

Simon Adam Yorke

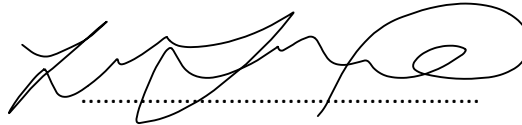
**How do Current Economic and Cultural Criteria for Assessing the Effectivity of the
Liverpool Biennial Impact Upon its Planning, Strategies, and Resourcing?**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
of Liverpool John Moores University for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2022

I hereby declare that the work presented herein is entirely my own

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Simon Adam Yorke', written over a horizontal dotted line.

Simon Adam Yorke

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Special thanks go to my supervisors, John Byrne (Reader in the Uses of Art), Dr Nedim Hassan, and Professor Julie Sheldon, for all their support throughout the process of developing this thesis.

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the evolution of the Liverpool Biennial through the use of their evaluation methodologies. Throughout, I will show how evaluation and impact research has shaped the development of the Biennial and how the methodologies have influenced their policy and structure. I will discuss how the implications of these decisions have been governed from the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods of data gathering and how the language has been used to develop the marketing to describe their cultural output and impacts. The research begins with investigating the cultural valuation techniques that have been applied to the Liverpool Biennial Festival's research, and impact reports. This research investigates the methodologies applied to evaluate the cultural value of the Biennial's programme of cultural activity to determine the efficiency and validity of the Festival's cultural impact studies. I will show how the Biennial's extensive demographic research has been used to enable them to develop from a niche trade Festival. Furthermore, I will illustrate how each successive Festival (1999 – 2012) has developed, its increasing economic impact to the city, as well as increasing its popularity to a more inclusive audience under the tutelage of Lewis Biggs, Paul Domela and Paul Smith. Through in-depth analysis of their approach to evaluation, the thesis also reveals how the language of their marketing and visitor profile information has enhanced the intrinsic impact, cultural experience or customer satisfaction of the service provided within the Festival. The research shows how the finding from the evaluation and impact research has been implemented into the decision making, planning and curation of the Liverpool Biennial organisation so that they produce significant cultural impact.

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Introduction

Background Motivation of Study

My interest in cultural value and, more specifically, the cultural value of the Liverpool Biennial started in 2007 when I was asked to join the Independents Biennial Board of Directors, which had been the fourth strand of the Biennial Festival, in the run up to Liverpool's European Capital of Culture year in 2008. In 2010 I began my MRes in which my interest evolved into the cultural value methodologies that are used to evaluate cultural / arts events and festivals. More specifically, I became interested in the methodologies that were used to evaluate Liverpool Biennial's Festivals, and the roles that evaluation played in the development of this organisation.

This thesis stems from the close work that I have conducted with the Liverpool Biennial since 2007 in the run up to Liverpool's European Capital of Culture 2008 and beyond as an active Board member and subsequent Chairman / Artistic Director of the Independents Liverpool Biennial Festival that has run alongside the 'official' Festival (originally, it was the fourth strand of the Festival until 2007) since its inception in 1998.

Since Liverpool's year as European Capital of Culture (ECOC) in 2008, local artists have been asking the question: What is the cultural value of the Biennial? Throughout the thesis I will use the Biennial's own research to investigate its value, the validity of its research evidence, and how it has been used to develop the organisation and subsequent Festivals from a

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niche event in 1999 that primarily attracted a Vocational audience (those involved in the visual arts, MHM 2002), to its increasing popularity with the general public in 2012. I argue that too much research has focused on the instrumental (quantitative) impact of cultural events, as it is easier to quantify and be placed in an economic framework. Although it is recognised that the concept of cultural value is complex, several meanings have been examined by the likes of Holden (2004, 2006), Throsby (2001, 2010) O'Brien (2010), McCarthy (2004), Belfiore (2003, 2012).

For example, Holden (2006) has simplified the complex subject of 'cultural value' so that institutions can explain why culture is important. He has given politicians and policy makers a language and conceptual framework so that they can understand why culture deserves public funding and the benefits that culture has on audiences and communities:

The language and conceptual framework provided by 'cultural value' tell us that publicly funded culture generates three types of value: intrinsic value, instrumental value and institutional value. It explains that these values play out – are created and 'consumed' - within a triangular relationship between cultural professionals, politicians, policymakers and the public. But the analysis illuminates a problem: politicians and policy - makers appear to care most about instrumental economic and social outcomes, but the public and most professionals have a completely different set of concerns (pp.9-10).

Holden explains that publicly funded culture generates three types of value, this 'triangle' breaks cultural value into three consecutive, equal areas and simplifies the language and benefits to this complicated sector. Holden maintains that value is located in the encounter

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or interaction between individuals, and the cultural good or experience. However, the economic benefits of arts and culture have been central to the case that has been made for public funding. As a publicly funded organisation (Arts Council England, Liverpool City Council, etc.), I will discuss how the Biennial's research methodologies have changed from qualitative analysis in the beginning (1999), to the instrumentalising impact that an almost exclusively quantitative evaluation of Liverpool Biennial Festivals has had upon its organisational structure, aims, and objectives.

Biennial Research

This thesis will discuss the inception of the Liverpool Biennial, the motivations, and aspirations for developing a visual arts festival within the city, and the structure and premise of each successive Festival. To begin, I will outline the economic climate of Liverpool prior to the Festival's inception, and how Liverpool Biennial has been used as a tool for regeneration in the post-industrial city. I will then explain each Biennial Festival and map out how different types of quantitative and qualitative methodologies were used / developed during subsequent Liverpool Biennial impact and evaluation reports for cultural value within the rest of the thesis.

My MRes discovered that there has been a fecundity of new art biennials over the past couple of decades, and while there is instrumental research about the economic successes of such festivals, these methodologies are primarily used to secure funding and secure future festivals. To date, there are not many papers or research about the function of the

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biennial format. Basualdo (2003) states that whilst there are many articles from both specialised press and mass media that review biennials, academic critical literature is scarce:

(This) was of interest, almost exclusively, to a more or less limited group of specialists[...] (and) makes them anathema precisely for the intellectual spheres whose analytical capacity should (supposedly) elucidate their current meaning and possible potential. Of the few voices from academic circles that mention these events, the majority tends to be discrediting (p.126).

What Basualdo is explaining is that although there is an extensive bibliography on museums, he has barely found a dozen publications of academic critical literature that are devoted to the subject of large-scale international exhibitions and the biennial format. This was because, until recently, they were of interest almost exclusively to a more or less limited group of specialists.

For example, Clark (2009) argues that biennials have not been systematically researched, either because those who might have direct knowledge of biennials are tied up directly in their organisation, or because those involved with contemporary art criticism and theory are disinclined by their art historical training to carry out basic institutional analyses. According to Clark (2009):

(They) have not been systematically researched, either because those who might have direct knowledge of biennials are tied up directly in their organisation or

because those involved with contemporary art criticism and theory are disinclined by their art historical training to carry out basic institutional analyses. This state of affairs tends to leave no gap between the conceptual base of international curators, which is almost entirely constructed around their operational activity, and an understanding of what biennials are or how they function at a systemic level. There is, for example, a reasonably extensive series of interviews with, and papers by, international biennial curators thinking aloud about exhibitions, but very few if any of them want to define the system in which they are operating. This means that in the current research there is no basic description of biennials and, as noted above, scarcely any analysis of their typology (p.174).

Clark argues that this gap occurs either because biennials hold a number of conferences and symposiums to discuss and create new knowledge that has created a circuit of academics that participate / employed by the biennial organisations, writing papers for and not about these institutions. Art critics therefore concentrate on reviewing the work within the festivals, giving critiques for the consumption of the artworld, focusing on the work – not the institution. Evaluation has concentrated on the front of house product and the instrumental impacts, leaving a gap in the robust research about the organisation.

One could argue that this tends to leave no gap between the conceptual base of international curators, which is almost entirely constructed around their operational activity, and an understanding of what biennials are or how they function at a systemic level.

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Liverpool Biennial

Founded in 1998, by James Moores, Jane Rankin Reid, and Lewis Biggs, the Biennial Festival was produced to coincide with the already well established John Moores Painting Prize (the first in 1957) which was held every two years, and Bloomberg New Contemporaries (first in 1949). Liverpool Biennial is promoted as one of the most important public art agencies in the North West, the UK's only contemporary art biennial until fairly recently, and is still the largest contemporary art festival in the UK (others include Glasgow International, Manchester International Festival, Folkstone Triennial et al).

Taking place every two years, the original concept was to bring the art out of the gallery and onto the streets, making the City the gallery. Therefore, the Festival presents the art across the city's public spaces, galleries and historic buildings. The organisers of the International (i.e. the main Biennial show / strand and critical focus of international artists commissioned to create work about, and for the city) believe that the exhibition should recognise the specifics of the cultural context in which it is shown. Therefore, the exhibitions aim to be 'context-sensitive' in that it could only be made and viewed in this city.

Since its inception, Liverpool Biennial has commissioned over 340 new artworks and presented work by over 480 internationally renowned artists (1999 – 2018). For example, artists presented in previous editions are Doug Aitken, John Akomfrah, Mona Hatoum, Yayoi Kusama, Takashi Murakami, Yoko Ono, Ai Weiwei and Franz West.

The mission through all the Biennial's activities is '*engaging art, people, and place.*' This is done by commissioning artworks and other programmes collaboratively, in partnership with a myriad of organisations and individuals, from the city's established art institutions to community groups in local neighbourhoods. The Festival is underpinned by a year-round programme of research, education, residencies, projects and commissions.

As I will discuss in this thesis (Chapter Four), the Liverpool Biennial works towards ambitious educational objectives, through a programme of activities developed within the context of the work they commission. Throughout this thesis I will discuss the Biennial's visitor programme activities and demographic research which are aimed at developing new audiences for the Biennial. By linking the art in the International to other topics, these activities attract special interest groups who would not usually attend art events. The visitor programme delivers talks and tours in diverse subjects and unusual venues to appeal to broader audiences.

Liverpool Biennial Research

Whilst there is clearly not one method of valuation that can be applied universally across a range of cultural events, I argue that the Liverpool Biennial is representative of a clear problem that is shared by many similar large-scale and short-term art festivals. This problem seems to be almost exclusive application of quantitative forms of data capture and

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collation for events that aim to add 'cultural value' to the lives of a broad range of local, regional, national and international participants.

In the case of Liverpool Biennial, I argue that the short-term instrumentalising necessity of such evaluations, which rely almost exclusively on city centre visitor numbers and economic impact, would seem to be manifestly at odds with the long terms aims of the Biennial to enhance the broader cultural impact of its offer. Both a one-way, top-down notion of sharing cultural value plus, as I have observed, a relatively shifting set of economic and instrumentalised goals (frequently centring around particular communities from Biennial year to Biennial year) seem to prevent either:

- The production of co-produced or truly participatory cultural value using art
- A means to measure such an impact

As a result of this, I will argue throughout this thesis that more research should be conducted into understanding the qualitative impact of cultural experience which, in turn, would allow for a shift in the strategic focus of this Festival toward the broader and longitudinal impact of its events on the region's cultural infrastructure. In order to do this, I suggest the application of methodologies that would enable the general public, as well as Liverpool Biennial itself, to understand how and why culture impacts upon us. I argue that such an approach would be both proactive and productive as it would influence and increase the outcomes and impacts that are measured now.

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As such, this research aims at creating a robust investigation of the Liverpool Biennial, as both an organisation and as a range of projects, and how its own methods of evaluation have affected its cultural impact to the city of Liverpool between 1998 – 2012. To do this, this thesis discusses the cultural value methodologies used to measure their Festival impacts by using the Liverpool Biennial as the focus of study. I will concentrate on each form of cultural value (Economic, Social, and Intrinsic) to place the work that the Liverpool Biennial has delivered over the years to evaluate the cultural excellence.

For the sake of clarity and expediency throughout this thesis I will use capitals when specifically referring to, or discussing, the Liverpool Biennial (e.g. Biennial, Festival), when I am speaking generally (biennials, festivals etc.) the words will be lowercase. The very nature of a biennial means that they constantly change and as I will show within this thesis, the Liverpool Biennial is no exception. In the process of researching and writing this thesis, and MRes thesis, there have been many changes within the Biennial and in the creating and presenting of the Festivals, and I will show how the staff has changed on an annual and bi-annual basis. But, for this thesis, I have conducted a number of interviews with the three most influential and regular staff of the Biennial organisation during the period that this thesis focused on (see Appendix One for full interviews and biographies). This thesis, therefore, focuses on the Biennial's activities under the tenure of Lewis Biggs (Artistic Director / Chief Executive 1999 - 2011), Paul Domela (Programme Director 2001 - 2013) and Paul Smith (Executive Director 2007 - 2019).

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This research will discuss the history of the Liverpool Biennial and aim to create a robust investigation of the Festival's impacts and methodologies, research the Biennial as an organisation, its projects, Festivals, and cultural impact to the city to create a robust, comprehensive study of the Liverpool Biennial's cultural value, and make an original contribution to knowledge in three ways:

- The thesis provides a marker for academic research on the Biennial
- It undertakes a rigorous examination of the way that the Liverpool Biennial has researched its cultural programme and output to fit in line with cultural value methodologies that are a caveat for any organisation that is in receipt of public funding
- This thesis is the first and only place that has a complete history of the Liverpool Biennial's inception and growth, including all the projects conducted by the Liverpool Biennial within the years between, during, and after the International Biennial Festival for the duration of the period of Lewis Biggs' tenure as Director

This is the first time that the Biennial's research and evaluations have been combined to give a comprehensive assessment of the methodologies that the Liverpool Biennial has used to develop their work - both within and outside the Festival period. This combination of methodologies can be a benchmark towards future research, evaluations and objectives of large scale publicly funded events, exhibitions and festivals.

Measuring Cultural Value

There is an excessive instrumentalisation of the arts (Brighton 1999, Tusa 2000, 2002, 2007), but I suggest there is a note of caution with impact evaluation reports, as the value of culture has been distorted by a desire to influence public funding and policy and weakened by poor quality evaluation. I argue the very nature and purpose of conducting and quantifying the impacts of events, exhibitions, and festivals is to promote

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and justify further funding for the cultural event, not for a critical evaluation, as they are ideologically biased towards the organisation (Belfiore 2002, Hansen 1995, Merli 2002, Selwood 2002). However, instrumental impact evaluations and performance measurements have been popular, as they are easier to quantify as they have a toolkit approach (Green Book) which shows a positive bias to the organisation.

Belfiore and Bennett (2007) argue that current methods for assessing the impact of the arts are largely based on a fragmented and incomplete understanding of the cognitive, psychological, and socio-cultural dynamics that govern the aesthetic experience. They postulate that a better grasp of the interaction between the individual and the work of art is the necessary foundation for a genuine understanding of how the arts can affect people. Through a critique of philosophical and empirical attempts to capture the main features of the aesthetic encounter, this thesis draws attention to the gaps in our current understanding of the responses to art.

For example, Bishop (2012) explains that regardless of geographical location, the hallmark of an artistic orientation towards the social in the 1990s has been a shared set of desires to overturn the traditional relationship between the art object, the artist and the audience. To put it simply: the artist is conceived less as an individual producer of discrete objects than as a collaborator and producer of *situations*; the work of art as a finite, portable, commodifiable product is reconceived as an ongoing or long-term *project* with an unclear

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beginning and end; while the audience, previously conceived as a 'viewer' or 'beholder', is now repositioned as a co-producer or *participant* (p.2).

Throughout this thesis I will posit that Liverpool Biennial needs to be proactive in its research instead of post-reactionary. Consequently, I argue that Liverpool Biennial should strive to create knowledge by developing forms of innovative and qualitative evaluation that might help to increase the impact of cultural experience itself - and not to exclusively create quantitative research that exclusively highlights instrumental forms of impact as a means of securing future funding and revenue streams.

There is no doubt that audience building is one of the main tasks of arts management. The question then arises as to how to implement a customer-centred mind-set at the strategic level of arts organisations. The maximisation of audience numbers and the generation of funds are important marketing objectives. These objectives should be supplemented with an even more important objective, that of optimising and supporting the customer's co-creative role in the artistic process and cultural experience. Participation increasingly means not merely sampling existing content, but adding new or remixed content, which has been described as exchange-orientated, more than an object-oriented culture (Valtysson 2010).

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I propose that the cultural value does not exclusively lie in the quantitative economic and social impacts that the Liverpool Biennial has researched and promoted. That cultural value also lies in those forms of cultural experience that also need to be qualitatively evaluated. Furthermore, I argue that a shift in focus toward the qualitative evaluation of cultural experience would enhance, rather than detract from, the curation and production of those art projects and enhancement / engagement strategies which go to make up the experience of Liverpool Biennial as a whole.

As Joan Jeffri suggests, researchers need to know more about the behaviours, habits, tastes, and preferences of consumers before, during, and after the cultural experience. Cultural organisations should work in partnership to develop a digital framework that creates a platform for the interaction of arts marketing. The future of measuring cultural experiences lies less in surveys, and more in analysing big data and time diaries, in a co-collaborative trade between organisations and visitors.

During the 20th century, Liverpool entered a period of economic and social decline and, by the late 1970s and early 1980s the city was suffering the effects of national recession with high unemployment. A combination of the end of Empire, containerisation, and the collapse of industry had brought the city to the brink of total collapse. The fundamental collapse of Liverpool's economic base would have a profound social, environmental, and economic impact upon the Merseyside area.

The situation was particularly acute in Liverpool as the city lost almost half of its population, shrinking from 855,688 in the 1930s to little more than 449,560 in 1991 (losing an average of 12,000 people a year), with unemployment double (21.6%) the national average (Census 1991). By the time of the 2001 census this dropped to 435,500, with many moving into the surrounding boroughs (Bernt et al 2014, Rink et al 2012). The overall number of vacant dwellings in the 'city' was calculated at 25,584. 4,623 of those were local authority, whereas 16,869 were private sector dwellings (Baker et al 2004, p.135). This showed an abundance of vacant properties that could be utilised for both tenancy and commercial ventures.

In 1981 Michael Heseltine formed two Urban Development Corporations (UDC) to cure the 'inner city problem' in Liverpool and London's Docklands. The Liverpool UDC was tasked with the redevelopment of some 860 acres of the Merseyside docklands area (Robson 1987). Premised on public investment which would attract a greater amount of private sector funding (Robson 1988), the Merseyside UDC would focus on re-developing two sites: the Otterspool Promenade area, through an International Garden Festival to be held in 1984, and the substantial regeneration of the Albert Dock which was heavily in disrepair and filled with heavily-polluted silt the depth of two double decker buses, and was described as 'an affront to a civilised society' by Heseltine (Frost and North, 2013).

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As a result of this, the Liverpool city region was marked as having economic, social, and spatial disparities, with particular neighbourhoods experiencing multiple deprivations of low income and economic inactivity, poor educational achievement, poor health and high levels of crime (Garcia, Melville, and Cox 2010, p.5). Sykes et al (2013) explain that in 1994 Merseyside qualified for European Structural Funding (ESF) targeted at underperforming regions as it had an average Gross Domestic Product (GDP) below 75% of the European Union average. This resulted in over £1.3 billion of public sector money (European and national) being allocated and spent on economic development in the conurbation during this period (1994 - 2008). There were two key components of the European Objective One programme which was targeted at lagging regions that had less than 75% of the European average GDP per capita. The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) helped to rebuild the physical infrastructure of the city, and the European Social Fund (ESF) was designed to improve 'human capital' (p.13).

Following the election of Tony Blair's Labour government in 1997, there was a renewed focus on the city. Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott appointed Richard Rogers as Chair of the Urban Task Force in 1998 which called for the delivery of an Urban Renaissance (Rogers 1999). Answering this call, Liverpool formed the country's first Urban Regeneration Corporation (URC) in 1999: Liverpool Vision, an Economic Development Company was tasked with leading the physical transformation of the city (Parkinson 2008). More strategic than the UDCs of the 1980s, Liverpool Vision's task was to work in partnership with public and private actors to identify and facilitate economic opportunities.

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For Vision's partners, the prime opportunity for redevelopment lay in Liverpool's outdated city centre which, they reasoned, was a drag anchor in the entire city's economy (Parkinson 2008). Thus, in 2000, Liverpool Vision brought forward their Strategic Investment Framework (Liverpool Vision 2000) which identified seven action areas for redevelopment centring on the waterfront, business district, retail core, and cultural quarter. In 2008, a re-organisation of Liverpool Vision saw its operations merge with both the Liverpool Land Development Company and Business Liverpool to form a single economic development company. However, in 2019 Liverpool City Council closed Liverpool Vision and transferred its functions in-house to align more closely with the Regeneration and Culture departments.

The Biennial Programme and Creative City

The history of art biennials can be classified into two phases. Vogel (2010) explains the first phase was concerned with modernity and began with the Venice Biennale, including all biennials from 1895 to 1983. The second phase began with Havana (1983) which concentrated on postmodernity. She explains:

The dominance of modernity is reflected in the history of biennials. In the first phase, the worldwide retrospectives of the European avant-garde movements revealed the hegemonic position of the period influenced by the west, while in the second phase, the biennials manifest the end of modernity and the emergence of global art. (p.35)

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Therefore, the biennial came into being (Venice Biennale est. 1895) as a trade-specific miniature of the World Fair (est. Great Exhibition in 1851), and the Venetians' future-oriented idea was to focus purely on art to develop their city marketing, cultural tourism, and urban regeneration. The Venice Biennale was the model for the Sao Paulo Biennale (est. 1951), whose function was to position itself as a world-scale event that could put its city / Brazil on the map of modern culture. Arguably, this has been a reason for all biennials, and their proliferation in the second phase (1983 onwards) has been politically influenced by globalisation. Biennials are a way to negotiate between the local and global, with the opening of new markets (trade), new technologies, and cheaper travel being seen as the main reasons for the boom of biennials within the second phase. Second phase biennials ask questions about cultural identity, migration, and more importantly globalisation.

For example, Jones (2010, pp.76-77) suggests biennials have many functions (political, economic, and cultural) but the underlying driver is tourism and the cultural tourist economy. The host city's economic growth and urbanisation is a main factor, and this is true for the first biennials like Venice. One could argue that the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations (Crystal Palace, 1851) and subsequent World Fairs' economic successes through tourism have been a major influence for all biennials and large-scale events (e.g. Olympics, est. 1894, European Capital of Culture, est. 1985 etc.).

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It could be argued that museum and gallery exhibitions are primarily concerned with tourism and the economy it brings (e.g. the Bilbao effect). Lewis

Biggs (2015) the Artistic Director of the Liverpool Biennial (2000 – 2011) explains, in an interview (see Appendix One) how regeneration through the tourist economy has been a major influence in the opening of new museums and biennials;

Biennials are driven by tourism and the art market - just as museums are driven by tourism and social / civic prestige. The 'second wave boom' in museums and biennials was about the economy. If you read the press about opening Tate Liverpool it hardly mentions art, just regeneration (certainly you don't need theories of post modernism to consider it. There may have been cultural outcomes, but if you look for cultural explanations you are going to struggle).

Biggs explains that globalisation was an influence in the second wave boom, which saw the proliferation post-1990 of biennials with the opening up of countries and new markets. Biennials, therefore, combine local pride with 'city branding' in order to attract both nationals and foreigners whose patronage might replace extraction-based economies with a future of tourism (Jones 2010, p.76)

Despite the differences between first and second wave Biennials, it could be argued that a link between art and tourism can be connected to all biennials including the first Venice Biennale, and their subsequent urban development due to the cultural tourist. The use of culture to regenerate cities has been used for other post-industrial cities such as Bilbao and Glasgow (Plaza 1999). Liverpool used cultural regeneration as part of a broader economic development strategy that aimed to replace the city's devastated industrial base

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with a booming service sector. As well as its direct effects, this is intended to reconstruct the negative image associated with deindustrialisation by promoting a 'post-industrial' image (Gomez 1998).

Reeves (2002) explain how during the 1980s art and culture were increasingly folded into urban regeneration agendas: 'Cities, in particular, sought solutions to economic restructuring and the decline of traditional manufacturing industry. Taking their inspiration from the experiences of American and European cities, major cities such as Glasgow, Manchester and Liverpool embarked on ambitious cultural development strategies, often based on flagship capital projects' (Reeves 2002, p.7).

For example, Bydler (2004) explains how biennials not only rebrand a city, but introduce the international artworld to the city and the economy that they bring through cultural tourism:

Biennials and other periodical exhibitions help to place a city, a region, or a nation 'on the map.' Guest artists, audiences, critics, and curators ensure international press exposure, fully booked flights, and crowded hotels and restaurants for the host city, region, or even country. The visiting international art world vitalises the local economy as well as the local art life. This may be one reason for the support that the biennial format enjoys across the field, a support that spans the distance between local political representative and the avant-garde art world. (p.398)

What Bydler suggests here is that biennials have a dual purpose:

1. By attracting an international audience, they generate cultural capital and regeneration through tourism and attracting creative businesses and employment to the city
2. Biennials are also used as a cultural platform that introduces the international artworld to the host city, and their local artists to the global artworld

Therefore, as cities have used the cultural tourist to regenerate their cities through biennials, cities have also attracted creatives to live and work by building a creative infrastructure of businesses, creating their own regeneration of deprived areas. Harvie (2013) explains that in order for cities to be prosperous and to become successful creative cities in this creative economy, Florida has suggested that they need to concentrate on attracting and retaining not major companies or organisations, but this creative class of workers; in turn, the work will be drawn by this class of talented workers, alongside a provision of technology and a climate of tolerance. Florida's creative class are creative thinkers, not just creative artists and producers (p.115).

As I have shown, the concept of developing a creative city for artists to live and work is not a new concept. Creativity has been used as the engine for regional and urban economic growth (e.g. Myerscough 1988, Landry 2000, Foster and Kaplan 2001, Howkins 2001, Ridderstrale and Nordstrom 2004). I suggest this pattern can be seen in the recent history of Liverpool, using culture and the creative city as the catalyst for regeneration.

For example, in 2001 a group of local visual arts organisations identified the lack of a vibrant postgraduate situation in Liverpool as the single factor most damaging to development of the arts infrastructure in the city. A report on the subject was commissioned from Heidi Reitmaier and distributed in 2002.

The ambition of the Graduate Retention Report (2002) was to understand and present detailed reasons to why the graduates of Liverpool's universities were leaving the city to seek their opportunities elsewhere. The study looked at the various aspects of Liverpool's cultural map and assessed whether there was ample synergy within the cultural scene (2002) and considered the proposals for cultural growth. The study also commented on the adequacy of the structures and methods for fostering the ambitions of many young cultural practitioners, such as internships, professional and business advice, formal training opportunities etc. and attempted a comparative assessment of the attractions of other major regional creative cities.

The strategy of the North West Development Agency had an ambition to strengthen and develop Liverpool into what Florida describes as a creative city. The ambition was to create a region which:

- Attracts and retains skilled and talented people

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- Nurtures its environment, heritage and culture
- Kindles creativity, innovation and competitiveness
- Transform its image
- Strengthens its infrastructure
- Is on the shortlist for new investment
- Brings everyone into the mainstream of community life (Reitmaier 2002, p.5)

These ambitions would assist in the support and retention of young graduates working in the arts. Reitmaier explained that it is essential to nurture the visual arts community and stimulate creative arts-based ventures in innovative ways. This would transform the reputation for arts graduates of Liverpool as a city of opportunity and experimentation, strengthening the existing arts organisations and assisting in their growth, whilst offering greater opportunities to the commercial sector and ultimately diversifying the arts community and making it more visible and accessible (2002, p.5).

It is research like this and all the work that the Biennial was doing that won Liverpool the European Capital of Culture (2008) and all the funding and investment for the city's regeneration. The opportunity of ECoC title announced in June 2003 crystallised an initiative by the Biennial with FACT and Tate to partner the two main universities in developing postgraduate culture in the city through a 'Culture Campus.'

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Factors Influencing the Liverpool Biennial's Inception

For Biggs (2015), regeneration was a major factor for the conception of the Liverpool

Biennial:

There are as many reasons for holding a biennial festival as there are biennials, but we started Liverpool Biennial in order to help make Liverpool a better place for artists to live and work (something you can't do without making it a better place for anyone to live and work). (see Appendix One for full interview)

According to Biggs, Liverpool Biennial's key aim was to realise the untapped potential of the people, spaces, buildings, and organisations in Liverpool, and thereby to create an artistic event that had the potential to change the perception of the city, from within and without (Rees Leahy 2000, p.11). To do this, one objective of the Biennial is to strengthen the arts infrastructure (buildings, funding, organisations) and profession (artists, curators, arts administrators, networking) in Liverpool, and develop these through partnership.

Jones (2010) agrees, as the impetus for urban development and city branding is an obvious continuity between the *Grandes Expositions* and the biennials. Another is these exhibitions' role in fostering the various (national, regional, and local) economies in which art, and artists, circulate (p.79). Hospers and van Dalm (2005) explain that Richard Florida and Jane Jacobs have suggested that 'more than ever before, creativity is the engine for economic development. In the end, creativity is about people, their ideas, and their tastes. The creative class are highly critical, mobile, and prefer attractive, stimulating, and vibrant environments to live and work' (p.8).

Biggs (2015) explains how the Festival is made up of different strands, combining established (e.g. John Moores Painting Prize, New Contemporaries) events with new elements / strands that work in partnership:

The 'Festival' resulted from the fact that we started an 'International Exhibition' to show alongside the existing biennial John Moores Painting Competition and New Contemporaries exhibitions. James Moores also funded an 'independent' programme which was initially both 'local' and 'international' (many artists from Germany exhibited in Tracey). We both understood that we could not fund a single international quality show of the scale of Documenta; but we also understood that we could achieve the necessary critical mass (to get people to visit) by rolling different programmes into the same overall brand name. So - critical mass is always an important reason for the creation of a festival, and we embedded the international into a larger critical mass for good reasons.

For Biggs, the 1999 Biennial programme was embedded in the unique arts economy of Liverpool, which included two national institutions and a diverse range of independent spaces, plus the energy of the many artists based in the city. The idea was that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts or individual elements, with the Biennial's main focus being the International Exhibition. Liverpool Biennial formed a coalition to create a new brand, while still maintaining their distinct identities that created a critical mass of activity, capable of generating new audiences and shifting perceptions.

I argue that this distinctiveness can be seen in the Liverpool Biennial's inception, when the city was in decline with the closure of industry and docks. Instead of the industrial city it was before, it could be argued that Liverpool has attempted to redevelop itself as a cultural city with a main export of culture. This brings in a new economy through the cultural

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tourist, by using the derelict and empty warehouses to show art and re-invent itself as the cultural haven of the North West, and the premier cultural city outside of London. This culminated in the 2008 European Capital of Culture (ECOC) and the 975,000 visitors for the 2008 Biennial Festival which generated an estimated £26.6m (ENWRS 2009, p.2).

The preliminary concept for the inaugural Liverpool Biennial of Contemporary Art began in 1988 when the Tate Gallery Liverpool opened, adding to the existing mix of visual arts organisations and art practice within Liverpool (see Appendix Three for a timeline of art and cultural activity in Liverpool since the opening of Tate Liverpool). Lewis Biggs was Director of Tate Liverpool 1990 - 2000 - a decade in which it was the only dedicated Museum of Modern Art in the UK, and at a time when the Tate 'brand' was associated largely with the work of Turner and Constable. The programme Biggs initiated in Liverpool introduced contemporary British and International art to new audiences nationally and especially in the North of England. It included ground-breaking art exhibitions from Japan, Korea, North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa. The programme's structure and accompanying education programme were influential on London's Tate Modern when it opened in 2000.

Biggs (1996) explains the impact that Tate Liverpool had on the economic wealth of the city. The Gallery had seventy full time employees, plus sixty part time employees and helped to maintain many other people in work through the £2.5 million per annum that it spent on Merseyside. Not including the start-up costs, £20 million had been spent since the

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gallery arrived in Liverpool. In addition, the Gallery attracted approximately 60,000 tourist bed-nights per annum (that is three visits for every job available in Liverpool in 1996, and direct employment in (all) the arts had risen from two to four thousand since the Gallery had opened), bringing a further £2.5 millions since opening (1988 – 1996). Also, many of the employees of the Gallery were themselves artists, who were enabled to continue to live and practice in Liverpool through their earnings provided by Tate Liverpool (pp.62-63).

John Myerscough's *Economic Importance of the Arts in Merseyside* (1988) can be seen as an influence on the development of culture as a tool for regeneration and the creative city (and the Biennial's inception) as it showed the transformative potential of investment in, and the consumption of, cultural activities as a means of social and economic regeneration in Liverpool. Creativity has become one of the driving forces of economic growth. For example, Florida and Tinagli (2004) explain that the ability to compete and prosper in the global economy goes beyond trade in goods and services and flows of capital and investment. Instead, it increasingly turns on the ability of nations to attract, retain, and develop creative people (p.5).

Harvie (2013) explains that the idea of the creative city through arts practice by thinking about a phenomenon of city life that is becoming more common and that might also be seen as both creative and socially constructive: the pop-up (non-gallery temporary sites). These are usually spaces such as shops, offices, workshops, factories or flats which are temporarily out of use because, for example, they are un-rented or awaiting renovation,

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development or demolition, and which are given over for another temporary and often creative use (p.119).

This use of pop-ups often provide the kind of initial stimulus – in other words, investment – that can lead eventually to gentrification. Coming into an apparently underused site, the pop-up literally animates that site; it often improves material infrastructure.... It almost always develops social infrastructures such as audiences and broader social awareness of a site's interest; and it proves the site's commercial attractiveness and viability (Harvie 2013, pp.126-127).

This can be seen in the buildings that were selected to host the International Exhibitions, as the Biennial chose alongside existing galleries, to use disused historic / post industrial buildings for successive Festivals. After each Festival, some buildings found a new lease of life and rejuvenation as they were developed into new commercial buildings housing modern businesses (e.g. Rapid Hardware store in 2010 became a number of shops, hotel, and gym etc.). The Biennial was not directly responsible for this regeneration, but the exhibitions have opened these buildings to the public and prospective investors who then breathed new life into disused and derelict buildings. This created another economic effect to the local environment and city centre.

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Lorente (1996) explains that 'artists and the arts have become a kind of bait for developers, an attractive packaging for mega-projects aiming at the renewal of entire derelict districts for sale / hire as mixed-use estates in the housing market. Actually, in the publicity campaigns of urban renewal operations launched either by city planning authorities or by real estate agencies using catch phrases boasting about the involvement of the arts sector in the area to be developed' (p.105).

The opening of Tate Liverpool added to the largest number of cultural organisations in one UK city outside of London. These included two national art galleries (the Walker Art Gallery, part of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, and the Tate), the oldest arts centre in the country (Bluecoat Arts Centre), and above all, 'more artists per head of its multicultural population than anywhere else in the country' (Brady 1993, p.4). Many of these artists worked in studios which, like the Tate and the Bluecoat, demonstrated the potential of the creative re-use of historic buildings to reconfigure the cultural and social map of the city.

Also, earlier collaborative initiatives, such as the biennial Video Positive Biennial (1989) and Visionfest (1992 - 1996), had shown the potential within Liverpool to create an effect which was greater than the sum of its parts. Lorente (1996) explains that the Visionfest Festival started as a series of open studio events arranged by the local community of artists in alternative galleries, but in 1992 it became a more nationally recognised event, partly funded by the North West Arts Board (the Arts Council) and the City of Liverpool that collaborated with galleries, universities, communities artists' co-ops

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and individuals. As any other biennial or annual arts festival, it worked primarily as a public showcase for the latest art; but with the peculiarity that, on the other hand, Visionfest wanted to work also as a hothouse for innovative artmaking in new places such as pubs, street billboards, warehouses, alternative galleries, ferries, schools etc. (p.95)

In 1992 Lewis Biggs attempted to launch a North West Arts Festival, which failed in itself but, which he admits, might have contributed to the possibility of Artranspennine98 (an exhibition that connected art with people and place across the whole of the North of England and featured sixty-four artists working on forty projects, across thirty different sites between Liverpool in the west and Hull in the east), of Liverpool Biennial, and so on. Similarly, the establishment of city-wide curators' groups and links between artists in overseas cities also prefigured the creation of the Biennial in 1998. I will investigate the inception of the Liverpool Biennial and discuss each Festival and the methodologies that were used to evaluate their impact in Chapter Two.

Throughout this thesis I will discuss the history of the Liverpool Biennial by focusing on methodologies that they have used to evaluate their work and how they have been used to develop the organisation and subsequent Biennial Festivals 1999 – 2012 under the tutelage of Lewis Biggs, Paul Domela, and Paul Smith.

Methodology

Timeline

Lewis Biggs stayed on as artistic director till 2011 when Sally Tallant (formerly Head of Programs at the Serpentine Gallery, London) took over to revamp the organisation to include a younger curatorial team. For this thesis I will concentrate on the Liverpool Biennial 1999 - 2012 as this was when both Lewis Biggs and Paul Domela were in charge of the organisation. There were also a number of differences that set the 2014 Liverpool Biennial Festival apart from all the other Festivals and prior research (not just the exclusion of residents within the economic research data). The main difference between 2014 and previous Festivals was the period in which it was presented.

Previously, the Festival had always been hosted between September and November, every two years. In 2014 the Festival opened to coincide with the IBF (International Business Festival) at the height of the tourist season from 5 July to 26 October which would positively affect the visitor figures. As this was the first Festival created with the new Biennial Artistic Director (Sally Tallant) and staff, opening at the height of the City's tourism period could be deemed logical, or it could be potentially seen as an easier option. In this sense the figures cannot truly be compared to previous Festivals. I can understand the need for a new curatorial team to want their first Festival to be successful and to open during the busiest period as they feel they have something to live up to and prove. It does mark a new era for the Biennial Festival as it is changed in everything but name and structure. This justifies why each Festival period should be considered as separate cultural entities, and completely different quantifiable periods of examination.

It seemed a natural point to finish the thesis when Biggs / Domela left, and Sally Tallant took over in 2011. I have included the 2012 Festival, as Tallant inherited much of the Festival from Biggs, as the theme and curation was already in place. Also, Paul Domela left in 2013, making 2012 the last Festival that both Biggs and Domela were involved in. Also, there has been many changes to the methodologies that have been used to evaluate the Festivals since the scope of this thesis. Since 2016 the impact reports have been evaluated by the London company BOP Consulting.

For example, BOP designed a survey based on repeated measures of some dimensions included in previous evaluations, Audience Finder data relating to motivation to attend and fundraising motivations, as well as new measures for social, cultural and personal impact, including an adapted version of the Arts Council England Quality Metrics. BOP also collected information relating to visitor origin, intention to visit and spend.

I will mention the most notable changes in the BOP methodologies for the reader to both contrast and compare. I do not attempt to analyse and investigate these new methodologies to keep a clear narrative of the research that is the focus of this thesis; namely the research methodologies between 1998 - 2012.

Interviews

During the research project I conducted a range of interviews with individuals who were working for (or had worked for) the Liverpool Biennial. The majority of these were in-depth semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews can be valuable for the researcher because as Berger puts it, 'the interviewer usually has a written list of questions to ask the informant but tries, to the extent possible, to maintain the casual quality found in unstructured interviews' (2000, p.112). The interview with Biggs was structured as I had to email him the questions because of distance. However, as Domela and Smith were in Liverpool during my research, they were interviewed face-to-face. Because of this, I took a semi-structured approach, and the interviews were conducted as an organic conversation. This approach worked well as semi-structured, in-depth interviews encouraged them to talk freely about the pre-determined questions that I had sent Biggs and gave me three perceptions about the same topics. This way, I could pursue in-depth information around the topics of interest by asking probing follow-up questions to gain greater understanding of any particular subject within the thesis. The questions had been ethically approved by the university prior to any contact made with interviewees.

The responses to my questions not only validated the facts and information that I had sourced from other places, their answers expanded the topics within this thesis and gave three unique perspectives on how and why they used these methodologies and how they interpreted the results.

Archival Research

The research was gathered from a number of sources. I was very fortunate to be given access to the Biennial's archive when I was doing the preliminary research for my MRes in 2010-2012. All the initial research from the Festivals and projects were on paper and had been forgotten in a couple of filing cabinets at the back of the Biennial's office. Many of the documents were incomplete or mixed up without having an obvious filing system since they had moved to their latest premises (New Bird Street). I photocopied everything and then typed them into digital files so that other people could access them. Since then, the Biennial donated all physical archive material to LJMU, and were misplaced until a couple of years ago. They were categorised and housed at the Aldham Roberts Library (Mount Pleasant Campus) and there is a list to what each box contains but they have yet to be sorted and filed.

These documents include Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (MHM 2002), Graduate Retention Report (Reitmaier 2002), The Mersey Partnership (TMP 2004), England's North West Research Service (ENWRS 2006 – 2012), Annabel Jackson Associates (AJA 2009), Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium (Baker Richards and WolfBrown 2011) etc. These were the primary documents that were used, which were supplemented by the Trustee Reports and Accounts (i.e. documents submitted to Companies House), and internal documents and reports. This material provided a robust body of research that informed the opinions and conclusions within this thesis. This is by no means definitive, but it is the first time that they have been combined to give a comprehensive evaluation of the methodologies that the Liverpool Biennial has used to develop their work within and outside the Festival period.

When I first joined the Board of the Independents Biennial, there was a negative and distant relationship with the Biennial. I rebuilt many of the relationships between the organisations but there was still an element of mistrust due to things that had happened which culminated with the Biennials cutting all ties with the 'Indies' in 2007. I have to admit that when I did start my research, I had a negative opinion of the big bad organisation that took all the funding away from local artists within the Indies. But the more that I researched, this opinion changed as I found out about all their work and support to the creative industries in Liverpool. But, in writing this thesis, I have tried to be impartial so that I could be objective and base my research on evidence and fact. I have also presented the opinions of others in the context that they were given, and I have given the full interviews in the appendices so that the reader has confidence in the way they have been used and that the research has not been misrepresented, and quotes have not been cherry-picked to fit any narrative.

As Bishop (2012) explains, one of the pitfalls of research is that the more one becomes involved, the harder it is to be objective – especially when a central component of a project concerns the formation of personal relationships, which inevitably proceed to impact on one's research (p.6). Because of this, I have tried to stay as impartial as possible, I resigned from the Independents Biennial and took a step back from working within the Biennial's partner group, monthly meetings, and purview of the Festivals curation so the research was not influenced or directed by any subjective bias.

Thesis Structure

CHAPTER ONE

In this chapter I will outline several of the cultural value methodologies that are used within government and cultural agencies to measure and justify the public funding of cultural production. I will also investigate the numerous valuation techniques used by impact studies so that a reasoned argument can be made for the proposed research methodology throughout the rest of this thesis. In addition, I introduce the various techniques that are most commonly used to measure the different elements of cultural value. This chapter gives a foundation of knowledge that is then used as a bridge to facilitate the next step of my research which will discuss and compare the specific methodologies that the Liverpool Biennial has used to develop from a niche Festival (1999) that primarily attracted an art-specific audience. Furthermore, this chapter will introduce the methodologies used throughout the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

This chapter will discuss the inception of the Liverpool Biennial, the motivations and aspirations for developing a visual arts festival within the city, and the structure and premise of each successive Festival. In this chapter, I also introduce the Liverpool Biennial and the methodologies that have been used for their Festival evaluations (1999 – 2012). The chapter concludes by describing each Festival and explaining the research methodologies that have been used by and for each Liverpool Biennial Festival visitor profile and economic impact report. It is with this knowledge that I began the thesis research, investigating the cultural value research that has been used to develop the Liverpool Biennial.

CHAPTER THREE

Chapter Three assesses the economic (instrumental) impact of the Liverpool Biennial Festival, using the evaluation tools and methodology that are used for cultural organisations; these will be used to explain the Festivals' impact reports. The chapter concludes by analysing each valuation technique, and then applying this analysis to the impact reports to explain which quantitative methodology was used to suggest more efficient methods to gather the information in the future.

CHAPTER FOUR

Within this chapter I will argue that the Education, Learning and Inclusion programme was created to progress the Liverpool Biennial's mission of Engaging Art, People and Place, and explicate how they achieve this through their core aims to provide, maintain, improve, and advance education by cultivating and improving public discrimination in the arts, especially

modern and contemporary visual arts. I will conclude by briefly describing each project's theme and outcome and how they were used to educate the participants about contemporary art and develop the skills to interpret and value their cultural perception and understanding of the art within each Festival. This is not a commentary on the effectiveness of each individual project, but a record and description of the projects that are not known to the public at large. I make clear that these projects should be documented to illustrate the work that the Biennial conducts outside of the International Festival.

CHAPTER FIVE

Within this chapter I will argue that the demographic (Visitor Profile) research conducted by the Liverpool Biennial is an important tool to learn who their audience is, and to learn how best to market the events / information to create the best visitor experience. The chapter makes clear that the demographic research objectives are to understand the audiences' motivations and obstacles to attendance and make recommendations on communications and audience development strategies. In this respect, the Biennial reports are used to highlight the lowest demographics and audiences so that in future Festivals, the Biennial can work towards increasing audiences from certain catchment areas, social grades and cultural consumption / knowledge. The chapter concludes by discussing the significance and consequence of the content. As part of this, channels for marketing messages are considered and evaluated across all their campaigns focussing on reaching young people and core audiences.

CHAPTER SIX

This final chapter will critically assess the remaining research of the Biennial Festival (ENWRS) impact reports that deals with visitors' satisfaction of the Festival as a measure of service quality, and the relationship between service quality and consumer satisfaction. I will also discuss the third type of cultural value; the intrinsic value of art in the context of the Biennial's evaluation reports including LARC and Annabel Jackson Associates. The intrinsic / aesthetic / quality of art use qualitative methodologies to find out how and why art affects the visitor and determines their cultural experience of the Festival. Within this chapter, I discuss the part of the evaluation and impact reports that deal with the more experiential effects of the Festivals that include the visitors' satisfaction, and intrinsic value of the Festival and artworks. I will conclude by discussing the idea that the Biennial needs to add a qualitative methodology that can be implemented to not only measure but promote and increase the visitors' experiences of the work within the Biennial's Festivals and public realm work.

**Chapter One:
Problems with Measuring the Cultural Value of Art**

I will use Chapter One to introduce the most common principles that are used to describe cultural value within the arts and publicly funded art institutions, and the cultural value methodologies used to measure their cultural output. To begin with, I will explain why the UK cultural sector needs to measure and audit their cultural output and how these impacts are used by publicly funded organisations in justifying financial support from the government, private foundations, and funding bodies.

This chapter is an introduction to cultural value methodologies that are used within the cultural sector to give some background knowledge before I specifically focus on the methodologies used within the Liverpool Biennial Festivals Impact and Evaluation Reports that are discussed throughout the rest of this thesis.

Is it useful to ask how cultural value might be determined? This is a critical question for several disciplines interested in art, culture, and society because since the 1980s the value of the cultural sector has been measured in terms of impact. These 'impacts' have been either instrumental in terms of economic impact (e.g. Myerscough 1998) or social impact (e.g. Matarasso 1997). In this chapter, I will discuss several methodologies used by government and cultural agencies to measure and justify cultural production. This chapter

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is intended to act as an introduction to the methodologies generally used with arts / culture-based evaluations.

Since the accession of New Labour to Government (1997) in the United Kingdom, policy statements became both politically charged and placed under the scrutiny of self-imposed audit, monitoring, and assessment; thus, demand for impact results characterised New Labour's style of governance. A consensus emerged around the belief in stronger accountability and more rigorous performance measures. For example, Kelly et al (2002) explain that this approach focused on the things that were easy to measure (e.g. instrumental - quantitative methodologies) tended to become objectives and those that could not be measured or were more difficult to measure (e.g. intrinsic - qualitative methodologies) were downplayed or ignored (p.9).

Therefore, instrumental impact evaluations and performance measurements have been popular as they are easier to quantify as they have a toolkit approach (Green Book) which shows a positive bias to the organisation. I argue there has been a tendency for cultural organisations, and in this case the Liverpool Biennial, to have Policy-Based Evidence (PBE) made to justify funding objectives instead of Evidence-Based Policy (EBP) that proposes that policy decisions should be based on, or informed by, rigorously established objective evidence.

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Galloway (2009) has observed that current arts impact evaluations have focused on the technical rather than the epistemological effect on creating cultural value. There is a growing interest in the cultural sector to attempt to measure the effects of people's cultural experience, or in the context of a biennial (as the artwork is not selected for their aesthetic appearance but for their intellectual and contextual content), the cultural or intrinsic experience. Belfiore (2007) suggests that the impact of the arts and the nature and effect of people's responses to the arts are important areas of inquiry and one in which research is needed to address this gap in knowledge.

This, I argue, demonstrates a division of focus that, on the one hand, addresses the need for instrumental outcomes for policymakers and funding revenues, and on the other, develops an understanding of the arts' impact on individuals and the cultural experience. For example, HM Treasury (2011) *Magenta Book* describes evaluation as an objective process of understanding how a policy or other intervention was implemented, what effects it had, for whom, how, and why (p.11).

I argue that the Liverpool Biennial is a prime example of cultural policy and the publicly funded art industries' tendency to concentrate on what effects the Festival had and for whom (i.e. quantitative instrumental - economic, social), and the predisposition to completely ignore the how and why (qualitative intrinsic - cultural / aesthetic experience), which are the sole generator for the instrumental outcomes. I will argue that it is this exclusively quantitative attitude that re-creates and replicates a series of established

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barriers that dissuade the general public from attending cultural events - contributing to the propagation of a 'not for us' mentality.

It could be argued that the instrumental benefits of the arts have been popular as the methodologies and outcomes are easier to quantify. The arts promote important, measurable benefits such as economic impact and social inclusion which qualify organisations to future funding streams. Cultural organisations are concerned with such instrumental benefits as they are a means of achieving broad social and economic goals, as this data is then used in justifying financial support from both governments, private foundations, and funding bodies.

Cultural organisations are expected to focus on tangible results that are output oriented as they are easier to quantify in terms of money generated and visitor figures. These have a broad political backing, for improving social inclusion, educational performance, and economic development for the local area. Holden (2006) explains that data-gathering often fails to capture value because it is concerned not with subjective responses but with objective outcomes (p.48). The identifiable measures and 'ancillary benefits' (i.e. economic and social values) that flow from culture have become more important than the cultural activity itself: the tail wagging the dog (Holden 2004, p.14).

However, there seems to be a separation between the cultural goods produced by the Biennial and artists (public art, International Exhibition which generate outcomes), and the research conducted to measure and evaluate their output and performance. In the light of this, I will argue that the value of the Biennial Festival does not lie solely with the economic or social value of the Festival, but the intrinsic value that makes up the cultural experience. These impacts are harder to measure as the current methods for assessing the art experience are largely based on anecdotal, fragmented and incomplete understanding of the cognitive, psychological and socio-cultural dynamics that govern the cultural experience (Belfiore and Bennett 2007, p.1).

McCarthy et al (2004) found that most of the empirical research on instrumental benefits suffers from a number of conceptual and methodological limitations. More recent work such as the *Cultural Value Project* (2016, 2018) and *The Warwick Commission* (2014, 2015) have proved that current methodologies have not improved or progressed in approaches and efficiency, or the ability to produce robust data to back up the claims. McCarthy et al describe the gaps in the empirical research as:

- Weakness in empirical methods. Many studies are based on weak methodological and analytical techniques and, as a result, have been subject to considerable criticism. For example, many of these studies do no more than establish correlations between arts involvement and the presence of certain effects in the study subjects. They do not demonstrate that arts experiences caused the effects
- Absence of specificity. There is a lack of critical specifics about such issues as how the claimed benefits are produced, how they relate to different types of arts experiences, and under what circumstances and for which populations they are most likely to occur. Without these specifics, it is difficult to judge how much confidence to place in the findings and how to generalise from the empirical results
- Failure to consider opportunity costs. The fact that the benefits claimed can all be produced in other ways is ignored. Cognitive benefits can be produced by better education (such as providing more-effective reading and mathematics courses), just as economic benefits can be generated by other types of social investment (such as a new sports stadium or transportation infrastructure). An argument based entirely

on the instrumental effects, or the arts runs the risk of being discredited if other activities are more effective at generating the same effects or if policy priorities shift. Because the literature on instrumental benefits fails to consider the comparative advantages of the arts in producing instrumental effects, it is vulnerable to challenge on these grounds (2004, pp.xiv-xv)

Crossick and Kaszynska's *Cultural Value Project (CVP)* (2016) explains that it is imperative to 'reposition first-hand, individual experience of arts and culture at the heart of enquiry into cultural value. Far too often the way people experience culture takes second place to its impact on phenomena such as economy, cities, or health' (p.7). As the CVP report argued, thinking about cultural value needs to give far more attention to the way people experience their engagement with arts and culture, to be grounded in what it means to produce or consume them or, increasingly as digital technologies advance as part of people's lives, to do both at the same time (2016, p.7).

To do this, Holden (2006) explains that research should focus on the intrinsic: 'more effort should be put into researching the consumption of culture – in particular, the public's views, responses and satisfaction. This will entail more contingent valuation studies, more opinion seeking and more observational research' (p.51). What Holden is clearly arguing is that research should focus on the experiences of the audience, both individual and collectively, and qualitative methodologies.

It could be argued that by focusing on the qualitative research into the cultural experiences of the Festival's audience, would place the Liverpool Biennial in a better position to understand how effective they 'broaden and deepen (their) engagement with contemporary art' (ENWRS 2009a, p.5). Therefore, pedagogy has been a primary objective of the Biennial Charity (1998) since its inception: to 'provide, maintain, improve, and advance education by cultivating and improving public taste in the visual arts; including classical, modern, and contemporary arts and sculpture [...] to promote the same by the following means:'

- I. To educate the public by the initiation and perpetuation of an International Arts Festival and multiple exhibitions throughout the Merseyside region in the field of visual arts
- II. To communicate and co-operate with businesses, authorities, and government, national, local, or otherwise and to obtain from such bodies any rights, privileges, and concessions for the attainment of the Charity's objects or any of them
- III. To organise, manage, provide or assist in the provision or management of lectures, seminars, masterclasses, study groups, competitions, prizes, and scholarships to further the appreciation of and cultivate the public's interest in the visual arts (Memorandum of Association of Liverpool Biennial 1998, p.2)

In this chapter, I will investigate the numerous valuation techniques used by impact studies so that a reasoned argument can be made for the proposed research methodology. Of the various valuation techniques that are available for developing economic impacts for cultural goods or services that have no monetary value, Stated Preference (SP) techniques are the most comprehensive and most frequently used. The problem with SP valuation techniques is that they are complex and time-consuming. They must be conducted by specialists and are expensive because a sound methodology is crucial for the credibility of the results.

Many disciplines need to be included to produce a robust impact study; SP methods include a number of disciplines and techniques including Willingness to Pay (WTP), Cost Benefit Analysis (CBA), Cost Effectiveness Analysis (CEA), Multi-Criteria Analysis (MCA), and Choice Modelling (CM). I will describe how the SP techniques (or variations) have been implemented in the Liverpool Biennial's evaluation reports and discuss how these different methodologies could produce an efficient valuation tool. Cultural valuation methods can be developed to encompass and enhance other forms of cultural valuation and impacts that are outside of economic valuations and have no monetary value (i.e. free exhibitions and biennials). These tools can be used to enhance and develop the cultural experience.

Currently the three key areas that are used to value culture / arts are measured by using impact studies; these are economic, social inclusion, and intrinsic. However, these methodologies have been subjected to criticism, especially as many organisations use different measurement techniques to gather their statistics and data. This creates confusion and makes it harder for the comparison of evaluations from other organisations. As suggested by Scott (2009), 'the sector is hindered by its failure to clearly articulate its value in a cohesive and meaningful way, as well as by its neglect of the compelling need to establish a system for collecting evidence around a set of agreed indicators that substantiate value claims' (p.198). For Scott, there needs to be a cohesive language used by the sector to describe cultural value, and a robust methodology when gathering data and research.

Despite the lack of consensus on the meaning of the term, O'Brien (2010) explains that there have been two descriptions that represent the most common uses of cultural value. The first comes from the work of John Holden (2006) from the think tank Demos, who explains there is a Value Triangle. The value of culture can be explained in three ways that are not mutually exclusive but complementary; Intrinsic, Instrumental, and Institutional value. These three forms of value are interdependent and rely on each other to form an overall picture of cultural value. Holden explains that at the top of the triangle is Intrinsic value:

Intrinsic values are the set of values that relate to the subjective experience of culture, intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually [...] value is located in the encounter or interaction between individuals (who will have all sorts of pre-existing attitudes, beliefs, and levels of knowledge) on the one hand, and an object or experience on the other. Intrinsic values are better thought of then as the capacity and potential of culture to affect us, rather than as measurable and fixed stocks of worth. (2006, pp.14-15)

For Holden, intrinsic value is the experience that an individual has when they have a physical, mental and emotional reaction to culture. This value is subjective to the individual and governed by their cultural perception (based on their pre-existing knowledge and experience), but it can also be influenced by a collective, shared experience. Intrinsic value is why individuals partake in cultural activities and is the basis for all other values and impacts.

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The second type of value is Instrumental, which is used to describe instances where culture is used as a tool or instrument to accomplish some other aim, like economic regeneration. Instrumental values relate to the ancillary effects of culture, where culture is used to achieve a social or economic purpose; they are often, but not always, expressed in figures. This kind of value tends to be captured in 'output,' 'outcome,' and 'impact' studies that document the economic and social significance of investing in the arts.

The third type of Holden's value triangle is Institutional. This value relates to the processes and techniques that organisations adopt in how they work to create value for the public, for example, the organisation's management and how they interact with the public and conducts their business. Holden (2006) explains that institutional value includes things like opening hours, event organisation, staff, value for money, and signposting:

Institutional value is created (or destroyed) by how these organisations engage with their public; it flows from their working practices and attitudes and is rooted in the ethos of public service [...] An organisation establishes public goods by creating trust and mutual respect among citizens, enhancing the public realm, and providing a context for sociability and the enjoyment of shared experiences. (2006, p.17)

What Holden describes as institutional value is the customer services that an institution provides, and the customer relations they develop through these services. These are important as they are the first and last things that an individual will experience when visiting an institution or cultural event. Institutional value /customer services are important in the creation of intrinsic value, whilst instrumental value is the consequence or outcome

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of the first two. Holden (2009) explains that audiences are not drawn to the arts for their instrumental effects, but because the arts can provide them with meaning and a distinctive type of pleasure and emotional stimulation:

When I sit in a darkened auditorium listening to, say, Benjamin Britten's music, my feelings are awakened and I think 'this is lovely, it's amazing, and it's astonishing.' I don't sit there thinking, 'I'm so glad this performance is driving business prosperity and helping to meet tourism targets. (2009, p.452)

According to Holden, this can be related to all cultural activities as art and culture inspire emotional responses, either good or bad, and it could be argued that you do not think of their economic or social impact. These are the indirect effects of culture and secondary to the initial impact of cultural experience. Holden also considers the role those cultural organisations play as arbiters of taste, and the quality of the work provided needs to be of a standard that is valued by their peers as well as part of the service they provide to the public. He argues that 'professional judgement must extend beyond evidence-based decision-making' (2004, p.24).

While Holden rejects the high art and upper-class assertion of elite cultural values, he maintains that 'cultural value must [...] be based on what the public themselves perceive' (2004, pp.51-52). For example, the Liverpool Biennial's main objective is to provide, maintain, improve, and advance education by cultivating and improving public taste in the visual arts (Biennial Memorandum 1989, p.2)

Therefore, it could be argued (re. Holden) that it is the responsibility of cultural organisations, such as the Biennial, to introduce their audiences to new forms of culture and experiences and then help the general public connect, and understand works of art. And, if this is so, then it could also be argued that institutions such as Liverpool Biennial are arbitrators and producers of cultural / aesthetic experience. As such, professional bodies such as Liverpool Biennial are presumed to be able to recognise and reveal the value of cultural products effectively, observing and recognising a series of key nuances and aesthetic triggers that might be overlooked by the untrained eye. Holden argues that cultural managers curate the presentation and experiences of the audience to the art:

The space in which objects or performances appear, their critical reception and the climate of public and political opinion all affect cultural value [...] cultural managers must endeavour to frame cultural products in such a way that the capacity and potential that lies within them (intrinsic value) are transformed into cultural value. (2004, p.36)

According to Holden, cultural managers have the ability to influence public perception, and thus create value where previously there had merely been potential. Curators understand that the environment in which the artwork is displayed is integral to the object's cultural value, and the surroundings can influence the conceptual value / meaning of artworks. This is even more apparent with installation artworks that are often site-specific and designed to transform the perception of a space.

The second concept of cultural value that I will draw directly from in this thesis is from the work of David Throsby. It could be argued that Throsby sees a much closer link between economic values and the intrinsic value of culture than Holden, even though he also tries to separate the two. Throsby's concept of cultural value is closely related to Holden's intrinsic and institutional value, where cultural value is the basis for any instrumental (economic) value. Throsby (2001) deconstructs cultural value into a number of sub-headings that will be investigated for their relevance and influence on perceived cultural experiences:

- a) Aesthetic value: without attempting to deconstruct the elusive notion of aesthetic quality further, we can at least look to properties of beauty, harmony, form, and other aesthetic characteristics of the work as an acknowledged component of the work's cultural value. There may be added elements in the aesthetic reading of the work, influenced by style, fashion and good or bad taste
- b) Spiritual value: this value might be interpreted in a formal religious context, such that the work has particular cultural significance to members of a religious faith, tribe, or other cultural grouping, or it may be secularly based, referring to inner qualities shared by all human beings. The beneficial effects conveyed by spiritual value include understanding, enlightenment, and insight
- c) Social value: the work may convey a sense of connection with others, and it may contribute to a comprehension of the nature of the society in which we live and to a sense of identity and place
- d) Historical value: an important component of the cultural value of an artwork may be its historical connections: how it reflects the conditions of life at the time it was created, and how it illuminates the present by providing a sense of continuity with the past
- e) Symbolic value: artworks and other cultural objects exist as repositories and conveyors of meaning. If an individual's reading of an artwork involves the extraction of meaning, then the work and its value to the consumer
- f) Authenticity value: this value refers to the fact that the work is the real, original, and unique artwork which it is represented to be. There is little doubt that the authenticity and integrity of a work have identifiable value per se, additional to the other sources of value listed above (Throsby 2001, pp.28-29)
- g) Locational value: In his more recent work, Throsby has put forward this additional feature of cultural value, which is present when 'cultural significance attaches to the physical or geographical location of a heritage item. Included in this component of value is the agglomeration of value that springs from the interrelatedness of items existing in proximity to one another.... Locational value can also be ascribed to cultural landscapes of various sorts, and to sites that are the scenes of past events of cultural importance' (Throsby 2010, p.113)

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These are aspects of cultural value that cannot be expressed in monetary terms; the characteristics of cultural goods, which give rise to their cultural value might include aesthetic, spiritual, social, historic, symbolic, and authenticity value. Each of these areas will be quantified to evaluate their contribution of an overall value subsisting in a cultural object or good. Contingent Valuation Methods (CVM) could be used to determine their effectiveness in valuing cultural goods. The research will look at developing and enhancing the cultural experience as described by McMasters (2008) as the intrinsic / aesthetic benefits of the arts. These benefits include the experiences that people have when in contact with a cultural good, most of which create deeply personal meanings that are harder to quantify than other instrumental impacts.

1.1 Economic Impact Research

The economic impact of a cultural good or service has been used as a way of trying to fit cultural policies (*The Green Book*) into a Cost-Benefit Analysis (CBA) framework, but CBAs have their limitations when valuing impacts that have no monetary value. Several commentators (e.g. Cowan 2006, Klamer 2003, Scott 2009, Plaza 2010) have identified that these risks reduce culture to a range of benefits that are provided by other sectors of government intervention, and this fails to capture the full benefits of culture to individuals. Selwood (2002a) highlighted the problem, as it is closely associated with an extension of government control over the sector, and the tendency to value culture for its impact rather than its intrinsic value as it is harder to put a price on the intrinsic value of art within the sector's economic structure.

Brighton (1999) and Tusa (2000, 2002, 2007) note that there is not only an excessive instrumentalisation of the arts but that there is also a note of caution with impact evaluation reports. The very nature and purpose of conducting and quantifying the impacts are to promote and justify further funding for the cultural event, not for a critical evaluation, thus they are ideologically biased towards the organisation (Belfiore 2002, Hansen 1995a, Merli 2002, Selwood 2002a). Estimates are exaggerated to put the event being evaluated in a positive light by magnifying the successes. This is not a new phenomenon; Darrell Huff (1954) describes the dubious use of statistics in his essay *How to Lie with Statistics*, describing it as statisticulation - the form of statistical manipulation used at 'misinforming people by the use of statistical material' (p.94). Ellis (2003) explains the widespread critique of impact studies as having several thrusts:

Their definitions of cultural activity are overly-generous in practice as the estimates used for funding proposals are almost never compared against actual outcomes so that some empirical basis can be built up to test assertions. With a few fastidious, methodologically exact, and therefore generally very expensive exceptions, impact studies have not contributed significantly to understanding the dynamics of art-based economies and have come to be seen as hack work, and yet they continue to be integral to the required case making for a range of public funding in the arts. (2003, p.10)

Ellis is clearly arguing that impact studies are positively biased to promote the success of the given event to influence the decision for more funding. For example, Selwood (2002) agrees that it is in everyone's interest to produce the best outcome to funding bodies such as DCMS, the Arts Council, and cultural organisations themselves, but the reviews notice the fact that such expectations encourage positive rather than balanced reporting. I would

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argue that is important for organisations like biennials because much of the artwork included in festivals are based on new innovative risk-taking art.

The Green Book (2018) suggests organisations should redress this tendency by making explicit adjustments for this optimism bias (p.30). These will take the form of increasing estimates of the costs and, decreasing and delaying the receipt of estimated benefits. Sensitivity analysis should be used to test assumptions about operating costs and expected benefits (p.33). Adjustments should be empirically based (e.g. using data from past projects or similar projects elsewhere) and adjusted for the unique characteristics of the project at hand.

1.1.2 Total Economic Value

O'Brien (2010) explains where there is no market price for a good, like the Biennial, economists have developed a range of techniques to understand the economic value. Stated preference techniques aim to capture the Total Economic Value (TEV) of a good or a service by asking people to state their preferences within a hypothetical market for a good or service. This conception of total economic value is made up of several constituent parts, broadly divided into use and non-use value.

Allan et al (2013) go on to explain that TEV is based on its common use in economic theory, and its application to environmental and cultural value (its use is adapted from O'Brien's report for DCMS). The authors of the report explain the benefits of TEV with regard to culture as they combine the use and non-use value in economic terms:

The total economic value of culture captures values that derive both from market transactions and from non-market sources. It captures benefits that accrue directly to an individual user of culture and also captures benefits that accrue to individuals (society) by virtue of others' use (or potential use) of culture (i.e. 'instrumental values' or 'externalities'). Furthermore, it includes value that may accrue to producers (over and above their income) as well as to consumers. (2013, p.7)

Allan et al (2013) show in Fig.1 the various aspects of the Total Economic Value of culture:

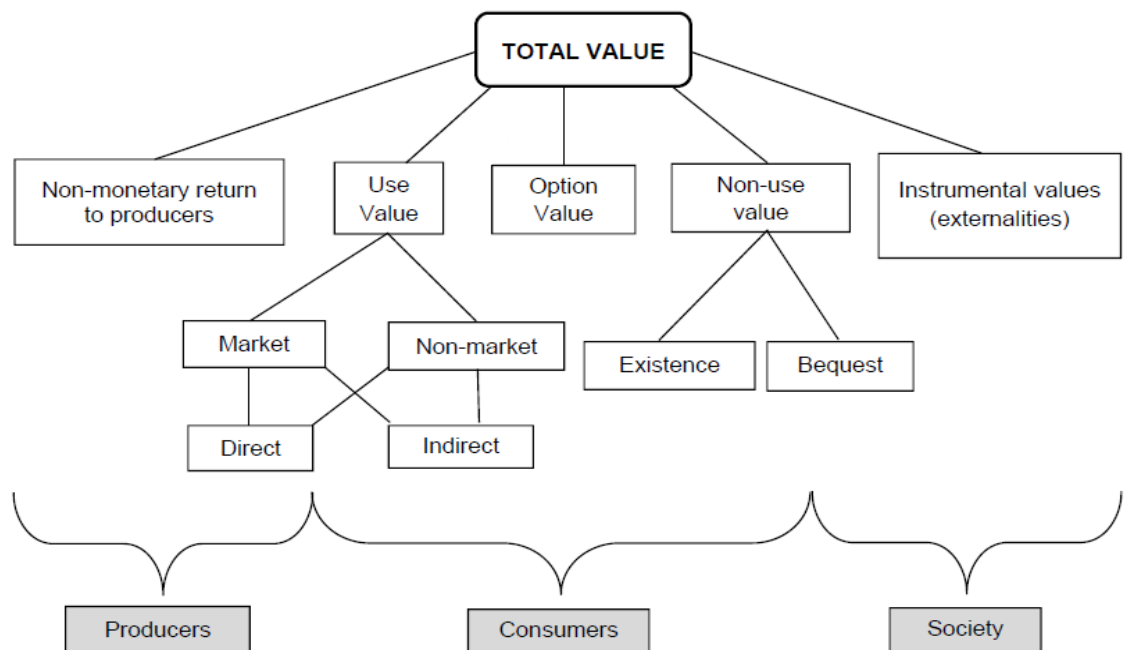


Fig. 1: Total Economic Cultural Value, reproduced from Allan et al (2013), p.7

Below is a brief definition of each sub-category:

- Non-monetary return to producers: 'The non-monetary satisfaction derived from the production of cultural goods and services.' For example, the feeling of self-satisfaction from producing artworks which exemplify who you are as an artist, or the value derived from your work being positively viewed by critical reviewers
- Market use value: 'The value derived from the consumption of cultural goods and services purchased on the market.' The extra benefit which accrues to the individual from the consumption of cultural goods for which they have paid directly. For example, the enjoyment you feel from attending a paid art exhibition at a museum or art gallery
- Non-market use value: 'The value derived from consumption of cultural goods and services NOT purchased on the market.' The extra benefit which accrues to the individual from the consumption of cultural goods but for which they have not paid directly. For example, the enjoyment you feel from public artworks in your local area
- Option value: 'The value an individual places on themselves or others having the option to consume and enjoy a cultural good at some point in the future, if the future provision depends on continued provision in the present.' For example, the value you derive from retaining the choice to attend a cultural event
- Existence value: 'The value an individual derives from knowing that a good exists, even if though they will not consume the good.' For example, the satisfaction you feel from knowing that opera exists, because of what it symbolises about human creativity, diversity and creative freedom
- Bequest value: 'The value an individual derives from knowing that a good will be preserved for future generations to enjoy.' For example, the value you derive from knowing that a cultural building, or artwork will be preserved for future generations to enjoy
- Use value: 'Benefits that accrue to people other than the producer or consumer as an indirect benefit from provision of the cultural service.' For example, the increased societal harmony by virtue of multiple cultures being supported with enhanced cross-cultural understanding. Reduced crime as a result of disadvantaged groups being involved in cultural activities; enhancement of civic engagement as a result of cultural activities attraction of the 'creative class' to vibrant cities (Allan et al 2013, pp.14-15)

O'Brien uses a similar diagram taken from Pearce et al (2002) that adds Altruistic value (i.e. the option of engaging with a cultural good or service, whether for others in the present).

Non-use value is particularly important within the cultural sector, as it includes some of the important benefits generated by culture (Ridge et al 2007, p.21). Thus, measurement of non-use value aims to capture benefits such as the pride people feel towards a local

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cultural organisation or the importance people attach to the existence of heritage, despite it not being a subject of direct interest to them.

1.1.3 Stated Preference

Stated preference (SP) questionnaire-based techniques can be compared with revealed preference analysis to measure the public's Willingness to Pay (WTP) for goods and services which do not normally have prices. Supported by HM Treasury *Green Book* (2003) and championed by O'Brien (2010), the SP model uses carefully designed surveys to measure the value the wider public attaches to culture and translate this into monetary terms.

Stated preference techniques are complex and expensive in both time and money. They are labour intensive as they spend time piloting questionnaires, revising questions and repeating the sequence to ensure that the questions and responses they elicit are robust as unsound questions, and problematic responses will undermine the credibility of the whole research. The analysis stage will estimate the mean and median SP, WTP, CVM and impacts of the respondents and then determine the degree that the differences of responses can be explained by the respondent's characteristics and social status. This will inform the research and show if there is a trend for impacts given to different groups and social classes.

The Warwick Commission (2014) explains that non-market good can be expressed in monetary terms:

Unlike impact studies, these approaches are able to capture the value of non-market goods (e.g. free entry to museums and exhibitions) and express them in monetary terms, and they can also provide a means of measuring the non-use value of these goods. This method has been proposed as a solution to the perceived impasse between the cultural sector and its funders. (p.11)

The Warwick Commission suggests that these non-use goods can be expressed in monetary value to fit in with economic terms suggested by *The Green Book* for public funding of free cultural events. For example, O'Brien (2010) explains the two different stated choice methods can be used to measure non-market goods such as free events:

- **Contingent valuation** is based on understanding what people would be willing to pay for a particular good or service, for example library provision or visiting a ballet performance. The techniques are based on constructing a hypothetical market for the non-market goods to be valued and then attaching prices to them by asking people directly about their willingness to pay or willingness to accept compensation for it (p.24)
- **Choice modelling / conjoint analysis** is based on describing the attributes and characteristics of a good or service and varying the levels of attribute offered by prospective policy options (Pearce et al 2002, p.54). Individuals are not directly asked for their willingness to pay, but rather their valuations are derived from their responses to a choice of options (2010, p.28)

O'Brien (2010) explains that unlike stated preference models, which focus on hypothetical situations, revealed preference approaches 'are based on what people actually do in real markets (p.28),' using observed behaviour to infer the value placed on a non-market good. Revealed preference techniques can be split into two categories 1) hedonic methods and 2) travel cost methods. Both techniques are based in inferring valuations based on the preferences people show in real world situations. Hence the preferences are revealed by

analysis of existing behaviour, as opposed to asking people to state their preferences in hypothetical situations:

- **Hedonic pricing** method looks at the influence of a good / service on price. The total value of a good is broken down into constituent parts, to see to what extent individual aspects of the good or service contribute to the overall value. The usual market value is based on the property market and environmental economics work in this area has become highly sophisticated at revealing the relationship between property price and specific characteristics
- **Travel cost method** is the amount of time people are willing to spend travelling to consume a good or service. Monetary values can be inferred based on an agreed cost, for example using Department for Transport's estimates of time and fuel costs (Forrest et al 2000, pp.381-397) (O'Brien 2010, pp.29-30)

O'Brien (2010) explains that with all approaches, stated preference is not without its drawbacks. At a very practical level, this method is technically demanding and requires expertise, time and, ultimately, resources. At a more theoretical level, stated preference studies are based on a set of assumptions that are clearly challengeable:

1. that individuals have full knowledge of their preferences
2. that these preferences are stable over time
3. that all goods are comparable in terms of their value. (Allen et al 2013, p.11)

The Warwick Commission (2014) explains the assumption that the individual's stated preference in a hypothetical situation would match up exactly with his / her actions in a real-life context. In addition, the aggregation of individual preferences requires a decision to be made about the weighting of each individual's willingness to pay. Without a careful and robust weighting mechanism that counterbalances the inequalities in wealth distribution, these studies run the risk of grossly under- or over-estimating the value of culture and of under- or over-representing particular groups within society.

1.1.4 Contingent Valuation Methods

The most common form of stated preference technique is contingent valuation, which has been used extensively for environmental valuation (Eftec 2005, p.30). Throsby's (2003) Contingent Valuation Methods (CVM) accept that consumers have well-defined preferences for public goods, and that this demand can be measured by the amount of other goods they are prepared to give up in order to acquire a unit of the good in question (Willingness to Pay). Significant progress has been made in refining CVM techniques to overcome the formidable difficulties in its application. Throsby found there are a number of biases affecting WTP studies such as:

- Free riding is a market failure that occurs when people take advantage of being able to use a common resource, or collective good, without paying for it
- The embedding effect is an issue in economics where researchers wish to identify the value of a specific public good. The results can be misleading because of the difficulty for individuals when identifying the particular value that they attach to one particular thing which is embedded in a collection of similar things
- Starting-point bias results when respondents are influenced by the set of available responses to the survey
- Mixed-good bias – the arts, as a mixed good, have both private and public good characteristics as concerts and exhibitions are excludable, but the externalities they generate usually are not etc.

These can now be effectively controlled for, or at least their effects on estimated WTP can be understood and acknowledged in particular applications.

1.1.5 Informational Influences

Throsby (2003) explains that the amount of information provided to respondents in CVM has a critical effect on their WTP judgements, with the general assumption being that

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better-informed judgements are more useful than ill-informed ones. Throsby explains this with a CVM study of an 'ordinary' public good or national defence, and more pertinent in this economic climate, public services and amenities, such as street lighting or refuse disposal. In this sense it is presumably possible, at least in principle, to provide enough information for an informed response to be generated. But it has long been asserted that a distinguishing feature of cultural goods is that acquiring a taste for them takes time (i.e. they are classed as experiential or addictive goods, where demand is cumulative), and hence dynamically unstable. If these demand conditions are obtained, it can be suggested that CVM will not be able to provide fully informed WTP estimates for cultural goods.

Throsby (2000) suggests that creative artists supply a dual market; a physical market for the good, which determines its economic price, and a market for ideas, which determines the good's cultural price. In the goods market, there is a single price at any one time, because of the private good nature of the physical work; in the ideas market, there are always multiple valuations, as befits the pure public-good properties of artistic ideas. Prices in both markets are not independent of each other, and are subject to change over time, as reassessments of the work's economic and cultural worth occur.

Stated preference questionnaire-based techniques can be compared with revealed preference analysis which would deduce the public's WTP. This period is crucial for piloting questionnaires, revising questions and repeating the sequence to ensure that the questions and responses they elicit are robust as unsound questions, and problematic responses will

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undermine the credibility of the whole research. The analysis stage will estimate the mean and median SP, WTP, CVM and impacts of the respondents and then determine the degree that the differences of responses can be explained by the respondent's characteristics and social status. This will inform the research and show if there is a trend for impacts given to different groups and social classes.

1.2 Social Value of Culture

1.2.1 The Social Impact of the Arts

Holden (2004) explains that there is a growing sense of unease pervading the cultural sector that sets about justifying its consumption of public money. Instead of talking about what they do (as in exhibitions or events), organisations will increasingly need to demonstrate how they have contributed to wider policy agendas, such as social inclusion, crime prevention, and learning.

In the early 1990s there was a sea-change in British urban regeneration policy, which was to have major consequences for the recognition of the role of arts and culture in wider social, and economic development. As capital-led developments repeatedly failed to address the social requirements of major regeneration projects, with evidence suggesting that benefits were failing to reach local communities, who had little ownership of, or involvement in, regeneration processes in their neighbourhoods, interest shifted to the potential benefits of arts and culture in communities. There was also a change in emphasis

in regeneration strategies towards seeing local people as the principal assets through which regeneration can be achieved (Landry et al 1996).

1.2.2 Definitions of Social Impact

Although the social impact of the arts has become an increasingly familiar phrase in policy debates, few studies have attempted to define it. A notable exception is Comedia's discussion document, *The Social Impact of the Arts* (1993). The document identified a consensus across the arts funding system for taking forward an arts impact research agenda, through a number of detailed case studies. It presented a working definition of the social impact of the arts, which is described as being concerned with: 'those effects that go beyond the artefacts and the enactment of the event or performance itself and have a continuing influence upon, and directly touch, people's lives' (Landry et al 1993, p.50). The findings of these case studies were later reported in Matarasso's *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in Arts Programmes* (1997).

According to this definition, the social impacts of the arts are those effects that are sustained beyond actual arts experiences and have resonance with the life activities and processes of individuals. For Lingayah et al (1996), one way of looking at the social impacts of an activity is by considering their 'effects on people and the way in which they relate.' In their working paper, *Creative Accounting: beyond the bottom line* (1996), Lingayah et al suggested that the distinction between economic, financial, environmental, and social impacts arising from such activity is likely to be blurred in reality.

In a study of the role of cultural activity in urban regeneration, Landry et al (1996) described fifteen case studies of cities in Britain and Western Europe where cultural activity had been used as the motor for individual and community development. Cultural programmes in these cities were seen to bring a number of important benefits, including enhancing social cohesion, improving local image, reducing offending behaviour, promoting interest in the local environment, developing self-confidence, building private and public-sector partnerships, exploring identities, enhancing organisational capacity, supporting independence, and exploring visions of the future.

The authors argued that the arts have a special character to offer local urban renewal efforts because of their ability to engage people's creativity, stimulate dialogue between individuals and social groups, encourage questioning, imagining of possible futures, and because they offer a means of self-expression, are unpredictable, exciting, and fun. They should be seen, not as an alternative to regeneration initiatives like environmental improvements etc., but as a vital component which can have a transformative effect (Landry et al 1996).

The European Task Force on Culture and Development *in from the Margins: A Contribution to the Debate on Culture and Development in Europe* (1997) identified the social contribution of arts and culture as:

Direct social impacts of the arts and culture provide 'socially valuable' leisure activities, 'elevate' people's thinking and contribute positively to their psychological and social well-being and enhance their sensitivity [...] Indirect social impacts the arts enrich the social environment with stimulating or pleasing public amenities. They are a source of 'civilising' impacts and of social organisation (e.g. amateur arts). Artistic activity, by stimulating creativity and a disregard for established models of thinking, enhances innovation. Works of art and cultural products are a collective 'memory' for a community and serve as a reservoir of creative and intellectual ideas for future generations. Arts and cultural institutions improve the quality of life and so in urban areas enhance personal security and reduce the incidence of street crime and hooliganism. (p.238)

The European Task Force explain that there are two main forms of social impact of the arts which contribute to different outcomes, both directly and indirectly. These impacts are socially valuable to both individuals and communities by stimulating creativity and can contribute to a collective memory for future generations by enriching the social environment of a given area.

1.2.3 Social Impact Methodology

Several studies have examined the relationship between participation in arts and culture and social outcomes such as increased educational attainment, reduced crime rates and overall well-being (Matarasso 1997, Arts Council England 2014, for well-being see Fujiwara 2013 and Tepper et al 2014). Many of these outcomes cannot be quantified through economic methodologies, which can only be applied effectively if individuals experience a personal benefit and can express its value in monetary terms (either to the market or in survey responses).

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Some of the benefits created by the arts (e.g. community cohesion and civic engagement) are difficult to conceptualise on the individual level, since they are communal by their very nature (Throsby 2001, p.32). The impact and value of the arts has indicated that benefits may lie in the fact that engagement with arts activity enhances the individual, building their capacity for change by stimulating personal growth, self-confidence, creativity and behavioural changes by elevating their thinking and sensitivity, contributing to a positive psychological and social wellbeing. In these instances, the impact of the arts and culture are often reported in terms of the social outcomes that are achieved (increased graduation rates, reduced recidivism etc.).

However, some techniques have been developed in order to express social outcomes in monetary terms so as to render them comparable with other policy outcomes. Thus, studies have calculated the Social Return on Investment (SROI) for cultural activities, by consulting a wide range of stakeholders and beneficiaries and finding a financial equivalent that allows the monetary value of the benefit to be calculated (Museums, Libraries and Archives Council [MLA] and NEF Consulting 2009, BOP 2012).

Another approach has been to measure people's subjective well-being and then calculate how much more money they would need to earn in order to improve their well-being by an equivalent amount (O'Brien 2010 pp.34-36, CASE 2010 pp.35-38, Fujiwara 2013a). As with economic valuation techniques, several concerns have been raised about the measurement

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of social outcomes, primarily due to inconsistent definitions, questionable research methods and the challenge of proving causality (Belfiore 2002, Reeves 2002, pp.30-41).

Several of the outcomes that have been discussed as social outcomes also affect people on an individual level. Firstly, the higher levels of educational achievement benefit the students who have learned more. The people who reap the biggest gains from improved health are undoubtedly those who are able to live longer, fuller lives, and the ones who feel better about their lives are the primary beneficiaries of increased well-being. To the extent that these benefits accrue to individuals (and setting aside the costs savings and contributions that happy, healthy, educated people produce for society), one might expect them to be included within empirical literature on the personal impacts of arts and culture.

However, it is not always clear how qualitative data is analysed; for example, is evidence extracted to support particular claims, or is it more objective with an analytic framework? Further measurements of such a subjective and personal construct as self-confidence, is a challenging exercise, and most of the existing evidence relies on self-assessment by a small sample of participants. Arts Council England agree that arts and cultural benefit individuals in these manifold ways and can contribute significantly to our overall well-being. These outcomes (and the techniques used to measure them) have been discussed in many reviews (e.g. Reeves 2002, O'Brien 2010, Arts Council England 2014).

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ACE therefore feels justified in focusing their attention on the immediate impacts of arts and cultural experiences, which in isolation or through accumulation over years, give rise to many of the benefits that accrue later and given broad enough participation among the population, which generate considerable social benefits as well.

Kilroy et al (2007) found that social impact measurement is a contentious issue, as priorities differ between art and health stakeholders, who hold differing views and values. As a result, they were mindful of calls against measurement being seen as the only way of validating experiences (Moriarty 1997), especially those which were difficult to quantify. During their research they found a general scepticism about the appropriateness of scientific methods for capturing the life-changing effects of arts projects on individuals, or the process through which those impacts are generated (Reeves 2002).

Capturing outcomes of arts participation are highly complex, primarily because 'people, their creativity and culture remain elusive, always partly beyond the range of conventional inquiry' (Matarasso 1996, p.72). A number of methodologies are used, both qualitative and quantitative. This approach includes both the gathering of people's accounts of their experiences, through interviews and group discussions, along with measurement of impact through utilising standardised measurements of health, wellbeing, and job satisfaction.

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Whilst not disputing these claims, I would however argue that there is a weakness in the methodologies associated with the social impact of the arts, and not the actual benefits of long-term cultural participation. Because of the way information is gathered, there is often a lack of robust longitudinal research about the social impact of the arts on those with a low social mobility, and the socially excluded. Reeves (2002) explains that there is a widespread consensus among commentators that there is a lack of robust evaluation, and systematic evidence of the impact of the arts projects, or cultural services, despite a wealth of anecdotal evidence (pp.31-32).

For example, Coalter (2001, cited in Reeves 2002) stresses that 'although decision-making in cultural services may depend on the balance of probability, rather than the elimination of reasonable doubt, many aspects of the performance of cultural services currently rely too heavily on anecdotal and limited qualitative evidence (p.32).' Research is normally on short-term impacts, as these justify the cost and success of the short-term projects in question. It would be interesting to find out the impacts of participants one-to-ten years after the project has finished. I suggest this would provide a greater insight into the social impact of the arts, and how they can improve, and change the lives of people from low social backgrounds and deprived areas.

1.3 Intrinsic Impact Research

1.3.1 The Intrinsic Value of Art

Throsby (2001) deconstructs his definition of cultural value in identifying six 'cultural characteristics' that are sources of cultural value for a cultural good or service. These characteristics include aesthetic value, spiritual (or religious) value, social value (the extent that a thing provides people a sense of connection to others), historical value, symbolic value (the extent that cultural objects act as 'repositories and conveyors of meaning'), and authenticity value (from the fact that a work is the 'real, original, and unique artwork which it is represented to be') (pp.28-29).

Throsby goes on to suggest that there are an additional five methods for determining the level of cultural value present in an object, including contextual analysis, analysis of content, social survey methods, psychometric measurement, and expert appraisal (pp.29-30). There is a gap in this theory as Throsby suggests that the characteristics of cultural value are subject to comparison of absolute standards, and he leaves all of the evaluation methods to subjective opinion. Ritenour (2003) asked 'who decides when the context of an object indicates that it definitely possesses cultural value. Whose analysis of content matters? As attitudinal surveys merely identify the perceptions of those being questioned, which experts provide valid appraisals, and how do we decide?' (p.104)

Ritenour raises a valid question because, if intrinsic (cultural) value is subjective and personal to the viewer, what is the right answer? Biggs (2015) believes that a good

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exhibition, like a good artwork, has as many meanings as there are people looking at it, and so the more narrowly conceived the exhibition, the less space there is for the art or for the public to generate meaning. Value therefore lies in the work's ability to communicate to a wide audience, in a multitude of ways – not in a narrowly defined, specific way or outcome. These kinds of values can be captured in personal testimony, qualitative assessments, anecdotes, case studies and critical reviews.

1.3.2 Research on the Intrinsic Value of Art

Bunting (2007) explained that people who engaged with the arts were motivated for a number of reasons; the desire for fun, relaxation or excitement, to escape the pressures or tedium of day-to-day working life, to experience something unusual or uplifting or surprising, and for the opportunity to learn something new. For many people the arts are a positive, happy, but also challenging aspect of their lives.

Participants within Bunting's research described the social dimension as particularly important; people associated the arts with friendship, spending time with the family, and sharing an experience with others from all walks of life. Those who took part in creative activities themselves were motivated by a desire to express themselves, and often saw the arts as part of their sense of personal identity. Culture is participatory, a person must be engaged to achieve results, they have to connect and invest as co-creator of a cultural experience.

Artists within Bunting's research described a powerful motivation (for many a compulsion) to express themselves creatively, and to generate meaning through that expression. For some (particularly visual artists), personal satisfaction was based primarily on how happy they were with the way they expressed themselves in a particular piece of work. However, for many, it is also bound up with the idea of reaching out to an audience and connecting. Artists described their motivations to share and exchange meaning, not just to express but to communicate with others.

It could be argued that the public need to recognise something to be a piece of art to appreciate it, if it is too subtle, the work will be lost. This could be a key strength of the Biennial format of challenging perception, as they try to identify, negotiate, and extend this subtler borderline of what is art.

The fact that most biennial art is conceptual and challenging, it could also be argued that the audience needs to understand the meaning; without background knowledge, and the information giving an explanation, the concept, and intrinsic value would be lost. This type of Festival (Biennial) will have various degrees of success as they try to include a broad spectrum of art styles / diversity, innovation and risk-taking. These non-gallery environments play a major part in the Biennial's Festivals.

For example, Domela (2015) explains that the Liverpool Biennial wanted to introduce the general public (who would not normally visit an art gallery) to contemporary art, so they moved the art out of the gallery and into the public realm: 'The strength of the Biennial was really visible you know, on the street, in public spaces for people who may not normally want to go out to the Tate, or the Bluecoat, or FACT for example.'

The strength that Domela describes is the way to reach the demographic that in a conventional sense, would not normally be enticed to visit a museum or gallery. It could be argued that in a traditional sense, marketing tried to bring people to the gallery, whereas the Biennial brought the gallery (or art) to the people, they could attract people's curiosity and might motivate them to visit another site. For example, in 1999 there was a very strong feeling that the Biennial had already achieved a great deal in making contemporary visual art more generally accessible to the public, and that in time, this approach would generate more attenders and in turn intensify the overall impact of the Biennial (TEAM 1999, p.7).

Recently there has been a new body of research into cultural value, focusing on the individual experience and has been developed in relation to the intrinsic / aesthetic impact of art: these are the Cultural Value Project's *Understanding the Value of Arts and Culture* report (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016), and the Warwick Commission's *Enriching Britain: Culture, Creativity and Growth* (Neelands, Belfiore, and Firth et al 2015).

The Cultural Value Project had two main objectives; the first was to identify the various components that make up cultural value, and the second was to consider and develop the methodologies and the evidence that might be used to evaluate these components of cultural value. The key aim of the project was to cut through the current logjam with its repeated polarisation of issues discussed within this thesis including: the intrinsic versus the instrumental, and qualitative versus quantitative evidence. What emerges from the Cultural Value Project and this research is the imperative to reposition first-hand, individual experience of arts and culture at the heart of enquiry into cultural value. Far too often the way people experience culture takes second place to its impact on phenomena such as the economy, cities, or health.

Liz Hill (2016) explains that The Cultural Value Project (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016, p.8)

raised some of the concerns discussed within this thesis including:

- **Economic impact studies** are identified as having suffered from poor research practices. The report raises questions about ‘the significance, and at times the quality’ of such studies, noting that the economic case made for the arts has ‘rarely rested on rigorous analysis that included comparison with other ways of achieving the same objectives.’ Such studies may even be missing the point entirely, suggest the authors. The value of cultural activity, they say, may not lie in the economic impact observed, but rather in stimulating ‘the capacity to be economically innovative and creative’
- **The value of major cultural buildings in urban regeneration** is questioned. The report notes that ‘cultural quarters’ are usually accompanied by gentrification, which can exclude communities forced out by rising property prices. It suggests that ‘far more significant might be the effect of small-scale cultural assets – studios, live-music venues, small galleries and so on – in supporting healthier and more balanced communities’
- **The quality of evidence around the contribution of arts and culture to improving health and wellbeing** is another area of concern. Despite having been extensively studied, such benefits will only be fully understood, the report says, if ‘the

standards of the good studies that integrate quantitative and qualitative methods and use controls where appropriate' are adopted more widely

- **The value of arts and cultural interventions to help peace-building and healing after armed conflict** is questioned. The authors comment that 'evaluations of such interventions are... rarely of the long-term character that is needed to convince of their sustained effectiveness'
- **The impact of arts in education** is also commented on by Crossick and Kaszynska. Evidence of this is more compelling in relation to factors that underpin learning, such as cognitive abilities, confidence, motivation, problem-solving and communication skills, they say, 'than claims to significant improvement in attainment on standard tests where the evidence is much less convincing'

1.4 Conclusion

Within this chapter I have explained the most popular methodologies that are used by publicly funded cultural organisations within the UK. This chapter has been a literature review of cultural value research and is a starting point to introduce the methodologies generally used with arts / culture based evaluations, before moving on to specifically examine the Liverpool Biennial Festival methodologies, and cultural projects that are the focus of this thesis.

This chapter has shown that evaluating the impacts of cultural output is complex, and there are weaknesses to the methodologies used by art organisations. For example, Belfiore and Firth (2014) explain that the question of how to measure the value of culture is complex and there is a significant amount of research into what is measured, and the methods employed to carry out this measurement. Without a standardised framework to measure results, we cannot compare evaluation / impact data or successes of any event, exhibition, or concert. For example, a review commissioned by Arts Council England (2014) identified over 500 reports published since 2010 alone (p.2).

O'Brien (2010) explains that whilst there are many different forms of valuation and data sets, without a standardised methodology or consistency of valuation benchmarks, results cannot be compared:

There are a plethora of methods for valuing culture currently used within the cultural sector, with no consensus on any one methodology or standardised set of questions. Some approaches focus on qualitative narratives of individual's engagement with culture (e.g. Scott 2009, Bradley et al 2009), others on quantitative understandings of cultural participation and engagement (e.g. DCMS Taking Part Survey) or use a combination of both methods (e.g. Bennett et al 2009). Value in these methods is explicitly not economic value but is rather grounded in the meaning of culture for individuals and communities and the levels of their participation. (pp.39-40)

Whilst there are many advantages to the dominant methodologies outlined in this Chapter, I argue that they have a tendency of bias towards the organisation which is undertaking the evaluation by providing impact reports that tend to glorify their successes. Therefore, it could be argued that this is counterproductive and does not show the weaknesses that need addressing or help in developing and improving future events. Liverpool Biennial has often been caught between the bureaucratic and funding urgencies / necessities of evaluative practices - instead of producing quantitative research that proves the successes of the Festival to secure future funding, research should also concentrate on how to develop and improve the Festival from feedback and qualitative research.

However, members of the public do not attend cultural events like the Biennial Festival simply because of the instrumental effects, but also because the arts can provide them with

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both a range of new and provocative experiences as well as distinctive types of pleasure and emotional stimulation. Because of this, the public should be allowed to express and explain their heterogeneous experiences to cultural goods. As McCarthy et al (2004) explain, the arts can be understood as a communicative cycle in which the artist draws upon two unusual gifts - the capacity for vivid personal experience of the world, and a capacity to express that experience through a particular artistic medium.

Biggs (2015) explains that the arts and culture are a typical example of experiential products and intrinsic value can only be achieved through participation:

Neither art nor music are forms of knowledge (information) they are forms of wisdom (experience). Contemporary society finds wisdom / experience difficult to deal with because it cannot be bought and sold, cannot be taught / learned / paid for in universities – it depends on the existing or developing abilities of the person to process incoming information in a way that creates meaning.... There are no answers here. Except to provide as much variety as possible if the objective is to reach different (kinds of) people – to speak in the language of the receiver.

Biggs argues that cultural perception is subjective to the individual, based on their own knowledge and experiences. Visitors cannot be told what to think as they need to find their own interpretative language and come to their own conclusions, not those of the teacher or curator.

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To do this, the Biennial's objective from its inception has been 'to organise, manage, provide, or assist in the provision or management of lectures, seminars, masterclasses, study groups, competitions, prizes, and scholarships to further the appreciation of and cultivate the public's interest in the visual arts' (Memorandum of Liverpool Biennial 1998, p.2).

Within this chapter, I have discussed the various methodologies that are applied to measure the cultural output of publicly funded arts organisations. I have introduced the various techniques that are most commonly used to measure the different elements of cultural value which provides a foundation of knowledge that I use as a bridge to facilitate the next step of my research which will discuss and compare the specific methodologies that the Liverpool Biennial has used to develop from a niche Festival (1999) that primarily attracted an art-specific audience. In Chapter Two, I will introduce and explain the origin and inception of the Liverpool Biennial as an organisation and Festival and its impact on Liverpool as a city and cultural hub, and I will chronologically discuss each Festival and briefly describe the methodologies that were used to evaluate the Festival's impacts.

Chapter Two: The Liverpool Biennial

This chapter will discuss the inception of the Liverpool Biennial, the motivations, and aspirations for developing a visual arts festival within the city, and the structure and premise of each successive Festival. I will then explain each Biennial Festival and map out how different types of quantitative and qualitative methodologies were used / developed during subsequent Liverpool Biennial impact and evaluation reports for cultural value within the rest of the thesis.

As I have explained in the Introduction, during the 20th century, Liverpool had entered a period of economic and social decline and, by the late 1970s and early 1980s the city was suffering the effects of the national recession with high unemployment. A combination of the end of the Empire, containerisation, and the collapse of industry had brought the city to the brink of total collapse. The situation was particularly acute in Liverpool as the city lost almost half of its population, shrinking from 855,688 in the 1930s to little more than 449,560 in 1991 (losing an average of 12,000 people a year), with unemployment double (21.6%) the national average (Census 1991). In 2001, the overall number of vacant dwellings in the City was calculated at 25,584. 4,623 of those were local authority, and 16,869 were private sector dwellings (Baker et al 2004, p.135). This showed an abundance of vacant properties that could be utilised for both tenancy and commercial ventures.

2.1 Inception of the Liverpool Biennial

Liverpool Biennial was conceived and founded by James Moores with Jane Rankin Reid, and Lewis Biggs in 1998. James Moores' financial generosity was crucial to the realisation of the vision of the Biennial that took place from 24th September - 7th November 1999. From the very beginning, there was a strong belief that they wanted to use both gallery and non-gallery spaces across Liverpool, making the city itself a subject for scrutiny and the object of a journey. In total, 280 artists from twenty-four countries displayed their work as part of the inaugural Biennial Festival at more than fifty sites around the city.

By occupying many venues across the city centre, the Festival was designed so that the visitor would travel / tour through the streets, discovering Liverpool as they experienced the art. This created the city itself as the gallery and the backdrop to the art. Added to this, James Moores proposed that two existing events, both linked to Liverpool via the support of the Moores family - namely, the John Moores Painting Prize and the New Contemporaries exhibition - should be integrated into the Biennial Festival. By contrast, the 'fourth dimension' titled Tracey, was entirely generated by local artists and took place beyond the walls and institutional structures of the gallery system. This 'fourth dimension' was an important addition to the Festival, even though it was meant to work as a completely autonomous organisation (from 2002 it became the Liverpool Independents Biennial). For example, Biggs (2015) explains the Biennial was conceived 'to make Liverpool a better place for artists to live and work. But of course, since artists are just like everybody else this meant making Liverpool a better place for everyone to live and work.'

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As I have already explained in the introduction, there were negative perceptions of Liverpool at the time (1998), both inside the city and beyond. Niemojewski (2009) explains how the introduction of a new biennial can change the negative perception of the host city both internally (to the city) and externally (to the world):

The introduction of a new biennial is meant to incite civic pride among the local population and provide it with a sense of belonging to the club of civilised and cultured communities, of which such ventures are traditionally indicative. What is at stake here is the recognition, or the prestige, that might be employed in the production of further wealth, or, as Pierre Bourdieu called it, symbolic capital. The biennial thus functions as a generator of symbolic capital and can indirectly generate real capital via its ties. (p.90)

The creation of the Liverpool Biennial signalled a further step in the process of shifting those perceptions and positioning Liverpool in a global circuit of cities that already held biennials of contemporary art. These cities had already shown the regenerative effect of the biennial format, including Venice, Istanbul, Johannesburg, Sao Paulo, and Sydney.

Despite the overt strategy of aligning Liverpool with other biennial cities, the inaugural Biennial was clearly distinct from its international counterparts. Biggs (2015) explains that several suggestions were made (spring 2000) by the Board that would make the Biennial unique from other biennials:

Liverpool Biennial (as a Festival) is unique because it's in Liverpool, as Venice Biennale is unique because of Venice. However, as Director of Liverpool Biennial I did consciously try to give the International Show a distinctive flavour (additionally

to the local colour of Liverpool) through the principles of A) commissioning as much new work as possible B) selecting for the International Exhibition almost exclusively artists from outside the UK C) insisting on a curatorial collaboration with locally based curators taking a lead role D) realising as much art in the street as we could afford. All of these are unusual in the international context.

According to Biggs, the Board decided in March 2000 that the 2002 International Exhibition would be selected by a group of curators based in Liverpool so that they could create greater ownership of the International Exhibition and developing the city's arts infrastructure. The curators developed the concept of the City of Liverpool itself as the common denominator / common sensibility that would provide 'intellectual access' to the exhibition for the general and specialist visitor.

However, for 2004 they reversed this process with curators from different parts of the world being invited to research Liverpool as the context for the Exhibition, and then recommend the practice of artists that would have some resonance with this context. It was these decisions that set the Biennial apart from the large majority of biennials globally, in which the norm has been, and still is, for a 'nomadic' curator to be invited to propose a theme and select an exhibition to illustrate it from his or her knowledge of existing artworks (Domela 2008, p.10).

While the majority of the art in International 02 (the 2002 Festival) was commissioned especially for the exhibition, the principle was extended to 100% new commissions for 2004 Festival in response to the artists' understanding of Liverpool in a cultural context. The

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curators asked international artists to develop new art for a specific Liverpool location so that visitors could see art that, by definition, could not be seen anywhere else, and helped them appreciate the place that they are visiting. For future Festivals the Biennial dispersed the organisational functions among a number of collaborators. The process ensured that each proposal was refined through conversations with many people so that the projects fitted more coherently into the city, physically and contextually, and would inhabit and negotiate the intersection between the global and the local.

Rees Leahy (2000) explains that by bringing together the International (titled TRACE), the national (John Moores Painting Prize and the New Contemporaries), and the local (Tracey) in terms of art and audience, the 1999 Biennial turned both inwards to the city and outwards to the world to create not only another but also a new biennial (p.10). The broad objectives of the first inaugural Liverpool Biennial of Contemporary Art were:

- To realise the concept of creating the first biennial of contemporary art in the UK
- To build on the creative momentum established by previous and existing initiatives among artists and visual arts organisations within (and beyond) Liverpool (including Visionfest, artranspennine98, Video Positive)
- To create collaborative opportunities for venues, organisations and artists based in Liverpool, and to form partnerships to produce an event which is greater than the sum of its parts
- To realise the untapped potential of the people, spaces, buildings, and organisations in Liverpool, thereby to create an artistic event that has the potential to change the perception of the city, from within and without (Rees Leahy 2000, p.11)

The MHM (2002) Evaluation for the 1999 Festival showed:

- The awareness level of the 1999 Biennial amongst the population of Merseyside was 7%
- The awareness level of the 1999 Biennial amongst potential attenders was 17% in Liverpool and 9% in Merseyside
- The focus groups confirmed that the Biennial had not achieved a high profile amongst target groups except for those vocationally involved in the visual arts
- There had been no clear Biennial brand established in the minds of target groups
- 46% of the attenders at the 1999 Biennial were aged between 16 and 25
- 46% of attenders were motivated to attend through educational interest
- It is possible that 63% of attenders were vocationally involved in the visual arts
- 82% of attenders were from Merseyside
- 55% found out about the Biennial by word of mouth (MHM 2002, p.4)

The implications of these findings showed that the 1999 Biennial appealed chiefly to locally based artists, art students, art professionals, and art educationalists. But this would be expected for the first attempt at any event, as they will always predominately attract people interested in the genre. However, since then, each successive Festival has attracted more of the general public. By 2008 (European Capital of Culture) they had changed this perception with 92% of visitors agreeing that Liverpool Biennial is for the general public, not just for visual arts specialists.

The *Evaluation Report* (2000) explained that the main strength of the 1999 Biennial was that it had happened at all and that it had made a clear contribution to the visual arts infrastructure in Liverpool. The main weaknesses were seen as a lack of strategic planning and management that resulted in poor organisation and the marketing communications and brand management. This could be because the means by which the first Biennial was realised did not provide a viable blueprint for future Festivals, and the event was 'organised

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as if it was a one-off experiment, rather than the first in a strategic series of regular events' (Rees Leahy 2000, p.12).

2.2 Governance

An important task of the board of any cultural organisation is to appoint the Chief Executive, Artistic Director, or Director. However, the move in recent years towards Boards encompassing a variety of skills has in some places been at the expense of artistic expertise. Appointing the right person for the job is a complex task and when undertaken by individuals without professional knowledge of the sector, the effect can be hugely damaging. McMasters (2008) states that it is the individuals that matter, and we need to put the focus of the appointments process on getting the right people. McMasters recommends the setting up of a knowledge bank which could be called upon by boards to feed into and support the appointment process, and to advise on potential candidates (pp.12-13).

The Liverpool Biennial has worked within these guidelines since the 1999 Festival (2000 onwards). This was in light of the 1999 Biennial's experiences in producing the inaugural Festival, as few of those involved (with, perhaps, the notable exception of the guest curator Anthony Bond) had previous experience of an event on that scale and of such complexity. The immediate challenge of the board was to shift the modus operandi of the enterprise from short-term opportunism to long-term sustainability. The initial trustees (board) were:

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- Bryan Biggs (appointed 29 October 1998)
- Lewis Biggs (appointed 29 October 1998 and resigned 22 June 2000)
- Beverly Bytheway (appointed 12 February 1999)
- James Moores (appointed 29 October 1998)
- James Ross (appointed 29 October 1998)
- Paul Senior (appointed 12 February 1999 and resigned 30 November 1999)
- Julian Treuherz (appointed 12 February 1999)
- Mark Sykes (appointed 1 October 1999)
- James Warnock (appointed 24 June 1999)
- Eddie Berg (appointed 20 April 2000)

The initial concept of an 'Executive Board' played a hands-on role to provide the Biennial with both leadership and continuity and was predicated on the principle that the majority of Biennial staff would be appointed on short-term contracts in response to the fluctuating demands of the project. In 1999 the number of full-time personnel employed by the company peaked at nine during the months immediately prior to the opening of the Biennial, with up to forty part-time and casual staff and volunteers in addition. In contrast, the next year (2000), there were two staff in posts at the start of the financial year (in 2008 there were twenty-one posts and seventy-four volunteers). Also, there was an absence of any artist on the board - apart, of course, from James Moores.¹

As the primary patron and key instigator of the Biennial, James Moores occupied a vital position on the board. In turn, he recognised the issues that his personal stake in the project might raise for other board members. Moores had no desire to continue to fund the Biennial indefinitely and was aware of the danger of the Biennial of being perceived as his private funding to support and unlock substitute resources in future years, so that the

¹ For full details of Biennial staff and organisation statistics, accounts / finances and information, please see Appendix Three

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patronage of Moores' own fund, the Afoundation was replaced by a sustainable mix of funding from the corporate, charitable, and public sectors.

James Moores resigned as a director of the company on 20th May 2003 but continued to support the Biennial through his loan to the company. The initial loan from Afoundation would only be recalled when and if it would not affect the ability of the company to continue as a going concern. In the initial years these were:

- 1999 - £525,000
- 2000 - £632,506
- 2001 - £787,506
- 2002 - £312,494
- 2003 - £100,000
- 2004 - £100,000

During 2004, Afoundation agreed to release the Biennial from their loan of £1,100,000.

From that moment, the main funders have been the Arts Council England and Liverpool City Council, excluding the European Capital of Culture funding (North West Development Agency for instance contributed £683,536 in 2006). Equally important had been the support of the European Union through the Objective One funding programme, the European Regional Development Fund, and the continued collaboration of the partner organisations. For the Capital of Culture year of 2008, in addition to the twenty-one full-time posts, and seventy-four volunteers (contributing a total of 13,304 hours towards technical support, stewarding, information, sales, and security), the board of directors were as follows:

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Paula Ridley (Chairman from March 2008), Prof. Dawn Ades, Bryan Biggs MBE (resigned Sept 2008), Walter Brown CBE (resigned Sept 2008), Lesley Chalmers, Michael Cox, Jim Gill, Roger Goddard, Alison Jones, Prof. Declan McGonagle (resigned spring 2009), Simon McKinnon, Prof. Gerald Pillay, Alistair Sunderland, James Warnock (resigned Sept 2008), Jane Wentworth, Tony Wilson, Frances McEntegart (resigned June 2008).

Lewis Biggs resigned in 2011, followed by Paul Domela in 2013, and Paul Smith in October 2019. Sally Tallant took over the role of artistic director from Biggs and inherited the 2012 Festival as many of the themes and Festival had already been decided (it was not until 2014 that Tallant implemented her own vision for the Festival). By the 2012 Festival the trustees (who are also the directors for the purpose of company law) were:

P. Ridley, L. Chalmers, J. Gill, J. Wentworth, T. Wilson, D. Ades, G. Pillay, J. Shield, P. Hyland, P. Mearns, R. Nashashibi, and R. Heald

One third of the Liverpool Biennial Board members stand down each year by rotation unless resignations provide this turnover. New members are recruited in accordance with the requirements of the Company for particular skill sets and experience: Development / Fundraising, Marketing and PR, Finance, Company Law and HR, Academic / HEIs, International Art Exhibitions, etc. From time to time the Company has requested support in recruitment from the 'Board Bank' operated by Business in the Arts North West (incorporated June 1990 and dissolved March 2017). New Board members are assigned a member of staff as the first point of contact for communicating experience, and Board induction / training days take place once each year or as required.

The trustees meet tri-monthly and delegate the day-to-day operations of the charity to the senior management team, under the supervision of the Chief Executive Lewis Biggs (then Sally Tallant from September 2011). Committee meetings are also held in-between the full trustees' meetings.

2.3 The Liverpool Biennial Festivals²

2.3.1 1999 The Inaugural Liverpool Biennial: TRACE

TRACE was a thematic exhibition, bringing sixty-one international artists from twenty-four countries to realise their work in Liverpool. Liverpool's particular geographical location as a port and its social, economic, and political histories in relation to the rest of the world was seen to make it an ideal starting point from which to explore the theme of the trace in contemporary international art. The curator Anthony Bond explained that the theme of TRACE suggested materials or objects that allowed people to reconstruct histories through their personal memories and associations, creating an exhibition full of tangible experiences.

Many of the artworks are highly sensual, using sound, smell, and touch as well as vision. Art that employs the concept of TRACE encourages every experience of the work to be personal, thereby ensuring constant renewal of its meaning with every encounter. Many of the artists involved in the exhibition reveal specific histories and views of the everyday through their installations. Others look inward, examining the nature of consciousness, memory, loss, and desire. In each case the viewer is invited to enjoy the diversity of approach while also discovering the common threads that make up TRACE. (Bond 1999, p.11)

² See Appendix Four for information about the Festivals

Bond argued that the aesthetic (sensual) experience of art lies in its ability to communicate through a universal sensual (i.e. sight, sound, smell, touch) language with many layers of meaning to many different people. For Bond, good art stimulates the viewer into discovering their own personal / subjective meaning by using sensual triggers. The location of TRACE venues across the city, combining both gallery and non-gallery sites, was universally felt to be a real strength of the show - and a revelation of the beauty of many neglected or disused buildings. Bond explained that the importance of the site-specific work was a critical component: 'it was always part of my concept but firmed up once I began working with the spaces' (Rees Leahy 2000, p.23).

2.3.2 John Moores Painting Prize 21

The UK's biggest national open exhibition for contemporary painters, selected by a jury of experts, came of age in 1999 and formed a central attraction for the Liverpool Biennial. Founded in 1957 by Sir John Moores of Littlewoods Pools fame (i.e. a betting pool based on predicting the outcome of top-level association football matches taking place in the coming week), the exhibition is held every two years with a consistent track record for spotting rising talent.

2.3.3 New Contemporaries 99

New Contemporaries 99 was the annual exhibition of contemporary art by students and recent graduates from fine art colleges throughout the UK (originating as Young Contemporaries in 1949, it became New Contemporaries in 1974). Offering the first

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platform to the newly emerging artist, the exhibition was chosen from 1,100 entries and featured thirty-three of the most promising artists working in a diverse range of media ranging from a specially scaled up etch-a-sketch painting to works based on misprinted fabric found in a football strip factory.

2.3.4 Tracey

Tracey was the autonomous fourth dimension of the Biennial Festival and reflected the view shared by James Moores, Liverpool City Council, and North West Arts Board (joint funders of Tracey) that the three 'official' elements offered insufficient opportunities for Liverpool-based artists to participate in the biggest contemporary visual arts event ever held in Liverpool. A series of independent exhibitions and events happened across Liverpool with over eighty projects involving artists on a local, national, and international level. Rees Leahy (2000) explained that Tracey was much larger than anyone, including its organisers, had anticipated and, on balance, it was the part of the Biennial that attracted the most positive response among contributors to the evaluation (pp.30-31).

2.3.5 Research about the Biennial Festival 1999

The audience evaluation was commissioned by Liverpool Biennial and funded by North West Arts Board (NWAB) and was undertaken by TEAM (Tourism Enterprise and Management – a specialist tourism consultancy) between September 1999 and March 2000 (unfortunately most of the TEAM document had been lost). The main purpose of the research was to provide the Biennial with an attender profile, incorporating demographic

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information, motivations for attendance, responses to publicity and marketing of the Festival, and their general perception of the various exhibitions and events. (see Appendices for Festival evaluation reports and research)

The TEAM research sat alongside Helen Rees Leahy's evaluation and assessed the relationships of the Biennial to different sectors and was to help signal strategic routes for future developments. TEAM used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies including interviews, focus groups, questionnaires, and visitor figures. Rees Leahy (2000) complemented the data by contextualising the information with interviews (Festival contributors and participating artists) into an overall Evaluation Report to signal strategic routes for development, and suggested strategies to be used for future Biennials.

2.3.5.1 Objectives

The objective of the TEAM research was to provide the Liverpool Biennial with attender information as follows:

- To ascertain how respondents found out about the Biennial
- To establish in broad terms how respondents felt about Liverpool holding the Biennial and its general impact on the city
- To monitor the effectiveness of the marketing campaign
- To ascertain which factors motivated respondents to attend the Biennial
- To gather general feedback comments about the Biennial from attenders
- To provide basic demographic information on audiences (gender, age, geographic location, occupation, arts attendance) (TEAM 2000, p.3)

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The qualitative Interviews were conducted over the course of the Biennial Festival and produced a sample size of 328. Availability for further research was sought at this stage to provide TEAM with names of potential focus group attenders, telephone interviewees, and people to whom questionnaires were sent out. Unfortunately, the sample did not produce enough people willing to take part in the telephone depth interviews, so in consultation with the Biennial, it was decided to carry out a second wave questionnaire which produced a sample size of 33.

TEAM facilitated two focus groups with attenders from the Biennial, the first group was made up largely of young attenders (under 25), the majority of whom were studying art related subjects (46%). The second group was made up of older attenders who were habitual gallery attenders (20.7%). A total of eight people attended the groups, this exhausted the data collected from the total 328 people sampled. This research was qualitative in nature as individuals gave their opinions towards their motivations, tastes, and experiences of the Festival (TEAM 2000, p.4).

The Evaluation Report (2000) conducted by Helen Rees Leahy explained that the lack of a robust evaluation methodology for the first inaugural Biennial in 1999 made it impossible to gather its impact:

In the absence of specific targets and performance measures for the 1999 Biennial it was impossible to evaluate fully its success in promoting cultural tourism to Liverpool, let alone such 'soft' factors as its contribution to the quality of life in the

region. It was only possible to evaluate against evidence, but for 1999, the data needed for analysis of, say, the potential contribution of the Biennial to civic policies for cultural and economic regeneration was not available. (Rees Leahy 2000, p.13)

Rees Leahy highlights a weakness in the data as the lack of clear objectives set out before the Festival made them impossible to measure the success at achieving them. Rees Leahy goes on to explain that as many of the artworks were within the public realm, it was impossible to measure who saw the work, or its impact:

According to press reports, the Biennial expected to attract a quarter of a million visitors. In fact, it was impossible to calculate how many people saw, whether by accident or design, one or more of the hundreds of exhibits or artworks that comprised the Biennial, and it was methodologically absurd to try to do so. Not only was it nonsensical to attempt to measure the numbers of people who saw or passed by an exhibit in a shop window and or on a billboard, but the location of such pieces challenges the very notion of 'audience' as applied in a conventional gallery context. (2000, p.41)

With the Biennial moving the art out of the gallery space and onto the streets, this made it impossible to gather and quantify the number of people who saw the artworks at the time. Therefore, Rees Leahy questioned the validity of the methodology used, as many of the figures within the report beg more questions than they answered. For example, Rees Leahy explains how a lack of clear objectives and robust methodology for work within the public realm not only creates confusion, but the discrepancies make the data weak or unusable:

On what basis had the figure of 6,000 (different?) people passing through the University of Liverpool Senate Building – and thereby, it was assumed, viewing Thomas Lanfranchi's sculpture – been calculated? To what extent were the 9,375 people who visited Trace in Exchange Flags the same individuals as the 7,500 people who visited newcontemporaries (sic) in the same building? How many of the 27,648 people who visited John Moores 21 also saw the Trace installation that was sited among the Walker Art Gallery's permanent collection? [...] Even when relatively robust figures were available, they raised more issues.... while 7,485 people paid the admission to visit the part of Trace located on the top floor of the Tate Gallery, some further 77,000 people could have seen Ernesto Neto's installation (also part of Trace) in the (free) ground floor space. Which figure, therefore, is it fair to include in the overall tally of Trace visitors? (pp.41-42)

Rees Leahy raises a number of valid questions here, as there was a clear weakness in the quantitative research methodology for the first Biennial. This I argue, was in part due to a lack of resources and funds, but there was a clear difference in the researchers' focus for the first two Biennials. But the Biennial would admit that it was a steep learning curve in the beginning as they were attempting something new and involved more experimentation, risk-taking, and ongoing anxiety. The company developed from a hand-to-mouth project-based team of staff on short term contracts for the first two Festivals. With the encouragement of the North West Arts Board (NWAB), an application for a Breakthrough Lottery grant from ACE was made in early November 2001 and was successful in attracting £200,000. Furthermore, negotiations for revenue funding from NWAB also succeeded in a pledge in a pledge for a further £35,000 per annum. This meant that instead of starting from zero in terms of skills and experience for each biennium, the Biennial could maintain a staff with skills and experience from year to year and build on its own capacity to manage the processes involved in delivering large scale events.

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MHM (2002) estimated that the maximum number of visits to the 1999 Festival was around 190,000. This assumed that 77,000 (Tate Liverpool), 32,000 (Maritime Museum) and 19,000 (Walker Arts Gallery) all saw the Biennial exhibition or installation. Even if they did, most of these 128,000 visits would have been general, and not driven by a specific intention to visit a Biennial exhibition (p.47).

Rees Leahy advised that thorough market research to identify and understand the Biennial's constituencies was required in the future and should be commissioned and managed by the Biennial itself (not NWAB). Research should be conducted before (to establish the baseline), during and after (to measure lasting effects) each Biennial, so as to measure the impact of the Biennial as a regular event. (p.45)

Criteria for evaluation, and the use of evaluation, as a tool for planning and delivery needed to be integral to the management of successive Biennials, rather than a project commissioned after the event. Rees Leahy advised that without setting clear targets to measure the Biennial's future funding applications would be weakened:

The absence of clear, agreed targets for the delivery of future Biennials would undermine its case within the arts funding system and within the political and business contexts that are crucial to its strategic development. While the broad and general nature of the objectives set for 1999 were appropriate for the inaugural event, future objectives would need to be agreed with specific performance measures and data capture systems attached. (p.13)

Rees Leahy advised that the Biennial impact research needed to focus on objectives that were clearly focused on a task and measurable. The means of measuring them needed to be agreed and planned in advance of the implementation of the methodology, as funding bodies need applications to have realistic goals and projections. Research for the first two Biennials was predominately proactive instead of reactive as they focused on learning about their potential audience so that they could market and attract their different demographic segments. The qualitative research focused on identifying the target audiences and the appropriate and preferred channels of communication, measured the levels of brand awareness / give recommendations, and sought to understand and estimate the market size for the Biennial.

2.4 2002 Festival 14 September – 24 November 2002

Having been a founding Trustee of Liverpool Biennial while Director of Tate Liverpool, Lewis Biggs resigned from Tate to become Chief Executive and Artistic Director in November 2000. The 2002 Biennial Exhibition 'broke the rules' by focusing on newly commissioned art, much of it for the public realm, researched collaboratively, and realised by a team of locally based curators to both recognise and develop local capacity.

The initial thematic approach (based on the conceptual axis '*Control / Out of Control*') was abandoned by October 2000 as being insufficiently flexible to encompass the aspirations of the team. Instead, the curators developed the concept of the City of Liverpool itself as the common denominator. In this context, it was important that many of the artworks be

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commissioned specifically for and inspired by Liverpool. Artists that the curatorial team were interested in were invited to visit Liverpool before making their proposal for a commission. Attention was given to improving / clarifying the separate branding of the four exhibition strands and events programme.

The generic title of the International, and the newly named Independents (i.e. local artists, formerly Tracey), was adopted alongside the John Moores Painting Prize and New Contemporaries and included the now established and recognisable Festival events programme. This programme was conceived as a time-specific counterpart to the four strands, including live art, Education and Access events, conferences / seminars, and artist talks that have continued to play a major part in the Festivals to this day. The 2002 selectors were insistent that the artists were not promoted as 'representative' of any country but were presented as individuals whose work had 'something to say' in the Liverpool context.

The curatorial process was carried through entirely by specialists based in Liverpool as the intention was to ensure that the exhibition reflected the aspirations of the city (as no professionals would know the city and its potential audience as well as local specialists). The initial team consisted of Bryan Biggs (the Bluecoat), Eddie Berg (FACT), and Lewis Biggs, expanding to include Victoria Pomery (the Tate), Jo McGonigal (FACT), and Catherine Gibson (the Bluecoat) in September 2000. This approach, and its success, established

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Liverpool Biennial as a significant on-going contributor to the development of the spectrum of biennials globally. The Liverpool Biennial's objectives changed to:

- To raise the profile of Liverpool's external image as a cultural centre for tourism
- To broaden the audience within Liverpool for contemporary art through creating access to contemporary international art, providing education / community programmes, creating diversity of product, and creating enjoyment and fun
- To create an event of significant quality for the international art community
- Strengthen the art infrastructure (buildings, funding, organisations) and profession (artists, curators, arts administrators, and networking) in Liverpool, and develop these through partnership (MHM 2002, p.6)

A foundation provided the funding and support that enabled the creation of the Liverpool Biennial as an organisation. The Northwest Development Agency (NWDA) and englandsnorthwest contributed generously in response to the Biennial's ability to attract cultural visitors from outside the region. Also, Arts Council England (ACE) and the North West Arts Board (NWAB was the regional branch of the Arts Council) provided funds towards the 2002 Festival. This meant that the Biennial received funds both regionally and nationally from ACE in recognition of the achievements of the first Biennial, and the future ambitions and regenerative aims of the organisation.

During this time (1999 – 2002), the cultural breadth of the city continued to increase, particularly in terms of the representation of the visual arts. Tate Liverpool developed its international remit, and the new purpose-built Foundation of Art and Creative Technology (FACT) building was set to open in 2003. In conjunction with this, the City Council was keen to encourage the cultural life of the city, as it proposed a celebration for its 800th anniversary in 2007. As well as these proposals, an 'alternative' or 'grass roots' art

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community continued to diversify and expand as new arts organisations emerged, and individuals found ways to generate arts and cultural programmes in and around the city.

The Liverpool Culture Company (the cultural wing of the City Council) supported the Biennial as the Festival was a key contributor to the City's winning bid to be the European Capital of Culture 2008 (awarded in 2003). Biggs (2015) explains that two of his proudest moments were in '2003 when Liverpool won the bid to be European Capital of Culture 2008, and the jurors cited the Biennial as being an important factor in Liverpool's favour (proof that it could deliver an international festival).'

The Biennial Board decided by the end of Spring 2000 to delay the Festival until 2002 so they could align the event with the City's bid to become European Capital of Culture in 2008 and enable them to take advantage of the refurbished Walker Art Gallery and newly completed FACT Centre. For example, City Council Leader Mike Storey CBE, said:

Liverpool Biennial was one of the main reasons behind our Capital of Culture success and will be at the heart of our plans for 2008. Its development and growth are striking. It mirrors the regeneration and new confidence of the city. The Biennial gets under the skin of the city's character in so many interesting ways. It examines, explores, and expresses all the weird and wonderful things that make Liverpool so unique.

2.4.1 2002 Impact Research Methodology

Following the recommendations contained in the 1999 report, Rees Leahy (2000) suggested that research should be conducted before (to establish the baseline), during, and after (to measure lasting effects) each Biennial to measure the impact of the Biennial as a regular event. Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (MHM) (2002) conducted their research in the interim between Festivals and undertook qualitative research with a range of different people in the form of focus groups and depth interviews (sic).

MHM (2002) employed a number of different criteria in the recruitment of the focus groups that acknowledged the market segments identified by the Biennial – Vocationals (professional or academic involvement with the arts), Traditionals (frequent arts venues but tend to prefer traditional or historic work by well-known artists), Lifestylers (aged under 35, with either experimental, eclectic tastes in art, or art is part of a wider interest in art), and one group of non-specialists or non-Vocationals (p.8). The research objectives were to:

- Test the strength of the 1999 Biennial brand
- Understand the expectations of the 2002 Biennial amongst target audiences
- Test the proposed 2002 offering
- Understand motivations and obstacles to attendance
- Make recommendations on communications and audience development strategies
- Identify marketing objectives and evaluation methods (2002, p.3)

To achieve this, the methodology included:

- A review of current documents in 1999 and 2002 Biennial
- Focus groups of existing and potential attenders
- Depth (IDI) interviews with peers and stakeholders
- A population survey within Merseyside (p.3)

The brief identified a large number of market segments, but in the light of limited resources, the sample had to be set at 250 interviews. It was therefore agreed to keep the population survey confined to Merseyside in order to feel confident about the robustness of the findings. There was not the budget available to do any quantitative research on a potential national or international market.

The research looked at several areas including:

- The potential local and regional market for the 2002 Biennial
- Potential local market's expected response to the Biennial
- Motivations
- Barriers to attendance
- How should the Biennial communicate?

The brief identified a number of research objectives:

- Understand the extent of which the Biennial brand had been established in Liverpool
- Develop an understanding of the expectations of the 2002 Biennial programme amongst the target audiences in Liverpool, nationally, and internationally
- Test the market the proposed 2002 offering
- To understand the strengths and weaknesses of the brand by measuring the experience and perceptions of those who participated and attended
- Understand perceived or actual barriers to the delivery of a successful Biennial 2002
- Establish the most effective channels of communication per market segment and measure the effectiveness of methods of communication for 1999 Biennial
- Inform audience development, promotion, and media relation tactics
- Understand what success will look like by identifying marketing objectives and evaluation methods (MHM 2002, p.6)

2.4.2 Methodology: The Key Research Elements

2.4.2.1 Stage One: Market Audit Data

Previous market research reports and internal documents were passed to MHM to provide background information to the Biennial and the event held in 1999.

2.4.2.2 Stage Two: Definition of Brand Template and Research Objectives

The lead consultant, Gerri Morris, facilitated a workshop with key staff, board members, and other stakeholders. The purpose of this meeting was to provide an opportunity for the Biennial to articulate its vision, aims, and aspirations as well as identifying and agreeing with the research objectives.

2.4.2.3 Stage Three: Focus Groups

MHM (2002) undertook qualitative research with a range of different people in the form of focus groups. All these were held in Liverpool and participants were residents in the city and surrounding districts. One of the aims of the market research, and particularly these four focus groups, was to explore the perceptions of the Biennial from the perspective of potential local attenders. To this end, the researchers employed a number of different criteria in the recruitment of the focus groups that acknowledged how this perspective might alter depending upon the mindset of the groups being targeted. These focus groups were Vocationals, Traditional, Lifestylers, and one group of non-specialists or Non-

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Vocationalists who attended art galleries and contemporary visual art that had visited in 1999.

2.4.2.4 Stage Four: Interviews

Morris and members of the research team conducted a total of twenty-seven depth (sic) interviews (also called in-depth interviews IDI). The list of participants included:

- Members of the Board
- Arts funders (NWAB)
- Liverpool City Council, cultural and tourism strategists
- Media e.g. newspaper and radio journalists
- Community and education groups e.g. LHAT (Liverpool Housing Action Trust)
- Artists and people involved in 1999 Biennial (MHM 2002, p.9)

2.4.2.5 Stage Five and Six: Issues Paper

An issues paper was produced based on the qualitative research, and (in)depth interviews.

The paper helped to identify and prioritise the issues to be included in the quantitative survey.

2.4.2.6 Stage Seven: Potential Attender Survey

A total of 250 telephone interviews were administered with potential attenders in pre-defined catchment areas on Merseyside. The sample was split into 'inner' (the city of

Liverpool), and 'outer' (the four other districts of Merseyside: Sefton, Knowsley, St Helens and the Wirral) areas. The two areas sampled had specific socio-demographic profiles relating to the number of resident men and women, younger and older people, ethnic groups, and high- and low-income households. To make the overall survey sample representative of the entire catchment area, the final survey data was weighted to reflect the socio-demographic profile of Merseyside.

The research chapters were based on a number of key questions including:

- **How well has the Biennial brand been established in Liverpool?** The section drew on the audit data, the interviews, the brainstorm session with staff as well as the focus groups and population survey including questions such as – what do we know about the Biennial, awareness levels and brand identity, who attended, and the sources of information
- **What are the markets and market size for the Biennial 2002?** This section drew on the quantitative data to estimate the size of each potential market segments and to rationalise the market segments for the communications strategy
- **Who will attend the Biennial 2002?**
- **How will target audiences respond to the Biennial 2002?** This section explored the responses of the target market segments to the proposed 2002 Biennial offering, and drew from the focus groups and quantitative survey
- **How should the Biennial communicate with its market segments and what are the implications for the Marketing Strategy?** This section suggested the communications objectives, explored the development of the brand identity of the Biennial and the best methods for reaching market segments (MHM 2002, p.11)

There was also an internal report written by the Biennial staff between January and March 2003, as part of the evaluation of the 2002 event from January 2001 – when the first staff in the new team was appointed. The intention of the report was to reflect the views of the staff, including emotion, opinion, and anecdote. It could be argued that this report made a concrete contribution to the overall intention to create an honest and factual account of

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the experience of organising the Biennial. Biggs (2003) explained that they did not set out to congratulate themselves or do a 'sales job.' Whilst they were proud of their achievements, they recognised that they could improve and develop the Biennial in future years as it was a learning process (p.2). The report described all the elements that made up the Biennial Festival including partnerships, exhibitions, artists, curators, venues, education and access provision, catalogue, collaborations, production, and publicity and interpretative material.

2.5 The 2004 Biennial - 18 September 2004 - 28 November 2004

2.5.1 International 04

For 2004, the Biennial commissioned all the artworks within the Festival, guaranteeing that the forty artworks presented a unique experience of art and Liverpool. To do this, the commissioning process emphasised that artists researched the city as a context for the artworks and the development of the relationship between the artist and the organisation or community in which it was placed. Four Invited curators, Sabine Breitwieser (Vienna), Yu Yeon Kim (New York), Cuauhtémoc Medina (Mexico City), and Apinan Poshyananda (Bangkok), proposed artists whose practice had an affinity with Liverpool's culture.

The exhibition aimed to be 'context-sensitive' in that it could only be made and viewed in Liverpool, and at that time (i.e. 'time-sensitive' as most work was temporary. These moments in time were important to the Biennial and will be discussed later in this thesis).

For 2004, the curatorial process continued to present a unique model, involving

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collaborations between many individuals and organisations. The Liverpool Biennial was based on an 'umbrella' strategy that co-ordinated several organisations and exhibition programmes that make up the Festival. The Biennial Festival consisted of four key exhibition programmes: The International, John Moores exhibition of contemporary painting, Bloomberg New Contemporaries, and The Independent. As a charity and company, it was responsible for the organisation and financing of three core areas:

- The International: the showpiece exhibition, and the critical focus of the event. The aim was to be an internationally acclaimed exhibition showing significant new work by international artists commissioned especially for the City of Liverpool
- A Learning and Inclusion Programme delivers the Liverpool Biennial's educational objectives through an ongoing programme of activities and the Festival programme. The approach was project based with three broadly defined audience groups: communities, formal education, and visitors
- The Marketing Programme promotes the Biennial brand through the umbrella campaign, integrating marketing, communications, and public relations. This strategy was informed by the partner organisations delivering the exhibitions, and by regional organisations involved in the promotion of culture (Evaluation Report 2004, p.3)

The process began in May 2003 with a dialogue between international artists and researchers, with local artists, artist-led groups, arts organisations, and community groups. The aforementioned international researchers were invited to examine the city as a context for the exhibition, and each recommended twelve artists whom they felt would have some affinity for the culture of Liverpool, and those artists were invited to Liverpool by the Biennial to research and experience the city. In response to their research visits, forty-five artists presented proposals for new work, which were developed in collaboration with the potential host venues from January 2004. The Biennial Festival launched with the International presenting new works at partner venues of Tate Liverpool, FACT, Bluecoat Arts Centre, and Open Eye Gallery, with public realm work enabling art to be experienced in more unusual spaces.

International 04 was accepted internationally for quality, attracting visitors, and press coverage around the world (Evaluation Report 2004, p.1). The UK media responded to the Festival with 573 articles, including coverage in all the major broadsheets, and a thirty-minute television programme within Channel Five's Fivearts Cities series took a considered critical response to a broadcast audience and remained an invaluable documentary of the Biennial. The Festival was regarded positively amongst art professionals, with 49% of the Festival's visitors claiming a professional or academic involvement in the visual arts, with around 500 arts professionals registering for accreditation to the opening weekend. This showed that the Festival was still attracting a large proportion of a niche market, which would be expected during the infancy of the Festival as a brand.

A number of works continued after the Festival's end. For example, all ten bench elements of Sanja Ivekovic's *LiverPOLL* were donated to Shorefields Technology Collage as part of an anti-bullying campaign. Three of the 'house' elements of *Rolling Home* (Aleks Danko) were gifted to the Merseyside Play Action Council, with the fourth 'house' being gifted to Everton Early Childhood Centre.

Highlights of the Festival included:

- There was an increase in popularity of the *John Moores Painting Prize* (Walker Art Gallery) with an increase in over 500 entries (36%) compared to the previous competition, with 1,905 entries submitted, 425 being selected for the second stage, and 56 works being presented in the exhibition. The total number of visitors to the exhibition, over a total of seventy-two days was 29,817, an increase of 56 (14%) to

the previous competition. Sales were the second highest in the John Moores Exhibitions history, selling eleven works that generated £12,025 (based on 20% commission)

- New Contemporaries was the main draw to the Independent District, with student coaches from around the UK continuously parked outside the former *Coach Shed* on Greenland Street. James Moores / Afoundation made the building available to the New Contemporaries Trust
- The Bluecoat Arts Centre presented a unique opportunity to experience live art in a range of places and contexts, against the backdrop of the overall Biennial Festival. Over the ten weeks, the Bluecoat presented over thirty events, including durational performances, residencies, installations, actions, and talks
- Independents 04 was a medley of exhibitions generated by artists, architects, filmmakers, and other practitioners. Supported in part by Afoundation, and in part self-supporting, it took place in a variety of venues, ranging from existing galleries to temporary spaces in disused buildings, and the new Independent District. It provided a platform for the region's artists to exhibit their own work and to present art from the UK and abroad (Evaluation Report 2004, pp.6-7)

2.5.2 2004 Research Methodology

The Mersey Partnership (TMP) was commissioned to undertake a market research study in order to measure participation in the Biennial Festival, evaluate the impacts of the event, and comment upon the relative success of various aspects of the 2004 programme as a tool for future development. The third Liverpool Biennial ran from 18th September to 28th November 2004. The research was quantitative using closed questions to allow a direct comparison and statistical analysis of the results using SPSS Data Analysis Software (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences is used for the management and statistical analysis of social science data), and where opinions are sought (satisfaction / quality of experience), the Likert Scale was used.

The Liverpool Biennial set out a programme of aims and objectives with which to fulfil their mission:

- To create an event of significant quality for the international art community
- To broaden the audience within Liverpool for contemporary art through creating access to contemporary international art, providing education / community programmes, creating diversity of product, and creating employment and fun
- To raise the profile of Liverpool's external image as a cultural centre for tourism
- To strengthen the art infrastructure and profession in Liverpool and develop these through partnership (TMP 2005, p.2)

2.5.3 Research Objectives

The proposed study had the following objectives:

- Establish the numbers of participants in the 2004 Biennial that are Merseyside residents, domestic day visitors, domestic staying visitors, and overseas visitors, based on the hometown of respondents
- Conduct a socio-demographic profile of people at exhibitions and segment them by their approach to art generally and their attitudes towards the Biennial
- To describe the types of visits that the Biennial audience are taking in terms of group structure, motivation, transport, and accommodation used, length of stay etc.
- To investigate which elements of the Biennial the audience are aware of and which they visit
- To gauge the audience reaction to the various elements of the Biennial against their expectation
- To gauge the audience reaction to the event as a whole
- To evaluate the economic impact of the Biennial by calculating a separate average (mean) spend per visit for each of the visitor types and overlaying the relevant spend per head figures onto the estimated total size of each segment
- To quantify the impact / success of the Biennial marketing and promotion activities by comparing the proportion of visitors from each segment who were influenced by the marketing to the total economic impact of the exhibitions
- To identify the most appropriate overseas target markets segments for the next Biennial in 2006
- To set that data in an appropriate context by supporting the primary research with secondary data wherever possible. Specifically, this secondary research draws comparisons between the Biennial and other events and identifies examples of best practice in the development and marketing of similar events (TMP 2005, p.3)

2.5.4 Methodology and Reporting

To meet these objectives, 1,000 interviews were carried out by the TMP interviewing team in and around the four exhibition strands during the period 23rd September to 28th

November. Respondents were not eligible for interview if any of the following applied:

1. They had only just arrived in Liverpool, since these visitors would not have experienced enough of the Biennial to complete a valid questionnaire
2. They were participating or working in Biennial exhibitions rather than observing (TMP 2005, p.3)

The questionnaire used to conduct the interviewing was short (around 5 - 7 minutes) containing around thirty questions covering respondent profile, opinions, and behaviour. The majority of questions were closed questions to allow direct comparison and statistical analysis of the result using SPSS. Some open-ended questions were included to allow respondents to express their opinions on any issue of relevance. Before the data collected by means of the questionnaire could be analysed, the questionnaires were edited, and coding frames were made for each open-ended question (e.g. Why?). An example of the questionnaire used is provided in Appendix Five.

The estimated attendance at the 2004 Liverpool Biennial was 350,000 visitors, based on three indicators:

- Liverpool estimates of tourism volume and value
- TMP research conducted at the 2004 Biennial
- Termination data collected during the respondent interviews

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The Mersey Partnership uses the Scarborough Tourism Economic Activity Monitor (STEAM) in order to produce statistics on the volume and value of tourism to Liverpool. This model defines visitors as 'people crossing a boundary for an irregular purpose for a length of at least three hours.' STEAM estimates that each year 18.5 million people visit Liverpool city centre for an irregular purpose, with 3.9 million of these visits occurred during the Biennial. (For more information on STEAM, see Appendix Six)

The termination data collected during the interviewing period indicated that for non-Liverpool residents, for everyone eligible respondent interviewed the interviewers had to stop 15.5 people who were not visiting the city to observe or take part in any Biennial related activities e.g. exhibitions, performances, screenings, talks, etc. One in 15.5 is equal to 6.5%; therefore, it can be assumed that 6.5% of the 3.9 million visitors to Liverpool between 17th September and 28th November were visiting because of the Biennial. This equates to 253,500 visitors (2005, p.34).

TMP market research reports used quantitative methodologies to find a monetary value for nonmarket goods (as the Biennial is free). It is easy when dealing with quantitative methodologies for estimated visitor figures, demographics, hotel rooms sold, and estimated economic impact of the Biennial Festivals. It is also fairly easy to create a percentage towards the attitudes towards visual art (i.e. knowledge of, and approach to visual art, etc.) and the Biennial by using stated preference techniques as you quantify the amount of people who pick each preselected response.

When it came to visitors' opinions, TMP used a Likert scale as this is a method of ascribing quantitative value to qualitative data to make it amenable to statistical analysis. Using the Likert scale is where a numerical value (e.g. 1 = Very Poor and 5 = Very Good) is assigned to each potential choice and a mean figure for all the responses is computed at the end of the evaluation or survey.

Simple random sampling was used as it was decided that this was the best means to secure a representative sample. The interviewer guidance notes, and training ensured that interviewers understand and are aware of the potential to introduce bias to the sample. The ideal random sample process would instruct the interviewer to interview every 'nth' person, however in order to get as many interviews as possible towards the target once an interview was completed the interviewer then attempted to interview the next person to pass. Only adults aged sixteen or over were interviewed, unless the interviewer had the permission of an accompanying adult.

2.5.5 Sampling Error

As the results of the survey are based on a selection of visitors to the area, the statistics quoted may differ from those that would have been produced had every visitor been surveyed. This potential difference is known as the 'sampling error.' The sampling error for any particular percentage as presented in the table depends upon the size of the sample on which the percentage is based, and on the value of the percentage itself. The selection of

respondents was not a true random or systematic sample, but efforts were made to produce a representative selection of respondents. Although it cannot be measured, it is considered that any bias given to the results through lack of true random sampling will be minimal. If the respondents had represented a true sample, the sampling error for a particular percentage could then be estimated (2005, p.57).

2.5.6 Impact of the 2004 Biennial

- The 2004 Biennial attracted 350,000 visitors, as against 180,000 in 2002 (2002 calculated on a different basis)
- 41% of respondents were from Merseyside (144,550 people), while 64% were from the Northwest of England (225,050 visitors). Visitors from the rest of the UK accounted for 23% of visitors to the Biennial (81,900). 4% of respondents were from overseas (14,700 visitors), and 8% refused to disclose details of their hometown (28,350 people)
- The exhibition attracted an expectedly large proportion of young people (aged 16-24) and people from higher social grades. These respondents were particularly keen on less traditional, more risky artworks
- The total economic impact of the event on the local area was £10,928,330 based on: 350,000 visitors attending the Biennial, 28% being residents of Liverpool, 58% being day visitors, and 14% being staying visitors
- An average spend per trip of £107.43 for staying visitors, £22.24 for day visitors, and £11.73 for resident visitors (TMP 2005, pp.6-8)

2.6 2006 Festival – 16th September – 26th November

2.6.1 International

International 06 was organised collaboratively by curators at Tate Liverpool, Bluecoat, FACT, Open Eye Gallery, and Liverpool Biennial, and was advised by two consultant curators, Manray Hsu and Gerardo Mosquera. Mosquera focused on the idea of ‘reverse colonialism,’ a returning flow of ideas and energies into the city from former colonised

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places. Hsu imagined the city as a body suffering both from long neglect and from the suddenness of its regeneration, and saw art as a form of acupuncture, or 'archipuncture,' with the potential to heal or at least be a palliative.

Hsu recognised the way that cities across the world, including Liverpool, are linked visually by a form of 'hypertextuality.' Both curators' ideas were further expanded in the catalogue. The International exhibition was presented in public spaces across the city (accessible buildings, derelict buildings, cyberspace, and public realm) as well as in the gallery spaces of partner organisations (Tate, FACT, and Open Eye). Each of these kinds of space brought with it cultural specifics of the location and also the strengths and weaknesses of the team of people responsible for those locations. These teams were referred to as 'Hosts,' since without their hospitality, the Festival would lack a vital characteristic.

For International 06, the Biennial invited the Hosts to nominate consultants with whom they would like to work. The consultants studied the context for the exhibition, and then use their existing knowledge of artists' practice to suggest potential participants. From a long list of around thirty names, the Biennial chose a handful of candidates who were selected for their own potential interest in this context to collaborate on themes that Liverpool people were concerned with (pleasure, glamour, football, the Celtic, cultural diversity, the politics of the everyday, sentimentality, regeneration, poverty, resilience, and humour, etc.).

An urge for strengthening dialogues with local audiences led to site-specific works that responded more to the exhibition and its space than to local historical and social textures. Artists from different parts of the world came to investigate the segments of the city that interested them, and during these visits, they gave workshops, lectures, and presentations to local residents. These interactions then responded to the city's histories, imaginations, fantasies, frustrations, and angst.

In November 2004, Manray Hsu, Maria Lind, and Gerardo Mosquera were invited to act as consultants for the International 06, with only Mosquera and Hsu able to participate in this role. The terms under which the consultants were invited to participate were that they should study the cultures and art organisations of Liverpool and consider these as a context for the show and provide an individual statement of a 'conceptual focus' for the exhibition. They collaborated with each other and the Hosts to develop the Festival, guided by their conceptual focus, and then agree with the Hosts a list of artists to be invited, articulating how these artists' practices fit one of the conceptual foci. It was only after artists' practices were matched with a Host, that they were invited to participate with thirty-eight new commissions under the four conceptual foci.

The organic logic of this process for generating the Festival created a 'hyper-link' between these four conceptual loci and all the artworks within the exhibition, indicative of the flows of cultural energy within Liverpool, and between Liverpool and the rest of the world. The

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most prominent feature of the Festival lay within its localisation, context-sensitivity, and community engagement. The fourth Liverpool Biennial provided an 'umbrella' strategic co-ordination to several organisations and exhibition programmes that made up the Festival, the three core aims of the 2006 Festival were:

- The International, the showpiece exhibition and the critical focus of the event. It aimed to be an internationally acclaimed exhibition showing significant new works by international artists commissioned specially for the City of Liverpool
- A learning and Inclusion Programme delivered the Biennials educational objectives. The approach is project based with three broadly defined audience groups, communities, formal education, and visitors
- The Communications Programme promoted the Biennial brand through an umbrella campaign, integrating marketing and public relations. The strategy is informed by the partner organisations delivering the exhibitions and by the regional organisations involved in the promotion of culture Marketing had a significant role in the income generated by the Biennial. Of the total spend generated, 14% (£1,898,821) was influenced by the guide and print, 8% (£1,085,040) was influenced by the leaflets and 13% (£1,763,191) was influenced by the website (ENWRS 2007a, p.2)

2.6.2 2006 Research Methodology

2.6.2.1 Background to the Study

The Mersey Partnership was commissioned again through their inhouse research team England's Northwest Research Service (ENWRS) to undertake the market research study to measure participation in the Biennial, evaluate the impacts of the event and comment upon the relative success of various aspects of the programme as a tool for future development.

ENWRS had produced numerous key publications for the region, including the annual *Economic Review and Digest of Tourism Statistics*, as well as managing many regular

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research projects including Liverpool Destination Benchmarking, and the Liverpool John Lennon Airport Gateway study. Under the badge of ENWRS, the team conducts numerous commercial research projects in the Economic Development and Visitor Economy fields, with a particular specialism in event evaluation.

The research objectives and methodologies were the same as 2004 as consistency is important in quantitative research so that statistical data can be measured and compared for each Festival. Liverpool Biennial exists to engage art, people, and place through the following aims:

- To develop and present an outstanding international Biennial Festival of contemporary art in Liverpool
- To embed the Festival in the city-region of Liverpool
- To work on a local, regional, and international platform
- To create a strong and capable organisation (ENWRS 2007a, p.2)

2.6.3 Methodology and Reporting

To meet the objectives, 1,000 market research interviews were conducted in September, October and November 2006. The interviews were conducted at the various exhibitions by the ENWRS interviewing team. The interviewers were set a quota of twenty-four interviews per day, and the aim was to collect data from a cross-section of Biennial venues however, at some venues, low visitor numbers or the nature of the exhibition made it difficult for interviewers to reach their quotas, in which case an alternative location was allocated. The majority of questions were closed questions to allow a direct comparison and statistical analysis of the results using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). ENWRS stated

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that some open-ended questions were included to allow respondents to express their opinions on any issue of relevance. This could have been a way to implement a qualitative methodology towards their quantitative research.

However, there were only two open ended questions in the questionnaire (questions 28 - 29 ENWRS 2007a, p.54) which asked: what have you enjoyed most about this event; and what have you enjoyed least about this event? 669 separate comments were positive about the Biennial were recorded and displayed in the Evaluation report appendix A (2007a, pp.43-45), with the most common answers being the artworks (seventy-one respondents), contrast / variety of pieces and venues (sixty-eight respondents).

Respondents were also asked what they liked least about the Biennial. ENWRS states that most respondents had no complaints, and 221 comments were collected in total. The most common complaint related to a lack of signage and directions (thirty-three respondents). A full list of the criticism received was in appendix A (2007a, pp.46-47). Before the data could be analysed, the questionnaires were edited, and coding frames were made for each open-ended question (e.g. Why?). A copy of the questionnaire used is provided in Appendix Five.

2.6.4 Presentation of Results

The report displays the results of the 2006 survey of people attending one or more of the Festival exhibitions. Several directly comparable results from the corresponding evaluation of the 2006 Biennial were included, and the results were presented in tables, charts and graphs which were selected on a case-by-case basis with the aim of presenting the findings as clearly as possible to the reader. The quantitative research focused on a number of categories, including:

- visitor profile: age and gender, working status and social grade, group type, group size, origin of visitor, length of stay and ethnicity
- attitudes toward visual art and the Biennial: knowledge of visual art, approach to visual art by knowledge, attitudes towards the Biennial, awareness, and attendance, how the exhibitions were rated
- visit: influences on the decision to visit, attendance at previous Biennial Festivals, frequency of visits to Liverpool, and advance planning
- expenditure at the Biennial: staying visitors, day visitors, residents, comparison of spend, total economic impact of the Biennial, and estimated spend generated by Biennial specific visits
- visitor opinions: visitor satisfaction, what visitors liked most about the Biennial, and what visitors liked least about the Biennial

2.6.5 Total Economic Impact of the 2006 Biennial

ENWRS estimated that 400,370 visits were made to the exhibitions in the 2006 Festival.

This figure is constructed by totalling the estimates of the visits to the various Biennial exhibitions. The estimated visits to the exhibitions are produced using a formula, which draws from three relevant data sets:

- Liverpool estimates of tourism volume and value (from STEAM), which can be used to produce monthly estimates of day and staying tourism
- Termination data collected during the respondent interviews, which indicate the proportions of people at the sites observing the exhibitions and the proportion simply passing by
- ENWRS research conducted at the 2006 Biennial exhibitions showed the profile of respondents, and from desk research estimating footfall at (a selection of) the exhibition venues (ENWRS 2007a, p.27)

ENWRS explains that the system is identical to the one used to estimate attendance at previous Biennial Festivals. These estimates had been adjusted after consultation with the Festival organisers who were able to supply the actual visitor figures collected for some venues.

ENWRS estimates included some double counting (e.g. where a staying respondent visits more than one of the exhibitions on the same trip). This anomaly was, on the whole, restricted to the 17% of respondents that were staying visitors - since the residents and day visitors typically viewed exhibitions at around one per visit (but made several visits to see a number of exhibitions). If each staying respondent visited 2.5 exhibitions per visit, the visitor number would be a slightly lower estimate of 359,532 visits generated (to view 400,370 exhibitions / events). The estimate of 359,532 relates to visits to Liverpool that involved visiting one or more of the Festival exhibits. The actual number of visiting individuals will be lower because many respondents made multiple visits to the Festival however evaluation studies typically estimate visits (rather than people) because this is what drives the economic impact i.e. a visitor making two-day visits has roughly the same economic impact as two individuals making one day visit each (2007a, p.27).

2.6.6 Impact of the 2006 Biennial

- Liverpool Biennial 2006 attracted around 359,532 visits to Liverpool. The 359,532 visits to Liverpool resulted in 400,370 visits to Biennial exhibits. The Festival directly generated 194,147 visits. A further 165,385 visits were made to Biennial exhibits whilst visitors were in Liverpool for other reasons
- Visitors to the Biennial spent an estimated £13,563,006 during their time in Liverpool, this is around 24% above the estimated spend at the 2004 Festival £10,928,330. This estimate is based upon 359,532 visits to the city and 400,370 visits to Biennial exhibitions, 40% being Liverpool residents, 43% being day visitors, 17% being staying visitors, an average spend of £134 per staying visit, £21.74 per day visit and £13.99 per visit by Liverpool residents
- The total estimated spend directly generated by the Biennial is £7,478,184. This estimate is based on 194,147 visitors in Liverpool for the Biennial spending an average of £36.38 per visit, 165,385 visitors in Liverpool for other reasons spending £2.51 per person on visiting museums and galleries (ENWRS 2007a, p.6)

2.7 2008 Biennial Festival – 20th September – 30th November

2.7.1 International

The Biennial was contracted by Liverpool Culture Company (LCC) to deliver their £1.2 millions programme of public art for European Capital of Culture year. This consisted of three new series of commissions, Pavilions, Virals and Winter Lights, as well as a new, high profile 'big thing' specifically for 2008. Covering the whole of Liverpool, the 08 commissions built throughout the year and culminated with the opening of the Biennial Festival in September. The public realm work sought to carve out small moments of wonder amidst the everyday and remind us that if new realities are forged through 'making things up,' then present realities too depend on the imagination for their construction.

The International exhibition titled MADE UP, showed the work of forty artists across thirteen sites: six of the artists had previously represented their country at the Venice

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Biennale, and three were exhibiting in the Venice Architecture Biennale. The Biennial commissioned thirty-two national and international artists for the International 08 and presented existing works by eight artists in FACT and Tate.

MADE UP was a celebration of the ways in which artists use imagination. Biggs explains that it might have been called 'beyond documentary' or 'beyond the readymade.' He asked the curatorial team to invite their favourite artists who do more than retail information. He wanted an exhibition of work by artists whose passion was evident, who had something to say for themselves, whose position was deeply felt, who gave us something unexpected – in short, artists who had created something new.

The curatorial team each took a personal approach to the MADE UP theme. All the participating artists used their imagination in a desire to move us from the everyday into a new space where there are new possibilities including the potential for subjective creativity.

MADE UP was an exhibition of all new work, commissioned or straight from the studio. To that extent, it was a risky business for the artists as much as for the curators: it was a show that was more about curatorial faith in the artists' ability to come up with the goods, than

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about the curator's ability to illustrate a theory. The curators could not predict the details about the show, they could only believe in its ambition.

The star turns were Richard Wilson's *Turning the Place Over (TTPO)* and Antony Gormley's *Another Place* at Crosby Beach (*TTPO* was installed in 2007 and remained until February 09 in order to stay until the close of the 08 celebrations. *Another Place* was installed 1 July 2005, but the Biennial secured its permanent home on Crosby Beach in 2007). However, many of the art commissions for the public realm involved collaborations with local communities.

For example, *Liverpool Jackpot* by Frank Scurt (2007) was part of *Winter Lights*, commissions that consisted of neon artworks created for three Liverpool neighbourhoods developed with Rotunda College Kirkdale, Metal Kensington, and Garston Cultural Village. A *Jackpot* in each of the three neighbourhoods showed three types of images for each site: drawings relating to food - carrot, apple, and banana; a body part hand, nose, eye; and phrases taken from British press selected in consultation with local residents. The source of text and the commercial context of neon signage was placed alongside traditionally humorous props and loaded images with many possible translations and interpretations.

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As part of the *Visible Virals* series, Stockholm artist's collective A-APE (Akay, Kihpele, Made, and Eric Ericson) created a project entitled *One Year in Liverpool*, 'investigating the concept of the average Liverpoolian through their life, behaviour, and consumer habits' (Chief Executive's Report 2008). The project was based on statistics, gradually feeding unusual facts into the public realm over the year and it invited people in the city to provide information about themselves. *Visible Virals* engaged hundreds of thousands of people with interventionist artworks spread throughout the city.

In the *Pavilions* project, spaces had been created for local cultural activity in partnership with neighbourhood collectives Metal, Rotunda Community College, and Garston Cultural Village. Metal invited Colombian artists Luis and Juan Pelaez to produce *Nexus* for the disused approach leading down to Edge Hill station, creating glowing columns along the length of the space based on the station's original 1830s paving design. In Kirkdale, landscape architects Gross Max transformed a derelict bit of land at the Rotunda Community College into a public garden tended by community groups, complete with folly, vertical hanging garden, and horizontal 'bar-code' garden. A 'cultural revolution' organised by Michael Trainor and Garston Cultural Village aimed to establish the *Artistic Republic of Garston Embassy*, and efficacious paraphernalia-state rooms, palm tree, fountain, sculpture garden, and waving dignitaries.

FACT devoted their 2008 programme to one concept, *Human Futures* divided into three key areas: *My Body, My Mind, and My World*, with new commissions and existing work by

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artists including Orlan, Ai and Ai, Zbigniew Oksiuta and Pipilotti Rist alongside events, workshops, discussions and debates, designed to challenge our ideas of the world and encourage us to develop a vision of the world we want to live in.

The varied programme involved the participation of diverse art centres. Tate Liverpool celebrated its 20th anniversary with major exhibitions of Niki de Saint Phalle and Gustav Klimt. The Afoundation showed four diverse commissions that occupied the former industrial buildings: the Coach Shed, the Furnace, and the Blade Factory in Greenland Street.

The Bluecoat reopened after three years redevelopment (£12.5million) that included a new purpose built art gallery and performing arts wing. The Bluecoat began with a collision of fictional universes in David Blandy's video project, revolving around a private quest for music and artistic identity. The Royal Art Lodge's mixed-media installation proposed a journey through a surreal and epic landscape. The vision provided visitors with an escape from reality to uncertainty. By contrast, Khalil Rabah investigated a factual event through the system of a fictionalised museum, posing a series of political, social and economic questions about the future. Finally, Tracey Moffatt's photographic and video work presented an imagined utopia.

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As ECoC 2008 was a celebration of the culture of Liverpool, there were many new cultural organisations, businesses and groups. For example, Biggs (2015) explains that 2008 saw the culmination of the hard work that he had fostered for many years to the development of new cultural partnerships.

‘In 2006 / 7 in the run up to 2008, when the collaboration that I had fostered over the previous fifteen years (also as Director of Tate) bore fruit in the Liverpool Art and Regeneration Consortium (LARC) and its joint programme for 2008, including Culture Campus.’

Paul Domela was instrumental to this as the former Deputy Chief Executive (2001 - 2007) and Programme Director (2007 - 2013) of the Liverpool Biennial, where he co-ordinated the International Exhibition and was responsible for developing dozens of international partnerships, collaborations, and conferences (including Urban Ecologies, and Art and Culture in Times of Expediency).

2.7.2 2008 Research

England’s Northwest Research Service (ENWRS) was once again commissioned to conduct an evaluation of the Liverpool Biennial Festival, both to understand the audience profile and gain feedback, but also to model the levels of attendance and economic impact of the exhibition as a whole. In total 1,000 interviews were held with visitors at sixteen different locations (representing the bulk of the offering) with a quota of twenty-four interviews per day, these being data entered into SPSS for quantitative analysis.

2.7.3 Aims and Objectives

As in previous years, the study had the following objectives:

- To establish the number of participants in Liverpool Biennial 2008 that were Merseyside residents, domestic day visitors, domestic staying visitors, and overseas visitors, based on the hometown of respondents
- To conduct a socio-demographic profile of people at exhibitions and segment them by their approach to art generally and their attitudes towards the Biennial
- To describe the types of visits that the Biennial audience are taking in terms of group structure, motivation, accommodation used, and length of stay etc.
To investigate which elements of the Biennial the audience are aware of and which they visit
- To gauge the audience reaction to the various elements of the Biennial against their expectation
- To gauge the audience reaction to the event as a whole
- To evaluate the economic impact of the Biennial by calculating a separate average spend per visit for each of the visitor types and overlaying the relevant spend per head figures onto the estimated size of each segment
- To quantify the impact / success of the Biennial marketing and promotion activities by comparing the proportion of visitors from each segment who were influenced by the marketing to the total economic impact of the exhibitions
- Where appropriate, to make recommendations that could be used to improve the next Biennial (ENWRS 2009a, p.5)

However, 2008 had a 'complicating' factor as it was Liverpool's year as Capital of Culture, and a specific need was expressed by Liverpool Biennial to measure:

- Whether visitors to Liverpool Biennial were influenced by the Capital of Culture profile
- Whether visitors over this period to Liverpool as a Capital of Culture were influenced by the offering of the Biennial (2009a, p.5)

2.7.4 Methodology

The aim was to collect data from a cross-section of Biennial venues however, at some venues, low visitor numbers or the nature of the exhibition made it difficult for interviewers to reach their quotas, in which case an alternative location was allocated. Although the questionnaire used was kept short (the aim being to complete all interviews within 5 - 7 minutes) it covered a wide range of components, including visitor profile, awareness / visitation of Biennial components, spend and activity on the visit, and - importantly this year - a measure of the influence of Capital of Culture.

2.7.5 Reporting

Completed questionnaires were data entered into SNAP (Software Non-functional Assessment Process is automated survey software) with analysis being conducted in SPSS, which allowed both a wide range of cross-tabulations to be produced together with mean calculations, SPSS also enables further exploration and segmentation of the data should this be required. Within the report, both key results for 2008 were shown, and where it was felt to be important as a comparison, presentation of the 2006 results. In addition to this cross-analysis is also presented against key categories of visitors such as origin or reason for the visit where it is useful in assessing the impact of the Biennial

It should be noted that a city-wide survey was being conducted during this time, the 2008 Visitor Study, for the Tourist Board, and when available these findings (where applicable to the Biennial) would be incorporated. It is important to note that within the report ENWRS

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tried to highlight significant differences between the 2008 event and - where possible – 2006 / 2004 in the commentary.

From the data ENWRS gathered, there were approximately 451,000 visitors to the Biennial, whether this was the main reason for visiting Liverpool or secondary. Within this, 103,500 visitors made a total of 364,119 visits to galleries which were part of the Biennial. What had not been calculated was the number of visits to each of the public realm sites, or the total number of visits (as opposed to visitors) made in total to the whole Biennial offering.

The data file had been weighted to reflect the proportions of visitors at each of the galleries or exhibitions where visitor numbers are known, against the proportions calculated not to have visited a gallery, and this was then used to produce the percentages of all visitors to the Biennial who would be visiting each element.

Visitors were asked to rate their satisfaction with a range of elements connected to the 2008 Festival. This used the Likert scale as respondents were asked to give a quantitative value with a level of agreement / disagreement with answers 1 – 5 (1 = 'very poor' and 5 = 'very good'). ENWRS could calculate a mean score: any score above 3.0 represents net satisfaction whilst any score below 3.0 represents net dissatisfaction.

STEAM (Scarborough Tourism Economic Activity Monitor) is the primary tool used by The Mersey Partnership and the NWDA to monitor the volume and value of tourism throughout the Northwest of England (a modelled approach to visitor levels, it relies on locally gathered data from attractions) hotels, and gateways (see Appendix Six for more information). Interviewers recorded the proportion of all visitors they stopped who indicated they were not attending any Biennial event whilst on their trip. Although these were not selected for interview, a ratio was calculated, and the estimate was that 7.6% of all visitors to the city over this period were attending the Biennial.

These numbers were based on:

- a) initial percentage increase between 2006 and 2007, as forecast by the initial STEAM results
- b) percentage increase for day visitors between 2007 and 2008 based on increases in visits to attractions, as recorded by The Mersey Partnership
- c) percentage increase for staying visitors between 2007 and 2008 based on increases in city centre hotel rooms sold, as recorded by The Mersey Partnership (ENWRS 2009a, p.38)

2.7.6 Social grade

The social grade is always calculated based upon the employment profile of the head of the respondent's household. ENWRS uses social grading to predict certain lifestyle and spending patterns from other external survey work, including the National Readership Survey (NRS). The patterns of social grade are broadly comparable to 2006; however, it

should be noted that those for whom the Biennial was the main reason for their visit tended slightly towards the higher social grades (87% in ABC1 compared to 81%).

2008 was the last time that included the question about advanced planning of the trip.

ENWRS explains that a measure of an event's importance to visitors can be gained by how far in advance the visit was planned. This form of question can give insight into the viewer's willingness to give up time, and also the anticipation of the visitor which as we will see later in this thesis, can give insight into, or plays a part in intrinsic value. For example, LARC (2011) explains that readiness to receive plays a part in the overall enjoyment and cultural experience of visitors. There are three constructs of readiness: context, relevance, and anticipation. Two of these constructs include advanced planning:

- Context: the overall level of preparedness an audience member has for the experience, including prior knowledge of the art form and familiarity with the specific works to be presented
- Anticipation: an audience member's psychological state to the experience, especially the degree to which they are looking forward to the event (LARC 2011, p.7)

Whilst ENWRS stopped asking the question about advanced planning, they did continue to ask questions concerning motivation to, and reasons for, the visitor's journey to Liverpool. These questions asked if the Biennial was the main reason for the visit or other attractions, and Biennial draw / visitor origin to further clarify visitor motivations and the Biennial's impact to the city. However, an additional factor was Liverpool's European Capital of Culture (ECOC), as it was a major draw to many of those visiting the city in 2008. In order to measure the extent to which the Biennial influenced their visit as opposed to ECOC - or both

- respondents were asked to grade the influence of each aspect on a scale of 1 - 5. Based on this:

- The ratio of those who were influenced by the Biennial against those who were not was 71% / 21%
- The ratio of those who were influenced by ECoC against those who were not was 47% / 38% (ENWRS 2009a, p.29)

To gain more of an insight, the differing responses to the above were cross-tabulated to provide the following analysis, showing the influence on all visitors of the two factors.

Obviously, as this includes those who may have stated 'neither' or 'don't know' the percentages do not add up to 100, but they can be overlaid onto attendance figures to provide reliable impact estimates.

- Not influenced by ECoC or the Biennial on visit 12.0%
- Influenced by ECoC but not influenced by the Biennial on visit 3.8%
- Influenced by the Biennial but not influenced by ECoC on visit 19.7%. most of these were frequent visits to Liverpool or previous Biennial attendees
- Influenced by both the Biennial and ECoC on visit 32.0%. These visitors were more likely to come from further afield than those who influenced by the Biennial but not ECoC (ENWRS 2009a, p.30)

2.7.7 Visitor Satisfaction

Visitors were asked to rate their satisfaction with a range of elements connected to Liverpool Biennial 2008. This was asked using a Likert Scale (quantitative) on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 was 'very poor' and 5 was 'very good.'

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By using the Likert scale a mean score was calculated; any score above 3.0 represents net satisfaction whilst any score below 3.0 represents net dissatisfaction. It should be noted that 'don't knows' and refusals were excluded from this calculation. Respondents were then asked a set of statements about the Biennial (Revealed Preference), in order to gauge their attitude and perceptions of the event both in itself and also for those who were / were not in Liverpool mainly to visit the event.

The difference in knowledge becomes even more extreme when viewed by the origin of visitors: the appearance is that visitors from further afield had increasing knowledge of visual arts, and a potential inference here is that for these groups the Biennial was more likely to have been an influence in their very visit to Liverpool. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

2.7.8 Impact of the 2008 Biennial

- It is estimated that the 2008 Liverpool Biennial received 451,000 visitors, who in total made 975,000 visits to Biennial exhibitions or displays. The total spend by these visitors is an estimated £26.6m
- Approximately 269,000 visitors are estimated to have been drawn to visit Liverpool primarily because of the Biennial; these visitors spent approximately £13,892,000
- A further 14% of the total visitors indicated that although they were in Liverpool primarily for an 'other' reason, but that the Biennial was of 'some' influence; including these would add some £1,678,000 to the economic impact figure, making the spend generated £15,660,000 (ENWRS 2009a, p.2)

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2.8 2010 Festival – 18th September – 28th November

2.8.1 International

In the empty Rapid Discount shop (a Liverpool landmark due to its size and proximity within the city centre) Lorenzo Fuzi (curator) organised an imaginative collection of work by established and lesser-known artists. The work included paintings, installations, video and events including Alfredo Jaar's *Marx Lounge*, whilst in the windows, passers-by experienced happenings (the public were invited to participate and display themselves in the shopfronts) as well as displays. In the public realm, pedestrians witnessed a Korean house that was wedged between buildings (Do Ho Su), and Laura Belem's glass and sound installation of hanging daggers in a consecrated building.

City States was a new collaboration between Novas Scarman Contemporary Urban Centre (CUC) and Liverpool Biennial and represented the work of six different countries. The exhibitions were independently funded by overseas governments and agencies and included dance and contemporary pieces, making fascinating encounters that reinforced the international flavour of the Festival. Local appreciation of the Festival was high, with 96% thinking the Biennial was an important event for the city. Independently audited figures showed visitor numbers were nearly as high as during Capital of Culture. Because of the repeated success of the Festival, the organisation was selected by Arts Council England to be one of its National Portfolio organisations (this replaced Regularly Funded Organisations [RFO]), with a commitment to core funding until 2015.

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The 2010 Festival retained the general shape of previous years. The headline offer, the International Exhibition, titled *Touched*, exhibited the work of fifty-three artists / artist-groups, and thirty-two new commissions. The International Exhibition was predominantly shown in the temporary space at 52 Renshaw Street (the Rapid Hardware store). The public realm work was shown in diverse locations such as Mann Island, Liverpool Cathedral, and Black-E, Tate Liverpool, FACT, the Bluecoat, Open Eye, and (for the first time) Afoundation exhibited as partner organisations and locations (previously they had hosted *New Contemporaries*). For the first time, there was free admission to the parts of *Touched* shown at Tate Liverpool. The exhibition included a significant number of 'participative' artworks, as well as more events than previous years. The exhibition was perhaps more successful than any of its predecessors in maintaining a clear and simple route through the city, and the artists showed a good range of practices and media, with large and medium scale interventions.

There were thirteen talks in support of the *Touched* theme (five *Touched Talks* in advance, six *Touched Talks*, and two *The Marx Lounge* in conversation events) and three conferences (*Touched*, *Touched: Philosophy Meets Art*, and *Touched DaDaFest 'The Dark Behind my Eyelids'* – the UK's first and largest Disability and Deaf Arts festival) were researched in collaboration with Liverpool John Moores University. In addition to the core programme - the Biennial exhibition, the John Moores Painting Competition at the Walker Art Gallery, Bloomberg *New Contemporaries* at Afoundation, and another three 'official' programmes, enabling the broadest presentation of artists and artworks yet. The Biennial exhibition attracted other, externally funded programmes that were promoted under the Festival

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umbrella; for the first time, the Festival included City States, SQUAT Liverpool, and The Co-operative.

New strands allowed the Biennial to match their continued focus on internationalism with a new exploration of localism, both within and outside of the Festival. New strands were introduced such as The Cooperative to bring local artists closer to the heart of the Biennial. The Biennial's public art team (Paul Kelly was appointed in 2007 as public art officer with New Heartlands – responsible for the direction of Housing Market Renewal Initiatives in the three Boroughs of Sefton [2009], Wirral [2010] and Liverpool [2011]. The three year post was partly paid for by ACE and Line managed by Laurie Peake) concluded the three years *Art for Places* initiative and morphed *On the Street* into *2Up 2 Down*, an extended regeneration project in the heavily deprived Anfield and Breckfield areas of North Liverpool.

Considerable energy and impetus were put into the development of the regeneration around Everton Park by engaging Bruce Mau to pull together many disparate agents under one vision for the area. The artistic programme was positively reviewed in the media and feedback from the visiting public was overwhelmingly positive (see later chapters). Artistic choices and smaller budgets meant that commissions were reduced in size and scale, but new exhibitions such as *The Human Stain* (painting show) and *City States* ensured the quality of the show, making it what many felt as one of the most cohesive and affecting Biennials.

The six programmes enabled a fully balanced approach: international (Touched, City States), national (John Moores, New Contemporaries), and local (SQUAT, The Co-operative). The Festival programme as a whole was well received with its articulation around the six official strands within the Festival guide. It was further enriched by countless collateral events and Independents initiatives beyond the scope of the guide.

For the 2010 Biennial Festival, Paul Domela organised *City States*, consisting of six international exhibitions about the cultural dynamics between cities and states as part of a programme of international exchanges and residencies. The Novas CUC building in Greenland Street provided the ideal context in which to show contemporary art from cities around the world and introduce the artists, organising bodies and audiences to the opportunities provided by the Centre to local people.

As the *City States* programme was independently funded by overseas governments it was seen as particularly important for the future standing of the Liverpool Biennial. The organisation saw this trend as capable of considerable development and took a proactive lead by offering the CUC building to these agencies under the Festival's overall direction by creating a new platform within the 2010 Festival.

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Exhibitions were organised by the Korean Cultural Centre, Quebec City, NICE Festival (Northern Countries), ARTSchool Palestine, Bahamas / Barbados / Martinique, and Vilnius. *City States* was an exhibition of art focused on life in cities around the world, where the majority of people now live and where humanity faces its greatest challenges. *City States* consisted of six international exhibitions that were reminiscent of the Venice Biennial's pavilions, as it was initiated and wholly supported by embassies, foreign governments, international agencies, or galleries, which explored the cultural dynamics between cities and states. This was an innovative way to deliver a stimulating exhibition, without putting a strain on the Biennial's budget as it was sponsored by each individual country or city. (For more information about *City States*, see Appendix Seven.)

Due to the economic climate and reductions in funding, the Biennial was challenged by a radically different operating environment. Fortunately, plans had been put in place for the 2010 Festival. Strength in the brand and provisions for funding were advanced enough to provide some insulation against this change. But in parallel with organising the Festival, both the staff and Board were busy considering their options for operating on a greatly reduced budget in future years. In response to the reductions in resources, the organisation focused on the Biennial Festival; to ensure that any other programme created feeds into the Festival, and to require any other activity to pay for itself. In a year characterised by economic turmoil, good relationships and sound management allowed for the organisation and Festival to reach their aim.

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In regard to the 2010 Festival, attendance (628,000 visitor trips, which in total resulted in 834,000 visits to Biennial exhibitions), commitment from partner organisations in Liverpool, and support from overseas agencies were all stronger than ever. Visitor figures were up on 2006 (a 53% growth in visitors compared to 2006 and economic impact trebling from 2006 to £27.2m) and only marginally short of the pinnacle year of 2008, and audience satisfaction levels increased (see later chapters). The Festival was delivered on a budget (e.g. the demise of the North West Development Agency left a huge gap in funding, particularly in relation to the large scale outdoor artworks which had been a specialty of previous Biennials), and they had to make savings where possible in order to preserve resources for the challenging funding environment going forward, successfully achieving 98% of their fundraising target, including both cash and in-kind corporate sponsorship.

2.8.2 2010 Research

The quantitative study was again produced by the in-house research team at The Mersey Partnership under the badge of England's Northwest Research Service (ENWRS). During 2009 extensive research was conducted by the Northwest Regional Development Agency, which dramatically changed the baseline date used in STEAM; accordingly, ENWRS presented both the revised Biennial 2008 data alongside the expected results for 2010 (see Appendix Six). Thus, whilst the impact of the 2010 Biennial was below that for 2008 – which might be expected given that this was Liverpool's year as European Capital of Culture – it was significantly higher than that achieved in 2006.

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During the period covered by the previous Biennial in 2008, Liverpool's year as ECoC, it was estimated that some 5.4m people visited the city. Inevitably, the expectation was that overall visitor numbers would be lower in 2010. Despite this, both Culture and the Visitor Economy had been identified as one of the four strands that would drive forward a step-change in Liverpool's economy, and data from The Mersey Partnership projected growth of 20% in visitor numbers above 2008 levels by 2010. Major cultural events such as the Liverpool Biennial were seen as a crucial part of driving forward this step-change.

Besides the expected 'drop' from ECoC, there could have been a number of factors distorting the visitor profile this year. These included changes in domestic and international economies, increased travel costs, and uncertainty in the UK economy post-election causing something of a propensity to reduce personal travel / expenditure.

2.8.3 Aims and Objectives

The overall aim of the research was to produce a statistically robust estimate of visitors / spend at the Festival and the overall profile of attendees. Within this, the study had the following objectives:

- To establish the number of participants in Liverpool Biennial 2010 that fell into different geographic / visiting types
- To evaluate the economic impact of the Biennial; this year the economic impact will evaluate the event, either using a European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) - compliant methodology, or using the historic methodology, which relies heavily on tourist board data
- To conduct a socio-demographic profile of people at exhibitions and segment them by their approach to art and their attitudes towards the Biennial

- To describe the types of visits that the Biennial audience are taking in terms of group structure, motivation, accommodation used, and length of stay etc.
- To investigate which elements of the Biennial the audience are aware of and which they visit
- To gauge the audience reaction to the various elements of the Biennial against their expectation
- To gauge the audience reaction to the event as a whole
- To quantify the impact / success of the Biennial marketing and promotion activities
- Where appropriate, to make recommendations that could be used to improve the next Biennial (ENWRS 2011a, p.6)

2.8.4 Methodology

To meet the aims, IQCS (Interviewer Quality Control Scheme) trained interviewers conducted 600 interviews at the art installations and 400 interviews with passers-by on the city's main thoroughfares. The sample sizes were chosen so as to give 95% confidence in the survey findings.

2.8.5 Interviews at Installations

Much of the analysis data came from interviews conducted at the Biennial installations. The interviews were conducted at various exhibitions by the ENWRS interviewing team.

Although the questionnaire used was kept short (the aim being to complete all interviews within 5 - 7 minutes) it covered a wide range of components, including visitor profile; awareness / visitation of Biennial components; spend, and activity on a visit. A copy of the questionnaire is included in the Appendix Five.

2.8.6 Interviews on Main Thoroughfares

In order to enable an accurate estimation of the numbers of visitors to the 2010 Biennial, a number of surveys were conducted with general visitors to Liverpool. These surveys were used to measure:

- Overall awareness levels of the Biennial
- Visitation levels of the Biennial
- Calculation of ratios between those visiting 'counted' Biennial installations and those visiting 'non-counted' Biennial installation (2011a, p.6)

2.8.7 Analysis

Completed questionnaires were data entered into SNAP with analysis being conducted in SPSS; this allowed both a wide range of crosstabulations to be produced together with mean calculations. SPSS also enables further exploration and segmentation of the data, should this be required.

2.8.8 Reporting

The impact research presented the key findings from the 2010 survey together with all economic impact analysis; a copy of the questionnaire used, verbatims, and key cross-tabulations are included in the Appendix Five. It should be noted that during 2010, extensive research was conducted by TMP into the visitor profile in Liverpool.

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During 2009, extensive research was conducted by the Northwest Regional Development Agency, which dramatically changed the baseline data used in STEAM; accordingly, ENWRS presented both the revised Biennial 2008 data alongside the expected results for 2010. STEAM does not include local residents as these are not counted as 'tourists.' However, ENWRS knows from the Biennial survey work the ratio of Liverpool residents to other visitors, and this has been used to calculate the figure shown.

The 2009 STEAM data had been used for the calculations and represented a more accurate methodology and should not be compared with previous reports. In order to provide a context for the year's event, ENWRS re-worked the results of earlier reports. Thus, whilst the impact of the 2010 Biennial (628,000 trips) was below that for 2008 (815,000) - which might be expected given that this was Liverpool's year as European Capital of Culture - it was significantly higher than that achieved in 2006 (410,000).

A key point is in measuring how many of the visitors to the city were in fact attending the Biennial. In order to do this, interviewers recorded the proportion of all visitors they stopped who indicated they were not attending any Biennial event whilst on their trip. Although these were not selected for interview, a ratio was calculated, and the estimate is that some 7.7% of all visitors to the city over this period were attending the Biennial (this compares to some 10.7% in 2008, and 6.5% in 2006).

In earlier years the STEAM Day / Stay split had lower reliability - and was accordingly split by what the Biennial findings indicated as being the true 'Day' / 'Stay' split. The work undertaken by NWDA increased the robust level of the STEAM data. Thus, in the calculations, ENWRS split the apportionment. For venues where the survey sample was above 100, ENWRS used the split indicated by survey data; for other venues, they use that estimated by STEAM. This produced overall a much greater share of day visitors than earlier estimates but given the substantial increase in the STEAM baseline.

2.8.9 Impact of the 2010 Biennial

- It was estimated that the 2010 Liverpool Biennial received 628,000 visitor trips, which in total resulted in 834,000 visits to Biennial exhibitions or displays. This was a growth of over 50% on the 410,000 visitors to Liverpool Biennial 2006, although less than in Liverpool's exceptional year as ECoC in 2008
- The total spend by Biennial visitors was estimated as £27.2 million, £17.1m was generated by direct visitor spend, with indirect spend raising this to a total of £25.1m and £1.5m was also generated from resident spend
- In terms of calculating the direct spend attributable to the event itself, approximately 475,000 visitor trips were generated directly by Liverpool Biennial. This consisted of 35,000 staying visitors, 345,000-day visitors, and 96,000 Liverpool residents
- The Biennial directly generated £17.1m in spend by visitors to the city, with a further £1.5m generated by resident spend
- Using calculations from The Mersey Partnership, it was estimated that the event supported 222 direct jobs and a further 163.9 indirect job (ENWRS 2011a, p.4)

2.9 2012 Festival – 15th September – 25th November

2.9.1 International

The Liverpool Biennial 2012 presented work by 242 artists to an audience of more than 650,000 people. The programme included the International, titled The Unexpected Guest,

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an exhibition of specially commissioned and pre-existing work across the city; the John Moores Painting Prize, Bloomberg New Contemporaries, City States, and the Sky Arts Ignition Series / Tate Liverpool commission by Doug Aitken. The programme included talks, films, performances, comedy, music, archaeology, expeditions, poetry, dance, and a Young Peoples' Biennial that took place over a ten-week period. The core of the Biennial exhibition remained on commissioning new works of art, and an integrated programme of public programmes and learning to continue to broaden the audience profile.

For 2012, *City States* presented thirteen exhibitions developed in relation to the theme of hospitality. Starting from the premise that the state of cities increasingly determines the future of states, different cultures of hospitality often co-exist in the same place. The exchange of knowledge and experience between cities increasingly constitutes new urban geopolitics that is both particular to each city and globally linked.

City States used this idea to create an architecture that was specific to the thirteen exhibitions and integrated into the open plan space of the post-industrial building. Each exhibition was distinct yet connected in offering an understanding of hospitality for our times. The following cities exhibited as part of *City States*: Belo Horizonte, Birmingham, Copenhagen, Gdansk, Hong Kong, Incheon, Lisbon, Makhachkala, Oslo, Reykjavik, St. Petersburg, Taipei, Vilnius, and Wellington.

2.9.2 2012 Research

2.9.3 Aims and Objectives

The overall aim of the ENWRS research was to produce a statistically robust estimate of visitors / spend at the Biennial and the overall profile of attendees. Within the ENWRS report, the quantitative study had the following objectives:

- To establish the number of participants in Liverpool Biennial 2012 that fell into different geographic / visiting types
- To evaluate the economic impact of the Biennial
- To conduct a socio-demographic profile of people at exhibitions and segment them by their approach to art and their attitudes towards the Biennial
- To describe the types of visits that the Biennial audience are taking in terms of group structure, motivation, accommodation used and length of stay etc.
- To investigate which elements of the Biennial the audience are aware of and which they visit
- To gauge the audience reaction to the various elements of the Biennial against their expectation
- To gauge the audience reaction to the event as a whole
- To quantify the impact / success of the Biennial marketing and promotion activities
- Where appropriate, to make recommendations that could be used to improve the next Biennial (ENWRS 2013a, p.8)

2.9.4 Methodology

IQCS trained interviewers conducted 600 interviews at the art installations and 400 interviews with passers-by on the city's main thoroughfares (sample sizes being chosen to give 95% confidence in the survey findings). STEAM does not include local residents as these are not counted as 'tourists.' However, ENWRS know from the Biennial survey work the ratio of Liverpool residents to other visitors, and this has been used to calculate the figures shown.

2.9.5 Interviews at Installations

Much of the analysis data comes from interviews conducted at the Biennial installations. The interviews were conducted at the various exhibitions by the ENWRS interviewing team. Although the questionnaire used was kept short (the aim being to complete all interviews within 5 - 7 minutes) it covered a wide range of components, including visitor profile, awareness / visitation of Biennial components, spend, and activity on the visit. A copy of the questionnaire is included in Appendix Seven.

2.9.6 Interviews on Main Thoroughfares

This year, in order to enable an accurate estimation of the numbers of visitors to the Biennial, a number of surveys were conducted with general visitors to Liverpool. These surveys were used to measure:

1. Overall awareness levels of the Biennial
2. Visitation levels of the Biennial
3. Calculation of ratios between those visiting 'counted' Biennial installations and those visiting 'non-counted' Biennial installations (ENWRS 2013a, p.6)

2.9.7 Analysis

Completed questionnaires were quantitative data entered into SNAP (Software Non-functional Assessment Process) with analysis being conducted in SPSS; this allowed both a wide range of cross-tabulations to be produced together with mean calculations; SPSS also enables further exploration and segmentation of the data should this be required.

2.9.8 Reporting

This presents the key findings from the 2012 survey; a copy of the questionnaire used and verbatims are included in the appendices. It should be noted that during 2012 extensive research was conducted by The Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP) into the visitor profile in Liverpool. The social grade using the National Readership Survey (NRS) was used again and was calculated based upon the employment profile of the head of the respondent's household.

The section of analysis for visitors to the Liverpool Biennial dealt with the quantification of results - the actual number of people who visited the event is estimated. In order to calculate this, ENWRS used both survey data and Tourist Board STEAM data, which has been employed in previous Biennial evaluations.

'Leakage' relates to the concept that on a typical tourist's trip to a destination, not all the monies they indicated as spending will have been made within the destination itself. For example, there will be travel costs, expenditure made at stops getting to / from the destination, and for those not staying in the destination, accommodation costs.

Respondents were asked to indicate – as an estimation – the proportion of their total trip spend that was made within Liverpool itself.

Respondents were asked to rate their satisfaction with different elements of the Biennial. This was done using the 5-point Likert Scale, where 1 = 'Very Poor' and 5 = 'Very Good.' From this, the mean scores have been calculated; any score above 3.0 indicates net satisfaction – any score below 3.0 indicates net dissatisfaction. ENWRS presented the absolute responses as well as the mean scores. Data is also shown explicitly for those drawn by the event - to some extent the opinion of this segment might be regarded as being of more relevance. (For more information on the Festival Evaluation Reports, see Appendix Eight.)

2.9.9 Impact of the 2012 Event

- Data suggested that 692,000 trips were made to the 2012 Biennial (214,000 trips by city residents, 412,000 'day trips' and 65,000 staying trips). Of these, it is estimated that 454,000 were actually influenced primarily by the Biennial (125,000 trips by city residents, 297,000 'day trips' and 31,000 staying trips)
- Based on an average spend of £27.63 by day visitors and £150.14 by staying visitors (both below levels seen in previous surveys), combined with the numbers above, suggests that direct spend in the city attributable to the Biennial was at least £15.2m
- In terms of economic impact of the event – excluding spend by residents but including the indirect economic impact – the 2012 Biennial generated at least £20.7m. It is also worth noting that during this period an estimated 33,000 hotel room nights were generated by the 2012 Biennial. We also note that if expenditure by residents is included, the economic impact of the 2012 Biennial would be £24.4m (ENWRS 2013a, p.3)

In 2011 Biggs left the Biennial organisation to move onto other projects. Paula Ridley (Chair of Liverpool Biennial) thanked him for his contribution and suggested that in many ways it was his own creation. Without Biggs and his reputation amongst the art world for fine

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judgement and innovation, the Biennial would have found it much harder to establish itself in the way it did. He would be missed but the Board recognised that he has laid an excellent foundation for the Biennial to continue to challenge and surprise. His commitment to art was recognised by an OBE in the 2011 Birthday Honours, and the award of Citizen of Liverpool. Since his departure, he has worked on other projects including:

- Curator Folkestone Triennial 2014
- Co-curator Aichi Triennale 2013
- General Editor of Tate Modern Artists (books on contemporary artists since 2002)
- International Advisor, School of Fine Arts, Shanghai University
- Chair, Organising Committee, International Award for Excellence in Public Art (Shanghai)
- Consultancy 2011 - 2013 with Osage Art Foundation, Hong Kong

As Biggs left, Sally Tallant joined the Biennial as the Director of Liverpool Biennial. She was formerly Head of Programmes at the Serpentine Gallery, London where she was responsible for the development and delivery of an integrated programme of exhibitions, architecture, education, and public programmes.

2.10 Non-Festival Activity

2.10.1 Public Realm Works

Antony Gormley's *Another Place* on Crosby Beach (owned by Sefton Council) and Jaume Plensa's *Dream* (owned by St Helens Council) were both commissioned outside of the Festival, and successfully remain on view. However, the Biennial was unsuccessful in persuading Liverpool City Council to take ownership (or temporary responsibility) for the public art legacies from Liverpool's year as European Capital of Culture 2008. This meant

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that Richard Wilson's *Turning the Place Over* was switched off, the same was true of Diller Scofidio + Renfro's *Arbores Laetae*. In 2008 the decommissioning of Atelier Bow-Wow *Rockscape* was unavoidable, but Gross Max's *Rotunda Folly* remained on-site and was supported through in-kind work by the local community. A description of these works can be found in Appendix Nine.

With regards to the long-term prospects for artworks in the public realm, with the demise of Northwest Regional Development Agency, scaling back of Liverpool Vision and restrictions of Liverpool City Council has meant that even those that are too big to fail will do so unless they receive support from local authorities, even if this means only in-kind support through sites maintenance. Unfortunately, without long-term maintenance, public artworks can become sad reflections of their former selves and can add to the dereliction of the city's landscape (the opposite to the initial intention).

The three-year funding for the *Art for Places* programme (Sefton, Wirral, and Liverpool) finished in October 2010. In North Liverpool, the Biennial continued to aim to create connectivity through the artistic excellence of their projects in Anfield and Everton Park. They hoped to communicate the adjacency of areas that were seen as distant, by connecting neighbourhoods separated by green spaces, roads, canals and entrenched attitude. In Anfield, *On the Street* enabled vulnerable young people to explore their community and its regeneration through a commission by New York artist Ed Purver (April 2010) that transformed an Anfield street as part of the PCT's *Living Sketchbook* week.

The success of this project demonstrated its potential for expansion, and it later evolved into the *2Up2Down* project by Dutch artist Jeanne van Heeswijk. This project involved up to forty NEET (Not in Education, Employment, or Training) young people and other residents working with professionals to transform a derelict terrace into usable housing units and developing a range of skills in the process. The two-year scheme was part of the 2012 Festival with funds raised on a rolling basis.

Public artworks have always been at the heart of the Biennials curatorial vision, work in the public realm that takes something out of the ordinary in a space, creating a memorable experience for the general public who witness it. It creates a sense of wonder and memories through cultural experiences that are at the heart of the Biennial and the work in the public realm. Biggs (2015) explains 'These are reasons why I like to take art out of the gallery into the street and allow it to become a part of people's conversations in shared (street) space - because it can duck out of the category of "art" and become a part of lived experience.'

2.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced the Liverpool Biennial and the methodologies that have been used for their Festival evaluations (1999 – 2012). I have shown that the research of the first two Biennial Festivals used both quantitative and qualitative methodologies as they not only wanted to measure the impact of the events, but they also wanted to

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understand the opinions of visitors towards the impact of the Festivals to Liverpool and its communities and for the future branding and marketing of the events. They used a combination of focus groups of existing and potential attendees, depth interviews with peers and stakeholders, and population surveys. This was because, as a new organisation, they wanted to understand the potential visitors and how they could introduce and promote the Festivals to increase the audiences. This was valuable information that developed the organisation and how they communicated to the primary market segments:

- Vocationals – those involved in the visual arts, regionally, nationally, and internationally
- Culturally Active – with contemporary interests
- Culturally Active – with traditional interests
- Lifestylers – people with an interest in contemporary popular culture
- Corporate – potential sponsors and businesspeople
- City – political decision-makers and influencers (MHM 2002, pp.4-5)

The qualitative research objectives were to understand what people thought:

- To ascertain how respondents found out about the Biennial
- To establish in broad terms how respondents felt about Liverpool holding the Biennial and its general impact on the city
- To monitor the effectiveness of the marketing campaign
- To ascertain which factors motivated respondents to attend the Biennial
- To gather general feedback comments about the Biennial from attendees
- To provide basic demographic information on audiences (gender, age, geographic location, occupation, arts attendance)
- To establish how attendees felt about the quality of exhibitions and exhibition spaces (TEAM 1999, pp.2-3)
- Test the strength of the 1999 Biennial brand
- Understand the expectations of the 2002 Biennial amongst target audiences
- Test the proposed 2002 offerings
- Understand motivations and obstacles to attendance
- Make recommendations on communications and audience development strategies
- Identify marketing objectives and evaluation methods (MHM 2002, p.3)

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The research that ENWRS has conducted between 2004 - 2012 has been quantitative through the use of questionnaires, using closed questions and Likert Scales to quantify the data. The only open questions in the questionnaires asked:

28. What have you enjoyed most about this event?

29. What have you enjoyed least about this event? (ENWRS 2007a, Questionnaire p.6. Also, see Appendix Five)

These questions will only ascertain which artwork they liked / disliked. I argue that it is more important to know why they liked / disliked the artist / artwork as some artworks are intentionally made not to be liked are, challenging and thought provoking, especially in a biennial format. It is qualitative questions like these that increase understanding of who and why audience likes the work and participates in cultural events. The Biennial used qualitative methodologies for the first two Biennials and then used quantitative methodologies since 2004, which fits into the targets supplied by funders / sponsors to measure impacts. I will further explain the research methodologies that have been used by, and for, the Liverpool Biennial Festivals and discuss their validity and effectiveness.

Chapter Three will disseminate the instrumental methodologies that the Biennials research partner (ENWRS) has used to estimate / measure the economic impact of the Biennial Festivals to Liverpool and surrounding areas. I will argue the validity and accuracy of these processes as there is mounting evidence that the underlying data and performance measurements of cultural events are often flawed, and methodologies for their collection is

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either dubious or under-developed. (Belfiore 2021, Crossick and Kaszynska 2016,
Woronkowicz et al 2019)

Chapter Three: Economic Impact of the Liverpool Biennial

In this chapter, I will evaluate the economic impact of the Biennial Festivals by using research by England's Northwest Research Service (ENWRS) who are the primary source of tourist research conducted within Liverpool. I will investigate the Biennial Festival's figures with other tourism data to compare the validity of the findings. For example, to set that data in an appropriate context, I will be supporting the primary research (Biennial Festivals) with secondary data (Liverpool tourism) wherever possible. Specifically, the secondary research draws comparisons between the Biennial and other events and identifies examples of best practice in the development of methodologies of similar local events. I will evaluate the Festival impact reports to quantify the impact / success of the methodologies used to estimate the economic impact of visitors by calculating a separate average spend per visit for each of the visitor types and overlaying the relevant spend per head figures onto the estimated size of each segment.

This chapter will use the data from the quantitative surveys that estimate the economic impact generated by the Liverpool Biennial Festivals that have been produced by ENWRS since 2004. ENWRS are the in-house research team at The Mersey Partnership (TMP) and the tourist board for the Liverpool City Region. TMP was commissioned to undertake the market research studies in order to measure participation in the Biennial, evaluate the impacts of the event, and comment upon the relative success of various aspects of the Festival programmes as a tool for future development. I will also use other Liverpool tourism reports produced by The Mersey Partnership as the team has produced numerous

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key publications for the region, including the annual *Economic Review and Digest of Tourism Statistics*, as well as managing many regular research projects including Liverpool Destination Benchmarking and the Liverpool John Lennon Airport Gateway study. Under the badge of ENWRS, the team conducts numerous commercial research projects in the Economic Development and Visitor Economy fields, with a specialism in event evaluation.

As explained in the Introduction and Chapter Two, there were many reasons to start a Biennial in Liverpool, but a major factor was the economic impact and the regeneration that an event like this could make on the city's economy (see Biggs 2015), and its perceptions as a tourist destination. For example, Sheikh (2009) explains that biennials have evolved from the original biennial format (which replicated the World Fairs and Expositions (Expo) that showcased a country's industrial achievements for several months) of national pavilions that promoted the cultural identity of a city or country to attract business and tourist economies:

The uniqueness of a particular place and culture is not only a question of nationalism and of nation-building, though, but also a means of establishing a niche market and attracting an international audience, to generate cultural capital as well as increased revenue through (art) tourism. Biennials are, in this way, part of the experience economy, with the whole experience of the city and the exhibition being the commodity rather than the singular works of art displayed as is, presumably, the case with art fairs. (p.155)

Sheikh argues that biennials are now focusing on the business of the experience economy.

Visitor experiences are more relevant today, given the greater choices available to

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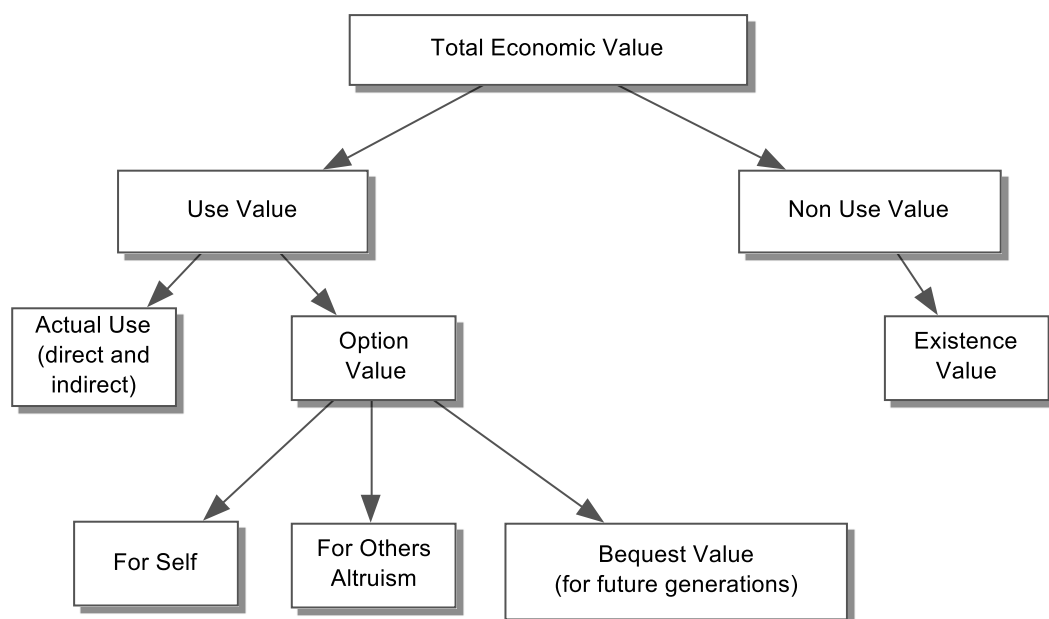
customers who are increasingly looking for experiences that affect their senses and have an impact on their personal feelings. Experiences represent a distinct economic offering to commodities, goods and services because they are unique, memorable and personal (Pine II and Gilmore 1998). Therefore, the tourist experience is a commodity that has developed its own valuation methodology to measure Memorable Tourist Economy (MTE) that is influenced by hedonism and meaningfulness.

Although the importance of memorable experiences in tourist activities has been highlighted by a number of researchers, there are few relevant empirical studies. To date, only one evaluation of the Biennial by Annabel Jackson Associates (AJA) (2009) has included a question concerning memorability. This Chapter, however, is focused on economic evaluations, memorability will be discussed in Chapter Six.

As we have seen in Chapter One, there are many ways to evaluate and define the successes and impacts of a given festival or cultural event. Economic impact studies can be an important tool for future cultural planning; they inform the economic development and regeneration strategies for local authorities. The economic impact of a cultural good or service has been used as a way of trying to fit cultural policies (*The Green Book*) into a cost-benefit analysis (CBA) framework.

3.1 Economic Valuation Methods

Where there is no market value, economists have developed a range of techniques to understand the economic value. Stated Preference (SP) techniques aim to capture the total economic value of a good or service by asking the public to state their preferences within a hypothetical market for the good or service. This concept of Total Economic Value (TEV) is made up of several constituent parts. These are broadly divided into 'Use' and 'Non-use values.'



Pearce and Ozdemiroglu et al (2002), p.24

3.2 Total Economic Value

Total Economic Value (TEV) comprises the sum of use and non-use values. Use values may be direct (e.g. by using the good or visiting the establishment) or indirect (e.g. by securing some benefit from the good, like enjoyment or aesthetic experience). Cultural organisations for example serve both direct and indirect use functions. Therefore, it could be argued that a biennial festival has a direct use to a host city as it attracts cultural tourists

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who use the cultural good or service, and an indirect use as it creates cultural value and a cultural experience, or by proxy to the local economy.

By dividing TEV uses into subheadings and different types of values, they can describe values better, and be used as a checklist of the cultural goods or services impacts and effects. This divides the evaluation into sections that will explain each value in greater detail, which in principle will create a totally robust evaluation.

In addition to current use values, individuals may be willing to pay (WTP) to conserve the cultural good or service for future use (e.g. children or future generations), it is termed as a bequest value that creates a legacy. This value relates to a non-use value as these are also known as passive values. These are where an individual is willing to pay for a good even though they do not make any use of it personally and may not plan any future use for themselves or others. Pearce and Ozdemiroglu et al (2002) describe this as existence value, even though this use would also describe altruistic and bequest value. This is important, as it is easy to overlook the non-use values in decisions and policy-making relating to cultural organisations and museums.

There are two ways of estimating the economic values attached to non-marketed goods and services:

- Revealed Preferences identify the ways in which a non-market good influences actual markets for some other good i.e. value is revealed through a complementary (induced effect) market (in respect of biennials, it would be hotels, restaurants, and shops)
- Stated Preferences are based on constructed markets i.e. they ask people what economic value they attach to those goods and services. Economic value is revealed through hypothetical, or constructed markets based on questionnaires

Benefit transfer is the third approach to economic valuation as it relies on the build-up of case studies from revealed and stated preference studies, it then seeks to 'borrow' the resulting economic values and apply them to a new context. While terminology can vary, a useful distinction within stated preference is between contingent valuation and choice modelling. In this chapter I will show how the Biennial's economic impact reports use these methods; even if they use different terminology, the theory can still be seen as embedded in their approach.

3.3 Economic Value of Culture

As I have already argued, there are many different types of economic impact studies: for example, they can focus on the economic importance of a single cultural event or organisation (e.g. Liverpool Biennial), or the entire cultural life of a town or region (e.g. Impacts 08, which examined the impact of Liverpool's year as European Capital of Culture - ECoC). The most common form of study is the registration and measurement of the short-term economic impact of the cultural activity, or organisation observed by attempting to differentiate between direct and indirect effects (Hansen 1995). According to Radich (1987), the economic impact of a given phenomenon can be defined as: 'the effect of that phenomenon on such economic factors as the economic behaviour of consumers,

businesses, the market, industry (micro), the economy as a whole, national wealth or income, employment, and capital (macro)' (Radich 1987 cited in Reeves 2002, pp.27-28).

Radich explains that there are many different factors that contribute to the economic impact of an event. As explained in Chapter One, the economic contribution of the arts can be summed up as follows:

- Direct Economic Impacts: The arts and culture serve as a main source of contents for the cultural industries, and media and value-added services of the telecommunications industries. They create jobs and contribute significantly to the Gross Domestic Product. Cultural institutions, events, and activities create locally significant economic effects, both directly and indirectly through multipliers
- Indirect Economic Impacts: The arts are 'socially profitable' in that they offer cultural credit or esteem for people and institutions (e.g. financiers, sponsors, collectors or connoisseurs). Works of art and cultural products create national, and international stocks of ideas or images which can be exploited by the cultural industries (e.g. in advertising or cultural tourism) (European Task Force 1997, p.238)
- The Induced Effect: This effect of the arts concerns the so-called ancillary spending that accompanies cultural consumption, things such as transport, food and drink, and in the case of cultural tourists, accommodation and other forms of recreational (Belfiore 2003, pp.9-10)

The Induced effect is the primary impact that biennials contribute economically, for example; this is because the festivals are free and there is no direct economic impact. The Induced effect, in this case, will create a multiplier effect through cultural tourism when it benefits the micro economy in this way and creates jobs, even on a temporary basis. Pratt (1997a) explains through examining economic impact studies that 'the UK has developed economic impact studies that sought to explore the extra economic activity generated by arts and culture; predominantly via participation figures, and secondary impacts (induced effect) via proximity to shopping and tourism, as well as transport and accommodation' (1997a, p.4).

As the Liverpool Biennial is a 'not for profit' organisation and the Festival is free, there is no significant economic impact from participation as there would be with other cultural organisations from ticket sales and merchandise. This multiplier effect operates on the principle that one individual's expenditure is another individual's income. Whenever any extra consumer spending happens, this gives rise to a series of further incomes and expenditures. The overall increase in spending is much higher than the initial injection of additional expenditure.

The greater the proportion of the extra income that is spent, the bigger the multiplier effect will be. Thus, to estimate the multiplier effect of the cultural sector on the economy, it is necessary to establish to what extent the money spent on culture circulates within the local economy; creating additional local spending and positive induced effects on the local economy at large.

For example, research has told the Biennial that it takes £57,348 of tourism spend to support one full-time equivalent job (Biennial Review 2007 – 8, p.13). Researched by TMP, the number of jobs the 2010 Liverpool Biennial Touched Festival estimated the event supported 222 direct jobs and a further 163.9 indirect jobs for the Festival period. Kelly and Kelly (2000), however, suggest that using numbers for jobs as an indicator for economic value will not give a true benchmark. Employment figures can come under fire as they may overestimate employment figures because of the short-term contract nature of the market, and not give an indication of permanent full-time equivalents.

In this context, I suggest the supporters of the economic impact of the arts have claimed that the arts sector generates a high multiplier effect as they tend to stimulate extra-consumption and spending in other local businesses (e.g. local transport, hotels and restaurants, etc.), minimising 'leakages' of the additional income from the local economy. Therefore, the cultural sector is important in the national economy because of the high number of people it employs, the wealth it generates (directly and indirectly), and by stimulating additional spending within the local economy.

For example, during the final year of this study the creative industries contributed £71.4 billion (2012) to the UK economy, which equates to about £8 million every hour (DCMS 2014), and in 2013 there were 2.62 million jobs (up from 1.68 million in 2012) in the Creative Economy (Creative Industries Council 2014). This means that the Creative Economy accounted for one in every twelve UK jobs, which represent 5.6% of the total number of jobs in the UK. The Gross Value Added (GVA) of the Creative Industries was £76.9bn in 2013 and accounted for 5.0% of the UK Economy (DCMS 2015a).

Furthermore, Belfiore (2003) explains that 'there is a diffuse belief in the capacity of a vibrant cultural sector to make an area more attractive for business relocation. According to this view, moving to a lively and culturally vibrant location appeals to firms, as it makes it easier for them to attract highly skilled professional labour (p.3)' (i.e. creative class). This has previously been discussed in the conception of the Biennial and the creation of the

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cultural city (Chapter Two), and public value of the Biennial and its impact on the image and perceptions of Liverpool will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Liverpool saw an increase in tourism and the economic benefit this brought in 2008 because of the European Capital of Culture, and its legacy impacted later Biennial Festivals. This can be due to the increase of hotel stock, quality of hotels, and the opening of Liverpool One which made Liverpool a more popular tourist destination with better amenities. Liverpool One regenerated a 42-acre area of Liverpool at a cost of £1 billion, creating a mixed-use development of new and refurbished buildings, streets and spaces - making it the largest open-air shopping centre in the UK. Boasting six distinct districts, it comprises 165 retail units with over 50% of brands new to the area, across 152,500 square metres (1.6 million square feet) of retail and leisure space, 3,250 square metres (34,983 square feet) of offices, more than 500 residential units, two hotels, a 14-screen cinema, 5-acre park, a new public transport interchange, and 3,000 parking spaces (ULI 2010).

During the period covered by the 2012 Festival (15th September – 25th November), it was estimated that 5.5 million (5.3m in 2010) people visited the city (5.2m day visitors and 424,000 staying visitors). It was estimated that there were 692,000 (628,000 in 2010) trips made to the 2012 Biennial (214,000 trips by city residents, 412,000 'day trips' and 65,000 staying trips) (ENWRS 2013a, p.3).

Based on an average spend in 2012 of £27.63 by day visitors and £150.14 by staying visitors (both below levels seen in previous surveys), combined with the number above suggests that direct spend in the city attributable to the Biennial was at least £15.2m. In terms of economic impact of the event, excluding spend by residents, but including the indirect economic impact, the 2012 Biennial generated at least £20.7m (ENWRS 2013a, p.3). If we include the total impact from direct and indirect expenditure, the impact in 2012 was £24.4 million (2013a, p.3), and in 2010 it was £25.1 million (ENWRS 2011a, p.4). I argue that this of course only covers spend generated by visitors and that we should consider the added influence of:

- Spend of art organisers in the area
- Use of local suppliers in and around the exhibition
- Future visits to the area, by those encouraged to make their first ever visit to the location by the exhibition
- Positive news coverage of the area generated by the exhibition

ENWRS (2013a) explains that spend by residents is usually excluded from economic impact data as they are not counted as 'tourists.' However, if the spend by residents was included, the total impact from direct and indirect expenditure would be £24.4m. When ENWRS calculates the economic impact, respondents defined as being wholly influenced by the Biennial are assigned at 100% of the value; those with a partial influence are assumed to be 50% of the value (ENWRS 2013a, p.53).

3.4 Average Raw Spend Per Capita

Visitors were asked for details of the mean spend that they made during their trip, and this is detailed in Table 3.1 - notice that specifically at this stage, the spend is broken down by different groups as distance dictates an increase of spend.

Table 3.1 Raw Spend by Visitor Type 2012

Total Direct Spend	Residents	Day Visitor from home	Day Visitor holiday base	Staying Visitor	All
Accommodation			£41.50	£47.82	£89.32
Shopping	£12.87	£15.42	£21.71	£34.38	£84.38
Food and Drink	£9.81	£11.43	£22.62	£49.20	£93.06
Attractions and Entertainment	£0.79	£1.49	£7.67	£12.12	£22.07
Travel and Transport	£1.94	£4.52	£10.93	£17.37	£34.76
Other areas of		£0.87		£0.31	£1.18
Total	£25.41	£33.73	£104.43	£161.20	£324.77

Table 3.2 Total Indirect (Induced Effect) Spend 2012

Total indirect Spend	Liverpool Resident	City Region Resident	Day Visitor to City	Staying Visitor	All
Accommodation				£5,694,828	£5,649,828
Shopping	£855,177	£437,754	£127,393	£767,093	£2,187,417
Food and Drink	£1,023,220	£523,774	£240,904	£1,772,267	£3,560,165
Entertainment and Attractions	£101,130	£51,767	£55,136	£604,484	£812,518
Travel and Transport	£78,976	£40,427	£43,058	£472,064	£634,526
Other areas of	£230,651	£147,584	£195,676	£425,709	£999,620
Total	£2,289,154	£1,201,307	£662,166	£9,736,446	£13,889,073

As already discussed, the indirect visitor spend (Induced effect) is the additional spend on local goods and services, including things like transport, food and drink, and in the case of cultural tourists, accommodation and other forms of recreational activity. We can see that the spending in certain sectors has a much greater economic impact than others; for example, expenditure on accommodation has a much greater indirect impact than expenditure on transport. The coefficients contained in the Cambridge Economic Impact Model (i.e. an industry respected tool for measuring the economic impact of tourism in a given area. See Appendix Eight for more information) were used to calculate the indirect spend.

Table 3.3 Economic Impact of Biennial Festivals 2004 - 2012

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Economic Impact	£10,928,330	£13,563,006	£28,024,000	£25,129,000	£20,699,000

3.5 Liverpool Economic Strategy

In 2012 the tourist economy was estimated by ENWRS as being worth £3.4 billion (up from £2.9 billion in 2010) to the Liverpool City Region, £991 million of this was from what is referred to as staying visitors to the region (NWR 2013, p.6). Even so, the local economy is still performing below national levels, with Gross Value Added (GVA) per head at just £14,698 in 2008 compared with £21,103 nationally (Digest of Tourism Statistics, Jan 2011b). The visitor economy is regarded as as one of Liverpool's four growth sectors by building on the strengths and potential of the area. Liverpool has been developing itself as a cultural

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destination, and this will drive a step change in the economic performance of the Liverpool City Region. Liverpool's four transformational actions and growth sectors are:

- Culture and the Visitor Economy
- Liverpool Superport
- Low Carbon Economy
- The Knowledge Economy

The Liverpool Biennial is part of the City's step-change in the economy and can be seen as a factor in the cultural regeneration of the area since 1999. The objective of the Biennial since its inception has been to raise the profile of Liverpool's external image as a centre for tourism, which it has systematically done with each Festival, and the Biennial claims it makes it one of the best attended biennial festivals in the world. The Festival's tourist growth can be seen if we compare the attendance figures of the first Liverpool Biennial (1999) with visitor data for consecutive years to show the increased successes of attracting tourists:

- 1999 = 188,754
- 2002 = 180,000
- 2004 = 350,000
- 2006 = 359,532
- 2008 = 451,000
- 2010 = 628,000
- 2012 = 692,000

Data from the Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP) projected growth of 36% in Liverpool's visitor numbers above 2010 levels by 2020, with major cultural events such as the Biennial forming a crucial part of driving forward this change. However, 2020 showed Liverpool City Region's Visitor Economy was worth £4.98bn, with an overall number of 66.27m visitors to the region and supporting 55,703 jobs (NWRS 2020).

3.6 Liverpool Biennial Visitor Demographic

England's Northwest Research Service report (ENWRS 2013a) stated that to some extent the type of visitor reflects on their origin and the distance they travel to attend the Festival, with 22.6% being residents (24.5% in 2010), and 43.9% on a day trip from home (39.4% in 2010) (ENWRS 2011a, p.21, 2013a, p.25). This should not ignore, it states, that a very significant proportion was staying visitors in the city itself (29.7% 2012, 30.7% 2010); these are often associated with a higher spend and may have implications (in a positive sense) for the economic impact of the Biennial (ENWRS 2013a, p.25).

Interestingly, the UK visitors were typically staying elsewhere in the city region or North Wales, and the overseas visitors were typically staying in Manchester, Chester, or with friends at other city region locations. This would suggest that the many hotels within the city centre did not benefit from the economic impact of the Biennial. There seems to be a significant difference in visitor types between those who were there because of the Biennial, and those visitors who were there for other reasons but visited the Biennial.

Table 3.4 Type of Visitor Influenced by 'Main' Reason

	Liverpool Biennial main reason for visit		'Other' main reason for visiting	
	2010	2012	2010	2012
Staying trip	26%	13%	37%	17%
Day trip from holiday base	2%	1%	8%	3%
Day trip from home	42%	28%	37%	16%
Resident	30%	11%	17%	12%

If we go back and look at visitor type spending, we can see the majority of visitors (locals and day trips from home) spend the least amount of money than any other group. What is needed is for more international staying visitors, as they spend the most per visit (e.g. 2010 - £170.75, 2012 - £160.04 per person 2013a, p.51) and create the most impact on the economy. This is an issue of concern, not only by the Biennial but Liverpool as a city. The Liverpool brand as a destination needs to promote and advertise the Biennial Festival overseas so that it entices more affluent visitors. It is Liverpool's responsibility in this respect as it is the city's economy that benefits, especially as I will later show, the Biennial draws one of the largest audiences (if not the largest) to the city.

Arguably, the Liverpool Biennial should be given the credit as the number one attraction for Liverpool in the years in which the Festival falls. Other attractions, such as the Beatles and football clubs are established brands the world over that do not need advertising to attract visitors. As we shall see, the Biennial Festival has been one of the largest free events since it started in 1999. There should be a concerted drive to raise its awareness to overseas visitors. Even if it is not the sole reason for them to visit the city, it might prolong their stay

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so that they can visit the exhibitions. This will increase the hotel occupancy, and all other subsidiaries connected with the induced effect of tourism.

3.7 Staying Visitors Economic Impact

The average length of stay has been declining with each successive Festival: 2012 reported 2.6 nights which is shorter than in previous reports; 2010 reported 3.3 nights, a slight decline compared to the 2008 report of 3.6 nights. A suggestion for the shortened length of stay could possibly reflect the financial pressures due to the economic climate. The type of accommodation used has steadily increased for licensed hotels over each Festival: for example, 32% in 2004, 44% in 2006, 49% in 2008, 50% in 2010, and 49% in 2012. There was a decline in the use of a friend or relatives' home: 48% (2004), 42% (2006), 25% (2008), a rise to 30% (2010), and a slight decline 29% (2012).

The use of hotels was comparable to that seen in 2008, though of course, the numbers of hotel rooms available in the city have increased significantly since the Capital of Culture year (2008). I argue this does not add up to the ENWRS estimated figure and the Biennial's claim towards the hotel use in the city, and I will show that the economic impact towards hotel occupancy is exaggerated (positive bias) and the Biennial's influence on hotel stock occupancy is overstated and unfounded.

Table 3.5 Accommodation Used 2010 Festival

	Liverpool	Elsewhere in city region	Elsewhere in the North West	Further afield	Total
4 / 5-star hotel	21.8%		0.6%		22.3%
2 / 3-star hotel	23.5%	1.1%			24.6%
1 - star hotel, guesthouse, B / B	5.0%		0.6%		5.6%
Rented house or flat	2.8%	1.1%			3.9%
Hostel	8.9%		0.6%	0.6%	10.1%
House of friend / relative	21.2%	5.6%	3.4%		30.4%
Other	2.8%			0.6%	3.4%
Total	86.0%	7.8%	5.0%	1.1%	100%

Note: Percentages above are based on a percentage of all staying visitors

Table 3.6 Accommodation Used 2004 – 2012 Festivals

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Licenced Hotel	32%	44%	49%	50%	49%
Unlicensed Hotel	5%	1%	4%	3%	3%
Rented House or Flat	1%	4%	1%	4%	7%
Home of a Friend / Relative	48%	42%	25%	30%	29%
Youth Hostel	13%	9%	17%	10%	13%
Other	2%	1%	4%	3%	0%

At the same time, data from ENWRS (2013a) shows the growth in staying visitors (approximately 20% more rooms were sold than in the same period in 2010), which they state is a confirmation that the background market against which the Biennial is set is growing (p.27). This can be misleading as the growing popularity of Liverpool as a tourist destination will play a major factor. If you compare these figures with the hotel occupancy of years without the Biennial, the figures are similar, and there is no significant increase in hotel stock by those attracted by the Biennial Festival. This indicates that the Festival may not actually attract an increase of hotel rooms being sold during the Festival. As shown

below, the percentages do not indicate a significant enough increase for the statements by the Biennial (e.g. 35,000 extra staying trips in 2010 – ENWRS 2011a, p.4).

Table 3.7 Hotel Occupancy 2006 - 2012

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Total average	71.5%	71.3%	75.8%	69.2%	69.5%	70.60%	68.80%

Data is drawn from North West Research, Tourism Data Summary Jan 2015

Although hotel occupancy levels have been fluctuating, this is partially a product of the growth in the actual amount of hotel stock available. This again is due to Liverpool changing its outward perception, and the industry that benefits through tourism and the cultural tourist, which though partly due to the Liverpool Biennial is mainly due to the Capital of Culture year (of which the Biennial was integral) that saw the exponential growth and building of many new hotels within the city centre.

Table 3.8 Hotel Room Occupancy during the Biennial 2004 - 2012

	Oct - Nov 2004	Oct - Nov 2006	Oct - Nov 2008	Oct - Nov 2010	Oct - Nov 2012
Mean hotel room occupancy	72.5%	74%	80.8%	75.1%	78.7%
City centre hotel rooms sold	128,129	119,621	168,822	192,719	232,225

Table 3.9 indicates a steady increase in hotel room occupancy. For example, in October / November 2012, approximately 20% more rooms were sold than in 2010, compared with the 14% more rooms sold for the same period in 2008. Again, analysis of the figures for the same period (Sept / Oct / Nov) gives an indication of the Biennial's impact on hotel room occupancy.

Table 3.9 Hotel Room Occupancy per Month for the Biennial Period 2006 - 2012

	September	October	November
2006	79%	74%	74%
2007	79%	77%	75%
2008	80.6%	81.1%	80.5%
2009	76.5%	77.3%	70.5%
2010	75.5%	76.1%	71.8%
2011	76.7%	76.5%	74.0%
2012	74.4%	75.0%	73.5%

2008 is higher than other years because of the Capital of Culture. Also, the actual number of rooms the data is based on has risen considerably over the two years which will affect percentages

Arguably, this is not an actual reflection on the impact and hotel room occupancy because it uses percentages. As hotel room stock has risen exponentially over the previous years, the percentages have remained similar, indicating that more hotel rooms had to have been sold. This can be shown by looking at (LJ Forecaster / Tourist board room stock data) the actual hotel rooms sold over the years:

- 2004 = 720,000
- 2005 = 705,000
- 2006 = 694,000
- 2007 = 725,000
- 2008 = 910,000
- 2009 = 897,000
- 2010 = 1,046,000

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- 2011 = 1,124,000
- 2012 = 1,244,000 (ENWRS 2013b, p.12)

This indicates a growth in the numbers staying in hotels in the city, with 2010 marking the first year with over one million rooms sold in the city centre. This incremental growth in the number of hotel rooms sold demonstrates the growing popularity of Liverpool as a tourist destination.

3.8 The Biennial as a Tourist Attraction

Any festival / event is predominately a tourist attraction, and success is valued on attendance figures. Surprisingly, the Biennial is not mentioned within any of the Merseyside tourist reports, even though they were conducted by the same company (ENWRS / NWR) who produced all the Biennial's research / reports. *The Digest of Tourism* reports are produced by the in-house research team at The Mersey Partnership (before December 2013) and the Liverpool City Region Local Enterprise Partnership (after December 2013), and they list a number of Liverpool attractions and festivals, except the Biennial, a glaring omission, given it is such a draw and its proven economic impact.

Table 3.10 Top Ten Free Events of 2010

Event	Visitors
1. Mathew Street Festival	320,000
2. On the Waterfront	65,000
3. Halton Fireworks	55,000
4. Vintage Organ and Steam Rally	50,000
5. Africa Oye	50,000
6. Southport Food and Drink Festival	40,000
7. Brouhaha Carnival	35,000
8. Lord Street Christmas Festival	34,000
9. Hoylake RNLI Open Day	30,000
10. Liverpool Food and Drink	28,000

(ENWRS 2011b p.14)

Table 3.11 Top Ten Free Events of 2012

Event	Visitors
1. Mathew Street Festival*	160,000
2. Brazilica	80,000
3. Liverpool Pride	52,000
4. Hope Street Festival	30,000
5. Southport Food and Drink	24,000
6. Festival of Transport	35,000
7. Hoylake RNLI Open Day	20,000
8. Wirral Kite Festival	18,500
9. Wirral Egg Run	12,000
10. Halloween Lantern Carnival	10,000

*Saturday figures only, due to event being cancelled because of bad weather (North West Research 2013, p.17)

Arguably, the Biennial should be the number one event with 834,000 visits (2010) and 692,000 (2012), which is greater than all the other events put together for each year. The only reference to the Biennial is in the *2009 Digest of Tourism Statistics*, which again excludes the Biennial but provides an after-word: ‘During 2008 the city played host to a

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number of city-wide public art festivals including the Liverpool Biennial but whilst it would draw significant numbers of visitors to Liverpool, attendance numbers are not easily quantified.' (2009b, p.15)

This seems questionable as they are the ones quantifying, and any city event which covers numerous venues would incur the same logistic difficulties (i.e. Mathew Street Festival, Liverpool Pride). One could suggest that ENWRS's reluctance and difficulty lie with the duration of the Biennial, stretching a number of months instead of a couple of days. The only reference is in the *January 2015 Tourism Data Summary*, which lists the Biennial Festival second (677,000) to the Giants spectacular (one million).

If ENWRS could estimate the attendance figures for the Biennial's impact / evaluation reports, why were they unable to use the same figures when estimating the attendance of all the other festivals?

However, we can see that the Biennial's impact from cultural tourism has steadily increased since the Festival's inception (1999). The creation of the Biennial signalled a step in the process of shifting negative perceptions of Liverpool and positioning it in a global circuit of cities that held biennials of contemporary art, including Venice, Istanbul, Johannesburg, Sao Paulo and Sydney (Rees Leahy 2000 p.9). Therefore, the Biennial has achieved another aim of raising the profile of Liverpool as a cultural tourism destination and contributing to

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establishing Liverpool as one of Europe's top twenty most popular cities to visit (thirty-ninth in 2008), fifth UK city in attracting overseas visitors and within the top five UK cities for short breaks, conferences, shopping and cultural visits, with 550,000 staying visits. *The Rough Guide* named Liverpool as the 3rd city in the world to visit (2014). This popularity created 45,900 (2012) jobs that were supported by the visitor spend, creating £3.4 billion for the local economy (NWR 2013, p.4).

3.9 The Breakdown of Visitor Spend by Proximity

The breakdown of individual spending shows the economic impact is by proximity (the Induced effect) to other businesses (shops, restaurants etc.). Radich (1987) explains the economic impact of a given phenomenon can be defined as the effect of that phenomenon on such factors as the economic behaviour of consumers, businesses, the market, industry, the economy as a whole, national wealth, or income, employment and capital. Biennial visitors were asked for details of the mean spend that they made on their trip. This shows the induced economic impact by proximity to the Biennial on shopping, accommodation and food and drink. This multiplier is felt by local businesses and economies. For residents and day visitors this seems to have come principally from shopping - particularly connected to the opening of Liverpool One. Whilst this was also noted for those staying in the city, the figure for this segment also reflects on a greater proportion of visitors using paid accommodation.

The visitor spend is broken down by different groups; given the very different composition of resident / day / stay visitors and their spending patterns. For example, in 2012 the total spend can be broken down as:

- Typically, Liverpool residents spent £23.65 per person on their trip with £12.87 on shopping, and £9.81 on food and drink. This group would make up 43.9% of the overall Biennial visitors, and could make multiple trips during the period
- Those on a day trip from home spent £33.90 across their visit with £15.42 on shopping and £11.43 on food and drink
- Day visitors from a holiday base typically spent £104.68 per person during their visit to the city, £41.50 on accommodation, £21.71 on shopping, £22.62 on food and drink, and £10.93 on travel and transport
- Staying visitors spent the most with a total spend of £160.04 during their visit to the city, £47.82 on accommodation, £34.38 on shopping, £49.20 on food and drink, and the highest amount on travel and transport with £17.37 (ENWRS 2013a, pp.49-50)

Table 3.12 summarises the change in visitor spend across the different Biennials. In 2012 expenditure by both residents and day visitors seem to have increased, and much of this comes from the elevated retail expenditure, although part of this might be attributed to there being some installations within Liverpool One itself (this remains true even after excluding results from this location). By contrast, expenditure by staying visitors, both in the city and further afield is lower. This is at least in part due to falling room revenues charged by hotels in the economic climate - as recorded by ENWRS (drawn from LJ Forecaster – a tool that allows hotel and tourism managers to see an up-to-date picture of room occupancy) - the average room rate (ARR) in 2008 was at its highest at £72.39, dropping to £60.43 in 2010, and £58.84 in 2012 (ENWRS 2013b, p.11). From this, we can see the economic impact of each successive Festival.

Table 3.12 How Visitor Spend Has Changed Over the Years 2004 - 2012

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Resident	£11.73	£13.99	£17.75	£19.13	£19.13
Day visitor from home	£22.24	£21.74	£24.84	£29.05	£33.90
Day visitor from holiday base*	£79.80	£65.59	£193.16	£140.29	£104.68
Staying visitor	£122.85	£163.55	£177.91	£170.75	£170.75

**The day visitors from a holiday base reflect a particularly low base in some years, therefore is not as reliable as for other years*

ENWRS explains that on a typical tourist's trip to a destination, not all of the monies they indicated as spending will have been made within the destination itself. This relates to the concept of 'leakage.' For example, there will be travel costs, the expenditure made at stops getting to / from the destination, and for those not staying in the destination, accommodation costs. Respondents were asked to indicate – as an estimate – the proportion of their total trip spend that was made within Liverpool itself (2010 - 2012). In total, there was relatively little leakage evident amongst Biennial attendees. Excluding residents, between 89.8% (2012) and 95.4% (2010) of all spending was retained within Liverpool (2011a p.52, 2013a p.52).

To some extent, the type of visitor reflects on their origin, with a high proportion being residents or day trips from home. But a significant proportion was staying visitors in the city itself who are often associated with a higher spend and may have implications (in a positive sense) for the economic impact of the Biennial. 'Leakage' therefore, can apply for those visitors on a day trip from a holiday base:

- UK visitors were typically staying elsewhere in the City Region or North Wales
- Overseas visitors were typically staying in Manchester, Chester, or with friends at other city region locations

Applying the responses on a case-level basis (and removing accommodation costs for those on a day visit from a holiday base), Table 3.13 shows how this affects the results per person spend figures that were actually made in Liverpool by visitors to the Biennial.

Table 3.13 Applying 'Leakage' Per Person Spend 2010 - 2012

	2010		2012	
	Before	After	Before	After
Resident	£19.13	£19.10	£23.65	£19.84
Day visitor from home	£29.05	£27.88	£33.90	£32.28
Day visitor from holiday base	£140.29	£64.20	£104.68	£71.10
Staying visitor	£170.75	£167.50	£160.04	£141.62

Even with these 'leakages,' these statistics should be indicators of how the Biennial figures can grow each Festival, and what marketing strategies can be used to draw greater economic impact to the area. As staying visitors generate the largest economic spend per person, there needs to be a greater effort to attract cultural tourists from outside the area and predominantly from overseas. This will also raise the profile and awareness of the Biennial and give it greater esteem on the international biennial circuit. Another factor that affects the type and origin of a visitor is whether they were there because of the Biennial or where there for other reasons.

3.10 Main Reason for Visiting Liverpool

The draw of the Biennial to visitors can be shown in the influences and motivations for visiting Liverpool. The visitors (to Biennial exhibitions / events) were asked what their main reason was for visiting the city, and over half (54% - 57%) indicated the Biennial (2006 – 2010) was the main reason (for 2010 a fifth would appear to have been sightseers based on the initial results, double that of ECoC 2008 Biennial Festival). There was a general decline in all categories from previous years. I have included in Table 3.14, where possible, previous Festival data to show comparisons for the visitors' motivations.

Table 3.14 Motivations for Visiting Liverpool 1999 – 2012

	1999	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
To attend Biennial	41%			54%	59.8%	57.4%	52.7%
To see Liverpool					10.2%	20.1%	15.1%
Visiting friends or relatives					4.9%	7.2%	6.9%
To visit other event / attraction					5.1%	5.8%	6.7%
Work / business / conference					2.5%	3.2%	1.5%
Special shopping trip					5.1%	2.0%	8.2%
Regular shopping trip						1.4%	2.8%
Other				46%	12.5%	3.2%	6.1%

This Table shows the gap and continuity in some year's research questions and data.

3.11 Cost Benefit Analysis

Pearce, Atkinson and Mourato (2006) explain that the essential theoretical foundations of Cost Benefit Analysis are:

benefits are defined as increases in human wellbeing (utility) and costs are defined as reductions in human wellbeing. For a project or policy to qualify on cost-benefit grounds, its social benefits must exceed its social costs. 'Society' is simply the sum of individuals [...] Conducting a well-executed CBA requires the analyst to follow a logical sequence of steps. The first stage involves asking the relevant questions: what policy or project is being evaluated? What alternatives are there? For an initial screening of the contribution that the project or policy makes to social wellbeing to be acceptable, the present value of benefits must exceed the present value of costs. (pp.16-17)

They argue that the use of cost benefit analysis requires an analyst to measure the social wellbeing of individuals and, for the evaluation to be successful, it requires the social benefits to exceed social costs. In this respect, the social wellbeing would accrue to the increases in the economic impact to the local economy, which benefits the social wellbeing of the local population by increasing employment and the prosperity of local businesses. This increases the multiplier effect, as discussed previously.

On these grounds, the Cost Benefit Analysis would concentrate on the intrinsic and social impact of the Biennial Festival, and this will be discussed in further chapters. The CBA is established when the Total Economic Value (TEV) of benefits should be greater than the TEV of costs. This will be shown by the Biennial's financial expenditure against the TEV produced during the Festival. Even though the Festival itself takes place every other year, the Biennial also runs an education and outreach programme on a continuous basis (see Chapter Four).

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ACE funding has increased with each successive year with the exception of 2012 when it was cut by 6.9% to £553,844. Liverpool City Council (LCC) also implemented a uniform reduction for its Cultural Drivers due to the economic climate and reduced its revenue support by 10% to enable the organisation to evaluate the previous year's Festival, and to plan an international visual arts festival commissioning contemporary visual arts and innovative educational and outreach programmes. In 2010 ACE confirmed the Biennial's funding by giving them National Portfolio status which guaranteed their national funding until 2015.

ACE Funding awards (financial year – 1st April to 31st March)

- **2011 - 2012** = £553,844
- **2012 - 2013** = £695,344

The ACE funding that was awarded to the Biennial declared through their financial records can be seen in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15 Arts Council England Grants

	Restricted	Unrestricted	Total
1999		£15,000	£15,000
2000			
2001		£180,000	£180,000
2002	£20,000	£20,000	£40,000
2003	£15,050	£235,000	£250,050
2004	£24,400	£254,434	£278,834
2005	£7,636	£376,664	£384,300
2006	£284,910	£437,300	£722,210
2007	£37,850	£400,000	£437,850
2008	£11,034	£500,000	£511,034
2009		£550,000	£550,000
2010		£596,503	£596,503
2011		£553,844	£553,844
2012		£655,344	£655,344

Based on calendar year

Additional funding from Liverpool City Council (LCC) peaked in 2008, but in the following years there has been a steady decline due to the austere nature in the public sector and government policy. Even with this reduction, the LCC has been one of the Biennial's biggest supporters financially since its inception as shown in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16 Liverpool City Council Grants

	Restricted	Unrestricted	Total
1999		£10,000	£10,000
2000			
2001			
2002	£110,000		£110,000
2003		£150,000	£150,000
2004		£200,000	£200,000
2005	£1,000	£200,000	£201,000
2006		£291,000	£291,000
2007		£298,275	£298,275
2008*		£325,032	£325,032
2009		£305,732	£305,732
2010		£305,732	£305,732
2011		£275,158	£275,158
2012		£267,147	£267,147

Based on calendar year. *In 2008 Liverpool Culture Company was given £1,050,050 to manage the European Capital of Culture year

In 2011 the grant was renamed the LCC Culture Liverpool Arts and Culture Investment Programme (ACIP). As part of Liverpool's regeneration, Liverpool City Council worked closely with the cultural sector to provide annual funding of £4.2m through their ACIP to produce a rich programme of events, community activities, performances and exhibitions through the city's venues and festivals. There have been a number of other funders throughout the years, including international trusts and foundations (e.g. Granada Foundation, Henry Moore Foundation, and ERDF), which can be seen in Table 3.17.

Table 3.17 Total Grants for Each Year

	Unrestricted	Restricted	Total
1999	£479,328		£479,328
2000			
2001	£253,098	£1,200	£254,298
2002	£91,680	805,657	£897,337
2003	£485,085	£39,266	£524,351
2004	£1,727,578	£993,271	£2,720,849
2005	£572,994	£64,379	£637,373
2006	£ 1,197,273	£1,678,469	£2,875,742
2007	£700,397	£1,004,419	£1,704,816
2008*	£938,615	£2,347,357	£3,285,972
2009	£856,623	£776,457	£1,633,080
2010	£1,055,973	£1,454,916	£2,510,889
2011	£940,062	£221,155	£1,161,217
2012	£968,936	£285,488	£1,254,424

Based on calendar year

Even with this support and finance, the Biennial has sought new partnerships and sponsors for the Festival from the private sector, notably from their primary economic benefactors (i.e. hotels, bars and restaurants). The Development Officer post that was created in 2009 significantly increased their ability to manage relationships with businesses to elevate their fundraising capacity. In 2010 the Biennial produced their first dedicated sponsorship package which helped increase both cash and in-kind support. These hospitality industries are most affected by the Biennial as they benefit instrumentally (economically) during the Festival period. This approach targets marketing which affiliates with the core impact demographic (i.e. white, educated middle classes). This also increased in 2010 as 7% of their budget came from private benefactors; now it is 20%. The financial reports ending 31st March 2013 explained that their financial performance was closely in line with planned outcomes, and the critical fundraising targets for the year were achieved.

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With the end of European Regional Development Funds and the regional development agency, this meant a significant reduction in the amount of funding available to the company. This had an immediate effect on planning and expenditure and resulted in reductions in staff, marketing and programme budgets. The artistic programme was prioritised, with a number of measures to minimise cuts to programme expenditure put in place. Two of these measures resulted in reduced marketing budgets and staffing levels. These included the management team working through most of the period at 80% of their contracted pay. This change was undertaken to preserve the ability to present a high-quality programme and make it widely available. One could argue that this dedication and reduced pay demonstrated the loyalty and passion of the Biennial team and selfless commitment to producing a high-quality Festival. To compensate for reductions in principal sources of income, the staff concentrated on diversifying income streams, by maximising the benefit of partnerships.

The Biennial states on their website that the private sector partnerships are based on a commitment to increase tourism and provide a high-quality visitor service in Liverpool, which benefits all parties concerned. As part of the partnership deal, businesses will provide Liverpool Biennial with accommodation and special dinners for artists, sponsors, press, media and VIP guests and a preferential rate for Biennial visitors during the Festival. For example, in 2012 the Biennial announced an official partnership between Hotel Indigo Liverpool, the Cotton Club, The Monro and James Monro as the official restaurant partners.

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This is a highly efficient form of marketing as the Biennial recommends these establishments to their (businesses) target audience, and as I have shown, the greatest individual economic impact is from staying visitors to the Festival which increases their revenue as they profit from the cultural tourist.

New sources of income had to be sought as, even though the Biennial continued to receive revenue support through Arts Council England and Liverpool City Council, there were unavoidable cuts to the level of investment for both due to the economic circumstances and government policy. Extra funding has always been sought to finance the International Exhibition. The 2010 International Exhibition, according to the financial accounts, cost £820,069. In the interim non Festival year of 2011, the cost was £199,515, compared to the 2012 International Exhibition cost £376,806.

These figures are deceptive as they do not include the artists' fees, commissions, public programmes, etc. If all the other costs associated with the Festival are included and put them into the most basic of Cost Benefit Analysis the economic impact for the initial investment and the organisation's biennium running costs (including rent, staff pay role, commissions, public art, educational programmes, social inclusion programmes, travel, etc.) indicates that the ten-week Festival period produces a considerable profit for the local economy through cultural tourism.

Table 3.18 Basic Cost Benefit Analysis Table 2004 – 2012

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Total Resource Expenditure	£2,198,577	£3,340,968	£5,267,483	£4,061,772	£2,572,430
Visitor Figures	350,000	359,532	451, 000	834,000	692,000
Economic Impact	£10,928,330	£13,553,006	£26,600,000	£27,200,000	£24,400,000

The expenditure figure is the combination of the financial year pre / Festival i.e. 2006 = 2005 / 2006 etc.

The figures in Table 3.18 are for the biennium (i.e. complete financial expenditure over a two-year tax period) for each Festival but looking at the expenditure for the International Exhibition alone, the impact is even greater. For example, the overall financial picture for the two-year biennial cycle 2011 / 2013 is that the funds secured totalled £2,519,438 and expenditure of £2,572,430, holding a deficit of £52,992 for which provisions were made at the beginning of the cycle and met through funds designated to support Liverpool Biennial 2012. Compare this to the Total Resource Expenditure (TRE) and the estimated economic impact of the Festivals, the cost expenditure quantified against the benefit (profit) validates the continuous funding, support and cultural value of the Biennial to Liverpool and the cultural tourism industry.

3.12 BOP Methodology Changes

The economic impact methodology that BOP has used is different from that conducted in previous years to be compliant with treasury standards. Because BOP has changed the way that they calculate the number of visitors and visits, they included a smaller number of visitors to the 2016 Festival in the economic calculations compared to previous years. The

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calculation for 2016 included only the engaged core audience, not the broader public art audience which had been included in previous years. Another difference is that BOP have included the organisational spend by Liverpool Biennial and its impact on the local and regional economy which was not included previously.

This economic impact assessment that BOP has implemented has updated the approach used to the Green Book HM Treasury standard, which is now seen as the most robust approach by government. The gross economic impact calculation is arrived at by summing the total expenditure by Liverpool Biennial 2016 within the region with the total visitor spend. The gross impact figure is converted to net impact by adjusting for spending that is simply being displaced from somewhere else in the region, or that would have happened anyway. This is done by introducing allowances for what are called additionality and multiplier effects. These are derived from a mix of the survey responses and official government statistics.

Standard tools in economic methodologies are Cost Benefit Analysis (CBA) and economic impact assessment analysis (also known as Gross Value Added GVA), both are widespread methods in project appraisal with each having different perspectives.

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The Green Book (HMT 2003) defines CBA as ‘analysis which quantifies in monetary terms as many of the costs and benefits of a proposal as feasible, including items for which the market does not provide a satisfactory measure of economic value’ (HTM 2003, p.4). Gross Value Added (GVA) measures the contribution made to an economy by one individual producer, industry, sector or region.

CBA is known to be a robust framework, although, it is not able to incorporate all the benefits and it does not provide any information concerning the effect on GDP (Gross Domestic Product). Whereas GVA estimates the change in total economic activity and the impact on labour market based on different econometric models or using multipliers provided by input-output models.

3.12.1 BOP GVA and Jobs Calculation

The net economic impact figures are translated into estimates of the Gross Value Added (GVA) and jobs supported by the Biennial. GVA is the value of the Biennial to the sub-regional and regional economy once we account for all the inputs taken to produce the net contribution (e.g. raw materials, education, roads etc.) – i.e. the ‘added value.’

BOP Consulting convert gross impact figure to net impact by adjusting for spending that is simply being displaced from somewhere else in the region, or that would have happened

anyway. This is done by introducing allowances for what are called additionality and multiplier effects. These are derived from a mix of the survey responses and official government statistics. For example, the total GVA that Liverpool Biennial 2016 generated in the Liverpool economy was £2.4 million; and the total GVA in the North West economy was £2.6 million. This is equivalent to supporting 138 permanent full time jobs in Liverpool or 128 permanent full time jobs in the North West, above and beyond those directly employed by Liverpool Biennial (BOP 2016, p.30).

3.13 Conclusion

TMP / ENWRS reports show that the increased success of audience traffic is a testament to the ever-growing popularity of the Biennial Festival. To break down the Festival's visitor data for consecutive years shows the increased successes of attracting tourists:

- 1999 = 188,754
- 2002 = 180,000
- 2004 = 350,000
- 2006 = 359,532
- 2008 = 451,000
- 2010 = 628,000
- 2012 = 692,000

Table 3.19 The Direct Economic Impact of the Festival (2006 – 2012)

	2006	2008	2010	2012
Total Visitor Spend	£6,894,000	£20,877,000	£18,661,000	£15,199,000

Notice that up until this point ENWRS focused on the impact from direct visitor spend, but part of the economic impact comes from indirect visitor spend - are the additional spend by businesses on local goods and services. Spend in certain sectors has a much greater economic impact than others; expenditure on accommodation, for instance has a much greater impact per £ than expenditure on transport. As indicated in the STEAM³ figures in 2012, £15.2 million was generated directly by the Biennial. Including the indirect expenditure (spend on goods and services by businesses in the sector) the following numbers show the economic impact from visitor spend:

Table 3.20 Economic Impact from Visitor Spend 2004 - 2012

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Day Visitors	£3,879,722	£3,360,982	£19,964,000	£15,648,000	£13,187,000
Staying Visitors	£5,118,061	£8,190,080	£8,060,000	£9,481,000	£7,513,000
Economic Impact	£8,997,783	£11,551,062	£28,024,000	£25,129,000	£20,700,000

Spend by residents is usually excluded from economic impact data as they are not considered tourists, but this is included (e.g. an extra £1,517,000 in 2010, £4.4 million in 2012), total impact from direct and indirect expenditure in 2010 was £27,159,000, and in 2012 reaches £24.4 million. The following table indicates the economic impact of the Festival with direct and indirect spend included in Table 3.21.

³ Scarborough Tourism Economic Activity Monitor is the primary tool used by TMP to monitor the volume and value of tourism throughout the Northwest of England. See Appendix Eight for more information on STEAM

Table 3.21 Total Economic Impact (inc. Residents) of Biennial Festival 2004 - 2012

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Total Economic Impact	£10,928,330	£13,563,006	£28,024,000	£27,200,000	£24,400,000

I argue that the increasing economic impact of the Festival and cost benefit analysis clearly show the validity of the Liverpool Biennial to the local economy. Throughout this chapter, I have shown that the economic impact of successive Biennial Festivals makes it one of the most economically viable events that benefit businesses in Liverpool. With the exception of ECoC year 2008, we can see a steady incline and success of the Biennial Festival to the city and the local business communities.

However, Smith (2015) explains that the main function of the Festival impact research is not the economic impact to secure future funding but to find out about the audience.

Those reports remember, don't take them as being about the economic impact, because they aren't actually. That is one of the outcomes of them. So that study is actually.... a much more rounded study and we spend a lot of time with it than us just being able to report back to funders. The economic impact is a figure that we talk about a lot because it lets people know there is validity in continuing that investment and we have to, particularly in this day and age. We have to position it as an investment as it's just too hard to win all of the funding that you need to win if it's just about art. Liverpool Biennial isn't just about an exhibition or a set of exhibitions, it's about a space in time.... if I can use the word corporate sense, it's about all the changes we want to make, and those changes are.... none of them are about economic impact. What they are is a report about our audiences, and it helps us to see how they have changed or how they haven't changed.

The next two chapters focus on the audience or potential audiences for the Festivals, and the Biennial does this in two ways. In Chapter Four, I will discuss the Learning and Inclusion programmes that the Biennial has conducted between, and in the run-up to, each Festival. I will show that this is an integral part of the Biennial's output and something that most visitors are not aware of. Paul Smith (Executive Director Liverpool Biennial) explains that the Biennial does a lot more than just put a Festival on every two years:

The thing about the Biennial is, there is always layers of things happening.... and some you see, and some you don't see.... and I am quite sure that just like an iceberg. 90% of what's going on is invisible, so really, it's easy to look at the Biennial and say it's a Festival and add on a few large-scale public-realm work like Dream or Another Place. A little harder to detect on are things like Homebaked where we were originally involved with 2Up2Down. Before that was a bigger project in North Liverpool, so it was a decade of working on that project. (Smith 2015)

Chapter Five will investigate the demographic (Visitor Profile) research conducted by the Liverpool Biennial. This is important for the Biennial as they learn who their audience is, and how best to market the events / information to create the best visitor experience.

Chapter Four: Education, Learning and Inclusion Programme

As Smith previously explained, the Biennial is not just a Festival every two years. The Biennial also conducts year-round work with local communities, schools, and colleges with their Education, Learning, and Inclusion programme. Within this chapter, I will explain how this programme was created and evolved from each successive Festival. I will then briefly describe each project's theme and outcome and how they were used to introduce the participants to contemporary art and acquire skills in order to interpret and value their cultural perception and understanding of the art within each Festival.

To help the Biennial achieve this aim I will explain how the ongoing Education, Learning, and Inclusion programme worked to create opportunities for local communities to engage with the International Exhibition. This chapter will show how these projects were part of a desire by the Liverpool Biennial to carry out a piece of comprehensive audience development research to inform the activities of the Biennial's ongoing Education and Access Programme and Events Programme.

However, Bishop (2012) explains a drawback when trying to evaluate this type of practice is that today's participatory art is often at pains to emphasise process over a definitive image, concept or object. It tends to value what is invisible: a group dynamic, a social situation, a change of energy, a raised consciousness. As a result, it is an art dependent on first-hand

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experience, and preferably over a long duration (days, months or even years). Very few observers are in a position to take such an overview of long-term participatory projects: students and researchers are usually reliant on accounts provided by the artist, the curator, a handful of assistants, and if they are lucky, maybe some of the participants (p.6).

Bishop (2012) explains some methodological points about researching art that engages with people and social processes. One thing is clear: visual analyses fall short when confronted with the documentary material through which we are given to understand many of these practices. Because of this, I will not attempt to judge or value the Biennial's Education, Learning and Inclusion projects as I have no first-hand experience.

Unfortunately the Biennial did not want to introduce a new person to the Education, Learning and Inclusion groups as they thought that this could be disruptive after they had gained the trust of the participants involved. Because of this, I have no first hand experiences of these projects, so I do not feel qualified to comment on their success, quality and efficiency. The information within this chapter is taken from the written research, evaluations and feedback of the individuals involved (course leaders, teachers, participants etc.) that I discovered in the Biennial's archive. Franny George was also very helpful by supplying the digital documentation of the of their later projects and evaluations (2006 – 2010). These have been condensed to give a brief description of the projects and their outcomes. More in-depth information can be found in the Appendices.

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Therefore, throughout this chapter, I will use the Biennial's archive including project briefs, worksheets, diaries, evaluations (where applicable) and notes to explain how these projects were used to develop new and existing audiences through targeted programmes of activity and communication that were conducted each year. The programme worked with schools, colleges, and community groups in targeted projects that introduced them to the themes of the International Exhibition and artists and employed local artists to help deliver the project curriculum that included presentations by artists, practical workshops, visits, and discussions. This chapter is a valuable source of knowledge beyond the very public Festivals to show the Biennial's commitment to educating and expanding the tastes of local communities for contemporary art.

As previously discussed in the Introduction and Chapter Two, since the Biennial's inception, the Charity's main objective has been to provide, maintain, improve, and advance education by cultivating and improving public taste in the visual arts. To achieve this, the Biennial set out the following aims:

- To educate the public by the initiation and perpetuation of an International Arts Festivals and multiple exhibitions throughout the Merseyside region in the field of the visual arts
- To communicate and co-operate with businesses, authorities and government, national, local, or otherwise and to obtain from such bodies any rights, privileges, and concessions for the attainment of the Charity's objects
- To organise, manage, provide, or assist in the provision or management of lectures, seminars, masterclasses, study groups, competitions, prizes, and scholarships to further the appreciation of and cultivate the public's interest in the visual arts (Memorandum 1998, p.2)

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Liverpool Biennial sets out to work for the public benefit in accordance with the above Charitable objectives through the delivery of its programme. Their work remains free to access, both in the sense of fees, as their exhibitions and projects are presented to the public without admission charge, and in the sense that no one is excluded from the Biennial's work. These activities demonstrate their core belief that high quality art, delivered in an accessible manner creates growth in individuals and communities (Biggs 2011b, p.6).

Liverpool Biennial (ENWRS 2007a) provides 'umbrella' strategic co-ordination to several organisations and exhibition programmes that make up the Festival (p.2). As a partnership organisation, the Biennial invests considerable time and important resources into its work with other companies, charities and agencies. The Biennial Festival is based on partnerships, so maintaining an active relationship with Festival partners is critical. To do this, they invest in local relationships and play a leadership role in several collaborative networks that are focused on the development of Liverpool and the arts. These collaborations include Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium (LARC), Visual Art in Liverpool (VAiL), the Contemporary Visual Arts Network (CVAN), and Culture Campus (Trustee Report 2012, p.4).

As a charitable organisation, Liverpool Biennial is responsible for the organisation and financing of three core areas of the Festival:

- The International: the showpiece exhibition and the critical focus of the event. It aims to be an internationally acclaimed exhibition showing significant new works by international artists commissioned specifically for the City of Liverpool
- A Learning and Inclusion Programme: that delivers Liverpool Biennial's educational objectives. The approach is project based with three broadly defined audience groups: communities, formal education, and visitors
- The Communications Programme: that promotes the Liverpool Biennial brand through an umbrella campaign, integrating marketing and public relations. The strategy is informed by the partner organisations delivering the exhibitions and by the regional organisations involved in the promotion of culture (ENWRS 2007a, p.2)

I will use this chapter primarily as a review of the Education, Learning, and Inclusion projects conducted by the Biennial within local schools and communities. For this thesis, I am only concerned with the work of the Biennial's Education, Learning, and Inclusion programme conducted between 1999 - 2012. Due to the constraints in the size of this thesis, more information about each project can be found in Appendix Ten, and examples of their evaluations (2004) in Appendix Eleven.

What follows then is a chronological breakdown, by Biennial Festival, of the various Education, Learning, and Inclusion projects that have taken place. At the end of each Biennial section will be a brief overview of what, if any, evaluation of these projects took place, who did this evaluation, whether it was primarily qualitative and / or quantitative, and what outcomes or conclusions were drawn. As such, the intention here is to draw a comparison between both the kinds of work the Education, Learning, and Inclusion department of the Biennial has undertaken in relation to those of the Biennial Festival (previously detailed in Chapter Two) and the level of interpretive analysis and scrutiny this was (or was not) subject to. As a result of this, it is hoped that a clear picture of the full

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Biennial Festival exhibition, Education, Learning, and Inclusion programme, its scope, ambition, and realisation will be established

4.1 The Liverpool Biennial Education and Inclusion Programme

Among the primary objectives of the Education and Public Access programme in 1999 was the creation of an audience for the inaugural Biennial, which would lay a foundation for developing in future years. The programme strategy was predicated on the potential of the Biennial to add value, as well as new activities, to the arts education provision that already existed in the city, through working in partnership with organisations and individuals. The overall objective of the programme was to provide resources and activities for local audiences, including schools and colleges, as well as for visitors from elsewhere in the UK and overseas. From the outset, both internal and external expectations of what the education programme could provide were high. For example, Reardon in *Art Monthly* (Nov 1999) commented:

The breadth of the Biennial education programme also articulates a pertinent concern on the part of the organisers to foreground the local population, both internal and external expectations of what the education programme both as a primary resource and as an audience for the Festival.

Reardon explains that the overall objective of the programme was to provide resources and activities for local audiences, including schools and colleges, as well as for visitors from elsewhere in the UK and overseas. The programme strategy was predicated on the

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potential of the Biennial to add value, as well as new activities, to the good arts education provision that already existed in the city, through working in partnership with organisations and individuals.

Among the primary objectives of the Education and Public Access programme was to create an audience for the inaugural Biennial Festival, as 'Biennial' was a completely new word and concept to many people. This was one of the biggest challenges for both the Education and Marketing programme as they had to introduce and educate the public to what a biennial was, bringing together the international (global) and the local in terms of art and audiences. The Education Manager was able to turn the unfamiliarity of the term to her advantage: as a concept which carried no baggage or preconceptions as she could use it as a flexible point of entry to working with diverse organisations (arts and non-arts) across the city (Rees Leahy 2000, pp.33-34).

Rees Leahy suggested that the interim years between Biennials should be used to sustain and develop relationships with community groups and conduct continuing research and advocacy for the education and public access programme. An Education Working Group (EWG) was formed to support the development of the Education and Access programme for the 1999 Biennial. The group provided useful networking opportunities as members did not have a history of working with each other. The EWG helped to build relationships between the different organisations and enabled more partnership working across arts organisations in Liverpool.

Membership included representatives from formal education establishments and gallery education staff. A similar group was reformed in order to support the work of the Education and Access programme for the 2002 Biennial. The group also acted as a conduit for sharing information about Biennial exhibitions with staff from the exhibition venues and local colleges. Several opportunities were developed to present the Education and Access programme including introductory talks by information assistants, joined up talks, and curators talks. These included the following visitor programmes:

- Introductory talks: Visiting groups were able to book talks by five freelance information assistants who also delivered free 'drop-in' talks to visitors to the International Exhibition. A total of 60 talks to 592 people
- Joined up talks: A series of free 'drop in' talks were organised for visitors to the International 2002 exhibition
- Curators' talks: A series of talks by the International 2002 curators

A series of free 'drop-in' talks were organised for visitors to the International 2002 exhibition. The introductory talks were presented by five freelance Information Assistants who took visitors around the space, talking about the artworks whilst giving their own perspective on the exhibition and Biennial. The Information Assistants delivered a total of sixty talks to 592 people.

The Education and Access programme was renamed in 2004 the Lifelong Learning and Inclusion programme and continued to be an integral part of the International. Sharon Paulger, the Lifelong Learning and Inclusion Co-ordinator established two new groups (as a

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result of the MHM 2002 evaluation) in order to facilitate planning and negotiate ownership of delivery. The Community Network Group was set up in June 2003 and included representatives from several organisations. This advisory group planned the community-based projects for the education programme. The Education Network Group was set up in December 2003 with support from Liverpool Community College.

Learning and Inclusion events within the 2004 programme included a conference at FACT organised by Engage (The National Association of Gallery Education) in collaboration with the Biennial, Tate, FACT, and the Bluecoat on the theme of Diversity. The Biennial organised and hosted a one-day conference called *Re:place*. The theme was the intersection between globalisation, and the specifics of place and culture. Hospitality was the theme of a two-day conference organised in collaboration with the International Foundation Manifesta as part of the New Manifesta Network.

This was the second in a series of events collectively called Coffee Break and was part of a three-year research programme on the position of biennials in contemporary art. Local artists and arts organisations were invited to contribute at a series of evening events called *UPDATE*. The purpose of the event was to facilitate communication about planning the Biennial between the organisation itself and the many local artists and arts organisations who wanted to be involved.

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A major decision was taken in the biennium period before the 2008 Biennial Festival to end the separate status of the Learning and Inclusion team and re-deploy the skills base directly through the teams delivering the organisation's principal activity of commissioning new artworks. The Biennial felt their overall 'educational' remit did not justify an 'education' team (Learning and Inclusion) separate from the core (educational) activity. During this period, the Biennial redesigned its activities to ensure that their approach to engagement was fully integrated within the commissioning process, supporting the development of sustainable relationships and maximising opportunities for communities to work directly with international artists.

4.2 Education, Learning and Inclusion Projects

4.2.1 1999 Biennial Festival TRACE 24th September – 7th November

4.2.2 TRACE 1999

The project produced a video film looking at the social history of Liverpool, namely the cultural origins of young people as a reflection of the diverse cultural heritage of the city. The project explored the personal histories of the young people, 'tracing' the heritage of their parents, and the circumstances behind their arrival in Liverpool. This exploration of their journey reflected Liverpool's maritime history, in addition to the contribution settlers have made to the city's economic and political life.

Participants engaged in the pre-production and production of the project, researching their cultural origins, and conducting interviews. They undertook training during this process in

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video production, but the post-production (editing) was undertaken by the media tutor.

The project was run with the Dingle Girls Project based at Shorefields Community School.

The overall aim of the project was to highlight the multicultural communities in Liverpool and raise awareness about their contribution to the city. The aim was to improve the self-esteem and confidence of young people by instilling pride in their racial identities, as well as providing them with video production (Walker 1999, p.1).

4.2.3 A Trace of Me 1999

A Trace of Me was a collaborative project whereby two artists (working separately) explored the same criteria using different approaches and skills. The results of this process were combined to provide a single piece of work (installation based) produced by young people and relating to the theme of *TRACE*.

Aims:

- To increase young people's awareness of identity through their personal histories and memories
- To recognise and celebrate the unique and rich cultural diversity within the city
- To explore Liverpool's global links through its geographical location as a port, as an exporter of culture and an importer of tourism

Objectives:

- To provide the client group with memorable, enjoyable involvement in visual art, craft, and design
- To offer alternative working formats that give the participants the opportunity of working in small groups with the artist, as sole creators, and group work, and as a wider group

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- To encourage participants to harness their observations, memories, and feelings, and to communicate them in a visual form

The work looked at four distinct but inter-linking areas:

- Self / identity
- Family-immediate or extended / heritage
- Liverpool - the world / cultural and global links
- Desire / destinations

The finished work took the form of a drop sided trunk linked to four charts or maps, linked to a raised bed of passports, linked back to the four charts, and linked to each other. The artists (Kim Laycock and Milly Tint) hoped to establish talks regarding the installation of this work in a suitable site that would encourage the participation of a new audience to *TRACE*.

4.2.4 Traces in Wax 1999

As part of the Education and Public Access Programme central to the International Exhibition, six artists were invited to take up residencies in primary, secondary, and special schools throughout Merseyside. The artists and pupils explored the theme of the International Exhibition *TRACE* using methods as varied as digital photography and computer-based design skills, batik, painting, filmmaking, and installation. The work produced during these residencies was displayed at the Merseyside Maritime Museum, Museum of Liverpool Life, Exchange Flags, Huyton Art Gallery, Smith Kline Beecham (St Helens College), and the Williamson Art Gallery (Birkenhead).

4.3 2002 Festival 14th September – 24th November

4.3.1 Shoot the Artist

Shoot the Artist was a video production project through which five community groups researched the work of contemporary visual artists and made creative documentaries about the artists. The projects were delivered by video training agencies MediaStation and First Take. The five groups that participated in the project were:

- The Initiative Factory consisted of a co-operative that was set up by the sacked Liverpool Dockers, who chose to make their video about Liverpool based artist David Jacques
- Merseyside Deaf Association
- Liverpool Yemeni Arabic Group made their film about Fee Plumley and Ben Jones. The artist's work concerned ring tones and logos for mobile phones and their work was featured in the Independent Exhibition
- Friends of Palestine chose to make a video featuring artist Jamie Reid. As the art director for the Sex Pistols, Jamie created punk's seminal 'God Save the Queen' image and exhibited in the Independent Exhibition
- A group of residents from LHAT (Liverpool Housing Action Trust) chose to make their video about Vong Phaophanit who had been commissioned to create a piece of public art for the LHAT Woolton site

The final videos varied greatly in the styles and issues they explored. This gave an insight into different considerations involved in looking and experiencing art. A screening of the films took place at Liverpool Community College Arts Centre on the evening of November 21st and an exhibition of images from the project was displayed in the foyer of the Arts Centre from November 21st - 24th. Approximately forty people attended the screening event. During the Biennial, the videos were shown as part of an Education and Access programme exhibition at Toxteth Library throughout November. The film made by Merseyside Deaf Association was shown at Tate Liverpool from 9th - 24th November.

4.3.2 Dogs - 2002

Artist group Space Cadets worked with LHAT residents to design five giant inflatable dogs. Sixty residents from Adlington, Sefton Park, Sheil Park, Hetherlow, and Bispha came up with designs for a Poodle, Afghan Dalmatian, and Scottie Dog. Following on from this, pupils from Summerhill School, Maghull did a project, which expanded the topic of dogs into literacy. The pupils looked at characters of dogs, wrote stories, poems and reports. SpaceCadets (sic) facilitated a workshop about inflatables with the pupils. The pupils were then asked to design a dog. Aspects of three of the children's designs were chosen to be incorporated into an inflatable weather dog, and the dogs visited various exhibition sites during the Biennial.

4.3.3 STAR (Schools, Teachers, Artists Research) - 2002

As part of the Education and Access programme Liverpool Biennial carried out an action research project. The project was to research effective ways that contemporary visual arts can enhance curriculum-based teaching in special needs schools. In collaboration with North West Disability Arts Forum (NWDAF), Liverpool Biennial identified Merseyview School and Sandfield Park School to participate in the project. Sandfield Park is a school for pupils with physical disabilities, and Merseyview a school for pupils with learning disabilities. With the project, they wanted to move away from the artist residency type of project that schools are familiar with.

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The project was to be delivered by disabled artists working alongside the teachers, in schools for pupils with special needs. The project addressed the barriers that exclude the group from participating in and attending contemporary visual arts events. The aim was to research a model of practice that engages artists, teachers, and students and looked at the particular needs of the schools and teachers, and the issues for the artists running the workshops. The research process involved dialogues with the artists, with the teachers and pupils at the schools, with visual arts institutions in Liverpool, and with the Liverpool Biennial.

The experiences of the *STAR* project were developed into a web-based resource for schools. These resources included case studies from the school projects, information for schools wishing to organise visits, and suggested starting points for activities exploring the Biennial's International 2002 exhibition. A sharing event in the form of an exhibition took place at Toxteth Library from 27th June to 4th July. The exhibition included work produced by the schools during the project, plus case studies that highlighted the processes and outcomes. Two hundred people visited the exhibition, and seventy arts education professionals were invited to the sharing event. Alongside this project, Liverpool Biennial worked with three other schools to explore the same issues, which were included in the exhibition and web-based resource in order to put the work in a wider context.

As part of Liverpool Biennial's ongoing Education and Access programme, the *STAR* project was an important opportunity to build links with the schools involved. Having built these

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links, it was important to continue contact with those involved, so that they could build the legacy.

4.3.3.1 STAR Evaluation

As part of Liverpool Biennial's ongoing Education and Access programme, the *STAR* project was an important opportunity to build links with the schools involved. Having built these links it was important that the Biennial then related the work that had taken place to the Biennial exhibition programme. This was because they recognised the value of artists working in a school, but concern had been raised about what happened when the artist had finished the project. The *STAR* project looked at developing a method of work that was more sustainable. Through artists and teachers working together, they would learn from each other and leave a legacy in the schools involved (*STAR* Evaluation 2002, p.1).

The objectives of the project were to:

- Investigate how contemporary visual art activities can benefit cross curriculum-based teaching in schools for people with special needs
- Investigate how artists with disabilities and teachers in schools for people with special needs can work together to develop effective and innovative teaching methods
- Investigate how education and access programmes within arts organisations can create genuine professional development and training for disabled artists
- Produce a relevant and influential research document of the process which will benefit other schools, artists, and art organisations in the planning of artists working with teachers in schools

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It could be argued that working with disabled artists increased the Biennial's knowledge and understanding of issues regarding access. This knowledge would influence future project planning and enable the Biennial to adopt a more inclusive approach in all its work. The artists increased their knowledge and understanding of the demands of working in a school - particularly about issues around discipline and planning. Two disabled artists worked alongside teachers in two special needs schools over a ten-week period to develop ideas for using visual arts to teach non-arts subjects. The work and case studies from the project were used to develop a web-based resource for schools.

The evaluation research was gathered using journals to describe the processes, interactions, and collection of anecdotal qualitative research methodologies. An example of a journal / diary entry describes the feedback and thoughts of a teacher to one of the lessons and projects that they had with a class:

The idea of the exercise was to introduce the class to working with us and also to talk about colour and shape. A lot of the pupils did seem quite worried about their abilities, but we had planned the lesson so that this would be alleviated. To achieve the idea that perfection isn't necessary to produce something good, we got the pupils to tear their paper collages as Matisse did and, in fact, some excellent work was produced. This achievement also allowed the class to actually relax into work and produce something quite quickly and spontaneously. (Ross Clark – Project Diary)

The Biennial used a number of qualitative methodologies to evaluate the *STAR* projects, for example:

- The artists were asked to keep photographic documentation of the workshops. Disposable cameras were given to each of the groups so that young people could also take documentary photographs
- Review meetings with teachers and artists to assess the progress of the project. Artists kept a record of activities and a project diary
- Questionnaires for the teachers
- Comments book at the exhibition
- Records of numbers of participants and people attending events were collected

At the end of the residency, a sharing event took place for everyone involved in the project to reflect on how the project met its targets, to discuss the outcomes, plan future work, identify the successes and failures of the programme and format, and agree on the contents of the final report. The final report was disseminated through the Biennial's partner organisations and education programmes and existing teacher forums and the NWDAF. The final report was based on the qualitative research that was conducted throughout the process including:

- Everyone involved kept a project diary to record what had happened and how they felt it was going
- Artists documented their experiences of working within a school and the issues around working within the national curriculum
- Teachers reported on the effectiveness of the project and what they had learnt through it – including observing the processes used by the artists

4.3.4 TenantSpin: Ways of Seeing 2002

TenantSpin was a tenant-run Internet TV channel supported by FACT, the High-Rise Tenant Group, and LHAT (Liverpool Housing Action Trust). *Ways of Seeing* was a special six-part series of interactive webcasts where Liverpool High Rise tenants talked to directors, funders and curators of the Biennial. The series ran between April - September 2002 and featuring tenants Paul Myott, John Asbridge, Pauline Vass, Maria Stukoff, and Steve Thomas in

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conversation with Jayne Casey, Lewis Biggs, Paul Sullivan, Paul Domela, Torsten Schmiedeknecht, Chris Miller, and Rafael Lozano-Hemmer⁴.

Excerpts from the live chat during the first show (Lewis Biggs) were included in TenantSpin's *'Chat Files'* publication (edition of 1000, 2002). Joint publicity material (1000 gold postcards) was produced, and these helped to increase awareness of the webcasts and enhanced the idea of the six shows forming part of an ongoing series. The chat during the first webcast show included a heated debate amongst online tenants as to whether the Biennial should 'be brought down to tenant's level' or whether it should in fact be 'brought up to their level.' (available at www.tenantspin.org).

4.3.5 LHAT 2002

The Artist Group (TAG) worked with a group of nine LHAT tenants on a project aimed at increasing the tenants' understanding, knowledge, and experience of contemporary visual art. The main aim and objective for the proposal was that the actual project and its outcomes, including participants' responses, would act as stimulation to other LHAT tenants and older citizens of Liverpool to encourage the use of local art provision in the city, and including visits to the Liverpool Biennial 2002. The main tool for achieving this was an event / exhibition, and a publication. The majority of the group had a limited exposure and understanding, and therefore, appreciation of contemporary art.

⁴ Each of the one - hour shows were archived, and available at www.tenantspin.org

From the outset, the artist's approach was to facilitate situations in which the participants could engage with artworks from the perspective of derivation, formation, and design which they believed could lead to critical awareness and aesthetic enjoyment. The project included gallery visits, visits to studios, talks by artists, and practical workshops. These activities took place in the lead up to the Biennial. An exhibition of work created during the project was displayed in the foyer of Liverpool Community College, Clarence Street from November 4th - 24th. A special event was organised to celebrate the achievements of the project and took place on December 24th, 2002.

The methods incorporated visits to the group by local contemporary practicing artists who had recently or were currently exhibiting their work. As well as the slide presentations and the very important contextualisation of the artists' work, participants were able to discuss other issues with the artists relating to media, and technical considerations in the creation of their work. The intention of TAG here was to demystify basic art practices, which would allow the participants to make their own work, and experience certain creative processes for themselves. Furthermore, as the participants' appreciation and enjoyment of conceptual, contemporary art developed, they would be able to express this new awareness in the publication about the project.

The members of the project group gained a lot of knowledge and critical awareness of contemporary art, so when they visited the Biennial exhibitions, they were able to discuss

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the work confidently and intelligently. The exhibition of the group's artwork, made during the workshops, was displayed in window spaces of the City Community College.

4.3.6 Lighten Up! 2002

This was a training project for local artists, managed by Chrysalis Arts. The training began with a two-day seminar which was followed by a *Training for Real* project. The two-day intensive course looked at art in public spaces within the context of regeneration schemes and engagement with communities. The course was free and took place at Tate Liverpool. The seventeen artists who attended the seminar found it extremely valuable and informative, and the artists were invited to apply to work as one of six placements on the *Training for Real* project.

4.3.7 Training for Real - 2002

The *Training for Real* project was designed to give six artists hands-on experience of working on a public art project as well as training in community consultation and involvement processes. The project was based around the theme of light, with the artists working towards creating temporary pieces of work for LHAT sites. A group of LHAT tenants visited Chrysalis Arts at the ART Depot as an introduction to the project. For two weeks, LHAT provided the artists with studio space in one of the tower blocks at the Hetherlow site. The artists created four installations:

- Buckingham House, Croxteth Drive, Sefton Park; with support from the artists, tenants created a series of light works, which took elements of Sefton Park and built them into the designs for their garden
- Heathgreen, junction of Queens Drive and Cherry Tree Avenue; strings of light connected two tower blocks to a nearby tree. Sawdust circles radiated out from the trees back towards the tower blocks
- A projection from the existing community centre. A peephole into the community centre showed images of people and their flats
- The Clock Community Centre, Domingo Road, Everton; fifty lanterns featuring images of past and present tenants decorated the garden of the new community centre

4.3.8 Airbath - 2002

Artists group SpaceCadets and Graham Clayton Chance worked in collaboration with HND (Higher National Diploma) students from Liverpool Community College to create an installation of inflatables for the Dingle reservoir. The aim of the project was to inspire and introduce the students to new artistic skills and techniques as well as some of the practical aspects of putting on an exhibition, project planning and professional practice. The project also aimed at bringing together students from different disciplines to work on a collaborative piece and was the first time that the college had worked on a cross department project.

The first showing of the breathing installation *Airbath* was situated in the disused reservoir and took place on June 21st - 22nd 2002 when over one hundred people visited the event. The college felt that although the students had benefited from working with the artists, some of the students did not feel any ownership of the final piece. It was agreed that the installation would be repeated during the Biennial, and the students would be given the opportunity to work in the space or add to the installation. The dance students were the

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only ones to take up the invitation and choreographed a piece of dance for the installation. The second showing of Airbath (5th - 6th October during the Biennial period) was attended by eighty people and was the first time that Dingle reservoir had been used for a public event.

4.3.9 Teflon! - 2002

Ten thousand postcards were produced which reflected the art / architecture concerns of the International 2002 exhibition. They were distributed through the different exhibition venues. Each of the cards included an artist's drawing / design plus a piece of text by Lewis Biggs which looked at issues of private and public space, using urban space and gateways to Liverpool / regeneration of Liverpool. Posters of the images and text were also produced, and these were displayed in the foyer of Liverpool Community College Arts Centre (November 6th - 17th).

Five postgraduate architecture students worked on a project to create a piece of work in response to Liverpool Biennial 2002. Their project explored the success of the Biennial in creating an inclusive event and vehicle for regeneration.

4.4 2004 Festival 18th September – 28th November

The 2004 Learning and Inclusion programme delivered thirty-one different projects involving over 1,500 participants from community groups, schools and exhibition visitors. It included the production of two publications, *Different Angles*, containing thirty-four reviews of international 04 artworks, written by community group members, and *Gossip*, a young person's guide to Liverpool Biennial 2004 written by *Wild!*⁵

4.4.1 Visitor Programme - 2004

A series of visitor programme activities were aimed at developing new audiences for Liverpool Biennial and contemporary art. By linking the art in International 04 to other topics, the activities attracted special interest groups who would not usually attend art events. The visitor programme delivered talks and tours in diverse subjects and unusual venues to appeal to broader audiences, from ballroom dancing in the Adelphi hotel to UFO sightings. Ten talks were conducted by artists and related specialists, and tours held each Saturday of the International 04 exhibitions, each led by a different guide, and focusing on themes such as architecture, film and local history.

During the first month of the Biennial, ten community groups were given supported visits to the city. Each group was provided with their own guide, transport and refreshments.

⁵ The *Wild!* Programme of activities was developed by focus groups brought together for the project. The focus groups involved developed activities aimed to engage their peers in contemporary visual art. In the planning of the programme, the groups were encouraged to be daring and innovative, providing a rare opportunity to experiment and in a climate that allowed for failure.

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Groups were chosen based upon known barriers to accessing contemporary art, as a follow up to one of the series of talks provided, or because the exhibition had particular relevance to their community. All activities were free and disability access support was provided on request.

4.4.2 Fusebox 04

Fusebox 04 provided comprehensive information to support International 04. Offering practical orientation information and material about the participating artists and their creative processes, the central Fusebox site in Wood Street also revealed the connections made between Liverpool and the themes, sites and artists of International 04. Information was available in a range of formats, including publications, web-based, audio and video.

Each of the International 04 venues was installed with their own Fusebox space, which focused on the work of the artists in that venue. Fusebox web-based information was developed as part of the Biennial's website with links on the International 04 artists projects including background, image bank, links and further information.

4.4.3 Different Angles - 2004

The Learning and Inclusion Programme was concerned with the dual role of both enabling access to the Festival by the broad spectrum of Merseyside residents, with an emphasis on

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those who are often socially excluded, while simultaneously encouraging engagement and dialogue with the work shown. In addition, for the first time, the 2004 Biennial commissioned all new artworks for the International Festival, requesting that the artists theme their work on some aspect of the Merseyside context.

The *Different Angles* project was designed with these three features in mind. In summary, the project enabled a cross-section of Merseyside residents from a range of community groups to actively engage with individual pieces in the International Exhibition. The process was participatory, taking place over several weeks, with participants being offered a series of creative writing workshops, and a visit to an International Exhibition venue to look at and discuss the works shown. This culminated in participants writing one review each about a piece of work. In this way, members of six community groups wrote thirty-four reviews. These reviews were collected into a relatively substantial publication, which was then distributed free to the main venues of the International Exhibition to enhance and supplement the other information available to visitors.

The project was overseen by Sharon Paulger, with the organisation of the workshops sub-contracted to the Windows Project (an established creative writing organisation). The Windows Project contributed to the planning of *Different Angles* by approaching appropriate community groups and recruiting creative writing tutors to work with them, as well as co-ordinating other aspects of the project. Within the scope of the project, efforts were made to represent the diversity of Merseyside communities across five boroughs. As

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much as possible, all groups were chosen to represent a spectrum of local residents in terms of age, cultural diversity, disability and geographical locations, especially groups that are often socially excluded. They also identified six community groups to be involved and engaged creative writing tutors to work with members of each group. The community groups were:

1. The Pagoda Chinese Community Centre
2. South Drive Resource Centre
3. Venus-Working Creatively with Young Women
4. Halewood University of the Third Age
5. Mary Seacole House
6. Windows Project tutors

Five creative tutors were engaged to work with these groups for a total of six sessions each.

These lessons were to introduce individuals to the concept of writing reviews; build confidence in the individual's ability, and the validity of their opinions and views; visit and discuss several artworks in the International Exhibition and facilitate the writing of a response to one piece each. The objectives of *Different Angles* were to:

- Provide opportunities for dialogues between local residents, and international artists
- Give members of local communities a voice, and the opportunity to share their knowledge and experiences
- Collect several 'home-grown' reviews in a publication, and make this available to exhibition visitors, giving them an insight into how the International Exhibition relates to the city
- Make the International exhibition more accessible by offering an alternative to conventional art criticism
- Draw on local language and knowledge to help build the confidence of local audiences through presenting ways of thinking about art that are relevant to their own lives
- Present a range of opinions, and thoughts that will help to recognise the value of diversity, and individual viewpoints (Louise 2004, pp.7-8)

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It was envisaged that there would be forty participants in total, the same as the number of works in the International and that each participant would be assigned one work each to review. Thirty-four reviews were written, and some works were reviewed more than once. A successful launch evening was organised on 2nd November for the participants and others who had input into the project. The launch had a series of performance poetry readings given by the creative writing tutors and others. This worked particularly well as a way of 'honouring' the participants, being a well-organised and high quality, non-threatening event, which nearly all the participants attended.

The Biennial gained PR capital from working with the six community organisations, none of which had previously been involved with the Biennial. They valued the project highly, and all were keen to work with the Biennial again. The groups played a role in disseminating the publication, and with it, awareness of the Biennial to an audience that would normally be harder to reach. It was noted that if one of the enduring principles of participatory arts is to provide consistently high projects and delivery, to people who may not be used to having such quality and value attached to them, then the *Different Angles* project was deemed exemplary.

4.4.3.1 Different Angles Evaluation - 2004

An external evaluator was engaged from the beginning, enabling information and feedback to be gathered as *Different Angles* progressed. This was seen as good practice, as 'having someone around from the beginning asked us awkward questions kept me on my toes!'

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(Dave Ward, Director of Windows). As with other Education and Inclusion projects, the evaluations primarily used qualitative methodologies through the use of questionnaires and interviews to find out the participants' views and opinions.

The creative writing tutors were chosen specifically for their skills and experience with working with the chosen community groups. However, none had written reviews before, therefore a one-day training workshop was incorporated into the structure. All the participants cited this training as being very useful. Comments included:

'Well delivered and comprehensive. Excellent.'

'Gave me confidence.'

'Practical information.'

'Hints and tips on writing reviews.'

'Very useful experience in gauging the level of difficulty of the task.'

'Focussed appropriately on the things we need to know.'

'Very good, clear, and flexible.'

Two tutors wrote reviews that were included in the publication, they stated they had learned something new as a result of their involvement in the project: 'I had never written a review before, and I was pleased with mine.'

Questionnaires were distributed to participants at the beginning of the project, with eleven being returned, out of twenty-eight. The information gained from these showed that respondents had a varied background in terms of art, with a small number having some

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experience via various short courses, mostly of an informal nature, while others had no background with visual arts. Only one person had previously visited a Biennial exhibition.

Expectations of the project included:

‘I hope to make a few contracts or maybe get inspired by something.’

‘I am expecting to learn how to write a review.’

‘Encourage me to communicate.’

‘Learn how to write critical accounts of painting.’

‘An insight into what it will be like to be a reviewer.’

‘Development of critical skills.’

‘I’ll improve my writing.... I’ll teach myself to do reviews.’

Overall, information was either gathered verbally and from questionnaires, showing that the participants were very positive about their experience with the creative writing tutors. Although not all participants produced reviews for publication, they variously found the experience ‘enjoyable,’ ‘very rewarding,’ and ‘a learning experience.’ The skills and engaging manner of the tutors were cited as being key to their experience and successful engagement with the project. The evidence shows that all the tutors successfully created a safe environment for the participants to express themselves, an important factor considering the sometimes difficult histories of individuals and that most had never tackled a project of this nature before. Comments included:

‘One of the best things was inspiration from tutor Ellie.’

‘We were helped greatly by Ellie to write a review in a structured way.’

‘It was mind-stretching.’

'I thought that the sessions were well structured, accessible and informative without being too formal. Everyone could work at their own pace, with help if they wanted it and there was a really supportive atmosphere.'

'I think that it was empowering for us because the facilitator made us realise that we could do it, that our opinions were valid and that even though some of us had never thought about art in depth, now we could, and people were willing to listen!'

The reviews were seen as being thoughtful and demonstrated an engagement, openness and independence of thinking about the works. They were unanimously positive in character, which, since the project was about individual voices, was not a given. They provide useful grassroots feedback to the Biennial on how the International has been read by a cross-section of Merseyside residents and an indication of its intellectual accessibility.

4.4.4 Tracking - 2004

For this project, the Biennial appointed four curatorial researchers to visit Liverpool, and then suggest twelve artists each for inclusion in the exhibition. These forty-eight artists were then invited to Liverpool to develop proposals for the exhibition. The Liverpool Biennial worked in partnership with five Merseyside secondary schools, each of which identified a teacher to help co-ordinate activities. Each school was allocated one of the international artists to work with groups of ten pupils. The project aimed to:

- Raise awareness and knowledge of contemporary art among secondary school pupils in Merseyside
- Provide opportunities for creative activity among secondary school pupils in Merseyside
- Provide opportunities for young people to explore their own culture and the culture of other cities
- Produce interpretation material for the International 04 exhibition that is relevant, and effective with secondary school pupils

The programme of activities included presentations by artists, practical workshops, visits and discussions. The programme took the form of ten half-day workshops running from September 2003 to July 2004. A freelance project co-ordinator was employed to co-ordinate activities and facilitate workshops. All workshops took place in the schools. The group of pupils met the artists to discuss their previous work and talk about Liverpool culture. The programme was developed to:

- Enable pupils to follow the process of the artists project, that was being developed
- Develop communication between the artist and the group
- Activities to explore issues that were relevant to the artist's work
- Carry out locally based research for the artist

Each school group was asked to produce handouts about the artists and the project would be used as a school's resource and support material for the International 2004 exhibition. Each participant was invited to have a 'behind the scenes' visit to the exhibition as it was being installed and given the chance to discuss the final artwork with the artist. The project was highly successful in raising awareness of contemporary art among students, through meeting the artist and researching the issues around the display of their work.

Students were exposed to the work of an international contemporary artist and some of the processes behind the realisation of a contemporary art exhibition. The students visited Liverpool to look at existing works, including FACT that introduced them to aspects and areas of the city many were previously unfamiliar with. The project also injected a greater degree of creativity into the students' experience of the IT curriculum.

4.4.4.1 Tracking Evaluation - 2004

The students created a data capture form based on the previous week's discussion. The questionnaire asked participants to choose from a list of suggested locations for the display of Choi Jeong Hwa's work (including Albert Dock, China Town, Lime St. Station); whether they thought the sculpture would be vandalised, and if so why; if participants would go to visit Choi Jeong Hwa's work when it was in Liverpool. During the following week, students distributed the questionnaire among friends and family and created a data capture form to record people's views about where to best place the artist's work. They then analysed the information and compiled a report of their findings. Students increased their level of achievement from level four to five and improved their behaviour in lesson time.

4.4.5 City Dreams - 2004

The *City Dreams* project made it possible for residents from the L1 Partnership area to work with South Korean artist Yeondoo Jung⁶ in creating images that represented their dreams and visions for the future of Liverpool. The residents were part of the Decant Programme involving families who have moved home and are therefore required to make important decisions about their future. *City Dream* began in June 2004 with an introduction to Yeondoo and his work. Project participants were then taken through a creative visioning process, including photography workshops with the artist, and discussion-based sessions

⁶ His work is based on the idea of making people's dreams come true. He had previously worked with individuals from Seoul, Beijing, Tokyo, New York and Amsterdam, staging photographs that represent individual's dreams for the future

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which explored aspirations and cultural differences. This added a new perspective on how participants thought about their future within Liverpool.

Participants worked with the artist to create images of their collective dreams which they displayed on a city centre billboard, and in a series of postcards as part of the Festival in September. Through the presentation of the work, participants were given the opportunity to share their ideas with a local, national and international audience.

City Dream aimed to work with local communities to demonstrate confidence and faith in Liverpool's future. This was to be done through:

- Providing opportunities for involvement in creative activities, raising the confidence of individual participants
- Encouraging participants to think imaginatively about their hopes and dreams for their futures
- Inform the Decant Programme and inform future planning and regeneration for the area
- Identifying, and sharing common hopes for the future

City Dream encouraged participants to think positively about Liverpool and its future and used art as a tool to facilitate community empowerment. The final distribution and display of the work gave participants a platform through which they could contribute to local debates, and their ideas were distributed to key decision-makers to inform the future planning of the city. *City Dream* raised the profile of the area through involvement in an

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international arts festival, increase participant skills and confidence, and increase pride in the city and local areas.

4.4.6 Happy Book - 2004

For the Liverpool Biennial's International exhibition, forty-eight international artists were invited to visit Liverpool to research the city and put forward a proposal for a piece of artwork they would like to make. The artists carried out their research in different ways. Some wanted to meet local people, others wanted to find out about the history of the city. Some wanted to look at the architecture and buildings, others wanted to know what sort of jobs people in Liverpool do. As well as talking to people and visiting places, they read books, studied magazine articles, and looked on the internet.

After the research, the artists sent their ideas to the Biennial who worked to make the process happen. Several artists kept sketchbooks with drawings and notes of their ideas and project used the sketchbooks to get pupils to explore their own local environment, think about what interests them, and find out more about contemporary art.

Happy Book was a project designed for pupils at the transition stage between primary and secondary school. The project was written by Andres St John, Head at St Benedict's College, the mixed college of South Liverpool, and Carol Dockwray, Campion Catholic High School.

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The project gave pupils the chance to learn about contemporary art and artists, and took several different approaches, whilst also giving them the opportunity to develop their own creative skills and ways to look and approach artworks during the Festival period. To do this, they selected a participating Festival artist to research. Over six lessons, the pupils worked through the project to create their own *Happy Book* which looked at their past, present and future.

Each page was filled with images and information, and pupils were encouraged to write their own opinions and ideas as they progressed through the book. This built their knowledge of the artist, encouraged reflection, developed their critical thinking and creativity, using mixed media still-life collage and print. Mind maps were used to demonstrate the pupil's thinking strategies, and pupils were asked to be photographed in a pose that represented their future careers. The project was a reflection on the artistic process and gave the pupils an insight into the creative process of research that the Festivals artists conducted. They would then take their *Happy Book* with them to secondary school, which would act to introduce them to their new school, demonstrate their art skills and knowledge.

4.4.7 WILD! - 2004

Wild! was funded by Arts Council England North West as the Biennial's audience development action research project. The project was part of a desire by the Liverpool Biennial to carry out a piece of comprehensive audience development research to inform

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the activities of the ongoing Education and Access Programme and Events Programme. The aim was to develop new and existing audiences through targeted programmes of activity and communication. The plan was to work with three specific groups, in two stages, over a two-year period of research. The *Wild!* programme of activities was developed by focus groups brought together for the project, who developed activities aimed to engage their peers in contemporary visual arts.

The Biennial worked with three focus groups representing young people, people with learning disabilities, and artists living and working in Merseyside. These groups were identified through the Biennial's Education Working Group as specific community groups that could benefit from new approaches to engaging with contemporary visual arts. Each group was attached to a host venue which included FACT, Bluecoat and STATIC.

These were selected because of their commitment to working with the target groups: FACT hosted the young people's focus group, STATIC the artist's group, and Bluecoat the group with learning difficulties. It was expected that individual members of the groups might change throughout the project period, but that continuity be established through the ongoing programme of activity and the appointed group co-ordinators, and work with them to provide the knowledge, training and support they required to develop a programme of activities.

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Each of the focus groups visited the 2002 Liverpool Biennial Festival. The participants' experience of the Biennial was evaluated, which informed the development of a programme of facilitated activities, enabling the groups to programme their own events. The FACT group dissolved and was replaced by a Biennial-led project whilst still working with young people. Both publications were incredibly successful in providing enjoyable and rewarding experiences for participants and communicating to new audiences in a relevant and accessible format.

4.4.8 STATIC: Seminal - 2004

STATIC Gallery worked alongside local artists on stage one of the *Wild!* Project encouraging them to debate and develop their own practice in relation to exploring the theme of the audience. These experiences were drawn together in a seminar (January 2004), *Who is our Audience?* Building on the experience of *Who is our Audience?* STATIC's wish was to prepare a large-scale seminar, aimed at and involving recent art graduates and emerging artists. In order to encourage this engagement, STATIC developed *Seminal*, an open writing competition seeking ten promising artists whose writing was enquiring, perceptive, opinionated and articulate.

Belton (2005) explains that in order to survive and thrive in the contemporary world, young artists must take control of how their work is presented and must understand how to articulate their ideas in many ways. Whatever medium an artist uses, at some point the ability to describe his / her thoughts in writing is essential. Eight writers were ultimately

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chosen and invited to an all-expenses paid two-day workshop to explore Liverpool Biennial. Following their visit, each writer developed a new text focussing on a chosen aspect of the Liverpool Biennial. These texts were then published online with the writer's involvement discussed at the *Seminal* seminar, held in STATIC in the closing weekend of the Biennial (November 28th, 2004). (Belton 2005, p.5)

4.4.9 Bluecoat: The Journey - 2004

4.4.9.1 The Liverpool Experience

Since November 2002, two groups of people with learning difficulties had worked in partnership with Bluecoat on the *Wild!* Project. The participants visited contemporary art venues throughout Liverpool and created their own work in response to the exhibitions they had seen. The project participants were involved in a series of workshops fostering creative activity. For stage two, the groups developed their workshop activities further, creating new work that was scheduled to be exhibited as part of Liverpool Biennial 2004.

For the *Journey*, local artist Leo Fitzmaurice worked with a group of adults from L8 Resource Centre and Fazakerley Croxteth Day Services. The group wished to produce a work that somehow related to their project experiences, with the decision made to make a short film of their individual journeys to an exhibition at Bluecoat Arts Centre. The climax for *The Journey* project witnessed participants attending a red-carpeted film premiere event held at Bluecoat (November 25th, 2004). Together they explored the experience of being a visitor in Liverpool. The group took the notion of 'visiting' as their inspiration,

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producing a large mural and lightboxes. The exhibition of their work then toured museums, libraries and galleries before resting at its permanent site inside Halewood Resource Centre.

4.4.9.2 FACT: Gossip – 2004

The FACT group dissolved during stage one of this project and was replaced by a Biennial-led project whilst still working with young people. Staff changes at FACT meant that key workers involved in stage one were no longer available to continue to foster this project. One member of the original FACT group of young people joined the Biennial for the second stage.

Gossip began as an invitation to a group of young people to collaborate and create a means to engage and educate their peers about contemporary art. To do this, it was decided that the group would use the format of a magazine to present information in an interesting way that would also appeal to their peers. The young people were given a ‘backstage pass’ and the means to follow the production of the exhibition and meet the artists and curators. Writing and design workshops were provided to develop the group’s skills in these areas, resulting in a young person’s guide to Liverpool Biennial International 04.

4.4.9.3 BUDDIES – 2004

International 04 artists staying in Liverpool were matched with a 'buddy.' The 'buddy' was a student who had an interest in art and who knew Liverpool well. This scheme was designed to give the volunteers experience regarding contemporary art production, as well as helping the artist. The proposal to set up visiting artists with undergraduate Fine Art students from Liverpool conjured up visions of a cross between a blind date and a script for a road movie. Many of the visiting artists had worked on major international projects prior to coming to Merseyside.

Most of the Liverpool Community College Fine Art students had previous experience of Liverpool Biennial events, some invigilating at city centre venues in 2002. Both expectations and concerns were high for both parties. Whichever way, the experience was an education and an insight for the students to experience the professional artists' own experiences for themselves, be given advice and discuss what they could expect in the future as successful artists.

4.4.9.4 The Liverpool Experience – 2004

Created in partnership with Bluecoat Arts Centre's Connect programme, a group of adults with learning difficulties from Halewood Resource Centre worked with Andy Weston to explore the experience of being a visitor to Liverpool. Their finished product is a large twelve-foot square mural that has toured museums, libraries, galleries, and resource centres, and was displayed in the Museum of Liverpool Life during the first six weeks of the

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Festival. DaDaFest, Liverpool's Disability and Deaf Arts Festival, took place at the end of November, culminating with an awards ceremony, at which participants in *The Liverpool Experience* received a DaDaAward for their work.

4.4.9.5 Resonance – 2004

Nine students from Sutton High Sports College, St. Helens worked in collaboration with artists Amanda Coogan and Patricia MacKinnon-Day, the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic, pyrotechnicians and filmmakers to research and produce artwork for Liverpool Biennial 2004, exhibited between 1st – 8th November in Liverpool Philharmonic Hall.

4.5 2006 Festival 15th September – 26th November

4.5.1 Burst – 2006

Burst was a project that was developed to address the Biennial organisation's need to sustain a relationship with project participants whilst enabling the use of the diversity of their knowledge and experiences to develop effective and accessible interpretation resources. It was an innovative new project, integral to the Biennial's Learning and Inclusion programme for Liverpool Biennial 2006. It was developed to address the need to sustain and strengthen relationships with participants of previous Learning and Inclusion projects, whilst also enabling them to use the diversity of their knowledge and experiences to develop effective and accessible interpretation materials for Liverpool Biennial 2006. It

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developed strong links with community groups and enhanced the experience of Biennial visitors through its essential contributions to the 2006 visitor programme.

The interpretive materials encouraged engagement with the city and with the Biennial Festival, and the participants themselves acted as ambassadors for Liverpool Biennial, enabling communication with a harder to reach sector of the Merseyside community. The aims of the project were:

- To develop existing relationships with local community groups
- To embrace cultural diversity and inclusion
- To create effective and accessible interpretation resources for Biennial visitors and schools
- Increase awareness of contemporary visual arts amongst hard-to-reach sectors of the community
- To develop the skills base and confidence of participants and encourage independence

Burst drew on the experiences and knowledge of participants as they monitored the changes in participants' perception of contemporary art throughout their involvement in the programme. For participants, seeing their work in a high-quality publication provided a sense of pride and achievement, and a feeling of being valued and included in the Biennial programme. The project provided local communities with a voice and a variety of opinions, ideas, and thoughts that helped to recognise the diversity of individual perspectives. *Burst* facilitated 276 activity sessions for eighty participants and provided one hundred days of employment for artists as the project invested the creative talent of local artists to lead the workshop sessions.

For the first edition, the Biennial collaborated with artist / designer Gayle Rice who was commissioned to produce the *Cultural Probe Pack*. As part of Gayle's MRes in Art and Design History, the exhibition space was provided to visualise the results of these cultural probes. The work was undertaken by the *Burst* groups, and fifteen individuals were selected by Gale. In March 2006, edition two provided a snapshot of eight of the international artists selected for the International 06 Festival. Each group profiled one of the artists within the second edition of the publication.

Edition three was launched in *Fusebox 06* on the opening night of the Biennial 06 (15th September 2006), which in part acted as an interpretation tool and school resource. The bumper celebratory edition included the participants' counterpoise to the fulfilment of artistic proposals, the shaping of the vision for the show, and the final delivery of the International 06 artworks. Edition four was published in March 2007, completing the projects cycle with the aim of rejuvenating the project for future participants. *Burst* included:

1. A programme of facilitated workshops with groups already familiar with the Biennial introduced participants to the processes behind the development of International 06. Artist-led workshops and a series of artist talks supported the development of a comprehensive collection of information sources relating to the International 06 artists. The materials were collected in a variety of formats, including books, articles, audio, and video, and was available to all project participants where possible; meetings with the artists, researchers, and curators were incorporated into the programme
2. The groups contributed to Bi-annual publications, aimed at presenting an exploration of the exhibition, through the voices of Merseyside communities. Each participant was assigned one International 06 researcher or artist to focus on. Their responses include creative writing, poetry, photography, collage, reviews, wallpaper, interviews, art, stickers, data, film, diary entries, art crawls / trails or anything else the participants wished to create. The contributions were collected

- together into editions and published in October, distributed through partner organisations, schools, colleges, universities, day centres, and the public realm
3. Alongside the workshops, they developed an information network to broaden participant's experience of contemporary art, enabling them to make steps towards becoming independent art visitors. The network provided communication, support, and regular information to individual members about contemporary art events across the region. Members received invitations to exhibition previews, talks, and other relevant events. A bi-monthly bulletin was circulated to project participants inviting them to arts activity and as a regular, anticipated means to keep them informed
 4. The 'bumper' publication in September 2006 served as an interpretation tool for visitors to the exhibition. The aim was to reflect the diverse nature of Liverpool Biennial's audience and highlight the many ways of looking at an artwork. It also worked with project participants to develop a series of specialist tours, and seminar events relating to International 06 Visitor Programme. The resources and events were open to school and community groups, and independent visitors to the exhibition
 5. Participants worked towards the fourth edition focussing on a review of the Biennial. This completed the cycle of the project, returning to the aim of creating a project existing in non-biennial years, providing a means for new project participants to take part. The original participants would take ownership of the project, being given the means to become facilitators towards International 08, maintaining their involvement in a higher capacity. As ambassadors, they would be encouraged to source fresh participants, and Merseyside community groups otherwise uninvolved and unaware of contemporary visual arts activity within the North West

4.5.2 Schools Project – 2006

Liverpool Biennial's *Schools Project 2006* was an imaginative partnership between Liverpool Biennial and local schools, aiming to develop their arts provision. This professional development programme involved twenty Merseyside teachers and provided access to best practices through workshops with international artists. A locally based curator worked with the teachers, translating this activity into educational projects that were used in school. These projects involved the teachers working in collaboration with their pupils, enhancing pupils' learning experiences and increasing their involvement with the arts. The project succeeded in implementing new and ongoing themes and methods within the schools involved, and introducing teachers to new forms and practices of contemporary art.

The project resulted in an exhibition of work as part of Liverpool Biennial 2006, and it received almost 2,000 visitors and positive feedback (see Appendix Ten). The teachers were pleased that the exhibition ran throughout the ten weeks of the Biennial and that the private view and launch event had a great atmosphere. The Biennial aimed to continue building relationships with the participating teachers and followed up on the suggestion that each school be provided with material and footage of the project for them to present in assemblies. The Biennial continued to communicate with the teachers about Biennial events and activities and explored ways of building on the successes of the project as part of our Liverpool Biennial 2008 Learning and Inclusion programme.

4.6 2008 Festival MADE UP 20th September – 30th November

During the year, the Biennial redesigned its activities to ensure that their approach to engagement was fully integrated within the commissioning process, supporting the development of sustainable relationships and maximising opportunities for communities to work directly with international artists. Before the Learning and Inclusion team was redeployed, specific projects were delivered to meet the needs of local communities and Festival visitors including:

- Inter-view - a web-based project involving ten community groups who researched the processes behind *MADE UP*, generated their own critical commentary of the ongoing development of the exhibition, and finally reviewed the show
- Triangles matched community groups in Liverpool with local artists and either a *MADE UP* artist or artwork
- Made up in Liverpool - a partnership with FACT to commission young people (12 - 19 years) to make films and present them in their own specially created film festival
- Future, Fiction and Fantasy - Liverpool Biennial's *Schools Project* involved staff working with *MADE UP* artists and eighteen schools across Merseyside

- RE-TOLD - one unexpected outcome of their work was the decision by thirty of the team of volunteers, some of whom also happened to be art students, to mount their own response to *MADE UP* with *RE: TOLD*. The exhibition took place in Arena Studios
- MADE UP Artist Talks and Conversations enabled visitors to hear from and question eight of the artists at individual events throughout the Festival
- The Visitor Programme included a welcoming Visitor Centre on Lime Street as a starting point for exploration of the Festival, and the base for group tours led by curators, artists, and critics, as well as diverse cycling and dog-walking tours
- The First Long Night of the Biennial saw Festival venues and the wider city art scene throw open its doors late into the evening, with alternative activity and events taking place across the venues. In one night, there were 6,500 visits to venues and events across the city, and reaction was overwhelmingly positive (Biggs 2009, pp.8-9)

Burst was a project that had evolved over two previous Festivals as a means of engaging a variety of other organisations in an ongoing critical relationship with the development of the programme. The most visible output was a magazine written, designed, produced and distributed by the young people involved. It was decided that the output in the future would be an online activity, and the project was renamed *Inter-view*.

4.6.1 The Liverpool Biennial Schools Project – 2008

The Liverpool Biennial *Schools Project 2008* built on the success of the Learning and Inclusion Schools, and Creative Partnerships projects that took place in 2004 and 2006. The primary aim was to increase awareness of contemporary art practice for pupils and teachers in the run up to the Festival. It gave pupils and teachers the opportunity to meet and work with local and international artists and culminated in an exhibition and a masterclass event for GCSE students and teachers during the Festival period.

Liverpool Biennial worked with teachers from six schools on the Wirral, and twelve from other parts of Merseyside to take part in a programme of professional development. The teachers were invited to participate in workshops with International 08 artists and attend artists' talks. After the workshops, they were supported by a local curator to develop a project that aimed to involve them working in collaboration with pupils to create work for the exhibition as part of the 2008 Biennial. The project also generated a set of learning resources for use both in an exhibition environment and back in the classroom. There were also a small number of projects that made direct links with other departments within the school.

The qualitative evaluation attempted to identify the extent to which the project was successful in meeting its primary aim of developing a model that could increase the use and profile of contemporary art for teaching and learning for creativity and cultural enrichment across the curriculum. The qualitative evaluation consisted of evidence taken from several sources, including an initial self-assessment of needs at an introductory teacher meeting. The feedback from the Wirral Schools Coordinator included questionnaires that were completed by five teachers at the end of the project (28% of possible returns), six student questionnaires, two Festival volunteers, and comments from visitors' book at the exhibition; emails and a draft report by LJMU on the effect of participation in Liverpool Biennial Schools Project 2006.

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This report drew heavily on the views of the teachers involved and also considered the feedback from some of the pupils, visitors to the exhibition, some of the Festival invigilators working at the exhibition, and observations of the project evaluator. Some of the main findings and recommendations were mentioned in the 2008 Tate publication *Teaching through Contemporary Art: A Report on Innovative Practices in the Classroom* (Adams et al 2008).

There was also reference to the initial findings of a paper written at Liverpool John Moores University on the effectiveness of the previous Biennial School's Project *What has Been the Long Term Impact in Schools of Engagement with Contemporary Arts Practice Through the Liverpool Biennial 2006?* (Hiett, S, G. Walker, S. Reilly, K. Musgrove, and J. Walsh 2006). The comments taken from both publications were only used to contextualise or back up findings from the current project, or to remark on the ongoing legacy of Liverpool Biennial *Schools Projects* in general. Within the evaluation report *Are you out of your Comfort Zone yet?* the sources of the views being expressed were identified but do not identify individuals or their schools. One teacher worried at the beginning of the project that contemporary art 'can be justifying poor quality work' (Bower 2009, p.8). In the same introductory session, another teacher suggested that a successful project for him would be 'to actively engage schools in the above action research programme' (of increasing the use and profile of contemporary art) (ibid p.11).

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The question the evaluation raised was: How far reaching are these positive learning opportunities? In some cases, the cross-curricular projects had already started, in others, the learning might just have spread within the department. Liverpool Biennial hoped that the report did adequate justice to all the hard work that everyone put into the project, and the focus was to evaluate the extent to which the project had met its primary aim of developing 'a model that could increase the use and profile of contemporary art for teaching and learning for creativity, and cultural enrichment across the curriculum.' The evaluation focused on whether the teachers involved had developed their understanding and use of contemporary art, and on whether this had impacted the school itself. The paper written at LJMU on the impact of the *2006 Schools Project* picked up on one of the Biennial's reasons for specifying a collaborative piece for the exhibition: 'Liverpool Biennial enhanced the need for collaboration (among pupils) developing confidence in making judgments and evaluating the work of others.'

4.6.2 Making it Up Project Overview – 2008

Making It Up was a commissioned work that was a youth-led documentary looking at the installation of selected pieces from the Liverpool Biennial *MADE UP* exhibition. It provided a film for the Liverpool Biennial to show in the visitor centre and host venues, by providing additional interpretations of the Festival. The project provided participants with the opportunity to document their own perceptions about contemporary art and the Biennial Festival at large, giving an insight into how young people interact with and interpret art. The project also gave young people the opportunity to develop filmmaking skills, learn how to plan and carry out a documentary project and engage with contemporary art.

Making it Up was a successful film that was informative and entertaining, as it contributed to the interpretation of *MADE UP* by allowing the viewer to see behind the scenes and understand some of the artists' motives. This was important as it gave an understanding of the concepts and perceptions of what motivates the artist and fulfilled its aim to act as an interpretation for the Learning and Inclusion team. It was also successful because it provided those involved with new skills and confidence in filmmaking.

4.6.3 Made Up in Liverpool Youth Film Festival 08 Evaluation – 2008

Building on the success of *Shoot the Artist* and *Made in Liverpool* 2004 and 2006, Liverpool Biennial, FACT and Liverpool Culture Company developed a new open submission film project within Merseyside. The original *Made in Liverpool* project was an open submission call for locally-made films. The films submitted were screened locally during the 2004 Biennial exhibition period, creating an opportunity for local residents to present Liverpool in their own voice. The project was also repeated in 2006 as an open submission project, with the addition of a specifically commissioned film.

The project aimed to involve members of the local community and youth groups. The groups had a part to play in the selection process of the films and the decision-making processes of curating the film programme. This was to be screened as Liverpool Biennial worked with community partners in Garston, Kirkdale, and Edge Hill, with whom long-standing relationships have been built through several community projects and

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collaborations over the years. In the run-up to the submission deadline, a series of workshops offered young people the chance to find out about the project and develop their filmmaking skills.

The workshop opportunities were facilitated by a local filmmaker, creating professional development and encouragement. These eight sessions took place at FACT and one in a community setting. ICDC (International Centre for Digital Content) delivered four mobile movie workshops in Garston and Kirkdale, allowing young people to learn new skills in filmmaking and create short films on mobile phones using video DJ software. They then had the option to submit the films as entries if they wished, culminating in fifty film submissions. Ten of these films were shortlisted for the final. The final ten films were made into a showreel, and an accompanying programme was made by the Young People at FACT. The outcome of the project resulted in a series of screenings as part of Liverpool Biennial 08.

4.6.4 I Made It Up! Storytelling Competition – 2008

The project was intended to be a creative, inclusive, fun, family friendly project. All events were free to participate in, and it was hoped that taking part would encourage participants to look closer at their environment, as well as introducing them to Liverpool Biennial. Five-Ten-year-old children were invited to respond to six Liverpool Biennial artworks through storytelling. The artworks selected for the competition were Yayoi Kusama, *The Gleaming Lights of the Souls*; Yoko Ono, *Liverpool Skyladders*; Sarah Sze, *Untitled*; U-Ram Choe,

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Opertus Lunula Umbra (Hidden Shadow of the Moon); Ai Weiwei, *Web of Light*; Diller, Scofidio and Renfro, *Arbores Laetae (Joyful Trees)*.

The artists were chosen for their child friendly nature, and children were encouraged to make up stories about them using words, images, or a combination of both. Overall aims of the project included:

- Increasing knowledge and understanding of contemporary art within Merseyside communities
- Create opportunities for Merseyside communities to engage creatively in response to the Liverpool Biennial
- Increase awareness of Liverpool's history and built environment within Merseyside communities
- Produce high quality artwork
- Build new audiences for Liverpool Biennial

Overall objectives were:

- Provide international platform for work produced by Merseyside communities
- To create positive experiences and events to happen within the community, and within the context of Liverpool Biennial
- To extend community knowledge of contemporary art through participation, and through the medium of storytelling
- To celebrate creativity within the region

4.6.5 Liverpool Biennial Triangle Project – 2008

4.6.5.1 Taciturn Dance Company

The Biennial *Triangles Projects* were set up as collaborative projects involving a community group, an artist from Merseyside, and an International artist. Taciturn / MDI was asked to

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be part of the project, working as the local artist in one of the triangles, with international artists Hubbard and Birchler and the participants of MDI open contemporary class as the community group. Unfortunately, Hubbard and Birchler were no longer able to be part of the triangles project, therefore leaving the triangle without an international artist to collaborate with. As an alternative solution, Taciturn chose four different art installations from the public realm of the Biennial that they could work in and interact with. They wanted to choose spaces that could be animated through movement, enhancing and reinforcing the qualities discovered in each installation. The pieces chosen were:

- *Rockscape* by Atelier Bow-Wow - A wooden amphitheatre set up to house live entertainment for passes-by in the city centre
- *Arbores Laetae* by Diller, Scofidio and Renfro - A small clump of trees some of which turn and rotate slowly
- *Web of Light* by Ai Weiwei - A spider in its web suspended over Exchange Flags, lit up at night
- *Carousel* by Leandro Erlich - An apartment made into a carousel, in which everyday objects move up and down to chiming carousel music

The Triangles Evaluation explained that although the community was actively included in only one of the venues, dance was introduced to different communities by performing in public spaces. People who watched or skimmed round the edge of rehearsals or caught a glimpse of the performance as they walked past, all had the chance to experience something new, something that perhaps they would not have considered interesting before, something that they might like to try themselves. This may have been more obvious with children who came to watch: one little boy copied Michelle's (Taciturn) movement on the pebbles at *Rockscape*, jumping and brushing the pebbles out of the way. Another little girl jumped straight into the positions once the performance had ended, walking up and down the steps, rolling off the steps, imitating what had just happened. This little girl's mum later said that she had continued to dance her way around town all day. This kind of

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inspiration is vital for communities, not only for children, to encourage creative input and development, and shows how a project like this can benefit a community (Triangles Evaluation 2008, p.5).

Mixed reviews were received on how art projects in public spaces are received by the public. For example, when rehearsing at the trees, some people did not see a benefit, one comment from a passing car being 'get a job!' That said, the majority of people were intrigued to see what was going on, with crowds of people around, or asking why people were dancing in the mud at the trees, or when the performance would be, or 'can anyone join in?' at Exchange Flags - showing that work in the public realm is appreciated and celebrated by many.

4.7 2010 Festival Touched 18th September – 28th November

The three-year funding for the *Art for Places* programme (Sefton, Wirral, Liverpool) ended in October 2010. In Liverpool, the Biennial continued to aim to create connectivity through the artistic excellence of their projects in Anfield and Everton Park. The hope was to communicate the adjacency of areas currently seen as distant, by connecting neighbourhoods separated by green spaces, roads, canals and entrenched attitudes.

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In Anfield, *On the Street* enabled young people to explore their community and its regeneration through a commission by New York artist Ed Purver (April 2010) that transformed an Anfield street as part of the PCT's *Living Sketchbook* week. The success of this project demonstrated its potential for expansion, and it evolved into *2Up2Down* with Dutch artist Jeanne van Heeswijk. The project involved up to forty NEET young people and other residents working with professionals to transform a derelict terrace into usable housing units, developing a range of skills in the process. The two-year scheme was part of the 2012 Festival, with funds raised on a rolling basis.

4.8 2012 Festival The Unexpected Guest 15th September – 25th November

4.8.1 2Up2Down – 2012

In 2010 Liverpool Biennial commissioned Dutch artist, Jeanne van Heeswijk, to create a way for local people to take matters into their own hands regarding the future of their North Liverpool neighbourhood; the resulting project was *2Up2Down*. Using creative processes, and by bringing together local experts together with recognised innovators, the project aimed to develop individual and collective capacity to rethink the future of their neighbourhood and develop social and environmental change.

Van Heeswijk worked with residents in developing and renewing redundant terraced housing and vacant ground into spaces to create a real community asset that is sustainable, 'owned' by the community, and has the potential to be built into long-term regeneration plans for the area. This change has been manifested in the form of Homebaked, a small

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community-owned and led development now operating on the site of the former Mitchell's bakery. Homebaked has two distinct parts:

- Homebaked Community Land Trust which explores affordable housing for local residents, some of which has been designed by local young people to meet the needs of individuals rather than market forces
- Homebaked Co-operative Anfield, a community bakery and social enterprise that offers much-needed economic activity for local people as well as a neighbourhood social space

Homebaked CLT has become emblematic of the growing community-led housing and Land Trust Movement, an exemplar project in terms of expanding the movement from its more affluent and rural base into urban contexts. Similarly, the bakery has been adopted wholeheartedly as an exemplar by the Co-operative movement.

Liverpool Biennial commissioned two evaluation studies of the project in 2013. One carried out by Shared Intelligence (March 2013) told the story of the project and looked at the impact it had, the challenges it faced, and the lessons it could teach others. The second study, produced by Sue Potts (2014) of John Moores University's Institute of Cultural Capital identified the instigating forces, functional dynamics, and the evolutionary and transformational effects of the network of support and skills which grew around the Homebaked project in Anfield.

4.9 Evolution of the Education, Learning, and Inclusion Programme

Due to the extremely poor economic macro-environment climate along with the expected lower investment in culture due to the end of Liverpool's year as European Capital of Culture, the Biennial had to make some changes and outlook for projects and programming. A major decision was taken at the end of 2008 to close the separate status of the Learning and Inclusion team and re-deploy this skills base directly through the team's delivery of the organisation's principal activity of commissioning new artworks. The Biennial felt that their overall 'educational' remit did not justify an 'education' team (Learning and Inclusion) separate from the core educational activity.

The Biennial aims to add value to work with other organisations as partners to spread good practice in commissioning good art. The Biennial's ambition was for those organisations to eventually develop the capacity to commission good new art for themselves without the Biennials' support (leaving them free to develop new partners). It was felt that the Biennial's ability to operate in the future (also as a Festival organisation) depended on the health of arts and community organisations throughout the city region. Ultimately this meant that the Biennial staff would not be working with individual members of the public, but only through the commissioning of artworks through other organisations.

Evaluation of the Biennial's visitor programmes indicated that in order to fully support the engagement of new audiences, the Biennial needed to provide more effective interpretation resources. To achieve this, the Biennial has changed its focus from small-

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scale projects to developing a digital educational resource that is open to all and can be downloaded from the Biennial's website. This free digital resource includes activities for use in and outside the classroom, as well as fun activities to do on-site at the Festival. There are also teacher's notes and lesson plans related to subjects across the curriculum in response to Liverpool Biennial.

Therefore, the Education, Learning and Inclusion programme has evolved into the Digital Education Resource which has been designed for teachers and pupils with activities, teacher's notes and lesson plans related to subjects across the curriculum in response to Liverpool Biennial Festival. It introduces the artists that are in the Festival and some of the ideas behind the exhibition. This resource has been designed to accompany schools and education group visits to the Festival. It includes activities for both in and outside the classroom relating to the curriculum and fun activities to do on site at the Festival.

4.10 Evaluation

Due to the funding for each of the Biennials projects within the Education, Learning and Inclusion programme, formative and summative evaluations and reports were needed depending on the size and scope of each group of participants. For instance, research examples of successful projects needed to demonstrate the effectiveness of each project stipulated in the project briefs that are submitted for commissions and funding to the Biennial and their funding partners. Due to the constraints of funding, many of these

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evaluations were basic SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analyses conducted both during and after the projects finished.

For example, these projects would be presented in key stages:

- Stage one: the initial stage of the project would be a programme of awareness raising activities aimed at broadening the knowledge of contemporary art amongst local residents
- Stage two: the commissioning and installation process would be complemented by an ongoing educational programme aimed at helping the local community to feel ownership of the project and increase their understanding of the Festivals art
- Stage three: review the project to date and the outcomes to inform the next steps of the project and to plan further involvement

For many of the projects conducted by the Education, Learning and Inclusion programme preceding each Biennial Festival, a simple SWOT analysis was used to evaluate the strengths, weaknesses, target and recommendations of each project. Also, the strengths and weaknesses usually arise from within an organisation, and the opportunities and threats from external sources.

SWOT analysis is commonly used in supporting the development of strategies for improvement or professional development and progress in a project, providing a clearer picture of current performance and ability. It will also give insight into issues that may arise in the future that could both boost or hinder development and progress. The level of detail

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that this goes into depends on the amount of time and the kinds of discussions that take place to support the assessment practice.

Jermyn (2001) suggests that this lack of formal evaluation might be partly explained by a lack of in-house skills and expertise to conduct rigorous evaluations, by the funding and time implications of undertaking this work, and by a sense that small funding grants are over-monitored (p.9).

For example, the evaluation of the 2004 project Gossip (part of the *Wild!* Project) consisted of five participants and three artists (participation of the 2004 projects were generally small, ranging between 5 – 33). The Biennial invited a group of young people to collaborate and create a means of engaging and educating their peers about contemporary art. The evaluation consisted of measuring the strengths, weaknesses, target groups and recommendations:

Strengths

- Commitment of the young people to the project
- A successful launch event well attended by invited art professionals
- A quality end product
- A strong relationship was fostered with the young people with their collective desire to work with Liverpool Biennial in the future
- 'It's so funny now though in college as the art teachers all seem to love me for taking part in the biennial! They got me helping in lessons and everything. They used to hate me to!' Dave O'Hara

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- 'I've really enjoyed Gossip; it was a great experience and challenge and I'm really proud to have been part of it.' Lesley-Ann O'Connell

Weaknesses

- Too short a timescale for stage two of the project
- Incorrect spelling in final publication of participant's name
- More co-ordination and time required for opportunities for the young people to meet visiting International 04 artists

Recommendations

- To continue to develop the relationships we have forged with *Wild!* Groups
- To develop a creative publication that each group can contribute to for publication between Biennials, and in leading up to Liverpool Biennial 06 with a Bumper Issue published for distribution during the Biennial

This form of evaluation has been consistently used by the Biennial, not to show the impact or outcome of the work to participants, but to measure the delivery of the project succinctly, with each evaluation being one page in total. Therefore, project evaluation is a systematic and objective assessment of an ongoing or completed project. The aim is to determine the relevance and level of achievement of project objectives, development effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability. A description of many of the 2004 evaluations can be found in the Appendix Eleven.

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The Biennial has used this form of Summative Evaluation (sometimes referred to as External) as a method of judging the worth of the projects at the end of the activities (summation). The focus of this evaluation methodology on the outcome as a summative evaluation is the type of evaluation that occurs at the end of a course or project. This evaluation process is quite general, including several skills, concepts, or large categories of subject matter which combined to cover a broad area, and generally evaluated by means of summative evaluation.

The Biennial also used Formative Evaluations (sometimes referred to as Internal) throughout the projects as it was an organic process for both the project leaders and participants, as many of the people involved had never conducted this form of programme before. Therefore, this method was very useful for judging the worth of a project while the activities were forming (in progress). Thus, formative evaluations would basically be done at different stages as they permitted the designers, learners, instructors and managers to monitor how well the instructional goals and objectives were being met. Its main purpose is to catch deficiencies as soon as possible so that the proper learning interventions can take place that allow the learners to master the required skills and knowledge.

Therefore, the accountability of the Biennial and project course leaders to funding bodies caused them to analyse their methods of evaluation for the Education, Learning and Inclusion programme. The Biennial used a combination of both formative and summative evaluations that can be found in the Appendices. These evaluation methods assisted the

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Biennial in meeting the needs of the participants by enabling access to the Festivals and encouraging engagement and dialogue with the art in the programme. Thus, the evaluations that the Biennial conducted throughout the Education, Learning and Inclusion programme were a process of examining the project efficiency to determine what was working, what was not, and why. It determined the value of the learning and training programme and acted as a blueprint for judgement and improvement of future projects.

4.11 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have described the Education, Learning and inclusion projects (1999 – 2012) conducted by the Biennial within local schools and communities. I argue that the positive thing about the Biennial's programme is that it is not a social inclusion programme, it is an education, learning and inclusion programme. Participants learn about the art, speak to artists, and are part of the creative process. This gives them the confidence to talk about the aesthetic judgement that is needed to understand and appreciate contemporary artwork. The ongoing Education, Learning and Inclusion programmes were developed to address the need to sustain and strengthen the relationships of previous participants, whilst also enabling the diversity of their knowledge and experiences to develop effective and accessible interpretation material for future Festivals.

Liverpool Biennial aims to broaden the audience within Liverpool for contemporary art through creating access to international artists. To help the Biennial achieve this aim it has

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an ongoing Education, Learning and Inclusion programme through which it creates opportunities for local communities to engage with the International Exhibition. The projects were part of a desire by the Liverpool Biennial to carry out a piece of comprehensive audience development research to inform the activities of its ongoing Education and Access Programme and Events Programme. The aim was to develop new and existing audiences through targeted programmes of activity and communication. The programme of activities conducted each year included presentations by artists, practical workshops, visits and discussions.

The Biennial recognises that finding meaning in contemporary art is often challenging, and new audiences can be bewildered by the lack of narrative or representational view, and the use of non-traditional techniques. I argue that the audience for contemporary art can be diverse, and that each individual brings knowledge, experiences and ideas - thus influencing the meaning they find in the artwork itself and highlighting that there are many ways of perceiving and interpreting an artwork.

I have shown throughout this chapter how the core aim of the Education, Learning and Inclusion programme was to help local communities / schools to develop a background knowledge of the work commissioned for the Festivals and broaden the audience within Liverpool for contemporary international art, by providing participation programmes that created a diversity of product and creating enjoyment and fun. Projects presented diverse and individual responses to new audiences by sharing knowledge, experiences and ideas on

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how to interpret and understand the art. It offered local people, often from under-represented groups, the opportunity to participate and interact with the Festival's international artists. The programme also developed strong links with community groups and enhanced the experience of all Biennial visitors through its essential contributions to the visitor programme. The interpretive materials were also developed to encourage local residents to engage with the city and with the Biennial Festival, and the participants themselves acted as ambassadors for the Liverpool Biennial, enabling communication with a harder to reach sector of the Merseyside community.

Projects have provided local communities with a voice to express a variety of opinions, ideas and thoughts that helped them to recognise the diversity of individual perspectives. The Education, Learning and Inclusion Programme was concerned with the dual role of enabling access to the Festival by the broad spectrum of Merseyside residents, with an emphasis on those who are often socially excluded, while simultaneously encouraging engagement and dialogue with the work that is shown.

Smith (2015) explains that the evaluation reports are about finding out about the audiences so that they can measure the success of their marketing, and how they can then tailor the marketing to focus more directly on specific demographics. In Chapter Five we will examine the demographic research of visitors, and how the Biennial uses this information to strengthen future audiences. Chapter Six discusses the satisfaction of visitors and the intrinsic value of cultural goods and events within the Festivals.

Chapter Five:
Visitor Profile of the Liverpool Biennial Festival

Within this chapter, I will investigate the demographic (Visitor Profile) research conducted by the Liverpool Biennial. This is important for the Biennial as they learn who their audience is, and how best to market the events / information to create the best visitor experience.

The demographic research objectives are to understand audiences' motivations and obstacles to attendance and make recommendations on communications and audience development strategies. Broadly speaking, the Biennial Festival has developed from a niche event in 1999 that appealed chiefly to locally based artists, art students, art professionals, and art educationalists (63% of attendees were vocationally involved in visual art), to a more broadly appealing Festival in 2012 with only 28.7% having specialist knowledge, 36.1% general knowledge, and 35.2% having little or no knowledge. This type of information is important to the Biennial's objectives, and funding bodies such as the Arts Council's plan of 'Great Art for Everyone' through the five objectives of Excellence, Innovation, Reach, Engagement, and Diversity. (Bunting 2010, p.3)

Since New Labour in 1997, there has been a debate about valuing the arts and culture that has dominated cultural policy in the UK. The Social Exclusion Task Force (SETF) was launched on 8th December 1997 and was a part of the Cabinet Office that provided the UK Government with strategic advice and policy analysis in its drive against social exclusion. It was preceded by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) and published over fifty reports in many areas of social policy. Belfiore (2012) explains this attachment strategy took the form of a top-down version in which the government tried to impose an instrumental agenda for the

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arts and culture through the introduction of prescriptive targets, and clear expectations that the subsidised arts should contribute to the 'joined-up' delivery of social and economic agendas, and a bottom-up one whereby the sector itself strived to demonstrate its 'usefulness' in socio-economic terms, seeing in the claim for impact a route to secure better funding levels (Belfiore 2012, p.105, also see Gray 2008).

Jancovich (2011) explains that Labour's vision has resulted in little change in which arts institutions receive regular funding (ACE 2009) and the social composition of those who participate in the arts in Britain today, who remain predominantly white and middle class (DCMS 2011) (p.271). I argue that by looking at the extensive demographic research into the arts, we can see a similar pattern, showing that culture / arts attract the same key demographic with high educational attainment and social status and that low cultural attendance is from people with lower educational attainment within poor areas.

Paul Smith explained (Chapter Three) that the Liverpool Biennial Festival's impact research is not predominantly interested in the economic impact of the Festivals, which is an outcome (even if it is a fortuitous one towards funding). Smith (2015) explains that the Biennial's Festival impact reports are primarily conducted to gather information about the audience and their experiences:

Those reports, remember, don't take them as being about the economic impact because they aren't actually. That is one of the outcomes of them. What they are, is a report about our audiences and it helps us to see how they have changed, or

how they haven't changed. So, for instance, if you compare the kind of growth from 2004 which is when we had the first serious research done, we had some in 2002, but we had the first serious one in 2004, looking through to 2008, 2012. In every one of those years, there was a significant.... increase in the percentage of our audience. So, while the audience is going up, the percentage of the audience who said that they had little or no knowledge about the arts went up, and so that's why we do that report because we are thinking about what changes do we want, and that gives us a view of that.... the audience did change and its composition and its attitude to its general knowledge and so forth. So that report is really part of us trying to figure out what the art means to those audiences. (see Appendix One for full interview)

According to Smith, the key aim was to gather demographic research so that they could learn about their audience. So, the main purpose of this research is to provide the Biennial with an attender profile, incorporating demographic information, motivations for attendance, responses to publicity and marketing of the Festival, and their general perception of the various exhibitions and events. (see Appendix Twelve for press and marketing)

In response to broad social, economic, and technological trends that have affected the art environment, it could be argued that arts organisations are increasingly reaching out to the communities they serve and encouraging individuals to participate in their programmes. To successfully increase participation, organisations must identify, and understand their potential audiences and develop programmes and marketing approaches that will appeal to them.

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O'Brien and Oakley (2015) explain there are several sources of data on cultural consumption, ranging from government sponsored general surveys (e.g. Taking Part in England, Wales Omnibus Survey, General Population Survey for Northern Ireland and Scottish Household Survey, Sports and Culture Module for Scotland, etc.), through market research data (e.g. Arts Audience Insight), to much more specific community, or art form research (p.5). In addition, this data along with specially commissioned data sets have been the basis for a range of governmental (CASE 2010b, Bunting et al 2008, Keaney 2008) and academic analysis (e.g. Chan and Goldthorpe 2007a, 2007b, Bennett et al 2009). One thing that is agreed upon throughout, is that cultural consumption is socially differentiated. As the Warwick Commission (2015) makes clear, 'The wealthiest, better educated and least ethnically diverse 8% of the population forms the most culturally active segment of all' (p.33).

5.1 Engagement by Demographic

As Paul Smith has previously explained, the main function of the Biennial Festivals research concentrates on visitor profile and event evaluation. In this respect, the Biennial reports are used to highlight the lowest demographics and audiences so that in future Festivals, the Biennial can work towards increasing audiences from certain catchment areas, social grades, and cultural consumption / knowledge. To do this, the Biennial conducts market research to understand their audiences through visitor profiles. Smith (2015) explains the importance of the Visitor Profile research to their marketing objectives:

So that survey is about us being able to look and say - ok what is happening across our business that is why it's got marketing questions in there. So, we can track how

people are being communicated with, and that helps us to understand what we need to do for instance, more than 20% of the largest single reason people come, is because of word of mouth. So, we started asking in 2008 that the average person told twenty-six other people about Liverpool Biennial. Now that's fantastic marketing power. The interesting thing is, so that meant that we tried to make sure we could equip people with reasons to tell more people about it. But one of the things we can see from doing that research regularly is that how people are telling others has changed. So of course, in those early days, really, the only way you could really do it is if you saw someone, you called them on the phone, maybe you emailed some people, but you were not going to email a lot of people.... these days you might just post it on social media, and I think you are telling an awful lot more people, but you are probably telling them in a way that has less impact for any one of them.... for those groups of people. I, looking you in the eye and saying let's go and see this exhibition will carry a different weight than something else. So that study is actually.... a much more rounded study and we spend a lot of time with it than us just being able to report back to funders?

This is a clear example of how the Biennial's marketing has changed since the first Festival due to technology. In this time of digital content, marketing is more accessible and easier to reach large audiences through websites and social media. Marketing does not have to only consist of conventional formats (posters, text), it can have short video content and advertisements describing the exhibition or event. Whilst it is essential that social media posts contain all the information pertaining to the event (times, dates, etc.), it is important to ensure that the posts are engaging and visually attractive. Dull list type posts are unappealing in this day and age, they need to be eye-catching, using video content edited to show exciting and quick subject matter to keep the audience's attention, including images, people talking on camera and music. This way, people will be happy to share with others, therefore expanding the marketing reach. Since the first Biennial in 1999, an important factor is how people access information as technology is more available now through smartphones and tablets, and as prices have dropped, it is available to every demographic.

However, as we will see in this chapter, the Biennial's audience research shows that audiences primarily consist of white, educated middle classes (A / B higher and intermediate managerial and C1 supervisory clerical managerial) more than any other ethnic and lower social grade groups (C2 skilled manual, D / E semi-skilled and unskilled manual / on benefits), which is comparable to other art audience research. For example, in 2014 / 15 the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport (2015b) showed the following patterns of art engagement that were observed amongst demographic groups:

- Adults aged 75 and over had lower arts engagement rates (61.5%) than any other age group
- Arts engagement was higher amongst adults from the white group (77.9%) than adults from Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) groups (68.2%)
- Adults with no long-standing illness or limiting disability had a higher arts engagement rate (78.4%) than those with a long-standing illness or disability (73.2%)
- Adults who were working had higher engagement rates (80.1%) than those who were not working (71.8%)
- Arts engagement was higher amongst adults in the upper socio-economic groups (82.4% than those in the lower socio-economic group (66.7%) (p.11)

According to Bunting et al (2007), there have been significant changes in the proportion of respondents who had engaged with the arts, and here we can compare the figures from 2005 / 06 and 2014 / 15 amongst:

- People in the 65 - 74 age group (an increase from 70.7% to 78.0%)
- Adults aged 75 and over (an increase from 57.7% to 61.5%)
- Adults with a long-standing illness or disability (an increase from 69.8% to 73.2%)
- Adults in the upper socio-economic group (a decrease from 84.4% to 82.4%)
- Adults in the lower socio-economic group (an increase from 64.4% to 66.7%)
- Those who were not working (an increase from 68.8% to 71.8%) (p.11)

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It could be argued that this either suggests the need for greater social inclusion projects to introduce people of different heritage and social grades, or that there is no point in producing social impact projects as they do not generate or change the tastes, and leisure activities of these groups.

The nature of this thesis is not to broadly discuss demographic research in general but to focus on the research undertaken by the Liverpool Biennial to understand their audience and the least attended demographic segments. In this chapter, I will focus on the quantitative and qualitative methodologies that the Biennial has used to understand their audiences and also focus on the visitor profile research conducted for / from the Biennial's Festivals (1999 - 2012).

5.2 Liverpool Biennial Demographic Research

The Liverpool Biennial commissioned two evaluations for the inaugural 1999 Biennial Festival (TRACE). TEAM (Tourism Enterprise and Management) audience evaluation was commissioned by the Biennial and funded by North West Arts Board (NWAB) and was undertaken between September 1999 and March 2000. The main purpose of this research was to provide the Biennial with a visitor profile, incorporating demographic information, motivations, and attendance responses to publicity and marketing of the Festival and their general perception of the various exhibitions and events. The research sat alongside Helen Rees Leahy's (2000) evaluation that assessed the relationships of the Biennial to different sectors and helped to signal strategic routes for development.

Rees Leahy (2000) explains that there was a natural desire for the Biennial to measure the size of an audience for any event within the 1999 Festival, and especially to compare year-on-year data for established exhibitions such as the John Moores and New Contemporaries. It was also useful to shaping their future plans to have a sense of the kinds of paths taken by visitors who set out to see more than one element of the Biennial. Unfortunately, the data from TEAM did not give a clear picture of these kinds of visitor patterns in 1999, but it did give a clear picture of the demographic mix of the Biennial's audience (i.e. those who visited by design, rather than came across it by accident). For example, the percentages below were based on a sample of 360 visitors:

- 70% - less than 35 years old
- 65% - between 16 - 25 years
- 45% - students
- 82% - from Merseyside
- 50 / 50 female / male attenders (Rees Leahy 2000, p.42)

What Rees Leahy found most striking about this data was the youthfulness of the Biennial audience. For example, by comparison, audiences for *artranspennine98*⁷, which shared the Biennial's mix of contemporary art and commissions in a gallery and non-gallery sites, were more evenly spread across a spectrum of age ranges:

- 16% less than 25 years
- 19% between 25 and 34 years
- 24% between 35 and 44 years
- 25% between 45 and 54 years
- 12% between 55 and 64 years

⁷ *artranspennine98* was an exhibition that combined art with people and place, spread across the North of England. Occupying a landmass larger than Belgium, featuring sixty-four artists working on forty projects, the exhibition included thirty different sites between Liverpool in the west and Hull in the east.

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- 4% over 65 years (Arts About Manchester 1999)

Only 16% of visitors to artranspennine98 were students and almost as many (14%) were retired. Rees Leahy argues these findings point to the success of the Biennial's strategy of promoting a young, hip image, combined with a strong educational profile and programme. The obvious question arising was: who did not get invited to the party in 1999? Certainly, the evidence of artranspennine98 showed that marketing and education events can involve a much wider section of the population that was, apparently, reached by the Biennial (Rees Leahy 2000, pp.43-44).

In addition to the unusually high percentage of young visitors, Trace (1999) also attracted a higher-than-average proportion of visitors from Tate Liverpool's local catchment area. A similar trend was demonstrated at the Walker Art Gallery where 35% of visitors to John Moores 21 were Merseyside residents, 40% came from the North West outside Merseyside, 18% came from elsewhere in the UK and 7% were from overseas. These figures show a notable decline in the proportion of UK visitors from outside the North West region (i.e. a drop from 30% in 1997 to 18% in 1999). Rees Leahy (2000) suggests, without reading too much into this data that it did suggest that the appeal of the inaugural Biennial and its components did not penetrate beyond the city and its immediate hinterland (p.44).

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Evidence from TEAM showed that John Moores 21 was the most recognisable single element of the Biennial (80% of those who were aware of the Biennial had heard about the John Moores, compared with 72% who had heard about Trace, and 69% who had heard about New Contemporaries 99). These figures suggested there was potential to widen the demographic base of the Biennial's constituency and to link different arts audiences across the city and beyond.

The 1999 Biennial Festival aimed to attract 250,000 visitors. However, no means of measuring visitors was agreed to evaluate whether this and other objectives were achieved. In preparation for the 2002 event, the Biennial appointed Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (MHM) to undertake a front-end research project involving both external and internal stakeholders. Fundamentally, this enabled the Biennial to benchmark its market position post 1999, define the Biennial's brand, identify its target audience, and set measurable marketing communications objectives.

A parallel evaluation programme could not be realised because of financial constraints. However, two onsite questionnaire initiatives, an in-depth assisted survey, and a self-completion survey captured some quantitative and qualitative data. The content of the questionnaires was based on those used by MHM for the original front-end research programme and informed by research staff at the Walker and Tate Liverpool.

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For the purpose of analysis, weighted data from the in-depth survey was used to weight the data collated through the self-completion survey. Whilst this could not ensure that the survey data was representative of all the Biennial's attendees, the cross-survey weighted methodology significantly reduced the bias. Cross-examination of the data supplemented by evaluation information provided by the Walker and Tate Liverpool gave the Biennial a clear direction for their future marketing and development plans.

Crucially, the data allowed the Biennial to expand its commercial sponsorship portfolio as the audience profile information revealed (which had not been previously available in such depth) and enabled the Biennial to match up its future audience objectives with that of its potential sponsors looking for opportunities in those segments.

A strategy was required to identify new and existing target audiences for 2001 and systematically nurture their interests in the Biennial. Rees Leahy suggested that the Board needed a policy for reaching audiences that were not attracted to the 1999 Biennial – such as families and senior citizens. In addition, there was the potential to develop the Biennial as a destination for visitors beyond Liverpool and its hinterland and raise the civic / regional identity of the Biennial beyond the North West.

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Due to the lack of resources, MHM (2002) was restricted to 250 interviews. It was therefore agreed to keep the population survey confined to Merseyside in order to feel confident about the robustness of the findings. There was not the budget available to do any quantitative research on a potential national or international market. The qualitative methodologies included interviews and focus groups, but MHM stated that responses could not be accurate as they were conducted after a two-year lapse and the respondents could not generate entirely accurate levels of recall.

Rees Leahy (2000) believed that thorough market research was required to identify and understand the Biennial's constituencies and should be commissioned and managed by the Biennial itself (not NWAB). She argued that research should be conducted before (to establish the baseline), during, and after (to measure lasting effects) for each Festival, to measure the impact of the Biennial as a regular event (p.45).

Rees Leahy argued that a distinction should be made between perceptions of, and attitudes to, the Biennial in particular, and to contemporary visual art in general, and research conducted into the effect of the Biennial in developing an audience for contemporary art (beyond the Biennial). For example, the Harris Research Centre (1998) report on the impact of the Year of Visual Art in the North of England showed that support exceeded people's interest in contemporary visual arts per se. The Harris report showed that a rolling programme of related events was required to sustain the interest engendered by the Year's events. Rees Leahy argued that given the inherent stop / start nature of the Biennial,

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audience development strategies should be devised in conjunction with partner venues and organisations to develop and sustain the impact of each successive Biennial during alternate years (p.45).

In 1999, a very high proportion of attenders were described as 'Vocational' in that 44% were students, 8% worked in the arts industry, and 4% were artists with a further 3% working as graphic designers. If we also assume that the 4% of lecturers work in the visual arts, this generates as many as 63% of attenders falling into the 'Vocational' group. This is confirmed by the motivation data, which indicates that 46% of attendances were motivated by an interest in educational studies and a further 20% were motivated by professional or work interest. This indicates that the Biennial chiefly reached a very active art-interested and art-professional audience. The implication of this is that the communications message was very tightly targeted, the publicity failed to reach a non-arts audience and suggests that the actual audience reached would have been far smaller than hoped, since the Vocational segment alone numbers around 12,553 people within Merseyside (MHM 2002, p.15).

The figure for 'Word of mouth' was high (55%) and reflects the fact that students and the visual arts community are strong reference groups. It also implied that the rest of the 1999 Biennial's marketing communication failed to have a strong impact. This was borne out by the qualitative research and depth interviews.

Focus groups and interviews revealed that the aim of the 1999 Biennial received widespread support and the Biennial was generally recognised as a good thing. The group that is most confident and articulate about contemporary art (Vocationalists) felt there was a need for information and orientation guidance to make the event more accessible and less intimidating for people. This group felt that banners and street-dressing were an important feature in helping people orientate themselves and given a sense of cohesion to the event. There was recognition that different market segments might need different levels of information.

Awareness levels of the 1999 Biennial Festival were very low amongst the potential market and confined largely to those in the arts sector. Whilst individuals did participate in projects and see some of the exhibits, there is evidence that they did so without being made aware of the Biennial brand or of the nature of the Festival event. The Biennial realised that it must proactively engage with its public and potential audiences, not just to promote the 2002 programme, but to ensure sustainability beyond 2002 and establish an International visual arts initiative that became an essential date in the calendar of events for many years.

5.3 Market Segmentation - The Theory

To get to a more realistic definition of the potential market, MHM reduced the size of the overall market by looking at the numbers of potential attenders within the population and

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had two potential sources of information. The first was generic market data or secondary market research, such as the Arts Council England (ACE) (2008) and Taking Part Target Group Index (TGI), and covers consumer attitudes, habits, motivations and behaviours. This tells the proportion of people in the population who might attend a particular artform (e.g. art galleries in any given area), down to individual postcode sectors. This information is collected to help understand who the potential audiences are, and how to target them by assisting in the designing and planning of outputs and the analysis of brand positioning.

TGI provides a unique tool to segment a consumer base quickly and accurately into core attitudinal clusters to tailor advertising / marketing campaigns to the varying wants and needs of the consumers within a market. However, a slight drawback regarding estimating the potential market for the Biennial was that the TGI data for art galleries make no distinction between traditional and contemporary galleries.

The second source of potential arts attendance data was from primary research, the potential attender survey. In the survey, MHM asked respondents to tell how likely they would be to attend the Biennial. This data was useful because it is based on primary research with real people in the actual catchment area for the Biennial - it showed how many people would really consider attending.

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MHM (2002) took a total of 250 telephone interviews with potential attendees through a pre-defined catchment area. For a venue, this was typically done on the basis of geographic origination of the bookers on their box office database. In the absence of box office data, the sampled catchment area for the Biennial was based on the political or electoral boundaries defined by local authority districts. Thus, the sample for the Biennial was split into 'inner' and 'outer' areas. The inner region represented the city of Liverpool whilst the outer region covered the four other districts within Merseyside: Sefton, Knowsley, St Helens and the Wirral.

The two areas sampled had specific socio-demographic profiles relating to the number of resident men and women, younger and older people, ethnic groups, and high / low income households. To make the overall survey sample representative of the entire catchment area, the final survey data was weighted to reflect the socio-demographic profile of Merseyside. The catchment area covered an area of approximately 250 sq. miles, the majority of which was within a 15-mile radius of the centre of Liverpool (MHM 2002, pp.9-10).

MHM explained that segmentation is a compromise between the homogeneous mass and the single individual, and it grouped people together to reflect some of their key differences but in manageable numbers. A segment was defined as 'a group of customers with shared needs' (Rick Brown, CIM). The more similar the needs within a segment and the

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more distinct they are from the needs within another segment, the easier it is to differentiate the right marketing mix for each segment and persuade them to attend.

Slightly further removed from the core, and possibly requiring more persuasion / information before they would be willing to commit themselves to attend, are those people who were open to the idea but would 'wait to hear more before deciding' to attend the Biennial. This segment accounted for 6.3% of the population, representing 72,475 people (MHM 2002, p.22).

5.4 The Benefits of Segmentation

It could be argued that these market size calculations outlined above provided the 'bigger picture' for the Biennial 2002 and using this information it was possible to estimate the size of some of the individual market segments defined by the Biennial and was refined during this research process. The following section explains MHM approach to market segmentation and provides data for the size of each of these segments.

Segmentation sets out to address particular messages about benefits designed to meet particular needs to particular groups, within the mass of potential attenders. In short, it attempts to recognise the differences in the audience by differentiating the product and

how it is communicated. To do this successfully required the combination of two elements: the message and the medium. Having the right differentiated message improves effectiveness (doing and saying the right things). Having the right differentiated message improves efficiency (reduces the cost).

- **Arts informed:** This group are attenders at art galleries and contemporary arts events, including artists, arts professionals, art students, arts funding bodies and opinion formers (e.g. Vocationals, agents, buyers, media etc.)
- **Culturally active:** This group are attenders at cultural events but not necessarily contemporary visual arts events, they are not frightened of new experiences and include students and practitioners from the wider creative industries (e.g. music, fashion, theatre, media etc.)
- **Lifestylers:** This group consist of arts attenders who may adopt art (normally contemporary art) as part of their lifestyle in order to support the projection of a contemporary image. They generally attend arts events for social gain rather than out of an appreciation for the content
- **Traditional:** This group has little experience of contemporary visual arts but attend more conservative arts events and art exhibitions
- **Non-arts attenders:** People who have not attended the arts (excluding mainstream cinema) in the past twelve months
- **Non-independent:** Organised groups of children, students, societies and community groups introduced to art through the education programme
- **Corporate:** Potential corporate sponsors who wish to develop an association with contemporary arts as a vehicle to communicate their own brand values to a particular target market
- **City:** Political decision makers / bodies that support the arts as a vehicle to attract financial investment into the City (regeneration funds, tourism and commercial investment) (MHM 2002, p.24)

The four segment groups were:

- **Group One: Vocationals (Arts Informed)** People professionally involved in the visual arts, who understand what a Biennial is, and are likely, budgets allowing, attending, or aspiring to attend other Biennials
- **Group Two: Culturally Active Contemporary interested.** This group of people have active and eclectic interests in the arts including visiting contemporary exhibitions. They are generally confident and discerning consumers but do not claim to have specialist knowledge of art or artists
- **Group Three: Culturally Active Traditionals:** this group consists of people with an interest in the arts but a resistance to contemporary art. This group incorporates those who are less active attenders or who would like to participate but don't know where to start

- **Group Four: Lifestylers** This group comprises people who have an active interest in contemporary lifestyles and contemporary interests but who wouldn't normally classify themselves as arts attenders or gallery attenders, or if they do, the association is casual and part of their lifestyle rather than an active commitment (MHM 2002, pp.25-6)

These four groups comprised the main focus for the Biennial's communications strategy. By using survey data in conjunction with market size estimates, it was possible to quantify each of these four groups. For example, the total size of the potential market in Merseyside is 236,845 people or 20.5% of the overall adult population of 1,157,091. The 236,845 people equated to 100% of the potential market, represented by the MHM potential attender's survey. In the survey, 5.3% of the potential market was made up of Vocationals. This figure of 5.3% represented 12,553 individuals, which in turn represented 1.1% of the overall population. On the same basis, it is possible to quantify groups two, three and four as shown below (MHM 2002, p.27).

MHM found that the potential local audience was relatively confident about art, but not especially knowledgeable:

- Just over half the potential audience saw themselves as having little or no knowledge of art
- 40% claimed to have a general knowledge
- Only 3% of potential attenders had a specialist knowledge
- Just 5% had a professional or academic involvement
- Only 7% preferred more contemporary work, despite the high incidence of contemporary art attendance and respondents' willingness to attend the Biennial
- 42% preferred traditional work by well-known artists
- 47% did not attend many arts venues but saw art as part of a wider interest in culture
- 46% were risk-takers needing little recommendations-prepared to try less well-known work (45%)
- 30% were cautious gamblers who took limited risks and choose events that had been recommended (36%)

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- 24% were safety first-arts attenders who sought out the familiar and well-known names (18%) (MHM 2002, p.31)

Most of the potential audience were confident gallery attenders:

- 67% always felt confident in galleries (53%)
- 23% sometimes lacked confidence (34%)
- 11% rarely or never felt confident (10%)
- The 'Lifestylers' were less likely to describe themselves as confident in art galleries- 35% said they sometimes lacked confidence
- Those who had never been to an art gallery were the most likely to lack confidence
- The less confident were the most likely to wait and see before deciding whether to attend the Biennial (ibid, p.31)

MHM explained that the local Biennial audience was similar to other museum and art gallery attenders (TGI data):

- They were relatively affluent (particularly compared to the local population of Liverpool) with a third in socio-economic groups A / B (professional and semi-professionals)
- They tended to be drawn from the caring professional such as health, education, and social services (30%) which was similar to other arts and visual arts research MHM had undertaken. This market intelligence could be useful when planning audience development strategies with organisations in and around the region
- Nearly a tenth was connected to the arts and creative industries, which reflected the proportion of Vocationals in the potential audience
- The audience was comparatively young (when compared to other arts audiences) and was similar to that of the local population (ibid, p.32)

MHM explain that one of the greatest challenges for the marketing of the Biennial 2002 was reconciling the different expectations of the various audience segments. They advised the Biennial that the branding and communications strategy of future Festivals needed to operate at four broad levels in order to meet the expectations of each of the market

segments and that interactivity was considered an important way of avoiding elitism and engaging people. For example, the Traditionals expressed the need for education and outreach work to interest the young, as well as a long-term education project informing the residents of Liverpool what a Biennial is and why it is important for Liverpool.

Table 5.1 Segmentation (MHM 2002, p.42)

Level One	Vocational / Peers	National International
Level Two	Culturally Active	International Contemporary Interested – Regional National and International Cultural Tourists
Level Three	Culturally Active	Traditional Interests - Regional Potential interest but risk averse - Regional
Level Four	Contemporary	Lifestylers - Regional National - Urban cultural tourists International -City Break market

MHM explain that many potential attenders would be interested in doing something sociable with friends and relations and would be interested in seeing something different and worth talking about; many would be interested in the opportunity to see their city in a new light. These and many others are the motivations and perceived benefits behind the interest in the Biennial rather than the feature of what the event comprises.

MHM argued that it is not possible to target all the segments with the same message as they had varying amounts of knowledge and experience. As soon as groups three and four sensed that they were being targeted with the same message as groups one and two they would register the event as ‘not for the likes of me’ and exclude themselves. This was not

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to say they did not support the event in principle, they just wouldn't expect to enjoy it or belong within the market (2002, p.43).

The requirement and the expectations of the Lifestylers are generally related to the marketing and communication of the event. Whilst they were attracted by the cutting-edge dimension of the Biennial, they were put off by its defining language - the terms contemporary art, exhibition and Biennial were seen as suggestive of something that was not really for them.

5.5 Methodology: The Key Research Elements

As I have already discussed in Chapter Two, there were seven stages to the 2002 methodology. Briefly, these were:

- Stage One: Market Audit Data
- Stage Two: Definition of Brand Template and Research Objectives
- Stage Three: Focus Groups
- Stage Four: Interviews
- Stage Five and Six: Issues Paper
- Stage Seven: Potential Attender Survey (MHM 2002, pp.8-9)

A total of 250 telephone interviews were administered with potential attenders in pre-defined catchment areas within Merseyside. The research chapters were based on a number of key questions including:

- **How well has the Biennial brand been established in Liverpool?** The section drew on the audit data, the interviews, the brainstorm session with staff as well as the focus groups and population survey including questions such as – what do we know about the Biennial, awareness levels and brand identity, who attended and the sources of information
- **What are the markets and market size for the Biennial 2002?** This section drew on the quantitative data to estimate the size of each potential market segments and to rationalise the market segments for the communications strategy
- **Who will attend the Biennial 2002?**
- **How will target audiences respond to the Biennial 2002?** This section explored the responses of the target market segments to the proposed 2002 Biennial offering, and drew from the focus groups and quantitative survey
- **How should the Biennial communicate with its market segments and what are the implications for the Marketing Strategy?** This section suggested the communications objectives, explored the development of the brand identity of the Biennial and the best methods for reaching market segments (MHM 2002, p.11)

MHM found that all of the potential attenders wanted to see creative, imaginative, and useable publicity well in advance of the event. MHM identified what and how the Biennial needed to communicate to each of the segments in Table 5.2 Potential Demographic.

Table 5.2 details the estimated market size for the Biennial in the core Merseyside market. It shows a total possible market size of almost 237,000. This is a core market: 73% of these are recent gallery attendees. However, using realistic penetration targets, the estimated 'reach' of the Biennial into this market is just under 105,000.

Table 5.2 Potential Demographic for 2002 Biennial (MHM 2002, p.49)

Segment	% sample	% population	No. in segment	% penetration	No. of attenders
Vocationals	5.3	1.1	12,553	80%	10,042
CA -Contemporary	6.7	1.4	15,869	80%	12,695
CA - Traditional	41.5	8.5	98,290	50%	49,145
Lifestylers	46.5	9.5	110,133	30%	33,040
Totals			236,845		104,922

If the Biennial wished to set and measure such targets, the key performance indicators would require the calculations of the number of actual Biennial visits, the frequency of visits made by each person and the extent of visitor crossover between Biennial venues. It would also require a measure of pre / post visit awareness and the degree of intention and incidental exhibition visiting. These measures could have easily been built into the monitoring and evaluation undertaken in 2002.

For the Biennial to achieve a target of 250,000 visits, the marketing strategy needed to prioritise communicating effectively with the local and regional markets, as well as national and international Vocational and Cultural tourism markets since local people would have to make up the highest proportion of attenders.

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The marketing strategy and development of the Biennial's brand identity needed to recognise that the Biennial offers a different proposition to different segments, which have different needs and motivations and different obstacles to attendance. The details of these considerations are outlined in the report. To measure success, MHM recommended that future Festival evaluation methods must comprise:

- Clear counting of visitors at all sites by common, agreed method to establish the frequency of visiting and crossover
- Mini survey on site to:
 - Capture postcode and contact details – for origin of visitors
 - Measure awareness pre and post visit
 - Establish levels of intentional and incidental visiting
- Telephone survey of attender's post-event – to profile attendees, gauge responses to event, test effectiveness of marketing activity
- Population survey in Merseyside to measure brand awareness and support
- Desk research to compare local tourism data with that of non-biennial year
- Depth interviews with peers and stakeholders (MHM 2002, p.53)

5.6 The Mersey Partnership Research Methodology

Since 2004 the Biennial has used the in-house research team (England's Northwest Research Service - ENWRS) at The Mersey Partnership (TMP) for their *Visitor Profile and Economic Impact research*. The reports present the findings of market research studies in order to measure participation in the Biennial, evaluate the impacts of the event and comment upon the relative success of various aspects of their programme as a tool for future development.

5.6.1 Research Objectives

The studies had the following objectives:

- Establish the numbers of participants in the Biennial that are Merseyside residents, domestic day visitors, domestic staying visitors and overseas visitors based on the hometown of respondents
- Conduct a socio-demographic profile of people at exhibitions and segment them by their approach to art generally and their attitudes towards the Biennial
- To describe the types of visits that the Biennial audience are taking in terms of group structure, motivation, transport, and accommodation used, length of stay, etc.
- To investigate which elements of the Biennial the audience are aware of and which they visit
- To gauge the audience reaction to the various elements of the Biennial against their expectation
- To gauge the audience reaction to the event as a whole
- To evaluate the economic impact of the Biennial by calculating a separate average (mean) spend per visit for each of the visitor types and overlaying the relevant spend per head figures onto the estimated total size of each segment
- To quantify the impact / success of the Biennial marketing and promotion activities by comparing the proportion of visitors from each segment who were influenced by the marketing to the total economic impact of the exhibitions
- To identify the most appropriate overseas target markets segments for the next Biennial
- To set that data in an appropriate context by supporting the primary research with secondary data wherever possible. Specifically, this secondary research draws comparisons between the Biennial and other events and identifies examples of best practice in the development and marketing of similar events (TMP 2005, p.3)

The research focused on a number of categories, including:

- Visitor profile: age and gender, working status and social grade, group type, group size, origin of visitor, length of stay and ethnicity
- Attitudes toward visual art and biennial: knowledge of visual art, approach to visual art by knowledge, attitudes towards the Biennial, awareness, attendance and how the exhibitions were rated
- Visit: influences on the decision to visit, attendance at previous Biennial Festivals, frequency of visits to Liverpool and advance planning
- Expenditure at the Biennial: staying visitors, day visitors, residents, comparison of spend, total economic impact of the Biennial and estimated spend generated by Biennial specific visits

- Visitor opinions: visitor satisfaction, what visitors liked most about the Biennial and what visitors liked least about the Biennial

5.6.2 Methodology and Reporting

To meet these objectives, 1,000 market research interviews were carried out across the duration of the exhibition. The questionnaire used to conduct the interviewing was short (around 5 - 7 minutes) containing around thirty questions covering respondent profile, opinions and behaviour. The majority of questions were closed questions to allow direct comparison and statistical analysis of the result using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences is used for complex statistical data analysis). Some open-ended questions were included to allow respondents to express their opinions on any issue of relevance. Before the data collected by means of the questionnaire could be analysed, the questionnaires were edited, and coding frames were made for each open-ended question (e.g. Why?). A copy of the questionnaire used is provided in Appendix Five.

TMP market research reports used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies to create a percentage of the attitudes towards visual art (i.e. knowledge of, and approach to visual art, etc.) and the Biennial by using stated preference techniques as they quantify the number of people who pick each preselected response. When it comes to visitors' opinions ENWRS used a Likert scale as this is a method of ascribing quantitative value to qualitative data to make it amenable to statistical analysis. Using the Likert scale is where a numerical value is assigned to each potential choice and a mean figure for all the responses is computed at the end of the evaluation or survey. I would argue that even with

this being a way to fit the qualitative into a quantitative framework, it is too restrictive to truly find out what people think about the art, exhibition and cultural experiences of those who attend the Biennial exhibitions.

5.7 Marketing

The Biennial directs a substantial amount of their money on the marketing of each Festival.

In 2004, TMP explained that the perceived traditional target markets for arts-based festivals are those with a professional involvement or specific interest. There was some evidence that these groups would be predisposed to visit Biennial exhibitions and so marketing is unlikely to result in a large return on investment. For example, below we can see the marketing cost (over biennium period) for each Festival:

- **2002 = £243,576.** Lack of corporate support, close relations were made with The Mersey Partnership and Northwest Development Agency. The reward of these initiatives was the title of Event of the Year in the Mersey Tourism / Echo Tourism Awards (Feb 2003) and Liverpool's achievement in winning the title of European Capital of Culture 2008. In all, the profile and street presence of the event were greatly enhanced in comparison with the 1999 event
- **2004 = £359,892.** Press coverage of the Festival increased dramatically by 171% on Liverpool Biennial 2002. 150 press packs were distributed to visiting journalists. The UK media responded to the Festival with 573 articles, including coverage in all major broadsheets and the thirty-minute television programme within Five's *FiveArts cities* series
- **2006 = £302,649.** Marketing had a significant role to play in the income generated by the Biennial. Of the total spend generated, 14% (£1,898,821) was influenced by the guide and print, 8% (£1,085,040) was influenced by the leaflets and 13% (£1,763,191) was influenced by the website. Advertisements in newspaper and magazines influenced 16% of visits. The Biennial Guide influenced 14% of visits and the Biennial website 13%
- **2008 = £323,001.** Press coverage of the Festival received over 850 press, media and online articles around the Festival and non-festival public art commissions, including reviews in the Independent, Times, Observer, Telegraph, Guardian and Financial Times. The PR value of the coverage was estimated by Durrents to be over £2.2m
- **2010 = £301, 592.** The advertising reach was 48.6 million people, over 100 journalists and critics attended the media preview and from August 2009 - March 2011 they received coverage in 675 articles nationally and internationally with a total potential of online viewership of 825 million

- **2012 = £356,107.** £174,725 was designated to support the quantity and quality of the marketing and programme for Liverpool Biennial 2012 and 2014

Because of this, TMP believed that a better marketing strategy would reduce the marketing to those segments that would come anyway and focus on the less traditional audiences. In this section I will discuss how the marketing strategy has developed throughout the years.

The 1999 Biennial allocated one-fifth of the total budget to marketing the event. There was criticism of the marketing strategy as it was largely unplanned, un-strategic and reactive in its execution. MHM research revealed that brand awareness was very low, and printed marketing material was visually and aesthetically poor and lacking effectiveness as communication tools. The design, distribution and readability of the print were criticised as it was felt that the publicity material deliberately targeted young people and culturally interested, thereby excluding people outside of these groups (Biennial 2002 Final Report, p.13). This might be so, but one might argue that they did reach their target audience as 46% of attenders at the 1999 Festival were aged between 16 - 25, with another 46% being motivated to attend through educational interests.

At the beginning (1998 - 99), the term 'biennial' meant little to most people on Merseyside, so a stronger brand and marketing initiative was needed to strengthen the successes of the Inaugural Festival. Awareness of the 1999 Festival was very low to begin with as there was no clear brand identity being communicated at the time, indicating that tourism only accounted for 7% of attenders. The vast majority of visitors were from Merseyside (35%)

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and the North West (40%). There was insufficient media coverage of the event, its nature, and most importantly, its aims and aspirations for future events. Brand awareness and identity were clearly one of the main priorities of the marketing as the meaning behind the Biennial needed to be clearly communicated (2002, p.5). MHM recommended that publicity should make no assumption that local and regional people understood what a biennial is, and local people should be encouraged to understand the benefits the Biennial would bring to Liverpool. To do this, the Biennial needed to:

- Differentiate itself and develop its brand characteristics by making its essence 'Liverpool' with the City's gritty, ironic, light and shade character at its core
- Potential attenders who are not visual arts specialists want to be reassured that the Biennial is friendly, inviting; accessible, surprising, dangerous, fun and challenging
- This posed a challenge for the Biennial brand development since the Biennial also needs to earn credibility with and a place within the family of International Art Biennials
- The publicity for the Biennial, if it is to attract a wide audience of non-gallery attenders should communicate a level of creativity and innovation which complements the content of the Biennial itself and provide a stimulating promise of what is in store (MHM 2002, p.5)

The style of the publicity material did little justice to the aims of the 1999 event and did not engage a non-specialist audience, and the communications message excluded people rather than engaged them. There was an impression of poor organisation and lack of cohesion between venues and exhibitions. However, research confirmed that the Biennial continued to attract a professional audience (46% Vocational, 15% Culturally Active Contemporary). However, partners benefited from increased levels of press coverage and the Biennial did significantly increase the number of tourists attending its events by 53% (Biggs 2003, p.32).

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The Biennial realised that it must proactively engage with its public and potential audiences, not just to promote the 2002 programme, but to ensure sustainability beyond 2002 and establish an International visual arts initiative that becomes an essential date in the calendar of events for the future. MHM explained that a 'lack of awareness and uninformative publicity was likely to be the main reasons for non-attendance' (2002, p.5), and in order to achieve 250,000 visits, the Biennial needed to target markets beyond just the Vocationals and existing gallery attenders within the Merseyside and North West region. To address this issue, the 2002 Biennial appointed a Media Relations Officer so that they could reach a wider market of visitors. Love Creative, TM3, and McCabe's were chosen to work together to deliver the 2002 brief.

The original advertising budget for 2002 was quite substantial and a tactical plan was proposed which would be rolled out from April - November 2002. The plan included proposals for both print and outdoor advertising initiatives. It was hoped that alongside other marketing and communication tactics would achieve the saturation levels required. However, a budget freeze from March – August 2002 meant that many of the proposed advertising opportunities were missed. This resulted in missing discounted opportunities and high visibility outdoor opportunities because of the long lead-in time needed.

MHM was commissioned to conduct research so that the Biennial's marketing strategies were better prepared going into the 2002 Festival. To do this, the brief identified several research objectives:

- Understand the extent of which the Biennial brand had been established in Liverpool
- Develop an understanding of the expectations of the 2002 Biennial programme amongst the target audiences in Liverpool, nationally and internationally
- Test market the proposed 2002 offering
- To understand the strengths and weaknesses of the brand by measuring the experience and perceptions of those who participated and attended
- Understand perceived or actual barriers to the delivery of a successful Biennial 2002
- Establish the most effective channels of communication per market segment and measure the effectiveness of methods of communication for 1999 Biennial
- Inform audience development, promotion, and media relation tactics
- Understand what success will look like by identifying marketing objectives and evaluation methods (MHM 2002, p.6)

To build on the success of this activity, it was important that the Biennial maintained a relationship / communication with supportive journalists, whilst also ensuring, where appropriate, that media activity dovetailed and / or was in sympathy with that of the city and regional tourism agencies. A Biennial media relations representative needed to have a fluid line of communication with key Biennial staff, curators, artists (if appropriate) and artist's agents from an early stage. This approach would allow the Biennial to extend its international media network (through artists, artist's agents and curators), and strengthen its relationships with UK journalists by enabling the collation / creation of quality content, essential to securing face to face interviews, long-lead and critical feature and preview opportunities (2003, p.32).

Considering this, and as a result of both internal (Biennial staff) and external observations (MHM), a Marketing Communications Working Group (MCWG) was created and made up of representatives from the Biennial's partner organisations. Its aim was to act as an advisory body to the Biennial Communications Co-ordinator to provide a forum for sharing

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information between partner organisations and programme strands and support collaborative marketing and communication initiatives.

This partnership initiative was of great value in terms of providing a conduit for sharing information and creating alliances between established institutions and less established delivery partners. However, within the 2002 group, there was a disparity in terms of the status of individual members both in the context of the Biennial and within their own institutions, which had a direct impact on the dynamic of the group and decision-making. However, key achievements of this collaboration included the successful co-ordination of media activity, and the translation of the Biennial's generic visual identity across a range of joint marketing initiatives, and the effective implementation of those initiatives locally, nationally and internationally.

The International Working Group (IWG) operated in a similar way to the MCWG. Made up of representatives from International 2002 delivery partners, it acted as a co-ordinating body for marketing and communications activity. Again, it provided a forum for sharing information and ensured continuity of media messages and the implementation of a consistent visual identity for the International strand of the Biennial.

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The MHM 2002 research report suggested a key barrier to attendance was low levels of awareness both in the run-up and during the 1999 event. It also suggested that during this event, the lack of clear venue signage was also an obstacle for those visiting exhibitions in non-traditional spaces (i.e. mainly independent sites).

The 2002 solution to this was a partnership between Liverpool Design Initiative, Liverpool Vision, NWRDA and Liverpool Biennial. The solution embraced the generic identity whilst acknowledging individual strand identities in an illuminated flagpole system which enabled an attractive, high visibility scheme both at night and during the day. The 2002 research suggested that this scheme and other orientation initiatives such as the Biennial Guide and the Biennial website promoted cross fertilisation of audiences and help build confidence to explore different areas of the city centre.

The 2004 marketing programme was targeted at the four key audience segments: Vocationals (national and international), culturally active (national), Lifestylers (regional / local), and non-arts interested (local). In 2004 Unit Communication bought a £70,000 media campaign for the Biennial, which ran from June to October 2004. This was later than planned due to being delayed for budgetary reasons. The campaigns included press adverts in specialist and general magazines, in national newspapers, and an outdoor campaign in Liverpool, Manchester, and London Underground. The Biennial also advertised locally on Juice FM and regionally on Smooth FM.

The Biennial established a tourism network group with regional agencies leading up to the 2004 Festival – Liverpool Culture Company, The Mersey Partnership, and The Northwest Development Agency to develop the Festival's marketing strategy and collaborated on specific print, distribution and online activity. The marketing staff from all partner arts organisations formed this network to develop the implementation of the umbrella marketing strategy and the organisations contributed a total of £18,000 towards the campaign. Market research on the 2004 Festival demonstrated an increase in attendance and increased understanding and engagement amongst visitors. Visitor figures saw an increase of 94% on 2002, and new audiences were actively engaged, with 2 / 3 of respondents being first-time visitors to the Biennial.

To understand the efficiency and reach of the Biennial's marketing, they use research that asks for the main influence that motivated the visitors to attend a Festival event. ENWRS explains that whilst motivations are internal to a person, influences are external and can reflect the strength – or otherwise – of marketing. All respondents were asked what influenced them the most to attend the Biennial. Respondents were pressed as to what their main influence was; hence the figures in Table 5.3 are single responses indicating the relative strength of individual marketing channels. In Table 5.4 I have quantified and condensed the results so that we can compare all the Festivals and changes in marketing influences (2002 was estimated by MHM).

Table 5.3 Advertising and Marketing Influences 1999 - 2012

	1999	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012*
Word of mouth	55.5%	67%	18%	33%	38.1%	21.6%	16%
Biennial website			3%	13%	17.1%	7.4%	26.4%
Been Before			6%	11%	14.1%	7.6%	
Just passing / Impulse / Saw artwork		44%	14%	10%	10.5%	16.2%	18.9%
Biennial Guidebook			7%	14%	19.2%	6.8%	11.2%
Biennial Leaflet	60%		1%	1%		6.8%	
Poster / Banner / Signage	29%	58%	6%	4%	9.4%	4.6%	
Newspaper / Magazine / Broadcast advertising	25%	89%	7%	16%	4.9%	4.4%	7.5%
Facebook							5.0%
Twitter							1.9%
Biennial Invitation / Direct mail	7%^	40%			2.3%	3.6%	
Biennial Map					21.7%	3.4%	
Visitliverpool.com				8%	6.1%	2.2%	5.6%
Other website / Online activity		16%	1%	1%	3.3%	1.8%	
Biennial E-flyer		7%			1.8%	1.2%	
Other		11%	5%	3%	19.2%	10.6%	36.3%

*In 2012 there was no separate section for 'Word of mouth,' 'Been before,' 'City banners / posters,' 'E-mail / newsletter,' and 'Radio / TV' as they included them in the 'Other' category

'Word of mouth' was dominant until 2012 when the Biennial's website overtook it with (26%), and 42.9% of those who indicated that the Biennial was their main reason for visiting Liverpool, which one could argue could be attributed to the advancement of technology (e.g. smart phones, tablets and laptops), and the way that we access information and communicate.

ENWRS explained that the high percentage of those attracted by 'Word of mouth' was not a negative result (compared to those directed by the Biennial's marketing), as a high

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satisfaction with an event generates further results via recommendations. For this reason, it could be argued that 'Word of mouth' is the most important measurement as it indicates (or implies) a level of success that, not only are the exhibitions / artworks generating discussions, but also positive / complementary discussions that indicate a level of impact and satisfaction.

In 2010, each of the communications activities undertaken during the year was aimed at either increasing audiences or increasing an individual's engagement with contemporary art. This was implemented through several sources:

- To support continued website development, Juice Digital created, and Alistair Beech implemented a multi-stranded social media campaign. The website was revamped to improve the visibility of the mission and critical debate
- A number of tools and techniques were implemented to increase the Biennial's online profile and drive traffic to the website. Additional tools to allow online sales, ticketing and relationship management began
- The marketing strategy was developed in collaboration with a range of agencies and groups: partners included the Northwest Regional Development Agency, The Mersey Partnership, All About Audiences, Visual Arts in Liverpool (VAiL) associates, and Liverpool Arta and Regeneration Consortium (LARC)
- The 2010 Festival campaign was developed and implemented in association with creative agency Thoughtful; artist Carlos Amorales' concept was widely recognised as outstanding. The campaign built the profile of Touched using guerrilla marketing as well as more traditional tools (Biggs 2011a, pp.10-11)

But as Table 5.4 shows, there has been a weakness of brand awareness of the Biennial for those coming into Liverpool.

Table 5.4 Awareness of the Biennial 2010

	Aware	Not aware
Overseas	14.5%	85.5%
Elsewhere in UK	41.2%	58.8%
Elsewhere in NW	29.7%	70.3%
Elsewhere in LCR	30.2%	69.8%
Resident	67.5%	32.5%

Table 5.4 shows the failure of the markings as 85.5% of overseas visitors were not aware of the Biennial. Even so, if we compare Table 5.4 with the first Biennial, we can see a huge increase of awareness, but this would be expected for any new venture:

- 7% of the population in Merseyside were aware of the 1999 Biennial
- 17% of the potential audience in Liverpool were definitely aware of the 1999 event
- 9% of potential attenders in the other districts of Merseyside were aware of the 1999 Biennial (MHM 2002, p.4)

There needs to be greater awareness for those visiting Liverpool from overseas as they spend the most amount of money per visit. This is not just the Biennials fault as the city needs to promote the Biennial more through their tourism streams. This needs to be done before they arrive by using digital platforms and online marketing. The next section explains how the Biennial has developed their online presence since 1999.

5.8 Internet

MHM (2002) research suggested that internet access was generally high amongst the Biennial's potential audiences, with 75% of Biennial visitors having access to the internet

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(although 44% of the Traditionals did not have access to the internet compared to 54% of Lifestylers who had access to the internet at home), and over a third of those surveyed rated the Biennial website as excellent. However, although access was quite high, only a few used gallery websites - 80% - 90% of Traditionals and Lifestylers had never visited a gallery website compared to 56% - 65% of Vocationals and contemporary art gallery attenders. The focus groups suggested different segments needed to be targeted by different methods. (MHM 2002, p.45)

For example, one participant in the 1999 Festival explained 'maybe you need two sets of publicity. One, which is for people who are switched on to art which has the gags and visual jokes, and something that is kind of enabling people' (Vocational – MHM 2002, p.17). MHM explain that the point of the communication process needed to de-mystify contemporary art rather than 'dumbing-down.' Dumbing-down assumed that the people they were communicating with were less intelligent than the culturally active and contemporary art world. This was not the case, it was that most of the potential Biennial attenders did not have MAs in Art History, rather they had an incidental interest in art (p.44).

'Potential attenders needed to feel welcome at Biennial venues as there was a perception that it is just for those in the know, elitist and weird (p.46).' Thus, such feedback suggests that Biennial audiences should not be put off by the vocabulary used in printed material. Rather, MHM suggested that 'the process of de-mystification is more akin to dumbing-up.'

MHM acknowledged that the problem of marketing is to find the right language when targeting different types of audience:

It is not possible to target all of the segments with the same message. As soon as groups 3 (Culturally Active – Traditional) and 4 (Contemporary - Lifestylers) sense that they are being targeted with the same message as groups 1 (Vocationals) and 2 (Culturally Active) they will register the event as 'not for the likes of me' and exclude themselves. This is not to say they do not support the event in principle, they just wouldn't expect to enjoy it or belong within the market. (2002, p.43)

What MHM highlights is that you could not target every group and please everyone and found that different segments need different levels of complexity based on their knowledge and experience. Back in 1999, it was not possible to create marketing (print) tailored to each segment (i.e. Vocationals, Lifestylers) as they require different levels of knowledge, language and even the design could put certain groups off from attending. For example, the 1999 marketing activity targeted a young demographic with the print design considered deliberately 'hip' to appeal to young adults, raising the possibility that older people might feel the Biennial was not for them (Rees Leahy 2000, p.36).

The requirement and the expectations of the Lifestylers are generally related to the marketing and communication of the event. Whilst they were attracted by the cutting-edge dimension of the Biennial, they were put off by its defining language. As one Lifestyler explained 'if you got one that is really simple you might feel a bit patronised if there was a better one for the higher circles of the art world. You might think well bye' (p.43). This

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would mean finding a different language that appealed to each segment. The more knowledgeable would be looking for a more complicated syntax, conversely the less knowledgeable would mean using simpler language that could explain contemporary art so that the public would understand and be interested (included) in the Festival. I suggest the only way to achieve this is with digital content.

Traditional attenders were best reached by the national media, broadcast TV, and radio. The Lifestylers groups were used to being targeted by commercial agencies and knew that to reach its attention, a product had to be creatively and imaginatively advertised. For this group the difference between medium and message, communications and art was indistinct. Stealth, guerrilla and challenger marketing provided this group with a great deal of entertainment, stimulation and access to impressively creative ideas (MHM 2002, p.45).

As with the printed materials, in 2002 it was important that the Biennial's online offering provided an effective information resource for users and reflected the creative and innovative attributes of the Biennial brand. Described as 'cutting-edge' (Liverpool Biennial 2003, p.36) in the field of web design, the resulting site embraced the visual concepts used offline to communicate the different propositions of the Biennial and its complex partnership structure.

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On a practical level, the Biennial was able to update areas of the website in-house. This benefited users by providing real-time content, and users had a direct route to relevant contacts (email links), and access to additional resources such as a digital image bank. A voluntary registration facility enabled the Biennial to disseminate additional or updated information.

The Biennial's website offered a positioning opportunity for funders, sponsors and partners and added value for them by providing direct weblinks (e.g. hotels, restaurants and tourist attractions) for potential visitors to book accommodation, tables, etc. which helped the Biennial to build its relationships with tourism companies. For the period August 02 – January 03, the site received 26,000 visits, 17,000 of which were unique, and it had over 1,300 individual email registrations, providing a cost-effective direct communication with motivated, target audiences (Liverpool Biennial 2003, p.36). This enabled the Biennial to successfully send regular programme updates from August – November 2002 (by that time, enough data had been collated).

I suggest that during the time period concerned with this thesis (1999 - 2012) we can see an increasing number of people using the internet as technology and access has increased over the years - which can be exploited for delivery tailored information for each segment, and level of knowledge and experience (i.e. targeted art marketing). For example, the Biennial saw a dramatic increase in their website with 115,836 hits in September 2004 (Liverpool Biennial 2004, p.14).

Liverpool Biennial's website has taken over as the main influence for visitors which indicates the changing shift to how people access information. The website was initially set up by web designers TM3 in 2002 and the Biennial continued to work with them in 2004. That year, the Biennial developed a completely new site, which aimed to be more accessible in terms of technology (HTML rather than flash), layout, navigation, and style and the web address changed from www.biennial.org.uk to www.biennial.com.

Hits on the site increased dramatically and the statistics showed that visitors spent time viewing the pages. Post-2004 Festival, the site averaged 2,500 hits per month, which they aimed to maintain and build up as they moved towards the 2006 Festival. The Biennial believed the increase in hits was a reflection both on the website itself, which was easily accessible, and content-driven, so it remained fresh and up to date.

Content included an effective news story system on the homepage, which was updated weekly, a resource for schools, education programme information and a resource for the International Exhibition. Links were provided to their partners, funders and stakeholders' sites and those of the exhibiting artists. Initiatives included an e-news registration, press registration and accreditation application through which the Biennial was able to develop its local, national and international database. The least successful element of the 2004 site was the 'what's on' dairy detailing all events and exhibitions within the Biennial

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programme. Feedback suggested that it was too confusing unless you knew what you were looking for, and viewers could not see a clear overview of what was taking place.

The website www.visitliverpool.com/biennial was launched in June 2004 and was delivered in collaboration with The Mersey Partnership (TMP), and visitors could find out basic information on the Biennial, book accommodation, and click through to the Biennial website.

Leading up to 2008, the Biennial had been successful in developing their digital and online presence, including the appointment of Sean Hawkrige as Digital Content Co-ordinator – this activity made the website more accessible and interactive. Increased control over the website from the Biennial's office made it more readily updatable and combined with a new presence on external sites such as Flickr, YouTube and Facebook so the Biennial could reach new audiences around the world and encourage participation.

Richard Wilson's *Turning the Place Over* (TTPO) (2007) was a good illustration of the changing patterns of how the public access and use digital platforms / media for information (text, audio, video, etc.) as Titan advertising suggested 950,000 views at the time of the report. In addition, it was an effective indication of how visitors share their experiences online. For example, TTPO generated extensive public interaction, with visitors

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posting and sharing their own footage of the work online. YouTube hosted over ninety videos; one alone received over 480,000 views. The online content facilitated international engagement with media coverage directing people to artwork online. TTPO received coverage in Spain, Canada, Germany and the Netherlands, and was featured on British Embassy websites around the world, including Kabul and Russia (Chief Executive Report 2008 / 2009, p.19).

In 2008 the Biennial Archive project was launched and was able to show the ten years of its unique history. The Biennial Archive featured all the artwork and artists in the International Exhibition from the previous five Festivals, and its online access meant that it was accessible to people around the world.

Table 5.5 Biennial Website 2002 - 2012

	2002*	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Biennial Website	16%	3%	13%	17%	7.4%	26.4%
Visitliverpool.com			8%	6.1%	2.2%	5.6%
Other Website / online activity		1%	1%	3.3%	1.8%	

*Used the internet for Biennial information, not specified which sites.

ENWRS (2013a) explains the largest single mention to the 2012 Festival went to the Biennial website (42.9% influenced by all visitors drawn by the Biennial), noted by over a quarter (26%) of the Biennial audience. This was a very high level of response and the number one influence on visits to the Biennial, although of course there are likely to be subsidiary factors behind this: for example, whether advertising, word of mouth or internet

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searches drove respondents to the Biennial in the first place. Other digital influences were measures including Facebook (5.0%), Visitliverpool.com (5.6%), Twitter (1.9%), Liverpool Biennial Blog (1.3%) and YouTube (0.6%) (ENWRS 2013a, p.39).

For the remainder of this chapter, I will condense all the Biennial's research per segment to illustrate the demographic research throughout the Festivals ENWRS impact evaluation reports. I will structure this information in the same chronological order as the Biennial Festivals evaluation research (i.e. age, gender, social grade, etc.).

5.9 Age

TEAM found that 70.1% of the 1999 Festival's respondents were under the age of 35, 65% of these were part of the 16 - 25 age group as 46% of the Festival audience were students (2000, p.3). Alternatively, MHM explained the profile of the 1999 Biennial reveals that the audience was predominately very young, 46% were aged between 16 and 25 and only 9% were over 56 years old and 46% of respondents were motivated to attend through their educational studies and a further 20% were motivated by professional or work interests (2002, p.15). These figures for the 16 - 25 age group are inconsistent and raise the question of validity. TEAM explains that the largest group had stated that their educational studies were the main factor that has prompted their visit. Of these people, most felt that the Biennial had targeted them, and people like them as its potential market.

Table 5.6 Age of Biennial Visitors 1999 - 2012

Age	1999	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
16-24	65%	16%	36%	36%	33%	10.6%	24.3%
25-34	70.1%*	20%	17%	17%	15%	14.5%	18.9%
35-44		22%	16%	13%	13%	16.9%	19.5%
45-54		12%	16%	15%	14%	19.1%	13.8%
55-64		13%	9%	12%	16%	17.7%	16%
65+		16%	7%	6%	9%	21.1%	7.6%

*Respondents were under the age of 35%. 2002 figures were the potential audience

One comment within the MHM (2002) evaluation report was ‘that there had been assumption behind the marketing strategy for 1999 that contemporary art appealed primarily to younger people. The recommendation was that this assumption should be questioned, and a wider market targeted for 2002’ (p.13). As you can see from Table 5.6 the Biennial has always attracted a younger audience. Smith (2015) explains the Festival’s audience has always consisted of a young demographic:

The audience has always been a quarter young people (under 25). It’s been fairly constant in that, occasionally we get variations of the upper age spectrum. In the run-up to, just after 2008, but in the run-up to the Find Your Talent project that was kind of clustered through LARC, that was the initial - LARC never does projects itself, but it starts them and then whatever organisation is right for the project, it’s much more of an initiator or catalyst than an administrator. Anyway, Find Your Talent was the project and one of the forms of research to have on all that was to look around at all the arts organisations and see how young people perceive them, and I was most gratified (and a little bit surprised I have to say) that young people rated the Biennial as the arts organisation that they found most connected to and that was nearest to their kind of attitude and things. It made sense after I saw it, I would have just thought that FACT or something like that would be higher up the list. It made sense I think the Biennial is kind of quite open aspect to it and I think the way that it works in exhibitions, that you put them in the public realm, and you put them in public places than putting them in a gallery - resonates with them more with younger people. So, I would say our audience with young people continues it

isn't directly connected to universities, although if you look at group visits. The group visits are definitely connected to secondary or university level of education. With young people I mean, so there is definitely a huge market there and that relationship is important to that.

Smith explains that there are a number of reasons for attracting a young demographic as the Biennial's Education and Inclusion projects work with many local schools and colleges (see Chapter Four) such as *Find Your Talent*. Also, the contemporary art within the Festival includes conceptual / installation art that attracts a younger audience, as many reports have shown that older generations prefer more traditional art forms. Therefore, in developing a marketing strategy, consideration should be given to the assumption that contemporary visual art appeals exclusively – or even primarily – to young people. The interests and needs of other groups of people (including families and senior citizens) needed to be considered in developing a strategy for audience development, as well as marketing (Rees Leahy 2000, p.38).

We can see this if we compare it to the Visual Arts in Liverpool (VAiL) Audience Intelligence Report (2012) that was based upon existing audience surveys undertaken by the VAiL partners (consisting of ten organisations including Tate Liverpool, Bluecoat, FACT, Biennial, etc.) between 2008 – 2010.

Table 5.7 VAIIL Age Group by Year (Romain and O'Brien 2012, p.17)

Age	2008	2009	2010
16-24	14.5%	12.5%	14.5%
25-34	12.0%	19.0%	12.5%
35-44	15.2%	16.6%	15.3%
45-54	18.2%	17.0%	16.5%
55-64	19.6%	16.8%	19.4%
65+	20.5%	17.9%	22.4%

As Romain and O'Brien (2012) explain, the VAIIL constant sample exhibited some interesting, though marginal age differences between years with a Biennial and those without. These small changes probably demonstrate the direct and ripple effect that the Biennial has upon the composition of Liverpool partner venues' audiences – particularly as the constant sample included no data gathered through the Biennial's audience surveys.

In the Biennial years (2008 – 2010) there was:

- 2% increase in the 16 – 24 age group
- 2.2% - 2.4% increase in 55 – 64 age group
- 2.6% - 4.5% increase in the 65+ age group (Romain and O'Brien 2012, p.17)

5.10 Gender

Table 5.8 Age – Male / Female

	1999	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Male	50%	44%	47%	48%	58%	41.0%	47.3%
Female	50%	56%	53%	52%	42%	59.0%	52.9%

The Biennial's figures are consistent with other research (e.g. Bunting et al (2008) Female 52%, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) Female 55.3%, Oskala and Bunting (2009) Female 51.6% in 2005 / 06 and 51.1% 2006 / 07 Taking Part reports) has consistently shown that females attend more cultural / arts events than males.

5.11 Social Grade

For the Biennial to assess economic status, ENWRS uses the National Readership Survey (NRS) for social grading, and this is always calculated based upon the employment profile of the head of the respondent's household. Social grades in NRS are equivalent to the following employment categories:

- A / B Higher and intermediate managerial / administrative / professional
- C1 Supervisory clerical junior managerial / administrative / professional
- C2 Skilled manual workers
- D / E Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers / on benefits

Although it is just the respondent being categorised, the Biennial tends to view this as a good measure of the entire audience when applied across all attendance at an event. The majority of the audience came from the upper levels of the social grades. This was significantly more likely amongst those who were drawn specifically by the Biennial (mean score) than those who were drawn to Liverpool primarily for other reasons.

Table 5.9 Social Grade of Visitors to Biennial Festivals

	1999	2002*	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
A / B		31%	35.1%	37%	40%	44.6%	40.0%
C1	48%	37%	47.6%	47%	45%	40.4%	39.2%
C2		21%	9.1%	8%	10%	7%	8.2%
D / E		12%	8.2%	8%	6%	7%	7.0%

* Potential audience. 2004 omitted social grade, and only included employment.

In 2012 most of the Festival audience came from the upper levels of the social grades - 79% being A / B / C1. This was slightly more likely amongst those who were drawn specifically by the Biennial (84%) than those who were drawn to Liverpool primarily for other reasons (74%). An individual's social status also has a consistent effect on patterns of arts attendance: the higher the social status, the higher the predicted level of arts attendance.

Thus, having higher social status and higher levels of education, makes one more likely to belong to one of the groups with higher levels of arts attendance, while having lower social status and lower education make one more likely to belong to the groups with lower levels of arts attendance; creating a class divide that affects social and civic engagement.

Garcia et al (2010) explain the demographic in which Liverpool ECoC (2008) audiences differed the most from other UK cultural events and festivals as the percentage of people from lower socio-economic groups (Classified as C2DE, i.e. from households where the

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main earner works in a manual job, is unemployed, or retired) (Liverpool 08 34%), where the audience profile matched the city profile in this (59% Liverpool population and 48% UK population). There was, however, considerable variance between event programmes: in the Creative Communities programme, 51% of the audience classified themselves as manual workers, unemployed or retired, while this was between 33 - 35% in the rest of the programme (2010, p.21).

In general, Impacts 08 found that Liverpool's cultural attendance patterns matched national, rather than North West, levels, and tended to be higher than average. In 2008, a higher percentage of people in Liverpool reported going to a museum, art gallery, or nightclub than in the rest of the UK. In addition, the percentage of Liverpool residents who claimed to have attended a gallery or museum over the previous year rose between 2005 and 2008 (from 60% and 42% to 69% and 52% respectively) (ibid, p.23).

Since 2016 Bop has not used the same classifications of social grade that ENWRS has in previous years. Although socio-economic status based on occupation was not collected, the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) data (based on postcode) indicates that more people attended from poorer areas than wealthier areas. Although this is likely also a consequence of the fact that Liverpool is disproportionately represented in the lower quintiles of the IMD, in 2016 it indicates that 26% of those attending came from the poorest 20% of UK neighbourhoods with 16% of attendees from the wealthiest 20% of areas. This shows that the Biennial is not only the preserve of those most advantaged in society, otherwise the

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distribution would likely be reversed (i.e. 20% from each quintile would represent an equal balance with the English population as a whole) (BOP 2016, p.19).

Sirin's (2005) meta-analysis found a direct correlation between socioeconomic status and academic performance. This 'participation divide,' a key driver for public service reform, also clearly affects attendance and participation in the arts. These are connected, as those with higher employment positions will tend to have a higher education than those in lower (i.e. blue-collar and manual) and unemployment. Meta-analyses have shown that personality traits are related to various occupational criteria including job performance, training proficiency and job satisfaction (e.g. Barrick and Mount 1991, Connolly and Viswesvaran 2000, Salgado 1997, Tett, Jackson, and Rothstein 1991).

A great deal of empirical evidence has been amassed in support of this characterisation of the cultural divide (e.g. Bourdieu 1977, 1978, 1984, Bourdieu and Boltanski 1981, Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, Chan and Goldthorpe 2007, Crook 1997, De Graaf 1986, DiMaggio 1982, DiMaggio 1994, Emmison 2003). But this does not negate the importance of the intergenerational transmission of lifestyles. According to Bourdieu, family is especially important for the class-specific reproduction of a highbrow lifestyle and the taste linked to that (Bourdieu et al 1991, pp.64-70). He explains the importance of family with the fact that the ability to decipher art and other highbrow goods is shaped during childhood.

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For example, several empirical studies have shown that there is a connection between the cultural capital of the parents, their lifestyle, and the lifestyle of their children (e.g. Rössel and Beckert- Zieglschmid 2002, Kraaykamp and Van Eijck 2010, Sullivan 2011, Yaish and Katz-Gerro 2012, Nagel and Ganzeboom 2015).

Consumption of 'legitimate' culture is still the preserve of a small minority, regardless of the wider tastes of that minority (Warde et al 2007). For example, Mohr and DiMaggio (1995) suggest three mechanisms for the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital:

1. Facility with high culture may be transmitted directly from parent to child in the course of daily interactions between parents and children
2. Parents with high levels of cultural capital respond strategically by investing time and/or money in their children's cultural capital
3. Cultural capital may also be transmitted in the broader social milieu. For example, children may be exposed to prestigious cultural forms in the homes of their peers (Sullivan 2011, pp.204-205)

Neelands, Belfiore, and Firth et al (2015) explain that the Taking Part research has found that the most culturally active segment only represents 8% of the population:

New segmentation of cultural consumption based on Taking Part data shows that the two most highly culturally engaged groups account for only 15% of the general population and tend to be of higher socio-economic status. The wealthiest, better educated and least ethnically diverse 8% of the population forms the most culturally active segment of all: between 2012 and 2015 they accounted (in the most conservative estimate possible) [...] For the visual arts, this highly engaged minority accounted for 28% of visits and £37 per head of public funding (p.33).

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What Neelands, Belfiore, and Firth discovered was the exclusivity and elitism of the most culturally active audience, as this segment represented the wealthiest, better educated and least ethnically diverse audience.

5.12 Economic Activity Status

A related issue in calculating social grade is to view the economic activity of respondents. As indicated in Table 5.10, 57% of respondents were in employment of some sort, 17% being students, 23% retired and 3% economically inactive. They note that, to some extent, they might expect from the demographics drawn specifically by the Biennial that respondents were significantly more likely to be students and less likely to be retired. This is similar to all other years except 1999. In 1999, students made up 44.5% of the sample attenders and, beyond this, the majority of attenders were from the B, C1 and E (retired) grades. This is different from the Taking Part survey and could be reflective of the type of art included within the Biennial, as opposed to more traditional forms of art and culture.

Table 5.10 Economic Activity of Visitors to the Festivals 1999 - 2012

	1999	2002*	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Employed – 30+ hours per week		34%	40.2%	40%	37.8%	46.9%	45.6%
Employed - < 30 hours per week		16%	5.9%	6%	5.8%	5.4%	6.2%
Self employed		6%	1.4%	3%	2.6%	7.6%	4.3%
Full-time education		10%	37.2%	37%	33.6%	23.4%	23.7%
Wholly retired from work		21%	10.5%	10%	16.4%	14.6%	14.4%
Long term sick / disabled		3%	0.6%	1%	1.3%	0.2%	0.7%
Looking after the home		6%	1.9%	1%	1.3%	0.6%	1.5%
Unemployed		4%	2.3%	2%	0.8%	1.2%	1.3%
Doing something else					0.4%	0.2%	1.5%

Bunting et al (2008) explain that the effect of personal income appears to be rather limited: those on lower incomes are more likely to be in the ‘Little if anything’ (i.e. the group that attends rarely, if at all. 84% of the population fell into either the ‘Little if anything’ or the ‘Now and then’ groups p.7) group than in any of the three other groups (i.e. Now and then, Enthusiastic, and Voracious), once other factors such as social status and education have been considered. But income does not have a significant net impact at higher levels of arts attendance.

At various levels of annual income, it is evident that changes in income have only a limited impact on an individual’s chances of being in the four attender groups. If their annual income was £15K rather than £35K, their probability of belonging to the ‘Little if anything’ group would only be 2% higher and correspondingly, their probability of being in the ‘Enthusiastic’ or the ‘Voracious’ group would be just 1% lower. Therefore, the effect of

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income appears to be of a relatively small magnitude once other factors have been considered.

5.13 Disability

In 2012 6.2% of all Biennial respondents indicated that they considered themselves to be disabled; although just 0.9% of all respondents were disabled *and* indicated that they encountered some difficulty in accessing the venue.

Table 5.11 Disability of Festival Visitors 1999 - 2012

	1999	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Disabled		3%	1%	1%	1.3%	1.8%	6.2%

*Note: a small percentage refused to answer. *2002 omitted disability but did include a section for those not eligible for employment, which might include disabled*

Garcia et al (2010) explains that during ECoC (2008) the proportion of the audience who defined themselves as disabled (7%) was considerably lower than the city (25%) and national (18%) comparator but was the same as that of East Midlands Festivals (7%) audience (p.21).

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Bunting et al (2008) explain that people who report their health as being fair or bad are generally less likely to attend than people who describe their health as good or very good. However, these differences are mainly significant in the more extreme contrasts. For instance, an individual's level of health has no significant impact on their likelihood of belonging to the 'Voracious' rather than the 'Enthusiastic' group. If they were to report poor health, they would have a probability of 61% belonging to the 'Little if anything' group and a probability of only 3% belonging to the 'Voracious' group. However, if they describe themselves as being in very good health, then the probability would be 42% and 8% respectively.

The Biennial has worked hard to become more inclusive and accessible to people with a disability. For example, in 2021 consultations with Liverpool Biennial staff confirmed that all venues were wheelchair accessible, that the team provided Relaxed Autism & Dementia Friendly Hours and created an access guide for the first time. Large-print versions of texts were made available at every Biennial venue, and all pieces of online video and audio content were transcribed and / or subtitled. But, while the response to the theme was largely positive, audience members reported that the Biennial should continue to ensure that all venues are catered for disabled access, have audio description or captioning, and that interpretation and texts use a welcoming language to include a wider audience (BOP 2021, p.16). This will be an ongoing process, but the Biennial is listening to feedback and working towards being more inclusive to those with disabilities.

5.14 Ethnicity

All Biennial respondents were shown a card with differing ethnicities on it and asked to choose which they felt best described them. ENWRS states that ethnicity is a notoriously difficult area to get an accurate measure of. Given the presence of many different groups, some of whom form a relatively small volume within the wider 'universe,' it is common for many ethnicities not to show up on a sample unless a 'census' approach is taken. Hence, Table 5.14 should not be inferred as meaning 'no,' other groups were present; rather, ENWRS (2013a) advises that between 6.7% and 11.3% of the Biennial audience came from non-white ethnic groups.

Table 5.14 Ethnicity of Festival Visitors 1999 - 2012

	1999	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
White British				86%	81.1%	81.3%	79.8%
White Irish				2%	3.0%	1.0%	3.2%
White other				9%	9.2%	10.6%	8.0%
Mixed White / Black Caribbean				<1%	0.5%	0.9%	0.9%
Mixed White / Black African				<1%	0.2%		
Mixed White / Asian				<1%			1.1%
Other Mixed Background				<1%	0.2%		
Asian / Asian British-Indian				0%	1.6%	0.6%	0.7%
Asian / Asian British-Pakistan				<1%		0.2%	
Asian / Asian British - Bangladesh				0%	0.2%		
Black / Black British-Caribbean				0%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%
Other Black Background*				1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.4%
Chinese				1%	0.7%	3.2%	2.1%
Other Ethnic Group				1%	1.8%	0.6%	1.5%
Refused							1.9%

*Other Black Background includes Black / Black British-African

5.15 Visitor Origin

Visitors were asked for their postcode to confirm their origin, those who were not willing to supply this were asked by ENWRS to give their hometown (or country). In Table 5.15 we can see the origin of visitors throughout the Festivals. In total the largest group has predominantly been classed as local, coming from within the City Region, the majority of these being Liverpool residents, and from the North West. In 1999, 82% of attenders were from Merseyside, and research indicated that tourism accounted for 7% of attenders.

MHM explain that for 2002 the potential local market within Merseyside based on the number of people saying they would 'definitely, probably, or possibly attend' was estimated to be around 237,000, and they estimated that the core or primary market was made up of approximately 104,000 people. MHM estimated that the Vocational market in Merseyside represented 5.3% of the total potential market of 237,000 (13,000 people). Based on visits made during the 1999 Biennial and the range of sites participating in the 2002 event, MHM estimated that the Biennial could achieve 246,000 visits - 95,000 from Merseyside and 104,000 from the North West (MHM 2002, p.4).

Table 5.15 presents something of an overview of changes in geographic origin over time. Even allowing for changes in actual volumes in each year, as observed in the 2010 Biennial research, it is clear that there is a growing trend of increased visit proportions from UK residents and overseas. Part of this may be connected with the growth of Liverpool as a

destination; but given the ‘badging’ of the city as a cultural destination, at least part of this growth is assisted by the Biennial. The flipside of this coin, of course, is the slowly declining proportions of visits from local and regional geographies (ENWRS 2013a, p.18).

Table 5.15 Origin of Biennial Visitors Over Time 2004 - 2012

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Liverpool City Region	41.0%	52.4%	45.0%	43.7%	42.1%
Cheshire	9.0%	5.4%	5.7%	5.8%	4.1%
Lancashire	6.0%	6.4%	6.6%	5.0%	3.6%
Greater Manchester	6.0%	8.8%	8.2%	4.6%	6.9%
Cumbria	1.0%	0.4%	0.3%	0.6%	0.4%
UK	23.0%	21.1%	24.5%	29.5%	31.1%
Overseas	4.0%	5.9%	9.0%	11.0%	11.8%

Table 5.16 shows the origin of visitors drawn to Liverpool specifically by the Biennial and portrays change over time. Notice how focusing on those drawn by the Biennial presents a very different picture; the key is that although regional visits, in general, have continued to drop, those from within the city region have remained relatively static. Again, bear in mind these are proportions, rather than absolute volumes.

Table 5.16 Origin of Visitors Biennial Main Reason 2004 - 2012

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Liverpool City Region	44.6%	40.9%	40.8%	47.2%	42.1%
Cheshire	10.8%	5.5%	5.2%	5.9%	3.5%
Lancashire	7.5%	9.2%	6.8%	4.5%	2.8%
Greater Manchester	6.6%	12.2%	11.4%	6.3%	9.2%
Cumbria	1.2%	0.2%	0.3%	1.0%	0.3%
UK	25.6%	27.3%	26.0%	27.1%	33.5%
Overseas	3.6%	4.4%	9.7%	8.0%	8.2%

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Smith (2015) explains that demographic research is not only used to find out the age, sex, social grade, etc. of the visitor for marketing purposes. It is also used to discover the origins of the audience and to find strategies or tools that the audience can use to make it easier to attend:

We always felt that we were getting fewer people than we wanted to from Manchester, and it was.... This was one of the things where we say that we work in partnership a lot. There is a.... we made this happen, actually made this happen, we made this happen, actually I made this happen.... We now have a set of maps of an hour drive time for the visual arts in Liverpool. So, it combines audiences, so we all had our own drive time, but nobody had a kind of visual arts map, drawing the data from the Bluecoat, FACT, Tate, Metal, and things like that and the smaller organisations didn't have any access to that at all because they were not collecting data. We actually have that same map that reflects our drive time from Manchester, one for Cumbria and Lancashire. So, we can see where audiences might or might not come from. But we.... between our own evaluation and informational stuff, we realised we didn't have enough information about what was driving people. We set out last time, to start to explore that with the stated goal of looking at the map and seeing there were certain areas where....

There should have been a high propensity of people to visit but the actual number of visitors was lower, so there is a wealth in Cheshire for instance that kind of runs down from Warrington or north of Warrington, running to Chester and a wealth at the edge of Wirral that should be seeing visual arts, but they don't see visual arts, but Manchester is one of those and the other thing.... so, we set up 'right we need more people from Manchester' our evaluation pointed that it was correct. A lot of that was marketing-based, we needed to say different things in different places like Manchester. We learned that.... we upped our audience to double from last time.

Smith explains that from finding the visitor's origin, the Biennial conducts research that can equip the potential visitor with information / directions to make their journey easier, or gives them options that can inform their choices to visit such as travel journeys, modes of travel, etc. Smith understands that this is valuable information as one could argue that both time and money are valuable commodities that will influence audiences to visit. Proximity

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and travel times could affect visitors from outside the area and could influence them to make the journey.

Another factor that influences the geographic origin of Biennial visitors is the group size. For example, visitors on their own are more likely to be local and the next section will discuss the group type. One note of caution when comparing the Festivals is that 2008 represented an incomparable year due to Liverpool's European Capital of Culture year for the city, so may be misleading. However, there appeared to be an ongoing drop in the proportion who were 'sole' visitors in 2012 and a rise in those who were visiting with their children.

5.16 Group Type

5.16.1 Group Profile

The art experience does not just engage the individual's emotions and intellect, it is also a social experience. The social discourse is important in intrinsic value and can enhance the quality of the art experience. Morrison and Dalglish (1987) describe the importance of social engagement with an arts-focused community in transforming casual art consumers into habitual participation. Their analysis offers support for the view that frequent participants are those whose experiences engage them in multiple ways, mentally, emotionally and socially. The more engagement there is, the more gratifying the experience. It is these experiences that make people into life-long participants in the arts. Stigler and Becker (1977) suggest this process through which an individual's growing

competence increases their attachment to the cultural experience to addiction and suggest that this process is characteristic of frequent participants.

5.16.2 Group Size and Composition

All respondents were asked to indicate the personal group that they were attending the Biennial with. This referred only to immediate travelling companions rather than the number of people in an organised group. Almost half of all respondents (45 - 50.4% over the years, as seen below in Table 5.17) visited the Biennial in groups of two, and almost a third of respondents said that they were visiting alone (28% - 34%). So, the average group size was 2.3 people, which is different from other years as can be seen in Table 5.17. It is only the 2012 and 2010 research that includes a full range of group sizes, all previous years' group sizes from 3 - 5 and 6 or more visitors within a group, as can be seen below.

Table 5.17 Group Size of Biennial Visitors (Percentage)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	10+
2012	28.0	48.8	9.9	6.7	0.9	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.2	0.7	3.4
2010	30.9	50.4	7.6	5.4	2.2	1.2	0.4	0.4		0.2	1.3
2008	32	42	42*			5#					
2006	34	46	15*			5#					
2004	32	45	14*			9#					

** 3 to 5 people #6 or more people*

It could be argued that this is a good size as each couple can discuss the work and learn (or argue) from each other's perspectives. I suggest that it may promote a learning experience

(e.g. situated learning) as people have the confidence to express their thoughts and perspectives to somebody that they are close to, and at ease with. In larger groups, it could diminish people’s confidence to express themselves. McCarthy et al (2004) express that while these intrinsic effects enrich individual lives, they also have a public component as they cultivate the kinds of citizens desired in a pluralistic society. These are the social bonds created among individuals when they share their arts experiences through reflection and discourse, and the expression of common values and community identity through artworks that connect to people’s experiences.

The data for the 2012 Festival suggests that, statistically, visitors to the Festival were equally likely to be on their own (27.1%), with their partner or spouse (24.7%), or with friends (28%) (ENWRS 2013a, p.22). For 2010 the main difference was that fewer people indicated that they visited as part of an organised trip (6%), which is more in line with the levels seen in 2006. For 2008, the largest single visitor category was those visiting on their own (30%). This difference might explain the changes in terms of age / student levels.

Table 5.18 Group Type by Demographic of Festival Visitors 2004 - 2012

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
On their Own	29%	31%	30.1%	29.7%	27.1%
With Partner / Spouse			14.8%	26.1%	24.7%
With Family (excl. children)	14%	16%	5.6%	12.2%	5.2%
With Children	7%	6%	5.6%	2.0%	7.3%
With Friends	35%	36%	27.1%	24.3%	28.0%
Organised Trip	15%	11%	16.3%	5.8%	7.3%

There are no data for the first two Biennials (1999, 2002)

2008 was the first year that the category 'with partner' was added, reflecting the standard used in other surveys across the North West. In previous years, the research went further to disseminate the statistics by including visitors there specifically for the Biennial or other, and origin of the visitor. These we can see in Tables 5.19 and 5.20.

Table 5.19 Group Type: Biennial Main Reason for Visiting 2008 - 2010

	2008	2010
On my Own	23.0%	29%
With Partner / Spouse	11.4%	22%
With Family	5.3%	11%
With Children	6.1%	2%
With Friends	27.4%	27%
Organised Trip	23.8%	9%

Table 5.20 Group Type: 'Other' Main Reason for Visiting 2008 - 2010

	2008	2010
On my Own	39.2%	31%
With Partner / Spouse	19.2%	31%
With Family	5.7%	14%
With Children	4.5%	1%
With Friends	25.3%	21%
Organised Trip	4.5%	2%

Those visiting Liverpool mainly because of the Biennial were far more likely to be there with their friends or on an organised trip than those there through other influences. It should also be noted that those for whom an 'other' reason drove their visit to Liverpool, were far

more likely to be sole visitors. Those in an organised group were most likely to have come from locations outside Merseyside; visitors from Merseyside and its hinterland were the type of visitor most likely to be on their own and were also most likely to be attending with children.

Table 5.21 Visitor Type by Origin 2012

	Liverpool	Elsewhere City Region	Northwest	UK	Overseas
On their Own	36%	29%	15%	20%	41%
With Partner / Spouse	20%	26%	36%	25%	16%
With Family (Inc. Children)	8%	12%	4%	7%	5%
With Family (exc. Children)	5%	2%	5%	8%	5%
With Friends	30%	27%	31%	25%	29%
Organised Trip	2%	3%	9%	14%	5%

- ‘Sole visitors’ represented a high proportion of the local audience, but a very significant component of visitors from overseas (41%)
- ‘Friendship groups’ formed an important part of all geographies (25% - 31%)
- Visitors from other parts of the Northwest were the group most likely to be visiting with their partner or spouse (36%); typically, the visitor economy of the city region indicates this group is usually more prevalent in the ‘other UK’ market, including city short breakers
- Visitors from the city of Liverpool itself or other parts of the city region were the geographies most likely to see Biennial attendees visiting with their children (8% and 12% respectively (ENWRS 2013a, p.23)

To further segregate visitor groups by area, we can separate each group to show results including each Festival year. McCarthy et al (2004) consider that most of the benefits of the arts come from individual experiences that are mentally and emotionally engaging,

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experiences that can be shared and deepened through reflection and conversations. Some intrinsic benefits fall at the public end of the scale. In this case, the benefits to the public arise from the collective effects that the arts have on individuals as they create social bonds. When people share the experience of works of art, either by discussing them or by communally experiencing them, one of the intrinsic benefits is the social bonds that are created (2004, p.xvi).

Table 5.22 Origin of Visitors on their Own 2008 - 2012

	2008+	2010*	2012
Liverpool		37%	36%
Elsewhere City Region	36.7%		29%
Northwest	30.2%	15%	15%
UK	22.3%	24%	20%
Overseas	24.5%	38%	41%

**2010 only stipulates Liverpool City Region. + 2008 only stipulates Merseyside as a whole*

A Biennial Attender in 1999 explained ‘you appreciate being able to turn to somebody and say, ‘why is this here, and what is it all about?’ There and then, if they explain it to you then you can be rooted to the spot’ (MHM 2002, p.31). People who are moved by a work of art often talk to others about the experience or read accounts of other people’s experiences to test their own perceptions and fill out their understanding. Biggs (2015) explains that visitors should be given options to how they receive the information as people have different tastes to how they like to learn, as:

As regards the form of information, some people don't like to read, others don't like to talk; some people like audio guides, others only look at moving image. Some people find it hard to have conversations with themselves, others don't. As regards

the content of the information, some people find it easy to apply their conceptual framework / experience / ideology to what is in front of them, others need a lot of help.

So, according to Biggs people learn in diverse ways. These different learning styles include visual, verbal, auditory, reading / writing, and either social and interpersonal or solitary and intrapersonal learners. Therefore, information should be delivered in different formats to accommodate each learning style to maximise the visitor's engagement and understanding of the artworks.

Table 5.23 Origin of Visitors with Partner / Spouse 2008 - 2012

	2008	2010*	2012+
Liverpool		24%	20%
Elsewhere City Region	17.0%		26%
Northwest	12.7%	33%	36%
UK	13.5%	28%	25%
Overseas	13.2%	20%	16%

**2010 only stipulates Liverpool City Region. + 2008 only stipulates Merseyside as a whole*

Table 5.24 Origin of Visitors with Family (exc. Children) 2008 - 2012

	2008	2010	2012
Liverpool		11%	5%
Elsewhere City Region	4.5%		2%
Northwest	3.2%	16%	5%
UK	8.1%	12%	8%
Overseas	7.5%	9%	5%

Table 5.25 Origin of Visitors with Family (Inc. Children) 2008 - 2012

	2008	2010	2012
Liverpool		3%	8%
Elsewhere City Region	6.8%		12%
Northwest	7.1%	3%	4%
UK	3.4%	1%	7%
Overseas	1.9%	<0.5%	5%

Having young children aged 0 - 4 consistently decreases the chances of being a more active arts attender: parents with young children are significantly less likely to be in the 'Now and then,' 'Enthusiastic,' and 'Voracious' groups. The impact of having children largely drops away if those children are older, however.

Table 5.26 Origin of Visitors with Friends 2008 - 2012

	2008	2010	2012
Liverpool		22%	30%
Elsewhere City Region	31.1%		27%
Northwest	23.0%	26%	31%
UK	23.0%	27%	25%
Overseas	28.3%	22%	29%

Table 5.27 Origin of Visitors on an Organised Trip 2008 - 2012

	2008	2010	2012
Liverpool		2%	25
Elsewhere City Region	3.8%		3%
Northwest	23.8%	8%	9%
UK	29.7%	8%	14%
Overseas	24.5%	11%	5%

5.17 Type of Visitor

In 1999, a very high proportion of Biennial attenders could be described as 'Vocationalists' in that 44% were students, 8% worked in the arts industry and 4% were artists with a further 3% working as graphic designers. The research by Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (2002) also assumed that the 4% of lecturers work in the visual arts, which then generates as many as 63% of attenders falling into the 'Vocationalists' groups. This confirmed the motivational data, which indicated that 46% of attendances were motivated by an interest in educational studies, and a further 20% were motivated by professional or work interests. This indicated that the Biennial chiefly reached a very active art-interested and art-professional audience. This showed that the actual audience reached in 1999 was very tightly targeted, as the publicity failed to reach a non-arts audience, and suggested that the actual audience reached would have been far smaller than hoped since the Vocational segment alone numbered around 12,553 people within Merseyside (MHM 2002, p.15).

Respondents were asked how knowledgeable they consider themselves to be about visual art. *The Biennial 2002 Final Report* stated that the potential local audience was relatively confident about art, but not especially knowledgeable. In 2002 they had the least amount of specialist knowledge even if it attracted people who were interested in art (37% had attended a gallery in the past twelve months, 26% of Lifestylers p.29), and 47% did not attend many arts venues but saw art as a part of a wider interest in culture (p.31). In 1999, MHM (2002, p.15) indicated that tourism accounted for 7% of the audience, with the vast majority coming from Merseyside (35%) and the North West (40%). I suggest that one factor that did influence personal knowledge is distance, as the greater the knowledge would motivate the longer the distance they were prepared to travel. For example, in Table

5.28 we can see how knowledge influences the distance a person travelled to the 2012

Festival:

Table 5.28 Personal Knowledge by Distance for 2012 Festival

	Liverpool	Elsewhere LCR	Elsewhere NW	Other UK	overseas
Little or no knowledge	43.8%	37.4%	31.3%	32.1%	28.6%
General knowledge	38.8%	42.4%	35.0%	29.1%	39.7%
Specialist knowledge	17.4%	20.2%	33.8%	38.8%	31.7%

This is also true for those who the Biennial was the main reason for them being in Liverpool, this comes down to motivation. There appears to be a correlation between knowledge of visual art and the Biennial being the main reason for visiting Liverpool, with almost a quarter of all attendees in 2012 (23%) stating that the Biennial was their main reason for visiting the city and that they had a specialist knowledge of visual art. 105 of all attendees had 'Little or no knowledge' of visual art, but still, the Biennial was the main reason for being in Liverpool.

Table 5.29 Influence of Audience by Knowledge 2012

Knowledge of Visual Art	Biennial Main Reason	'Other' Main Reason
Specialist Knowledge	23%	5%
General Knowledge	19%	17%
Little or no Knowledge	10%	26%

Note: Percentages above are based on a percentage of all respondents and are not 'column percentages'

As we can see in Table 5.29, this changed with future exhibitions, indicating an increase in the demographic that stated a general knowledge of art. Respondents were asked both how they rated their personal knowledge of visual art, and how they would describe their approach to visual art. In 2012 the total audience who indicated a specialist knowledge of visual art was 28.7%, with just over a third (35.2%) citing ‘Little or no knowledge.’

Respondents who indicated a ‘General knowledge’ of art, increased to 36.1%. This indicated an increase in popularity of the Biennial in attracting the general public and not just a niche market of ‘Vocational’ or professionals. This could be because of an increase in knowledge of the Liverpool Biennial as a brand, a broadening appeal of the Biennial, and the marketing reach of the organisation, with an increase of those using the internet and social media.

There are no exact figures for 1999, but 46% of respondents were motivated to attend through their educational studies, with students making up 44.5% of the sample. Of these people, most felt that the Biennial had targeted them, and people like them as its potential market.

Table 5.30 Personal Knowledge of Visual Art of Visitors 1999 - 2012

	1999	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Little or no knowledge		57%	17.5%	15.0%	19.2%	23.4%	28.7%
General knowledge		40%	46.8%	38.0%	39.7%	42.1%	35.2%
Specialist knowledge	63%	3%	35.7%	47.0%	40.9%	34.5%	36.1%

**Research was for the potential audience of the 2002 Festival. In 1999 a high percentage of people had a very active art-interested and art-professional audience*

5.18 Approaches to Visual Arts

In 2012 the Biennial's results showed that a third of visitors indicated that they had a professional, academic, or vocational involvement in visual art. This represents a significant change from that seen in previous years. In part, this may be a reflection on the audience drawn to make trips to events and venues in the city of Liverpool during its Capital of Culture year, and successive but declining strength of that brand, but this may also show a broadening appeal of the Biennial. Visitors were asked which of the following best described their approach to visual arts. This could also be an indication of the person's educational attainment. As for all research, it has been proven that the arts are attracted by those of higher education. Therefore, education has a consistent effect on the patterns of arts attendance: the higher the education level, the more likely an individual is to be an active arts attender. The potential audience of the 2002 Festival was confident gallery attenders:

- 67% always felt confident in galleries (53%)
- 23% sometimes lack confidence (34%)
- 11% rarely or never felt confident

Table 5.31 Approaches to Visual Arts 1999 - 2012

	1999	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
I have a professional or academic or vocational involvement	63%	5%	49%	50%	50.4%	50.4%	32.7%
I enjoy taking part in arts activity, but not necessarily contemporary visual arts	20.7%	42%*	16%	15%	27.3%	27.3%	35.9%

*2002 was the potential audience *Preferred traditional work by well-known artists, 7% preferred more contemporary work, and 47% did not attend many arts venues but see art as part of a wider interest in culture*

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The effect of education is significant for the contrasts between all four attender groups: those with a higher level of education are consistently more likely to belong to the groups with higher levels of arts attendance. Education is one of the strongest and most consistently significant factors in determining levels of arts attendance. The higher an individual's level of education, the more likely they are to attend the arts. However, ENWRS explains when comparing across years it should always be remembered that changing audience composition will also be a factor. For example, 45% of attendees to the 1999 Biennial were students, 37% in 2004, 37% in 2006, 33.6% in 2008, and only 23.4% in 2010 showing a progressive decline in student participation.

5.19 Art Influences Acting on Respondents

To begin with (1999), the Biennial acknowledged that a large percentage of the potential audience would be non-arts attenders. This group could be seen as the incidental market for the Biennial. For the potential audience of 2002, a third of people were incidental attenders (28%) and described as people who would look at things if they came across them but would not go out of their way. The objective of this group was to ensure that even those who were not interested in visiting the Biennial, should nevertheless begin to be aware that it was happening, understand what a Biennial is, and feel that it must be a good thing for Liverpool. These messages were targeted through popular mainstream media in order to encourage attendance. Therefore, to capture the less motivated potential attenders, the Biennial found it necessary to occupy high-profile spaces that could be accessed easily, for people who were in the city for other reasons such as shopping or working.

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These incidental attenders might also be prepared to experience the Biennial whilst visiting a gallery but were not driven by the Biennial itself. To do this, the branding of the Biennial exhibitions and installations within the sites needed to be very clear for these visitors to be aware of the Biennial. The Biennial admitted they had to target different demographics of cultural consumption. To do this, the Biennial outlined a hierarchy of motivation or engagement with the Biennial.

The least motivated attenders simply expected to experience the Biennial incidentally whilst doing other things in the city, while other attenders took a more proactive involvement and so on up the hierarchy, to the most motivated attender who would plan their visits entirely around the Biennial itself, attempting to see as much as possible. The three main groups of cultural visitors were described as:

- Vocationals welcomed art that was located in small, surprising non-gallery spaces that catch the viewer unawares and encourage discovery. These were more likely to seek more challenging forms of art in non-gallery environments
- The Lifestyler segment is more likely to look at things if they come across them (in 1999, 16% of the overall potential audience described this as their main motivation). They are keener to see art outside of art galleries but stressed the need to use these installations as a 'hook in' and a steppingstone to the rest of the event
- Incidental attenders were described as those who had either never attended an art gallery or have not been in the last two years. This group might take a bit of the Festival in as a break from their main motivation of shopping or working (MHM 2002, p.36)

To access all groups, the Biennial needed to develop its brand and raise awareness. To do this, they needed to be accessible in terms of providing good signage and directions to help people move around the city whilst taking in different elements of the Biennial. Even

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though the branding and awareness of the Biennial have increased with each Festival, signage has consistently scored the lowest on the overall satisfaction with the Biennial. All elements of the Biennial recorded net satisfaction (e.g. value for money, event quality, suitability of the venue, etc.), the only elements recording lower satisfaction levels revolved around 'publicity and promotion' and 'signposting'- which they note, commonly achieved lower scores amongst events.

There is a marked difference towards the Biennial since the first Festival in 1999, as 34% of the audience agreed (mostly, slightly) that the Biennial would be irrelevant to most people in Liverpool, this was particularly the case for people living in Liverpool (43%). Even though they didn't think that it would be relevant to their personal lives, they could see the potential, and the vast majority of potential attenders (87%) felt 'very strongly' that the Biennial was the sort of event Liverpool should be hosting. The support was equally strong amongst the outer districts, as it was in Liverpool itself, indicating the population supported Liverpool for holding significant international events.

When provided with positive statements to agree or disagree with about the next Biennial, people were keen to agree. MHM (2002) also asked respondents to identify one single priority for the Biennial (these are illustrated in brackets):

- 78% agreed strongly that the Biennial would be an exciting addition to the city's cultural infrastructure (9%)
- 70% agreed strongly that it would be a way of developing a new audience for contemporary visual art in Liverpool (12%)
- 84% agreed strongly that it would offer chances for new artists to show their work (12%)

- 69% agreed strongly that local people would be proud of the event (12%)
- 84% agreed strongly that it would attract new visitors to the city (53%) (MHM 2002, p.34)

5.20 Creating Audiences and their Retention

Other than specific marketing influences, attendance at an event in previous years can be a significant factor in marking a repeat visit. Respondents were asked to say whether this was their first visit to the Biennial, or whether they had visited in previous years. Accordingly, in Table 5.32 I present the data showing how many previous Biennials visitors had been to.

Table 5.32 Frequency of Visits to the Biennial 2004 - 2012

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
First Visit	69%	60%	6.5%*	59.8%*	62.4%
Came in 2010					32.7%
Came in 2008				39.4%	18.9%
Came in 2006			30.5%	23.3%	10.8%
Came in 2004		32%	18.9%*	16.9%	5.6%
Came in 2002	15%	16%	11.7%*	11.4%	3.6%
Came in 1999	12%	11%	7.6%*	11.4%	3.0%

**Taken from previous impact reports*

Studies show that there are a number of important differences between the occasional and frequent consumer, such as their reason for participation (Schuster 1991), tastes in culture (McCarthy and Jinnett 2001), and backgrounds and experiences (Bergonzi and Smith 1996,

Orend and Keegan 1996). McCarthy, Ondaatje, and Zakaras (2001) suggest that the tastes of frequent participants differ because of their knowledge and familiarity.

Frequent consumers are more likely to participate in multiple art forms (Peters and Cherbo 1996). The differences between the occasional and frequent consumer are due to a growing competence acquired from continuous participation. They also suggest that the transformation from occasional to frequent participation occurs when the individual internalises their motivations for participation. The decision is no longer whether to participate, but how and when, and it becomes an ongoing process. But knowledge also influences the frequency, time spent and satisfaction of the event. Satisfaction will be discussed in Chapter Six.

However, MHM (2005) has found the highest satisfaction ratings are given by those visitors who are the least knowledgeable, the least experienced, are on their first visit, spent the least amount of time visiting, and are least likely to return. Conversely, those who are knowledgeable, experienced, regular visitors who spend the longest time engaging with the objects, and who are most likely to return gave lower satisfaction ratings. This phenomenon is easily explained: visitor's satisfaction is relative to their expectation. Those who expect the least are more easily satisfied. Those with higher expectations are more discerning and harder to please as they can see the potential for improvement. In this sense, satisfaction is therefore not a particularly useful measure for visit quality (p.6).

Two of the main objectives of the Liverpool Biennial are to raise the profile of Liverpool's external image as a cultural centre for tourism and be perceived as a sufficiently significant event to attract cultural tourists into the city as an excuse to experience the city as well as take in some exciting art (taken from the expectations of the 2002 Festival MHM, p.6).

Table 5.33 shows that first-time visitors have always been the highest demographic, which indicates that the Biennial continuously develops new audiences and introduces new people to Biennial art and the city. The second objective of the Biennial has been to broaden the audience within Liverpool for contemporary art; creating access to contemporary international art, providing education / community programmes, creating a diversity of products, and creating enjoyment and fun.

Table 5.33 First Time Visits to Festivals 2004 - 2012

	First Time Visit
2012	62.4%
2010	59.8%
2008	66.5%
2006	60%
2004	69%

1999 and 2002 are not included as all visitors in would be first timers in 1999

Distance plays a part in the frequency of visits, and this is very evident from Table 5.34 whereas in 2012, just half of the Liverpool City Region residents (46.4%) were on their first visit to the Biennial, rising to 72.5% from the Northwest, 73.5% from Elsewhere (UK), and rising to 79.4% for overseas visitors. Motivation plays a large part in this, as only voracious attenders would travel large distances specifically to the Festival. All others would visit the Festival whilst they are in the city for another reason (e.g. as a tourist, shopping, etc.).

Table 5.34 Years Previously Visited Liverpool Biennial by Origin 1999 - 2012

	Liverpool City Region	Northwest England	Elsewhere UK	Overseas
First visit 2012	46.4%	72.5%	73.5%	79.4%
Came in 2010	50.4%	23.8%	19.9%	14.3%
Came in 2008	29.9%	15.0%	11.4%	4.8%
Came in 2006	17.9%	5.0%	7.2%	3.2%
Came in 2004	9.4%		4.2%	3.2%
Came in 2002	5.8%		3.0%	1.6%
Came in 1999	4.9%		2.4%	1.6%

Smith (2015) explains why the Biennial Festivals have always had a high percentage of first-time visitors:

I mean there is a number of factors at work in there. One of them is simply that the audience kept expanding and rapidly expanding in those years between.... well actually 1999 and the run up to 2012. So you had to have a larger percentage of new people, the second thing is that because we get very good percentages, and ever increasing percentages of people that travel internationally so it was say 3% to begin with (a rough estimate) its 12% now so internationally the percentage of people who come from outside of the region - so their natural first time visitors and just in terms of sheer volume where we might have 2,500 - 3,000 people turn up in

opening weeks who are professionals - those 3,000 people are the ones who most likely will come back either to more Biennials or to come back during the Biennial.

Those are vocational, but also make up a small percentage of the overall population.... so, the effect of repeat visitors doesn't show up as much either.... to me in a sense, it doesn't necessarily matter as long as the programme is seen as appealing to the right members of the audience, in the right ways. So international visitors are fantastic that they see something new here every time..... Over the last three Biennials, because there is less money around and people spend less, but different Biennials have different patterns of how one person will come back and visit different elements of the Biennial, that's changed as well. Sometimes of course, the definition of first-time visitors is perceived in people's minds differently. So, we did a little bit of looking at this as a couple of questions we were testing at one point. Some people do interpret that... question is, or as it is, it is the first time to this Biennial so of course they are a first-time visitor, some people interpret it as.... the first time you have been to any Liverpool Biennial.

Smith explains there are a number of reasons for the high percentage of first-time visitors:

- 1) As a new biennial, all the audience was new to begin with
- 2) There has been an increase in first-time international visitors, especially as Liverpool has become more popular as a tourist destination
- 3) Because of the sheer size of the Festivals, visitors come back and visit different elements for the first-time
- 4) Visitors misinterpret the question as the first-time visiting that specific Biennial Festival

MHM (2005) explains that it is important to really understand visitors and their patterns of behaviour. Some museums are counting anyone who has not visited in the past twelve months as a 'new' visitor. This means that anyone who has visited every eighteen months, maybe seven or eight times in the past ten years, has been a 'new' visitor on each occasion. There are vast numbers of people who visit less than once a year and who will, of their own accord, make their occasional visit to a museum over a twelve-month period.

Museums could achieve several million of these without even trying. To count these as new visitors is unhelpful, and to view this as audience development distracts us from the task of attracting genuine new audiences (p.8). This is confusing, and there needs to be a clear definition of what a first-timer is so that they present a true representation of audience development.

In the beginning, the Biennial Charity's objects were to provide, maintain, improve and advance education by cultivating and improving public taste in the visual arts (Memorandum of Biennial 1998, p.2).

Retention of audiences should be at least as important as creating new audiences as the Biennial should want people to return to each successive Festival. One could argue that audience development is not just about bringing new people in but maintaining and improving their audience base by developing the audience's knowledge, tastes and experiences which can only happen with people repeat attendance attend more events over future years.

As McCarthy et al (2004) explain, 'a wide range of benefits can be gained from involvement in the arts.... particularly those often cited by arts advocates – are gained only through a

process of sustained involvement' (p.xvii). The skills needed for the benefits from cultural experiences are therefore experiential and are gained through continuous sustained involvement.

5.21 Conclusion

Within this Chapter I have examined what Paul Smith has described as the main function of the Biennial research, which is to find out about the audience demographic, and their level of knowledge. With this information, the Biennial can then design methods to target and develop marketing and inclusion strategies for future Festivals. These can drive new audiences to the Festival and introduce them to culture and the cultural experience. The most important empirical research on participation patterns is the NEA sponsored Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA), a national survey conducted first in 1982 and describes art participation in the USA. Of central importance to an individual's continued future involvement involves their initial arts experience. In Chapter Six, we will look at the research that the Biennial has conducted to find out the visitor's satisfaction and experience of the Festivals.

To do this, the Biennial has always had an integrated programme of public programmes and learning to continue to broaden the audience profile (see Chapter Four). To be accessible to the widest possible audience, the exhibitions remain free across the venues, with limited exceptions where events require a minimum ticket price. Much of the Biennial work is placed in the public realm, minimising barriers to participation and bringing the best

international artists into contact with people from every background. As part of this, its public realm programme aims to:

- Engage with a high calibre of artists to make exemplary commissions that help reinforce Liverpool's reputation as a leading city for the visual arts in the UK
- Commission site specific work that is integrated and responsive to the city
- Work in partnership with a wide range of local organisations and people in order to engage with local expertise, widen access to high quality art and help embed art into the locality
- Commission both temporary works that help draw people to the Biennial, and temporary and permanent works that help create better public realm for residents and visitors alike
- Achieve sufficient and sustainable funding to deliver the vision

5.21.1 Demographic

If the purpose of the Biennial research is to learn about the audience demographics, there needs to be a concerted effort to develop strategies for improving the minority audiences for future Festivals. I would argue that if you do not act on the results, there is no point in conducting the research in the first place. Harlow (2015) explains that research has an impact only when it helps staff members make decisions that improve their work. Finding things out about an audience without having a way to act on that information wastes time and money (p.3). For example, Smith (2015) explained how the research has shown which demographic they needed to focus on to increase their attendance:

That audience report that you have seen saying 'ooh look this was our percentage of people in 2012 that attended with families, this was how many people in 2014 that attended with families. We can see it went down instead of going up like we wanted it too. So, what do we do in 2016 if that is still a valid goal which we decided is going to? So, the raft of things we did to evaluate, started with one report as there was an indication, there then we went out and had conversations with people, audiences, and things like that, we went back to programme - what do you see or what do you want to see - coming back to the conversation it was quite intellectual. What were the practicalities of front of house? How good were we at

telling people that the facilities existed to experience it with children? Where do you park a buggy? Where did we tell people where to park their buggies in the Old Blind School? Well, we didn't, and we should have.

Smith shows how this research highlights the weak attendance of families at the Festival. They could then reach out and start a discussion as to why the number of families had decreased. They could then find out the reasons for this weak attendance so that they could improve the facilities and make it more family friendly. This is a good example of the necessity of conducting this form of research. I argue that the Biennial's purpose is to develop and improve audience demographics by investigating why certain demographics do not attend and then implementing strategies to include their participation. It is not just about raising the profile of the Festivals and encouraging audiences from low socio-economic catchment areas.

In the light of this, I contest that art and culture should be thought of as a service industry, and the customer experience should be central to cultural event / exhibition planning.

Kotler and Scheff (1997) concur there should be a 'customer-centric' organisational mindset, which requires that the arts organisation systematically studies consumers' needs and wants, perceptions and attitudes, as well as their preferences and levels of satisfaction, and acts on this information to improve what is offered (p.34). For example, facilities / amenities should be included within future Festival designs to reduce the physical barriers, making it easier for the old, disabled and young mothers to attend.

As technology has developed over the years, it has become easier to find and share information. Cultural organisations can find previous demographic research from other festivals, events and exhibitions and quantify the similarities of the cultural visitors (e.g. Audience Finder). I argue this repetitive demographic research (and repetitive results) can accurately predict audience segments to geographical areas, showing high (more affluent) and low (poorer areas) catchment areas to cultural tastes and visitation frequency. For example, this knowledge bank of results has now been amalgamated to create an Audience Spectrum, an off-the-shelf segmentation tool based on extensive data about cultural behaviours and attitudes, it is a segmentation of the whole UK population, linked to all UK households (e.g. Taking Part, etc.).

Technology has changed the way that organisations like the Biennial communicate and market their events. But this technology can also help them understand their audiences' locations, tastes, and habits. For example, Smith (2015) explained at the beginning of this chapter that the visitor profile research informs the Biennial about their audience and how they access and share information. He emphasised how the impact of technology has changed the way people contact and socialise digitally through social media. This is important to the Biennial as it informs them how people converse and share information (e.g. thoughts, ideas, emotions, etc.) online. This is important as it shows how technology has changed the way that individuals connect and interact and shows the potential for the marketing and the market reach of digital content.

5.21.2 Marketing

The Biennial's marketing should aim to support and facilitate the cultural experience as the core customer value. The cultural experience is the reward for the co-creative effort of the art consumer. McCarthy et al (2004) explain this is because the individuals who are most engaged by the cultural experience, are the ones who are most receptive to the intrinsic benefit. I argue, by generating strategies to help individuals to access a cultural experience will increase the audiences to return, instead of focusing on marketing strategies to increase the participation of the minority demographics (poor, ethnic, elderly, etc.). These intrinsic benefits create not only positive attitudes towards the arts but also the motivation to return.

These intrinsic benefits are confirmed by marketing studies that demonstrate that the nature of the consumer experience is influenced by the consumer's satisfaction and is a key influence on a consumer's propensity to making repeat visits (Gobe 2001, Schmitt 1999). Morton Smyth Ltd (2004) explains that to reach a broader audience you assume that everyone is creative, and artistic judgement is not the preserve of a chosen few. You encourage audience members to engage in, and comment on, the process of creative development - and you listen, give them opportunities to make creative decisions and enable them to create their own work with your support (p.9).

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I have shown in this chapter that since the Biennial's inception it has become more popular and accessible to the general public. That said, the Biennial's audiences have run in similar patterns to other art audiences that are well documented, that is - white, educated people from higher social demographics. This should not be argued as a failure, as there is a wider discussion about cultural demographics and inclusion and the intergenerational transmission of culture that is outside the scope of this thesis.

This Chapter has shown how the Biennial Festival has developed from a niche event in 1999 that appealed chiefly to locally based artists, art students, art professionals and art educationalists (e.g. 63% of attenders were vocationally involved in visual art), to a more broadly appealing Festival in 2012 with only 28.7% having specialist knowledge, 36.1% general knowledge and 35.2% having little or no knowledge. This can be seen as a success for all the work that the Biennial has conducted (i.e. Education and Inclusion programme) to increase the demographics that are interested in contemporary visual art through their education and inclusion projects, marketing, and the quality of their work. In the next chapter, I will look at the way the Biennial has measured the satisfaction of the visitor's experiences of the Festivals.

Chapter Six:

Satisfaction and Audience Experience

This final chapter will discuss the remaining section of England's North West Research Service (ENWRS) impact reports that deal with the visitor's satisfaction of the Liverpool Biennial Festival as a measure of service quality, and the relationship between service quality and consumer satisfaction. I will start this chapter by discussing the third type of cultural value (i.e. the intrinsic value of art), in the context of the Biennial's evaluation reports including the pilot studies conducted by Annabel Jackson Associates (AJA) *Evaluation Toolkit* (2009), and the *Intrinsic Impact* (2011) study for Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium (LARC), that focused more on the cultural / aesthetic experience by using qualitative methodologies to find out how and why, art affects the visitor and determines their cultural experience of the Festival.

6.1 Intrinsic Value

To date, Liverpool has only conducted one research project on the intrinsic value of art and culture. In a collaborative pilot study with Baker Richards and WolfBrown, eight arts and cultural organisations in Liverpool (acting together as the Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium - LARC) surveyed audiences and visitors about the impacts of their experiences over the 2009 - 10 season by asking how people are transformed by arts / cultural experiences. LARC (2011) discussed the range of findings with an audiences' 'readiness to receive' the art and six constructs of intrinsic impact, which one could argue are similar constructs of intrinsic impact: captivation, emotional resonance, spiritual value, intellectual

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stimulation, aesthetic growth and social bonding (e.g. Throsby 2001, McCarthy et al 2004, Brown and Novak 2007).

One could argue that these are valuable questions, and more work should be conducted on this topic as the diversity of impacts across the numerous events illustrated how different programmes create different impacts. Unfortunately, there was no follow up research conducted in Liverpool, but more recently there has been a concerted focus on the individual experience within England and has been developed in relation to the intrinsic / aesthetic impact of art; for example, the Cultural Value Project – Crossick and Kaszynska (2016) *Understanding the Value of Arts and Culture* report, and the Warwick Commission - Neelands et al (2015) *Enriching Britain: Culture, Creativity and Growth*.

To accomplish their goals, the LARC programme of survey research was launched in autumn 2009 and was supplemented by an effort to gather anecdotal 'stories of impact' through interviews. Data collection efforts continued into autumn 2010 and concluded with the surveying of visitors to the Biennial Festival (2011, p.5). However, the research did highlight how difficult and labour intensive this type of research can be, with mixed results.

In total, 3,332 surveys were completed by audiences and visitors at twenty-five different programmes using a mix of intercept and in-venue mail-back survey methods. Biennial

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visitors were approached at numerous venues (event and sample size); *Europeasure / Scandinavian Hotel* (29 visitors), *Liverpool Anglican Cathedral* (34), *The Mending Project* (33), *The Oratory* (31) and *Touched at Tate* (46). The results did reflect and strengthen the demographics discussed in Chapter Five. Of the total 173 respondents at Biennial venues: 91% were white, 79% had higher education, 57% were in employment and the average age was 41 (2011, pp.10-11).

The research was conducted during 2009 - 10 and started at the very end of the Biennial Festival (October), at a period that had the least number of visitors and exhibitions open. Results were provided to each organisation in an interactive dashboard tool. The report noted that the sample sizes of the five Biennial Exhibitions ranged from 29 - 46 and are statistically unstable, therefore the results should be interpreted with caution and should be considered exploratory in nature (ibid p.26). For example, Smith (2015) explains that he did not find the LARC report helpful for the Biennial because when the research was conducted, most of the Biennial events had finished, and the sample size was too low to make, or infer, a robust conclusion.

The Biennial Festival (ENWRS) impact reports have never used any of the criteria to measure intrinsic / aesthetic impact and have only ever used quantitative methodologies by using the Likert scale to ask for satisfaction, or asked what people liked most or least. However, one could argue that without context we do not learn anything about the how or why, and in some cases, artists create work to challenge and provoke rather than be liked.

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LARC (2011) explains that the value of impact assessment data lies in its ability to raise questions that can stimulate meaningful discussions about artists' outcomes (p.29). For example, Esme Beczur's installation at the Futurist Cinema (2010) scored the lowest ever mean score (2.33) across all Festivals (ENWRS 2011a, p.47) and was only visited by 6.1% (p.28). I posit that conceptual / installation art such as the Futurist cinema did not give an instant satisfaction but needed to be deliberated to discover a cognitive / intellectual value. Smith (2015) explains that installation art situated in the public realm, like Beczur's conceptual work at the Futurist Cinema, can be harder for the general public to recognise as art:

The Futurist Cinema and whether it was successful or if you look that far fewer people saw that, or far fewer people recognised that they saw it even though it was literally across the road from them. Fewer people recognised that they saw that than others. The thing about audiences is that... they have a different thing about them they like, each person does.

Smith highlights here that the Biennial recognises that placing artworks within the public realm can have mixed results, which is appropriate, as not everyone will recognise the work or its value. However, taking art out of the gallery and placing it in the street was always a main objective of the Biennial Festival.

6.2 ENWRS - Satisfaction on Visit

Brida, Pulina, and Riano (2010) explain that from an economic, management and marketing perspective it seems of interest to investigate consumers' motivation, satisfaction and

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loyalty to a destination. Loyalty to a destination means that visitors will return in the future. Therefore, familiar and satisfied consumers to a destination, and its cultural attractions, provide a constant income source that can be used to further enhance the local economy, and increase the welfare of the local community (see also Oppermann 2000). Satisfaction is indeed one of the main factors that drive consumers to return to the same destination, as several studies empirically support (Kozak 2001, Lau and McKercher 2004, Yoon and Uysal 2005, Alegre and Cladera 2006, 2009, Campos- Martínez et al, 2009).

Liverpool Biennial's Evaluation Reports (TMP / ENWRS 2004 – 2012) have included a section on the audience's satisfaction with their visit. This can be a valuable tool for improving the cultural excellence of events / festivals because audience feedback will inform the organisers about ways of improving the organisation and delivery of the event. One could argue that the nature of any large-scale festival will have successes and failures as exhibitions will be down to what the general public considers to be art or personal taste.

The Festivals are made up of many different events (exhibitions, talks, seminars, workshops, performances, etc.), artforms and genres that are presented to a wide range of audiences (from international professional critics to novices with little or no knowledge). For example, Biggs (2015) explains the aim of the Biennial is 'to provide as much variety as possible if the objective is to reach different (kinds of) people – to speak in the language of the receiver.'

MHM (2002) explains that the Biennial offered a different proposition to different demographic segments (see Chapter Five), which have different needs and motivations and obstacles to attendance (2002, p.53). For example, a corporate objective was to create an event of significant quality for the international art community, whilst also appealing to, and attracting a wider audience of non-gallery attenders. Domela (2015) explains that it was the inclusiveness of different art forms and mediums that originally attracted him:

One of the attractions of the Liverpool Biennial was that there was a different shape of model.... There was space for many different things, a conventional painting prize, there was an exhibition for young artists who were recently graduated. You have the Independents that represented the local arts and garnered for all kinds, and then you had the International Exhibition which was sort of the curated. That was sort of the authored exhibition, but again that was the product of many voices.

The Biennial Festival had many different elements, combining the old and the new. James Moores proposed that established events already supported by the Moores family like the John Moores Painting Prize and Bloomberg New Contemporaries should be integrated, and new strands of the International Exhibition and Independents that was generated by local artists took place beyond the walls and institutional structures of the gallery.

The Biennial offered a different shape of exhibition / festival model and worked as an umbrella that brought such disparate elements together as a new brand, while still maintaining their distinct identities to create a critical mass of activities, capable of

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generating new audiences and shifting perceptions (Rees Leahy 2000, p.20). Unlike other biennials, artists were not promoted as 'representative' of any country or culture – they were presented as individuals whose work had 'something to say' in the Liverpool context (Biennial Review 2003, p.5).

One could argue that diversity is integral to a large-scale event like a biennial, generating mixed responses as some people will prefer painting to installation, or conceptual to public art, and so on. Attempting to do something new, will inevitably bring some criticism. Smith (2015) explains that the Visitor Profile research that the Biennial has commissioned is a tool for understanding their audiences and their experiences:

It's a tool for understanding a lot more about the audience as we have to use a number of tools. So, for instance, our definition of quality art is directly linked, and you can see it in our aims and objectives.... It's directly linked to what our international peers would think as quality art. However, that said, part of the reason we do that survey is to understand what exhibitions people are satisfied with and ones they are not satisfied with. And that's not because we are then going to go with the next Biennial and say 'oh people were unsatisfied with this exhibition, let's put this one on so that they are satisfied' it's much more than that so that we understand kind of, was it worth it? We understand how people react to art if they are satisfied.... was it because of the art or because they liked the building, we put it in. if they are unsatisfied then it's the same sort of question? So that survey is about us being able to look and say - ok what is happening across our business that is why it's got marketing questions in there.

So, according to Smith, the Biennial realises that there are many different elements that can affect the visitor's experience and how they value the art and exhibitions. Satisfaction, therefore, is a way to measure the services the Biennial supply and how this will affect the

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visitor's experiences of the art and the Festival. This is what Holden describes as institutional value in his triangle model (see Chapter One). This value relates to the processes and techniques that organisations adopt in how they work to create value for the public, for example, the organisation's management and how they interact with the public and conduct their business. Holden (2006) explains that institutional value includes things like opening hours, event organisation, staff, value for money and signposting:

Institutional value is created (or destroyed) by how these organisations engage with their public; it flows from their working practices and attitudes and is rooted in the ethos of public service [...] An organisation establishes public goods by creating trust and mutual respect among citizens, enhancing the public realm, and providing a context for sociability and the enjoyment of shared experiences. (p.17)

What Holden describes as institutional value is the customer services / satisfaction that an institution provides, and the customer relations they develop through these services.

Flinck-Heino (2009) suggests that customer satisfaction research helps the company to determine their customer's satisfaction towards their products and services. But, for the research to be trustworthy and practical, it must have validity, reliability, objectivity and be economically profitable. There are many risks in conducting customer satisfaction research, for example, having a wrong target group, the research not covering the whole sample, or there is not a valid register and is focused on certain types of respondents. Other risks are imperfect questionnaires, small sample size, negligence of the interviewers and errors in interpretation. As a result, the research will give false results and will be lacking validity and reliability (p.3).

For Flinck-Heino (2009), it is important to describe what customer satisfaction means as service quality and customer satisfaction are usually considered the same (p.9). Visitor (customer) satisfaction is subjective and can be defined as a positive / negative reaction towards a product or service. It is always subjective and comparable, and a unique point of view. If the outcome does not meet the expectations, the customer is dissatisfied. If the outcome meets the expectations, the customer is satisfied. It seems self-evident that companies should always try to satisfy their customers since customer satisfaction is one of the most important measures in analysing and defining organisations' success possibilities (Rope and Pollanen 1994, pp.58-59).

Qualitative research seeks out the 'why' from its topic through the analysis of unstructured information – things like interview transcripts, emails, and feedback forms. Qualitative research is used to gather information about people's attitudes, behaviour, motivation, culture or lifestyle, and is used to measure how many people feel, think or act in a particular way. Quantitative research, in contrast, is numerically oriented and involves statistical analysis (Flinck-Heino 2009, p.3).

LARC (2011) suggests that a combination of these methodologies will enrich the evaluation of cultural events like the Biennial:

Quantitative data, taken alone, cannot answer these questions. But when considered along with qualitative data (i.e. responses to open-ended responses) and in light of contextual information such as the nature and extent of marketing and education efforts undertaken in connection with a specific production or exhibition, it is possible for arts organisations to gain insight into the impact of their programming [...] Whilst many arts and cultural organisations have procedures for assessing the quality or 'success' of their programmes through internal review and discussion, few organisations have put in place a methodical system for assessing impact through the lens of audiences and visitors. (p.29)

Here, LARC identifies a gap in the evaluation of cultural events and suggests there needs to be a shift in methodologies to include the intrinsic experience of the audience. But neither quantitative nor qualitative methodologies on their own are enough, what is needed is a combination of both methodologies to enrich and produce robust research into cultural value.

Arguably, quantitative methodologies are too clinical and sterile to harness any comprehension of the complexities of human perception and the intrinsic / aesthetic value of the arts. Data and figures do not display a person's perception and understanding of a cultural good or service. Qualitative research is more labour intensive but will give a more robust understanding of the cultural experience. Such research may also develop a person's critical / aesthetic judgement so that they can develop ways to comprehend emotional and intellectual responses, then they can understand their reactions and perceptions of a cultural good.

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For example, Moser (2010) explains epistemology as the theory of knowledge that consists of justified true belief and is based on sensory experiences and / or pure reason. The extent of our knowledge is objective – conceiver-independent facts as well as subjective – conceiver-dependent facts (p.1). Therefore, epistemology can be used to describe the processes involved with cultural perceptions and experiences by using the process for developing knowledge - justification, truth and belief (Pritchard 2014, Shope 1983, Steup 1996). Biggs (2015) explains that how people perceive (i.e. make meaning, understand) art is through experience:

Neither art nor music are forms of knowledge (information) they are forms of wisdom (experience). Contemporary society finds wisdom / experience difficult to deal with because it cannot be bought and sold, cannot be taught / learned / paid for in universities – it depends on the existing or developing abilities of the person to process incoming information in a way that creates meaning.... There are no answers here. Except to provide as much variety as possible if the objective is to reach different (kinds of) people – to speak in the language of the receiver.

Biggs argues that knowledge is only gained through experience, and because of this, the Biennial tries to give a wide variety of experiences within the Festival. A person's cultural perception (i.e. how they create meaning) of art has to be developed through many varying experiences. Because of this, the Biennial tries to give a variety of art mediums and experiences within each Festival. For example, one of the Biennial's three aims is to make and present high-quality art which is measured by international peers to broaden and deepen the audience, so that they have a deeper and richer experience.

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However, when dealing with the Biennial visitor's experiences, ENWRS has not conducted any qualitative research. Instead, they have tried to quantify the visitor's satisfaction.

Visitor satisfaction, however, could be influenced by a number of things. For example, if visitors think the event is value for money, they may say they are satisfied. Or perhaps they like the way they were treated when interacting with an employee of the venue or company. Visitor satisfaction reflects how the Biennial has executed different elements of the Festival. It is the comparison between visitor expectations of the customer services provided and the type of experience they receive from the Biennial brand.

ENWRS (2004 - 2012) has included a section on 'Satisfaction on Visit' since they started to research the Festivals in 2004. Respondents were asked to rate their levels of satisfaction with different elements of the Biennial. They did this using the 5-point Likert Scale, where '1' equals Very Poor and '5' equals Very Good. From this, the mean scores in Table 6.1 have been calculated, any score above 3.0 indicating net satisfaction – any score below 3.0 indicating net dissatisfaction. ENWRS stresses that by using this scoring system, any statement where a significant number providing 'do not know' responses can be swayed by a relatively small proportion providing extreme ratings. Table 6.1 shows that, since 2004, ratings have run in similar patterns that show extremely high satisfaction levels with most aspects of the Biennial, with 'value for money' rating 'very good,' while signposting and event publicity and promotion received the lowest ratings.

Table 6.1 Mean Satisfaction Scores for Biennial 2004 - 2012

	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Value for money	4.82	4.72	4.81	4.85	4.82
Event organisation and staff	4.65	4.59	4.54	4.46	4.50
Suitability of the venue	4.64	4.48	4.35	4.50	4.49
Overall enjoyment	4.66	4.47	4.45	4.41	4.30
Event quality	4.63	4.45	4.38	4.40	4.37
Event publicity / promotion	3.70	3.53	3.56	3.66	3.53
Visitor centre* / Biennial centre	3.53	3.55	3.27*	3.96*	
Facilities provided	4.58	4.47	4.20		4.37
Event signposting	3.67	3.53	3.17	3.60	3.33

Note: Visitor Centre question was asked in 2010 and 2008 (with 2008 including Annette Messenger and former ABC cinema). Hence, longitudinal analysis is not possible, but previous years included Biennial centre, and is added for comparison.

Table 6.1 shows the different elements that will make up the overall satisfaction of the Biennial's work, such as amenities, which aids the consumer's general experience, not the cultural / aesthetic experience of the art. This is what Holden described as the third type of value in his 'value triangle' for culture. This is Institutional: the organisation's management, how they interact with the public and conduct their business (e.g. opening hours, event organisation, staff, value for money and signposting).

A major contributor to creating a cultural experience is down to how an organisation manages the event, with contributing factors that include staff, signposting, presentation of cultural objects, and the information that is provided. These are crucial questions in order to improve the cultural experience and intrinsic value, as we need to know what social conditions are necessary for the realisation of cultural / aesthetic value. This has become an area of interest in recent years (e.g. The Warwick Commission 2015, The Cultural Value

Project 2016) as organisations move beyond the objective (instrumental) and look to the subjective (intrinsic / aesthetic) value of art.

Table 6.1 presents changes in the mean satisfaction score across previous Biennials. To some extent 'event quality' and 'overall enjoyment' show a downward trend, although this is only significant when compared against 2004, and both elements remain significantly above a net 'good' score. Despite fluctuations, the long-term trend both for signposting and promotion is that of 'no change,' reflecting the traditionally challenging task of achieving high satisfaction for both.

However, as Table 6.2 indicates, when we change the mean score to the percentages used showing the highest and lowest percentages ('Very Good' - 'Very Poor') it gives another story. For example, in 2004 the percentage for Event Signposting showing 'Very Poor' was scored by only 5.8% of people - which is not very high / low. Reviewing all Festivals, those who scored 'Very Poor' is nominal in almost all sections, with the highest being 11.7% of people in 2012 scoring Event Signposting as being 'Very Poor.'

Table.6.2 Satisfaction with the Biennial ‘Very Good’ / ‘Very Poor’ Percentages

	2004		2010		2012	
	VG	VP	VG	VP	VG	VP
Value for money	84.4%	0%	86.4%	0.2%	83.2%	
Event organisation and staff	66.3%	0.5%	69.3%	0.2%	59.4%	
Suitability of the venue	66.1%	0.2%	58.7%	0.2%	56.6%	
Overall enjoyment	70.6%	0.1%	59.6%	1.8%	51.1%	3.9%
Event quality	67.4%	0.4%	57.1%	1.5%	48.8%	
Event publicity / promotion	22.4%	6.5%	28.3%	7.7%	21.2%	9.7%
Visitor centre / Biennial centre			30.1%	2.9%		
Facilities provided	59.2%	0.1%			48.7%	
Event signposting	23.0%	5.8%	26.4%	6.9%	12.9%	11.7%

VG = Very Good, VP = Very Poor. 2006 and 2008 did not give percentage scores for Festivals

6.3 Signposting

Historically, event Signposting and Publicity / Promotion have been the weakest areas of the Festival. Table 6.1 shows the mean satisfaction scores of each Festival. This has been one of the main weaknesses since the Biennial’s inception. For example, Rees Leahy (2000) explains that the visibility – or rather, the relative invisibility – of the Biennial in the city was noted by contributors to the 1999 report. As one overseas artist commented ‘I did not feel that the city was “taken over,” which I believe was one of the aims’ (p.37).

Similarly, some potential visitors to non-gallery sites (including Exchange Flags) were frustrated by not being able to locate exhibitions due to the lack of street signage and banners at venues. Overall, there was a sense that the 1999 Biennial could – and should – have had a much greater presence on the streets. This was also a view shared within the City Council which could support the marketing and promotion of the Biennial by

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contributing human and structural resources (ibid, p.37). Morris Hargreaves McIntyre (2002) explained that the Vocationals group felt that banners and street-dressing were an important feature in helping people orientate themselves and giving a sense of cohesion to the event (p.17).

TEAM (Tourism Enterprise and Management) (2000) found that visitors had difficulty finding exhibitions in 1999 due to the lack of frontage of some of the exhibition spaces, which by their very nature were tucked away and easy to miss. Whilst visitors were appreciative of the effort to display art in unusual venues, more could have been done to draw attention to the exterior of these spaces to make them more obviously part of the Biennial. One visitor explained 'I didn't realise some of the things (that were on) but if I knew where they were, I would have gone. I liked the idea of it being away from galleries. It was in parts where you couldn't imagine there could be art there but if you couldn't find it then it's difficult' (ibid, p.9).

Participants in the focus groups conducted by TEAM were critical of the map leaflet, describing the type as illegible and the layout confusing. Some Tracey (local / independent) artists were annoyed that there was insufficient space to include their exhibitions, whereas cafes and bars were detailed. Others felt that it simply did not function as a practical guide to getting around the city. Overall, there was a sense that too much information had been over-designed into too little space (Rees Leahy 2000, p.36).

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In order to encourage more people, particularly those unfamiliar with Liverpool, to attend a range of exhibitions, attendees suggested that the idea of a trail could be developed for subsequent Festivals. TEAM suggested that this could prompt people to continue to the nearest exhibition, providing them with directions of how to get there and working in tandem with Biennial publicity information (2000, p.9).

However, a budget freeze from March - August 2002 meant that many of the proposed advertising opportunities were missed which resulted in missing discounted opportunities and high visibility outdoor opportunities because of the long lead-in time needed.

MHM (2002) explains that in 1999 the lack of clear venue signage was a problem for those visiting exhibitions in non-traditional spaces (mainly Independent sites). The solution to this was a partnership between Liverpool Design Initiative, Liverpool Vision, Northwest Development Agency (NWDA) and Liverpool Biennial. The solution again embraced the generic identity (Biennial Festival) whilst acknowledging individual strand identities (i.e. International, JM Painting Prize, New Contemporaries and Independents) in an illuminated flagpole system which enabled an attractive, high visibility scheme both at night and during the day. MHM (2002) research suggested that this scheme and other orientation initiatives such as the Biennial Guide and the Biennial website promoted cross fertilisation of audiences and helped build confidence to explore different areas of the city centre (MHM 2002, p.36).

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In 2004 the Biennial used two methods to increase the visibility of the Festival through signage and the use of orange boxes outside venues to indicate where shows were taking place. This was especially effective for venues that were not usually open to the public, and some tailored venue signage was designed for Tate, FACT, Bluecoat and Open Eye Gallery. Marketing staff from these partner organisations (see Appendix Thirteen) formed a network to develop the implementation of the umbrella marketing strategy by contributing a total of £18,000 towards the campaign.

Ninety-six city centre banners were used in 2004, half with Biennial information and half with Yoko Ono artworks. Ono's artwork caused a great deal of controversy in the local press and was reported widely in the national and international press (e.g. Israel and Korea). Arguably, the Biennial used a clever piece of marketing and had a huge success with the 2004 signage / branding with the Yoko Ono installations / banners⁸. *My Mummy was Beautiful / City Centre Banners* were placed around the city centre in the public realm. But even though Ono scored the lowest of all the artworks included within the Festival, with 2.71 (on the Likert Scale), she was responsible for generating a high volume of press activity in publications that otherwise would have been unlikely to feature the Biennial.

As a result of this, the 2004 Festival's media profile grew considerably, with the overall press coverage increasing by 171% from the 2002 event. The Biennial generated 573 press articles, of which eighty-four were in national daily / weekly publications, and 150 in

⁸ Ono donated £3,500 towards the Biennial

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national magazines, and attracted coverage in many overseas countries. The Biennial conducted a SWOT analysis which found that weaknesses included negative public responses to some of the high-profile projects and an inconsistent quality that could have weakened the brand. Some of the print had been considered weak as it presented too complex a picture of the event, and a lack of control over information created inconsistent publicity (Liverpool Biennial [2004] Evaluation Report, p.25).

ENWRS (2009a) explains this issue may be due to visitors being unable to find their way around the different components of the Biennial. Sometimes this was down to the map, or the lack of signage identifying the venues. Based on their estimate of 451,000 visitors (who in total made 975,000 visits to the Biennial 2008), approximately 6,800 people would have had problems navigating their way around (ENWRS 2009a, p.46).

In the Biennial's defence, the city is conceived as a gallery, and the very nature of the Festival is to create a cultural treasure hunt across the city – it is devised so visitors can discover the art and city at the same time. The objective of the Festival is to promote and open the city for tourism through art and culture. All other elements recorded a score above 4.00 which in itself would be equivalent to a net 'good' approval from the audience, giving an overall satisfaction for the Festivals.

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Biggs (2007) explains the idea was not so much as to dress or use the city as the gallery but to situate the art in places that create a cultural path:

In Festival-speak, people talk of 'dressing the city,' a notion that chimes with the nexus of ideas. We shouldn't try to dress the city; but that path on the map, the journey we are inviting visitors to travel, has to feel like a presence, has to be not a proposition but a personality within the crowded urban setting, so that you feel different when you step away from its embrace. (2008, p.17)

According to Biggs, the Biennial placed art around the city in order to create cultural tours for visitors. The Biennial and curators designed the Festival and the art it included to create personal journeys within the urban environment so that visitors experienced the art and city in unique ways.

6.4 Satisfaction with Exhibitions Visited

Respondents were asked to detail their enjoyment with the exhibitions they had attended, and the results are shown in Table 6.3. Once again, I have only included the organisations / groups that are consistently a part of each Festival as it would be impossible to include those that are specific to individual Festival years into one table. The mean scores that ENWRS use is as follows:

- Much worse than expected = 1
- Worse than expected = 2
- As expected = 3
- Better than expected = 4
- Much better than expected = 5

Using the Likert scale, a mean score was calculated; any score above 3.0 represents net satisfaction whilst any score below 3.0 represents net dissatisfaction. Note that 'don't knows' and refusals were excluded from this calculation. ENWRS explains that a key point is that the accuracy of the score is dependent on the proportion of respondents, indicating that they had actually visited it. Thus, all scores should be viewed with this in mind.

Table 6.3 Mean Ratings of the Exhibitions Visited by Festival

	1999	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
International					3.55*	3.50*	4.11*
Tate Liverpool			3.66	3.41	3.93	4.05	3.95
FACT			3.92	3.77	3.97	3.71	3.82
New Contemporaries					4.58	3.85	3.85
Bluecoat			3.40		3.69	3.77	3.89
John Moores					3.94	3.86	4.12
The Walker			4.13	3.83	3.94		4.26
Open Eye Gallery			3.49	3.68	3.65	3.48	3.78
Independents			3.84				

**Years that do not have a figure for International have an average figure by adding several exhibitions within one venue, divided by the number included to give approximation*

There were positive responses to a number of exhibitions each year with the highest scores recorded as follows:

- 2012 – Walker Art Gallery 4.26
- 2010 – Do Ho Suh 4.34
- 2008 – New Contemporaries 4.58
- 2006 – The Coach Shed 3.99
- 2004 – John Moores 23 4.13

The lowest mean scores per Festival were:

- 2012 - Metal 3.00
- 2010 – Esme Benczur 2.33
- 2008 – Yoko Ono 3.00
- 2006 – Out of the Bluecoat 3.22
- 2004 – Yoko Ono / Banners 2.71

Arguably, increasing visitor figures of the Festivals gives an indication of the success of the Biennial and the work presented. As Biggs (2015) explains, one of the Biennial's main objectives was to create an event of significant quality for the international art community (MHM 2002, p.6):

You have to set out to make a good exhibition – which is to keep faith with the art community, who are the core believers. Everything else is accidental. If we could make good exhibitions, then we knew we would help to make Liverpool a better place for artists to live and work. The only ambition was to make brilliant exhibitions. Exhibitions that are not attractive to a fairly large number of people are probably not good exhibitions. Certainly, if I consider the best exhibitions I've seen recently, I have had to struggle with many other people to get to see them. Tell me about an exhibition of brilliant artworks that has had no audience? So no, I never wanted to exhibit artists unless their work thrilled me. And if it thrilled me, there was a good chance it would thrill a fair number of other people (since I'm a very discriminating person and an art believer).

Biggs explains that the main focus was to create an event to the quality expected for their international peers. To do this, he looked for artists who excited him, and had confidence with his abilities and tastes that it would do the same for others. By creating great

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exhibitions for the Vocationals and international art community, it would help to make Liverpool a better place for artists to live and work.

The mission through all the Biennial's activities is 'engaging art, people, and place' (Liverpool Biennial 2011, p.3). This is done by commissioning artworks and other programmes collaboratively, in partnership with a myriad of organisations and individuals, from the city's established art institutions to community groups in local neighbourhoods. These activities find support from a range of local authorities, private trusts and regeneration agencies in the city region and beyond.

As previously stated, the Liverpool Biennial works towards ambitious educational objectives through a programme of activities developed within the context of the work they commission. The Biennial plays a key role in the ongoing development of Liverpool as a place for artists to learn, live and work and engage in discourse-based activity with peers locally, nationally, and internationally through workshops and talks. All of this work helps the public to develop a greater perception, understanding and enjoyment of art which is fundamental for the creation of intrinsic value, and intrinsic impact.

In many respects, it is impossible to quantify the true number of people who see parts of the Festival as, since the Biennial's inception, they have wanted to move the art out of a

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gallery setting and into the public realm. In a gallery setting, it is easy to count the flow of visitors, and buildings have a legal obligation due to fire regulations and monitoring the building's capacity at any one time. AJA (2009) provides a possible multiplier for audience figures on site, the 'social impact multiplier.' For example, street figures might suggest that 10,000 people walked past an artwork, but survey figures might have an average of 2.5, which could suggest that as many as 25,000 people could have been reached by the art. Figures need to be reported with a light touch, as indicative rather than definitive (2009, p.21).

For the first three Festivals that ENWRS conducted research for (2004 – 2008), they asked respondents what they liked most / least in that given Festival. Such questions can elicit ambiguous answers as there are a multitude of reasons for how someone responds on any given day. Without an explanation of why they liked something least or most, this does not reveal anything, nor prove that the artwork was considered of good quality. Not all artworks, especially in the biennial format, are created to be universally appreciated. Biggs (2015) explains 'If the art is NOT chosen for its ability to communicate, why choose it? The communication of something negative, however, is as much the function of good art as the communication of something positive. The most important quality of good art is that it communicates, it affects the viewer.'

According to Biggs (2015) 'great art tends to have many layers of meaning so that it can mean different things to different people, in a convincing way, and so gathers a large public

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in whom to have its life.' For Biggs, great art invites the visitor into becoming the co-creator in finding their own subjective meaning or aesthetic metaphor. Great art is open to translation and stimulates the viewer into discovering their own personal meaning by using sensual triggers based on their knowledge and experience.

6.5 Wording of Questions Concerning Satisfaction

The wording on this Likert Scale (5 'Much better than expected,' 4 'Better than expected,' 3 'Much as expected,' 2 'Worse than expected,' 1 'Much worse than expected') is not asking about the quality of the work or experience, but about the preconceived opinion of the respondent and their expectation of the work. This is a question based on the marketing of the work, how the work is described in the text etc., not the work or experience itself. This question is not about the respondent's opinion of the work (e.g. like / dislike), as previously asked during 2004 – 2008. The questions are designed to find out how successful the marketing and information was to prime the respondent before they experienced the work. For example, it was 'much better than expected' or 'much worse than expected.'

23.5% of people scored the Yoko Ono / City Centre Banners as 'Much worse than expected,' but 40.5% of people had indicated that the work was 'much as expected.' Biggs (2015) explains the importance of marketing and delivery of information:

It must be immediately attractive, and certainly not off-putting; and it must be sufficiently truthful to the experience that people actually have for them to feel

they are not being tricked. It's my belief that a good exhibition, like a good artwork, has as many meanings as there are people looking at it, and so the more narrowly conceived the exhibition the less space there is for the art or for the public to generate meaning.

For Biggs, the marketing information or descriptions of the exhibitions must be based on truth, but also need to be ambiguous enough to let each visitor create their own meaning. Too much information will stifle a visitor's creativity and imagination of the work and the cultural experience. The information must invite the person to connect with the art and motivate them to make meaning.

The Biennial does not tend to inquire about the visitor's intrinsic / cultural experience of the artworks within the Festival as these are between the viewer and object. For example, Smith (2015) explains:

Well, I think.... a long time ago I just came to the conclusion that essentially, art is going to be self-defined, you know. We have seen enough of it that people put a label on it and just say this is art. Now that's fine and I think you can do that but for me as an individual person, and not speaking as a representative of the Biennial. The question is, would someone else recognise that as having an effect on them in some way. And then that becomes art in some ways.

In a traditional sense, when a visitor encounters a work within a gallery environment, they invariably label it as art. But taken out of that white cube, out of the gallery setting, would an individual recognise it as art and assign it value? For this reason, the marketing of

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different works within a gallery and non-gallery setting within the Biennial would need to be different. The Biennial does focus on how well they have presented the marketing, the market reach, and the impact of their marketing campaign (see Appendix Twelve) - these are the nuts and bolts and efficiency of their curatorial work. Smith (2015) explains that the Biennial approaches the curation of the art in diverse ways that depend on the nature of the work:

Certainly, programme great art and then try and market it, but the best way of doing it is programming great art and then have a conversation with how that connects to people, and what do you want and sometimes.... that's the artist or the curators. You now have the people build it to begin with, sometimes that works pretty well. Sometimes you have got to have a communication with a campaign that lets people know that it is there. Sometimes you just have to do something like just putting it there so that people are just going to bump into it completely at random. Like when we put the lift in Liverpool One.... we measured how many people intended to come and see that but.... there were many times when the number of people were just in Liverpool One to do something else, and then some of them just walked past and didn't even notice it. They didn't even see it, but some of them walked past and suddenly they had an experience that day that was different from what they expected, and it was different from the other experiences they would have on a typical day.

For Smith, the marketing and information would provide 'intellectual access' to the exhibition for the general or specialist visitor and provide the hook for the marketing (Internal Report 2003, p.5). The majority of individuals that will walk past artworks in the public realm, render the artwork as invisible by sheer force of habit as public spaces are often unseen backdrops to daily life. But when a person looks up and discovers the work at random, it creates a memorable experience that can affect them. Brian McMasters in his 2008 report *Supporting Excellence in the Arts* suggests that 'excellence in culture occurs when an experience affects and changes an individual' (2008, p.9).

The Biennial helps the visitor experience through their marketing of the Festival's exhibitions and events, supplying the visitor with the relevant information, providing talks / seminars and workshops that can help interpret the work. The curators provide the tools / opportunities for visitors to have the best experience, but then it is up to the visitor. More qualitative research needs to be conducted on the process of cognition or how they got to the end result, by asking why people have cultural experiences, what elements aided / increased in this process, and enhanced the enjoyment and understanding of the work. The Biennial does considerable work at the beginning of the process (curation, marketing, education), however, this is not then continued through qualitative research on the more personal aesthetic / cultural experience.

As already suggested, cultural perception and cultural value are learned behaviours. Bydler (2004) explains that the knowledge that is gained from experience is the most important factor in developing an aesthetic / cultural perception:

It is clear that any method for interpreting biennials as well as artworks on display is a learned method. Even when formal education is offered, interpretations are in large part produced and circulated at a subcultural or regional level. Shared artistic values and interpretations pre-suppose a certain participation or group membership of people who share enough of a habitus to make up a community. (p.399)

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These skills are developed over time through constant participation, increasing knowledge and experience, and changing them from novice consumers, to frequent and then voracious consumers. Organisations like the Biennial need to encourage the consumer to build their knowledge and confidence; this will motivate individuals to return to cultural events, and to discuss the meaning of the work with confidence and describe the intrinsic value of the artwork.

Furthermore, given the perspectives on audience interactivity by members of the Biennial team, it could be argued that there should be a symbiosis in the learning / education between the visitor and Biennial, the giving and receiving of information / knowledge, and the visitor should be invited to take part in the co-creation of the aesthetic experience. For example, Smith (2015) explains that the Biennial creates many different opportunities to inform and educate their audiences so that they can appreciate and understand the art:

So, the idea about audiences and how audiences interact with the work.... so sometimes the audience acknowledges and sometimes the audience or member of the audience really profit and are really interested in having a higher level of knowledge and that's why we constantly keep doing a series of talks. Why we try and write articles and arrange publications or debates online. These people need that to lift them to that next level as it were. Other people.... what fits and what suits their life are quite different. We just need to make sure that they come into contact with the work because we can feel very confident that most of the work, we do will cause a reaction - it will cause some thought in people's minds. So, for me, the audience question is - how do we inform them? We try very hard to give them what they need to reach that universally recognised truth which is.... if you experience a Biennial and you have something else that you want, we try to give you a little sense of.... a fulfilment of that ambition.

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As Smith indicates here, from the beginning of the Biennial their objective has been to provide, maintain, improve, and advance education by cultivating and improving the public's taste in visual art. To do this, they organise, manage, provide or assist in the provision or management of lectures, seminars, masterclasses, study groups, competitions, prizes and scholarships to further the appreciation of, and cultivate the public's interest in the visual arts (Biennial Memorandum 1989, p.2).

6.6 Memorability

After listening to the Biennial's senior staff members (i.e. Biggs, Domela, and Smith), one could argue that a better way of measuring the impact that the art has on visitors would be on its memorability. This could be argued as having the greatest impact on a person and circumvents more nuanced preferences of taste, likes and dislikes. For example, Smith (2015) explains that the memorability of an artwork can be a valuable tool to measure the impact within the public realm:

In some of our evaluations, particularly in the public realm works. We ask 'is this the most memorable thing you have seen? That hour, that day, that week, that month, that year or ever, of course any one of those.... if someone answers yes to any one of those, then we have done our job. Obviously, what we really want is for people to see something that has long term, lasting memorability, and impact. But actually, it's just enough sometimes to give something that stays with them for a period of time. So those kind of questions about what do we do about, or how do we interact with them? Sometimes it's quite important that we interact with them with a degree of richness and intellectual rigour and sometimes it's not important. What is important is to just let people approach and take what they want.... or how they react.

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Smith argues that memorability is an effective tool with which to measure the impact that artworks have on the viewer, and the length of time that memory stays with the individual can evaluate / quantify the quality of the experience. The greater the experience, the more memorable it will be for visitors. As Biggs stated, he quickly forgets what does not interest him. However, the only time that the Biennial has asked about memorability was within the Annabel Jackson Associates (2009) report *Art in the Public and Digital Realms: Evaluation Toolkit for Liverpool Biennial and Arts Council England*.

In the report, 81.9% of web survey respondents said that the artworks were probably or definitely memorable. The respondents were asked 'were the public / digital artworks in the Liverpool Biennial memorable?' AJA used a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methodologies in several questionnaire models within the Evaluation Toolkit (e.g. closed questions like multiple-choice and open-ended questions). Respondents were asked to rate memorability on a five-point scale (Likert), the percentages were:

- Yes, definitely = 51.7%
- Yes, probably = 30.2%
- It depends = 10.7%
- Probably not = 6.2%
- Definitely not = 1.2% (AJA 2009, p.29)

The Evaluation Toolkit was written by Annabel Jackson Associates (AJA) and piloted with Liverpool Biennial, and other members of Visual Arts in Liverpool (VAiL). The Toolkit provided guidance and model questionnaires to help arts organisations and projects to increase the quality and consistency in their evaluations. The information from the Toolkit

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was intended to be used 'to engage larger audiences more deeply, to inform programming, and to attract more resources through a better-evidenced case' (AJA 2009, p.3).

The methodology conducted by AJA (2009) consisted of a web survey of Liverpool Biennial's *Turning the Place Over* and included information of the face-to-face surveys conducted through The Mersey Partnership to show the value of combining different evaluation methods. The website address for the survey was distributed through a number of group email lists including the '08 Card' mailing list: this was a list of people operated by Live Smart (which is owned by Merseytravel) which consisted of 60,000 people who signed up for information about the Capital of Culture activities in return for a discount card with offers from cultural partners. The source was somewhat biased towards individuals with an interest in the arts.

AJA (2009) received 536 replies they claimed as a valid response as a population of 60,000 required a sample size of 382 for a 95% confidence level (and a confidence interval of five) (p.23). Web survey respondents varied in their depth of engagement with the public / digital work, with only 57.4% of respondents making two or more visits specially to see the artworks. This was consistent with the later analysis that people were not generally professionals in the visual arts but interested members of the public.

AJA (2009) asked an open question about why they were memorable, and the answers were then quantified and classified. The most common response was that the artworks were memorable because they were original or different. However, there were many other reasons why the works were memorable. Overall, Table 6.4 demonstrated that art has many inherent advantages in terms of memorability. The concept of memorability provides insight into how a fleeting or unintentional contact with art can have a sustained and deep impact.

Table 6.4 Classification and Quantification of Comments on Memorability (Number of Comments (AJA 2009, p.30))

Comment	Number of Comments
Different	84
Imaginative / interesting	31
Emotional impact	31
Large scale	18
Shared experience	13
Thought provoking	10
Variety	10
Unexpected	9
Quality	5
Press coverage	5
Ambitious	4
Colourful	3
Made effort to see	2

Biggs (2008) talks about the physical involvement of the visitor, a physical involvement creating emotional commitment and therefore memory (an emotional trigger being an important part of memory). The huge challenge of a show set in an urban environment is to use that environment convincingly to frame an experience (2008, p.17). AJA (2009) explains

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the need to ask about the memorability of the work 'to show how brief encounters can have an enduring impact. There is psychological literature on memory suggesting that vivid, sense-based, emotional experiences are more memorable: all of which are features common in the arts' (p.21).

Since this AJA research (2009) there has been a growing body of research that uses the memorability of an experience as a measure of success. This has resulted in increasing recognition of the significance of memorable tourism experiences among both tourist experience researchers and tourism professionals (Tung and Ritchie 2011, Kim and Ritchie 2014, Aroeira, Dantas, and Gosling 2016). Memorable Tourism Experience (MTE) refers to the memory of visitors, particularly their feelings and emotions experienced during a tourism activity.

For example, Kim (2009) made the first attempt to develop a measurement instrument for MTEs by using a sample of college students and published the results in a series of papers (e.g. Kim 2010, Kim et al 2012). Whether in qualitative or quantitative studies, MTE is complex and multidimensional, and is composed of several representative dimensions for the tourism experience. But the sensations and feelings arising from the experiences can be seen as a constant in making and measuring MTEs, and these are both components that make up the aesthetic experience.

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According to Biggs (2015), he tried to steer his colleague curators to consider the aesthetics of art (the sensual experience of art) because sensual experience remains an important way to access art and is always a component of what he saw as 'the best art.' For Biggs, it is impossible for art to communicate to people of different cultures, for instance, without a sensual component, because the exercise of the human senses is what underlies all the different cultures in the world.

What this suggests is that we remember things that we engage with and find stimulating and forget the things that we do not. For example, Biggs (2015) explains 'like everyone, I quickly forget what does not interest me.' Memorability therefore would potentially be an effective measurement of successful art and cultural experiences.

Given the emphasis placed on memorability above, it is striking that the ENWRS Biennial Festival evaluation reports did not ask questions about it. Memorability has never been asked in any of the Festival's evaluation reports; what has been asked is Satisfaction (using a Likert scale of 1 = very poor, to 5 = very good), or rating the exhibitions within the Festival using a Likert scale that uses 1 = much worse than expected, to 5 = much better than expected. Neither of these scales comes near to asking if it is the most memorable thing you have seen on any time scale. These scales either answer Satisfaction, or the quality of the marketing to inform and prime the visitor before visitation (much better than expected, or much worse). ENWRS has used quantitative methodologies as market research to measure the visitor's customer service on their visit to the Festivals.

Arguably, this could be seen as being problematic, because at a base level, the use of Satisfaction in the Biennial's evaluation reports, reduces consumer opinions down to a like or dislike button within social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, etc.). I would argue that if they were interested in this simplistic form of research (only two polar choices – like - dislike, good / bad, etc.), why not include memorability? The ENWRS approach ignores all the nuances that make up opinions, thoughts and feelings that make up the human condition and experiences (e.g. art helps humans contextualise their experiences and allows us to have a deeper understanding of our emotions, increasing self-awareness and connects them to others through the expression of shared identity). Culture and the goods that are created for the purpose of creating intellectual, emotional reactions are tools to express feelings, information and a narrative that the artist uses as a visual language that far transcends satisfaction, likes, and dislikes. Art and culture contain complexities that need greater explanation than a thoughtless, immediate click.

Art is accumulative in that the more effort applied to investigating the perception of artworks equates to more rewards and value attached to the subsequent cultural value (e.g. Ikea Effect or effort justification / heuristic, which demonstrates that the more effort someone puts into something, the more someone will value it - see Kruger et al 2004). The exploration of the value that participants attach to their own labour is part of a broader trend in research exploring the psychology underlying consumer involvement, as companies have shifted in recent years from viewing customers as recipients of value to viewing them as co-creators of value (Firat, Dholakia, and Venkatesh 1995, Holbrook and Hirschman 1982, Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2000, 2002, Vargo and Lusch 2004).

These results have implications for organisations seeking to maximise customer satisfaction and creating an optimal cultural experience. In many instances, a person's dislike of a cultural object is the artist's intention as they express political and global issues. This is potentially a good thing as it introduces the consumer to controversial subjects, challenging the viewer to new issues and the lives of people or artists. It is a way of storytelling, a visual narrative into their lives. One might argue, like or dislike, if it motivates the viewer to give an opinion, or create an emotional reaction, the cultural good has done its job.

According to Biggs, for art to be 'good' it needs to reach and communicate to as many people as possible. To do this, it must have many layers of meaning so that it can mean different things to different people. For Biggs (2015) 'if the art is NOT chosen for its ability to communicate, why choose it? The communication of something negative, however, is as much the function of good art as the communication of something positive. The most important quality of good art is that it communicates, it affects the viewer.' What Biggs is arguing is that great art needs to engage the viewer and stimulate some form of emotion, good or bad.

For example, in 2004, Yoko Ono's *My Mummy Was Beautiful / City Centre Banners* were placed around the city centre in the public realm but scored the lowest of all the artworks included within the Festival, with 2.71 (on the Likert Scale). The Liverpool Echo printed that nine out of ten people had said 'no to Yoko Ono.' Hundreds of people called the Echo's

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phone and text poll, asking whether the controversial work should be on the street, in an art gallery, or in the bin.

Biggs (2017) explains that the number of responses that the work generated is a greater measure of success (i.e. the viewer was affected by the art) than a satisfaction rating:

I don't know what your data suggests about Yoko Ono's work in 2004 - 'well received' or not, although I suspect it was 'not.' The editor of the Post and Echo told me that Yoko's work in 2004 stimulated the largest and longest correspondence that has ever taken place in those papers. More than any political or football event, for instance. It also brought me a death threat, not a very serious one. Those are not the only reasons I regard it as one of the most successful artworks I have ever curated, but it is one good indicator of 'effectiveness.' Mike Storey of LCC at that time, supported it by refusing to take down the banners on LCC sites, and sometime later he said he regarded it as one of the most important preparations for Liverpool's year as ECoC. So, I have to question your methodology in which the potential improvement of curating methods is linked to feedback about 'satisfaction levels' among those who completed questionnaires. As a visitor to an exhibition, I may award a 'satisfaction rating' to an artwork that reflects my reaction on that day to that artwork. As a curator, my concern is with a much larger frame of reference, including (in the case of Liverpool Biennial) the cultural development of a city. As you are aware, Yoko Ono is a feminist and peace campaigner as well as being an artist. It would be extremely surprising if her work, which campaigns for change, received high 'satisfaction ratings' from the people she is trying to change, against their will and vested interests - people hate change. Mike Story knew the people of Liverpool would have to change (their racism, religious bigotry and xenophobia, which were apparent in the letters published by the Echo-as you will have read in your research) if we were going to have a successful ECoC.

To this day, Biggs regards *My Mummy was Beautiful* as one of the most successful artworks that he has ever curated, as great art stimulates emotions and generates debates.

The Likert scale used in the Biennial reports is appropriate for certain types of market research questions when looking for consumer tastes, but for subjects such as culture and cultural goods, they fall short. The perception of cultural goods and the intrinsic value placed on them need further research. Biggs, Domela, and Smith all discuss the quality of art, not one of them talks about satisfaction. As I have discussed, satisfaction of visit is market research question about customer service, which is valid as organisations need to find out about the service industry part of their work (i.e. venues and the staff who work there). This is very important for the overall customer experience. But, quality art, or the quality of art, and the way that it affects the visitor as a memorable cultural experience needs a qualitative methodology.

6.7 Quality of Art

I have shown that there are several factors that can influence the consumer's ability to perceive, including motivation and expectation. Both can be controlled to an extent by the marketing and the delivery of information pertaining to the artist and exhibition.

Csikszentmihalyi (1975) developed research into flow states which are the optimum states that will only happen when a person is mentally challenged, and it is an addictive state that fuels participants to search out new, exciting challenges. The problem is how to cater to all levels of competence. It is what I describe as the Goldilocks conundrum: if the challenge is too great, it will not happen and destroy confidence in the viewer's ability; if it is not enough, the viewer becomes bored as they are not stimulated / challenged enough – the information / problem must be just right for that individual's competence. For example, Biggs (2011) explains that 'art that provides a rewarding or challenging personal experience

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– which mainly accounts for why many people are prepared to spend their valuable time in the presence of an artwork’ (p.7).

According to Smith, the audiences for the Biennial have always had varying levels of knowledge and experience, so it would be impossible to cater for each of them. Smith (2015) explains:

There is a highly intellectual value of art, or the person who just walks up the road who has no interest in visual art whatsoever, and thinks it’s all rubbish but, they see a piece at random while they are out shopping for their four-year-old daughter and that artwork lifts them out of where they were. Those two things to me are equally valid. They are very different things and if you sat down and designed something you could never design something that would meet those two criteria.

For Smith, the Biennial presents many different types of art that can cater for diverse audiences. For example, there will be work with a high intellectual value that can cater for Vocationals (I.e. ‘professional or academic involvement with the arts,’ MHM 2002, p.8), also work with varying complexities that can be enjoyed by the different audiences, and public work that will appeal to the general public that has no interest in visiting the galleries and exhibitions. There is not the time, money or resources to design something to appeal to each individual’s level of cultural perception (knowledge and experience), but the Festival includes an incredible variety of events and exhibitions that they know is impossible for people to see everything in one or even multiple visits. But people will be visiting the city at different times throughout the Festival period, so the Biennial presents an active timetable of events that they promote through their marketing and publicity.

To appeal to the different audiences, the 'curatorial marketing,' or how the artworks are described is important, as in most cases they are the first contact a visitor will have with the art and the main influence for visiting the art (priming). Biggs (2015) goes on to clarify:

This is the same as any other marketing: it must be immediately attractive, and certainly not off-putting; and it must be sufficiently truthful to the experience that people actually have for them to feel they are not being tricked. It's my belief that a good exhibition, like a good artwork, has as many meanings as there are people looking at it, and so the more narrowly conceived the exhibition the less space there is for the art or for the public to generate meaning.

For Biggs, the aim of the Biennial is to provide as much variety as possible if the objective is to reach different (kinds of) people – to speak in the language of the receiver. To do this, the Biennial presents artists' talks throughout the Festivals so that visitors can learn about the artists and their work. The only problem with this is that the talks and presentations are very academic in nature and not for the general public. Smith (2015) explains the Biennial has always looked towards the ways that audiences are equipped to perceive and understand the art:

So, the idea about audiences and how audiences interact with the work.... so sometimes the audience acknowledges and sometimes the audience or member of the audience really profit and are really interested in having a higher level of knowledge and that's why we constantly keep doing a series of talks. Why we try and write articles and arrange publications or debates online. These people need that to lift them to that next level as it were. Other people.... what fits and what suits their life are quite different. We just need to make sure that they come into contact with the work because we can feel very confident that most of the work, we do will cause a reaction - it will cause some thought in people's minds. So, for me, the audience question is - how do we inform them? We try very hard to give

them what they need to reach that universally recognised truth which is.... if you experience a Biennial and you have something else that you want, we try to give you a little sense of.... a fulfilment of that ambition.

According to Smith, the Festival's curatorial team tries to cater to audiences with varying levels of knowledge, from the Vocationals who work within, or are studying the arts, to the novices who have little or no knowledge. They offer different ways that could educate or enrich a visitor's experience of the Festival.

Arguably, situated learning is the best way to present and discuss the work for people with little or no knowledge, where the work is not only explained but discussed in situ. This offers a different form of learning that is not only participatory but is more personal and entertaining. Therefore, the Biennial conducts several tours each week of the Festival, hosted by curators, artists, and Biennial staff who each present the work from their own personal perspective. The tours are purposefully kept to small groups and each tour is unique in presentation, you could take several tours and learn different things from each one. These tours are different in personality and tone as each tour guide gives their own individual perceptions of the work and are presented in a more relaxed atmosphere, a meeting place or forum where visitors are encouraged to contribute and discuss their opinions in a creative, safe environment.

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For example, Smith (2015) explains the Biennial has always tried to develop partnerships and strengthen the cultural infrastructure of organisations within Liverpool:

About the start of the Liverpool Biennial. The idea, you might have noticed was to use the words like meeting place, and the sum is greater than its parts. From the very first inclination, the idea was that if you created, not just an exhibition but kind of event or events around that and meeting spaces you would draw in and exchange ideas that make things happen, and it's been there ever since.

Smith explains that one of the ideas for the Festival has been about a moment in time, a culmination of different elements that create a unique experience (unique in the sense that it is happening in Liverpool, at that time). The Biennial works as an umbrella organisation, not only in the collection of partnerships under the banner of the Biennial Festival, but as a meeting place of collective ideas that can generate new concepts, dialogues, experiences and knowledge. The Biennial Festival attracts academics from different fields through symposia, conferences and workshops to invite academic debate and the development of new knowledge.

Jones (2010) describes biennial culture as a shorthand term to designate the contemporary appetite for art as experience - and biennials are the event structures where this taste has been cultivated, and its aesthetic codified and defined (p.69). As I have already suggested, cultural perception and cultural value are learned behaviours. Bydler (2004) explains that participation and experience are important to developing the skills needed to appreciate biennial art:

It is clear that any method for interpreting biennials as well as artworks on display is a learned method. Even when formal education is offered, interpretations are in large part produced and circulated at a subcultural or regional level. Shared artistic values and interpretations pre-suppose a certain participation or group membership of people who share enough of a habitus to make up a community. (p.399)

For Bydler, these skills are developed over time through constant participation, increasing knowledge and experience, and changing the individual from a novice consumer to a frequent and then voracious consumer. This suggests that institutions, like the Biennial, need to encourage the consumer to build their knowledge and confidence of contemporary art as this will motivate individuals to return to cultural events, and to discuss the meaning of the work with confidence and describe the intrinsic value of the artwork.

Positive experiences will influence future participation and continued involvement. The form that the initial involvement takes can also be important to future behaviour and attitudes towards the arts in general. If their early creative experience had brought pleasure and recognition, it is an ideal gateway for future arts experience, enabling audiences (if they so choose) to gain confidence by learning underlying techniques and begin to develop their perception and to discriminate and measure quality and value.

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Domela (2015) explains how the Biennial had faith in the abilities of the curators and their chosen artists: 'That was another thing that excited me about the Biennial. That you commission works, basically put your trust in an artist on what they have done, and you hope that you get something as exciting or more exciting.' So, the Biennial did not hinder the artists' creativity by stipulating rigid rules and regulations when commissioning new work. They invited artists to Liverpool so that they could be introduced to Liverpool and the work was inspired by the environment, they then trusted the artists' imagination and creativity whose work had something to say in the Liverpool context.

Domela (2015) describes the problem that the Biennial found from moving the art from the traditional white cube of the gallery, into the public realm and disused buildings:

The fact that you are trying to do something new, and I think that's not just in Liverpool. So, nationally we were doing something new, and also internationally we were doing something new. By trying to sort of make a culmination between the experience of a place which the project took place, and you know the individual artworks and trying to sort of have these two experiences. That's something now that it is a little bit more established perhaps even though it is difficult for the critics.... the convention is to see an artwork in isolation, that is the convention, right?... A public space becomes sort of part of the work, it is almost like the mise-en-scene of the work, and I think we tried to do that.... there was this conversation made active.... so, the context was not so silent - it was active so intruding in a sense.... of the experience of the work. A robust mixing, there wasn't a smelting together and that for a lot of the critics was so difficult. You saw them give up halfway through (laugh).

What Domela is arguing is the difficulties they faced in the beginning by using the public realm to integrate the art into the urban environment. It was by combining the two

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different realms of experience that they were doing something new, which at the time, critics found difficult.

So, one must ask – what is the difference in the public's / professionals' value judgements?

AJA (2009) explains that public art practitioners have tended to be cautious about evaluation and there is very little formal evaluation of public art. AJA started with a review of sixty reports on public art and found that most focused on process evaluation for internal consumption rather than impact analysis. What AJA found was that the quality of existing evaluations was generally disappointing, but a small number of reports, including those by Liverpool Biennial and other Visual Arts in Liverpool (VAiL) members, showed what could be achieved (p.4).

For example, Richard Wilson's (2007) *Turning the Place Over*, or Do Ho Suh (2010, scoring the highest in the Festival at 4.34) wedging a scale model of his Korean family home in-between two buildings on Duke Street, or the humour of caging the lions outside St. Georges Hall (Rigo 23, 2006). These artworks take the ordinary and make them extraordinary, something that the Biennial has aimed to do. Domela (2015) explains that he liked the juxtaposition of putting the unusual within the normal, urban, known environment so that it created memorable experiences within the public realm:

I have always liked this sort of incongruity. You put a house wedged in-between two existing houses. A Korean tea house as with Do Ho Su, or you cage the Lions outside St. Georges Hall. Or you make the façade of a building turn in the most

unlikely way like Richard Wilson, and something really changed there because it's so.... it's not about being weird, it's not about being out there.... it's about being out of the ordinary in a thoughtful way you know, it sort of.... it kind of makes sense but it doesn't and there is this kind of.... kind of leap that occurs. This slight shift and that excites me.... I think people find it lots of fun.

Domela explains that putting these spectacles within the public realm, for the general public to experience, can invite people who would never go to an art gallery to experience contemporary art. It was always important for the Biennial to move the art out of the gallery and into the public realm by using the urban environment as the setting for people to experience art. Or in many cases, people will not know or intentionally seek out the art, and in that respect, they get to discover something at random in the context of their normal life. As Smith (2015) explains:

Sometimes you just have to do something like just putting it there so that people are just going to bump into it completely at random.... Some of them (visitors) just walked past and didn't even notice it. They didn't even see it, but some of them walked past and suddenly they had an experience that day that was different from what they expected, and it was different from the other experiences they would have on a typical day.... ambition of lifting that those people who direct themselves to the Biennial want to be or are (if we do our jobs right) are lifted above someplace that they are now.

According to Smith, many people will not be in Liverpool for, or know about, the Biennial (these people choose 'Other' as their main reason in the ENWRS research). Many will be in the city for other reasons (e.g. work, shopping), and will discover work at random, and potentially have an experience that will affect them and be memorable. These experiences

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are special and can introduce people to contemporary art and motivate them to discover more.

AJA (2009) explains that there are different ways in which audiences can have contact with public art. It can be intentional or accidental, conscious or subconscious, direct or indirect. The audience typically includes people who travel specifically to see or take part in public art, people who use the space of which it is a part and people who drive or walk past it without conscious awareness of its presence (p.4).

Works of art can evoke the meaning of a place or local community. But places and the people who live there can also add meaning to art. These meanings, given and accrued, can live on in a place even if the works are temporary and do not remain. The art experience is remembered, and the place is forever changed. AJA (2009) explains that the reactions to public art evolve over time. For example, reactions might be initially strong and highly negative but then evolve over time to become highly positive. Similarly, take-up of digital representations can experience exponential growth in take-up long after the original presentation (AJA 2009, p.4).

For example, in 2010 the Esme Benczur installation at the Futurist cinema was just as much about place as it was the artist's concept and the memories attached to it. The work was a

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mixed media outdoor installation in a disused building on Lime Street, that was once the home of the Futurist Cinema (the building was used as part of the Independent strand of the 2004 Biennial with 41.2% agreeing it was much better than expected).

For artworks within the Biennial, the environment in which the work is placed is integral to the understanding and appreciation of the work. In these instances, background knowledge of the building or environment will enhance the understanding and impact of the cultural experience. Culture creates emotional reactions, and how an organisation presents the work plays a major factor in portraying the artwork's meaning and understanding and generating emotional responses.

The impact of emotion on learning processes is the focus of many current studies. Although it is well established that emotions influence memory retention and recall, in terms of learning, the question of emotional impacts remains uncertain. Some studies report that positive emotions facilitate learning and contribute to academic achievement, being mediated by the levels of self-motivation and satisfaction with learning materials (Um et al 2012). Therefore, emotionally enhanced memory functions have been reported in relation to selective attention elicited by emotionally salient (e.g. aesthetic stimuli, senses) stimuli (Vuilleumier, 2005, Schupp et al, 2007) within the cultural experience. During the initial stages of perception such as experiencing art, attention will be biased toward emotionally salient information that supports detection by the salient input. Thus, stimulating selective

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attention (aesthetic judgement) increases the likelihood for emotional information to become encoded in Long Term Memory (LTM).

According to Biggs (2015) explains, 'sensual experience remains an important way to access art, and is always a component of "the best art." It is impossible for art to communicate to people of different cultures, for instance, without a sensual component, because the exercise of the human senses is what underlies all the different cultures in the world.' Despite the language barriers of different cultures, all humans experience the same emotions and sensual experiences. Because of this, the arts can communicate to all cultures through the universal language of the senses and emotions. Art can connect and move people through their perceptions of the human senses.

6.8 Attitudes Towards the Biennial

A measure of success is how people relate to or feel about an event or organisation. Civic pride can be measured (i.e. Stated Preference Technique) for success even if the respondent does not attend or take part in the event. This can be seen as a 'bequest value' (Pearce and Ozdemiroglu 2002, pp.30-34, Brooks 2004, pp.275-284, O'Brien 2010, p.23), which is the value derived today from the expected enjoyment of the art by future generations. (Also see Chapter Three)

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MHM (2002) found the vast majority of potential attenders (87%) felt 'very strongly' that the Biennial is the sort of event that Liverpool should be hosting. This support was equally strong amongst the outer districts as it was in Liverpool itself and indicated popular support for Liverpool holding significant international events. This support was constant even amongst the potential attenders who were unsure whether the Biennial was for them. For example, bequest value relates to the option of engaging in a cultural good or service in the future, or what O'Brien (2010) describes as non-use value, which is particularly important as this measurement aims to capture benefits such as the pride people feel towards a local cultural organisation or the importance people attach to the existence of heritage, despite it not being a subject of direct interest to them (O'Brien 2010, pp.23-24).

When provided with positive statements to agree or disagree with about the next Biennial, people were keen to agree. MHM (2002) asked respondents to identify one single priority for the Biennial (these are illustrated in brackets):

- 78% agreed strongly that it would be an exciting addition to the city's cultural infrastructure (9%)
- 70% agreed strongly that it would be a way of developing a new audience for contemporary visual art in Liverpool (12%)
- 84% agreed strongly that it would offer a chance for new artists to show their work (12%)
- 69% agreed strongly that local people would be proud of the event (12%) 'I would feel very proud especially if I was from Liverpool' (Traditional)
- 84% agreed strongly that it would attract new visitors to the city (53%) (MHM 2002, p.34)

The MHM (2002) survey found that the majority of the potential audience felt that the Biennial could and should attract new visitors to Liverpool. The public opinion in their

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qualitative research supported the view of many of the stakeholders that were interviewed.

Not all opinions were positive:

- 34% of the potential audience agreed (mostly slightly) that the Biennial would be irrelevant to most people in Liverpool – this was particularly the case for people living in Liverpool (43%)
- Although 61% of the potential audience disagreed that the Biennial was for visual arts specialists alone as there was some concern that the Festival would be for art specialists (10% agreed that it would) (MHM 2002, p.35)

ENWRS asked respondents a set of statements about the Biennial, in order to gauge their attitude and perceptions of the event. Although ENWRS showed a series of charts in 2008 to indicate the overall numbers, together with a comparison to the recorded responses in 2004 and 2006, the figures displayed for 2004 are completely wrong. For a comparison of the figures given in 2004 and 2008 (for 2004), I will display a * for the incorrect figures in 2008. Respondents were asked to state to what extent on a scale of 1 to 5 they agreed with a range of statements regarding the Biennial and visual art. Table 6.5 shows the results with the 'don't know' answers removed.

In general, agreement tended to be higher from those who were in the city mainly to attend the Biennial. For example, in 2008 98% of those in Liverpool mainly to attend the Biennial thought it was an exciting event for Liverpool, compared to the 79% in Table 6.5. There was a significant increase in the proportion agreeing that the Biennial 2008 was something the city should be proud of (98%). Both of these may have been somewhat buoyed, especially in the opinions of residents, by the Capital of Culture.

Table 6.5 Attitudes Towards the Biennial ‘Agree Strongly’

	1999	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
The Biennial will attract visitors to the city		84%	87% 81%*	82%	81%		
The Biennial is for the general public, not just for visual arts specialists			5%	79%	80%	75.2%	70.9%
Visual art plays a valuable role in my life			68% 65%*	69%	60%	62.1%	50.9%
The Biennial is something that people in Liverpool should be proud of		69%	89% 82%*	83%	89%		
The Biennial offers a chance for new artists to show their work		84%	90% 83%*	81%	81%		
The Biennial develops new audiences for contemporary art in Liverpool		70%	82% 75%*	73%	76%		
The Biennial is an exciting event for Liverpool		78%*	90% 85%*	78%	79%	80.2%	76.7%

*Agree strongly that it will be an exciting addition to the city’s cultural infrastructure

In 2004 one question is reversed, in that the Biennial is just for visual arts specialists and not for the general public. In 2012 all three statements showed high levels of net agreement (Agree Strongly and Agree Slightly combined):

- The lowest agreement came from ‘Visual art plays a valuable role in my life’; ‘just’ 75% agreed with this statement, which may in part be connected to their knowledge of visual art, and the mean score calculated for this is 7.27. For those with little or no knowledge of visual art a particularly low score was calculated as 4.45
- 94% agreed with the statement ‘The Liverpool Biennial is for the general public, not just visual arts specialists’ (mean score of 8.80)
- The highest agreement went to the statement ‘Liverpool Biennial is an exciting event for Liverpool’ (96% agreeing and a mean score of 9.07). Even those who had little, or no knowledge of visual art showed agreement here, with a mean score of 8.13 (ENWRS 2013a, p.46)

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ENWRS has found that the response to the Biennial has always been positive, with most respondents strongly agreeing that it attracts visitors to the city (81% - 87%), it is an exciting event for Liverpool (76.7% - 90%), and that it is something the city should be proud of (83% - 89%). A very high proportion of visitors strongly agreed that the Biennial offered a chance for new artists to show their work (81% - 90%). A slightly lower proportion strongly agreed that the Biennial develops new audiences for contemporary art in Liverpool (73% - 82%). I would argue that an important question to continue would have been that the Biennial is something that the people of Liverpool should be proud of, but it was discontinued after the 2008 Festival and 2008 was an important year (and the five years leading up to the ECoC year) to instil civic pride in the city and its culture.

AJA (2009) explains that 82.0% of web survey respondents said that public / digital art like the Liverpool Biennial is definitely good for Liverpool. Only 1.4% said that it is probably or definitely bad for Liverpool. There was a strong consensus on the benefits of public / digital art. Respondents indicated that it raises the profile of Liverpool and gives the city a different, more positive image. Other positive responses were that: it makes the city itself more exciting and cosmopolitan, encourages people to talk to each other, makes people happy and gives a sense of occasion. It was also seen to bring visitors to the city and encourages them, and local people to explore different parts of the city and see them in a more positive way. Finally, it supports the arts in the city, which is good for artists and those interested in the arts. The few negative comments were about the cost of the show and the quality of the artworks (p.30).

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AJA (2009) used qualitative open questions to develop a classification system and then quantified the comments according to the categories. One comment could, and frequently did, tick more than one box (category). Below are the classification and quantification of comments on the impact on Liverpool:

- | | |
|---|-----|
| • Positive impact on reputation / image | 116 |
| • Positive impact on community | 101 |
| • Attracts visitors | 64 |
| • Improves the environment | 5 |
| • Makes art accessible | 52 |
| • Alienates local people | 5 |

The face-to-face survey asked for agreement or disagreement with statements about the Biennial. The responses were even more positive than the web survey. 97% of respondents agreed that Liverpool Biennial is something that people in Liverpool should be proud of, compared to 82% of the web respondents who said that Liverpool Biennial is good for Liverpool (AJA 2009, p.31).

The Liverpool Biennial has been shaped by two early decisions: to concentrate on commissioning new art for the exhibition, and to enable a strong, collaborative involvement by the curators based in the city in the commissioning process. These decisions set Liverpool Biennial (after 1999) apart from many biennials globally, in which the norm has been for a 'nomadic' curator to be invited to propose a theme and select an exhibition to illustrate it from his or her knowledge of existing artworks. The process of collaborative commissioning (inviting external curators to work with 'home' curators)

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established by Liverpool Biennial has encouraged artists to become aware of the physical and cultural specificities of the city in which they are placing their work.

Smith (2015) explains that what he found authentic in the Biennial's original formation was that, instead of just creating something new, there was an amalgamation of different established events that strengthened their ideas of a contemporary arts festival, and improve the perception of Liverpool:

One of the elements of the original formation of the Biennial was.... which seemed quite authentic, was this desire to take something that was already happening. So, the John Moores Prize had been supported by the Moores family for a very long time. New Contemporaries had been around for a long time.... and James Moores in particular, Jane Casey, Bryan Biggs, and Lewis. They certainly looked and said actually.... is there a chance to take those existing things and add a layer of commissioning on top of that....? And make a meeting space and make a lot more art happen that would not happen in any one of those things.... to create something that is greater than that.... than all its parts. But that idea was carried from the beginning of the Biennial and shows in all the things that we do.

From the beginning, then, the Biennial was about collaboration, as one of its main objectives was to strengthen the arts infrastructure (buildings, funding, organisations) and profession (artists, curators, arts administrators, networking) in Liverpool, and develop these through partnership (MHM 2002, p.6).

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According to Domela the way that the Biennial commissioned work in the public domain changed the way that people viewed the city. This was a way to bring the art to the public who would not normally visit a gallery. For Domela (2015):

The imagination of the public work, particularly the way that we commissioned artists to work in the public domain, in the public space, really changed the idea for the people of what the city could be.... and do something on the street because I think that would work for me that the strength of the Biennial was really visible you know, on the street, in public spaces for people who may not normally want to go out to the Tate, or the Bluecoat, or FACT for example.... I have always liked this sort of incongruity. You put a house wedged in-between two existing houses. A Korean tea house or you cage the Lions (outside St. Georges Hall) as with Do Ho Su, and Rigo 23. Or you make the façade of a building turn in the most unlikely way like Richard Wilson, and something really changed there because it's so.... it's not about being weird, it's not about being out there.... it's about being out of the ordinary in a thoughtful way you know, it's sort of.... it kind of makes sense but it doesn't and there is this kind of.... leap that occurs. This slight shift and that excites me.

For Domela, this is one of the strengths of the Biennial, as it takes the extraordinary and places it in the public realm. Smith (2015) explains that the Biennial has always liked the juxtaposition of placing the unusual within the everyday normal environment and letting people just discover it at random:

Sometimes you just have to do something like just putting it there so that people are just going to bump into it completely at random. Like when we put the lift in Liverpool One.... we measured how many people intended to come and see that but.... there were many times when the number of people were just in Liverpool One to do something else, and then some of them just walked past and didn't even notice it. They didn't even see it, but some of them walked past and suddenly they had an experience that day that was different from what they expected, and it was different from the other experiences they would have on a typical day. So, to me, the artist never sat down and thought about those people but those people that bumped into that work and the fact that the piece was put in a place where they

could bump into it, are just as fundamentally a part of that artwork as anything else, just as much that needs to be recognised.

Even though the artist might not consider the audience and footfall, and it might appear that the Biennial placed things at random for the public to bump into, there is a lot of research and thought that goes into the choice of the artwork's placement. Whilst it may look random, it is thoroughly researched, as the Biennial curates experiences for the people who do not visit galleries and who are just out and about in the city. This chapter has illustrated that there are always going to be successes and failures with moving the art out of the gallery and into the street.

Bunting (2007) explains that the public felt that artists, arts organisations and arts funders need to take risks and were comfortable with the idea that not every project or idea will 'work' (p.17). I argue you cannot be formulaic and expect every artwork to be sensational. There have to be subtle degrees of spectacle, with some works needing more time to be processed and understood. Art should challenge us, and the general public will bring different levels of knowledge and cultural perception. This means that we need to witness different levels of visual stimuli and intellect, meaning some works will not be as successful as others.

6.9 Conclusion

This final chapter has discussed the remaining section of the ENWRS impact reports that deal with the visitor's satisfaction of the Festival as a measure of service quality, and the relationship between service quality and consumer satisfaction. Within this chapter, I have discussed the third type of cultural value (i.e. the intrinsic value of art) in the context of the Biennial's evaluation reports including the pilot studies conducted by LARC and Annabel Jackson Associates (LARC played a lead role in the programming of Liverpool's 2008 European Capital of Culture year) that focused more on the cultural / aesthetic experience by using qualitative methodologies to find out how, and why, art affects the visitor and determines their cultural experience of the Festival.

In this chapter, I have discussed the part of the evaluation and impact reports that deals with the more experiential effects of the Festivals, including the visitors' satisfaction of experience, and intrinsic value of the Festival and artworks. This data has been collated by England's Northwest Research Service (ENWRS), Baker Richards and WolfBrown commissioned by Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium (LARC), and Annabel Jackson Associates (AJA) for Liverpool Biennial and Arts Council England.

Arguably, the best way to describe the ethos of the Biennial can be seen in Lewis Biggs' introduction to the 2008 Festival. This was the pinnacle of everything that the Biennial had been working towards and was expressed during the European Capital of Culture year. Biggs described his whole philosophy about contemporary art in the conception of the

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MADE UP International show for the 2008 Biennial, as it was about the power of the imagination. Imagination to him is not knowledge, it is a vision inspired by or infused with passion.

The show (International) isn't about the factual business of knowledge production or knowledge transfer - it's not about knowledge at all, but about meaning. Knowledge becomes meaningful, and therefore powerful, when it's allied to emotion, connected to the world around it. That's the significance of the title of the show being a synonym for an emotion. I don't want art in the show that isn't passionate, that doesn't create emotion / meaning for the viewer. I want passionate art that cares about its content, art that shows that it cares through the craft with which it's put together. I want art that's made up like it's going out on a Friday night. (Biggs 2008, p.16)

These reports focus on different elements of the visitor experience such as intrinsic impact, visitor satisfaction, and memorability of the experience. The three reports that I have discussed are:

- LARC (2011) used questionnaires based on a fixed set of questions to measure intrinsic impact and included three constructs of Readiness – Context, Relevance, and Anticipation. The study explored six categories or types of intrinsic impact – Captivation, Intellectual Stimulation, Emotional Resonance, Spiritual Value, Aesthetic Growth, and Social Bonding
- ENWRS Evaluation Reports deal with institutional value that quantified customer services including visitor satisfaction of the Festival. The reports used Likert Scales to measure - value for money, event organisation and staff, suitability of the venue, facilities provided, event publicity and promotion, signposting
- Annabel Jackson Associates (2009) compiled an Evaluation Toolkit for collection audience data for art in the public and digital realms and recommended five methods including a mix of both quantitative and qualitative data. The report included two questionnaires that include both closed and open questions such as – was it one of the most interesting things you have seen (this hour, this morning, today, this week, this month, this year, ever), is the digital / public artwork memorable? which art works do you like best? Why? How did the work make you feel?

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Throughout this chapter, I have shown how all three Biennial reports have sections to measure the visitors' experience and use different methodologies. This is the most important thing, as visitors attend these events for the cultural / intrinsic experience. Biggs has expressed a belief in art as a pleasurable enterprise in which more can be achieved and enjoyed through a vision of what might be, than through a critical analysis of what already is. To a greater extent, this was apparent in the work within the Biennial, but some exhibits fell short or did not connect with the viewer. For Biggs, it was important for there to be a physical involvement of the visitor, creating emotional commitment and therefore memory (an emotional trigger being an important part of memory). The huge challenge of a show set in an urban environment is to use that environment convincingly to frame an experience (Biggs 2008, p.12).

Smith (2015) explained that the Biennial is about experience and a moment in time, and giving the potential of as many different, unique experiences as possible within each Festival. 'Liverpool Biennial isn't just about an exhibition or a set of exhibitions, it's about a space in time.... Our three aims are to make and present high-quality art which is measured by international peers to broaden and deepen our audience, so we want more people to see it, and we want them to have a deeper and richer experience when they do see it.'

Throughout this chapter and thesis, I have proposed that the Biennial needs to add a qualitative methodology that can be implemented to not only measure but promote and increase the visitors' experiences of the work within the Biennial's Festivals and public realm work.

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Since 2016, BOP Consulting have included a range of qualitative questions relating to 'additional' outcomes the Biennial may be creating for those attending and engaging with the artworks. This included measures of general satisfaction, as well as questions relating to the social experience of the Biennial, and whether it had any impact on attendees' subjective wellbeing.

The BOP evaluations have highlighted a range of ways that Liverpool Biennial achieves impact with both an 'engaged' audience, and those who have an experience of a Biennial artwork. BOP have additionally explored how the Biennial has an impact on the artists taking part, the mediators and volunteers working on the Biennial, on a range of partners across the city, and on the wider arts and cultural sector.

In addition to the survey data, BOP also conducted qualitative interviews (45 minutes) with 'strategic stakeholders' which included partner organisations alongside 'peer' organisations representing UK and international contemporary arts organisations and their supporters and funders. In addition, BOP also conducted 90-minute reflection and review sessions with Liverpool Biennial core staff exploring their perspectives in relation to the value of the Biennial and how it operates. Finally, they surveyed the mediators and volunteers who worked on the Biennial to explore what they gained from taking part - receiving twelve responses from mediators and eighteen responses from volunteers. As above, these are presented as indicative of perceptions of these groups rather than wholly representative (BOP 2016, pp.37-38).

In 2016, BOP recommended that splitting the audience between 'engaged' visitors and 'those who had a Biennial experience' was based on the best available data in terms of counted visitors as well as footfall across the city. However, BOP recommended that it may be of interest to the Biennial to further explore the nature and depth of experience of those interacting with an artwork 'incidentally.' This would require an alternative research methodology than the one adopted in the Festival evaluation. For 2018 BOP created a focus group made up of nine local residents with a casual interest in art and culture.

Thesis Conclusion

This thesis started with the question 'what is the cultural value of the Liverpool Biennial?' Throughout the thesis I have used the Biennial's own research to assess its value, the validity of its research evidence, and how it has been used to develop the organisation and subsequent Festivals. This research has documented how the Biennial's research, and the methodologies that have been implemented to evaluate its cultural output and year-round projects have contributed to the development / evolution of the organisation and its Festival from a niche event in 1999 that primarily attracted a Vocational audience (63% of attendees were vocationally involved in visual art), to a more broadly appealing Festival in 2012, with only 28.7% having specialist knowledge, 36.1% general knowledge, and 35.2% having little or no knowledge.

Also, audience surveys conducted by the Biennial (2012) have shown that there is an exceptional level of local awareness of the Biennial and that 68% of local residents were aware that the 2012 Festival was taking place and 96% of those asked believed that the Biennial is an important event for Liverpool. The breadth of the Biennial's reach has continually expanded and in 2012 62% of the audience was on their first ever visit to the Biennial. This was statistically similar to that seen at the previous Festivals, which shows the continuous development of new audiences. These statistics show how the Biennial has continuously worked since its inception with a vibrant public programme to help bring visual art to broad and diverse audiences. The public programme was created to deepen the engagement of these audiences with contemporary visual art to improve the city's arts infrastructure by providing rich experiences and learning.

Since the accession of New Labour to Government (1997) in the United Kingdom, policy statements became both politically charged and placed under a scrutiny of self-imposed audit, monitoring and assessment; the demand for impact results characterised New Labour's style of governance. Instrumental impact evaluations and performance measurements have been popular, as they are easier to quantify since they have a toolkit approach (Green Book) which one could argue as showing a positive bias to the organisation being evaluated. I have argued that there has been a tendency for the Liverpool Biennial to have Policy-Based Evidence (PBE) made to justify funding objectives instead of Evidence-Based Policy (EBP) which proposes that policy decisions should be based on, or informed by, rigorously established objective evidence.

For this thesis, I have conducted a number of key interviews with the three most influential and regular staff of the Biennial organisation during the period of my focus: Lewis Biggs (Artistic Director / Chief Executive 1999 - 2011), Paul Domela (Programme Director 2001 - 2013) and Paul Smith (Executive Director 2007 - 2019).

I have argued that too much research has focused on the instrumental quantitative impact of cultural events, as it is easier to quantify and be placed in an economic framework. In the case of Liverpool Biennial, I argue that the short-term instrumentalising necessity of such evaluations, which rely almost exclusively on city centre visitor numbers and

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economic impact would seem to be manifestly at odds with the long terms aims of the Biennial to enhance the broader cultural impact of its offer.

This research has discussed the history of the Liverpool Biennial and shown how they have implemented a number of methodologies to advance the progress that they have made to transform the organisation and their work from a small group of individuals and inexperienced staff that created a new and untested exhibition format. The research was applied to develop the organisation that transformed the Festival into the success that it is today. I have shown how they used qualitative methodologies in the beginning so they could understand their audience and the most effective / efficient way of presenting their cultural output (information, marketing, curation, etc.). The Evidence-Based Policy (EBP) research was proactive to begin with as they learnt the best ways to reach the different audiences, and the tools (e.g. vocabulary, design of marketing material etc.) that they needed to access and understand the artworks. This was all in line with the Biennial Charity's objective in 1998 to provide, maintain, improve, and advance education by cultivating and improving public tastes in the visual arts. The aim was to educate the public by the initiation and perpetuation of an International Arts Festival.

The Biennial has continued to develop this objective with their Education, Learning and Inclusion Programme as they have continued to organise, manage, provide, and assist in the provision or management of lectures, seminars, masterclasses, study groups, competitions, prizes and scholarships to further the appreciation of and cultivation of the

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public's interest in the visual arts. This year-round programme can be seen in the increase of visitor numbers, knowledge of visual art and demographics of the Festival's audiences.

As education is at the core of the Biennial's programme, it has developed partnerships with a number of educational institutions (i.e. primary / secondary schools, colleges, etc.) and community groups, incorporating cultural projects that included creativity in conjunction with international artists to develop exhibitions and catalogues as part of the Biennial. To do this, the Biennial wants to learn and work together with the city to support and develop new ideas of social change and action through art. The education programme includes family workshops, free learning resources and long-term partnerships with Liverpool schools. Participants are taught methods to enhance their perceptions of contemporary art and are encouraged to discuss and express their own personal perception of Biennial art.

I have shown how the Biennial conducts all year-round projects that include workshops that are conducted with Biennial mediators, teachers and artists. These programmes are developed to include participants in the creative process by learning new skills, including creative writing, critical thinking, aesthetic judgement and visual thinking strategies that can be applied to all aspects of life, not just for the appreciation of contemporary art and the cultural experience.

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Another applaudable distinction that sets aside the Biennial's work to short term social inclusion projects, is their consistency of working with previous participating organisations, schools and community groups. This develops trust, strengthens partnerships and educational content, sub-contracting employment to grass roots artists, teachers, and specialists building the local cultural infrastructure.

I have shown how the Biennial has conducted community-responsive arts programmes designed to assist audiences to develop their appreciation and understanding of visual culture. By showing how art works foster shared meaning, the research shows that attitudes towards place – such as a sense of belonging – are enhanced.

This research has discussed the history of the Liverpool Biennial and created an in-depth, investigation of the Festival's impacts and methodologies, and researched the Biennial as an organisation; its projects, Festivals and cultural impact to the city to create a robust, comprehensive study of the Liverpool Biennial's cultural value, and has made an original contribution to knowledge in three ways:

- The thesis provides a marker for academic research on the Biennial
- It undertakes a rigorous examination of the way that the Liverpool Biennial has researched its cultural programme and output to fit in line with cultural value methodologies that are a caveat for any organisation that is in receipt of public funding
- This thesis is the first and only place that has a complete history of the Liverpool Biennial's inception and growth, including all the projects conducted by the Liverpool Biennial within the years between, during, and after the International Biennial Festival for the duration of the period of Lewis Biggs' tenure as Director

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This is the first time that the Biennial's research and evaluations have been combined to give a comprehensive assessment of the methodologies that the Liverpool Biennial has used to develop their work - both within and outside the Festival period. This combination of methodologies can be a benchmark towards future research, evaluations and objectives of large scale publicly funded events, exhibitions and festivals.

After the first Biennial in 1999, Rees Leahy (2000) argued that setting joint objectives (at the outset of planning each successive event) with partners, funders and stakeholders would also help to embed the Biennial within the cultural, social and political life of Liverpool - and the UK. Criteria for evaluation and the use of evaluation as a tool for planning and delivery should be integral to the management of successive Biennials, rather than as a project commissioned after the event.

This thesis has explained how there was a need within Liverpool for strategies that could regenerate the city centre and attract in the economies from cultural tourists. I have discussed the inception of the Liverpool Biennial, and its motivations and aspirations for developing a visual arts festival in the city, and the structure and premise of each successive Festival. To begin, I have outlined the economic climate of Liverpool prior to the Festival's inception, and how the Liverpool Biennial has been used as a tool for regeneration in the post-industrial city.

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Liverpool Biennial has become embedded into Liverpool's cultural sector and works in partnership with myriad organisations and individuals on a year-round basis – from the city's established art institutions to community groups in local neighbourhoods. It uses the Festival as a catalyst for temporary and permanent commissions in the public realm – both in terms of funding and the calibre of artists it is able to attract. It has a specialist curatorial team to manage commissions in the public realm from beginning to end – from selecting the artists, to overseeing planning applications, community consultation and budgets – and although an autonomous organisation, it works closely with regeneration agencies (such as Housing Market Renewal and Liverpool Vision) to help ensure its direction is focused and in-line with the city's needs.

I have then explained each Biennial Festival and shown how the different types of quantitative and qualitative methodologies were used / developed during subsequent Liverpool Biennial impact and evaluation reports for cultural value throughout the rest of the thesis. This is the first time that the Biennial has been the focus of rigorous academic research as I have shown how their evaluation research has been used to develop the organisation from a very small niche organisation into the success that it is today.

Whilst there is clearly not one method of valuation that can be applied universally across a range of cultural events that can work exclusively to any given cultural event, I argue that the Liverpool Biennial is representative of a clear problem that is shared by many similar art festivals: the almost exclusive application of quantitative forms of data capture and

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collation for events that aim to add 'cultural value' to the lives of a broad range of local, regional, national and international participants.

For example, the Cultural Value Project explains that in considering the different methodologies used, it is important to recognise that research and evaluation have different objectives. Research carried out in an academic setting aims at improving our understanding of how cultural value is constituted and captured, seeking to understand better the experiences or effects associated with arts and culture. Whether through precise case studies or large-scale data analysis, the findings of the research are intended to offer more general conclusions. Evaluations, on the other hand, are intended in most cases to assess against their objectives the effects and outcomes of phenomena such as an event, an organisation or national government spend (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016, p.120).

Some arts organisations carry out evaluations themselves, to capture the strengths and weaknesses of their activities with a view to making changes as appropriate, which might be formative evaluations to allow adjustments as a programme is being developed (e.g. the research carried out in the early years of the Biennial organisation including Rees Leahy 2000, and MHM research leading up to the 2002 Festival) or summative evaluations after it is finished (e.g. ENWRS evaluations of the Biennial Festival 2004 - 2012). The other kind of evaluation is carried out for third parties, whether it is required by funders or to influence policy (e.g. TEAM, MHM, ENWRS, etc.). Although these conceptual distinctions need to be made, there will be significant overlap in the methods used for each.

Arts-based research methods actively engage people's senses and can place 'embodied experience' centrally in the process of knowledge creation (Eisner 2008, Kelemen and Hamilton 2015). As Lawrence (2008) observed, the arts can provoke strong, affective responses in both the creator and the viewer of art that, subsequently, can provide a catalyst for learning beyond traditional, and dominant, cognitive ways of knowing. In this regard, Eisner (2008, p.7) noted that involving the arts in research can 'promote a form of understanding that is derived or evoked through empathic experience' and provide deep insights into what others are experiencing.

Annabel Jackson Associates (2009) explains that evaluation is the art and science of conceptualising and testing the value, merit, and worth of arts organisations and projects, typically the social and economic impact. It is different from market research, which investigates visitors' preferences and satisfaction. Evaluation and market research share enquiry into visitors' profile, but for different purposes. In evaluation it is part of explaining and testing data. In market research it is a route into customer segmentation. Market research has a strong infrastructure in the arts through organisations such as the AMA, ADUK, and the audience development agencies.

Public art practitioners have tended to be cautious about evaluation and there is very little formal evaluation of public art. Starting with a review of sixty reports on public art, AJA discovered that most focused on process evaluation for internal consumption rather than

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impact analysis. The quality of existing evaluations is generally disappointing, but a small number of reports, including those by Liverpool Biennial and other VAIL members, show what can be achieved (p.4).

With regard to the notion of 'impact,' Pain et al (2015) argue that although 'impact' has become an important dimension in how research is evaluated and funded, the way in which it 'is conceptualised and measured tends to be very narrow, and unreflective of the diverse approaches to creating knowledge and affecting change that researchers today utilize' (p.4). Kelemen and Hamilton (2015, p.3) suggest a more co-productive approach to knowledge that involves new forms of engagement between academics (those traditionally seen as 'knowledge makers') and those traditionally seen as 'research subjects' (or even 'consumers' of academic knowledge).

Pain et al (2015) stated that the dominant current understanding and measurement of 'impact' is especially problematic for such co-produced or participatory research (where research is conducted by a community, organisation or group together with academic researchers). Arguably, this equally applies to research that employs creative and arts-based research methods. As Hamilton and Taylor (2017) note, advocates of these research methods are also asking important questions, such as 'how can we decentre subject expertise and interact with research sites in more democratic ways?' (p.134), that are relevant given the current focus on 'impact' in research.

Market Research and Satisfaction

LARC (2009) explain that there is still a great deal of confusion about the role of market research and visitors in an artistically driven organisation. For example, to what standard of customer satisfaction should arts groups hold? To whom are artistic decision-makers accountable? Also, where is the line between being responsive to your audience's demands and compromising your artistic ideals? (p.6)

The Biennial has used a number of different methodologies to research and develop the organisation since it began in 1998, and throughout this thesis I have shown how the research objectives and methodologies have changed as the Biennial has grown in size. For example, the broad objectives of the inaugural Biennial were summarised as:

- To realise the concept of creating the first biennial of contemporary art in the UK
- To build on the creative momentum established by previous and existing initiatives among artists and visual arts organisations within (and beyond) Liverpool (including Visionfest, artranspennine98, Video Positive, etc.)
- To create collaborative opportunities for venues, organisations and artists based in Liverpool, and to form partnerships to produce an event which is greater than the sum of its parts
- To realise the untapped potential of the people, spaces, buildings and organisations in Liverpool, and thereby to create an artistic event that has the potential to change the perception of the city, from within and without (Rees Leahy 2000, p.11)

Rees Leahy (2000) argued that such statements are both broad and ambitious, reflecting the experimental nature of the inaugural Biennial. By their general nature, they also risk meaning all things to all people. However, contributors to the evaluation showed that, to a large extent, both the vision and the purpose of the Biennial were understood and shared

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by the large numbers of people who, in different ways, were involved in its realisation - as Board members, staff, artists, partners and volunteers. Unfortunately, research into audience response to the Biennial by TEAM was not sufficiently detailed to provide clear evidence as to whether or not visitors and residents also shared this view of the purpose of the Biennial.

Rees Leahy (2000) explained that the absence of clear, agreed targets for the delivery of the future Biennials will undermine its case within the arts funding system and within the political and business contexts that are crucial to its strategic development. While the brand and general nature of the objectives set for 1999 were appropriate for the inaugural event, in future, objectives should be agreed with specific performance measures and data capture systems attached.

Rees Leahy (2000) argued that setting joint objectives (at the outset of planning each successive event) with partners, funders and stakeholders would also help to embed the Biennial within the cultural, social and political life of Liverpool, and the UK. Criteria for evaluation and the use of evaluation as a tool for planning and delivery should be integral to the management of successive Biennials, rather than as a project commissioned after the event.

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The Rees Leahy report began with forty-three recommendations for action, the majority of which reiterated the theme running throughout the paper: namely, the need to shift gear from the realisation of a bold experiment to the achievement of medium and long-term sustainability and strategic effectiveness. This process of change was required in every aspect of the Biennial organisation and, in this sense, many of the recommendations were interconnected. Rees Leahy warned that cherry picking those recommendations which appeared most attractive or realisable would not suffice: the need was to create a holistic strategy for development, informed by the evaluation of the Biennial's early record in project management, marketing, education, fundraising and building stakeholder relationships (2000, p.49).

In the case of Liverpool Biennial, I have argued that the short-term instrumentalising necessity of such evaluations, which rely almost exclusively on city centre visitor numbers and economic impact, would seem to be manifestly at odds with the long terms aims of the Biennial to enhance the broader cultural impact of its offer. Both a one-way, top-down notion of sharing cultural value, plus a relatively shifting set of economic and instrumentalised goals (frequently centring around particular communities from Biennial year to Biennial year) seem to prevent either the production of co-produced or truly participatory cultural value using art, or a means to measure such an impact.

As a result of this, I have argued throughout this thesis that more research should be conducted into understanding the qualitative impact of cultural experience which, in turn,

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would allow for a shift in the strategic focus of this Festival toward the broader and longitudinal impact of its events on the region's cultural infrastructure. In order to do this, I suggest the application of a digital platform that captures interactive qualitative methodologies that would enable the general public, as well as Liverpool Biennial itself, to share and understand how, and why culture impacts upon us. Such an approach would be both proactive and productive as it would influence and increase the outcomes and impacts that are measured now.

Beneficiaries of the research have also gained by participation in community-responsive arts programmes designed to assist audiences develop their appreciation and understanding of visual culture. By showing how art works foster shared meaning, the research shows that attitudes towards place – such as a sense of belonging – are enhanced. For example, the arts can make 'embodied experience' central to the process of knowledge (co-creation) (Kelemen and Hamilton 2015, p.21). Such emotional and embodied ways of knowing are often ignored and dismissed in the dominant Western culture where rational-cognitive ways of knowing are valued (Lawrence, 2008).

The Biennial has stated that their main focus is the International Exhibition, but I disagree, as I have shown throughout this thesis, their main value is pedagogic with their ongoing programme of Education, Learning, and Inclusion. This is in line with the Biennial memorandum (1998) to provide, maintain, improve and advance education by cultivating and improving public taste in the visual arts (1998, p.2).

A core aim of the Education, Learning and Inclusion projects was to broaden the audience in Liverpool for contemporary international art, providing education / community programmes, creating diversity of product, enjoyment and fun. Projects present diverse and individual responses to new audiences, sharing knowledge, experiences and ideas. They offer local people, often from under-represented groups, the opportunity to participate and interact with international artists. They forged and developed strong links with community groups and enhanced the experience of all Biennial visitors through making essential contributions to the visitor programme. The interpretive materials encouraged engagement with the city and with the Biennial Festival, and the participants themselves acted as ambassadors for the Liverpool Biennial, enabling communication with a harder to reach sector of the Merseyside community.

This was because one of the Biennial's core aims was to develop a background knowledge of the work commissioned for the Festivals by broadening the project participant's knowledge of contemporary art. Projects draw on the experiences and knowledge of participants as they monitored the changes in participants' perceptions of contemporary art throughout their involvement in the programme.

Projects provided local communities with a voice and enabled the expression of a variety of opinions, ideas, and thoughts that helped to recognise the diversity of individual perspectives. The Education, Learning and Inclusion Programme was concerned with the

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dual role of enabling access to the Festival by a broad spectrum of Merseyside residents, with an emphasis on those who are often socially excluded, while simultaneously encouraging engagement and dialogue with the work shown.

Evaluation of the Biennial's visitor programmes indicated that in order to fully support the engagement of new audiences, the Biennial needed to provide more effective interpretation resources. To achieve this, the Biennial has changed its focus from small scale projects to developing a digital educational resource that is open to all and can be downloaded from the Biennial's website. This free digital resource includes activities for use in and outside the classroom, as well as fun activities to do on site at the Festival. There are also teacher's notes and lesson plans related to subjects across the curriculum in response to Liverpool Biennial.

I have shown throughout this thesis that education is at the core of the Biennial's programme and developed in partnership with a number of educational institutions through their Education, Learning and Inclusion programme (i.e. primary, secondary, college, etc.) and community groups, incorporating creative aspects in conjunction with international artists to develop exhibitions and catalogues as part of the Biennial Festival.

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To do this, the Biennial wants to learn and work together with the city to support and develop new ideas for bringing about social change and action through art. The education programme includes family workshops, free learning resources and long-term partnerships with Liverpool schools. Participants are taught methods to enhance their perceptions of contemporary art and are encouraged to discuss and express their own personal perception of Biennial art. A number of workshops are conducted with Biennial mediators, teachers and artists and the programmes develop to include participants into the creative process.

Participants learn new skills and are introduced to creative writing, critical thinking, aesthetic judgement and visual thinking strategies that can be applied to all aspects of life, not just for the appreciation of contemporary art and the cultural experience. Another applaudable distinction that sets aside the Biennial's work to short term social inclusion projects, is their consistency of working with previous participating organisations, schools and community groups. This develops trust, strengthens partnerships and educational content, sub-contracting employment to grass roots artists, teachers and specialists building the local cultural infrastructure.

This thesis has investigated the cultural value methodologies that have been used to measure the Liverpool Biennial's Festivals development, projects, evaluations and impacts. I have concentrated on each form of cultural value (Economic, Social, and Intrinsic) to place the work that the Liverpool Biennial has delivered over the years to evaluate the

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cultural excellence. As such, this research has created an investigation of the Liverpool Biennial, as both an organisation and as a range of projects, and how its own methods of evaluation have affected its cultural impact on Liverpool between 1998 – 2012.

Collaboration and partnership have always been central to the Biennial and should be utilised in developing new research strategies that can be used to evaluate and develop their cultural output. This is in line with the main objective of the Biennial's 1998 memorandum, to provide, maintain, improve and advance education by cultivating and improving public taste in the visual arts. To do this, the Charity promised to organise, manage, provide or assist in the provision or management of seminars, masterclasses, study groups, competitions, prizes and scholarships to further the appreciation of, and cultivate the public's interest in the visual arts. This, I argue, should include continuous research into the methodologies that can be used to not only evaluate the Festival's impact (quantitative), but focus on qualitative research to understand their audience, how and why art affects individuals, and how they can improve and stimulate greater cultural experiences. This information can then be implemented to strengthen the cultural infrastructure. This can only be beneficial to each organisation and the cultural life of the city and make it more popular for the cultural tourist and the economy that they bring.

Research Developments Since 2012

Since the period covered during this thesis there have been many changes within the Biennial and the Festivals evaluations and impact research. 2014 was the last time ENWRS conducted the Festivals impact and evaluation research. Since then, the London firm BOP consulting have carried out an economic, social and cultural evaluation with a central purpose to create a culture of learning and improvement. To do this, they have designed and embedded monitoring and evaluation frameworks into programmes and projects by using a range of different methodologies (i.e. than those used by ENWRS) and techniques and this can be seen in the new set of outcomes, based on how they collect and analyse the data. Below I have included a brief description of these, including:

- Liverpool Biennial uses an established framework to monitor and measure its progress against its business plan and aims. Outcomes are measured by Senior Management and the Board against SMART objectives and the Audience Development, Digital, Equality and Environmental Sustainability Action Plans. The progress of the organisation's aims can therefore be supported by quantitative and qualitative data from audience and stakeholder feedback
- The Biennial is independently evaluated by BOP Consulting to help better understand its audiences, and to obtain the economic, social and cultural impact of our work. This combined qualitative and quantitative data of visitor figures, visitor origin, visitor spend and contribution to local economy, survey responses of the Biennial's core audience, and feedback from peers, stakeholders and a focus group of Liverpool residents, informs the Biennial of their impact
- As an ACE National Portfolio Organisation Liverpool Biennial uses Audience Finder and undergoes artistic and quality assessment by peers. The Biennial also incorporates the ACE Quality Evaluation Framework. They also plays a lead role in the Liverpool Arts Regeneration Consortium, Tate Plus and Contemporary Visual Arts Network, which helps benchmark their progress against comparable organisations in the sector
- An extensive internal evaluation will also be conducted to both recognise the Biennials successes and challenges regarding potential areas for improvement (Trustees' Report 2020, p.3)

As I have discussed throughout this thesis, ENWRS demographic research has already generated information on this wider audience; thus the focus of the BOP research is on talking in-depth about the core, highly-engaged audience. Beyond exploring impact on audiences, BOP has also explored the impact of the Biennial on the participating artists, staff, broader city partners and supporters, as well as calculating the economic impact of the Biennial on the city and region.

This more holistic approach differs from the ENWRS evaluations (that have been the focus of this thesis) where there has been a stronger focus on market intelligence. Although previous evaluations have provided a well-developed picture of visitor behaviour and satisfaction, BOP broadened the scope to get a stronger sense of overall impacts on Biennial participants and the broader artistic and civic community within and beyond Liverpool. For example, these outcomes have been adapted with a three-stage methodology:

- Audience surveys with those attending Liverpool Biennial venues, partner venues and its online activities
- Qualitative interviews with Liverpool Biennial partners, 'peers' (i.e. representatives of UK and global contemporary art sectors), and visitors
- Qualitative interviews with Liverpool Biennial staff and consideration of documentation and organisational policies

I will continue to develop and expand this document which will not only focus on understanding but improving these research methodologies that could easily be applied to any exhibition or festival format. These methods would not just estimate or document inert

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fixed outcomes but could become interactive / live strategies that can also help and improve the visitor to not only give feedback that can be used for enriching academic knowledge, but to put them at the centre of the research that will increase their own personal understanding of the artworks effects and improve their own personal and collective cultural experiences. This approach is becoming more widely used and more relevant in the gathering of research within the cultural industries, and academia.

Digital Platforms

Technology has advanced since 1999 to the point that every person carries a powerful computer in their pockets and information is at the fingertips of every potential art attendee, making it possible for the collection of both quantitative and qualitative research to happen in situ whilst the person is within the experience. Museums and galleries have been designing interactive tours that combine education with the viewers entertainment (edutainment) or invite the viewer into the creative process to create their own aesthetic metaphor (art marketing). As the Cultural Value Project explains, 'thinking about cultural value needs to give far more attention to the way people experience their engagement with arts and culture, to be grounded in what it means to produce or consume them or, increasingly as digital technologies advance as part of people's lives, to do both at the same time' (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016, p.7).

As with the rest of the world, covid and the lockdown created many hurdles for organisations and the public. The Liverpool Biennial postponed the Festival following the

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UK's national lockdown and developed a new format for presenting the work, both in a physical and digital context. Working together with their partners, the Biennial developed alternative means for those unable to attend in-person by expanding their digital output to include podcasts, videos, and virtual reality capture and online events. The new Online Portal includes many of the recommendations that I have included throughout this thesis with a hybrid modality that integrates digital platforms to enhance the physical experience.

Further work needs to be done to understand how the methodologies discussed in this thesis can be incorporated into a hybrid model that invites the visitor to contribute as co-creator of meaning and aesthetic metaphor to contemporary art as this encourages an exchange of information between the venue and its visitors. It gives individuals the opportunity to give their opinion, using both quantitative and qualitative methodologies live and in situ whilst they are interacting as part of the experience. This hybrid approach is used more regularly by integrating digital platforms that can give the visitor the option of different ways to receive information about the artists and artworks - making it more inclusive to how people can interact and understand the information given.

Digital platforms can be used in an exchange of information and ideas, it encourages viewers from being a passive observer, to an engaged participant in the creative process. The Biennial can exchange information about the artists and work, whilst collating information to measure and enhance the modality of cultural experience of visitors.

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It would benefit the Biennial to continue to develop the online portal to give alternate ways for audiences to engage with cultural activity remotely and in-person. The Biennial should also work with the city's universities and cultural organisations to research and design new methodologies to measure and enhance cultural value through the cultural experience.

Such an approach at this exciting time will only strengthen and improve the industry and increase museum and gallery visits through the development of the cultural experience.

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