Gwangju demonstrate the event’s remarkable development since its founding in 1995.
5.4 Internationalising City Culture: The Gwangju Biennale 1995-2008

Trying to clarify ambiguities about the history of Kwangju, Korea and of the world, this festival of art promises to mark a new era of openness. Furthermore, this event will contribute to the development of a truly diverse cultural environment in which art can illuminate not just the tragic partitioning of Korea but other divisions plaguing the world.

-Kwangju Biennale Declaration-

The Gwangju Biennale (GB), a contemporary art exhibition held once every two years (see Table 5.1, below), has “coincided with the rising impact of globalization and the prosperity that has profoundly redefined Asia’s economic and political role at a global level” (Enwezor 2008). To commemorate ‘the year of art’ and ‘the 50th anniversary of National Liberation’, and to establish the city as a cultural mainstay, the Gwangju city government launched the GB in 1995 amid a significant amount of sensationalism and controversy. Although the GB was strongly criticised by “political progressives,” who wanted the identity of the GB to focus, from the start, on memorialising the democratic uprising (Shin et al. 2006: 29), it has come to prominence as ‘the first international art biennale in Asia’, “Asia’s oldest and most prestigious Biennale of contemporary art” and the “most visited” Biennale in the world (Solanki 2010).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Artistic Director</th>
<th>Official Description</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>20th Sep. 1995 - 20th Nov. 1995</td>
<td>Beyond the Borders</td>
<td>Yong-woo Lee</td>
<td>Beyond the Borders conveyed a message of global citizenship that transcended the divisions between ideologies, territories, religion, race, culture, humanity, and the arts. Aesthetically, it manifested itself in art’s ability to overcome meaningless pluralism and intended to establish new orders and relationships between the arts and mankind. In particular, the exhibition attempted to respect the variety of lifestyles and traditions in the world and foresee the future of arts and civilization from this multifaceted perspective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>1st Sep. 1997 - 27th Nov. 1997</td>
<td>Unmapping the Earth</td>
<td>Harald Szeemann</td>
<td>While the visual concept of negative space often manifests itself in a limited manner in Western art, it is almost omnipresent in the East. It is most easily defined as the space which is left around the characters and images in a composition. Despite the connotations of the word “negative” it also holds the implication of possibility, new creation, and new creativity. In a broader sense, it can also represent resistance against encroaching modern society and the destruction of the primeval. The main exhibition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
was designed to discuss the importance of the flow of the natural in its relationship to negative space to create a dialogue on a harmonious coexistence between the built and the pristine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>29th Mar. 2000 7th June 2000</th>
<th>Man + Space</th>
<th>Kwang-su Oh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>&quot;A (Man)&quot;</strong> is a pictograph that symbolizes a standing man, and implies that man is the most precious among creatures, while the pictograph &quot;Space&quot; originally symbolizes the gap between doors. In a broader sense, it is used to refer to distance, relationships, intervals, the center, a border, or contact. In terms of culture, man ((\frac{A}{\wedge})), alongside &quot;Space,&quot; represents men as a social being by deconstructing and rebuilding the original meaning of each pictograph. In this way, the theme of Man+Space was an attempt to dismantle all past contradictions and divisions in human lives and construct a new notion of living.</td>
<td>245 Artists from 46 countries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4th</th>
<th>29th Mar. 2002 29th June 2002</th>
<th>P.a.u.s.e</th>
<th>Wan-kyung Sung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>P.a.u.s.e, the theme of the 2002 Gwangju Biennale, was adopted from the Eastern concept of meditation to encourage mankind to withdraw from the rigors of contemporary society and prepare for a new leap forward. The exhibition invited the participation of non-profit and experimental art groups and movements from throughout the world to promote communication, and to propose a withdrawal from the narrative of modern art history, even from modern society itself, in an effort to build a new way forward.</strong></td>
<td>325 Artists from 31 countries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5th</th>
<th>10th Sep. 2004 13th Nov. 2004</th>
<th>A Grain of Dust a Drop of Water</th>
<th>Yong-woo Lee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>&quot;A Grain of Dust, a Drop of Water&quot; was conceived as a symbolic image of an Eastern philosophical discourse pursued by the Biennale. Dust and water both serve as key aspects of the entire cycle of life. In turn, a single grain or drop can be seen as a tiny lone fragment or an essential aspect of a greater whole. In this way, the theme of &quot;A Grain of Dust, a Drop of Water&quot; presented a series of exhibitions driven by unique and spontaneous development.</strong></td>
<td>237 Artists from 41 countries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6th</th>
<th>8th Sep. 2006 11th Nov. 2006</th>
<th>Fever Variations</th>
<th>Hong-hee Kim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asia is changing. Asia is constantly moving and expanding with no definitive form of identity. It is not the fantasy in the minds of the West; the fantasy of New Asia is born from the mobile and dynamic Asia. &quot;Fever,&quot; the keyword of the 2006 Gwangju Biennale, is derived from the Latin for &quot;heat&quot;, but culturally or poetically means a hot trend or phenomenon. The intention was to reorganize and reinterpret contemporary art from the perspective of Asia's new energy of change and its dynamic vision that is spreading like a fever.</strong></td>
<td>127 Artists from 31 countries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the preparation period of the first GB, the media’s reporting focused on the priorities of the event, which especially encouraged the support and attendance of Gwangju citizens for a ‘successful’ event. It was hoped that the GB would show ‘foreigners’ the kindness of Gwangju citizens and function as ‘the pride of Gwangju’; the GB would thus be a self-serving international event, ultimately promoting the city itself more than any of the art exhibited. However, the first GB seemed to be struggling to find its identity, as it tried to create perceived associations with previous large-scale international events in South Korea such as the 1988 Seoul Olympics and the 1993 Daejeon Expo, in order to appeal to visitors and citizens. Examples of this include the creation of an ‘animal mascot’ for the GB, a pigeon named ‘Biduri’ (a direct imitation of the iconic Seoul Olympics mascot, a little cartoon tiger called Hodori; see Figure 5.4, below) and, absurdly, an opening parade, in which the national flags of the participating artists were displayed, as though they were competing for medals and national pride. National media, also, frequently and emphatically referred to the GB as an ‘art Olympics’ to promote the excellence of Korean culture to the whole world. Catherine David (1997), however, former artistic director of the ‘Documenta X’ in Kassel, stressed that international art events can be very effective in helping to promote the host country, but the organiser should prioritise a genuine ‘place for art’ rather than a deliberate ‘usage of art’ for PR.

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75 Observations about media coverage of the GB, here and throughout this chapter, are based on a personal survey of newspaper reports dating from 1993, accessible via Naver.com’s online archive. Daily newspapers consulted included the Dong-a Ilbo, Kyunghyang Sihnmun, Maeil Business News, Yonhap News, Segye Ilbo, and the Hankyoreh; the Newsis news source was also used.

76 The most ridiculous attempt to create an ‘Olympic’ theme to the first GB was a competitive hot-air balloon race between eight countries. The participants in the race had no connection whatsoever to the artistic exhibitions at the GB. The winner was Hong Kong.

77 Based on a survey of national newspaper articles published around the time of the first GB.
It was initially hoped that the GB would escape the Western bias of many cultural events, and carefully include work from Third World artists, as well as those from Europe, America, and Asia (Personal Interview with Ahn 2011). It was believed that this would encourage more diversity in terms of the visitors, bringing art lovers to Gwangju from all over the world. The first GB, nevertheless, was unable to attract international visitors in any meaningful number, with non-Koreans making up just 1.5% (24,500) of all visitors (1.64 million) (Kim 1995). This trend has continued in every subsequent Gwangju Biennale, including the most recent.

In addition, the GB has even shown a consistent inability to attract nationwide interest. Typically, only around half of Korean visitors come from outside the Jeolla Province.\(^7\)\(^8\) This suggests that the GB has not met its own aims to become either an “international” or a “nationwide” event. The GB continues to attract primarily local visitors because it has not invested sufficient consideration in marketing to citizens in other provinces or nations. In spite of national newspaper advertisements and announcements, and nationwide TV commercials, the content of the GB marketing materials seems to primarily address the tastes and sensibilities of local citizens. The scope of the PR is limited in terms of its ideas and variety, ignoring the rich potential of graphic design and marketing strategies.

This lack of national and international diversity of visitors has put pressure on the GB to increase its attendance figures in other ways. The GB, therefore, has continuously relied on a strategy of inviting groups of children from schools throughout the Jeolla province to attend the GB. These huge numbers of compulsory visitors inflate the final statistics, so that the GB can play the visitors ‘numbers game’ and ‘compete’ in terms of overall visitor numbers with the major Biennales such as the Venice Biennale, San Paulo Biennale, and the Whitney Biennale in the USA. The first GB, for example, recorded that school group

\(^7\) The GB Foundation Final Reports and archive newspaper reports expose the following non-Jeolla province Korean citizens visitor percentages: 49% at the 1\(^{st}\) GB in 1995; 40% at the 5\(^{th}\) GB in 2004; 43% at the 6\(^{th}\) GB in 2006; 26% at the 7\(^{th}\) GB in 2008.

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visitors made up about 38% of total visitors (163 million) (Kwangju Biennale Foundation 1996). The GB is determined to significantly boost its visitor counts and revenue by bringing in huge numbers of paying school trip students in order to achieve a ‘successful’ event. Yet nevertheless, the GB has consistently neglected to provide any specific educational programmes or activities for school trip visitors; education can help “people feel there is room for more opportunities of involvement in, and commitment to” cultural events such as the GB (Sacco and Blessi 2009: 1127). Therefore, the absence of a meaningful educational policy at the GB is a significant omission. Another cynical way that the GB boosts both revenue and attendance is through the forced cooperation of civil servants. Jeolla government employees are forced to purchase a number of tickets to the GB, and then they must re-sell them on their own initiative (Jung 2004). Whether these tickets are re-sold, given away for free, or simply thrown away, makes no difference to the increase in revenue for the GB that this practice creates.

5.4.1 The Role of Designers in the GB, 1995-2008

One of the GB’s most interesting innovations in terms of design is the pioneering application of the ‘EIP’ (Event Identity Program) design concept to its event. This term exists only in South Korea, and was developed for use in the marketing of cultural event nationwide (Personal Interview with Jin-yeoul Jung 2010). The underlying principal behind the EIP concept is of a unified brand image to define an event: each GB will have a distinct graphic design reflected by its poster, typography, colour scheme, etc., which will appear on all of its promotional images and signage. This creates a sense of unity and cohesiveness, through design, of every aspect of the GB. The EIP “leads the concept and object as a visual unification [and] performs an important role in effective event[s] by expressing [an] impressive image and strong symbolism and communicating with the general public” (Jang and Kim 2003: 113). Thus, the EIP concept draws together the principles of advertising, such as Stahl’s (1964) concepts of effective marketing, and the central principles of graphic design, specifically combining words, images, fonts and logos to maximum effect (Jobling and Crowley 1996; De Mozota 2003; Lau and Leung 2011) (see Chapter 2).

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79 According to the official statistics of the 5th GB final report (2004), the percentages of school group trip visitors are: 50.3% at the 2nd GB in 1997; 43.8% at the 3rd GB in 2000; 44.5% at the 4th GB in 2002; 46% at the 5th GB in 2004.

80 All quotes from Jin-yeoul Jung come from a personal interview conducted in Seoul on 10 December 2010.
The use of EIP in the ‘main’ GB event has been proven to be highly effective, as demonstrated by positive responses on the visitor survey every year. However, the EIP concept has often been mismanaged by decision makers responsible for some of the GB’s ‘sub-events.’ According to the fifth GB Final Report, one of the common problems was a lack of design comprehension of the EIP principle in different departments within the GB (Gwangju Biennale Foundation 2006). The organisers of sub-events often did not follow the chosen EIP graphic concept of that year’s GB when they were producing PR materials. In fact, because of the absence of designers in these departments, decisions made during the approval process of the design draft proposals were often based on the decision makers’ personal taste instead of the EIP manual.

However, though the use of EIP in the main GB event has been successful (as discussed above), and the success of the EIP is thanks to the creativity of designers, the GB doesn’t recognise the true importance of design within its organisational structure; in fact, as of 2010, to cut down on expenses, the GB Foundation only employs one designer on a permanent basis, and his role is almost entirely administrative. The design work of each GB is typically outsourced to professional design agencies or university professors. In spite of the clear importance of design to the GB, it has no design department, and it has no designers in positions of power. The designers working on the GB have no true investment in the event, and have no real voice. In fact, the absence of designers in cultural events is increasingly common; Hughes (2010: 20) notes that many exhibitions are staged with no input from designers at all. As will be seen in the section below, with reference to the 2010 GB, design and designers are largely invisible in the GB, in spite of the importance of design to all aspects of event planning and execution.

5.4.2 The Value of the GB: A Global Brand vs. Local Regeneration

The priorities of the GB in terms of exhibition contents and artwork selection have always been decided by that year’s artistic director (thus, the Exhibition Design and Curatorial Design have traditionally been undertaken by non-designers). The response from visitors and art professionals varies depending on the accessibility and canonicity of the art and the esotericism of the choices. The issues considered below are of relevance to understanding the regenerative impact of the GB, and the extent to which it is able to

81 Based on the EIP, the PR materials of the first GB such as the leaflet, poster and banner were shown to be successful: 69% of responses said the PR materials were ‘well recognisable.’ According to the appraisal report of the 7th GB conducted by the Korea Arts Management Service under the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (KAMS 2009), both visitors and professionals were satisfied with the PR materials (more than 70%).
satisfy visitors while achieving international prominence, and thus enhancing the city brand.

Results collected from surveys suggest that pleasing the majority of visitors while also creating the ‘right’ image of the GB is difficult to achieve. Emphasising experimental installation artworks of young rising artists, results of the first GB show that the majority of visitors (79.8%) felt it was too difficult to understand the value or the meaning of the art (Kwangju Biennale Foundation 1996). The exhibition of the second and fourth GB, therefore, revolved around the work of well known, ‘master’ artists’ pieces in order to facilitate the comprehension and friendly ambience for general visitors. However, this could be evaluated negatively as ‘limited artistic creativity’ (Park 2004) because there is no chance for new artists to exhibit their work. This concern occurred equally at the sixth and seventh GBs. According to the appraisal report of the seventh GB (KAMS 2009), the visitors preferred the sixth GB because it was easier to understand, whereas art professionals were more satisfied with the exhibition of the seventh GB owing to the selection of less popular, more ‘challenging’ and experimental art. The importance of art to the overall purpose of the GB was, according to the perceptions and expectations of both visitors and art professionals, totally contrary. According to surveys, visitors expected the GB to function for the revitalization of local economy (43%), the improvement of Gwangju’s image (43%), and as an educational place for understanding contemporary art (36%); whereas, art professionals expected the GB to provide an increased understanding of the flow of contemporary art in the world (46%) and a contribution to world art by introducing new work (22%) (KAMS 2009). Greenhalgh stressed that at international biennales, fine art “served as the important model for proving what was ‘civilised’ by juxtaposition to the displays of what was considered ‘uncivilised’” (quoted in Davidson 2010: 725). When the GB satisfies its visitors, it is successful in terms of local citizenry, but when the GB satisfies art professionals, it elevates the reputation of the GB as a hub of art sophistication, and thus it improves the international reputation of Gwangju.

These choices, whether to satisfy local visitors and Gwangju’s specific identity, or to create an image of the GB as a hub of new international art, have caused divisions within the local community. The progressive Gwangju artists’ community objected to the “non-democratic and unprepared process” of the GB and launched a substitutive exhibition, the “Anti-Gwangju Biennale” at the same time as the first GB, in Mangwol-dong, where the victims of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising were buried (Shin 2004: 627). This proposed a totally dissimilar approach to honouring Gwangju’s history, by addressing it directly rather than through exhibiting the high art of Western European style. The
guiding philosophy of the "Anti-GB" was that art should always be completely accessible to Gwangju citizens, even if that means that it's so specific that it is incomprehensible to international visitors and art professionals. Yoon-soo Kim, the chairman of the second Anti-GB, criticised the main GB, arguing that there was nothing in its contents of relevance to Gwangju, that the GB is an exhibition 'in' Gwangju, not 'of' Gwangju or 'for' Gwangju (Lee 1997). He also explained that the Anti-GB was held in order to express the 'real' image of Gwangju, which is, in his view, 'liberation' and 'resistance', and the purpose of the Anti-GB was making a 'place of experience art' for anyone who objected to the GB's apparent obsession with well-known artists and artwork (Lee 1997). Ironically, after the second Anti-GB in 1997, it was entirely absorbed and became part of the main GB organisation; Yeon-kyun Kang, the artistic director of the first Anti-GB, became the chairman of the Gwangju City Museum. From the third GB onwards, therefore, these political and local-focused groups have been satisfied that the GB has a sufficiently local focus.

However, the GB's increasing sensitivity towards making the event meaningful at a local level led to complaints of excessive regionalism. The third GB artistic director, Kwang-soo Oh, complained that GB committee was 'too local', as 80% of committee members were from the Jeolla Province (Song 2000). There had been, therefore, several understandable criticisms about regionalism, as the 'local' composition of the GB committee lacked a sufficiently international mix. Accusations of regional self-centeredness caused arguments and divisions within the organisation. For instance, Min Choi, who was originally appointed as the artistic director of the third GB, was fired midway because he tried to initiate a reform of the GB Foundation's previous lax management; he aimed to reduce the overall number of staff by 70%; he wanted to fire many of the civil servants working in the GB Foundation and hire more event-related professionals (art managers, designers, etc.) (Hur 1999). This issue of regionalism and a local focus remains a divisive topic; the role of the artistic director, therefore, is a challenge to balance local and international concerns: the key dilemma facing the ADs, and the GB, is whether to prioritise city brand enhancement or local regeneration.

The position of artistic director in the GB thus shows that political concerns have affected artistic choices and management. There has always been controversy in the relationship between local politicians and artistic directors. Politicians tried to make Gwangju the priority, whereas artistic directors often focus only on art. The appointments of artistic directors at the GB are sometimes made based on political relationships rather than cultural qualifications, while some previous artistic directors have been appointed in spite

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82 Until the second GB, the GB Foundation was a Gwangju City Museum-affiliated organisation.
of having no particular interest in Gwangju's democratic past, others, such as Min Choi, have had clear and passionate investments in the city's proud political history. On the other hand, the most famous example of a self-serving appointment to the artistic director position is the case of Jung-Ah Shin, who was appointed the co-artistic director (with the first foreign artistic director, Okwui Enwezor) of the seventh GB, and caused a huge public scandal. It was revealed by the press that she lied about her professional qualifications, and that her achievements in the art profession in Korea (which were the basis of her appointment as GB artistic director) were the result of the corrupt manipulations of the former presidential secretary who allegedly had a "close relationship" with her. The seventh GB was the first attempt to balance national and international concerns by appointing two artistic directors, one Korean and one non-Korean. However, following the firing of Shin after the scandal, Okwui Enwezor was left to direct the GB alone. The seventh GB was regarded as a success, leading to the adoption of a practice of inviting only non-Koreans to apply for the artistic director position.

5.5 The 2010 Gwangju Biennale

"The Gwangju Biennale has always been in a dilemma between artistry and popularity; globality and regionality."

In-ho Cho, Director of the Department of Exhibition, Gwangju Biennale Foundation (Personal Interview with Cho 2010)

The 8th Gwangju Biennale took place between the 3rd of September and the 7th of November 2010. For 66 days, the event, titled "10,000 Lives", presented a "sprawling investigation of the relationships that bind people to images and images to people" (Gwangju Biennale Foundation 2010a). The GB's theme for 2010 was inspired by the epic 30-volume collection of 4,000 poems Maninbo [Ten Thousand Lives] by Gwangju native Ko Un, whose work was based on his experience while imprisoned for political activism. The core concept, therefore, directly referenced Gwangju's proud but painful recent history, on the 30th anniversary of the Gwangju Democratic Uprising. The main exhibition featured artworks by 134 artists from 31 different countries, created from 1901 to 2010, and there were also a small number of 'sub-events' in addition to the main show (see Table 5.2, below).

83 Choi was once imprisoned because he participated in the Gwangju democratic uprising and Sung Wan-Kyung, the artistic director of the fourth GB, is known as a progressive public artist and a cultural projects leader (Shin 2004: 625).

84 However, Korean critics were unhappy with the 2008 GB, due to its contents (Personal Interview with Ahn 2011).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Director</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd Sep. 2010 ~ 7th Nov. 2010</td>
<td>10000 Lives</td>
<td>M. Gioni</td>
<td>The exhibition title is borrowed from Maninbo (10,000 Lives), the 30 volume epic poem by Korean author Ko Un. Conceived while Ko was in prison for his participation in the 1980 South Korean democratic movement, Maninbo comprises over 4,000 portraits in words, describing every person Ko Un has ever met, including figures from history and literature (Official Description).</td>
<td>134 artists from 31 different countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th Sep. 2010 ~ 7th Nov. 2010</td>
<td>Maninbo+1</td>
<td>Bong-chae Sohn</td>
<td>Maninbo+1 is an art multi-venue exhibition of artwork by local amateur artists, displaying work in 25 locations around Gwangju.</td>
<td>25 local amateur art groups, and a large number of local citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Sep. 2010 ~ 7th Nov. 2010</td>
<td>Yangdong Traditional Market Project</td>
<td>Kyung-woon Jung</td>
<td>This project exhibits an accumulation of images, objects and observations from merchants and visitors to the market, which added up to a rich experience of individual and collective impressions (Official Description).</td>
<td>Venders in the Yangdong Traditional Market, and 3 local artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22nd Oct. 2010</td>
<td>Yangdong Yasantok (nocturne)</td>
<td>GB Foundation</td>
<td>This is a one-day, two-part seminar in which during the first half, experts discuss the topic of 'civil society and complex cultural space,' and in the second half, local artists give presentations about their own artwork.</td>
<td>6 professional s and 6 local artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Sep. 2010 ~ 7th Nov. 2010</td>
<td>Maninbo Open Stage</td>
<td>Event Agency</td>
<td>This project creates a place for free live music and performance events within the GB grounds, each weekend during the GB.</td>
<td>Local artists and musicians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: The Programme of the 8th GB (2010).

This section will examine the 2010 GB in terms of the key research questions of this thesis, discussing the creative input and working methods of different staff in the GB, including the limited role of designers (Research Questions 1 and 2); it will also discuss the creation of the brand, and the event’s impact on local regeneration (Research Questions 3 and 4). This analysis is based on materials gathered at the GB Foundation between May and November 2010 (see Chapter 3 for a detailed account of the research methodology employed). These include official documents and statistics, participant observation of the exhibition coordination, and interviews with key personnel, including the Artistic Director (AD), Massimiliano Gioni.
5.5.1 Contribution to the Creation of the GB

The sections below offer a systematic evaluation of the role of each member of the GB team in the overall creative process, including their views on working collaboratively and involving designers, in order to directly address the first research question of this thesis.

5.5.1.1 Massimiliano Gioni

The most important creative force behind the 8th GB was Massimiliano Gioni. The fact that he was young, and ‘international’, was key to his appointment to the position (Personal Interview with Ahn 2011). Gioni was directly responsible for the creation of the ‘Maninbo’ concept (he came across Ko Un and Maninbo when he was researching the culture and history of Gwangju) (Personal Interview with Massimiliano Gioni 2010). He admitted that he knew virtually nothing about Gwangju before he was appointed as AD, noting “there isn’t much material abroad about Gwangju, so that’s also what makes the Biennale special” (Personal Interview with Gioni 2010). His concept, therefore, was chosen to evoke a meaningful response from the citizens of Gwangju. He argued that “an exhibition has to be an important exhibition, and if it’s a good and important exhibition, it also has an affect locally […] a show is made to be a good show everywhere in the world, but it also has to be a good show locally” (Personal Interview with Gioni 2010). However, Gioni clearly feels that while it’s important to appeal to locals, it is considerably more important to create an event that has meaning internationally:

I don’t think you can make exhibitions just to be important for the locals. For example, with the Gwangju Biennale this year, I hope it’s open to the locals in the sense that anybody can engage and understand, but if you only do it for local audiences, then it’s pretty sad. Hopefully it will be an exhibition that’s important all over the world and that people will want to come and see. What I find interesting is that nobody asks these questions about Venice or Kasel, because they’re so famous that people don’t wonder if they relate to local communities, and maybe that’s right […] The new mayor says that this has to be the Biennale of the people, but I think that’s bullshit (Personal Interview with Gioni 2010).

Thus, regionalism is an issue even for an international curator, and Gioni is intensely aware of the controversy surrounding the issue. Gioni also identifies specific problems of the GB’s audience. He feels that Gwangju is a much less cosmopolitan city than others, and he struggles with the limited audience who are willing to attend the GB. He compares Gwangju negatively to other, ‘arty’ cities. He offers the comparison that

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85 All quotes from Massimiliano Gioni come from a personal interview conducted in Gwangju on 5 November 2010.
As a European, when I do a show in Europe or New York, I know exactly who my audience is. I can understand them. I know that one part of my audience is professional, art world people; another group is art lovers; then there is the general public who is interested in art. What is interesting about Gwangju is that it’s very different to Seoul, it’s not a cosmopolitan city. Here, I’m thinking ‘who comes to see the show?’ It’s maybe 1% professionals – my usual audience – and the other 99% is very different: it’s schoolkids from age 6 to 25 (Personal Interview with Gioni 2010).

Gioni is highly critical of both the city of Gwangju, as well as the cynical ‘numbers game’ that uses school trips to generate inflated visitor numbers. However, it does not appear that these difficulties or specific Gwangju problems affected Gioni on a creative level. He was responsible for choosing all of the non-Korean artists in the 2010 GB, and he had the single biggest creative role. It is also important to note that although Gioni is not a designer, he understands design, and felt that design should be an important aspect of running the GB.

5.5.1.2 The New York Team

In spite of their geographical distance from the headquarters of the GB Foundation, the ‘New York Team’ also had a major creative input. Gioni requested that a small team of staff, chosen by him, based in New York, have a creative input in the GB. They worked closely with Gioni while based in New York, and most intensely during a one-month stay in Gwangju. The ‘New York Team’ functioned as an exclusive decision-making group led by Gioni. They assisted him in many of the key creative decisions but did not seek the involvement of Korean staff until these decisions had been made. One member of the New York Team discussed the difficulties of working with the existing GB Foundation staff:

I’ve never worked in a situation before where people are brought in and there’s a whole staff that’s already here. That can be really tricky, because we worked together in New York for a year and you all work here, and there’s some communication but then you arrive and then all sudden it’s just a little confusing. Also, it’s difficult not knowing exactly who does what jobs (Personal Interview with Judy Ditner 2010).

The creative ambitions of the ‘New York Team’ often clashed with the administrative and financial limitations imposed by the Korean staff. Another significant factor to consider when evaluating the creative input of the ‘New York Team’ is the extent to which they consider (or, like Gioni, do not consider) the citizenry of Gwangju in their decision-making. One member of the New York Team admitted that she knew nothing about Gwangju.

86 All quotes from Judy Ditner come from a personal interview conducted in Gwangju on 6 November 2010.
Personal Interview with Ditner 2010). This lack of consideration for the local audience reflects the priorities of these important creative decision makers and it also demonstrates Gioni’s priorities: he felt that he needed the advice of art experts rather than Gwangju experts when planning the content of the GB.

5.5.1.3 City Government

The influence of local government on the creation of the 8th GB was also significant. The mayor of the metropolitan city of Gwangju is automatically given the title ‘Chairperson of the GB Foundation’. In 2010, however, there was a mayoral election. Up until June of 2010, Gwang-tae Park held the position of Mayor of Gwangju and GB Chairperson. However, he was voted out of office, which meant that Gwangju had a new mayor and the GB Foundation suddenly had a new chairperson. This was highly disruptive to the continuity of the policy planning. One advantage of this situation was that the newly elected mayor, Un-tae Kang, was previously mayor when the GB was first created. He was instrumental in creating the first GB and the branding of Gwangju as the ‘city of culture’, and therefore was experienced and enthusiastic about the potential of the GB. Likewise, the powerful influence of the mayor has affected GB policy. Mayor Kang, for instance, has pushed ahead with more community friendly policies.

However, this often put unreasonable demands on the GB Foundation. One example of this is that due to intense pressure from the mayor’s office, the GB Foundation, with just two months left before the opening, launched an new ‘Task Force Team’, constituting the heads of each department within the organisation, to brainstorm for creating new projects for citizens; consequently the Maninbo +1 concept was an outgrowth of this hurried improvisation. The Yangdong Traditional Market Project, also, was not welcomed in the early planning stages, however, suddenly, after Mayor Kang was elected, the project was re-activated and gained momentum. Furthermore, the ‘Citizen Participation & Festival’ team – which was created in 2002 and axed in 2004 – was reinstated in 2010, as soon as the 8th GB finished, in order to satisfy the mayor. However, the numbers of visitors to the Yangdong Traditional Market Project were overstated everyday, and Gioni was compelled to accept the Maninbo +1 project as one of the late additions to the 8th GB special programmes. Thus, while the local government had a significant stake in shaping the creation of the GB, the national government had no involvement at all. Although the

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87 This information is based on my observations at the event. I worked as the coordinator of the Yangdong Traditional Market Project, and every day I was responsible for reporting the true and accurate visitor numbers. I can therefore report now with great authority that the visitor numbers actually recorded by the department of administration each day were occasionally inflated, especially with regard to the proportion of foreign visitors.
GB is a major event with a supposedly nationwide scope, there is no guidance or interference from policymakers in Seoul; the national government provides finances to support the event, and nothing else.

Given the potential of the GB to attract international visitors to the city, it is worth noting that neither the local nor national tourist organisations had any meaningful involvement in the event.\textsuperscript{88} In-ho Cho, the Director of the Exhibition Team, stressed that “except the Gwangju Biennale, there are no attractions for tourists in Gwangju, and the city lacks the infrastructures and facilities (hotels, etc.) for tourism.” (Personal Interview with In-ho Cho 2010). He, therefore, hopes that

During the GB, local private and/or public cooperative cultural events could help to bring visitors and create a synergy effect. I strongly believe that through the GB, the image of Gwangju has improved as ‘the city of culture and the city of the Biennale’. The GB has had a positive impact and shown the city’s capability to host international events. Owing the effort of the GB, more and more international cultural events have begun to emerge in Gwangju (Personal Interview with Cho 2010).

Also, Mi-hee Ahn, the Chief of the Exhibition Team (working directly below Cho), insisted that if the GB Foundation creates high quality exhibitions, then the visitors naturally come to see the show (Personal Interview with Ahn 2011). This passive policy – to attract tourists simply by making the GB as successful and appealing an event as possible, rather than by specifically considering tourists in the planning stages – is demonstrative of the lack of cooperation, and the missed potential of tourism and the GB.

5.5.1.4 The GB Foundation

In spite of the many conflicting contributors to the creation of the GB, the final credit for the vast majority of the planning, policy, and decision-making must go to the various staff of the GB Foundation. There are four departments in the GB: Department of Policy & Research, Department of Exhibition, Department of PR & Business and Department of Administration (see Figure 5.5, below). While the Department of Policy & Research, Department of PR & Business and the Department of Administration play an important role in the running of the GB, it is the Department of Exhibition that accounts for almost all of the important creative decisions (this is the only one of the four departments that

\textsuperscript{88} For example, in the same month the 6th GB was held in September 2010, in Korea, there were two more big international contemporary art events in the country: The 6th Seoul International Biennale (called ‘Media City Seoul 2010’) (7th September~17th November) and the 2010 Busan Biennale (11th September~20th November). The media, however, only covered these events as competitive biennales rather than emphasizing the potential for collaborative tourism strategy for visitors.

\textsuperscript{89} All quotes from In-ho Cho come from a personal interview conducted in Gwangju on 7 November 2010.
What follows is a detailed account of the role this department plays in the creation of the artistic aspects of the 8th GB.

The Director of the Department of Exhibition was officially supposed to lead this team and mediate between other departments and the AD. However, in 2010, an ambitious new project created by the Gwangju government, called ‘Art Gwangju 2010’ (an art fair, running from 1st September ~ 5th September 2010), was held by proxy through the newly established ‘Special Project Team’ created within the Department of Exhibition; therefore, the Director of the Department of Exhibition was mostly preoccupied with ‘Art Gwangju 2010’ rather than the other GB exhibitions. While this move had the wholehearted support of the CEO & Executive Vice President, it created problems for the Chief of the Department of Exhibition, because her total budget was suddenly cut in order to fund this initiative. In-ho Cho’s role involved the contribution of some of the GB’s ‘big ideas’. He believes that “the Biennale is not the kind of event or festival which vanishes quickly, like a bursting bubble.” He believes that the terms (event and festival) “contain a negative connotation” (Personal Interview with Cho 2010). He stressed,

The Biennale is the cultural and visual arts field. The Gwangju Biennale has always been in a dilemma between artistry and popularity; globality and regionality. Although the Gwangju Biennale is a professional contemporary art event, the majority of visitors are ordinary people, so the real impetus of the event should be to show the culture prevalent in the era and to help to broaden people’s horizons (Personal Interview with Cho 2010).

My own professional participation was as a member of the Department of Exhibition during my fieldwork period; I collected data from this department and conducted interviews with almost every member of the team.
He also emphasised that “the aim of the Gwangju Biennale is to share and commune with ordinary people through culture. The Gwangju Biennale, therefore, has been trying to develop participation programmes and tries to encourage the new artistic director to focus on creating engagement (participated) programmes” (Personal Interview with Cho 2010). Clearly, Cho’s intent to involve the visitors through active participation is influenced by the user-focus of design theory, and the emphasis on interaction. It is clear that Cho’s philosophies are different to Gioni’s; while the AD wants to make the event appealing to international art lovers, Cho focuses only on making the event meaningful to ordinary local people. Cho’s creative role, ultimately, was to suggest these big conceptual ideas – but he was never involved any further in the practical implementation of these ideas. He never conversed with the AD about the specific plans for artistic events and exhibitions. Other people had to decide the best way to achieve the goals he set.

Another important team member who had a much more practical input into the creation of the GB is Mi-hee Ahn, the Chief of the Department of Exhibition, working directly underneath Director Cho. She operated as a liaison between the director of the Exhibition Department and other departments, as well as between the Director and the AD. She was the only person among the high executives (except the CEO and Executive Vice President) who was able to communicate with Gioni in English. Despite claiming that the GB is an ‘international event’, the lack of English proficiency in the organization has put more pressure on her role, as she meditated between Gioni (who speaks no Korean) and the Korean-language administrative procedures. Her creative input was thus: for example, when Gioni asked for help choosing some Korean artists to include in the GB, she drew up a shortlist for him. As Chief of the Department of Exhibition, Ahn worked more closely with Gioni and other creative decision-makers than almost anyone else, but her own creative input was highly limited. She acted sometimes as a ‘shield’, protecting Gioni from the internal politics of the GB Foundation (Personal Interview with Ahn 2011). Most significantly, the GB is the only biennial in the world that has a permanent, continuous Chief of Exhibition, giving stability and consistency in spite of other rotating, temporary staff.

The Coordinators within the Department of Exhibition also worked hard to put into action the creative decisions of others, making arrangements but not having any input on these ideas.

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91 I worked as a Coordinator in the Department of Exhibition. I was one of four Coordinators, and I was chiefly responsible for the special section in Gallery Four as well as the Yangdong Traditional Market Project.
5.5.1.5 Invisible Designers

Designers also play a key role in the creation of the GB. However, although the GB Foundation has a Design Team within the Department of Exhibition, these designers focus on managing the Gwangju Design Biennale, which is a separate event, an international contemporary design exhibition held in alternate years. This Design Team has no creative involvement at all in the regular GB. In fact, the importance of including designers is neglected by the GB Foundation, and the key creative design work is contributed by outsourced designers who have no continuing personal investment in the GB. Chosen by a public open call, the outsourcing design agency, therefore, mainly designs the primary graphic concept. Jin-yeol Jung, the CEO and Main Designer of the consultancy contracted for the 2010 GB, said,

Mr. Gioni thought that the design concept was important, because he used to work in a magazine publishing company. I think he is enthusiastic about design. He shared his ideas and concepts, and treated us as equals in the creative process. This is the ideal method. Mr. Gioni thinks that the designer is a partner from the planning stages (Personal Interview with Jung 2010).

It is important to emphasise that while the GB Foundation marginalised designers, Gioni, as AD, made sure that designers had an important input. Jung was pleased to have been involved in the GB from the early stages, which is how he prefers to work (Personal Interview with Jung 2010). Jung is satisfied working in an outsourced role, as he believes that for big cultural events and festivals, the best design work is done by external outsourced designers, because internal design departments have too many administrative restrictions (Personal Interview with Jung 2010). In the case of the 2010 GB, the design concepts occasionally had opposition from the GB management; Gioni tried to “protect the design as much as possible from being changed by the bureaucracy” (Personal Interview with Jung 2010).

Although the role of designers was limited, and the use of the brand design concept had limited effectiveness, the GB is actually a relatively positive example of the use of design in a cultural event in South Korea. According to Designer Jung,

The GB is better than other events and organisations in Korea. It's extremely rare to find an event that uses the EIP system. Designers need time to conceptualise and prepare their ideas. Most Korean companies and organisations don't understand that. They hire designers for only short periods of time, but designers like to be involved early in the process (Personal Interview with Jung 2010).

While the GB Foundation, therefore, seems to neglect to involve designers holistically, when compared to other Korean international events and organisations, it is actually
comparatively innovative, placing relatively high importance on design, even though it lacks any permanent design staff.

5.5.1.6 Citizens and Stakeholders

There are no representatives of ‘ordinary’ local citizens within the GB foundation, or involved in the creative planning stages. However, it is clear that citizens are considered carefully in the planning of many events (and the design of the poster), and therefore, to an important extent, the local community does play a key role in the creation of the GB. To arouse local pride and boost cultural activities, the Maninbo+1 project was created as a citizen participation exhibition everywhere in Gwangju, and included 25 local amateur art lovers and groups (Gwangju Biennale Foundation 2010b). However, although this project was created because the local government demanded more activities for citizens, it was not given proper attention and planning by the GB Foundation. The Department of Exhibition was unable to run this project, and so it was handed over to the Department of Policy and Research. One other exhibition for locals was the Yangdong Traditional Market Project. In the vibrant Yangdong market, the largest market in Jeolla province for over 100 years, this project consisted of “an accumulation of images, objects and observations from merchants and visitors to the market, which added up to a rich experience of individual and collective impressions” (Gwangju Biennale Foundation 2010a). This event was given greater priority than the neglected Maninbo+1, and was run by the Department of Exhibition. Funds managed by the department, intended for a conference, were re-distributed to make sure that the Yangdong Traditional Market Project was well-funded. One other important factor in these two events is that they were created by external programmers who had been hired by the GB Foundation as temporary staff. They were chosen because of their expertise and understanding of the demands of the local citizens, and it is ironic that there were no staff in the GB Foundation who knew enough about the city to programme these events. Creatively, these events were judged as less important by the AD: Gioni only met the programmers of these events once during the entire preparation period, and there was no synergy between these events and the main GB.

5.1.1.7 Design Management and the GB Staff

The creative input of the GB staff and policymakers can be mapped on to the various design roles discussed in Chapter 2. Design theory shows that the creative process of
planning and problem solving is categorised as 'Design Thinking', 'Design Management', 'Design Strategy', and 'Design Leadership' (see Figure 5.6, below).

Gioni, as AD, clearly contributed 'Design Thinking' to the GB, by creating new ideas and driving concepts, while remaining open to collaboration and receptive to the ideas of others. Gioni also provided 'Design Strategy' by defining the shape and specifics of content over a continuous period; finally, Gioni also took a role in the management ('Design Management') of the Exhibition team, especially in dealing with artists and artwork.

The New York Team also contributed Design Thinking and Design Strategy through their collaborative working relationship with Gioni, although their input in this regard was arguably smaller.

Local Government, specifically Mayor Kang, also contributed Design Thinking: he provided some 'big ideas' and insisted on additions to the programme, but he didn't concern himself at all with the practical consequences of implementing his suggestions, or how his ideas might clash with Gioni's plans. Yong-woo Lee, the GB Foundation's CEO and Executive Vice President, took exactly the same kind of role: contributing big ideas (Design Thinking) but taking no role in the planning or implementation of these concepts.
Director Cho of the Exhibition Team was, ideally, responsible for Design Management of the GB, but he was distracted from managing the team and delegated many tasks. He was also more interested in being involved in the Design Thinking process, again by providing ‘big ideas’ and leaving the AD and the rest of the team to deal with them.

Chief Ahn of the Exhibition Team was mostly involved in Design Leadership and Design Management. She acted as a manager and a liaison between various staff, overseeing the practical preparations and operations of the GB.

Finally, the design agency contributed to the GB’s Design Strategy, even though this was an external agency and were not part of the staff. Their graphic design work and other ideas gave form to the concepts created by Gioni.

Therefore, though there was not a conscious implementation of advanced design theory at the GB, the staff nonetheless covered all four areas of the field through their diverse task-sharing and division of labour.

5.5.2 Managing the GB

The process of running the 2010 GB involved different problems and opportunities that were present at the planning stage. The way in which different interests and stakeholders were represented and considered was different, and the roles and relationships of different departments show the specific process of running the many large and small-scale events of the GB.

5.5.2.1 Events for Engaging Citizens

As discussed above, local interests were considered at every stage of planning of the GB; however, citizens were not formally involved or represented within the GB Foundation. Nonetheless, local expertise played a key role in decision-making, as several external programmers and consultants were contracted by the GB Foundation to pitch, organise and curate some important additional events. These programmers had specialist knowledge of local culture that nobody in the GB Foundation possessed; ironically, while Gioni and the New York team had knowledge of international art and culture, real expertise of the city of Gwangju was lacking. These local programmers
brought unique advantages and disadvantages to the organisational hierarchy of the GB’s policymaking process. One of supposed the benefits of contracts with local professionals for public events was to have a better sense of the demands of the citizens, and therefore a closer understanding of how to achieve (at least short-term) regeneration. These events had a specific focus on relevance to citizenry, and allowed for interaction between local people and different kinds of activities to the GB’s main themed events.

The 8th GB contained three distinctive projects for public involvement during the main exhibition: Yangdong Traditional Market Project, Maninbo + 1 and Maninbo Open Stage. These events were intended to be accessible and meaningful to citizens first, and visitors second (primarily in the case of the Yangdong Traditional Market Project, as the two other events were not considered suitable for non-local visitors at all). These events ran smoothly in spite of a very short preparation period; they were essentially improvised with only a month left before the opening of the exhibition.

The Yangdong Traditional Market Project (YTMP) was proposed by a local university professor with experience of organising cultural events; the project’s nominal connection to the GB was the result of opportunism. The programmer of the Yangdong Traditional Market Project had superior knowledge of Gwangju’s history and culture, and had been trying to establish the event prior to the GB; when the Chief of the Exhibition Team first heard of the event, she saw an opportunity to add it to the GB’s festivities. However, the GB’s acquisition of the Yangdong Traditional Market Project was initially received internally without enthusiasm, until the new mayor demanded more local, citizen-focused events. Though the project took place due to GB funding, and was hosted under the GB brand, it can be regarded as a separate event. It was overseen by an external programmer, and none of the key creative decision makers from the GB had any control over the contents of the event.

The Maninbo +1 project was introduced under similar circumstances. It was made up of a wide range of artwork by local amateur artists, members of art communities, and students, and was exhibited in 25 locations such as Chonnam National University Hospital, Kim Dae-Jung Centre and other public buildings in Gwangju. The proposals from participants were selected just two weeks before the opening (compared to more than a year between the selection of artists for the main GB and its opening). Oddly, this project was overseen by the (non-creative, purely administrative) Department of Policy and Research within the GB foundation because the department of exhibition was busy with the main exhibition. Like the YTMP, this was a last-minute addition to the GB events roster, but it was seen as a useful way to satisfy the mayor’s demands for more locally meaningful events. However, as AD, Gioni was extremely unhappy: He felt that this
event, by using the title *Maninbo+1*, exploited the carefully chosen ‘Maninbo’ concept that was at the centre of the main exhibition and that it cheapened the main event, as it included local amateurs, unlike the carefully selected, ‘high-quality’ internationally renowned artists he had chosen (Personal Interview with Gioni 2010). This is another example of the GB’s ambitions of international quality conflicting with the demands of local citizenry.

The *Maninbo Open Stage* was a place for live music and performance within the GB grounds, exclusively for local artists and musicians, each weekend during the GB. The *Maninbo Open Stage* was also programmed by an external event company, and, like *Maninbo+1*, was overseen by one of the GB Foundation’s administrative departments, rather than anyone involved in the exhibition team. Ultimately, the only real connection this event, and the others like it, had to the GB, was simply GB funding and the GB brand. None of the key creative decision makers for the main GB events had any involvement in these three ‘citizenry events’. They were separate, different, unconnected events, aimed at a smaller, local audience. They were designed not as an addition to the main GB, but as an alternative – a smaller, lesser GB for locals only with an emphasis on entertainment and fun rather than art.

These events were outside the control – or the consideration – of the GB Foundation’s key staff. The Artistic Director, the New York team, the Exhibition Team and others were occupied with the planning and organising of the main event. The creative personnel, and their support staff, interacted and liaised in complicated ways throughout the process. There were both advantages and disadvantages in the ways these departments and interests controlled various events and made key decisions.

### 5.5.2.2 Collaboration and Conflict in the GB Foundation

The power structure and hierarchy within the GB Foundation was the main factor that determined how the various departments and staff interacted with each other. One issue was a lack of idea sharing and open discussion. Meetings were held in an authoritative style. Every Monday morning, a high-level staff meeting was held with the heads of all departments and the GB CEO. The decisions made at these meetings were communicated on a need-to-know basis, which often prevented positive collaboration between different departments, and between staff at different levels. Regular departmental meetings were also conducted in an authoritative style, with the highest-
ranking member of the team dominating the discussion. Junior staff, even those with creative roles, were not encouraged to share ideas or contribute suggestions. These meetings were essentially briefings, with instructions given, rather than a democratic forum. The GB, in this sense, did not use the collaborative principles of Design Management.

The tension between staff in different departments was partially based on regional divisions. The GB Foundation generally prefers to hire staff from Gwangju. However, the Exhibition Team is composed mainly of people from outside the city. Chief Ahn was critical of this, observing “the organisation in Gwangju is more closed than in other cities. Although the Exhibition Team staff is more from other cities, the GB Foundation tries to hire local staff as much as possible. However, this has been getting better since 2008” (Personal Interview with Ahn 2010).

These regional tensions were also a problem at the level of national divisions, between the New York team and the rest of the GB Foundation staff. The GB Foundation is based on a clear and strict hierarchy. Every member of staff understands their ranking, and their position and authority in relation to all other staff. The New York team, however, were outside of this hierarchy, and their level of power was unclear. They had no official rank or position within the GB, but their closeness to Gioni gave them some authority. This created tension and confusion with some decision making, especially when Gioni was not physically in Gwangju. The New York team made some demands based on their distrust of Gwangju’s production ability. For example, they frequently requested materials specially ordered from the US, even though local suppliers could easily provide identical items. The GB Foundation dealt with these demands in a balanced way, sometimes ordering materials from the US and Canada, while at other times insisting on using local suppliers. These arguments show that there were many difficulties in the regional and international mix of staff involved in the 2010 GB, and that the hierarchy and design of staff interaction was inefficient.

5.5.3 Branding the GB

The GB, like all major cultural events, aimed to have a clear brand identity, both in simple visual terms (a recognisable logo, poster and colour scheme) and in the sense of a broader, meaningful cultural brand identity. However, the GB had a weakness in the way it marginalised designers. The sections below consider the role of designers and other stakeholders in creating the brand identity of the 2010 GB.
5.5.3.1 Designing the Brand

Professor Soon-jong Lee, of the Department of Design at Seoul National University and also the Artistic Director of the 1st Gwangju Design Biennale, stressed that “the role of the designer is to forecast the future and also to converge the values of humanities and social science, including economics and technology, for a feasible plan (from concept to praxis)” (Personal Interview with Soon-jong Lee 2010). Lee believes that “designers lead culture, and also are affected by culture” (Personal Interview with Lee 2010). He also said, in the case of major cultural events, “designers should be involved from the early stage in planning. Convergence is the most significant role of the designer” (Personal Interview with Lee 2010). Therefore, he believes that the designer should work collaboratively, supporting and listening to other people’s opinions. Designer Jung also agreed that designers should work like an “assistant partner” (Personal Interview with Jung 2010).

However, as discussed above, there were no permanent design staff in the GB Foundation, and the role of the designers who were involved was limited to nothing more than a traditional concept of design: creating images and graphics, rather than aiding the overall creative and managerial process. By excluding these designers from the long-term plans of the GB, the result was that key visual design choices were made by contracted designers with no long-term investment in – or vision for – the GB. Nonetheless, the graphic design and EIP of the GB in 2010 was considered to have been highly effective.

The EIP was chosen by the designers. The main poster represented the theme of ‘Maninbo’ and the key concept of ‘images’, as requested by Gioni. The poster design (see Figure 5.7, below) mixes photos of the exhibits in the 2010 GB with orange-coloured photos of the city sent in to the GB by local citizens. The concept was to balance a representation of the key artwork with images of ‘ordinary’ Gwangju citizens, thus the GB’s posters emphasised both the variety of international art exhibited and the creativity of local amateur photographers (the ‘ordinary people’ who sent in their photographs of life in the city), showing these two key aspects of the GB.

92 All quotes from Soonjong Lee come from a personal interview conducted in Seoul on 10 December 2010.
The GB poster reflects an awareness of the principles of effective design: Pieters et al. note that visually complex and varied images are more successful in terms of marketing, justifying the collage style of the GB poster (2010: 50). This attention to detail demonstrates the value of professional designers, and the missed potential of their exclusion from other aspects of the GB. While other international cultural events and biennales around the world are embracing design and centralising designers, the GB regards design as the least important part of its creative process.

The EIP designed by the contracted design consultancy had a clear visual theme and typography, and was applied not just to posters, but also to banners, tickets, advertisements, merchandise, and every other printed material produced by the GB in 2010 (see Figure 5.8, below).

However, even this design concept was limited by the facilities in Gwangju: the main posters were printed in Seoul, long before the opening of the GB, but when additional posters were needed, for different purposes, the budget prohibited printing these posters in Seoul, so local printing companies were used. However, their facilities were more limited, and so a simpler, less colourful design was required. This shows how the GB Foundation neglected the importance of design: key creative design choices were determined by the limits of the city’s facilities and the GB’s budget.
5.5.3.2 Servicing the Brand

The 2010 GB brand was widely distributed around the city, targeting local citizens and aiming to create very high levels of awareness. The GB brand was recognisable among the citizens of Gwangju, but possibly partly because posters and other advertisements were displayed so boldly in so many places (see Figure 5.9, below). It could be said that the marketing and PR of the GB focused too much on the local area: there was a huge amount of marketing in Gwangju, while in Seoul and other cities outside the Jeolla province, there was very little awareness of the specific brand and concept behind the 2010 GB.

The GB's brand includes much more than just its logo and posters. The event's identity in terms of how it interacts with visitors and citizens has a significant affect on the GB's reputation, locally, nationally, and internationally. For example, the service staff at the GB exhibition hall can be considered ‘ambassadors’ of the GB, as they are the first (and usually, only) GB staff who the normal visitors meet; as discussed in Chapter 2, according to service design theory, customers perceive signals from the service they receive about the value they represent to the industry or business (Lo 2011: 12). Typically, service design involves customer interaction at all possible stages, and service designers are effectively designers of a customer experience (Hollins 2011: 219).
The security staff, the ticket vendors, the shop staff, the volunteers, and the docents interacted with visitors every day, yet the policymakers, artistic directors, and creative coordinators never actually met regular visitors. However, ironically, the GB does not recognise the importance of these staff to the GB brand and the overall experience for visitors. The service staff were not specially trained and they were totally outside the central GB staff structure. Despite the important role they played in the GB’s image, they were totally ignored when the GB considered its brand image. Ideally, service design is undertaken by designers with a holistic approach (Mager and Sung 2011: 1); this was obviously not possible due to the way the GB Foundation neglected to include designers in every step of the process.

Even the physical facilities of the GB’s exhibition hall played a role in how the event was perceived by visitors and branded externally. The GB’s main venue included one official gift shop, as well as an associated bookshop; however, again, the main GB policymakers paid no attention to how these were run or staffed.

5.5.3.3 Staffing the Brand

However, the GB foundation was highly aware of how it could use its staff to influence its brand identity. Especially, the GB hoped to emphasise its status as an international organisation as well as an international event, through its instrumental use of non-Korean staff. One member of the permanent staff was French; she worked in the Department of
Exhibition, and her formal job title was ‘International Coordinator.’ However, she felt that she had no real responsibilities or duties to fulfill in this role. Actually, her purpose was, in her words, to be a “doll” for the GB Foundation’s CEO (Personal Interview with Aurélie Mazura 2010). She always accompanied him, along with other staff, to meetings with foreign ‘VIPs’ such as art critics and dealers. The CEO thought that her attendance would show that the GB is a truly global organisation with an international mix of staff. The main role of this member of the team was to contribute to the branding of the GB; however, she felt that her time was wasted because the way she was used was so superficial (Personal Interview with Mazura 2010).

The GB’s brand identity at every level attempted to balance its representation of the important aspects of the event, showing that the GB was an ‘international’ event with ‘local’ meaning. The biggest factor in the GB’s brand identity was the city of Gwangju itself. The ‘Maninbo’ concept, created by Gioni, was intended to pay tribute to the city’s cultural heritage. The limitations of Gwangju also shaped the GB. For example, the GB Foundation often struggled to find suitable accommodation for guests as Gwangju lacks any high quality hotels; with no international tourism industry, the city’s infrastructure is inadequate to support a truly global event. Likewise, transportation between Gwangju and Seoul, as well as other countries, is inconvenient and needlessly time-consuming, compared to other major cities in South Korea.

5.5.4 Measuring the GB’s Contribution to Regeneration

The success of the 2010 GB can be measured in many different ways, based on different targets and considerations. One of the most important ways in which the GB could have a permanent impact is in the regeneration (social, environmental, cultural, physical, economical) of the city of Gwangju. However, it is extremely difficult to measure the impact on regeneration of the 2010 GB alone. Certainly, the Gwangju Biennale as an institution and a regular event has had a clear impact on the city’s identity and regeneration over time; it is much more difficult to argue that much specific regeneration has taken place as a direct result of the 2010 GB in particular. This is a general problem for researchers in the area of culture-led regeneration of cities. Even researchers who

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93 All quotes from Aurélie Mazura come from a personal interview conducted in Gwangju on 9 November 2010.
94 The statistical results of the 2010 GB (Gwangju Biennale Foundation 2010) reveal a total of 491,679 visitors (327,981 to the main exhibition and 163,698 to the special projects). The number of visitors who attended the main exhibition is 96,554 (29.1%), which is less than in 2008 (when the final number was 114,202 (35%)). 56.6% of visitors were from Gwangju; however, the final report on the 8th GB proudly said the number of foreign visitors increased 2 times (28,000 visitors in 2010 (5.8%), up from 2008’s 14,000 visitors 3.8%): however, this increase is due as well to the opening of the GB art fair at the same time, which also brought foreign visitors to the city.
wrote a report on a study conducted by the Greater London Authority suggest “we are still not sure about the role culture can play in regenerating neighbourhoods, but there must be some way to measure this, even if only to observe change over time” (Ennis and Douglass 2011: 10). A more direct attempt to evaluate the measurable impacts on regeneration of this and other events, based on the theories of Graeme Evans, is included in Chapter 7. The sections below consider the contribution of the 2010 GB to regeneration by examining how the event improved the lives of citizens and the appeal of the city.

5.5.4.1 Designing Content for Regeneration

The 2010 GB maintained the ongoing regeneration of Gwangju’s identity and reputation, continuing to associate the city with a major artistic event. The 2010 GB received a very positive reception from art critics around the world, and though the impact in terms of regenerative effects for the city itself is difficult to measure in tangible or quantifiable terms, there are meaningful indications of change and lasting consequences. As argued above, the 2010 GB’s ‘Maninbo’ theme drew attention to the specific artistic heritage of Gwangju while also exhibiting international art. Gioni wanted to create a strong theme that would attract wide audiences, without compromising artistic credibility. Gioni stated:

I wanted to make it a show with a theme that anybody can have a relationship with. This biennale, particularly for me, was an effort to make a show that is potentially open to any audience. I thought a lot about the audience but I hope I didn’t make a show for the audience. I never like when people do a show for the audience, I think it doesn’t bring you to a good place, because then you make a stupid show. For example, American institutions, when they want to do a show “for the public,” they assume that they have to do a show that talks to anybody, and they choose the lowest common denominator (Personal Interview with Gioni 2010).

Gioni’s balance was received positively, and this is a key consideration for the ADs of previous GBs. For example, in 2008, AD Okwui Enwezor (the first foreign AD of the GB), had a different approach to balancing Gwangju-specific concerns with an international exhibition. He deliberately avoided branding his GB with a particular theme because he felt that themed shows “lack strong historical references” (Griffin 2008). Enwezor, like Gioni, wanted to acknowledge Gwangju’s identity as a “protest city” and saw the potential of the GB to motivate “social reinvention” (Griffin 2008). Essentially, Enwezor believes in culture-led regeneration, claiming “I strongly believe that biennials are immensely transformative for specific locales” (Griffin 2008).
Enwezor expressed a very low opinion of Gwangju's local artistic culture when he argued that the effect of the GB might be "phenomenal [...] because the novelty of contemporary art in these places is still very, very palpable" (Griffin 2008). This is again a big difference from Gioni's understanding of Gwangju. He knew that there was actually a great deal of local art appreciation and creation, and so his 2010 GB included a number of events showcasing the work of local artists, thus developing the future artistic community of the city.

5.5.4.2 Cultural Regeneration: Local Art and Education

One of the ways the 2010 GB had a potentially permanent regenerative impact on Gwangju's citizenry was through its promotion of local artists. The schemes and events that exhibited the work of these locals gave them an international platform for their work, and in some cases resulted in significant career development. However, Tae-kyu Park, a participant local artist in the 2010 and previous GBs, said that the GB has not done enough to help local artists, and it must try harder to understand them and develop the local artistic community (Personal Interview with Tae-kyu Park 2010). However, the Director of the Department of Exhibition, Cho, insisted, “the GB also tries to contribute to local artists indirectly as well as by involving artists simply because they are ‘local,’” and also he believed that “the art tendency or style of the work of the ‘GB generation’ artists and students has become completely different as a result of the art they have been exposed to at the GB” (Personal Interview with Cho 2010). Thus, the impact on local artists may be more subtle than they desire; there is a regenerative effect, but more could be done to make a direct and tangible impact.

The GB, in fact, has frequently claimed to make contributions to social regeneration through its investment in educational schemes for local students. This is a key factor across all the GB Foundation events, and is increasingly common in cultural events around the world, as Urry and Larsen (2011: 214) suggest that school-age children constitute a high proportion of visitors to such events. Professor Lee stressed that “the Gwangju Design Biennale is not just an exhibition; it can also be an educational place” (Personal Interview with Lee 2010). This was also a factor in the 2010 GB, which had an aggressive scheme to attract groups of local schoolchildren. However, the instrumental use of visiting schoolchildren to boost attendance numbers is cynical and superficial, and had no meaningful impact on educational regeneration in Gwangju. Schoolchildren passed through the exhibition hall hurriedly, and the GB staff actually discouraged them...
from taking the time to look at the art. The priority of these staff was to protect the artwork and get the children through the venue as quickly as possible (see Figure 5.10, below). This is something that the ADs typically ignore or misunderstand. Enwezor thought that these groups of schoolchildren were sent to the GB by regional educational policymakers who recognised the value of the GB's content (Griffin 2008); however, in reality, these local and regional schools were pressured by local government to send as many students as possible, thus boosting the GB's visitor numbers.

![Figure 5.10: Schoolchildren at the GB Exhibition Hall, 2010.](image)

However, the experience of these young people is not necessarily meaningless, in spite of the GB's lack of educational content: two of the GB staff, Jung-eun Shim and Nam-gyeong Hong (both Exhibition Coordinators) grew up in Gwangju and experienced the GB first as schoolchildren; they claim it had an inspirational impact on them, and has, more generally, had a profound effect on the development of culture for their generation of Gwangju citizens (Personal Interviews with Jung-eun Shim and Nam-gyeong Hong 2011).  

5.5.4.3 Economic and Environmental Regeneration

For local businesses, the 2010 GB brought increased revenue, and at least temporary economic regeneration. The 2010 GB saw double the number of foreign visitors to the city, which has an obvious benefit to the tourism and hospitality industries in Gwangju. The GB event itself is also a potential profit-making enterprise. Professor Lee also noted that the GDB could operate as a shop in addition to its other functions (Personal Interview with Lee 2010). In terms of permanent, long-term economic regeneration directly caused by the 2010 GB, this is impossible to predict or measure at this time.

96 All quotes from Jung-eun Shim come from a personal interview conducted in Seoul on 9 July 2011; all quotes from Nam-gyeong Hong come from a personal interview conducted in Seoul on 9 July 2011.
In terms of environmental regeneration, the 2010 GB made a contribution to the city, constructing new facilities in the Yangdong Market that have remained as an ongoing (post-event) improvement to the area. These new facilities are better for the vendors in the market, and they have also created a new exhibition space to exhibit local art, thus transforming the function and purpose of this space. Significantly, the GB foundation has no control over how these facilities are used, encouraging and nurturing the talent of local citizens to make the best use of this space. This positive example is one of the only ways in which the GB contributed to environmental regeneration. The 2010 GB demonstrated some missed opportunities to leave an ongoing improvement; a huge amount of physical materials produced for the 2010 show, which could easily be used elsewhere in the city, were simply destroyed instead of being donated to citizens for repurposing and recycling.

The environmental impact, therefore, has the potential for positive and productive change and in 2010 contributed impressively to the locals. Economically, though the benefit to the city during the festival period is undeniable, the two-year cycle of the GB means that there is no possibility of developing a permanent hospitality industry in Gwangju based only on this event; the city will need to truly become a hub city of culture, with numerous events running year-round and attracting visitors, to benefit the local economy to the greatest extent.

5.5.5 Results of the 2010 GB: Questionnaire Analysis

This questionnaire survey for Korean-speaking (non-English-speaking) visitors to the 2010 GB was conducted in order to identify the key adjectives representing the public’s responses towards the city brand and this cultural event. For this purpose, the questionnaire consists of several separate series of questions that are intended to measure the success of different aspects of the event. These questions are related to the key aspects of the GB, and each of these categories can be directly related to various kinds of design; thus, analysing and discussing these results will address the key Research Questions by evaluating the success of the GB brand, its impact on the local and non-local communities, and the effectiveness of design in this process.

As described in Chapter 3, the questionnaire was conducted at main exit of the Gwangju Biennale main hall, every weekend (not weekdays) during the exhibition period (3rd September 2010 ~ 7th November 2010). The data was collected via a convenience sample. 1,000 useable questionnaires for Korean visitors were generated in this research, conducted by the GB’s Department of Policy and Research. The questionnaire
was prepared in Korean language only, and was conducted by Korean native speakers with no special English (or other foreign) language skills. The Department of Policy and Research neglected to translate the questions into English or target non-Korean visitors as part of their research survey (this is yet another example of the way the GB, in spite of its international ambitions, fails to consider its wider non-Korean audience). Therefore, I personally conducted an additional survey of non-Korean speaking visitors to compensate for the gap in the GB Foundation's data. I translated the original survey questions as directly and accurately as possible, and approached visitors in the same location as the GB Foundation survey staff. I collected a total sample of 100 visitors. The Non-Korean data is presented next to the GB Foundation data below.

5.5.5.1 Respondent Statistics

As the results show (see Table 5.3, below), the majority of Korean-speaking visitors (69.8%) were from Gwangju or elsewhere in the Jeolla Province. This suggests that in spite of the GB's aims to be both a locally and nationally significant event, it was still primarily a local, provincial festival, with 7 out of every 10 Korean visitors coming from the local area. Furthermore, among the non-Korean visitors who live permanently in South Korea, 61% live in Gwangju. This also shows that the GB mainly attracted visitors from the local area.

The majority of Korean visitors (also coincidentally 69.8%) were in their 20s or 30s, though this percentage is not accurate, as the huge numbers of schoolchildren were not included in the survey sample; the percentage of non-Korean visitors in the 20s-and-30s demographic was even higher (88%). Among the non-Korean visitors to the GB, 76% were artists, or involved in the culture industry; the Korean visitors, on the other hand, were spread across many varied professional backgrounds. The results of the surveys will be summarised, discussed and analysed below based on how they relate to various conceptual areas of design.

97 During my fieldwork at the GB, I personally discussed this issue with the Head of the Department of Policy and Research, making her aware of the problem of excluding non-Korean-speakers from the survey. I even offered my own English translation of the questions to the department. However, although the Head of the Department was initially enthusiastic, there was finally no English-language survey conducted, because it would have apparently been too inconvenient and time-consuming. See Chapter 3 for a further discussion of this survey method.
<table>
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<th>Gender</th>
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<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3.0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1.9</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-Employed</td>
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<td>4.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Gwangju</td>
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<td>56.6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Jeonbuk Province (Northern Jeolla)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Gyeongsang Province</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1000</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Summary of Survey Respondents.

5.5.5.2 Communication Design

Several questions on the survey were related to Communication Design, specifically the marketing, branding and signage of the GB. These questions measured the reasons for visitors attending the event, as well as their likelihood to return in the future. One of the interesting points revealed by this data, and personal observations, is that the GB's

\(^{58}\) Despite the fact that the original questionnaire included the category of 10-19 year-old visitors, they were omitted from the final result of the questionnaire. This is ironic, because a significant number of the total visitors to the GB were from this age group, visiting the GB as part of school trips.

\(^{59}\) High School Students were not included for the same reason.
inability to attract large numbers of foreign visitors is one of its most serious and consistent failings. Furthermore, the PR strategy for foreign visitors was very limited; marketing focused on overseas Koreans, and passive methods such as relying on government offices (such as Korean Embassies) abroad to display posters and leaflets. In terms of targeting foreign countries, these efforts were mainly focused on the Japanese and Chinese markets, with no consideration given to non-neighbour nations. The absence of meaningful synergy with important potential partners such as the Korean National Tourism Organisation or other cultural events being held over the same period in Korea, suggest missed opportunities for the GB to truly succeed in its aim of "globalization rather than westernization; diversity rather than uniformity" (Kwangju Biennale Foundation 1996).

The data below, however, is all focused on the 2010 event only, and the first set of questions considered assess the success of the GB’s marketing and communication to potential visitors. For example, Question 18 of the GB Foundation survey asked: “How did you first hear about the Gwangju Biennale?” (see Table 5.4a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gwangju</th>
<th>Jeonnam Province</th>
<th>Seoul and Gyeonggi Province</th>
<th>All other provinces</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV/Radio</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banner on the street</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster/Leaflet</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Festivals/ Events</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>Official website</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social media site</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet advertising</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Other</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4a: Korean Speakers’ Responses to Question 18, by Region of Residence.

100 Archive newspaper reports reveal the following foreign visitor percentages: 3.1% at the 2nd GB in 1997; 5.1% at the 3rd GB in 2000; 7.1% at the 4th GB in 2002; 2.7% at the 5th GB in 2004. The official GB final report documents also include foreign visitor statistics, but interestingly, these numbers are inflated and do not match the (more reliable and less biased) newspaper reports.

101 Since the first GB, cultural events such as biennales and festivals have sprung up around whole country.

102 There is one important difference in the data collected for this question. The Korean respondents were able to choose more than one answer, but the non-Korean survey only allowed one choice.
The results suggest that the marketing and Communication Design of the GB had a different emphasis in different regions, with different demographics. While TV and newspaper advertising was common and effective among Koreans in Gwangju and the Jeonnam Province, this form of media was used less in other regions of South Korea. However, information about the GB spread by Internet advertising and websites were far more effective for Koreans living in other major cities than it was in Gwangju. The effectiveness of different communication media in different regions is varied, but the results show that Korean-language GB marketing materials and information were communicated widely across the country. However, the low proportion of Korean non-local visitors to the GB in 2010 suggest that the content of the marketing messages was ineffective in generating interest (relatable to the concept of ‘purchasing probability’) in the GB, which led to it failing to achieve the status of a truly national cultural event.

Interestingly, for non-Koreans, it was informal marketing that was most effective (see Table 5.4b, above). The majority of non-Koreans visited the GB because of word-of-mouth, and although online communication was also instrumental in spreading information about the GB, it was more effective through informal media such as social networks, rather than the official GB English-language website.

In fact, this small note regarding the effectiveness of online word-of-mouth (‘word of mouse’) shows that the GB was successful in encouraging informal participatory engagement with the brand online. The most effective social media marketing is a two-way process, encouraging users/customers/visitors to freely discuss the product/event and generate organic good will and positive recommendations to a wide online community. Particularly in Korea, the support of online communities has considerable marketing power. However, in its most efficient form, website and online marketing must complement the exhibition to deliver a “single linked experience” to visitors (Hughes

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103 The so-called ‘netizens’, a word made up to describe the numerous ‘internet citizens’ of South Korea.
2010: 18), another opportunity that was missed as a result of the GB’s exclusion of designers.

Question 20 asked Korean respondents how they bought tickets for the GB (see Figure 5.11, below). The extremely low number of Internet ticket purchases suggests that electronic communication and the pre-planning that buying online requires is less favourable than spontaneous and face-to-face communication for old-fashioned purchasing methods. In spite of the opportunities for new forms of Communication Design that the Internet allows, the most traditional forms of communication are preferred by the majority of both Korean and non-Korean visitors; this statistic may also suggest that visitors to the GB do not pre-plan/pre-book their trip, but rather attend on the day with less forward planning.

Figure 5.11: Responses to Question 20 (How did you buy the ticket?).

The most basic way to measure the effectiveness and clarity of the GB’s Communication Design was through questions that evaluated the helpfulness of the information labels and the information resources provided. The results here show that the information was communicated in a way that was at least satisfactory, if not better than expected (see Figures 5.12a and 5.12b, below). The labels were clear, explaining how to navigate the venue, and providing information about each of the exhibits. All signs and information were provided in both Korean and English; information was not available in any other language.
5.5.5.3 Exhibition Design

The results of questions about visitor satisfaction with the 2010 GB effectively measure the success of the Exhibition Design, for example the diversity of exhibits, aesthetics of the artwork, comprehension of the artwork, layout of the exhibition space, the floor plan and the exhibition route (questions 7, 8, 10, 11, 12 and 15). The results overall (see Figure 5.13, below) indicate a positive response amongst the Korean visitors; the average score out of 5, across the six questions addressing Exhibition Design, is 3.29. The overall scores are even higher among non-Koreans, with all aspects of the exhibition receiving a nearly perfect score. In particular, the GB Foundation considered the
exhibition a success, based of its effective use of design to maximise the comfort and efficiency of the venue space and exhibit layout. The value of the GB as an international event, also, was estimated highly by Korean visitors; yet these visitors were not themselves international, so this high score reflects local pride more than the actual identity of the GB outside South Korea. The non-Korean visitor responses confirm this perception, with 94% of respondents "extremely satisfied" with the event's international value.

![Figure 5.13: Exhibition Design Questions Summary, Questions 7, 8, 10, 11, 12 and 15 (How satisfied were you with: the diversity of exhibits [7], the aesthetics of the artwork [8], your comprehension of the artwork [10], the layout of the exhibition space [11], the floor plan and exhibition route [12], and the GB's value as an international event [15]).](image)

**5.5.5.4 Environmental Design**

Environmental, Architectural and Inclusive Design were measured through questions about the venue's facilities and the effectiveness of its physical space (questions 13, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26) (see Figure 5.14, below). These scores were generally lower, and this has been a consistent point of complaint from visitors to the GB. For example, since the first event in 1995, Korean visitors have felt that the number of resting areas and availability of seating has been inadequate. However, many of these problems cannot be controlled or solved by design solutions or the efforts of the GB Foundation; the parking spaces, bathrooms and convenience shops are all determined by the building’s existing
facilities, so these are outside the control of the GB staff. However, the positive element of Environmental Design in the 2010 GB results is the relatively satisfactory score for atmosphere from both survey groups, an aspect that is directly determined by the space design (see Figure 5.15, below) of the GB staff.

Figure 5.14: Environmental Design Questions Summary. Questions 13, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26 (How satisfied were you with: the atmosphere at the event [13], seating/resting space [22], parking space [23], bathrooms [24], convenience shops [25], the information desk [26]).

Figure 5.15: The 8th Gwangju Biennale Main Gallery 4 (Special Section) 3D Sketch.

One strange aspect of the non-Korean data is the very high satisfaction score for parking spaces, even though the majority of non-Korean visitors did not bring cars to the GB.
5.5.5.5 Service Design

The results of the questions focusing on Service Design were also satisfactory (questions 14, 27, and 28, see Figure 5.16, below). The questions about the quality of assistance provided by the docents are repetitive, with two different questions asking essentially the same thing, simply phrased differently. Overall, the design of the way that knowledge and information was given to visitors by the docents and other staff was a success; the service design of the 2010 GB was effective, but not innovative. The English-language abilities of many of the docents enabled them to provide the same high-quality service to the non-Korean visitors, resulting in an even higher satisfaction score. The GB’s Service Design would arguably be more effective with the greater involvement of designers. According to Mager and Sung, Service Design is ideally undertaken with a holistic approach, and a designer considering all aspects of the process (2011: 1). The GB’s service design had no such foresight or overview.

![Figure 5.16: Service Design Questions Summary, Questions 14, 27, 28 (How satisfied were you with the helpfulness of volunteers/docents? [14/28], How polite were the service staff? [27]).](image)

5.5.5.6 Curatorial Design

In terms of satisfaction with the quality and range of the actual artwork exhibited, the results (included within Figure 5.13, above) show that visitors were impressed with the aesthetics of the artwork and the diversity of exhibitions. This highly positive reaction to the artistic content of the GB is one explanation for its overall success in attracting visitors. In terms of curatorial design, the key factor is the extent to which the 2010 GB
had a clear, consistent, understandable and identifiable theme. Question 17 assessed the extent to which visitors felt that the artwork and contents of the main exhibition reflected its title of 'Maninbo, 10,000 lives.' The results for Korean visitors were generally positive, while the non-Koreans were even more impressed. This is probably because of the high number of artists and culture industry professionals among the non-Korean respondents. Overall, these results show the success of the curatorial design of the GB (see Figure 5.17, below).

However, it seems that among the Korean respondents, the theme of the show was perceived to be more successful by younger visitors, and by local citizens (see Figure 5.18a, below). Older visitors, and people from outside Gwangju, gave more negative responses, suggesting that they did not feel that the theme was connected to the artwork so strongly.

This data suggests that the GB combined contemporary art with a meaningful local theme that appealed to Gwangju citizens' sense of shared cultural history. In particular, younger visitors were attracted by the artworks themselves, while older visitors were attracted by the overall theme, because of a sense of local pride. For the non-Korean visitors (see Figure 5.18b, below), there was no meaningful split in results in terms of age or region of residence; again, this is because of the high number of artists and industry professionals who were not born in Korea and therefore lack the specific regional identities of Koreans.
Finally, Question 31 tried to determine which part of the show had been curated most successfully. The results show that Galleries 3 and 4 were the most popular with Koreans and non-Koreans (see Figure 5.19, below). This area of the GB had the biggest artwork, in terms of physical scale and size; in Gallery 3 the works were also politically meaningful, and, most importantly, several of the exhibits in Gallery 3 involved visitor participation and interaction. Given the success of user-focused, participatory exhibitions at events around the world, this high level of satisfaction reflects a wider global trend.

Gallery 5, meanwhile, was the smallest within the main GB building, and was the least popular. The low percentages for the curatorial design at other venues are partially due to the method of data collection: the survey was conducted only at the GB main hall, and therefore many of the respondents had not yet visited the other venues.
5.5.5.7 Experience Design

The effectiveness of the GB's Experience Design was seen in terms of visitor satisfaction. Question 16 asked visitors how satisfied they were with the opportunity the GB offered to experience culture. Although fewer than half of the responses from Koreans were positive, the GB Foundation considered this result to be positive and satisfactory, because only 15.4% of responses were clearly negative (see Figure 5.20, below). The result for non-Koreans was clearly very positive, with 93% of respondents "extremely satisfied" with the culture of the GB. Again, this is probably because the majority of the non-Koreans were professional artists or working in culture industries, and they therefore appreciated the art with more enthusiasm.
The appeal of the GB Experience was investigated through Question 19, which asked visitors why they came to the GB. Interestingly, a promising 20.5% of Koreans said that the reason was tourism and leisure (see Figure 5.21, below). If the GB and the local government want to develop more cultural tourism to the GB, they need to make stronger connections with the tourism industry, and develop this aspect of the way the GB is marketed and designed. However, disappointingly, only 7% of the non-Koreans came to the GB for tourism and leisure; but this is understandable again because the majority were artists and culture industry professionals, therefore 71% came specifically for their interest in art.
The GB’s survey of visitors finally aimed to determine what the weakest aspects of the event’s Exhibition Design were, by Question 32 asking respondents what should be improved in the future (see Figure 5.22, below). The results clearly show that for both groups of respondents, the design of three aspects must be improved: First, the GB needs to work harder to increase the appeal of the experience for the general public. Although the AD, Gioni, wanted to combine appeal to local non-experts as well as the international art community, it is clear that both Korean and non-Korean visitors felt that the event was not sufficiently designed for the general public. Part of the problem was evidently a lack of contextual and educational information. There was not enough information provided about the artwork or the overall experience. The lack of interactive activities was also criticised. Visitors clearly enjoy experiencing artwork more when they can participate, interact, be involved and engaged with the event in a meaningful way.

![Figure 5.22: Responses to Question 32 (What aspects of the event need to be improved in the future?).](image)

**5.5.5.8 Government Survey**

In addition to the data collected by the GB Foundation, an additional survey of Korean-speaking visitors was conducted by an independent government organisation, the Korea Arts Management Service (KAMS), part of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. The purpose of this 2011 study was to collect visitor response data, and to conduct a professional (and entirely objective) assessment of the GB, as well as eight other arts...
The nine events covered in this study are the GB, the 2010 Busan Biennale, the 2010 Deagu Photography Biennale, the 2010 Geumgang Nature Art Biennale, the ‘Rainbow Asia’ at Seoul Art Centre, the 3rd Yangpyeong Eco Art Festival, the Art Edition 2010, the 2010 Daegu Art Square and the 2010 Suncheon-bay International Environment Art Fair.
mouth. This answer was not an option in the original GB Foundation survey, and therefore the original results are very different. Interestingly, the overall conclusion of the KAMS survey about marketing and communication suggested that internet/online marketing is the most effective and important method of communication (it has the highest score, 39.4%); this is the exact opposite of findings of the GB Foundation survey, which concluded that people prefer more traditional ways of communication. Specifically, the KAMS survey found that targeted marketing was most effective, with artists (and art professionals) and university students giving the GB’s online communication the highest score. This same demographic gave a lower score to the GB’s other media communications such as television, radio and newspaper advertising; however, these methods of marketing were more successful with other demographics, such as housewives. According to the GB Foundation’s data, this same split was based along regional lines, with visitors from Jeolla Province more impressed with TV marketing, and those from elsewhere in South Korea mainly influenced by online sources. The printed materials were also judged poorly by respondents to the KAMS survey, and the study concluded that the GB posters were much better in 2008 (39% were satisfied with the poster design in 2008, but just 27% were satisfied in 2010).

Questions in the KAMS survey on Environmental Design showed similar results: the general atmosphere received positive feedback, especially for the art professional/student demographic; however, the physical aspects of facilities, such as parking and bathrooms, could be improved (78.1% answered that it needs to be better). In terms of Service Design, the results showed a strongly positive appreciation for the GB Docents, especially among artists and education professionals (35.3% were extremely satisfied, which is a higher score than the negative responses, and the percentage for only artists and education professionals is 10% higher, at 45.3%). The Docents clearly have a key role in contextualising the artwork and interacting with visitors. Chief Ahn believes that the Docents hired by the GB have expert knowledge, and their job is to communicate that knowledge in an accessible way (Personal Interview with Ahn 2011).

KAMS found that the GB’s Curatorial Design was one aspect that divided visitor opinion. Only 44% agreed that the content of the main GB show matched its theme, and art professionals gave an even lower score for this question. However, the overall variety of artwork was praised by 59% of respondents, and the high number of works by famous artists was highly satisfying for the majority of visitors. Nevertheless, art professionals were disappointed with the content of the main show and expressed a desire to see more new and experimental artwork (only 34.4% were satisfied with the amount of
experimental artwork). Although the GB was generally satisfactory overall, the reason given by people who didn't like the show was because it was difficult to understand the artwork. This is a direct result of Gioni's vision as AD; he spoke a lot about his desire not to make a show "for everyone" because he wanted to focus on making a high-quality international art show, not a mainstream local event (Personal Interview with Gioni 2010). KAMS concluded that this same dilemma affected the results of questions about the overall Experience Design, with many visitors expressing their opinion that the art should be easier to understand, while art professionals wanted newer and more experimental artwork and fewer mainstream artists exhibited.

5.6 Conclusion

In order to achieve a more satisfactory experience for its wide variety of visitors, the GB needs to plan and curate its participatory events more carefully, and over a longer time scale. By increasing the information, appeal and interactivity of its events, the GB will also increase the overall satisfaction of visitors. Positive word-of-mouth will spread among local visitors, thus increasing the positive impact and perception of the event within the city of Gwangju; likewise, positive responses to the GB from national and international visitors will lead to increased interest in the event.

If the city of Gwangju is going to take full advantage of the visitors the GB brings to the city, it needs to develop much more effective cooperation with tourism industry and policy. The results of the KAMS survey of visitors to the GB show that 91.6% of visitors from outside Gwangju do not stay overnight in accommodation in the city. The results of the KAMS survey also revealed that the average visitor to the GB spends just 25,000KRW (approximately GBE14.50) in the city in one day. The GB has the potential to bring more money into the city's leisure and tourism infrastructure, but these opportunities must be properly developed.

The GB's obsession with visitor numbers and an internationally well-reviewed event were clear priorities over meaningful local regeneration.106 The 'numbers game' achieves results at the expense of productive engagement with local citizens and students. The GB's staff were told to treat all visitors as "potential criminals," and their main job was not to explain the art to visitors, but to stop people from touching the exhibits and artwork. Coordinator of the Exhibition Team, Tae-hyung Cho, instructed staff, "you shouldn't think

106 The 8th GB was selected as the 'best of 2010' by Sandhini Poddar, Curator of New York's Guggenheim Museum, in the magazine Artforum.
visitors are normal. 100%, they are going to touch the artwork during the exhibition” (Personal Observation 2010). This attitude makes true educational development impossible.

5.6.1 Measuring Gwangju’s Regeneration

According to a Greater London Authority report, “projects generally achieve their intended outputs, for example by increasing participation in culture or the number of visitors to a region, but they struggle to demonstrate a link between these outcomes and long-term impacts” (Ennis and Douglass 2011). It is almost impossible to prove a clear case of direct regeneration, however, the potential of the GB is massive. Enwezor perceives the GB as a potential tool to transform the position and reputation of Gwangju within Korea, and of Korea within the global community:

Today, however, it is also significant that the biennial represented a real recognition of the periphery - Gwangju is rather provincial - by the center, and, intriguingly, this makes the city something of a microcosm of all of Korea. Likewise, the country wants a different kind of footing within the global community. The anxiety of the periphery is operating on this larger scale (Griffin 2008).

It is certainly true that Gwangju is viewed as a marginal, inferior city by the rest of the country. It is also arguable that South Korea’s global reputation is in the shadow of Japan and China. Gioni insisted that Biennales are often used to promote a city to a global audience, and to change their city brand identity:

Since the 1990s, many cities decided to invest in art to promote their cities. I didn’t see the beginning of this biennale, but what makes this biennale a bit different is that it is clearly a promotion of the city through culture, but with a respect for culture; it’s not selling out. The problem is that so many cities start biennales without even having the money to do it, and then maybe they do one biennale and then that’s it. Here at least they took it very seriously. There is a big building, and there is a foundation with people working long-term. What I respect is that they took the job seriously, and they’re trying to improve the biennale still. That’s different from just a cynical, self-promotional maneuver (Personal Interview with Gioni 2010).

Gioni also believes that Gwangju’s proud heritage of democratic protest is an important part of its cultural credibility:

On the other hand, maybe because of its connection to May 18, which of course is used as a promotional thing, but there is a respect that it’s bigger than just cultural politics, and that’s what I think you sense when schools come to see it. Maybe I’m also lucky because the theme was good this year, but it think within the theme and the whole institution there is a desire to do a good show, not just
to promote some agenda. And that, I think, is important. I’ve seen many biennales in cities where it means nothing. They just want to be fashionable and they want to have a biennale there. Maybe I’m idealistic, because this show is good, but I think there’s a respect for making a good show, that it’s important, and it’s not only about cultural promotion, it’s about something bigger. The fact that this biennale brings to Gwangju some of the best artists in the world and some of the greatest curators – clearly they know what they’re doing. A biennale has to be rooted in the art and something bigger. That’s what I like about Gwangju. Here there is a commitment to art which makes it better than just a promotional operation (Personal Interview with Gioni 2010).

The potential of the GB within Korea is significant, and in the future, it may be possible that the GB will elevate Gwangju’s standing, transforming the city into a major hub of art and culture. This, however, will be difficult to measure. As for the potential of the GB to directly boost South Korea’s global reputation, it seems unlikely, because the fine art content of the GB is always going to be outside the global media mainstream.

5.6.2 Designing Gwangju’s Future

The city of Gwangju has undergone real transformation in the period since the first GB. However, there are limits to how much a city can truly change its culture and identity in such a short period. Gwangju is still a marginal and neglected city, and it remains in the shadow of Seoul. The local government has big ambitions for the city. Gwangju, emboldened by launching the GB, has since endeavoured and spurred to host a wide variety of cultural events and related cultural activities in order to become the ‘cultural city in Asia,’ aiming to establish an identity that is tied to the Asian region, rather than the South Korean nation. The most recent expansions of cultural event programming include the establishing of the ‘Gwangju Cultural Foundation’, making an alliance with Edinburgh Fringe Festival, and launching ‘Festival Oh! Gwangju.’ 2012 is the first year of the new World Biennale Forum, to be hosted by the city of Gwangju as a means to further the city’s cultural brand.

Reflecting on the 2010 GB after the event, the Chief and other Exhibition Coordinators are proud of the event, but also insist that there are ways the GB must be improved. They believe that the GB needs more independence from local government, and it must move away from being forced to reflect the vision of the mayor (Personal Interview with Ahn 2011). It remains a problem that the GB relies so strongly on school children to

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107 The Gwangju Cultural Foundation emphasises that the ‘Festival Of! Gwangju’ is one of the representatives of the ‘Gwangju brand’ related to the May 18 Gwangju Democratic Uprising, and is a new ‘City Brand Festival’ (Gwangju Cultural Foundation 2011).

108 These comments are based on an informal group interview discussion conducted with Ahn, Yang, Shim and Hong in Seoul on 9 July 2011.
make up its visitors (they constituted 70% of all visitors in 2010). The GB appeals to
locals effectively, though it is – problematically – perceived more as entertainment (a
festival) than as a cultural event (Personal Interview with Nam-gyeong Hong 2011). Visitors to the GB need better facilities, more interaction, and more freedom/less
structure in terms of their ‘journey’ through the exhibitions (Personal Interview with Ahn
2011). In terms of regeneration, Gwangju needs to create better infrastructures for
tourism if the GB can achieve its full international potential, and in terms of nurturing local
artists, more needs to be done to permanently raise their profile and develop their
careers after the GB period (Personal Interview with Yang 2011).

It is impossible to definitively and holistically measure the impact and regenerative results
of the GB, especially because one of the key aims of the GB is to change international
and national perceptions of Gwangju: this will take time, and is difficult to evidence. However, among the policymakers in the city, there is a perceived positive impact, and
the event is viewed as exemplary. However, this is problematic, because the GB
arguably is used to act as the apparatus of the representative fine art event in Asia, both
nominally and virtually; it has tended to be used instrumentally, and the government
views the event in terms of immediate benefits to citizens, rather than as a potentially
engaging artistic and cultural event.

The GB administration has a narrow focus on the numbers game and is mainly
concerned with how the GB can enhance the reputation of the city of Gwangju; yet this is
a self-centred and superficial boost to the city’s reputation, as most of its promotional
activities are focused back on citizens, reminding them of the status and pride of
Gwangju. Massimiliano Gioni believed that the GB was special because the city of
Gwangju has a special credibility because of the May 18 Democratic Uprising. However,
even this important and inalienable event has been used for cynical self-promotion by the
local government. The way that the government unilaterally pushes policies without
interaction with citizens makes this unjustifiable. With a more inclusive approach, this
instrumental use of culture could be acceptable and have a positive influence across
different sectors in the city. However, the local government, policymakers, and GB
Foundation staff do not to engage in a dialogue with broader social, artistic, educational
and commercial culture. The lack of motivation to engage with stakeholders and other
potential creative participants in the decision-making process is a major weakness of the
city government.

Around the world designers have an increasingly important role in shaping the way that
cultural events communicate their meaning to audiences and participants. However,
designers have no voice in the GB, either in the crucial planning stages, or in the implementation of an integrated design strategy. Design can unlock the ultimate value of these events. Clear and effective design can communicate ideas across regional, national and international barriers. Gioni is not a designer, but he understands design; yet even under his leadership, the GB neglected designers, and the future ADs may not be so sympathetic to design. The GB is a major event in Gwangju, but until it acknowledges the importance of designers, its scope and appeal will be limited. It is not yet the star of a true cultural capital of Asia.

5.7 Summary

This chapter began with an introduction laying out the content and structure to follow, and its first section provided a historical overview of the city of Gwangju's troubled past. The Democratic Uprising gave the city, in a sense, its brand identity, and it's this image the city has been trying to both honour and escape. Thus, this section provided important contextual information, leading on to the next section, which covered the city's attempts to rebrand through cultural policy: two sub-sections examining architecture, urban design, and city brand marketing showed how local policymakers have struggled with different initiatives to satisfy local interests as well as the demands of attracting tourists. Again, this analysis is important to understanding the context of the GB, the origins and history of which were discussed in the following section, covering the role of design and the effectiveness of rebranding and regeneration policies in the GB, from its first event in 1995 until 2008. These sections note that the GB was founded in order to transform Gwangju's culture and identity. The 2010 GB was a key example of the way the local government balances self-promotion, citizen satisfaction, and international ambitions. The following section, therefore, provided the main event case study of this thesis. In order to directly address the research questions of this thesis, the first sub-sections assessed the contribution to the creation of the event by various staff and stakeholders; these subsections also examined the way local government plays a role, and the way designers are marginalised. In fact, many stakeholders and creative personnel play a role in the creation and running of the GB, though, problematically, designers are ignored and neglected in the process of both planning and executing the GB's main and sub-events. However, these sections also demonstrated that while designers are neglected, design thinking still played a key role; thus, theories of design management roles were mapped on to the key staff and decision-makers at the GB. The next sub-sections looked at how the event is planned and run, and following this was a section on branding. Regeneration was also covered in dedicated sub-sections. The impact of the GB on a variety of local
regeneration is potentially significant, but difficult to definitively measure at this stage. Nonetheless, these sections examined the goals of various types of regeneration (social, cultural, and economic; based on Evans' definitions of categories of regeneration). The final subsection of the 2010 GB case study provided an extensive analysis of the results of the event, based on survey data acquired from several sources.

This chapter ends with tables summarising the above discussion: each key research question has been given a brief overview. In the first table, the importance of each key role (designers and non-designers) has been highlighted (see Table 5.5, below); in the second table (see Table 5.6, below), an overview of the different types of regeneration has been provided.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Designer</th>
<th>Non-Designer</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- How did different interests contribute to the creation of the Gwangju Biennale?</td>
<td>External design agencies were hired on a temporary basis to contribute to the visual design and branding of the GB's marketing materials and signage. Designers had no other meaningful role in the conceptual creation process.</td>
<td>Local government, especially the Mayor of Gwangju, played a key role in motivating and encouraging more local-focused events and activities. Although government staff had no direct role in determining the content or theme of the 2010 GB, the pressure of the government was felt by the GB Foundation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>o Specifically, how did designers and non-designers contribute to the creation of the Gwangju Biennale?</td>
<td>The local government also does very little in this process. They provide concepts and express their wishes at the planning stages, and provide essential funding and facilities for the variety of GB events, but have no involvement in the day-to-day running or planning.</td>
<td>Citizens were not represented within any of the decision-making groups of the 2010 GB. However, local citizens were frequently discussed and specifically considered in the creative decision-making process. Local expert programmers created and curated a small number of smaller events. Thus, local citizens had a huge but mostly indirect influence on the creation of the GB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- What do different stakeholders/policymakers do in this process?</td>
<td>Designers do very little in the overall process. The GB neglects the importance of designers. They are not permanent staff. They are not involved at all in the early planning stages, and once their small design work is complete, they have no more involvement in the GB.</td>
<td>The GB Foundation has the most important role in this process. However, the organisation is understaffed, as many events are run by external specialists and overseen by inappropriate departments within the GB Foundation. The GB Foundation suffers from a lack of communication between staff in different departments and at different levels. The meeting style is authoritative and people are reluctant to share new ideas.</td>
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The Artistic Director and his New York team experienced the difficulty of balancing their expectations of what constitutes a high-quality international art event, with the demands of the local government for considering local citizens. Gioni was frustrated that his carefully chosen Mininbo concept was also used for smaller, less prestigious, more 'local' minor events.
<table>
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<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Designer</th>
<th>Non-Designer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>What contribution did designers and non-designers make to the overall branding?</strong></td>
<td>Designers contributed the EIP for the marketing and informational printed materials. Although the designers played a very small role in the overall branding of the GB, they said that the use of designers by the GB Foundation is actually relatively progressive.</td>
<td>The city government provided the funding for the design work, and it was the local government's instruction to carefully include local considerations in the GB that led to the specific EIP combining local images with international art. The Mayor of Gwangju was also involved in a promotional visit to other countries (such as China to increase awareness of the GB). The branding of the 2010 GB combined local and international images in an attempt to appeal to local citizens as well as international visitors. Gwangju's cultural identity was a very important part of the GB's brand image. The GB Foundation did not consider the important role that its support staff played in the GB's image and brand identity to visitors. The docents and security staff were instructed to protect the art from visitors, not to educate them about it. This has a negative effect on the GB's image. The GB Foundation's role was to maintain a beneficial balance between the local emphasis of the city government and the international ambitions of the AD. The events were organised to attract the largest possible number of visitors to the event, from the local area and beyond, with a specific focus on education via local and regional schools. The AD was responsible for choosing the thematic concept that branded the entire 2010 GB: <strong>Maninbo</strong>. He tried to work as closely as possible with designers in the branding process, and also tried to balance the global and the local in his brand concept.</td>
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<td><strong>What contribution did the event have on regeneration?</strong></td>
<td>The design EIP concept featured on all posters and promotional materials balanced the international art of the show with images of local citizens and participating artists; indirectly designers contributed to the regenerative effect on the city. The city government provided the essential funding, infrastructure and facilities to host the 2010 GB. Their policies and instructions to the GB Foundation had a focus on citizenry and local regeneration. The majority of the staff at all levels of the GB organisation were local citizens. The GB is an event run by the city, for the city. Local artists whose work was exhibited in the main GB helped to promote the city's local artistic talent. The citizen-focused sub-events of the 2010 GB (such as 'Maninbo+1') were also important to the regenerative effects on the city.</td>
<td>Table 5.5 Research Questions applied to the 2010 GB.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>Social Regeneration</td>
<td>Economic Regeneration</td>
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<td><strong>What contribution did the event have on regeneration?</strong></td>
<td>In terms of social regeneration, the 2010 GB had a direct benefit to local citizens. The careers of local artists were permanently boosted by the exhibition of their work at the GB. In terms of education, the GB had a policy to invite groups of schoolchildren to the exhibition; however, the motives for this were primarily to boost visitor numbers, and actual educational programmes were neglected.</td>
<td>The huge number of visitors to the city as a result of the GB had an obvious — but temporary — impact on economic regeneration. Visitors spent money at hotels and restaurants in the city, and on taxes and public transportation. This boost in the local hospitality industry only lasted as long as the actual GB event, and the long-term economic benefits are difficult to measure.</td>
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Table 5.6: Regeneration and the 2010 GB.
Chapter 6:
South Korea’s Creative Kaleidoscope:
Contrasting Cultures in the Capital City

6.1 Introduction

While the Gwangju Biennale is the biggest festival of contemporary art in Asia, it stands as one of relatively few high-profile South Korean events taking place outside of Seoul. The national government frequently focuses its design initiatives, branding concepts, touristic marketing, and regeneration policies on the capital city only. For potential tourists, there is little indication that Korea has any significant cultural attractions outside of Seoul. Therefore, it is important to consider the varied and contrasting cultural events taking place in the city. This chapter considers two very different case studies: the first section below analyses the Seoul Design Olympiad/Fair, and describes the policy-driven push to use design to rebrand and reinvent Seoul. This programme of events had the support of government and a considerable budget; it represents a highly structured attempt to create regeneration through design-led culture. On the other hand, the second case study considers the Mullae neighbourhood in the west of Seoul, an industrial complex in drastic decline that became the spontaneous base for a new artistic community. Mullae has been truly revitalised through culture, entirely without the intention or intervention of policymakers. These two case studies provide counterpoints to the UK cities considered in Chapter 4, and the case of the GB, by demonstrating the full range and variety of city-based cultural events taking place in contemporary South Korea.
6.2 Festivalising Design: The Seoul Design Olympiad and Seoul's New Tourism

6.2.1 Introduction
The Seoul Design Olympiad (SDO) was initiated by the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) in their effort to develop the image of Seoul, intending to transform the city from being just ‘the capital of South Korea’ to also being ‘the city of design’. This section examines how the SMG has used design to encourage tourism and regeneration. The SDO was launched in 2008 as an annual event, celebrating the forthcoming designation of Seoul as the World Design Capital 2010. The SDO was intended to more than just a one-off fixed-term event, but rather a range of activities with a longer-term impact. The SDO was renamed the Seoul Design Fair in 2010, but was subsequently suspended. The future of the event is now uncertain. The SDO/SDF was comprised of a combination of conferences, exhibitions, design competitions, awards and educational events; this is therefore a clear example of a cultural event used to promote economic and cultural regeneration, and this case study provides a contrast to other similar events taking place elsewhere in Korea, and around the world.

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6.2.2 The Image of Seoul

To understand the significance of the Seoul’s recent focus on design as an instrument of change, it is necessary to consider the history of the city and its global image. The vast majority of South Korea’s culture industries are produced in its capital city. Seoul has a centralised population (about 10 million) of about a quarter of the total population of the country (Statistics Korea 2005; 2010). Under the administrative status of “special city”, Seoul’s hosting of the 1988 Olympics was not only widely recognized around the world, but also an example of the use of culture as “image politics” (Simons 2006). The government at the time, a military dictatorship headed by Chun Doo-hwan (discussed in more detail in the previous chapter), relaxed many of its culturally and politically restrictive policies in order to appear more open and democratic to the rest of the world. The central government’s attempts to present Seoul as a modern, international city continued, and when preparing to co-host the 2002 Football World Cup, the SMG announced the formation of its first 'city marketing' department, and an emphasis on more creative cultural, design, and architectural projects.

However, this cultural tourism and the entertainment industry have been used to justify investment in an urban cultural infrastructure that brings an increase in rent costs for apartments and rooms, and as a consequence, poorer inhabitants and shop keepers have been pushed out, putting neighbourhoods “on the road to gentrification” (Zukin 1995a: 23). According to an OECD Policy Report (OECD 2005) about the Cheonggyecheon Restoration project, the SMG forced the relocation of low-wage residents and merchants previously based there. The stated intention of this urban regeneration project was to ensure a benefit for all stakeholders involved; however, from the perspective of universal design, the project’s irregular surfaces and congested tunnels brought mobility problems for elderly and disabled people (CABE 2009). Although well-cleaned and attractively designed for ‘rest and relaxation’, the true democratic success of this project was never achieved. Social regeneration was clearly much less of a priority than a bid for a new, globalised tourist-centric image. Pratt argues that this trend to sell cities using public money is a socially regressive form of taxation; it is also politically divisive (2008a: 14). It would be difficult to meet the vying demands of citizenry, local government and the national tourist board, all of who have different priorities in these kinds of design-led cultural activities. The SMG has so far been unable to satisfy the demands of each of these interests.

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109 The Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project created a 5.8km landscaped green pathway that runs alongside the revitalised Cheonggyecheon stream in Seoul, at a cost of US$360 million.
One of the challenges for the SMG and those involved in creating cultural events in Seoul is that the city is burdened with representing the entire nation. Part of this is due to the nature of Korea’s cultural policies, as there is arguably an unbalanced concentration on events occurring in the capital city only. The other causes relate to the external tourist image of Seoul, which is problematically connected to the national brand. In a survey commissioned and conducted by the SMG, results revealed that foreign visitors associated the city of Seoul with images related to the whole of Korea (Han 2007). The top results were ‘Kimchi’ (20.7%) (with another popular dish, ‘bulgogi’, at 2.8%), ‘kindness’ (7.6%), ‘shopping’ (3.1%); relatively few visitors mentioned Seoul-specific cultural events such as the ‘1988 Seoul Olympics’ (which got just a 2.5% result). Therefore, it seems that Seoul lacks an individual image or appeal beyond being part of Korea. This is in contrast to other Asian cities: a survey of Tokyo’s tourists revealed that the majority visit in order to ‘explore the city’ (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2009), and Beijing is now associated primarily with the recent Olympic Games (a city-specific cultural event) (‘China’ 2008).

Even recently, Seoul’s international brand identity seems contradictory: for example, in January 2010, the city appeared in the New York Times ranked third among ‘31 places to go in 2010’ (The New York Times 2010). Yet when travel journalists talk about Seoul, specifically its culture and appeal to tourists, they have only bad things to say. For example, Seoul was also named one of the worst cities in the world by a recent Lonely Planet poll (BBC 2009).

6.2.3 Designing Seoul’s New Brand

The SMG has therefore begun to aggressively brand the city of Seoul, and attempt to create images, slogans and characters that will signify the city rather than the nation. For example, the SMG recently created the ‘Haechi’ character/brand as a way to establish an identity for residents and for tourists that signals the friendliness, heritage, and bright appeal of Seoul (see Figures 6.2 and 6.3, below). Inspired by the success of Berlin’s iconic bear and Copenhagen’s Little Mermaid statue, the SMG set out a series of aims for the Haechi character: according to the official Haechi website (SMG 2009) these were primarily to gain tangible benefits such as increased tourism and therefore an improved economy, and intangible benefits such as a more positive emotional association with the city for both citizens (greater pride) and tourists (more appealing images).
The Haechi character is the basis for city marketing ventures such as street projects (see Figure 6.4, below) and promotional videos, as well as broader 'cuturenomics' ventures and festivals with an emphasis on citizen participation (such as the planned Haechi Festival and New Year's Greeting Event) (SMG 2009). These events suggest the high level of awareness of branding strategies, and a strong desire to replicate the success of other cities. The model for rebranding Seoul is elaborate, if not original.

However, Haechi has been criticised as having no meaningful connection to Seoul, for its permanent residents; in fact, a 2008 poll showed that the city's architectural landmarks
are the meaningful icons for Seoul's citizens (Kim 2011a). In spite of this, Haechi has generated profit, and the diverse revenue streams from this tourism-based initiative show that there is a significant potential income from indirect benefits that has nothing to do with increased visits to Seoul. These design-led initiatives are widespread and diverse. The SMG also recently employed principles of graphic design and branded communication to create a new font for use on all Seoul's street signage, named after Seoul's historic and touristic Namsan Mountain (see Figure 6.5, below).

Disgracefully, however, in spite of this and other high-profile, well-funded projects, there has been no tangible benefit for locals: according to the Seoul Welfare Foundation (2007), Seoul citizens had ranked as the most unsatisfied with the happiness (quality) of life in their city among 10 major metropolises of the world.

6.2.4 Transforming Seoul into a ‘Design City’

Therefore, the Seoul Metropolitan government has decided to focus on ‘design’ as a way to improve its brand/tourist image, and to cement its reputation as what Landry and Bianchini (1995) call a ‘Creative City’. Since Seoul Mayor Se-hoon Oh took office in 2006, he has launched ambitious design-conscious redevelopment plans. Mayor Oh believes “design means everything in the sense that it makes the city safer and cleaner, while it also improves the city’s economic development that as a result enhances the overall quality of life” (Zhi 2010). The Seoul Design Headquarters (SDH),110 established in 2007 in order to make Seoul into a design city and support the design industry systemically, has adopted a ‘designomics’111 strategy to extend the economic role of design to respond to the recent global recession. Bruce Nussbaum directly associated design with economic growth by arguing “design has moved from creating artefacts to shaping human interactions; from focusing on materiality to shaping social systems” (Nussbaum

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110 In 2010, the SDH was integrated into the new ‘Culture, Design and Tourism Headquarters’.

111 ‘Designomics’ is a compound word formed from ‘design’ and ‘economics’. The term was first used in Designomics: A New Concept in Management Design (Jung and Choi 2008), which argued that design drives economics to generate growth and prosperity in the world.
The SMG has officially defined ‘design’ in a more traditional sense, describing it broadly as “the intellectual architectural activities for implementing a mental plan” (SMG 2010). Seoul’s design thinkers believe that design must be led by government, and are fond of quoting Margaret Thatcher’s instruction to “design or resign” (Personal Interview with Jihye Kang 2011). Under the slogan of ‘Caring for Citizens’ (see Figure 6.6, below) the SMG has executed policies driven by environmental design (introducing a ‘green-friendly upgrade to Seoul’s urban landscape’) and universal design (transforming Seoul into the ‘ideal liveable city’ for all), as well as developing the ‘Design Seoul DNA’ to boost the economy and culture (SMG 2010).

However, in spite of a design initiative which targets citizens, Seoul’s policymakers feel that there is a difficulty for government to communicate to residents a shared understanding of design. According to Jihye Kang, a Planner in the SDO team, “Korean people can’t really understand the radical progressive design policies in Seoul, so we tried to make them understand that it’s for the citizens – citizens first, design later. We push it, but they can’t accept it” (Personal Interview with Kang 2011).

In spite of this failure to communicate, there can be no doubt that Seoul has developed its standing as a design city, certainly to the extent that the majority of the entire nation’s design industry is now in the capital city: 62% of all design specialising companies in Korea are now based in Seoul, and 76% of the national revenue generated by design comes from companies based in the city; in total, 71% of all designers in Korea are in Seoul (Icograde and SMG 2010). Furthermore, Seoul hosts 416 design events, 32 design museums, and 16 design libraries (Icograde and SMG 2010). These statistics suggest that Seoul has become the hub of Korea’s design activities, and this status was further realised with the city’s 2010 title as ‘World Design Capital’. The International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (ICSID) awards the title of WDC for a period of one
The pragmatic benefits of attention-seeking events are well known to city governments around the world, especially a culture-based title, like Liverpool’s powerfully transformative ECoC08 title (see Chapter 4). Bolstered by the World Design Capital title, and under the slogan ‘Design for All’, the city of Seoul has been “promoting and encouraging the use of design to further social, economic and cultural development,” with a budget of GBP£53 million for around 130 design events underway in the city (WDC 2010).

6.2.5 The SDO, 2008-09: Designing Seoul’s Reinvention

“Design is a shortcut to become a global city”
Chief Design Officer Kyung-won Chung (Kwon 2009b)

Among these many design events in Seoul, the most important was the Seoul Design Olympiad. The first SDO was held in October 2008 for 20 days, at the Jamsil Sports Complex, and it became an annual event, then a biannual event, and its future is now uncertain; the SDO has undergone remarkable changes in just four years (see Table 6.1, below, for a statistical summary of the SDO in 2008 and 2009). The SDO was created to establish advantageous synergy with the 2010 WDC title (in the same way the 2008 LB benefited from the ECoC title in Liverpool).

The SDO’s stated aim is both “cultural enrichment and promoting the quality of people’s lives through design” (Seoul Design Olympiad 2009) as well as to combine the city’s strengths in terms of culture and design, and take advantage of globalisation to increase the competitiveness of Seoul’s city brand (Kwon 2009a). The SDO was in many ways created to build up support for the WDC events; Kyungwon Chung admits that the first SDO made citizens “predisposed to design” ahead of larger-scale activities (Personal Interview with Kyungwon Chung 2011). The SDO used the word ‘Olympic’ in its title to express associations with the idea of a complex, huge, international festival (SDO 2009). It is particularly significant that the SDO took place in its first two years in the Olympic Stadium: it created links and associations with the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, and demonstrates one of the principles of the importance of design for regeneration by

112 Conceived in 2008, the first selected city was Torino in Italy (2012’s World Design Capital is Helsinki), with the focus of the project on the “broader essence of design’s impact on urban space, economies and citizens” (WDC 2010).
113 All quotes from Kyungwon Chung come from a personal interview conducted in Daejeon on 23 November 2011.
reutilising this large public stadium (Personal Interview with Park 2010).

Table 6.1: Statistical Summary of the 2008 and 2009 SDOs (Seoul Design Foundation 2010).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participated</th>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>42</th>
<th>50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Companies</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Groups</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venues</td>
<td>Jamsil Sports Complex and Seoul Downtown</td>
<td>Jamsil Sports Complex, Seoul Downtown and Hangang Park</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programmes</td>
<td>4 sections, 86 programmes</td>
<td>4 sections, 67 programmes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition Participants</td>
<td>666 design works from 37 countries</td>
<td>1,206 design works from 38 countries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff per day (and volunteers)</td>
<td>918 staff (254 volunteers)</td>
<td>1,233 staffs (488 volunteers)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitors</td>
<td>1.98 million (of which 59,000 were foreign visitors)</td>
<td>2.98 million (of which 92,000 were foreign visitors)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Participants</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>41,021 people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotional Media</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>1,315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales from Industry Design Market</td>
<td>Approx. GBPE25,000</td>
<td>Approx. GBPE121,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>GBPE17,600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated Economic Benefit</td>
<td>• Generated production with a value of GBPE182 million</td>
<td>• Generated production with a value of GBPE185 million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Created 4,590 new jobs</td>
<td>• Created 4,659 new jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

114 All quotes from Hyeong-jun Park come from a personal interview conducted in Seoul on 8 April 2010.
According to Hyeong-jung Park, the SDO does not have any specific marketing strategies for foreigners/tourists, as he believes that it will bring tourists automatically. Therefore, although the SDO was intended to be a major international design event, policymakers have neglected to engage in any international marketing at all (Personal Interview with Park 2010). The 2009 SDO visitor survey reveals an event with many successful qualities, but which requires improvement to achieve the success it aims for. Visitors are most satisfied with the fact that the exhibitions themselves are free (54.3%), while the overall curatorial design was also praised through positive feedback for the programmes participated in (51.4%) and the high quality of the artwork exhibited (25.7%) (SDF 2009). However, the event’s communication design was seen as inadequate, with 34.3% of respondents complaining about a lack of information (SDF 2009). Furthermore, in spite of some negative feedback regarding the exhibition space, and a lack of facilities, the SDO’s progressive intentions to be an ‘all-inclusive’ event were seen through an effective use of universal design, with slopes and lifts constructed to aid the flow of human traffic, even for disabled or elderly visitors (SDF 2009).

Problematically, Manager Park admits that he has no expertise in design. Arguably, this is a clear indication of the way the SMG neglects to develop a sincere understanding of design (and designers), in spite of the many events: the SDO, in 2008-09, was run by a government administrator with no particular knowledge of (or passion for) design (Personal Interview with Park 2010). There were further problems with the SDOs. The marketing was surprisingly conventional and uncreative, demonstrating a lack of innovation: the main PR target was admitted to be housewives with free time (exposed to the SDO’s radio and television advertisements), and though online bloggers were also targeted, with the hopes of spreading word-of-mouth online, there was no use of social media to accomplish this. Nonetheless, in a survey about the strategy of the urban design of Seoul conducted by the Seoul Development Institute (Baek 2008), 53% of design professionals and 71% of civil servants (in design-related departments) said that Seoul design projects are too grandiose. In addition, professionals think that compared to other design-related events in Seoul, the SDO and WDCS were ‘not going well’ (33%). This dissatisfaction was even clearer among design students, who organised campaigns through online social media that directly opposed design policy as being superficial and a waste of money. This feeling of protest was finally expressed in the form of several ‘anti-design’ street performances that strongly criticised the SMG’s design policies (Kim 2011a).

This improved slightly in 2009; although the first SDO received heavy criticism from the press for being financially wasteful, the 2009 event received a much more positive press
response (Personal Interview with Chung 2011). However, it is difficult to measure the true response to the SDOs, and the extent to which they were genuinely popular. In an example of the SMG playing the 'numbers game', civil servants were forced to attend the SDO, in order to boost attendance figures (Kim 2011a). Indeed, Graeme Evans (2005) warns that regenerative effects typically centralise a financial ‘number’ (even with an intangible effect) and user-related outputs, for instant visitor numbers, direct employment and so on. It does not seem they estimate the outcome of the events or non-users. In the Report and Results of Seoul Design Olympiad 2009 (2009), they neglected to measure residents’ (non-visitors) perception of the impacts of the event. Yet, crucially, ‘non-visited’ residents could be (and, according to the stated ‘inclusive’ aim of the event, should be) one of the major stakeholders.

In spite of this, the SDO and Seoul’s status as World Design Capital 2010 have successfully raised the profile of the city. The WDC title, unlike the SDO, was strongly marketed using social media and other methods (see the WDC iPhone App in Figure 6.7, below) creating high levels of awareness among both citizens and visitors; the title was also tied strongly to the two prior SDOs (see Figure 6.8, below).

In 2010, Wallpaper magazine selected Seoul as one of the ‘Best Cities 2010’ for its annual Design Awards (Wallpaper 2010). Seoul, however, was recommended only for this new, design-related event rather than for its pre-existing city culture. This is a problem of policy: the SDO didn’t encourage or require exploration of the city of Seoul or of Korean culture in any meaningful way. Therefore, the event is a ‘soft power’ success in
only very superficial ways. Ultimately, for culture tourism and promoting Korean culture, the first two SDO events were a failure.

### 6.2.6 The Seoul Design Fair 2010: Relaunching the ‘World Citizen’s Design Festival’

For its 2010 event, the SDO officially changed its name to the ‘Seoul Design Fair’ and launched with the slogan “the world citizens’ design festival” (see Table 6.2, below). More so than in the two previous SDOs, the 2010 SDF’s USP was to emphasise the participation of non-designers in the event. Hyeong-jung Park, Manager of the 2010 Seoul Design Fair, strongly believes that design can start a ripple effect throughout the economy, causing job creation and welfare. He, moreover, stresses that the SDF is not just an exhibition but also a platform for design business (Personal Interview with Park 2010). The SDF thus had regeneration as an imbedded and ambitious aim, intending to improve the lives of citizens and boost the economic strength of the design industry. The SDF was intended to be the first in a restructured format: the event would take place every two years, with the Gwangju Design Biennale taking place on alternative years (thus, each year Korea would host a major design event). Vice-Mayor Kyungwon Chung oversaw the planning of the SDF and was placed in charge of the newly renamed Culture Tourism Design Headquarters, with a total budget of GBP£320 million (Personal Interview with Chung 2011).

#### 6.2.6.1 Marketing and Branding the SDF

The marketing of the SDF demonstrated a deployment of the EIP method, presenting a unified design theme across all printed and promotional materials. The SDF poster, leaflet, banner, and tickets all featured the event’s logo, and aspects of its visual design concept (see Figures 6.9-6.13, below). Interestingly, the EIP for the 2010 SDF appears to be an image based on an expansion of the logo which was also used for the 2008 and 2009 SDOs; therefore, while brand consistency is maintained, there appears to be a lack of creativity and distinctiveness. The dominant EIP image, of colourful triangles forming long thin shapes, creates an association with the idea of a summer fair, as well as evoking traditional Korean clothes-wrapping material. The colours are intended to

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115 The Korean title is the Seoul Design Hanmadang (grand festival); the title was changed as a result of objections to the use of the term ‘Olympiad’ without permission from the International Olympic Committee (IOC) (Bae 2009). Furthermore, Kyungwon Chung, in charge of the decision at the time, claimed to have always hated the title ‘Olympiad’ (Personal Interview with Chung 2011). However, Jihye Kang believed that the name change weakened the event’s brand identity (Personal Interview with Kang 2011).
represent different aspects of Seoul's design activities, in an effort to emphasise that the SDF is only one part of a much bigger programme of design in Seoul.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd Seoul Design Fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Director</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Official Description</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participated</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Venues</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Programmes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Competition Participants</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Staffs per day (Volunteers)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visitors</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education Participants</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Promotional Media Appearances/References</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sales from Industry Design Market</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Donation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Estimated Economic Benefit</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Statistical Summary of the 2010 SDF (Seoul Design Foundation 2010)
Figure 6.9: Seoul Design Fair 2010 Poster.

Figure 6.10: 2010 SDF Official Website (Left English Version, Right Korean Version).

Figure 6.11: 2010 SDF Banner.

Figure 6.12: 2010 SDF Ticket.  
Figure 6.13: 201 SDF Leaflet.
The SDF’s marketing campaign involved a more specific targeting of non-Koreans, in order to contribute to tourism and encourage foreigners living in – or visiting – Seoul to attend events. There was a noticeable increase in the number of foreign visitors to the 2010 SDF – of the total 2 million visitors, 100,000 were non-Korean; this is a figure higher than either of the previous SDOs, and also greater than the GB’s results that same year (Personal Interviews with Chung and Park 2011). The organisers behind the SDF also perceive considerable intangible touristic benefits, such as an enhanced international profile for the city. Gihyun Jeon, Manager of the Culture and Events Section of the Seoul Design Fair, believes that as Korean designers achieve global recognition, the SDF can “change international perceptions of Seoul through design” (Personal Interview with Gihyun Jeon 2011). Furthermore, Seoul’s status as a ‘hot’ city on a level equal to – or exceeding – Tokyo was supposedly achieved during the SDF thanks to enthusiastic coverage from CNN and other global media outlets (Personal Interview with Chung 2011). Arguably, then, the way the SDO centralised designers in creating its marketing – and these designers were, unlike other events considered, permanent staff – shows the success of embedded design to a strong EIP and effective communication design.

6.2.6.2 Citizen Participation

In addition to a focus on tourism and foreign attendees, the SDF achieved a remarkable level of success in attracting local ‘ordinary’ citizens. According to Jihye Kang,

You can’t find an event anywhere else that emphasizes ‘citizens’ like we do. These could be citizens of Seoul or citizens of the world. Of course, designers are important, but we also consider those who don’t know anything about design. Our slogan is “the World Citizens’ Design Festival.” Other design events are only for designers. We are different, and we encourage wide participation from students, families, and anyone who wants to be involved (Personal Interview with Kang 2011)

The enthusiastic participation of local non-design-related citizens was achieved through including non-artistic content in the SDF: there were activities for families and children in areas that were designated for ‘play’ rather than exhibition, such as a football pitch and a picnic area (Personal Interview with Kang 2011). This compromise of less high-quality artistic content was necessary to achieve Chung’s ambitious vision to emphasise the ways design can “care” for citizens; his target audience for 2010 was essentially any and all Seoul residents (Personal Interview with Chung 2011).

116 All quotes from Gihyun Jeon come from a personal interview conducted in Seoul on 22 November 2011.
6.2.6.3 Understanding Design

In spite of the intention to bring design to the citizens of Seoul, the SMG has struggled to create an environment in which designers and non-designers can share an understanding of key concepts. According to Gihyun Jeon, one of the biggest problems facing Seoul’s design initiatives is that there is a huge gap between the way Mayor Oh defines ‘design’ and the way the majority of people understand what ‘design’ is. There’s wide miscommunication, and ‘design’ has now become a meaningless buzzword. To avoid confusion, it’s better to use the term ‘creative thinking’. Design is really a creative problem-solving process. If the government can define it this way, everyone can understand (Personal Interview with Jeon 2011).

This difficulty is a particular problem because the SDF neglected to include a clear explanation of this definition of design in any of its marketing or promotional activities. Jeon believes that even the civil servants involved in planning and running the SDF didn’t necessarily understand their progressive definition of design; this is particularly problematic because of the way the SDF organisation believes designers and non-designers should collaborate. As Jeon insists, a mix with designers ensures harmony, and the only crucial quality that staff require is to understand design; the SDF staff is 35-40% designers, as he believes there’s a risk that designers working without collaborating will be too selfish in pushing their own ideas at the expense of the greater goals (Personal Interview with Jeon 2011).

In fact, this belief in the advantage of collaboration is applied to the wider context of Seoul’s cultural industries: just as non-designers play a key role in the SDF, Kyungwon Chung argues that designers must have important roles in other events and organisations (Personal Interview with Chung 2011). He is convinced that the planning and directing aspects of design management can play a valuable role in cultural events, and suggested that organisations in Seoul should add a CDO (Chief Design Officer) at the vice-leader level in order to increase efficiency (Personal Interview with Chung 2011).

117 Interestingly, although the SDF is a design event, and its staff is made up of many design professionals, the actual design tasks for the event are undertaken by an external design agency. The SDF staff focus on administration and planning.

118 Chung was responsible for pushing the ‘DRIVE’ design management plan to organisations in Seoul. DRIVE stands for the five-step process of managing cultural events: Definition (of the problem); Recognition (of the solution); Idea (the generation of ideas); Visualisation (prototyping); Evaluation (at the end of the process).
6.2.6.4 SDF 2010: Results

The 2010 SDF achieved notably high visitor satisfaction: a total of 85.8% of respondents were either ‘extremely satisfied’ or ‘moderately satisfied’ with the event, an improvement on 2009 of more than 10% (Seoul Design Foundation 2010). Further, the SDF’s aim to generate loyal repeat visitors and spread positive word-of-mouth was achieved, as a total 91.6% of visitors would either ‘definitely’ or ‘probably’ recommend the event to others, and 94.2% would either ‘probably’ or ‘definitely’ visit again (Seoul Design Foundation 2010).

The most negative survey responses were for the facilities for the disabled and elderly, indicating a failure of universal design, in spite of the stated emphasis on this area as part of the ‘Caring for Citizens’ initiative. Furthermore, the ‘information for foreigners’ was also judged to be poor in the survey, even though the SDF specifically targeted non-Koreans in 2010 (Seoul Design Foundation 2010). The organisers of the SDF believe that some mistakes were made in planning the event that may have caused it to receive more negative feedback: the event space itself was possibly too big, with too much content and information, creating confusion and overwhelming visitors; also, the event lasted 21 days, which may have been too long compared to other specialist festivals (Personal Interviews with Chung and Park 2011). In some cases, the progressive design thinking of the SDF resulted in public criticism: the pavilion and exhibition space constructed was accused by the press of being a waste of money, yet the structure was built out of (more expensive) recyclable material in order to demonstrate ecological responsibility and sustainable design (Personal Interview with Kang 2011).

Manager Jeon reflects on the problems of the two SDOs and the 2010 SDF:

Personally, I think the events failed. Firstly, they were planned too quickly, and the government pushed to make them happen in a very short period of time. Metaphorically, it’s like preparing a meal, but focusing so much on the attractive table setting, they forgot to consider the taste of the food. The ideas were good, but the content was inadequate. We failed to bring our policies and the citizens together. The SDO/SDF was statistically successful in terms of visitors, however the quality of the events was not good enough to encourage people to return the next year. The contents were disposable (Personal Interview with Jeon 2011).

The 2010 SDF was an event used instrumentally to bring design to a wide audience and

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119 An example of the shortsightedness of the SDF in the area of information for non-Koreans can be seen through its use of social media. Each SDF programme leaflet included a QR code (Quick Response website link), but the online content it generated was in Korean language only.
establish the reputation of Seoul as a ‘design city’. The SMG’s plans for future events and policies show how the rebranding and regeneration of Seoul through design was ambitious yet shortsighted.

6.2.7 Beyond the SDF: The Future of Design in Seoul

When the survey of the world’s most competitive cities was conducted in 2010, Seoul ranked ninth overall, which marked a significant improvement during Mayor Oh’s time in office (Garcia 2010). He believed that it was necessary to use design as a tool to increase Seoul’s attractiveness to foreigners and its quality of life for residents, implementing plans beyond cultural events that would affect everyday life in the city; Chung describes this as the transformation of Seoul from a ‘hard city’ into a ‘soft city’ by caring for people as a priority (Personal Interview with Chung 2011). For example, Seoul’s communication design was improved through a new graphic design for public signage that created greater consistency and standardisation. However, the beneficial impact of these initiatives are unclear: Kang believes that while visitors are impressed by these changes, permanent residents were unhappy with the wasteful cost; furthermore, she argues that citizens get no benefit from Seoul’s increased competitiveness ranking (Personal Interview with Kang 2011). On the other hand, Chung insists that citizens love the improvements to Seoul’s design (Personal Interview with Chung 2011). The disagreement on this issue reflects the difficulty of definitively determining these kinds of regenerative impacts on citizens, since there is no measurable data in this instance.

The negative response by citizens to Seoul’s design policies is understandable: Mayor Oh insisted that design could drive regeneration, but these plans focused primarily on industry, not citizenry. According to Chung, Mayor Oh wanted to help small and medium businesses with design problems, and he aimed to nurture the design industry rather than individual designers (Personal Interview with Chung 2011). The SMG’s long term plan to create regeneration through design involved generating a more successful private sector for design: Chung believed that design events like the SDF were important in creating ‘enlightenment’ about design in the public sector, but that design should move into the private sector and generate its own profit, so that public funds could be spent more exclusively on branding activities (Personal Interview with Chung 2011).

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120 In 2006, Seoul was ranked 27th in the survey of the world’s most competitive cities. Mayor Oh declared his aim to push Seoul into the top 5 (Garcia 2010).
6.2.7.1 Physical Regeneration

The vision for the future included more diverse and dynamic plans for the SDF’s 2012 event, which would have been hosted in the Dongdaemun Design Plaza (DDP), now due to open in 2013 or 2014. The DDP has been a focal point for debates about the SMG’s wasteful spending and cultural neglect, as well as, alternatively, a symbol of the potential for regeneration and change. Chung aimed for the DDP to become “the mecca of the design industry” and argued that it was an example of positive regeneration, as the building redevelops a site that was once painfully destroyed and rebuilt by the Japanese during the colonial period of the 1930s (Personal Interview with Chung 2011). Kang describes the DDP as central to a long-term plan for urban regeneration involving improving the working conditions for fabric labourers in the Dongdaemun area (Personal Interview with Kang 2011). In combination with the popular Doota Mall, also in the Dongdaemun area, the DDP would have created a new hub of fashion and design in Seoul. However, Jeon saw the potential for the DDP in even wider terms, and hoped it would become more than simply a design centre, but “an assembly point for the whole creative industries” to be better named the “Dongdaemun Creative Plaza” (Personal Interview with Jeon 2011).

Regardless of its name, the DDP was intended to be at the heart of the 2012 SDF and the future of ‘Design Seoul’; however, plans for both the DDP and the SDF have been suspended due to the resignation of Mayor Oh in August 2011 (Kim 2011b; Jackson 2011). Oh refused to accept a referendum that would place a greater emphasis on welfare than design, and so he stepped down as mayor and was replaced by the newly elected Wonsoon Park. Since Mayor Park’s period in office, the majority of Seoul’s design activities have been suspended or eliminated. The DDP has faced further delays, and its budget has been cut significantly (Ryu 2011). In fact, the SMG’s other three main new design construction projects – the Han River Renaissance, the West Sea Waterway, and Seoul Design Street – have all had their budgets reduced or frozen; while some architectural experts argue that it would waste more money not to complete these projects, other members of an advisory panel have suggested spending the funding in a way that will more directly benefit citizens (Bae 2011; Kwon 2012).

121 Another interesting aspect of this building is the environmental effect. When a historical heritage site was discovered during the construction of the DDP, work was halted for a period while various organisations debated the best way to continue.
6.2.7.2 Mayor Oh’s Design Legacy

Former Mayor Oh has left a design legacy that has been judged in both positive and negative ways. Many experts consider Oh’s policies to be progressive and successful, while others are more critical. There was a remarkable increase in tourism during the period Oh’s design events took place, but his political opponents argue that this was coincidental, and that external economic factors are the real reason more foreigners visited Seoul (Kang 2010). Jeon is also critical of Oh’s plans for the future of the SDF: he insists that the event should cover the entire city, rather than narrowly focusing on the Dongdaemun area, and he also argues that there was too little emphasis on individual master craftsmen from Korean history in the contents of the event (Personal Interview with Jeon 2011). The DDP, once a symbol of regeneration and the re-using of a defunct space, is currently itself unused; even after it finally opens, it will not be the hub of design that Oh intended.

Seoul’s design policies failed to connect with citizens because the SMG never successfully communicated their progressive new definition of design, and thus a gap existed between the policymakers, the event planners, and the key stakeholders. Finally, the biggest weakness of the ‘Design Seoul’ initiative is that it was totally reliant on a single policymaker. Without Se-hoon Oh in the job of Mayor, these numerous policies and programmes immediately collapsed. The case of Seoul is a useful lesson in the danger of design policy that is entirely led and supported solely by one politician. In order to truly succeed, design-led cultural events must enlist the support of citizens, and function as truly democratic processes.

6.3 Flowers in the Desert: The Mullae Artistic Community

6.3.1 Introduction

The case of the artistic community that emerged in the Mullae district of Seoul provides a distinct contrast to the other cultural events considered in this thesis. The Mullae area was unremarkable and anonymous; the hub of a small industry which attracted little attention. It became the focus of an organic and powerful artistic community, created entirely naturally, without the input of policymakers or the support of funding. This community grew in size, formalising its infrastructure and generating a new annual arts festival that attracts more and more visitors each year. Other events considered in previous chapters show how cultural events are used instrumentally, to encourage
regeneration and citizen participation. The case of Mullae shows an opposite example: a situation in which a cultural event emerged out of the creativity and active enthusiasm of a pre-existing community of participant-residents.

6.3.2 An Industrial Area in Decline: The Mullae District of Seoul

The Mullae-dong (neighbourhood) area of western Seoul was established in 1919 as an industrial complex for a large textiles industry (KBS 2011). It remained as the centre for textile manufacture until the Korean War, when production switched to military equipment and support; after the war, until the 1980s, Mullae was the hub of a metal (primarily steel) industry (Reeder 2011; USARC 2010). Since the 1980s, the industry has been reduced in scale: the national government relocated the major industries to the satellite city of Ansan, but smaller factories remained due to the district's convenient location and transportation (USARC 2010). The area has suffered further decline over recent years, as the financial crisis of 1997 caused the collapse of numerous business production centres across Seoul. Mullae had a population of just 32,657 in 2010 (Yeongdeungpo-gu 2010). The area most recently suffered the threat of gentrification, as new high-rise apartment buildings were constructed in the surrounding area, and the manufacturing industry was encouraged to leave, due to the ambitious ‘2011 Seoul Design plan’ which, since 1998, aimed to ‘clean up’ and rearrange the city’s less-attractive districts (USARC 2010). Before the spontaneous arrival of its artistic community, Mullae was arguably a dying neighbourhood.

6.3.3 The Blossoming of Culture: Mullae’s Spontaneous Regeneration

As Mullae’s central industrial area suffered decline, it became an attractive area for people seeking cheap accommodation with the convenience of transportation links to the rest of the city. Since around 2000, artists naturally began to select Mullae as a place to reside, in response to the increasingly expensive rent prices in the traditionally cultural areas of Hongdae and Daehakro (USARC 2010). This initial wave of artist migration attracted more like-minded people, and, unexpectedly, a collaborative community of creative artists started to emerge. Although the metal industry and the creative community appear to have little interaction, it has been suggested that the artists take inspiration from observing the ‘master’ craftsmen of the metalworks (USARC 2010).
By 2008, there were 80 art studios and over 150 artists based in Mullae (USARC 2008). A report on the artistic community has concluded that it has generated a positive impact on the local environment: it is noted that the Mullae art community was entirely self-generated, and is one that the local government would be unable to create themselves; the community is also praised for bringing regeneration to a slum area; finally, the community is commended for its contribution to the other local residents’ lives, with new educational initiatives (such as collaborations with local schools and running art classes for local children) that benefit the next generation (USARC 2008). The Mullae artistic community is known for its broad and varied sense of art, and its public exhibitions incorporate dance and street performance art, creating a highly democratic and open record of achievements. Since 2007, the community has had an even wider profile, thanks to the ‘Project d’Arts Sans Frontieres’ and the establishment of the annual ‘Mullae International Arts Festival’.

6.3.4 Festivalising Mullae’s Community: The Mullae International Arts Festival 2007-2011

The Mullae International Arts Festival (MIAF) was created to promote the work of the community, but retain a sense of independence (see Figure 6.14, below). It showcases the work of local resident artists, as well as inviting or hosting international artists for the period of the festival. The festival also aims to showcase “everyday life” and incorporates an appreciation of the steel industry in its program, thus working in careful consideration of local stakeholders and attempting to be a truly inclusive event (Yeongdeungpo-gu 2011).

![Figure 6.14: MIAF Main Posters, 2007-2010.](image)

The festival takes place every October, and it places no curatorial restrictions on the work it includes. The fifth MIAF took place 1st October to 15th October 2011, with the theme
“Oh! Festival” (see Figure 6.15, below).\textsuperscript{122} Directed by Eunjung Kim, the venue was the main arts village and the streets of the neighbourhood; programmes included a traditional Korean Shaman ritual, dance and music concerns, experimental and improvised performances, an art forum, and a special event flea market and food train (MIAF 2011). The festival’s aim to attract wide participation and create an event that truly cares for local citizens can be seen in the high number of free events; in fact, the few events that were ticketed had an extremely low cost.

![Figure 6.15: MIAF Main Poster 2011.](image)

6.3.4.1 Branding and Marketing the MIAF

The marketing of the MIAF in 2011 clearly shows the event’s specific priorities and methods of communication. There was absolutely no support for foreign visitors, as no English-language informational material was available, either in print or online. The MIAF used an official website and social media such as Twitter and Facebook (see Figure 6.16, below), as well as YouTube and Korean portal Naver, but the communication was one-way only, and these online sites are only updated during the actual event and pre-event period.

\textsuperscript{122} The meaning of the slogan “Oh! Festival” is a reference to the Korean language number 5, which is pronounced as ‘oh’, and a symbol of the fifth year of the MIAF.
The MIAF also, due to its numerous improvised events and exhibitions planned in a short period, produced many posters for specific individual events, to display in the local area (see Figure 6.17, below). These posters have a consistent EIP and graphic design concept, although the style looks amateurish and unprofessional, this arguably adds to the MIAF brand image of an independent and 'local' community event.

The MIAF is not the only example of the formalisation of the Mullae community’s activities; as of 2010, the city government has officially supported Mullae through the creation of a new art centre (USARC 2010). This facility, named the Mullae Art Factory, is one of several new 'Seoul Art Spaces' created by the SMG in 2010. The aim of this new centre is to provide funding for an international artist residency programme, exhibitions and performances, and additional support for the community (Seoul Art Space 2010). However, this government intervention and financial support has been criticised as unnecessary, as it was introduced only after Mullae had organically become a creative arts hub (USARC 2010). The aim of the funding is to create sustainable art, yet Mullae has already demonstrated that it attracts committed and loyal artists; furthermore, it is unclear how an unstructured collaborative community can benefit from the funding offered (USARC 2010). Mullae is arguably a rare example of an urban community that requires independence and non-interference more than it requires funding.
6.3.5 Debating the Next Step: The Future of Mullae

In 2008 the SMG announced plans for the redevelopment of the Mullae district, entailing the destruction of many buildings occupied by artists, and encouraged residents to leave and factories to relocate (USARC 2008). However, in recognition of the artistic community, the SMG wanted to create a more sensitive master plan for the long term, in spite of the Seoul Assembly insisting that the destruction and redevelopment should not be delayed (USARC 2008). The results of a research investigation revealed that only the artists in residence are passionately opposed to these plans for gentrification, and that other residents have only mild objections (if any); in fact, many permanent residents agree that the factories and slums are ugly, and should be destroyed (USARC 2008).

The future of the Mullae artistic community is uncertain, but the reputation of the city is increasing. The creative community has been able, without the support of policy, to create a new reputation – a new brand – for the neighbourhood, changing its image in profound ways. The case of Mullae is a powerful example of a different kind of
regeneration, in which decline and decay becomes the spark that creates a community-led revolution and reinvention. Mullae’s community of artists is powerful and passionate enough to create its own regeneration, and to instigate an event that has boosted the local area in tangible and intangible ways. Without the aid of government or management ideas, Mullae has been reborn.

6.4 Conclusion/Summary

This chapter has considered two place-based cultural events taking place within and around the city of Seoul, both of which contrast interestingly not just with the case of Gwangju, but with each other. The chapter began with a summary of Seoul’s history and cultural identity, in order to establish the pre-existing brand image held by the city. Subsequent sections covered the new push for competitiveness through design, thanks in large part to the efforts of Mayor Oh, leading to the invention of the ‘Design Seoul’ concept, and, as covered in the following sections, the Seoul Design Olympiad. These sections focused on the first two years of the SDO (2008 and 2009), leading to the primary case study of the chapter: the 2010 Seoul Design Fair. This event was analysed through sections focusing on the marketing and branding of the event, the interactive and citizen-focused programmes, and the role of design. A section discussing the visitor survey results was included to provide a quantitative measurement of success and to enable direct comparison to the GB. The final sections of this chapter discussed the difficult issue of measuring the contribution of the event (and ‘Design Seoul’) to the increase in Seoul’s tourism and economy, as well as its impact on physical regeneration and the problematic legacy of Mayor Oh.

The second half of this chapter contained the final case study of the thesis: the case of the Mullae artistic community. This section was necessarily shorter, as Mullae is a less elaborate case study than the SDO/SDF; again, to conform to the established structural convention of the case study chapters, the first section provided a contextual overview of Mullae’s historical development, and then described the neighbourhood’s unusual transformation into a hub of culture. The following section focused on the case study of the Mullae International Arts Festival (MIAF) with particular focus on the branding and marketing of the event (conducted largely without the inclusion of design thinking or management). This case study argued that regeneration through culture does not require government support, and concluded with a section speculating on the future of this fascinating hub of cultural regeneration.
The comparative case studies of the Seoul Design Fair and the Mullae Art Community suggest some important lessons for creating sustainable cultural events that can have a permanent regenerative impact (see Tables 6.3-6.5, below). These tables summarise the findings of these two case studies with direct reference to the Research Questions of this thesis. In the case of the SDF, designers and local government were unusually important in the creation and execution of the event, while citizens were considered at every stage, if not formally represented. The regenerative outcomes of the event (in the context of the wider ‘Design Seoul’ initiatives) are also summarised, emphasising the particular benefits to physical, cultural and economic regeneration of the event. The table representing Mullae and the MIAF focuses only on regeneration, in order to account for the different nature of the event and present these findings in the most logical way.

In summary, the SDF was a large-scale event with ambitions to transform the lives of ordinary people in Seoul, boost the design industry, and reinvent Seoul’s international reputation. It may have achieved this, briefly, but by relying on government funding and the vision of a single politician, the event was ultimately fragile and insufficiently autonomous. In fact, the SDO/SDF is an especially relevant case study, given the focus of this thesis on the role of design in cultural events. While other events discussed have neglected design by outsourcing design tasks and limiting their use of design management and design thinking, the SDF centralises and emphasises design, giving it greater potential to achieve a truly successful application of design concepts to event creation. In the SDF, unlike other events, design is far from invisible, and design tasks are performed by skilled designers with a stake in the overall process. Defining design as ‘a creative problem-solving process’, the SDF aimed to use design to its fullest, creating a cultural event with extensive ambitions and expansive plans for regeneration and rebranding. Design, in the case of the SDF, was to be a tool to improve the lives of citizens before, during and after the event itself, leaving a permanent positive impact.

Thus, the SDF conceptually was more progressive and arguably more successful than the other events discussed. However, the SDF faced limitations and frustrations which diminished its ability to fulfil its great potential: as discussed above, the event was too reliant on a single politician; the organisation demonstrated a lack of internal communication and a misunderstanding of what was meant by ‘design’; an ironically the event was headed by a non-designer who failed to appreciate the full purpose of design. The SDF therefore suffered from administrative and practical problems typical to these kinds of cultural events: there was insufficient time to plan each year, and customers (and stakeholders) were dissatisfied with various aspects of the event.
In the case of Mullae, the events and activities are far less ambitious, and take place on a considerably smaller scale. However, by growing out of an independent community movement, the Mullae International Arts Festival has continued to be unaffected by political changes in the local and national government.

The cultural events considered in previous chapters each have a different approach to the role of culture in regeneration. The next chapter of this thesis offers a wider comparative analysis, drawing together ideas from all five cultural events considered, and generating a sense of the key differences as determined by national, cultural and urban factors.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Designer</th>
<th>Non-Designer</th>
<th>Seoul Design Foundation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • How did different interests contribute to the creation of the 2010 Seoul Design Fair?  
  o Specifically, how did designers contribute to the creation of the Seoul Design Fair?  
• How much influence do designers and non-designers have in the creation of the 2010 Seoul Design Fair? | Policy for the creation of this event was led by design, and the policymakers responsible for conceiving this event have a high level of design sensitivity. Therefore, design played the central role in creating this event. | Local government, especially the Mayor of Seoul, was the central figure in this event. The SDF was based specifically on Mayor Oh's design philosophies and bigger plans for transforming Seoul into a design city. After a new mayor took office, however, plans were suspended. | The primary role of the Seoul Design Foundation staff was organisational and administrative. An external events management company was utilised to plan and run the SDF, while the foundation was also responsible for numerous other design activities in Seoul. |
<p>| • What do different stakeholders/policymakers do in this process?                  | Designers are central in this process. Crucially, designers contribute to every aspect of the process, not just ‘design tasks’ - thus, designers work as administrators, planners, public relations, and have influence at the highest levels. | The local government is highly involved, due to the role of Mayor Oh in creating the SDF and other design events. The ‘Vice-Mayor’ Chung oversees the event, and local government provides funding and support throughout. It is important that the SDF ties in to the local government’s other programmes. | The Seoul Design Foundation consists of both designers and non-designers. The leaders of the organisation believe this will create productive collaboration, but there is also a problem of communication and understanding between the two groups. |
| • What contribution did designers and non-designers make to the overall branding? | Designers contributed to the brand in several ways: primarily, ‘design’ was the EIP/brand concept for the event. More specifically, designers created the EIP, posters, and all other marketing materials. | The local government provided support for the SDF brand by incorporating it into a larger process of city branding, presenting an image of ‘Design Seoul’. | There were programmes for citizen participation in the creation of branding materials, such as posters. For example, a competition to design posters to be used in advertising the event. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Social Regeneration</th>
<th>Economic Regeneration</th>
<th>Environmental/Physical Regeneration</th>
<th>Cultural Regeneration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• What contribution did the 2010 SDF have on regeneration?</td>
<td>The SDF aimed to improve the lives of local citizens through design. Certainly, the event itself included family activities that were popular with local residents. The 'Design Seoul' programme included a specific goal of making the city more accessible through improved universal design.</td>
<td>Mayor Oh believes that the increase in tourism, and Seoul's competitiveness ranking, are due to the SDF and other design policies. It is difficult to measure direct economic regeneration, but there is evidence that during this period, Seoul's economy improved and its design industries were booming.</td>
<td>The SDF gave new life to its host venue, the Jamsil Stadium, which was previously unused. Plans for the opening of the DDP also show the intention to create environmental regeneration. Further, the SMG used design to create new sites of activity and improve the signage and accessibility of the city.</td>
<td>Seoul has had a thriving culture for a long time, but the SDF was at the centre of plans for focus cultural activity on the area of design. The SDF created an event which provided a large amount of new cultural contents to visitors. However, the aims of the festival were more concerned with developing the design industry and business, rather than local culture.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4: Regeneration and the 2010 SDF.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Social Regeneration</th>
<th>Economic Regeneration</th>
<th>Environmental/Physical Regeneration</th>
<th>Cultural Regeneration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• What contribution did the MIAF have on regeneration?</td>
<td>The MIAF has brought attention to the significant social regeneration already underway in Mullae. The growing artistic community contribute further by developing educational programmes for residents' children.</td>
<td>The MIAF brings many visitors to the Mullae area, and though many events are free, some are ticketed, generating some income for the community. The MIAF's art programmes have also attracted some external funding.</td>
<td>Paintings and murals on the exterior walls and doors of buildings give a new image to the physical space, and change the atmosphere in an intangible but significant way. The success of MIAF and the community has slowed the plans for gentrification of the area, preserving (at least temporarily) and repurposing (permanently) the neighbourhood's buildings and streets.</td>
<td>The MIAF has had a significant impact on local cultural regeneration, transforming a dying neighbourhood with no culture at all into a hub of creative and performing arts, attracting new residents and visitors to the event each year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.5: Regeneration and the MIAF.
Chapter 7: Analysis and Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis and summary of the case studies covered in the previous chapters. The purpose of this chapter is to present a discussion of the findings of these case studies, and therefore the following sections are directly related to the research questions of this thesis. These findings are presented as summaries of individual case studies initially, and then are developed into comparative analyses. This chapter therefore addresses the findings of individual case studies by comparing and contrasting them to reveal new insights, and arrive at some conclusions.

The first four sections below (7.2-7.5) each answers one of the first four research questions: section 7.2 addresses the different interests that contribute to the creation of cultural events, and emphasises the role of designers and the prevalence of 'invisible design', as well as the importance of innovative curatorial thinking in the creative process. Section 7.3 explains what different staff and stakeholders actually do in the process of cultural events, and focuses on the importance of productive collaboration. Section 7.4 describes the role of designers and non-designers in the branding of these events, and explores the importance of service design and social media in more detail. Section 7.5 focuses on regeneration: with reference to the definitions and frameworks provided by Graeme Evans, this section discusses the impact of these events on social, environmental, economic and cultural regeneration. In the course of these discussions, new comparative observations will be made, leading up to section 7.6, which directly addresses research question 5.

7.1.1 Answering Research Question 5

This chapter answers the fifth research question – Is this process (regeneration through cultural events) the same in South Korean cities as in Western cities? – in two ways, both directly and indirectly. By discussing the similarities and differences between each case in the process of summarising the findings to each research question, this question is addressed implicitly. This chapter also answers this question explicitly, in a dedicated section that explores the perceptions of cultural event experts on this matter, as well as addressing the difficulties of generalising and universalising the process of designing cultural events for city revitalisation.
The final section of this chapter returns to the key aim of the thesis, and considers how cultural events can lead to regeneration and an improved city brand.

7.1 Introduction
   7.1.1 Answering Research Question 5
   7.1.2 Statistical and Contextual Comparisons

7.2 How do different interests contribute to the creation of cultural events? Specifically, how do designers and non-designers contribute to the creation of the Gwangju Biennale and other cultural events?
   7.2.1 Invisible Designers in the Creation of Cultural Events
   7.2.2 Curatorial Content and Creative Thinking

7.3 What do different stakeholders/policymakers do in this process?

7.4 What contribution do designers and non-designers make to the overall branding?
   7.4.1 Contributing to the Brand
   7.4.2 Branding through Social Design
   7.4.3 Branding through Social Media

7.5 What contribution do these events have on regeneration?
   7.5.1 Categorising and Measuring Regeneration
   7.5.2 Social Regeneration
   7.5.3 Environmental and Physical Regeneration
   7.5.4 Economic Regeneration
   7.5.5 Cultural Regeneration

7.6 Is this process the same in South Korean cities as in Western cities?

7.7 Consider how cultural events can lead to urban regeneration and/or improved city brand image
   7.7.1 Considering Design

7.8 Conclusion

7.1.2 Statistical and Contextual Comparisons

As explained in Chapter 3, the five case studies have been carefully chosen due to their parallels and differences. Three cases from South Korea, and two from the UK, represent different approaches to the same goal. The statistical comparison (see Table 7.1, below) shows the relative differences and similarities between the cities. Gwangju was chosen as the primary case study, and so other examples from the UK – a different national context, and a way to contrast East and West – were chosen based on some similar characteristics. Liverpool has suffered a similar period of neglect and decline as
Gwangju, and its population size is almost identical. Belfast, meanwhile, is much smaller, but it shares Gwangju’s troubled political history and also its ethnic homogeneity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Liverpool</th>
<th>Belfast</th>
<th>Gwangju</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Mullae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Merseyside, England (UK)</td>
<td>County Antrim, Northern Ireland (UK)</td>
<td>South Jeolla Province, South Korea</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>Neighbourhood of Seoul, South Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Approximately 1.47 million around the city region</td>
<td>Approximately 268,000 in the city, and 651,000 in the wider metropolitan area</td>
<td>Approximately 1.4 million around the city region</td>
<td>Approximately 10 million in the city</td>
<td>Approximately 32,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Diversity</td>
<td>91% White, 3% Asian or Asian British, 2.1% Chinese or other ethnic group, 2% Mixed and 1.9% Black or Black British</td>
<td>98% White ethnic origin (of the 2% non-White, 0.5% are Chinese)</td>
<td>99.05% Korean, 0.95% non-Korean (of which 41.2% are Chinese, 15.9% are Vietnamese, and 6.1% are Pilipino)</td>
<td>97.2% Korean, approximately 280,000 non-Korean (8.4% Chinese, 0.3% American, 0.27% Taiwanese)</td>
<td>99.1% Korean, approximately 298 non-Korean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>Total Gross Value Added (GVA): GBP£8,767 million in 2009</td>
<td>Total Gross Value Added (GVA): GBP£7,626 million in 2006</td>
<td>Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP): GBP£12.1 billion in 2009</td>
<td>Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP): GBP£141.5 billion in 2009</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slogan</td>
<td>It’s Happening in Liverpool (since 2010)</td>
<td>B here now (since 2008)</td>
<td>Your Partner Gwangju (since 2005)</td>
<td>Hi Seoul: Soul of Asia (since 2002)</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1: Statistical Comparison of the Five Case Study Cities.

It was also important to include events from elsewhere in South Korea, and so Seoul, due to its impressive emphasis on design, and Mullae, due to its unusual and very different circumstances, were chosen. Mullae is a neighbourhood rather than a city, but Seoul itself is comparable in size and population to London and Tokyo, providing a useful example of how a ‘major’ capital city uses cultural events. Economically, the cities have different scales of success: while Belfast is smaller than Liverpool in terms of population, its economy is comparably similar; both Seoul and Gwangju appear economically healthy, though Seoul’s GRDP is understandably more than ten times that of Gwangju. Thus, while in most cases cultural events are used to stimulate and build local economy, in Seoul, arguably, cultural events are a reflection of prosperity and economic pride, rather than a means to create new earning potential.

124 Hong (2010).
126 Korea Immigration Service (2009).
127 Liverpool City Council (2012).
128 Belfast City Council (2012).
129 There are no available statistics on the value of Mullae, as it is not classed as a separate economic zone.
The first point of comparison, discussed below, related to the creation of these city-based events.

7.2 How do different interests contribute to the creation of cultural events? Specifically, how do designers and non-designers contribute to the creation of the Gwangju Biennale and other cultural events?

The aim of the sections below is to answer the first research question posed by this thesis in the most direct way, initially through individual summaries of the findings presented in previous case study chapters, and secondly through comparative analysis, revealing broader findings as a result of comparing and contrasting different events in different combinations.

In the most general terms, a consideration of city-based cultural events reveals several fundamental attributes that seem to be shared by all cases (those considered in this thesis, and beyond). There are of course interesting exceptions to these trends (they are definitely not 'rules'), but generally city-based events all feature certain qualities. In terms of the contribution to the creation of these events, there is typically a distant sponsor: a funding body or local government who take little or no direct involvement in the creation of the specific event, but provides the initial inspiration or a guiding principle in the vaguest terms. There does not appear to be a consistent trend in terms of how these events are curated or their contents chosen: sometimes the process is democratic and collaborative, other times a single Artistic Director makes all the key choices; likewise, sometimes artists themselves self-curate the events in which they participate. One factor that is reflected in the majority of these events, and of central importance to this thesis, is that city-based cultural events always have a larger goal, and take place in the framework of greater aims than ‘just’ putting on an artistic festival. Thus, these events are the tools of cultural regeneration, or economic revitalisation, or an attempt to foster a newly competitive city brand. The overriding purpose of contemporary cultural events is undoubtedly to propel their host cities towards brighter futures.

The purpose of the GB was, as shown in Chapter 5, to reinvent Gwangju and improve the city’s economy and image, bit nationally and globally. To that end, in 2010 the key creative role was filled by AD Massimiliano Gioni, who impressed the GB committee with his international reputation and sensitive understanding of Gwangju’s history and cultural identity. Gioni worked collaboratively by choice rather than by necessity, seeking the input of his non-local New York Team as well as the input of GB staff such as the Chief of
the Exhibition Team, who aided his selection of local artists. There were further sub-events, created for primarily political reasons and whose contents were outside Gioni’s control, but in summary it was him who contributed most to the creation of the GB, though his appointment to that position was carefully considered in order to achieve the GB Foundation’s larger aims.

In the case of the Liverpool Biennial, the 2010 event was also primarily created by its curator, Lorenzo Fusi. Fusi dictated the theme of the event, and all artistic contents was obliged to fit within these thematic requirements. Again, the LB has been supported by local government with the aim of rescuing Liverpool’s declining economy, but after a successful 2008 event (to tie in with the European Capital of Culture title), there was insufficient funding for the 2010 event, and thus the LB team struggled to produce an event with limited resources, demonstrating that there are multiple direct and indirect influential factors determining the creation and contents of an event.

The Independents strand of Liverpool Biennial (ILB), on the other hand, is very different: with no resources even to maintain a curatorial body, the event is open to all artists and thus is effectively self-curated. Its funding comes from inconsistent sources, and there are therefore no overall policymakers to satisfy. The ILB is a rare truly independent event, at which the art is itself the purpose and priority. Likewise, another unusual example is the Mullae International Arts Festival (MIAF), which represents the expression and celebration of the local community, and takes place with little budget and outside the schemes of policymakers and branding consultants.

The Belfast Festival at Queen’s is a cultural event with a different emphasis and arguably very different pressures affecting its curatorial content. The stated purpose of the BFQ is to boost tourism to the city and to provide a cheerful distraction for locals (a particularly important aspect of the festival during Belfast’s period of violent strife). The focus of the festival is arguably entertainment rather than art or culture, and therefore popular trends have a major role in influencing the event’s content and creation. The BFQ team focuses on promotion rather than curation, and the Festival Director’s role requires less knowledge of art than it does of the local audience.

Finally, the case of the Seoul Design Fair (SDF, formerly the Seoul Design Olympiad) suggests provides an example of a cultural event created by policymakers at the very highest levels of local government. Instigated by the Mayor himself, the SDF had an unusually high level of creative input from local government and those policymakers who funded the event. The SDF was completely integrated into wider policies determined to
brand Seoul as a design city, and thus its contents was focused on communicating this image. The SDF staff had little creative input, and the event was tied so closely to the individual vision of the mayor that after he left office, it was permanently suspended.

The varied examples discussed above show how different contexts lead to different circumstances of event creation. In summary, cultural events are created by varying interests, but typically share a distant sponsor and take place as tools of larger ambitions for the economic or cultural development of cities. Sometimes, as in the case of the GB, the content is curated by a single AD; in other cases the process is more democratic and open. In the sections to follow, the events will be compared in terms of specific themes and topics emerging from the findings of the first research question.

7.2.1 Invisible Designers in the Creation of Cultural Events

Design obviously plays a vital role in the creative process, but each city event and cultural context has a different approach to integrating design and utilising designers. In fact, Moultrie and Livesey (2010) have noted that while design is a difficult term to define, this is complicated further by different national applications of the term (and the practice of) design. Thus, what is meant by ‘design’ in the UK is not necessarily the same as in South Korea. Varying definitions of design are a clear issue when comparing the five case studies considered above: while the case of the LB and ILB suggest a clear sense of what design is and can do, the Belfast Festival seemingly neglected to consider the role of design in anything more than its most narrow sense. In the case of Seoul, policymakers faced a great challenge in achieving wide understanding that their definition of design was much broader and more progressive – a ‘creative problem-solving process’ – rather than just the creation of physical objects and images. The Gwangju Biennale, finally, used design thinking extensively in 2010, but did so without a conscious discourse of design. In this sense, design was ‘invisible’ in the GB.

Invisible design is a consistent issue across all five cultural events, and is symptomatic of a larger trend in worldwide city policy. As discussed in Chapter 2, a great deal of ‘design’ tasks are performed by non-designers with design skills (Cross 1995) or, alternatively, design activities take place but are not described as design (Gorb and Dumas 1987 [2011]: 56). Hughes argues that “many exhibitions are staged with no design involvement at all”, yet the case studies covered in this thesis support an idea of ‘invisible’ rather than
absent design (2010: 20). Designers may be excluded, but design ideas, theories and practices are nonetheless a central part of the process.

The GB’s 2010 Artistic Director, Massimiliano Gioni, is not a designer but he understands design. His views were vital to the content and image of the GB, and his interviews provided an understanding of his impressive desire to collaborate with designers as much as possible. There is a parallel here with the ILB; in particular, Chairman of the Board Mark Wilcox was targeted for a personal interview not just because of his central role in creating the 2010 ILB, but because of his highly interdisciplinary background, which included not just business experience but design management. His role in the ILB is not as a designer but as a leader, providing management for a team of staff and acquiring funding from external sources; yet design is important to his outlook and leadership style (Personal Interview with Willcox 2011). Thus, design was embedded in the ILB as more than a small component of the event planning, but rather as a guiding principle underlying many of the creative and administrative processes.

The LB used design in an interesting way: while, typically, it contracted an external design agency to produce marketing materials and brand graphics, it also took control of design tasks by obtaining a design ‘toolkit’ from the agency with which it could produce its own materials, thus empowering non-designer staff to perform design tasks. The LB also demonstrated awareness of the advantages of both design management and service design ideas, and was a relatively progressive event in terms of its use of design.

While both design and designers are almost entirely neglected in the MIAF, and used in only the most limited way in the BFQ, the SDF represents the most integrated and passionate integration of design and design thinking. Regarding design as central to unlocking innovation and potential, designers were the leaders of the creative process and dominated the invention of the contents and concepts of the 2010 SDF in a straightforward way. Design, therefore, is important and fundamental to the process of the creation of cultural events, but design tasks are often performed by non-designers, while designers themselves provide outsourced work in a limited capacity.

7.2.2 Curatorial Content and Creative Thinking

In terms of curatorial content, and programming events with appeal to as broad an audience as possible, a recurring theme in the case studies considered is the importance
of interactive or participatory events. Increasingly, visitors to modern cultural events express dissatisfaction with the passive experience of traditional artistic contents, and want to find new ways to enjoy and appreciate the work of artists and curators. Thus, innovative ways designed to inspire and engage audiences have met with the most success. At the GB, the most popular exhibitions were those with interactive or ‘fluid’ elements (such as performance art involving different people each time, or a room where visitors must step over ‘performers’ rolling around on the floor), while more traditional exhibitions were scored lower. An excellent example of effective use of new curatorial thinking can be seen in the ILB, whose ‘Found a Pound’ programme (discussed in Chapter 4) was effectively a creative and cultural ‘treasure hunt’, encouraging groups of visitors to search public spaces and explore/interact with the city (Davis 2010).

This kind of participatory event arguably blurs the line between ‘art’ and ‘entertainment’, and potentially could be categorised as ‘edutainment’. Cultural events, such as those considered in this thesis, explore ways to court a wider range of visitors, aiming to attract a non-traditional audience of locals and tourists who would not traditionally attend a cultural event or museum/gallery. One way to achieve this is to emphasise ‘fun’ above culture, such as in the marketing of the Belfast Festival (presenting the event as a series of live concerts and opportunities to socialise/drink, rather than experience art). The GB also sought to achieve this balance through its sub-events, such as the Maninbo Open Stage, which presented weekend musical performances with much less seriousness than the culturally meaningful main event. Arguably, the Mullae International Arts Festival accomplished a considered balance by focusing on its local community, with lively and fun street performances that nonetheless showcased the personal work of the local artists.

These attempts to balance artistic credibility with mass entertainment and appealing interactivity suggest the fundamental dilemmas facing cultural events today: the economic pressures and increased competitiveness arguably undermine the cultural ‘purity’ of an event. Although curators and artistic directors may not care about commercialism, the wider network of policymakers, funders and city planners almost certainly do.

### 7.3 What do different stakeholders/policymakers do in this process?

The ongoing process of contributing to the creation of a cultural event is different in each example. The specific roles individuals take in this process, and the methods behind the
actual implementation of ideas at a practical level, are difficult to generalise. However, again, there are some trends and commonalities revealed through the comparison of the case studies in this thesis.

City-based cultural events have a distinct cycle: there are calm periods of planning and reflection when the event is not running (an ‘off-year’ in the case of biannual events like the LB and GB), followed by more intense periods of work in the immediate pre-event phase of the event, and an entirely different kind of activity when the event is actually underway, followed by a crucial post-event period of analysis and discussion of the successful elements of the event. At these different stages, those involved in these cultural events are undertaking different tasks within their professional roles, and there is a fundamental inconsistency to the pattern of work for those involved in running these events.

There is also a common split between different ‘types’ of staff, as seen in the majority of larger-scale events: there are permanent staff, who work on the event year-round; ‘seasonal’ or ‘event-only’ staff, who are required only at specific periods; and external staff, who perform contracted work on the event with no formal inclusion in the internal staff structure.

In the case of the GB, for example, while the Chief of the Exhibition Team is a permanent member of staff, the Exhibition Coordinators working underneath her are employed for just 7-8 months; the AD is newly-appointed more than one year prior to each GB, and events staff such as the docents are hired only for the period of the actual public exhibition. Designers are used on a contracted basis, hired to perform specific tasks but with no larger role in the GB Foundation. ¹³⁰

One important consideration is the effectiveness of collaboration. The 2010 GB demonstrates examples of both effective and ineffective collaboration: while Gioni, as AD, was passionate about sharing ideas in a democratic way, other formal staff meetings offered no opportunity for consultation or ideas-sharing. Both the ILB and the MIAF offer counterpoints: their unstructured, open nature meant that collaboration was fundamental to the entire process of these events. Therefore, the role of different stakeholders in this process is determined entirely by the qualities of each individual event; however, citizens are typically excluded and permanent members of the organisation may have difficulties in collaborating with event-period staff.

¹³⁰ A notable absence from these processes is any formal representation of citizens and stakeholders. As discussed in section 7.5.5 (below), the involvement of citizens in the planning stage is a useful criterion for ensuring regeneration, yet very few events involve locals in the decision-making process.
7.4 What contribution do designers and non-designers make to the overall branding?

The importance of branding to city-based cultural events is increasing. The growing number of such high-profile events worldwide and the consistent emphasis on competitiveness means that these events must stake out distinct identities and establish unique reputations. Thus, the branding process in cultural events is just as crucial as in the wider processes of city (and even commercial/corporate) branding.

This section examines the trends and commonalities of branding processes at the cultural events considered in the case study chapters. The different types of marketing and branding practice used at different events show the diverse range of approaches to this vitally important process. The way that these brands interact with the contents and identity of the events themselves is sometimes contradictory, and these event brands must also achieve synergy with the wider process of city branding inevitably underway in the host city (this aspect will be discussed more in the section examining regeneration, below).

One of the most common trends in cultural events is to use an outsourced design agency to produce the materials used to promote the event’s brand. Specialist designers create marketing materials based on a brief, and the process is rarely as collaborative and involved as it should be. There are also new potentials for innovative marketing and branding activities using online social media, and the way different events engage with this opportunity demonstrates their understanding of the trends in global communication and promotion.

7.4.1 Contributing to the Brand

The 2010 GB, like several other events taking place in South Korea, uses the so-called ‘EIP’ method of branding (discussed in Chapter 5), which gives all marketing materials a unified image and design concept. Design work was outsourced to a local design agency, though Gioni insisted on involving the designers as much as possible in a collaborative process. In fact, as the EIP and design concepts focused on expressing the theme of ‘Maninbo’, which was created by Gioni, he arguably had an important role in the creation of the branding of the 2010 event. In fact, the ‘Maninbo’ concept, which brands the 2010 event by drawing on Gwangju’s difficult history, arguably represents an
instrumental use of the Democratic Uprising and an easy way to confer cultural seriousness and meaning on the event’s contents. The GB brand, however, is also intended to be ‘bigger’ than a single event, working in unison with larger city rebranding strategies, as, for example, when the Mayor of Gwangju promoted the GB by visiting China and other countries. The GB brand was created, therefore, by the combined effort of GB staff and policymakers with a sense of broader aims for city reinvention.

The Liverpool Biennial reflects a very similar example of brand creation, as it likewise had synergy with broader local efforts (such as the ‘Liverpool Brand’ discussed in Chapter 4), and design work was also outsourced to a local agency, but guided by the theme chosen by Fusi as curator (‘Touched’ in the case of the 2010 event).

In the case of the ILB, branding and marketing is not focused on a particular theme, due to the ILB being a more open and unstructured/unthemed event. The branding concept of the ILB is oppositional, as it aims to present itself as different and alternative to the main LB; again, the graphic design work and marketing materials are produced by an external design agency. The ILB is seemingly defined and branded purely in opposition to the LB.

The BFQ is an unusual cultural event in that it has a corporate sponsor, Ulster Bank, making its branding both more important and less flexible. To an extent, much of the branding process is totally external to the event, as Ulster Bank has its own clear brand, which it markets and controls with its own resources. The BFQ’s branding then must work with the existing corporate brand, and with its emphasis on entertainment and commercialism, promotional materials for the event tend to focus on generic images of ‘fun’ rather than specific cultural contents. Once again, the actual design work is performed by an external agency.

Design plays a central and integral role in the branding processes at the SDF, as it does in wider city initiatives to establish Seoul as a ‘Design City’. Again, the SDF uses the EIP method to establish consistency in its branding, and designers, working permanently in the organisation, carry out the design tasks involved in producing branding and marketing materials. The process is also ‘open’ to citizens, as in an effort to confirm the city-wide penetration of design (and also showing an awareness of the user-focus advocated by design theory) which invited citizens to participate in the design of promotional posters.

For MIAF, branding activities are limited, and there is almost no attempt to communicate or market the Mullae brand to a wider audience. Posters produced to advertise the event
and promote the community more generally have an amateurish visual style, emphasising the independence and non-profit nature of the majority of the events. Unusually for a South Korean cultural event, there are no branding or marketing materials produced in English; even the event’s social media is Korean-language only, thus indicating that the Mullae brand has largely local limitations.

There are clear differences between the approaches to promoting the events brands and marketing specific attractions, yet each event equally seeks to project a brand that will have a positive impact on its host city and local community. Ideally, the event brand will have relevance both for citizens and visitors, increasing local pride as well as encouraging tourism.

Particularly, the LB and the GB had different approaches to marketing their brand and attracting a wide audience. The GB has a permanent marketing officer, working full-time even during ‘off-years’ when the event does no occur; the LB, on the other hand, hires a marketing officer on a temporary basis to coincide with each event. Both events aim to attract both local visitors and tourists, yet the LB is far more pro-active in this regard. The LB has several strands of targeted marketing, and as Pickthall (2011) notes, they specifically aim at those local citizens who would normally not attend such events, regarding them as the most difficult but more valuable demographic to attract. The GB is far more passive in this area: staff believe that the event will naturally appeal to local citizens, and that they will come regardless of how the event is branded or marketed; therefore the GB makes no special effort to attract them. Therefore, the brand identity of a particular event is determined both by its event-specific curatorial content and its longer-running reputation. Synergy with city brands and tourism organisations is highly advantageous. Korean events use the EIP (Event Identity Program) concept to ensure coherent and consistent brand identity. As discussed below, service design is a vital tool of event branding, and in this way designers (design) contribute most. Finally, integration and innovation with social media can provide valuable brand enhancement.

7.4.2 Branding through Service Design

Service design is an important tool of branding, but it is often neglected at cultural events. As discussed in previous chapters, every aspect of the experience of visitors contributes to their overall impression of the event and its brand. In this sense, it is irresponsible and negligent to focus only on high-quality curatorial contents: the whole service environment,
including all service staff, must be considered as tools of branding. Yet, service design is one of the most difficult aspects of these events to measure (Berry and Seiders 1992, quoted in Bruce and Cooper 1997: 18).

The GB is arguably guilty of neglecting service design. Although its docents are highly trained and supervised by the Exhibition Team, the other volunteers at the event are handled by administrative departments only. The LB, contrastingly, has a dedicated Visitor Services department that trains and supervises all volunteers to ensure consistent service from all public-facing staff. The BF, too, relies on enthusiastic volunteers from the local community to provide its service. Relying on volunteers to deliver professional levels of service is problematic, but common to almost every cultural event.

The SDF emphasised service design within its agenda to promote design more generally, aiming to establish an event that was efficient and user-friendly, with a focus on an experience that was universally accessible. The SDF thus integrated service design more fully and with greater awareness than many other cultural events. The response from visitors was highly positive, and word-of-mouth spread successfully.

7.4.3 Branding through Social Media

"Nothing beats word of mouth, except maybe word of mouse."
- Anthony Pickthall, 2009

As with the actual contents of events, the most effective online social media is interactive and participatory. Cultural events can strengthen their brands by embracing the potential new forms of communication offered by event-owned websites as well as online portals such as Facebook and Twitter. In general, cultural events are slowly realising the opportunities presented by social media, but the majority of cases considered in this thesis fail to do anything truly innovative or transformative with their online branding and marketing activities. Many of the cultural events studied in this thesis engaged in basic social media promotional activities via Twitter and/or Facebook, but rarely used this as a tool for collaboration and consultation with the general public. In fact, social media should ideally be used to complement the on-site exhibition and deliver a “single linked experience” to visitors (Hughes 2010: 18).

As discussed in Chapter 4, the LB has used social media highly effectively to exactly this end. They take an “integrated approach” to online media and smartphone applications, using the medium to provide additional educational and promotional information
(Personal Interview with Anthony Pickthall 2011). This way, the LB brand is controlled and extended, strengthened by its diversity and multimedia nature.

In Korea, social media and online discourses (‘word of mouse’) are arguably even more important, due to the trend-setting ‘netizen’ culture that has strong influence over wider perceptions and opinions. For example, although the SDF, and other Seoul Design initiatives used social media for marketing purposes, these policies also suffered from organised protests and criticisms from online groups using social media (as discussed in Chapter 6). It is therefore important to establish a positive image online, involving rather than alienating social media users. It is also crucial to have a full understanding of how social media is used, and to design a system that embraces all potential and prepares for all possibilities.

One of the advantages of expanding the contents and branding of cultural events online is that it potentially globalises the event, yet the MIAF used social media in only it most limited way, to promote the festival to Korean-speaking audiences. Its website and all other online information as entirely monolingual, limiting the potential of the festival to reach either a worldwide audience, or even foreigners living in Seoul.

The GB’s success in using social media is difficult to measure; very few visitors to the event reported being attracted due to social media (see Chapter 5), but the website, smartphone app and other online branding activities may well have succeeded in bringing the GB brand to a global audience who were unable to physically visit any of the events. This result, therefore, would represent a success for the brand, but obviously limits the potential for regeneration.

7.5 What contribution do these events have on regeneration?

This thesis is concerned with two potential outcomes of cultural events: the first potential benefit of these events is an improved city brand, both at a local and international level; the second of these is regeneration. These cultural events all aim to have a regenerative impact – to some extent – on their host cities, leaving a permanent improvement on local culture, society, economy, or infrastructure. This section considers the difficulty of measuring long-term regeneration, as well as the predominant theories of categorising and defining regeneration in meaningful ways. Thus, this section directly answers Research Question 4, considering each case study individually as well as comparatively.
7.5.1 Categorising and Measuring Regeneration

According to Graeme Evans, city-based regeneration can be measured in three categories: Environmental (Physical), Social, and Economic (Evans 2005, 2009; Evans and Shaw 2004; Evans and Foord 2008). As discussed in Chapter 1, physical regeneration includes policy imperatives leading to the sustainable development of improved urban space with greater access, mobility, amenity, liveability and revitalisation; social regeneration constitutes increased social inclusion via a greater sense of citizenship, heritage, diversity, health and identity among city residents; economic regeneration achieves competitiveness and growth through the creation of employment, investment, tourism, trade, enterprises, and innovation (Evans 2005).

Evans is also clear about determining the different between the policy imperatives which aim for regeneration, and the actual outcomes of events in these terms (evidence of impacts) (Evans 2005); drawing on Evans’ theory in this chapter, the cultural events considered will also be assessed based on both their policy imperatives (what they actually did to bring about regeneration), and evidence of impacts (what were the tangible and measurable results?). This section will therefore look at regeneration in economic, physical and social terms, with reference to each of the five cases considered. Finally, cultural regeneration will be considered as the ‘fourth category’, with careful consideration of the significant differences, as identified by Evans, between cultural regeneration, culture-led regeneration, and ‘culture and regeneration’ (Evans 2005, 2009).

Regeneration is difficult – but not impossible - to measure. This section includes tables that evaluate the evidence of impacts of regenerations policies. As noted in Chapter 5, though the impacts in terms of regenerative effects for the city itself are difficult to measure in tangible or quantifiable terms, there can be meaningful indications of change and lasting consequences; researchers quoted earlier in the thesis suggest “we are still not sure about the role culture can play in regenerating neighbourhoods, but there must be some way to measure this, even if only to observe change over time” (Ennis and Douglass 2011: 10). Thus, these sections do not suggest that regeneration is necessarily quantifiable, tangible, and easily measurable; rather, drawing on Evans’ framework, indicators and signs of regenerative impact are identified where possible.

In terms of the cultural events considered in this thesis, regeneration is often a secondary aim to city brand revitalisation, although this itself, with an associated increase in tourism,
can be accurately categorised with economic regeneration. The GB, for example, makes no direct claims for social or urban regeneration, but rather emphasises the improvement the event will make to perceptions of the city of Gwangju, both at the level of local pride and international reputation. Contrastingly, the SDO/SDF has always centralised social regeneration in how it branded itself and described its aims: although the event was intended to boost tourism and the economy, its central aim was embedded in the desires of policymakers to transform Seoul into a ‘design city’ to the direct benefit of all its citizens at the level of their everyday life.

However, as Evans (2005) argues, the most meaningful and effective regeneration is not based on economic gains or physical restructuring, it’s seen in community self-development and self-expression. There is no better example of this than the case of Mullae, which transformed itself socially, physically and culturally entirely through the efforts of its local creative community; as Evans (2005) notes, this kind of regeneration is a response to the "vacuum" left by a lack of formal provision for regeneration.

7.5.2 Social Regeneration

Although meaningful examples of social regeneration are difficult to measure in a short-term ‘snapshot’ study such as this one, it is worth considering the different ways cultural events attempt to have a positive impact on the local community (see Figure 3, below). At the most basic level, these events attempt to entertain and enrich local audiences by attracting them to visit the exhibitions. This can be difficult to achieve, however, as these cultural events are also aiming for global competitiveness among a group of cultural elite.

As discussed above, the LB made particular efforts to attract local visitors who would not usually attend such an event, by programming contents with a broad appeal. Their visitor survey results showed a high level of success, with 92% of survey respondents agreeing that the LB is “for the general public, not just for visual arts specialists” (ENWRS 2010). When the same question was asked of visitors to the 2010 GB, the results were much lower; the reason given by people who didn’t like the show was because it was difficult to understand the artwork (KAMS 2011). The GB wanted to appear to have achieved this local appeal, especially with its ‘special projects’ such as the Yangdong Traditional Market Project; as argued in Chapter 5, these events were essentially political spin, with visitor numbers regularly inflated and a focus on appearances and box-ticking rather than real local impact.
For cultural events to succeed on a level of local appeal equivalent to ‘pure entertainment’, some sacrifice of artistic contents must be made. This happened in both the case of the SDF and the BFQ. Thus, while the GB focused on ‘high-quality’ Gwangju-themed contents that appealed more to an outsider than a local resident, the SDF emphasised engaging family-focused events and activities, thus directly (if only briefly) improving the quality of life of citizens. Likewise, the BFQ’s stated aim was to ‘cheer up’ locals during difficult times, and thus it has consistently programmed entertaining rather than culturally meaningful contents.

Furthermore, as Urry and Larsen (2011) argue, expos and cultural events are increasingly an ideal opportunity to educate school-age children (through the ‘edutainment’ model); this notion finds ironic expression in the GB, which, as discussed in Chapter 5, had an incredibly vast number of schoolchildren visitors, but used them only for a cynical numbers game, and had no interest in making a genuine contribution to regeneration. An oppositional and much more admirable example is the LB, which created genuine programmes for higher education that continued beyond the event period and made a meaningful impact to the education of local children and youths.

The case of Mullae represents social regeneration at a fundamental level: the pride and success of the local artistic community is an example of cultural regeneration, but there’s also an important social dimension to the MIAF. **The contribution of these events to social regeneration is summarised in Table 7.2, below.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Regeneration</th>
<th>Policy Imperatives</th>
<th>Evidence of Impacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gwangju Biennale (2010)</td>
<td><strong>Education</strong>&lt;br&gt;Initiatives to bring schoolchildren on day trips to the GB, and expose them to the artistic contents. Yiyang Yasondegok a one-day seminar at which experts discuss the topic of civil society and complex cultural space.</td>
<td>In spite of a lack of structured educational programmes, there is a demonstrable enrichment of cultural education. Improved and more efficient use of community cultural centres throughout the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Community Development</strong>&lt;br&gt;The dedicated 'Citizen Participation &amp; Festival' team ensures that locals can be proud of the GB</td>
<td>Local satisfaction with the event is high, and its Gwangju-themed contents is a source of pride.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Civic Pride</strong>&lt;br&gt;The dedicated 'Citizen Participation &amp; Festival' team ensures that locals can be proud of the GB</td>
<td>Local satisfaction with the event is high, and its Gwangju-themed contents is a source of pride.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Education</strong>&lt;br&gt;Collaboration with Liverpool John Moores University on a workshop for art and graphic design students</td>
<td>Development of the skills and experience of local students as well as enhancing the LJMU degree programme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Community Development</strong>&lt;br&gt;The '2up 2Down' project, which encourages young people to work together and use design to invent solutions to Liverpool's social and housing problems.</td>
<td>Increased housing for local transients, and group-based professional skills development for youths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Civic Pride</strong>&lt;br&gt;The LB aims to by highlight social problems while increasing cultural attractiveness through collaboration with Visual Arts in Liverpool (VAIL).</td>
<td>Increased local pride in Liverpool's changing reputation is evident among surveyed citizens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Education</strong>&lt;br&gt;'Design for Education' programme included interactive activities to teach children the principles of design.</td>
<td>Improved development and learning skills among children involved; enriched educational culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Community Development</strong>&lt;br&gt;The event's USP was to enrich local lives through design, transforming Seoul from a 'hard city' into a 'soft city' by caring for people as a priority.</td>
<td>Enhanced accessibility and facilities in the event venue and around the city, improved quality of life for locals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Civic Pride</strong>&lt;br&gt;The SDF aimed to enhance Seoul's reputation as a design city and gain international awards.</td>
<td>Greater satisfaction and pride among locals. In 2010, Wallpaper magazine selected Seoul as one of the 'Best City 2010' for its annual Design Awards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Education</strong>&lt;br&gt;The BFQ includes numerous educational talks and events in its programme, enhanced by the partnership with QUB.</td>
<td>Enrichment of local educational culture both within and outside the Queen's University student body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Community Development</strong>&lt;br&gt;Aim of BFQ is to entertain and 'brighten' local spirits during 'dark' times in the city, through 'fun' events.</td>
<td>Improved community spirit and quality-of-life. Results show that visitors to the BFQ are overwhelmingly local citizens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Civic Pride</strong>&lt;br&gt;The BFQ aims to create a positive image of 'New Belfast' that will rectify the city's poor image to outsiders.</td>
<td>Increased pride at the transformations underway in the city, and the increasingly positive perception of Belfast.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.2: Summary of Social Regeneration Imperatives and Impacts.
7.5.3 Environmental and Physical Regeneration

Ideally, a cultural event will leave a permanent improvement on its physical surroundings; the cultural events considered here have had differing levels of success in this regard (see Table 7.3, below). At the 2010 GB, the best example of demonstrable, ongoing and tangible physical regeneration is the Yangdong Traditional Market Project (YTMP). The YTMP involved the construction of a new rooftop market place for the duration of the festival (see Figures 7.2-7.4, below); construction began in late July of 2010, and was completed in September. Yet these facilities remained standing after the event, and local traders still use these facilities.

Figure 7.2: YTMP Location, July 2010

Figure 7.3: YTMP Location, August 2010.

Figure 7.4: YTMP, October 2010.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical/Environmental Regeneration</th>
<th>Policy Imperatives</th>
<th>Evidence of Impacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gwangju Biennale (2010)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Improvements</td>
<td>The Yangdong Traditional Market Project was intended to showcase and revitalise the local marketplace.</td>
<td>New and improved permanent facilities have been constructed, and are now used solely by local traders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repurposing Disused Spaces</td>
<td>The GB failed to include any initiatives for re-using local spaces. In fact, construction on temporary facilities was undertaken at significant cost, yet these materials were disposed of in an economically and environmentally irresponsible way.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility and Quality of Life</td>
<td>The GB also failed to engage in any long-term environmental programmes; though the event venue itself was accessible to all, there was no wider improvement to the city as a result of the event.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liverpool Biennial (2010)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Improvements</td>
<td>Although one of the LB’s stated aims is the improvement of the local art infrastructure, including buildings, there was no new construction or renovation at the 2010 event in particular.</td>
<td>Regeneration of urban spaces, resulting in improved quality of life for local residents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repurposing Disused Spaces</td>
<td>The collaborative 'S.O.X. A.L.' programme aimed to re-animated abandoned premises around the city centre.</td>
<td>Reduced environmental pollution and improved health of visitors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility and Quality of Life</td>
<td>The LB aims to reduce its carbon footprint by encouraging visitors to attend events via public transport or on-foot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seoul Design Fair (2010)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Improvements</td>
<td>Although the wider ‘Design Seoul’ initiative resulted in the construction of impressive new structures, such as the Dongdaemun Design Plaza, none of these was the direct result of the SDF specifically.</td>
<td>Revitalisation of a major urban space, stimulating the local area and reinventing the purpose of the stadium.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repurposing Disused Spaces</td>
<td>The SDO/SDF took place in the Jamsil Olympic Stadium, a grand arena that had been largely unused since 1988.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility and Quality of Life</td>
<td>Likewise, although the wider ‘Design Seoul’ initiative instigated improved accessibility in the city, with more universal design and legible signage, there were no such improvements directly created by the SDF.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ulster Bank Belfast Festival at Queen’s (2011)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Improvements</td>
<td>The BFQ has not needed to construct or renovate any facilities: the areas in the city centre and around the university are adequate for the purposes of the event each year.</td>
<td>Increased accessibility to events and venues in the city centre, and the relative close proximity of all events reduces carbon emissions etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repurposing Disused Spaces</td>
<td>There have also not been any programmes involving the re-purposing of urban spaces as part of the BFQ, though the event has benefitted from the simultaneous regeneration of the Belfast city centre.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility and Quality of Life</td>
<td>The BFQ creates events throughout the city centre, stimulating a lively and active visitor and resident experience.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.3. Summary of Environmental Regeneration Imperatives and Impacts.
The YTMP, thus, is just one example of small-scale — but permanent — physical regeneration, and it is to the credit of the GB that this programme was created. The SDF also demonstrated an effort towards physical regeneration: while there were numerous new facilities constructed (and, regrettably, later abandoned) as part of the wider ‘Design Seoul’ initiative, such as the Dongdaemun Design Plaza, the SDF itself also re-used a previously dormant public space. The SDF and SDO were held in the Olympic Stadium, thus repurposing this disused building (see Figures 7.5 and 7.6, below) as well as, fortuitously, adding to the ‘Olympic’ associations of the event brand.

![Figures 7.5 and 7.6: The SDF at the Jamsil Olympic Complex, 2010.](image)

The resident artistic community in Mullae has also had a clear physical impact on the environment. However, due to the unstructured and un-funded nature of the regeneration of Mullae, these physical changes are purely decorative: while the artists add graffiti and street art to various buildings in the area (see Figure 7.7, below), the actual buildings remain in disrepair and the slums have yet to be physically (not just culturally) revitalised.

![Figure 7.7: Street Art in Mullae-dong, 2009.](image)
In this sense, the art of Mullae’s festival and its community is visible in its public areas and is a part of the physical environment, integrated and inseparable. This was also the case with some of the LB’s more innovative art, such as the 2010 'installation' of South Korean artist Do-ho Suh’s ‘Bridging Home’, which placed a full-size replica of a traditional Korean house at an odd angle between two of Liverpool’s pre-existing buildings (Searle 2010) (see Figure 7.8, below).

![Bridging Home by Do-ho Suh, Liverpool, 2010](image)

At the most basic level, therefore, the 2010 LB transformed the city and brought art into its streets. However, though this effort may have enriched the local culture, it did so only temporarily, and left no permanent evidence of physical regeneration. Furthermore, while this example comes from the 2010 LB, the pre-existing arts infrastructure and content of previous LB events had achieved similar outcomes; thus, while this example of street art in 2010 is culturally valuable, it is not unprecedented. In summary, the contribution of these events to environmental regeneration is summarised in Table 7.3, above.

### 7.5.4 Economic Regeneration

Economic regeneration is one of the main aims of all of these events, as a boost to local economy has a consequential benefit to other areas of society and the physical environment, thus achieving multiple forms of regeneration indirectly (see Figure 7.12, below). Nonetheless, a focus on brand regeneration to increase international interest in a city is one way in which these cultural events are used instrumentally, and there is typically a high level of synergy between larger city brands and tourism campaigns, and the marketing and creation of these events.
The Liverpool Biennial, for example, worked closely with local tourism initiatives and organisations to ensure coordination in raising the profile of the city through culture. The results were demonstrably successful, with more than half of those attending the LB in 2010 citing it as their main reason to visit the city; the typical tourist in Liverpool stayed for an average of 3.3 nights in city centre accommodation. Gwangju has been far less successful in boosting its economy through tourism generated as a direct result of the GB; its non-local visitors typically stay just one night in the city, as the entire GB contents can easily be fully experienced in a day, and there is nothing else in the city being marketed to these visitors during their visits. The local government adopts a passive policy, assuming visitors will come without any special effort to attract them.

There are more direct and obvious economic benefits to these events, such as job creation and a stimulated local economy, but these are mostly temporary, and boost the revenues of local businesses during the event period only. The contribution of these events to economic regeneration is summarised in Table 7.4, below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Regeneration</th>
<th>Policy Imperatives</th>
<th>Evidence of Impacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gwangju Biennale</strong></td>
<td>Job Creation</td>
<td>The permanent employment of local citizens, and the development of skills and professional experience for 'seasonal' workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(2010)</strong></td>
<td>Local Business</td>
<td>Increased revenue, temporarily, for restaurants, taxi drivers, hotels and motels, and other retailers and service providers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stimulation</td>
<td>Increased visitors to the city for the purpose of attending the GB testifies to the success of the city brand reinvention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Improved Tourist</td>
<td>Ambitions and marketing to establish Gwangju as a tourist destination for culture-lovers from around the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Image</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liverpool Biennial</strong></td>
<td>Job Creation</td>
<td>The permanent employment of local citizens, and the development of skills and professional experience for 'seasonal' workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(2010)</strong></td>
<td>Local Business</td>
<td>More visitors to Liverpool, resulting in increased revenue for restaurants, hotels, and other retailers and service providers. Visitors stay an average of 3.3 nights in the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stimulation</td>
<td>Liverpool's increased attractiveness is evident among surveyed citizens; the LB stimulates visits to the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Improved Tourist</td>
<td>Ann to create a &quot;paradigm shift&quot; in how people perceive the city of Liverpool.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Image</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seoul Design Fair</strong></td>
<td>Job Creation</td>
<td>The 2015 SDF created a total of 5,360 new jobs, both temporary and permanent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(2010)</strong></td>
<td>Local Business</td>
<td>The 2010 SDF generated production with a value of GBPE214 million.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stimulation</td>
<td>In 2010, Wallpaper magazine selected Seoul as one of the 'Best City 2010' for its annual Design Awards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Improved Tourist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Image</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ulster Bank Belfast</strong></td>
<td>Job Creation</td>
<td>The permanent employment of local citizens, and the development of skills and professional experience for 'seasonal' workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Festival at Queen's</strong></td>
<td>Local Business</td>
<td>More visitors to Belfast, resulting in increased revenue for restaurants, hotels, and other retailers and service providers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(2011)</strong></td>
<td>Stimulation</td>
<td>Increased visitors to the city and to the BFQ, stimulating the local economy directly and indirectly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Improved Tourist</td>
<td>The BFQ hired staff and volunteers for a fixed period for each event, and also employed many staff on a permanent basis, though on a smaller scale than above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Image</td>
<td>The BFQ encourages visitors to stay in the city and engage with the local hospitality industry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 7.4: Summary of Economic Regeneration Imperatives and Impacts.</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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7.5.5 Cultural Regeneration

The events discussed in this thesis provide examples, arguably, of both culture-led regeneration and cultural regeneration. These events are parts of wider urban schemes and city policy, and are used instrumentally to achieve economic stimulation, or improved tourism; thus, they represent culture-led regeneration. However, these events also stimulate and nurture local cultural activities in an uncynical way, supporting local creative communities and providing opportunities for citizen-participants to achieve professional development; thus, an example of cultural regeneration. As seen in the three sections above, these events demonstrate culture-led regeneration by using cultural events to achieve economic, physical and social regeneration. Cultural regeneration is the important fourth category, and it is an equally important aim for the majority of these events.

Cultural regeneration is most strongly and centrally promoted by the LB, as it aims to “emphasise the city’s cultural credentials” in unison with the wider rebranding of the city instigated by the ECoC title (Liverpool City Council 2011a). The LB’s curatorial method, of not pre-selecting artworks, stimulates creativity on-site in the city. It commissions a great deal of new art in this manner, and awards a ‘John Moores Painting Prize’ each year. With schemes like the ‘Art Mediation Tour’, which involves active participation and spotlights the creativity of locals, the LB plays an undeniable role in cultural regeneration. Indeed, Evans (2005) notes that ‘ordinary’ local citizens often feel excluded from cultural events, yet the LB strives to be as inclusive and accessible as possible.

At the GB, cultural regeneration is arguably neglected; in fact, it occurs almost incidentally, as an indirect consequence of the event. The main event focuses on international art, and local artists have complained that the event needs to do more to support them (see Chapter 5). The GB’s most progressive event in terms of cultural regeneration is the ‘Maninbo +1’ programme, which showcases the work of local amateur artists; this is, however, an admittedly minor part of the festival, and was added as an afterthought rather than created with significance. Furthermore, the GB consistently fails to attract local visitors in satisfactory numbers, which is why it ‘plays the numbers’ game of inflating visitor statistics and forcing local participation; Evans (2005) notes that ‘counterfactual’ (exaggerated or falsified) statistics are a problem in measuring the true success of cultural events.

The SDO/SDF aimed to be as inclusive as possible and to make a contribution to the
culture of Seoul, but its focus was less on artistic contents and more on developing a wider understanding and use of design. It succeeded in achieving wide participation, but there are few examples of evidence of impact in terms of cultural regeneration in particular.

In fact, the best example of cultural regeneration is the case of Mullae, where the local community has stimulated a blossoming of culture, with hubs of creativity and art permanently inscribed on the streets and walls. This is a different kind of culture-led regeneration, based not on the fiscal projections of policymakers but on opening up a hidden community to a wider audience, bringing visitors and new artists-in-residence to a previously neglected area.

In the process of evaluating the success of the ECoC title in Liverpool in 2008, Beatriz Garcia led a research project on behalf of the Northwest Culture Observatory (NWCO 2008). This study determined a number of factors for creating (rather than simply measuring) cultural regeneration (see Figure 7.9, below).

Key factors for successful cultural regeneration include:

- the participation of a ‘champion’ of culture in regeneration (this may be an individual such as a ‘social entrepreneur’, or a group, e.g. of artists)
- the integration of culture at the strategic planning stage
- the establishment of a multi-disciplinary project team
- the provision for formative evaluation from the planning stage (e.g. establishing the baseline)
- the flexibility to change course if necessary
- consideration for environmental quality and accessibility – design of facilities, public realm and integration with services (e.g. transport, housing)
- genuine consultation with residents/users and other stakeholders
- acknowledgement of the contribution of all stakeholders
- continued involvement and ‘ownership’ by the community of the project - through direct participation in, for instance, management, governance, delivery and evaluation

Figure 7.9: Factors Contributing to Successful Cultural Regeneration (NWCO 2008).

These key attributes can be mapped on to the cultural events considered in this thesis, though it is not expected that any single event will meet all of these criteria. This is a useful process, and the framework developed by Garcia and the NWCO provides some goals and targets that make cultural regeneration, to some extent, measurable. Thus, is it
worth discussing the extent to which all of the cultural events studied can be judged according to these criteria.

- The participation of a ‘champion’ of culture in regeneration (this may be an individual such as a ‘social entrepreneur’, or a group, e.g. of artists).

Each of the cultural events considered is led by a culture ‘champion’ to a different extent. Most clearly, the city of Seoul and its creation of the SDO/SDF was due entirely to the passion and will of Mayor Oh, who drove this event, and wider regeneration schemes, based on his belief in design. As explained in Chapter 6, Mayor Oh was so central to these policies that the event and other schemes abruptly ended as soon as he left political office.

In the case of Mullae, the ‘champion’ of culture driving regeneration is undoubtedly the local community itself. Though they lack an individual figurehead, this group of artists have motivated the absolute reinvention of this area, and are an undeniably powerfully transformative force.

Other cultural events considered reflect this aspect to a lesser degree: in both Liverpool and Belfast, local governments and arts councils drive regeneration, stimulated by the potential of prestigious city titles (the ECoC for Liverpool) and an entirely new cultural economy (Belfast’s growing tourism). Finally, Gwangju sorely lacks a champion of culture, and even its local government, though involved in the creation of the GB, has a less significant role in driving regeneration policies than the government at the national level.

- The integration of culture at the strategic planning stage.

This is one of the central arguments of this thesis, and a vitally important trend in contemporary cultural events around the world: the planning and creation of these events is embedded in wider policies, and in almost every case the result is the instrumental use of culture to create improved city brand images and/or regeneration of the economy, society, or environment. The only exception in the examples covered in this thesis is Mullae, which totally lacks ‘strategic planning’ as its regeneration has been so unstructured and organic.
• The establishment of a multi-disciplinary project team.

As discussed in the chapters and sections above, these events are most effective and successful when designers and non-designers work together in harmonious collaboration, sharing their specialties and abiding by the principles of design management/strategy/thinking.

• The provision for formative evaluation from the planning stage (e.g. establishing the baseline).

It is important to plan and predict realistically in the process of creating cultural events. In the case of the GB, the main event was carefully managed, with reasonable expectations and pre-evaluation of the event before opening. However, the 2010 GB also included several last-minute sub-events added to the programme, and these occurred without any respect to baselines or pre-evaluation. The LB demonstrated much more strategic pre-evaluation, and in 2010 the event was designed to follow-up on the success of the 2008 ECoC. In Belfast, BFQ events run largely predictably because a pattern has been established with almost no major variety. The SDF was still in an early-stage learning and refinish process, and was cancelled after too few events; each year was more successful than the last, but its key decision-makers expressed that there were areas that would have been improved in the future (see Chapter 6). In Mullae, again, the unstructured and informal nature of the event means that strategic pre-planning is unnecessary.

• The flexibility to change course if necessary.

The ability of decision-makers and other staff to react and respond to unpredictable or context-specific problems is essential. This is where design, in its broadest and most progressive meaning as a creative problem-solving process, is most valuable to the running of these cultural events.

• Consideration for environmental quality and accessibility – design of facilities, public realm and integration with services (e.g. transport, housing).

This precise concern is addressed in section 7.5.3, above, focusing on environmental responsibility and physical regeneration.
• Genuine consultation with residents/users and other stakeholders.
• Acknowledgement of the contribution of all stakeholders.

This issue is arguably the biggest failing of the majority of cultural events. Though these events undoubtedly consider citizens, often even centralising them in plans for regeneration, there are very few cases of formalised citizen representatives or community groups having a meaningful stake in the decision-making process. Of course, in Mullae, every aspect of the event planning is community-driven and locals have a clear input. In other events, however, more must be done to involve citizens and consult with them, giving them a voice and a power to influence the events in their cities and neighbourhoods.

• Continued involvement and ‘ownership’ by the community of the project - through direct participation in, for instance, management, governance, delivery and evaluation.

This key factor is also rare among large-scale city-based cultural events in the West and the East, and this is exactly why the contrasting case study of Mullae was chosen. While other events rely on professionals and government-appointed policymakers, the MIAF is driven by an open communal process. Undoubtedly, the community of Mullae feels ‘ownership’ of MIAF, and it is planned, executed and assessed based entirely on their self-set standards and aims.

Evans (2005) argues that urban design too often focuses on aesthetics over genuine regeneration; by using culture as a tool, these events arguably achieve meaningful change where other policies cannot. It is important to measure regeneration in terms of its impact on communities, rather than individuals, to gain a sense of a wider and more collective recovery and revitalisation (Evans 2005). Finally, Evans advocates a “joined up approach” to achieving regeneration, where different tiers of government and policy work in unison, creating a combined effort to enact transformation. This is precisely what can be seen with these cultural events, both in South Korea and the UK: policymakers at every level have some input into the creation of these events, and their aims and outcomes are embedded in larger policies for regeneration.
7.6 Is this process the same in South Korean cities as in Western cities?

“The key to everything is internationalism. I’ve just come back from Asia, and there’s an absolute conviction there that culture is how countries are going to speak to each other in the future.”
- Lewis Biggs, Former Artistic Director of the Liverpool Biennial
Quoted in Davis (2011)

As argued in the sections above, there are both commonalities and significant differences between the processes carried out at cultural events in the West (in this case, the UK), and South Korea. While city-based cultural events are always context-specific, the way culture has been used to create change is often strikingly different in the West and the East. The sections above demonstrated the specific differences between the case studies considered in this thesis, and this discussion develops those points by considering wider and more general issues concerned with comparing East and West in this regard.

In fact, the theories and strategies behind the use of culture to transform cities originated in consideration of European and North American contexts, and are not necessarily suitable for direct transfer to other national/region contexts. Pratt warns against a ‘xerox’ approach to cultural policy; direct replication of ideas with no sense of contextual specificity is inadvisable (2009: 10). O’Connor and Kong support this idea; they argue "imported policies must be sensitive to different national contexts" and suggest that the implementation of creative industry policies outside the European and North American context “is fraught with ambiguities, tensions and ‘mistranslations’” (2009: 1). They cite the example of Florida’s theory of the creative class, which is inapplicable in China, making no sense in that context (O’Connor and Kong 2009: 2).

The experts and cultural programmers interviewed for this research project have interesting perspectives on the national differences between events in the East and West. Gioni, who worked on European cultural events before his appointment as AD of the GB, sees Korean events as too preoccupied with local concerns. As discussed in Chapter 5, Gioni finds the emphasis on questions of ‘local appeal’ unusual and unexpected, noting that “nobody asks these questions about Venice or Kassel, because they’re so famous that people don’t wonder if they relate to local communities, and maybe that’s right” (Personal Interview with Gioni 2010). However, this is undoubtedly an issue dividing less-known events from better-established ones, not a difference in national trends. The Venice Biennale is less reliant on local attendees because it’s a popular and famous event; the GB needs the attendance of locals in order to sustain itself.
Lorenzo Fusi, when asked to compare cultural events in the East to those in the West, refused to generalise, and responded that he sees “many differences: budget, power relations, institutional frame, private investments, local lobbies, freedom of speech. All these components diversely conjure, configuring at each time a very different scenario” (Personal Interview with Fusi 2011). It is not the intention of this thesis to reduce regional differences to simplified generalisations, yet there are possible trends which suggest some interesting differences; however, Fusi’s point – that each and every cultural event is primarily specific to its individual context – is persuasive, and is also suggested in the analysis contained in this thesis, in the chapters and sections above.

Paul Domela agrees “the conditions are different in each case” (Personal Interview with Domela 2011). When he was asked the same question, he suggested

One thing that has been very important in Asia is the window Biennials opened to contemporary art. Putting it squarely in the public imagination. And the way it helped shape new identities, new aesthetic possibilities and perhaps also political ones. In that sense in countering the tendency in the UK to be London-centric we have often felt close to this tradition (Personal Interview with Domela 2011).

These comments are reflected in the GB, to an extent, which strives to put art ‘in the public imagination’ by encouraging (or enforcing) the participation of ‘ordinary’ local people. Gioni obviously feels uncomfortable about having to think about local appeal; given the high-art contents and nature of biennales, this is understandable. However, by attracting as wide an audience as possible to these kinds of events, they arguably become less elitist, not less credible.

Domela also indirectly identifies a parallel between the UK and South Korea: he argues that the UK is culturally unbalanced, with a tendency to be ‘London-centric’ in its major events. This reflects the sense of neglect and cultural discrimination that those South Korean cities outside Seoul experience; the historical marginalisation of Gwangju was one of its biggest difficulties in establishing its new identity as a cultural hub. Seoul, like London, is the ‘default’ base of tourism and culture in the country, and cities like Gwangju, Liverpool and Belfast must struggle to attract visitors away from the appeals of the capital city.

There are arguably, therefore, more similarities than differences – in terms of general trends – between cultural events in cities in the East and West. However, geographic and cultural differences should not be ignored, and shape the specifics of these events to a large degree. Some of these differences are purely practical: Prescott notes that there
are “certainly far more outdoor events and celebration events in Asia” due to the warmer weather (Personal Interview with Prescott 2011).

As Lewis Biggs argues in the quote at the start of this section, internationalism is key, and cultural events are increasingly positioning themselves to take advantage of a potentially global audience (Davis 2011). Biggs believes that culture is the means by which “countries are going to speak to each other in the future” (Davis 2011); the implication is that culture is a tool of not just communication but branding, and it can be used to suggest both commonalities and distinguishing features.

This instrumental use of culture is at the heart of these modern policy initiatives to create competitive cities with appealing brand images and healthy local economies. Perhaps more in Asia than in the West, culture is a tool and an ambassador. South Korea is currently experiencing the significant international success of its popular music (‘K-pop’) in North America and Europe; this is alongside wider trends of the growing popularity of Korean cinema, comic books and other media, both elsewhere in Asia and more recently in the West (Williamson 2011a, 2011b).

*In summary, it is important to emphasise that while there are obvious cultural and contextual differences between events and city policies in the East and West, there are no significant contrasts that can allow for generalisations. Crucially, cultural events are all different, and must all be tailored to their precise context.* Thus, the case of Liverpool and Belfast are just as different as Liverpool and Gwangju.

For academic studies of creative cities, cultural events, design, branding and regeneration, it is important to consider the East as well as the West precisely because such similar processes are taking place. There are subtle and significant site-specific differences, and policymakers may approach the planning of these events in revealingly different ways. Therefore, the neglect of this region in studies of city-based cultural events seems even more unjustifiable, and this study aims to argue that it is important to take a truly global view of these truly global events.
7.7 Consider how cultural events can lead to urban regeneration and/or improved city brand image

Each of the preceding chapters, and sections of this chapter, aims to consider how cultural events can — and do — lead to urban regeneration and an improved city brand image. These two outcomes, regeneration and city branding, are often prioritised equally by the planners and policymakers of these events, though this is not always the case. Statistics related to brand recognition, economic growth, and the quality of life of citizenry all suggest a demonstrable cause-effect link between cultural events and the improvement of cities. The aim of the thesis has been expressed in each case study chapter, and an argument has been made to demonstrate the connection between design, cultural events, and the revitalization of cities. Essentially, this thesis has charted a two-step process: 1) Design (in its widest sense) makes a vital contribution to the creation of cultural events, and 2) cultural events make a vital contribution to regeneration and branding in cities. Therefore, holistically, design is a key factor influencing both regeneration and branding — in this case, design enacts change through cultural events, but in other cases it has a more direct impact. This thesis has investigated the implicit role of design in the overall process, as well as its explicit use within the process of creating and running cultural events. In this sense, both these events and their outcomes are managed by design, and motivated by optimism and insight.

In fact, although the instrumental use of culture in the creation of these events is typically motivated by policymakers and funded by government, the greater the sense of community participation and stakeholder ownership, the more likely it is that the event will achieve its aims. The cultural events considered in this study have different levels of planning and strategy behind the regeneration achieved. In the case of Seoul, the process began with fully integrated design thinking, which created a branding-led push to regenerate the city. Gwangju’s regeneration, too, was led by a desire to rebrand. Yet in the case of Mullae, cultural regeneration occurred without any formal funding, design thinking, or branding initiatives (see Figure 7.10, below).
Likewise, in the UK context, the Liverpool Biennial represents a carefully strategised event, with insights from design management and a wave of opportunity from the lingering effects of the ECoC brand leading to regeneration. Belfast, however, has begun from a desire to establish a new dynamic brand image that breaks away from its depressing political past; finally, the ILB is driven at a community level, showing independence from government and funding bodies (see Figure 7.11, below).

There is no guaranteed formula for success here: while the more independent, community-driven events can achieve wider satisfaction and enact more meaningful change for the local citizens, they struggle with the smaller scale of their events and have no international profile at all. The larger, policy-driven events are most successful in
creating new city brands and changing perceptions, but are in danger of failing to satisfy even the most basic requirements of social change. The principles of design for cities, and their results, are varied (see Figure 7.12, below).

Ideally, cultural events must have good relations with the local community and the support of local government. South Korean cultural events suggest a potential danger of over-reliance on powerful policymakers: the case of the Seoul Design Fair shows how fragile the event was without the support of the city's mayor, and the local government in Gwangju, too, also arguably has too much influence, creating chaos with unreasonable demands that ignore the artistic cohesion of the festival. Events in the UK tend to be more artistically independent in this regard, and appear to offer more opportunities for showcasing local art and enriching the local cultural environment.

With the new possibilities of technology offering the potential for a truly global audience, designers and stakeholders must seize the opportunity the spread their brand concept, but should not lose sight of the immediate local context, which will define each event more powerfully than any invented brand.

7.7.1 Considering Design

The previous chapters have considered the role of design, and the way ‘design’ is defined and used in the planning and running of each of these events. As suggested in the discussion above, design has been important to these cultural events (to varying degrees), and has contributed to both city branding and regeneration through these events, as well as through more direct means (such as city marketing, graphic design, urban design for regeneration, etc.).

The discussion of design in Chapter 2 included a graph that showed how each sub-field of design (graphic design, service design, etc.) suggests a flow of concepts that can become more narrowly specialised in order to become tools of cultural events. The same stages of design are included in a table at the end of this chapter (see Table 7.5, below); this table summarises the extent to which each cultural event demonstrated use of (or understanding of) these stages of design. This table, therefore, shows in a different form what has been argued above: the different cultural events considered in this thesis each had different levels of investment in design, were design-led to very different degrees, and treated the potential of design very differently.
Each event is unique to its context and the style of management and planning is highly varied. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify a 'spectrum' that has an extreme at either end. Some events are 'designed' formally: they exhibit awareness of design not just as the simple process of creating images and ideas, but as a way of thinking, managing, and leading events. These events are global in their ambitions, structured and supported by local governments. These events are 'big' in terms of their scope, ambitions, scale and contents. At the opposite end of the spectrum are smaller, less structured, less 'designed' events. These events tend to be community-led, and independent from reliance on – and obligation to – government funding. These are 'grassroots' events and they typically use design in more limited ways. It is possible to put all the cultural events studied onto this spectrum (see Figure 7.12, below).

This diagram shows that each of the events studied balances the formality of design and the independence of local communities differently. MIAF is clearly the most independent, grassroots event considered. While the ILB does show an awareness of some innovative exhibition design with its interactive events, it is nonetheless far more unpredictable and unstructured than many other events. At the opposite end of the spectrum, the SDO/SDF show the greatest global ambitions and the most widespread of intentions in terms of transforming a major city through design and culture. The LB shares many of these ambitions, though it uses design less holistically. The GB, too, fits close to this point on the spectrum, though it is slightly smaller in scale again than the LB. At the approximate middle-point is the BF; this event balances entertainment and art, but its cultural
ambitions are ultimately locally limited. The key issue, then, is how to achieve the 'best of both worlds'.

The example of Seoul – which had the greatest emphasis on design among all events considered – is a good example to consider. The findings of the research into this case study suggest that the best cultural event for Seoul would combine the strengths of both extremes – to have a truly wide impact, design must play a role in changing lives and perceptions of the city, yet design-led creative events and activities must also achieve a level of independence and democracy, and be able to survive political storms.

Design finally needs to be reconsidered as a profession and a skill in this process. The quote at the opening of Chapter 2 defines design as "something the world didn't know it was missing" and it is in this sense that we must consider the role of design. In fact, just as place branding is a process that derives from interpretive, rather than managerial, techniques, the same is true of design. Non-designers perform design tasks, and designers can (and should) perform non-design tasks. Therefore, it is necessary to ask, once again: What is design, and what are designers? The final chapter of this thesis will propose a model for the use of design in the decision-making process of cultural event planning and management. As the next chapter argues, it is necessary to move beyond even the most progressive definition of design, as a 'creative problem-solving process', and consider design as a *creative way to meet a need*. Cities have several problems, but it's easier and arguably more positive to think about needs instead of problems. Thus, design meets a need rather than solves a problem. The role of the designer is also reconsidered in the next chapter, where it is suggested that designers assume broader and more influential roles as cultural planners. This term will encompass professional designers as well as those performing design tasks. This is meant not to diminish or exclude designers, but to fully integrate them into every stage of the process.

In terms of the role of design in cultural events, some key questions remain: Can a cultural event achieve a true balance between community involvement and design? Can it satisfy the demands of the local and the global? Does an emphasis on design rob events of their spontaneity? These concerns will be addressed in the Epilogue chapter to follow.

### 7.8 Conclusion/Chapter Summary

This chapter has summarised the findings of this study, evaluating each cultural event
individually and comparatively in relation to the stated aim and research questions of this thesis. It has argued that new insights can be gained through the comparison of cultural events taking place in cities in the UK and South Korea. This chapter has emphasised a binary of East and West, but this thesis is ultimately advocating a global approach to this topic – considering events taking place all over the world, and acknowledging that this trend, though it may have started in the West, is now an international practice.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Design + Communication</th>
<th>Liverpool and the LB</th>
<th>Belfast and the BFQ</th>
<th>Gwangju and the GB</th>
<th>Seoul and the SDF</th>
<th>Mullae and the MIAF</th>
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Table 7.5: Design for Cities.
Chapter 8:  
Conclusions, Recommendations, and 
a Model for Cultural Event Planning

8.1 Introduction

This final chapter offers a summary of the findings of this thesis, with an emphasis on the practical applications of the conclusions and personal opinions generated by this research. This chapter aims to serve as a framework for planning cultural events. The suggestions and guidelines presented here are not intended to represent a 'perfect' or 'final' version of the process, because the most important aspect of event planning is flexibility and context-specific sensitivity. However, the model presented in this chapter is designed to suggest ways in which cultural events can maximise their potential, and it offers a series of recommendations and frameworks for the successful integration of design into cultural events, and the use of cultural events to achieve city branding and urban regeneration. The previous chapter offered a more objective, theoretical conclusion to this research; this chapter serves to express judgements and recommendations to guide future policymakers, designers, and event managers.

8.1 Introduction

8.2 The Ideal Event Team

8.2.1 Defining the 'Cultural Planner'

8.3 The Model for Cultural Event Planning

8.4 Concluding Recommendations

8.4.1 Limitations of Study
8.4.2 Recommendations for Further Research
8.4.3 Final Thoughts

Figure 8.1: Chapter 8 Contents

These ideas have emerged from the conclusions reached in previous chapters, and are justified and explained with reference to specific examples. The purpose here is to identify good practice, and to suggest areas and aspects of the planning and running of cultural events that can bring together the strengths of various approaches, without compromising the viability, integrity, popularity or effectiveness of the event in question.
The chapter is structured in several sections. The first establishes an ‘ideal event team’ – the preferable combination of managers, designers, planners, creative thinkers, community representatives, and policymakers. This team constitution reflects the jobs and positions that different members have, and it also suggests the different roles and tasks they can perform. Design is treated as a profession and a skill, but also as a tool: design is a creative way to meet a need, and therefore it can be utilised extensively by non-designers. Likewise, professional designers can and should be asked to perform non-design jobs, and to take a more active responsibility in shaping the planning of the event. As described below, this ideal event team is designed to mix strengths and provide a wide range of perspectives, without losing sight of the highly specialised task at hand.

This chapter focuses on a model of the step-by-step process for cultural event planning and management, from the pre-event period to the post-event evaluation and discussion. This chapter also provides a number of recommendations based around key points and observations, which will be covered within the section detailing the timetable for event planning. As expanded below, the key recommendations for making best use of design in/and cultural events for city branding and regeneration are as follows: Integrate designers; Consider the role of design; Give citizens a voice; Establish brand synergy; Create strategies and targets; Seek prestige; Conduct honest self-assessment; Redefine success.

These points will be explained and expanded upon in the sections below, as part of the model timetable for cultural events. The key concepts and frameworks in this chapter will be described and also graphically illustrated through charts, graphs and other visual representations. The key concerns of design integration, city branding, and urban regeneration will all be important features of these models, as will the vital concepts of design management, design thinking, design strategy, and design leadership.

Through an examination and explanation of the ideal team composition, the role of the designer and non-designer as 'cultural planner', and the step-by-step timetable for even preparation, this chapter will build up an integrated and cohesive framework for practical application to the creation of cultural events in cities around the world – both the East and the West.
8.2 The Ideal Event Team

An effective event team must include key skills and specific roles, and it must also function on a permanent basis. Too often, crucial decision-makers and creative planners come into the process at a late stage, and have little knowledge of the event’s background and context to perform to their full potential. Furthermore, the ‘event team’ itself is typically assembled specifically to plan the upcoming iteration of the biennale/festival/fair in question. The recommendation being made, however, is to redefine the purpose and nature of the ‘event team’, and make it a group of permanently employed staff who, in addition to planning each event, are engaged in on-going activities to give the event and its organisation a more permanent and continual presence. If regeneration is to be an embedded and intended goal of a city-based cultural event (and too often it is not), then the relationship between the period of the event, and the non-event period of general inactivity, needs to be redefined. Examples of good practice of this type include the Mullae International Arts Festival, which is arguably an annual expression of the achievements of a year-round creative community; and the Liverpool Biennial’s collaborations with a local university for educational initiatives beyond the period of the event. It may seem ineffective or inefficient to employ a full event team on a permanent basis, but one of the core recommendations of this chapter is to rethink the nature of an event, and expand its meaning and impact further than the set period of its public event.

Therefore, the event team assembly proposed here constitutes a permanent staff; the additional specialists and staff brought in for specific and limited roles during the event period only will be discussed as part of the timeline presented in section 8.3, below. The event team required for the permanent staffing of a cultural event organisation must include departments and teams of designers, managers, creative planners, curators, citizen representatives, and analysts and programmers of various types.

In the case of ambitious, large-scale events, designers must be fully integrated into the decision making process from the earliest possible stage. This will be achieved by appointing designers (or a designer) as part of the permanent team. Designers must have a stake in the broader aims of the event, and they should be involved in performing non-design tasks. Design must be acknowledged as a tool of management and creative thinking, not just concept creation. Evidence suggests that frequently cultural events marginalise designers, and outsource design tasks, to the detriment of the events; the Gwangju Biennale is forced to play a cynical numbers game because of its unachieved potential to become a truly global event. In contrast, as evidenced best by the case of Seoul, design is potentially an effective and creative problem-solving process, and the principles of design management, design leadership, design thinking and design strategy can be applied to the planning and creation of cultural events. Furthermore,
by using the various specialised sub-fields of design as sharp tools, every aspect of an event’s exhibition and marketing can be crafted to communicate precisely the right message to the broadest possible user-base. For example, an understanding of innovative new movements in exhibition design will allow full implementation of interactive exhibits and compelling synergy with online media; utilising the creativity and sensitivity of those with expertise in urban design, inclusive design and service design will ensure wider user satisfaction; brand design, in harmony with architecture, can boost visitor numbers and ensure economic health. The benefits of design are evident and numerous, and the decision-makers involved in cultural events must recognise the value of including designers at every level and at every stage of event development.

Citizens, likewise, must be consulted and have a voice in this creative process. It is not adequate to simply consider citizens, or to hire local staff: there must be formal representation of community representatives in the committees for planning these events. The cultural events considered frequently fail to achieve an adequate balance of community concerns: typically, the more ambitious and global the event, the less important the local citizenry. A city is defined by its culture, and these events should maintain both outward-looking international programming with inward-looking acknowledgement of local creativity. In these events, culture becomes an instrument of industry, as is used in a variety of significant and effective ways by a broad range of policy makers. However, by turning culture into this instrument of industry, it ceases to be what it originally was – an expression of local communities, created by citizens, for citizens. This is, arguably, an abuse of culture. Therefore, citizens must be not just considered but formally consulted. In this way, true regeneration – at least at a social level – can be achieved. A consequent result will also, inevitably, be increased participation and attendance of events from local citizens, thus boosting revenue/profit and potentially instigating economic regeneration as well.

Just as it is important to maintain a positive and meaningful relationship with citizens and communities, the event team must include a government liaison of some kind. One of the frequent areas of difficulty in cultural events is the lack of communication and harmony between policymakers and financial managers from local governments, and the creative and managerial staff of the event itself. This relationship needs to be strong and positive in order for any city-based cultural event to achieve its goals. The sponsors and governmental departments who provide the necessary funding for the establishment and continued operation of the event and its staff/organisation must be satisfied that their funds are being spent responsibly, and that the event is proceeding as agreed. Yet the event team must also be able to operate with a degree of independence, and be able to refuse some of the initiative demanded by policymakers if they have a superior understanding of the event’s artistic integrity. The case of the 2010 GB showed that policymakers with little respect for the theme of the event or the goals of the Artistic Director
demanded additional events be included in the programme, creating tension and dissatisfaction among key creative staff on the GB team. It is therefore suggested that the permanent event team proposed here include at least one liaison, to ensure clear communication and fair representation of the demands and needs of the policymakers and financial backers on one hand, and the views and desires of the artistic director and curatorial team on the other.

A strong marketing and public relations department (or individual officer) is also a necessity. This role should be permanent, and marketing activities should take place year-round, not only during the event period. Collaboration with other members of the permanent event team is also vitally important: the marketing message designed to promote the event must reflect the event's philosophy and content. The person or people responsible for marketing should be given a more permanent stake in the event, and a deeper understanding of its goals, in order to create greater clarity and effectiveness of PR. The marketing department/office must also demonstrate two key attributes: flexibility and responsiveness to new trends, and a keen understanding of social media. Given the unpredictable nature of new trends, it is imperative that the event's marketing demonstrate an awareness of customer/visitor expectations and demands, and the changing measures of ‘success’ in globally ambitious cultural events. Further, as demonstrated in the case studies of this thesis, effective use of social media websites such as Twitter and Facebook, as well as locally-popular websites and portals, can add huge value to an event's PR. Social media should be used extensively to communicate marketing to as wide an audience as possible, and the marketing officer responsible should have a commitment to two-way interaction with visitors and potential visitors, of order to maximise the potential for positive word-of-mouth and 'word-of-mouse'.

Service design is also too important an aspect of event planning to be left to a non-permanent member of staff. Considering how the event, and its venue, will serve and interact with its visitors is a crucial consideration. Once again, the staff responsible for this must work in constant communication and collaboration with the creative and design personnel, and the event’s marketing and PR team, in order to ensure that the experience of visiting the event, or interacting with its organisation, reflects a single joined experience.

Furthermore, the event team should include in its staff an educational programmer. Many cultural events seek to attract a younger audience, and to provide an educational framework to contextualise the artworks and activities. However, responsibility for creating a stimulating and rewarding educational environment should belong to a specific planner, rather than an existing member of the artistic or curatorial team. The GB, for example, attracts a huge proportion of schoolchildren to its event with very little thought for how best to make the event educationally valuable to this particular audience. Outside of the event period, the organisation can offer other
educational initiatives such as work experience placements, scholarships or fellowships. With an emphasis on education as well as artistic value and entertainment ('artistic edutainment'), cultural events can demonstrate a powerful sense of cultural and social value and contribute to regeneration in more obvious ways. If an educational programmer is a part of the permanent team, then the educational initiatives will harmonise with the artistic contents, service design, marketing and PR, and policy directives. Once again, integration and collaboration of different personnel, using different skillsets to focus on different needs, will increase the overall effectiveness of the team.

The final recommendations for the ideal event team address the need to record, preserve, and improve upon the event's previous events and its history. This can be achieved by the inclusion of two specific members of the team: a results analyst, and an archivist. The research analyst will be responsible for communicating and interpreting the results of previous events. There must be more rigorous and honest self-assessment of these events. Rather than conducting audience surveys merely to seek validation, event organisers must court criticism openly, and learn from all mistakes in order to improve in the future. The example of the GB shows an event that is sadly obsessed with the numbers game, and overlooks the quality of the event in order to promote a simplistic perception of success. By enforcing participation from schoolchildren and civil servants, and by exaggerating visitor numbers, the GB inflates statistics and forgoes honest and critical assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of its artistic and educational content. Self-assessment should take place over an extended period of time, and carried out entirely objectively. There should be no political spin or exaggeration of the truth in this process. The organisers of events must engage in reflection in order to improve and expand. Improve city branding and social/cultural/economic regeneration will be achievable if the post-event period is spent in serious critical dissection of strengths and weaknesses. A temporary boost in visitor numbers or an increase in press attention should be considered unsatisfactory. The 'success' of an event should be measured over a longer period, and in a more nuanced way: this will be the role of the permanent results analyst on the team. Both quantitative and qualitative data must be collected. ‘Impact’ in the broadest sense should be considered as a measure of success. The tangible benefits must be considered alongside the intangible impacts. To measure the success of rebranding exercises, a longer-term investment in charting opinions – of both local citizens and a global, online audience – should be implemented. To measure regeneration, the small as well as the big changes to citizens’ lives should be documented. In summary, success should not amount only to record-breaking ticket sales or a positive press reception; success is in the extent to which these events can transform the perceptions of the city, and its physical and social reality.

The archivist, meanwhile, serves a culturally and historically important function, creating and curating an accessible archive of information, data, records and artistic contents from previous
events. These cultural events have an important impact on their cities, and the artists and visitors involved, and they create a vast amount of material. This should not be discarded or forgotten; rather, previous events should be recorded and preserved. Thus, the cultural event hosts a permanent archive of its city's culture, accessible to citizens and visitors even outside the event period. The maintenance of an archive also encourages organisers, planners, designers, artists and visitors to view each event not as a brief, one-time, limited-period event, but as part of a chain of events that have an increasingly rich history and important social function.

The team composition proposed above, and illustrated in Figure 8.1, is not intended to constitute the entire operational staff of a cultural event during its busiest periods. The permanent team will, of course, need to be complemented with additional staff and specialists, and the configuration of these will be dependent on the context of the event. The one unbreakable rule of city-based cultural events is that all are different, and there is no possible way to prescribe a universal approach suitable for all. The context is the most important thing, and the planning of the event must be responsive and sensitive to local demands. The size of the event and its host city, its location, its goals and its contents will all dictate how the core permanent team is expanded. However, by including representatives of all the areas suggested in this section, it is likely that the cultural event and its organisation will achieve greater success and efficiency.

Likewise, it is important to note that one of the most important individuals in creatively shaping a cultural event – its Artistic Director – is not a member of the permanent team. It is better that the AD changes with each event, and that they are newly selected for each individual event, annually or bi-annually. The fresh perspective and unique sensibilities of each AD are important to the originality and appeal of the event. Therefore, although there is a great advantage created by a permanent team working together and exchanging ideas and strategies over an extended period of time, it is equally important that this team expands and changes during the pre-event period.

The need for a permanent, year-round event staff is related to the recommendation that the nature of ‘event activities’ be expanded. The cultural event in question should, ideally, have regeneration as one of its core embedded aims. Therefore, in order to have an impact that is both permanent and continuous, the event should maintain a constant presence in local culture and society. For this reason, the ideal event team includes an educational programmer, a citizen representative, and an archivist. These members of the team can draw on the resources of the event itself to create a permanent value to the local community, and expand the potential and nature of the event and its ability to ignite regeneration.
8.2.1 Defining the ‘Cultural Planner’

This thesis has repeatedly observed the importance of design in the creative process, and also its neglect. As the above team composition suggests, designers and people with design skills need to be employed as permanent members of the event team, so that their creative input spreads beyond simple design tasks and their understanding of the event is deeper and more insightful. However, even the terms ‘design’ and ‘designer’ and the notion of ‘design skills’ are unclear and frequently open to different interpretations and definitions. This thesis has argued for a more progressive and encompassing definition of design. Seoul Mayor Se-hoon Oh described design as ‘a creative problem-solving process’ and encouraged its wide application as a tool to benefit city planning and cultural events. However, even this definition appears inadequate to describe the role of design in contributing to city-based cultural events which aim to influence city brand perceptions and regeneration; the desire to improve brand image and/or stimulate regeneration is not necessarily a problem-solving process. It is better to take this definition of design a little bit further, and therefore this final chapter of the thesis proposes that ‘design’ is ultimately defined and understood as a creative way to meet a need.

Along with this broader and more appropriate definition of ‘design’ in the context of cultural events, it is recommended that the notion of a ‘designer’ also be reconsidered and the word replaced. In order to avoid restricting designers to performing design tasks only, and in order to encourage non-designers to use design skills, it is suggested that the term cultural planner is used in this context as an alternative. The cultural planner is a creative contributor to the shape of an event; they are involved in every stage, and take on multiple roles, utilizing design and non-design skills to perform design tasks as well as non-design tasks. The cultural planner is a flexible term and may encompass a variety of individuals. The practices of design leadership, design management, design thinking, and design strategy can all be tools of the cultural planner. Design should therefore be given central importance and be applied to any and every appropriate aspect of the planning process, and by describing designers as cultural planners, they are given the freedom to apply the principles of design with greater variety and flexibility.

8.3 The Model for Cultural Event Planning

This section describes and illustrates a step-by-step model timetable for the planning of cultural events. It describes the key steps involved in order to consider some of the most important aspects of event planning, and suggests ways to ensure that greater efficiency is achieved. At each stage of the process, the key personnel/professions/roles/skillsets are indicated, but this model is designed to be viewed as a collaborative process, involving as many departments and
decision-makers as possible. Also, as with the 'ideal event team' proposed above, this model timetable is not intended to represent the perfect, fixed version of how events should be planned. Rather, this model is intended to suggest some of the worthwhile steps in the process, and each event will necessarily require additional action points based on its specific context.

The action points described below supplement the graphical representation of this model, shown in Figure 8.3. Each step described is essentially the initiation of a new aspect of planning, that in most cases continues to run as an important planning point throughout the pre-event (or event, or post-event) period. Therefore, the steps listed below are not tasks to complete and then ignore, they are core considerations to embed in planning and nurture throughout the process.

See the following insert page for an overview of the ideal event team (Figure 8.2), and the step-by-step model for cultural event planning.

- **Step 1: Reflect on the results of previous event(s)**
  One of the most important considerations in cultural event planning is how to make the best use of data from previous incarnations and iterations of the event. There is typically a vast amount of survey data collected at cultural events, but this is typically used to measure success in only superficial ways. Instead of generating this data and analysing it only in the post-event period, it is proposed here that the planning for the next event begins with insightful analysis of the previous event. The results analyst(s) on the team, and the other key personnel, should carefully dissect the data and consider the most satisfactory and unsatisfactory aspects of the previous event, considering how to improve and creating agendas to target new goals. Improvement on failures and refinement of successes should be encouraged, but this process is not designed to create a 'prefect formula' for success, and ideas should remain fresh, with innovation and experimentation considered, based on the knowledge and experience of previous events.

- **Step 2: Involve designers and cultural planners (as appropriate)**
  As argued in the sections above, it is important to make the best use of design and design skills as tools in cultural event planning; to use design as a creative way to meet a need, and to encourage designers to take on wider responsibilities as 'cultural planners'. However, although it is crucially important to show awareness of design's rich potential, it is also important to use design in appropriate contexts. Though design has effectiveness in the context of cultural events, it is not always necessary. Design's role and requirement depends on the scale and ambitions of the event. In the case of large-scale events with global ambitions, design is vital: it can ensure far-reaching communication and economic viability, as in the case of Seoul and the Liverpool Biennial. However, a smaller and more organic event, like the Mullae International Arts Festival, took place without the intervention of designers.
The Ideal Event Team

- Designer
- Cultural Planner
- Citizen Representative
- Liaison (Government/Sponsor)
- Marketing & PR Team (including Social Media Designer)
- Service Designer
- Educational Programmer
- Archivist
- Results Analyst

The Step-by-Step Process

Step 1: Reflect on the results of previous event(s)

Step 2: Involve designers and cultural planners

Step 3: Clarify the goals of the event

Step 4: Establish brand synergy

Step 5: Host meetings with the local community

Step 6: Plan for regeneration

Step 7: Selection of the Artistic Director

Step 8: Engage in educational outreach programmes

Step 9: Consider social media marketing

Step 10: Train docents, guides, and the service staff

Final Step: Analysis of results and archiving of materials

*This is not intended as a complete or final model of team composition and decision-making, merely the starting point in the process of using design in the planning cultural events.*
This was arguably fitting to the context: the event's aims and ambitions were small, and the event is successful because it reflects community participation. There is no overarching intention to put Mullae on the global arts map, no do the residents hope to generate meaningful profits. Rather, MIAF is an example of a celebratory, community-driven 'neighbourhood' event, and its independence and improvisational nature would arguably be compromised by the formality of the design process. Thus, design is a valuable tool, but it is one that must be wielded with careful consideration. Design can both empower and restrain the creativity of events, depending on their size, structure and global/local ambitions (see figure 8.3, below, for a spectrum of design's role in cultural events).

**Figure 8.3: The Role of Design in the Spectrum of Cultural Events**

- **Step 3: Clarify the goals of the event**
  In practical terms, these events need to have less nebulous aims and agendas. Clear strategies and targets should be established. With particular emphasis on regeneration, timeframes and targets must be set and measured. The difficulty of determining the regenerative effect of these events is that so many of their impacts are so short-lived. Instead, these events should aim to have a longer-lasting, permanent impact that continues even outside of the event's actual running. Clearly structured plans for the future should have a minimum timeframe of at least five years. There must also be wide consensus and participation, to avoid a situation like the SDO, where a successful event was prematurely suspended due to local political changes. Collaboration on this wider scale is vital, as it is also important that these events are run and planned collaboratively. However, again, this must be considered in moderation. In a creative
industry, where collaboration is emphasised, there are both advantages and disadvantages to working this way. While the process may ideally be democratic, communication is key, and strong leadership based on vision and insight is as important as the equal sharing of ideas. Massimiliano Gioni of the 2010 GB is an exemplary Artistic Director: he seeks the ideas of those working alongside and beneath him, but maintains leadership and his distinct creative vision nonetheless. The method of meeting the aims of the event should be agreed with policymakers and sponsors, to avoid interference and miscommunication later.

• Step 4: Establish brand synergy
Effective and efficient partnerships must be established with tourism boards and all policymakers involved in city branding. Too often, cultural events focus on the global audience and lose sight of using local culture to differentiate their events and tie the appeal of the exhibitions to the unique context and historical identity of the host city. Establishing synergy with local architects, city planners, and tour operators is essential to attracting visitors and boosting visibility of the event. Garcia (2004) argues there is a lack of co-ordination between policy planners, tourism bodies, event organisers and art community. The case studies considered in this thesis show some innovative and enthusiastic attempts to synergise with local concerns, but more needs to be done. The ‘Liverpool Brand’ was a bold concept, but the LB failed to inspire local audiences; likewise, though the GB tried to focus on local art and political concerns, it lacked the foresight to engage in sufficient marketing outside of the local region, thus failing as a global or even a national event. Policymakers and local governments must integrate their plans for tourism, branding, and cultural events. The Seoul Design Fair, as part of the broader ‘Design Seoul’ initiative, is a good example of highly effective integration: the event was clearly tied to wider city-branding policies that sent a clear and consistent message to both residents and tourists. Prestigious titles and awards should be sought for the high value they add to these events, and their power to change perceptions and attract visitors. The case of Liverpool shows that the European Capital of Culture title added value to the city’s brand image, and also directly boosted the attendance and visibility of the LB in 2008. The transformation of Glasgow due to the ECoC title has been a continual inspiration to policymakers and city managers in the UK and beyond. The impacts of titles to the other case studies remain to be seen: Belfast may benefit from its close proximity to Derry/Londonderry, which will be the UK City of Culture in 2013; likewise, Gwangju’s ambitious plans to rebrand as Asian Hub of Culture will finally climax in 2013. These titles will bring attention to these cities, and it will be vital to ensure that attention is turned into positive press and increased visitor numbers.

• Step 5: Host meetings with the local community
As suggested in the ideal event team composition, the planning process should include the voice of someone tasked with representing the needs of the local community. However, one liaison can only do so much, and so it is suggested that the event planning team host a forum/meeting, open
to any interested members of the local community, on a regular basis. The purpose of this meeting should be to inform the public on the direction of current planning, and to take suggestions. The key function of these meetings is to increase visibility of the decision-making process. Of course, the event requires strong leadership and the event team needs to have absolute control over the form of the event; it would be unwise and unfeasible to enact all suggestions from these public forums. However, as a diplomatic exercise in building links with local citizens and encouraging their satisfaction with the process and participation in the event, it may prove to be highly effective.

- **Step 6: Plan for regeneration**
  Consideration of regenerative effects of city-based cultural events has been a central concern of this thesis. In the previous chapter, various ways of measuring attempts at regeneration and the measurable impacts were discussed. However, in many of these cases, the regeneration caused by the event was accidental, in that it was not a central aim of the event. In this situation, it is arguably unfair to criticize an event for failing to achieve regeneration; if an event had no intention of stimulating permanent improvement in the local culture, society, economy or environment, then it cannot be judged a failure for not achieving this. The recommendation of this model is that regeneration is specifically planned and intended. Regeneration of the host city, in whatever ways are achievable, should be an embedded goal of the cultural event, and considered as a specific action point in the planning process. It is a significant challenge for a short-term event to have a long-term impact, which is exactly why the model proposed in this chapter emphasizes year-round activities and a larger permanent event team. Regenerative impacts, even small, can add a significant social and economic value to a cultural event, and create a stronger synergy between the event and its host city.

- **Step 7: Selection of the Artistic Director**
  The artistic director of a cultural event adds tremendous value, and shapes the specific identity of that year’s event. A prestigious and visionary AD generates press interest, high visitor numbers, and encourages the participation of well-known and high-quality artists and performers. The AD is also given a large amount of creative control and responsibility for leadership in the event team, and therefore the selection of the right AD is crucial. The process should be exhaustive and rigorous, ensuring that the right match is found between the event itself, the event team, and the AD: all component must work together harmoniously if the cultural event is to achieve success to the greatest of its potential.

- **Step 8: Engage in educational outreach programmes**
  As suggested in the breakdown of the ideal event team, an educational programmer is a potentially extremely valuable decision-maker in the planning process. Further, if a cultural event
wishes to have an impact on local education, it should engage in educational outreach programmes. There are several benefits to this, including increased visitor numbers at the event (as with the GB), measurable regenerative results, and positive PR. It is therefore suggested that after the appointment of the AD and the specifics of the event begin to be determined, the event team begin to collaborate with local schools, colleges and universities to investigate possibilities for collaboration and cooperation, and ways to increase the educational value of the event.

- **Step 9: Consider social media marketing**

It goes without saying that a strong marketing campaign is an important factor in the planning of a cultural event. This recommendation specifically draws attention to the power of social media in marketing, and the potentially significant power of 'word of mouse' in generating interest in the event. Cultural events are increasingly using social media to increase their visibility and attractiveness to both a local and a potentially global audience. Extensive use of websites such as Twitter and Facebook is recommended. Sharing images and video through popular services such as YouTube, Instagram and Vimeo is also suggested. If the event team has the necessary funding and expertise, the creation of a smartphone application would also add a potential outlet for marketing messages and increased visitor satisfaction. It is imperative that the marketing team has a nuanced understanding of how to make the best use of these social media services, and is responsive to online trends. Finally, as discussed in the case study chapters, it adds considerable appeal if social media is used to engage in a two-way dialogue with potential visitors, rather than simply using these services as a one-way communication tool. Genuine interaction has been proven to increase positive brand perceptions, and should therefore be an ongoing aspect of the event's online presence, both before and during event time.

- **Step 10: Train docents, guides, and the service staff**

The visitor experience of attending the event should be a high-quality and consistent experience. As discussed with relation to the specific case studies, service design is an important and creative skill, not an afterthought. The docents, venue guides, and service staff selling tickets and gift shop souvenirs must all be highly-trained and sensitive to the theme of the event and the needs of its visitors. If an event aims to be global, it should include some multilingual staff, if possible. There needs to be adequate time given to the employment and training of these staff, and managing them should be considered an important role within the event team.

- **The post-event period: analysis of results and archiving of materials**

The final imperative function after the event itself has ended is to analyse and interpret the survey results and other data collected, and to archive as much material as possible. Archiving is a crucial and often overlooked activity, the value of which is described in the ideal event team section, above. Results analysis, meanwhile, brings the cultural event 'full circle', back to its
starting point in Step 1. The analysis of results is a process with two core values: first, it allows the event team, sponsors, and policymakers to reflect on the event just passed and consider its successes and its cultural/social/economic value; trends can be forecast and new patterns may become evident. This new understanding of the event gives this process its second value, and reinforces the point made by Step 1: it better prepares the event team for the next event, and provides them with the experience necessary to improve and refine the process for cultural event planning. Furthermore, at this stage there is a final output by the event, as results are shared with the public, and research is published.

This model, therefore, is both a timeline with a starting and ending point, and a circular process, concluding at exactly the same point it began, and starting again. Cultural events can constantly evolve. This is one of the primary suggestions of this chapter: cultural events should not be viewed in a strictly limited and linear way, but are seen as an on-going and permanent aspect of the cities in which they are based.

See Figure 8.4, below, for a graphical representation of how different members of the ideal event team are involved in the decision-making process at different stages.

8.4 Concluding Recommendations

This section offers a final summary of the primary recommendations of the thesis, and concludes with a brief discussion of the limitations of this research project (in terms of its scope, sample size, case studies, and generalisability) and a series of recommendations for further study and potential future research. This thesis overall, and this chapter in particular, are not intended to be a perfect model or a final conclusion to research on this important topic; in fact, the opposite is true: this research aims to open up new avenues of investigation into cultural events, city branding, and design management on a pan-Asian and international scale, and it is hoped that more research into these areas will follow.

8.4.1 Limitations of Study

This thesis has aimed to develop this series of recommendations alongside a much more substantial academic study, in order to consider the relationship between design, cultural events, regeneration and city branding. In particular, this research has covered both East and West through case studies of cities in the UK and South Korea. Thus, the strength of this research is in expanding euro-centric research to a wider field. However, reflectively, this aspect is also a limitation of this research. While avoiding generalisations, this thesis has nevertheless been
limited in scope: a truly comprehensive and progressive study of city-based cultural events would necessarily include many more case studies, drawing from a far more diverse range of examples (cities elsewhere in Europe, in Asia, in the USA and South America, Australia, and the Third World, etc.), though this is impossible within the limitations of a single limited-term research project such as a PhD thesis.

This research had a necessarily limited number of case studies: two cities in the UK and two in South Korea limit the generalisability of this research, though the conclusions drawn still have wide value and broader applications. In comparing the role of cultural events in the East and the West in the broadest terms, more cities need to be considered.

In specific consideration of the primary case study of the Gwangju Biennale, it would have been preferable – given more time and greater resources – to collect a larger sample of survey respondents and interviewees, and to expand the sample to include more local citizens and non-visitors, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the event’s reputation, brand, and its tangible and intangible impact on local communities.

However, despite the limitations of this research, decisions were made in order to provide a detailed reflection of the South Korean context in relation to the UK, and thus these targeted and focused case studies are justifiably limited in scope.

8.4.2 Recommendations for Future Research

Future research in this area should consider events from all over the world, in a variety of regional, national and transnational contexts. More cities in more countries need to be examined, and a greater range of cultural events, beyond the festival and biennial models should be analysed. Future research will face many of the same limitations as this study, so it is therefore recommended that studies focus on fewer research questions and aim to uncover more specific aspects of this topic.

It is perhaps necessary also to redefine the term ‘cultural events’. The category of cultural event is now so broad and all-encompassing that it has arguably lost its specificity. A more nuanced definition of the term is needed, one which draws distinctions between industry-focused fairs and expos, entertainment-based film festivals and concerts, international and national sporting events, and fine-art events such as those primarily considered in the thesis. As policymakers and curators find new ways of emphasising entertainment at the expense of art – or vice-versa – it is clear that cultural events are developing into a new generation of diverse, multi-media, multi-
purpose festivals, fairs, shows, museums and events. Further research establishing new paradigms of city-based events across this spectrum would surely be useful.

8.4.3 Final Thoughts

Cultural events, created with the input of design and with the intention of influencing rebranding and regeneration, should aim for both critical and commercial integrity. They must balance the demands of attracting audiences in an increasingly competitive media market with a desire to produce a show/event/exhibition with artistic credibility (thus ensuring an appeal for connoisseurs and tourists) and cultural credibility (thus including the interests of local citizens).

However, in consideration of cultural events as defined in the majority of this thesis, and in spite of the eight recommendations listed in this chapter, the final observation/advice of this research must be: let the context shape the event. The culture, and physicality, of the locality must dictate the specifics of the event. City based cultural events cannot be run according to a universal doctrine, and though the above advise is considered to be generalisable, numerous factors are unique to the city or place itself. Globalisation is removing the barriers to communication and cultural experience, but the individual identity of each city remains.
Step 1: Reflect on the results of previous event(s)
Consider the strengths and weaknesses of the previous event, and determine ways to improve.

Step 2: Involve Designers and Cultural Planners
Depending on the needs of the event, designers and those with design skills must be acknowledged as a vital part of the team.
Step 3: Clarify the Goals of the Event
Determine the focus of the event in terms of how it will differentiate itself from other events and previous years, and what results are expected by all involved parties.

Marketing Team (devises PR strategies for brand cohesion and marketing synergy with city-wide initiatives)

Step 4: Establish Brand Synergy
Seek productive partnerships with local organisations and companies, in order to take advantage of tourism initiatives, city branding strategies, and prestigious place titles.

Liaison (plays a central role in collaborating with local governments and businesses for brand synergy)
Step 5: Host meetings with the local community
Engage with the local community by consulting and considering their views in public forums, adding to the visibility and public goodwill of the event.

Step 6: Plan for Regeneration
Carefully consider the ways in which the event can have a permanent long-term impact on the local society, environment, economy, and culture.
Step 7: Selection of the Artistic Director

Begin a rigorous process for selecting an appropriate AD who will bring skills, prestige and value to the event.

Step 8: Engage in Educational Outreach Programmes

Plan for the event to have maximum educational value to local citizens (schoolchildren, college/university students, and adults).
**Step 9: Consider Social Media Marketing**

As part of broader marketing and PR campaigns, pay special attention to the value of social media to marketing the event.

**Designer as Cultural Planner** (brings design thinking to social media initiatives)

**Educational Programmer** (considers how social media can add educational value)

**Step 10: Train Docents, Guides, and the Service Staff**

Ensure a high quality and consistent service to all event visitors by engaging in clear and structured training programmes for all service staff and docents.

**Designer as Cultural Planner** (works with Service Designer on the event's overall experience design)

**Educational Programmer** (ensures appropriate service staff can function in an educational capacity, as appropriate)
Final Step: Analysis of Results and Archiving of Materials

Collect survey results and data from the event, archive materials, and publish research.

Archivist (collects and preserves event materials, develops and publishes research related to the event)

Results Analyst (leads discussion by contextualising and explaining data and survey results)

Educational Programmer (considers how educational content was received)

Citizen Representative (voices the views of the citizens on previous event)

Liaison (evaluates the success of the event from the perspective of local government/sponsors)

Designer as Cultural Planner (reflective evaluation of the design achievements of the event)

Service Designer (consults on visitor experience results)

Marketing Team (consults on marketing/PR results)
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Appendix 1: 2010 Gwangju Biennale Visitors' Questionnaire

Thank you for visiting the 8th Gwangju Biennale. We are conducting this questionnaire in order to survey visitors' opinions and evaluations of this exhibition.

Gender
- Male
- Female

Age
- 10s
- 20s
- 30s
- 40s
- 50s
- Over 60s

Occupation
- High School Student
- University Student
- Professional
- Office Worker
- Public Servant
- Teacher
- Entrepreneur
- Manual Labour
- Service Industry
- Agriculture
- Homemaker
- Culture Industry
- Artist
- Self-Employed
- Unemployed
- Military

Country of Residence

1. Would you recommend this exhibition?
- Never
- Probably not
- I don't care
- Probably
- Definitely

2. Would you come to visit again?
- Never
- Probably not
- I don't care
- Probably
- Definitely

3. This exhibition is the 8th Gwangju Biennale. How many times have you been before?
- Once
- Twice
- Three times
- Four times
- Five times
- Six times
- Seven times

4. How much had you looked forward this exhibition before you visited?
- I never thought about it
- I didn't expect much
- I didn't expect anything special
- I expected it would be quite good
- I thought it would be fantastic

5. How interested are you in the Gwangju Biennale, this year as well as previous years?
- I'm not interested at all
- I'm slightly interested
- I'm moderately interested
- I'm quite interested
- I'm extremely interested

6. How much are you interested in art?
- I'm not interested at all
- Slightly interested
- Moderately interested
- Quite interested
- Extremely interested

2010 '10,000 LIVES' Gwangju Biennale Satisfaction & Organisation Survey

7-16. How satisfied were you with the following aspects of the exhibition?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>Extremely Unsatisfied</th>
<th>Unsatisfied</th>
<th>I have no strong feelings</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Extremely Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diversity of Exhibits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetics of artwork</td>
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<tr>
<td>Information Labels</td>
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<tr>
<td>Comprehension of artwork</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layout of Exhibition Space</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Floor plan and Exhibition Route</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Atmosphere</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Helpfulness of Volunteers (Docents)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value as an International Event</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity for Experience Culture</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. Do you think this exhibition is related to the theme “Maninbo 10,000 LIVES”?
- Not at all
- Slightly
- I don't know
- Yes, mostly
- Yes, extremely

Motivation, Information and Service from Exhibition

18. How did you first hear about the Gwangju Biennale?
- TV/Radio
- Newspaper
- Banner on the street
- Poster/Leaflet
- Word of Mouth
- Other Festivals/Events
- Official Website
- Social Media site
- Internet advertising
- Other
19. Why did you visit the Gwangju Biennale? 
① For aesthetic value ② Recommended by others ③ For knowledge and education of art ④ For an interest in art ⑤ Tourism and Leisure ⑥ Curiosity ⑦ Other ( )

20. How did you buy the ticket? 
① Ticket box at Gwangju Biennale Hall ② Internet ③ I came with a group ④ I was invited

21. Do you think that the ticket price is reasonable? 
① Not at all ② Slightly ③ I don’t know ④ Yes, mostly ⑤ Yes, extremely

22~26 Were you satisfied of facilities at the Gwangju Biennale Hall? 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facility</th>
<th>Extremely Unsatisfied</th>
<th>Unsatisfied</th>
<th>So-so</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Extremely Satisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22. Seating and Space for Resting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Parking Space</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. Bathrooms</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Convenience Shops</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Information Desk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27. How polite was the service from the staff (for example: in information desk or volunteers)? 
① Very rude ② Not nice at all ③ Fine ④ Quite polite ⑤ Extremely polite

28. Were you satisfied with the service from the volunteers (docents)? 
① Extremely unsatisfied ② Unsatisfied ③ So-so ④ Satisfied ⑤ Extremely satisfied

29. How helpful were the information resources provided? 
① Extremely unhelpful ② Unhelpful ③ So-so ④ Helpful ⑤ Extremely helpful

30. Generally, how satisfied were you with your experience at the 8th Gwangju Biennale? 
① Extremely unsatisfied ② Unsatisfied ③ So-so ④ Satisfied ⑤ Extremely satisfied

31. Which Gallery was the most impressive to you? 
① Gallery 1 ② Gallery 2 ③ Gallery 3 ④ Gallery 4 ⑤ Gallery 5 ⑥ City Museum ⑦ Folk Museum ⑧ Yangdong Traditional Market

32. In the future, what do you think should be improved? (Please choose three answers) 
① Aesthetic aspects ② Appeal to the general public ③ Atmosphere ④ Additional events ⑤ More interactive activities ⑥ Marketing and advertisements ⑦ Higher quality art ⑧ Cultural identity ⑨ Information provided about artwork ⑩ Educational value ⑪ Facilities ⑫ Events

33. Any further comments? (Please write below) 

______________________________________________________________
Appendix 2: List of Artists and Exhibits at the 2010 GB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul Althamer</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Andre</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Croti-Obist (Ewa Lasater)</td>
<td>France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Arras</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taufik Ameritch</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marko Barlas</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1960 - 1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Bayne</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.J. Bieda</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1873 - 1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Beliner</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1962 - 1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayra Beri</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Berolovsky</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irina Bixova</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerstin Bratsch</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genn Brown</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Lee Ryan</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1922 - 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan Campbell</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Castle</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1956 - 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. E. de Casteln</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacques Charrier</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyeung Cho</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwang Ho Choi</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annette Collier</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berenath Curch</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neto Cytter</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John De Andre</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andre de Bynes</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>1973 - 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip de Buiter</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max D. Blommer</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1884 - 1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Fennell</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1903 - 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye Glass Shop</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karan Farsangi</td>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean-Fauchin</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>1898 - 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hans-Peter Feistner</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank and Alina</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1962/1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Fruchtlander</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katharina Fritz</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurel en Fierent</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Fusco</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypren Galligan</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>R. Lepretz-Giger</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1968 - 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franz Geritsch</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermann Gluckener</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1869 - 1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Tschin</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jao-Hua Tung</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>1975 - 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Zeng</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>1942 - 2012</td>
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<td>Yang-chu Han</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>1968</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daud Harison</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1925 - 1996</td>
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<td>Yves W. Scherken</td>
<td>Germany</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hirschharold</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1967</td>
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<td>Germany</td>
<td>1963</td>
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<td>Carsten Holter</td>
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<td>R. Hon</td>
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<td>Taiming He shen</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
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<td>Huang Yong-ping</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>1965</td>
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<td>Nenggeur</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>1966</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sanja Hasevic</td>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>1949</td>
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<td>Jochen Kopf/Experimental Workshop (Shozo Koro, Kyô, Shô, Kasan Andrews, J.)</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Falsified in 1949</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yasmin Kabir</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C. Xian</td>
<td>China</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacob Kissay</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1964</td>
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<td>Leonardo Katz</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
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<td>Mike Kelley</td>
<td>USA</td>
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<td>Edward and Nancy Reddin, Kansas</td>
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<td>1927 - 1943</td>
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<td>Parviz K. T</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>1924</td>
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<td>Alice K.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Tatsumi K., Y.</td>
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<td>1962 - 1983</td>
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<td>1915</td>
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<td>1963 - 1976</td>
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<td>1969</td>
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<td>Paul McCarthy</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1945</td>
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<td>Gustave Metzger</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1936</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Miller</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabih Mroueh</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>1967</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matt Macan</td>
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<td>1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nataraj Photo Studio</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>Years</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruce Nauman</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1941 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shunya Onoike</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1966 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henrik Olufsen</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>1967 -</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fred Porter</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1967 - 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam Price</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1972 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoai Huu</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>1988 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridget Riley</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>1991 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Rosler</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1944 - 1986</td>
</tr>
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<td>Daniel Roth</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1945 - 1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atsuko Sato</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1986 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karl Schröder</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Birth - 1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean-Frédéric Schwyzer</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1945 -</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tudor Roșu</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>1974 -</td>
</tr>
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<td>Paul Shufrans</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1965 - 1983</td>
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<td>Cindy Sherman</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1964 -</td>
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<td>Larrie Simmons</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1968 -</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roy Stayer</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1966 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sartovačić</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1980 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Trak</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1967 - 1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bywa Trecalin</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1981 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yael S. Smilovic, Photographs</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1974 - 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usaku Photography</td>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>Established in 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franco Vescan</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1936 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stan van der Beek</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1927 - 1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dami Ye</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>1974 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andy Warhol</td>
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