

# London Journal of Tourism, Sport and Creative Industries



## About the Journal

### London Journal of Tourism, Sport and Creative Industries Scope of the Journal

London is one of the world's most heterogeneous and cosmopolitan cities. It is a quintessential 'global city' located at the interface of manifold networks, flows and motilities. The *London Journal of Tourism, Sport and Creative Industries* (LJTSCI) seeks to publish articles on a variety of related topics which encapsulates this diversity and the nature of its local-global intersections. The subjects delivered at London Metropolitan University have a history of high quality research into anthropological/developmental studies and policy analysis. It is from these platforms that the journal aims to be a meeting place for research and discussion on a wealth of topics that should appeal to scholars, practitioners, policy makers and general readers. These articles can include research papers, works-in progress, case studies, developments in theory, book reviews and general reviews that contribute to the development of the subject field.

The journal addresses a broad subject field, while under the banner of Tourism, Sport and the Creative Industries it also includes, but is not restricted to, events, the arts – including music and dance, heritage, hospitality, advertising and communications, music media and entertainment. We encourage submissions relating to these topics from a wide variety of perspectives; such as all areas of anthropology, management, economics, politics, history, sociology, psychology, cultural studies and marketing. The contexts of these research papers are also broad in scope covering relevant research from public, commercial and third sector organisations and settings.

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# London Journal of Tourism, Sport and Creative Industries (LJTSCI)

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## Editorial

Throughout the developed and now increasingly developing world, tourism, sport and the creative (also sometimes call the cultural) sectors are receiving increased attention for the benefits they provide. These include economic benefits, through new job creation and the generation of increased tourist arrivals; social benefits, such as building social cohesion and generating community pride; political benefits for politicians, cities and countries seeking to build their national and international profiles and physical and environmental benefits, such as, new leisure and tourism infrastructure, improved public transportation and public housing (Hall, 1992).

Even in the aftermath of the global financial crisis, the unprecedented levels of investment in attractions and supporting infrastructure aimed at boosting tourism arrivals and the hosting of mega-sporting and cultural events continues. This is despite strong evidence that such initiatives are characterised by “often extravagant expectations” which are frequently not realized (Gold and Gold, 2005, p.5). The submissions in this edition of the journal highlight the enduring importance that tourism, sport and the creative industries have in societies and in particular the fairly recent focus on management and professionalization to maximise impacts and performance. They represent an eclectic mix of articles, each one presenting a contemporary, fresh take on the phenomenon examined, resulting in new and unexpected insights.

Firstly, Evans' paper provides a critical exploration into the serial replication of city re/branding strategies, which include bidding on and hosting of mega-events, undertaken by cities throughout the world. He highlights the experiences of various cities - some winners and some losers in what he describes as the 'regeneration game'. He notes that despite the hopes of new comers to event regeneration strategies, successful city re/branding does not occur overnight, or in the year or years immediately after the staging of a mega-event. In many cases success only comes after decades of sustained investment. The regeneration game is decidedly a long-one, which must be planned and evaluated carefully to achieve the incremental, inclusive and ultimately transformative changes that regeneration projects seek to realize.

Next, Fraser and Fraser explore how statistical performance analysis can be used by football teams to improve their performance in matches. This approach had been popularized earlier by Michael Lewis' (2004) *Moneyball*, which focused on American baseball. Using data supplied on the Barclays Premier League for the 2008/2009 season, the authors apply Ordinal Logistic Regression in order to establish relationships between various variables recorded and the result outcome of games. Their results, although preliminary, suggest that statistical performance analysis can be used to supplement the management and coaching resources currently utilized by football clubs.

Linden's paper which discusses the art critic as mediator of contemporary African art in Britain and Sweden marks a departure from concerns about winning and losing and maximising benefits and outcomes. Instead he engages with the changing aesthetics and resulting debates surrounding contemporary African art. He compares and contrasts the approaches of British and Swedish art critics to

reviewing contemporary African art exhibitions, noting that although there are clear differences in their critiques, the overall result is ultimately the same – the promotion of a condescending attitude towards these exhibitions which reinforces simplistic, eurocentric views about African art.

Finally, Reic reviews Morgan et al.'s (2010) *The Tourism and Leisure Experience: Consumer and Managerial Perspectives*. This publication which seeks to combine theoretical explorations with practical managerial tools and techniques is a highly recommended text for academics as well as practitioners in the field. As Reic observes, the text helps define a new context of service provision within the tourism and leisure sectors, making her review a fitting close to this edition of the journal, which features articles on a range of tourism and leisure activities.

It is hoped that the articles in this edition help to foster continued debate within the tourism, sport and creative industries as well as provide new clarity and insights into emerging issues.

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## Research Paper

### Cities of Culture and the Regeneration Game

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#### Abstract

On 10<sup>th</sup> January, 2009 Liverpool held the official closing event under its European Capital of Culture (ECoC) programme exactly a year on from its inauguration. This event also saw the transition from Liverpool's 'Year of Culture 08' to 'Year of Environment 09' and a simultaneous event in the Austrian city of Linz to which the Capital of Culture mantle passed, along with Vilnius, Lithuania. An estimated 60,000 people congregated at the Pier Head as well as at the Albert Dock and Wirral bank, for a celebration that included sing-a-longs, firework displays, street artists on illuminated bikes and light projections onto a famous refurbished new museum building making up this World Heritage city. This 'Light Night' celebration also kick-started similar events held in cities in England and Scotland, with extended opening of venues. The Light Night theme chosen for Liverpool 08's swansong emulates the Nuit Blanche festival celebrated in dozens of cities such as Paris, Rome, Montreal and Toronto - the largest of which attract 1 to 3 million participants over 'late night' weekend extravaganzas (Jiwa et al., 2009). These 'eventful cities' (Richards and Palmer 2010) reflect a global trend and network that spreads virtually and geographically (Evans, 2011).

**Key words: European Capital of Culture, eventful cities, 'festivalisation', regeneration**

#### 'Festivalisation' of the City

Cities of Culture (CoCs) associated with city branding, re-imaging and regeneration using culture and flagships to soften and celebrate urban renewal efforts, can also be characterised as the festivalisation of city development and of 'identities' - political, economic and community - and as one element in a continuum of thematic 'Years' and 'Cities of..' - in which Culture is just one manifestation. Competitive mega-events in this case include EXPOs and Olympic Games (summer and winter) as well as major sporting events, notably World Cups and sub-regional games, whilst economic place-branding now incorporates Creative and Design Cities (for example, Montreal, Berlin and Seoul), and Science, Knowledge and Innovation city designation (for example, Liverpool and Manchester in North West England both have national 'Science City' status, as do Leeds, Sheffield and York in

Yorkshire). In each of these categories, exemplar cities serve as benchmarks and models to which emulator cities aspire to capture and celebrate their regenerative and reputational advantages and impacts - notably 'Gaudi Barcelona', Guggenheim Bilbao, Silicon Valley, Glasgow- and now Liverpool 08.

The afterglow generated by these mega-events - despite instances of negative media, local resistance or indifference and often contrary evidence to the 'good news' advocacy - continues to attract newcomer and established cities, cities that seek to repeat or recapture past event effects, or those seeking to reposition themselves or update their heritage or dated images. When the UK Cultural Ministry (DCMS) opened a call for UK CoCs, twenty-nine candidates including several urban-rural sub-regions, put themselves forward - with Birmingham, Derry (N. Ireland), Norwich and Sheffield shortlisted and Derry eventually winning.

Well known cultural capitals also seek renewal and leverage for regeneration schemes, having hosted such events in the recent past, whilst cities bidding for high stake world events such as Olympics often come back for more, for example, Madrid (2012 and 2016 bidder), Tokyo (1964 host and 2016 bidder), Beijing (2004 bidder and 2008 host s) and 'persistent' failed bidder, Istanbul (2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012 bidder) but successful 'European' CoC 2010 host. Cities also use the culture and regeneration opportunity selectively, for example Rio resisted the Guggenheim franchise, but successfully pursued both the World Cup (2014) and Summer Olympics (2016) as part of its major national and city strategies.

CoCs and other festival and sporting events should be viewed in this longitudinal frame alongside a city's trajectory of culture and regeneration and associated branding through flagship development and infrastructure projects. Individual events punctuate what are in fact an accumulation of intervention and urban regeneration initiatives through festivalisation. This combined trajectory of culture, competitive city and regeneration therefore requires a longer view than the focus on the event year suggests - and this includes measuring 'impacts' - since the regeneration process is often not linear or progressive, and change effects and their attribution are subject to reinterpretation and even revision over time. Public and political attention on the 'event' can also distract from the past and future. The assessment of European CoCs (Palmer, 2004a) for instance, found that 'too often, Capitals of Culture have focussed most of their efforts on funding of events and projects that form part of a year-long celebration, with too little time and investment given to the future' (Palmer, 2004b, p. 5). This suggests that the culture and regeneration story requires a historical analysis that also maps change and effects over a much longer time period, within which events form only a relatively small (financial and strategic) part. Investment in housing, retail, transport, education and local amenities are likely to have a more lasting legacy and impact. This will also be important in order to consider how culture might better contribute to the regeneration process, as opposed to simply being corralled into a 'festival event' or 'year'.

Hall (1992) for example situated mega-events in a thirty year era of the 'city of renewal'. Today this phenomenon has a near fifty year pedigree, begging the question: does this imply a successful formula given its serial replication across the globe to cities large and small, developed and developing? Perhaps one answer

lies is in the general term 'renewal' – i.e. replacing worn out or updating venues, image, economy, tourism offer etc., including repositioning 'old culture' (heritage) for contemporary culture and entertainment - and the shift from arts and culture to the expansive creative industries (Campbell, 2011). Cultural tourism and post-industrial economics therefore drive this universal tendency, which is also fuelled by the globalisation of cultural intermediary activity - curators, architects, artistic directors - which has in turn enabled the growth of, and opportunity for cities to develop culture city strategies and festivals - at an imported price. Manifestations include the growth of biennales (over 140 worldwide) and cultural festivals, including the European and national city/capital of culture initiative, and the ubiquitous art museum.

### **Regeneration, not just Renewal**

However, renewal (and the US 'revitalisation') must be distinguished from regeneration which is more associated with extremes of social decline, multiple deprivation and disadvantage and in economic terms, below-average performance (for EU Regional Structural Fund eligibility, below 75% of the EU-average). Regeneration therefore responds to a degree of sustained degeneration, defined as the transformation of a community or place that has displayed the symptoms of environmental (physical), social and/or economic decline. What has been described as: 'breathing new life and vitality into an ailing community, industry and area [bringing] sustainable, long term improvements to local quality of life, including economic, social and environmental needs' (in Evans and Shaw, 2004). Mainstream regeneration programmes such as central government Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), New Deal for Communities (NDC) and their predecessors originating in the 1970s – the European Structural Development Fund (ERDF) and European Social Funding (ESF) - have traditionally lacked a cultural dimension and 'culture' is not one of the key domains that feature in how improvement is measured and regeneration investment is assessed (Evans, 2005). Culture, however, touches the mainstream in economic terms - through creative industries and tourism sector employment, which often serve as proxies for 'culture' in economic development - and in social terms (social cohesion and capital and quality of life) and most explicitly in physical regeneration through cultural facilities, icons and public facilities, including infrastructure. Transport infrastructure - airports, bridges, light rail and metros feature highly in cities using culture as part of their place-making plans and have been a fundamental prerequisite in putting cultural quarters and cities on the map, for example, Bilbao, Salford Quays, Gateshead and La Defense, Paris.

The distinction between the 'city of renewal' – to which all places eventually look in order to survive economically - and the 'city of regeneration', is therefore important when evaluating culture and regeneration policy and impacts. CoCs and Festival Cities whilst sharing some common goals display quite different rationales for 'renewal and regeneration'. For example, the small historic city of Bruges (CoC 2002) in contrast to, say, Glasgow (1990) and Liverpool'08, or when compared with capital cities of culture such as Madrid (1992), Copenhagen, (1996), or Dublin (1991). The latter are often playing catch-up with their major cultural facilities, quarters and city

promotions, measured by their positioning in tourism and global city location rankings, including concentration of creative industry activity (Evans, 2009a). These capital cities are not averse of course to pursuing global events to accelerate regeneration projects and investment, evidenced by the number of capitals bidding for summer Olympics in recent years – for example, Madrid, Moscow, London, Paris, Beijing and Tokyo. Expanding and reinvesting in their cultural assets (GLA, 2008) is however a mainstream concern, not dependent upon festival or event opportunity, for example, New York and London competing over Tate Modern and MOMA makeovers to retain their prime world art museum status; Paris's new Grand Projects; or Toronto's 'C\$1 billion babies' (Evans, 2009a, p. 1025). The feature articles in world architecture magazines reveal a continual growth in the art museum and cultural facilities in old and new world cities, often employing familiar star architects, signifying their membership of the international creative milieu, and the 'cultural turn' in city and urban development and politics (Soja, 1999 and Mercer, 2006).

On the other hand, smaller cities particularly those with an historic or heritage reputation, resist the imposition of contemporary events and structures and the influx of visitors that drive CoC strategies. For instance, in Bruges where a clear conflict emerged between resident and tourist identification with its historic character - the very reason that European CoC and hallmark event status was granted in the first place - and the bid organiser's motivation to change the image and cultural profile of the city as a competitive contemporary place (Boyko, 2002). As Bas van Heur observes (2010), using the example of Maastricht (CoC candidate 2018) smaller cities without the levels of agglomeration, flows and economic and social diversities, struggle to counter the competitive advantage of larger, and cosmopolitan cities and exemplar Knowledge/Science/Cultural and Creative Cities (Bell and Jayne 2006). As he notes, much cultural production participation is voluntary or at least un/under paid, and even in larger cities such as Liverpool: 'music recording studios, nightclubs, the Philharmonic Hall and orchestra and a nascent film sector all contribute to the cultural heartbeat of the city but still, as yet do not provide a substantial amount of regular, full-time employment' (Meegan, 2004, p. 154). Nonetheless, this *broedplaatsenbeleid* policy to create 'cauldrons of creativity' is indiscriminately pursued, even though as Marlet and van Woerkens (2005) found in the case of Dutch cities, urban amenities and aesthetics, historic and natural environmental qualities were the determinants of creative industry growth (and of course, job opportunities), rather than Florida's formula of bohemian, gay scene, diversity and night time economy factors (2002). Comparative advantage and distinction building on endogenous creativity (including incumbent students) would appear a better strategy in these cases, certainly not the notion of importing a yet to be identified 'creative class' as footloose, migrant saviours of a city's cultural scene and economy (Evans, 2009a; Peck, 2005 and Montgomery, 2005). Spatially it should also be noted that serious economic regions in terms of growth, innovation etc. span areas larger than even capital cities - polycentric and city-regions linking several cities and towns, large and small (viz, Liverpool, Merseyside, North West region/Scotland) - for example, to Oresund, Rhine-Ruhr, Ile de France. Creating cultural identities for this scale can present difficulties (Platt, 2011) not least when they cross borders, but this can also better reflect inter-regional, 'intercultural' (Woods and Landry, 2007) as well as economic identities and aspirations (see for example, Mercer, 2005 on Oresund). Provincial post-industrial, and port cities in

particular have sought to recover and reclaim part of their lost trade and geographical power through cultural and hallmark events linked to urban regeneration, like Liverpool: 'the least typical of British cities, turned with its back against the land, having in common with all ports the sense of being a city-state, always looking out to sea, expecting and even hoping for a stranger' (Grant, 2005, p. 424). These include European Cities/CoCs: Glasgow (1980), Dublin (1990), Copenhagen (1996, EXPO bidder 2020), Thessaloniki (1997), Rotterdam (2001), Genoa (2004), Cork (2005), Liverpool and Stavanger (2008); Istanbul (2010), Marseille (2013), as well as Barcelona (Olympics 1992, UNESCO Cultural Forum 2004), Vancouver (2010 winter Olympics); Shanghai (EXPO 2010) and Yeosu, South Korea (EXPO 2012).

What this cursory review of the festival city phenomenon also reveals is the continued effort this approach demands, and the fact that certainly one mega-event alone is seldom enough to elevate or sustain regeneration investment to achieve competitive city or cultural city status and the social and economic benefits that are pursued. The hosting of CoC by Liverpool in 2008 can be traced back as far as 1984 when it hosted the Garden Festival as part of another competitive national programme. Three years after the 1981 riots in Toxteth, Liverpool 8 and the government's Inner City Task Force response, physical regeneration projects and culture-led area regeneration ensued, with the location of the Tate Gallery outpost at the £200m refurbished Albert Docks in 1988. This city was also one of the first to identify the role of the arts and cultural industries: 'realising and developing the political, cultural and economic significance of the arts, as part of the cultural industries, in relation to economic development and planning' (LCC 1987). The 1990s had seen Liverpool benefit from European and national regeneration funding of capital projects - over £12m from ERDF alone between 1990-6 - including the Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts, Philharmonic Hall, Tate, Unity Theatre and Empire Theatre and for cultural industries development (Evans and Foord 2000) with the Liverpool Biennale first held in 1988. These types of events and festival city time line can also be seen in Glasgow (for example, Glasgow's Miles Better 1983, Garden Festival 1988, CoC 1990, Year of Architecture & Design 1999 and Commonwealth Games 2014) and new waterfront museums, whilst other cities have followed mega-events with festival city programmes and new facility and site developments, notably Montreal 'year round festival city' (1967 EXPO, 1976 Olympics, UNESCO City of Design 2003, annual Nuit Blanche 2003- and international festivals), NewcastleGateshead (1990s regeneration, 1996 Year of Visual Art), and Barcelona (1992 Olympics, annual festivals, UNESCO Cultural Forum 2004). Port cities such as Rotterdam and Marseille represent particular examples of incremental regeneration of key sites and economic sectors, of which the European City of Culture will have been only one milestone with the event itself, only part of the long process of revitalisation. In Rotterdam the event year built on the development of cultural facilities, including an upgraded museum quarter and a new architecture centre and the investment in several non-cultural waterfront icons. Marseilles likewise is building on a long-term regeneration of its docklands and industrial sites (the Euromediterranean programme commenced there in the early-1990s), as well as improving its problematic image in France - not unlike Liverpool and Glasgow in the UK.

What this festivalisation also has in common is a reliance on national, European (and Provincial, in the case of Quebec), and international validation and resources, not just to target regeneration programmes, but to valorise city 'culture' for both public and investor consumption and approval. This exogenous development has arguably crowded and squeezed out local and endogenous cultural autonomy and preferences, for example in Bilbao (Evans and Foord, 2000 and Evans, 2003). This goes some way to explain the tensions, conflicts and organisational problems that beset such events once the award or decision has been made politically, not least in Liverpool (and now Istanbul), as well as in other regeneration incorporating cultural flagships/events where the opportunity cost - land-use, capital investment and revenue funding, as well as art form and cultural diversity - is high.

## Measuring Impacts

Physical and cultural displacement, for example, is one feature of creative city regeneration where cultural labour, skills, workspace, participation and markets are replaced by high exchange value activity (for example, digital media for crafts based production - as in Barcelona, New York and London). In Liverpool this extends to population decline in the inner city and movement out to Merseyside and the surrounding region/suburbs (as in Glasgow), with density and growth levels actually reducing, in contrast to other UK cities. New housing, e.g. waterfront developments, has generated new inner city dwellers as elsewhere (e.g. Sheffield, Manchester), but with a non-residential buy-to-let market of 1 and 2 bed apartments, new communities (and families) have not embedded, whilst established residential communities decline further<sup>1</sup>. This also explains why the stories and history of such events are not just contested, but continue to evolve and reveal themselves long after the event has taken place, or a flagship has first opened. Measuring effects has therefore started to capture this over time and place, as in the case of the Liverpool08 Impact study<sup>2</sup>, but communities are less rooted and defining community and residents at neighbourhood level becomes problematic. Lee for instance cites the 'Liverpool character', in adapting Bourdieu, as a "habitus of location". He suggests that cities have enduring cultural orientations which exist and function relatively independent of their current populations or of the numerous social processes at any particular time: 'in this sense we can describe a city as having a certain cultural character...which clearly transcends the popular representations of the populations of certain cities, or that manifestly expressed by a city's public and private institutions' (1997, p. 132). This is important in any consideration of cultural planning, since attempts by municipal and other political agencies to create or manipulate a city's cultural character are likely to fail, produce pastiche or superficial culture, and even drive out any inherent creative spirit that might exist in the first place (Evans, 2001).

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<sup>1</sup> In the 2001 Census the proportion of family households in Liverpool city centre was half of the city average, with students making up 42% of the city centre and 50% of the working age population, and although students dominate the city centre population and 'set the cultural tone' (Nathan and Urwin, 2005: 26) the centre/fringe is also home to many of the city's pensioners, low earners, and benefit dependants.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.liv.ac.uk/impacts08>

Findings from the ongoing Liverpool'08 Impact study reveal the mixed and marginal effects felt by residents, with: 'ambivalence about the likelihood of sustained benefits resulting from ECoC' and 'concerns over the sustainability of retail and leisure developments and viability of new city centre apartments' (Impacts08, 2009, p. 13). Critically 'most people did not feel that ECoC would benefit either them as individuals or their neighbourhoods' (ibid, p.12). Here as elsewhere, is a case of undervaluing community culture and amenities, and the exaggeration of event activities and interventions, as felt by local people. Businesses in the city centre (less so outside of the area) had seen a growth in sales due to the CoC award, although less in Merseyside than in the region as a whole. However the majority of firms consulted did not anticipate winning future business from the event, which was not seen as the critical factor in the city's economic recovery, although a source of 'great pride and enthusiasm', but rather, the major infrastructure investments such as the new Arena and Convention Centre (Impacts08, 2008). As one observer notes: 'continuing the momentum beyond the city centre into neighbouring districts, little touched by the year's festivities, presents a potentially tougher challenge, and from past experience a far greater chance of getting things wrong' (Stonard, 2008, p. 35). Harvey had observed earlier that 'one of the possible benefits from cultural industries in the centre of cities is that insofar as you can bring back predominantly the suburban upper middle class into the city centre, you will involve them with what's going on (there)', but as he went on to admit: 'many people commute into the city to work and then go off back to the suburbs and are not bothered with what's going on elsewhere in the city' (1993, p. 8). In Liverpool as in other post-industrial cities, work, shopping and occasional entertainment, are the sum of most people's engagement and identification with the 'city' and its 'culture'.

However, in contrast to other regions, increased arts attendance and participation in the North West between 2006/7 and 2007/8 - which included the lead-up and opening events of Liverpool08 - suggests the '08 affect may well have played a part (nationally, musicals and live music attendance showed increases, participation in dance also - Oskala and Bunting, 2009). Indeed if it had not done so, this would be a direct failure of the event and of the time and resources devoted to it. This small national survey sample does not allow for local area analysis (Evans, 2008), but clearly one measure will be how far this activity can be sustained post the event year, and how the intensity of cultural activity has changed across the city's population (as distinct from visitors). Three perhaps semantic but significant distinctions have been made in this relationship between culture and the regeneration process: Culture and Regeneration; Culture-led regeneration; and Cultural Regeneration. These have been expanded as follows (Evans and Shaw, 2004 and Evans, 2005).

### *1. Culture and regeneration*

In this model, cultural activity is not fully integrated at the strategic development or master planning stage often because the responsibilities for cultural provision and for regeneration sit within different departments or because there is no 'champion'. The intervention is often small-scale: a public art programme once the buildings have been designed; a heritage interpretation or local history museum. In some cases, where no planned provision has been made, residents - individuals or businesses -

and cultural organisations may respond to the vacuum and make their own interventions - lobbying for a library, commissioning artists to make signs or street furniture, recording the history of their area, setting up a regular music night, etc. Although introduced at a later stage, cultural interventions can make an impact on the regeneration process, enhancing the facilities and services that were initially planned.

## 2. Culture-led regeneration

In this model, cultural activity is seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration. The activity is likely to have a high-public profile and frequently to be cited as the sign of regeneration. The activity might be the design and construction (or re-use) of a building or buildings for public or business use (for example, Baltic and Sage Music Centre in Gateshead, Tate Modern in London, Bankside); the reclamation of open space (for example, the garden festivals); or the introduction of a programme of activity which is then used to rebrand a place (City of Culture).

## 3. Cultural regeneration

In this model, cultural activity is more fully integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere. Examples include *Birmingham's Renaissance* where the arts were incorporated with policy, planning and resourcing through the city council's joint Arts, Employment and Economic Development Committee, and in the 'exemplar' cultural city, Barcelona with an 'apolitical' tripartite agreement between industry, government and citizens and a ten year cross-cutting Cultural Strategy. This model is closely allied to the 'cultural planning' approach to cultural policy and regeneration, i.e. where culture is embedded and prioritised in mainstream urban planning and policy-making (Evans, 2008).

Liverpool's *Capital of Culture* was seen to embody the Culture-led regeneration approach (Culture NorthWest, 2008, p. 2), although as already noted, the longer-term regeneration strategy and city centre property developments lacked a cultural dimension and certainly there has been little integration of culture within mainstream urban design, planning or economic development agendas. For instance, the garden festival site there as in Glasgow has stood derelict for many years. In practice, much cultural activity is an add-on to urban development and social programmes. Nationally, the official economic impact and investment appraisals have been widened over this period through *Regeneration, Renewal and Regional Development* (3 Rs') assessments (ODPM, 2003) and Culture Ministry and Treasury evaluation guidance (Evans, 2005). These seek to apply cost benefit analysis, including notions of heritage, access and social impacts, alongside more quantitative economic multiplier and additionality/substitution calculations at a regional and national scale - for example, how far has a public investment project displaced activity elsewhere, for example, arts audiences; or would the project have gone ahead anyway without public investment, for example, Liverpool One retail centre.

Perhaps the mostly significant response to the need for more robust evidence to support the claims and case for culture within regeneration (DCMS, 2004) has been

both the above distinctions and the development a wider set of methods and case studies using social impacts, process-based evaluation and longer term research. Longitudinal impact studies have been undertaken in Gateshead (Bailey, Miles and Stark 2004), Glasgow ([www.impact.arts.gla.ac.uk/](http://www.impact.arts.gla.ac.uk/)), City Fringe London (Bagwell et al., 2009) and most recently for Liverpool'08 (Culture North West, 2008 and see Moriarty, 2002). Measuring social impacts of arts programmes and evaluating participation and 'public good' effects on host communities - beneficiaries, participants as well as 'non-users' - have been advanced by particular action and policy research, notably Matarasso, Moriarty, Reeves, Evans & Shaw, including studies carried out in Liverpool (ACME, Hill and Moriarty and Lorente). A 'triple bottom line' approach is also recommended by festival specialists as a route to embedding sustainable development principles into event planning and impact evaluation. Noting, perhaps over-optimistically that: 'the effect would be to ensure that the usual claims of economic benefits are not accepted at face value, and that social, cultural and environmental measures of value would be equal to the economic' (Getz, 2009, p. 76). A growing feature of social impact evaluation has been the use of oral history facilitated by low cost audio-visual and now digital media, as well as cognitive (Lask, 2011) and participatory mapping using Geographic Information Systems (GIS-P) and Planning for Real, blogs and community web sites, community-based design charrettes and more engaged insertion of artists in the regeneration site and process itself, including installations, residencies, visualisations and activism (Evans, 2009b). When applied over time, a richer and more robust picture is able to be built up; opinions and effects captured as they evolve and change; survey data can be triangulated and validated; and participation in the process itself can form part of the 'event', even long afterwards.

## Conclusions

Given this knowledge and skill base, a measure of an impact study's quality and of its own 'impact' should therefore be the range of research methods employed and those used within the event or intervention itself, and how these are synthesised and valued in drawing 'meta-conclusions' in answering the key questions around 'success', 'attribution', 'distribution' (social, spatial) and impacts. It can be concluded, however, that despite their principles and novel and multi-disciplinary methods, the impact studies, evaluations and assessments being undertaken and planned for future events (for example, the London2012 Olympics) are being undertaken *a posteriori*, with stakeholders who had little or no say in the actual decision, delivery or shape of the 'event' (or regeneration scheme) itself, and its relationship with wider urban redevelopment.

So that whilst there is no shortage of 'evidence', techniques and methods, how these relate - if at all - to the governance and regeneration regime, and where power over which and whose culture is 'invited to the festival' resides, is not apparent or at least not part of the evaluation or impact study process. The extent to which this accumulating evidence on the wider effects of hosting and delivering such mega-events has and may be used in the future to inform future events and both cultural and regeneration strategies, is at best marginal. Host city decisions lack 'normal' rationality and are overridden by geopolitical and individual (commercial,

politician, "personality") imperatives and ultimately acts of blind faith, where contrary evidence is dismissed or offset by the larger gains at stake, particularly property, prestige and pride. As Kunzmann wryly observed: 'Each story of regeneration begins with poetry and ends with real estate' (2004, p. 2).

This can work both ways, as in a decision not to proceed such as in the case of Liverpool's ill-fated Fourth Grace<sup>3</sup>. The decision by Liverpool Vision to commission the design and development of a new building on the Pier Head in 2000 was tested through architectural competition then 'public consultation' on the four submitted schemes. Will Alsop's 'The Cloud' received the lowest vote (18%, whilst another poll, by the Liverpool Architecture & Design Trust also placed Alsop's design in last place with only 10%), with Foster's Ark 30%, Cullinan's Fourth Grace and Roger's Serpentine both receiving 26%. The decision by Liverpool Vision to ignore the popular vote then and abandon the scheme two years later signalled both a lack of confidence in and by the agency, and cemented Liverpool's reputation as an 'anxious city' (Williams 2004: 107) with a poorly performing Council - named the worst financially managed local authority by the Audit Commission in 2008. A ruling party Liberal Democratic Councillor blamed part of this problem on the cost of 'being the European City of Culture which we are funding 60% and which has led to people taking their eye off the ball' (Turner, 2008, p. 7). The 'event city' can therefore still accentuate the oppositional rather than unify, engender consensus and equity - as the events themselves can occasionally do - even if ephemerally.

Liverpool, like other ERDF Objective 1 eligible city-regions (e.g. Glasgow, Dublin) has benefited from over two decades of continued regeneration and cultural investment in their post-industrial and creative economies and city infrastructure. Cities such as Glasgow and Barcelona have managed to better integrate their cultural regeneration within economic and social development strategies and master plans, such that investment in cultural facilities, festivals and programmes can be seen as a long-term project rather than the one-off event, led by economic development and regeneration rather than cultural agencies and departments. With European and public sector spending guaranteed to decline and cease altogether for cities such as Liverpool, how its cultural infrastructure can be maintained and the aspirations for its citizens and for inward investment met, is unclear. In particular how the benefits from this long term investment and event strategies have been used to genuinely create a stronger social and economic base and wider inclusion. This is a challenge for advocates and critiques of the event city, and for those measuring pre and post-event effects and impacts in this context, given the city of renewal's longevity. What can be observed over this period, however, is a systemic dependency on external programmes and support

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<sup>3</sup> The 'Fourth Grace' named 'The Cloud' by its architect, Will Alsop, was designed to complement Liverpool's 'Three Graces' - The Royal Liver Building, The Cunard Building and the Port of Liverpool Building - on Merseyside's Pier Head. This spectacular flagship formed a key part of Liverpool's successful bid for *European Capital of Culture 2008*: 'a focus and catalyst for the next stage of Liverpool's renaissance, an eloquent image for a resurgent city' ([www.liverpoolfourthgrace.co.uk](http://www.liverpoolfourthgrace.co.uk)). Following the *Capital of Culture* designation, the City Council cancelled this project, citing spiralling costs (forecast to rise from £228m to £324m), unclear usage, and the experience of out of control iconic building projects in other places (Evans 2005).

for what ostensibly are key components of the new knowledge and experience economy through the creative industries and tourism, which include cultural and sporting events, leisure retail and associated advanced producer services.

In many respects the culture and regeneration phenomenon and European project rolls on (Evans and Shaw, 2006), as does the impact study and 'evidence-based policy' regime - not least in London2012's Legacy Evaluation programme with a maze of parallel impact studies and meta-evaluations - at least six - by international, national and regional agencies (LDA, 2009). However in terms of cultural and community development, the regeneration project and event city looks both tired and dated. A move towards cultural planning (Evans, 2008) as a process of assessing need and demand through cultural mapping of activity, facilities and cultural assets and genuine consultation - underpinned by perhaps more rigorous understanding of people, place and participation - would seem to better situate the festival within changing social, economic and physical landscapes and better locate the extraordinary in the everyday, and vice versa. In this sense: 'a cultural planning approach goes way beyond simply attending performances, exhibitions, or cultural events. Cultural planning delivers access to, ownership of and participation in appropriate developmental cultural activities ... and contributes to the building of civil society; developing citizens and promoting citizenship' (fablevision.org, in Evans, 2008).

As the next event and 'Year of...' proceeds and past events recede into fragmented and official memories, it seems important to take the time to stop and ask the question - what do we mean by a city of culture and a 'former' city of culture? - is this a case of 'dependency culture' (and does this matter), or is it important to have 'something to call our own'? As Raymond Williams suggested in his *Long Revolution* (1961), introducing change and exposure to new practices over time was a route to lasting cultural development (and cultural democracy). This incremental, transformative and inclusive approach needs to be central to the festivalisation agenda and the measurement of its effects, over time.

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## Research Paper

# Statistical Analysis Applied to Performance Characteristics of the Barclays Premier League: The Development of a New Approach to Performance Analysis in Professional Football

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## Abstract

This study in this paper explores the use of analytical methodologies as applied to performance characteristics of clubs involved in the Barclays Premier League for the 2008/2009 season. The approach taken was to apply Ordinal Logistic Regression in order to establish relationships between various variables recorded and the result outcome of games. The data used was derived from a data supplier to the Barclays Premier League. The study not only demonstrated the results achievable but also the potential for a more rounded, statistically based view of the outputs of games and the value to clubs in adopting a more holistic approach to data analysis.

Although there are potential differences in the interpretation of the statistical outputs from the games, there were also some key observations made. The implications and strategy adopted by the approach in this paper are borne out with the results as outlined in this study and further supports the benefits of a carefully thought through statistical programme to supplement the management and coaching resource within Barclays Premier League clubs. It should be noted that this study is very much an exploratory approach and that there is scope for further development.

**Key words: Statistical analysis, Barclay Premier League, ordinal logistic regression**

## Introduction

*Moneyball* by Michael Lewis is regarded by many as a seminal text in the pursuit of statistical performance analysis within the world of professional sports. In *Moneyball*, Lewis (2004) focuses on American baseball. In it, he describes how the Oakland Athletics baseball team utilized statistical analysis in the data rich sport to enhance its performance and subsequently other areas such as player recruitment. This paper investigates whether there is potential for similar applications within an equally data rich sport such as professional football, focusing specifically on the Barclays Premier League.

To aid in the statistical analysis the authors propose the adoption of the Lean Six Sigma (L6S) methodology. Six Sigma, has been adopted by a number of very high

profile organizations, including Boeing and Kodak (Harry and Schroeder, 1999). Toyota then adapted this further into the complimentary L6S methodology (Liker, 2003). What has sometimes been questioned by businesses is the tangible value that a programme such as L6S delivers. This is particularly true in services, such as professional sports, where there are many intangible processes and effects that require careful thought so that a true outcome may be defined.

Historically, the first firms to grasp L6S were mainly in the manufacturing sector. This was due to the fact that the core Six Sigma methodology revolved around the reduction of defects in a process (George, 2003). As with Aircraft Engines, this might be a defect in the width of a piece of steel for use in the manufacture of a turbo fan engine. This might typically lead to a catastrophic failure, so a solid quantitative methodology lends itself well to the prevention of problems in this type of scenario.

Essentially, L6S seeks to take a practical problem, translate it into a statistical problem, solve it and then translate it back into a practical solution. This is where the focus of this paper will be, however to better outline the building blocks of Six Sigma we need to first look at the methodology behind the paper and its component parts. The focus of this paper is not to run through a full L6S DMAIC (Define, Measure, Analyse, Improve and Control) process (Tennant, 2001), rather to focus specifically on a statistical methodology within the Analyse phase and the rigors of hypothesis testing and the outputs of same that have led to the findings in this paper.

### **A Case Study for Best Practice Deployment of Lean 6 Sigma Statistical Analysis for the Barclays Premier League**

There is currently a keen interest to understand how statistical data may be effectively harnessed by football teams in order to formulate strategic insights to improve performance and illuminate trends and relationships between variables recorded (Kuper and Szymanski, 2010; Wilson, 2008 and Winner, 2001) .

Please note that the case and the associated opinions as outlined in this paper in no way represents the opinions of either the data provider or the Barclays Premier League and are those of the authors of this paper only. Please also refer to Appendix 1 onwards following the reference section.

#### *Data Recording Business Model*

The dataset contains technical statistics gathered across all matches from the 2008/09 Premier League. An example of the types of data gathered is as follows (number of):

- Successful Passes
- Unsuccessful Passes
- Shots on Target
- Free Kicks Taken

- Crosses
- Corners
- Headers
- Interceptions, etc

The data utilised for this paper related to all 20 teams within the Barclays Premier League for the 2008/2009 season, namely:

- Manchester United
- Chelsea
- Arsenal
- Liverpool
- Spurs
- Everton
- Aston Villa
- Blackburn Rovers
- West Ham United
- Sunderland
- Bolton
- Newcastle United
- West Brom
- Middlesbrough
- Birmingham
- Fulham
- Portsmouth
- Manchester City
- Wigan Athletic
- Stoke City

## **Statistical Approach Adopted for the Purposes of this Study**

*What is ordinal logistic regression?*

Ordinal responses are categorical variables that have three or more possible levels with a natural ordering, such as the result of football match. A win is better than a draw and a draw is better than a loss.

Ordinal logistic regression is a generalisation of binary logistic regression that uses multiple logits, as opposed to just one logit, to model ordinal response variables with more than three possible outcomes. As with binary or nominal regression, ordinal logistic regression may be used to model the relationship between a response and one or more factors and covariates.

Ordinal logistic regression is used when the response is ordinal (as outlined above) and when you wish to assume the effect of the predictor is constant across all response categories.

Ordinal logistic regression may be used to:

- Find the factors and covariates that significantly influence the probability of a specific outcome from an ordinal response
- Estimate the probability of a particular ordinal outcome for a given set of conditions
- Classify observations into an ordinal category

Ordinal logistic regression answers questions such as:

- Which factors and covariates can be used to predict the category of the response?
- What is the probability of a response category under factor/ covariate combinations?
- Which response category is the most likely under certain factor/ covariate combinations?

Ultimately, what ordinal logistic regression allows us to do is determine the relationship between various input factors (Zelterman, 2006) such as successful passes, headers and free kicks with the probability of an event such as win or a loss occurring.

### **Event Probabilities**

When an ordinal regression model is run, it is possible to generate and save event probabilities that relate to the model itself. For example, there may be a combination of factors that are built such as successful passes, headers and free kicks. This set of factors can then be used to generate a series of probabilities in relation to a response event such as a win, draw or loss. In other words, how likely

are factors such as, successful passes, headers and free kicks, to predict an outcome of a win, draw or loss?

*A word about p-values*

Whenever you do a test in Minitab (Minitab is a statistical package that is used in conjunction with L6S), it will return a p-value. That's ok as long as it means something when you look at it. The easiest way to determine what it means is to always regard the p-value as the probability of the null hypothesis being true. Again that's ok if you know what the null hypothesis is (Minitab, 2010).

The industry standard is to have 95% confidence in any conclusions that we draw i.e. a 5% risk of being wrong. All hypothesis tests are set up so that you prove the alternate hypothesis, so if the p-value is greater than 0.05, you do not reject the null hypothesis. If it's below 0.05 you do reject the null hypothesis (Brook, 2004). The following table may help with some examples.

**Table 1 Examples of P-value Tests**

Statistical test	Null hypothesis P-value >0.05	Alternate hypothesis P-value < 0.05
Normality test	The data follows a normal distribution.	The data is not normal
2 sample T-test	The mean of one sample is the same as the mean of the other	The sample means are different
Anova	All the sample means are the same.	At least one of the sample means is different from the others
Contingency table	All the observed values are what you would expect to see. i.e. There is no difference between the samples tested	The observed values are not what you would expect. There is a difference between the samples tested

*Stepwise approach to ordinal logistic regression*

A final consideration that was made before the analysis was run related to the manner in which the variables would be eliminated to refine down the initial list of possible inputs to ultimately determine the critical few having the closest relationship with the result response.

The method chosen is termed a backward stepwise approach. With this approach, a long list of factors such as successful passes, headers, free kicks, crosses, corners, interceptions etc are tested against the responses of a win, draw or loss.

If the resulting p-value is greater than 0.05, then the associated variable is removed and the ordinal regression model is run again. Once we are left with only those

variables that have associated p-values of less than 0.05, we stop and consider these factors as having the most significant relationship with the response.

The associated event probabilities for these factors may be stored and a plot of these made against one of the variables to see what relationship may exist (Brook, 2004).

In summary, the approach adopted when running this analysis is as follows:

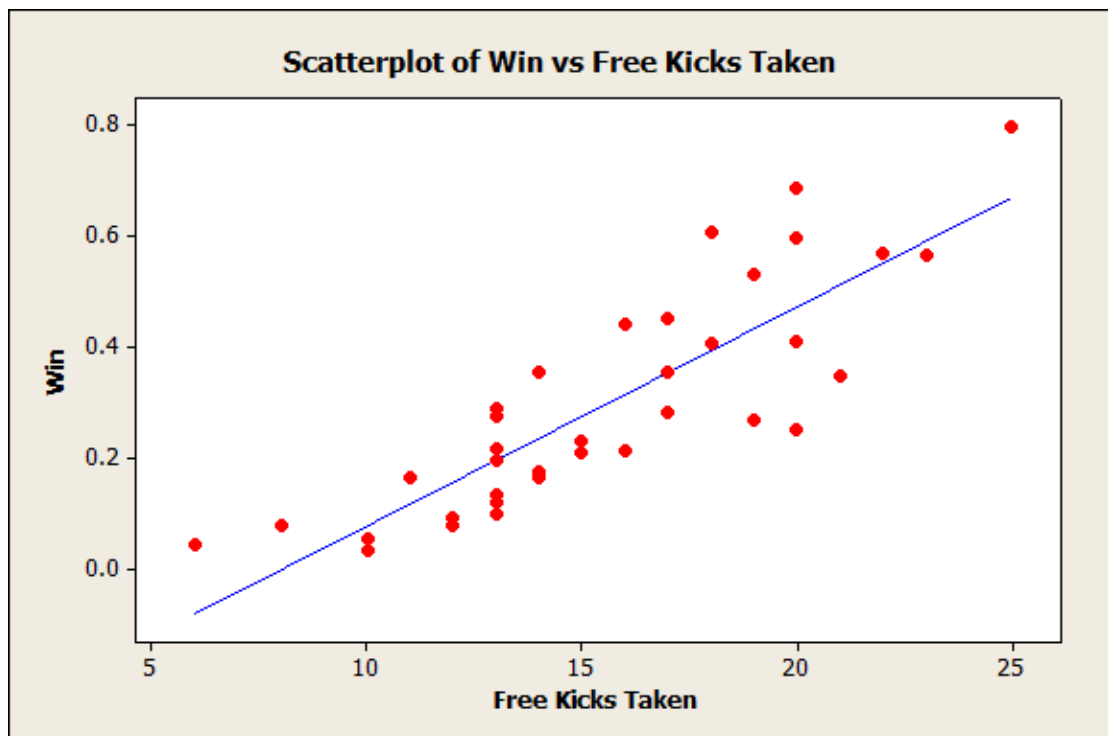
- Build a model based on successful passes, tackles, crosses and free kicks etc
- Run it and then take out the higher value P's until the model got down to those at or around 0.05
- Run a scatterplot for the event probabilities against the variables

All findings were checked by two independent statistical technical specialists with a view to challenging the logic and corroborating the outputs.

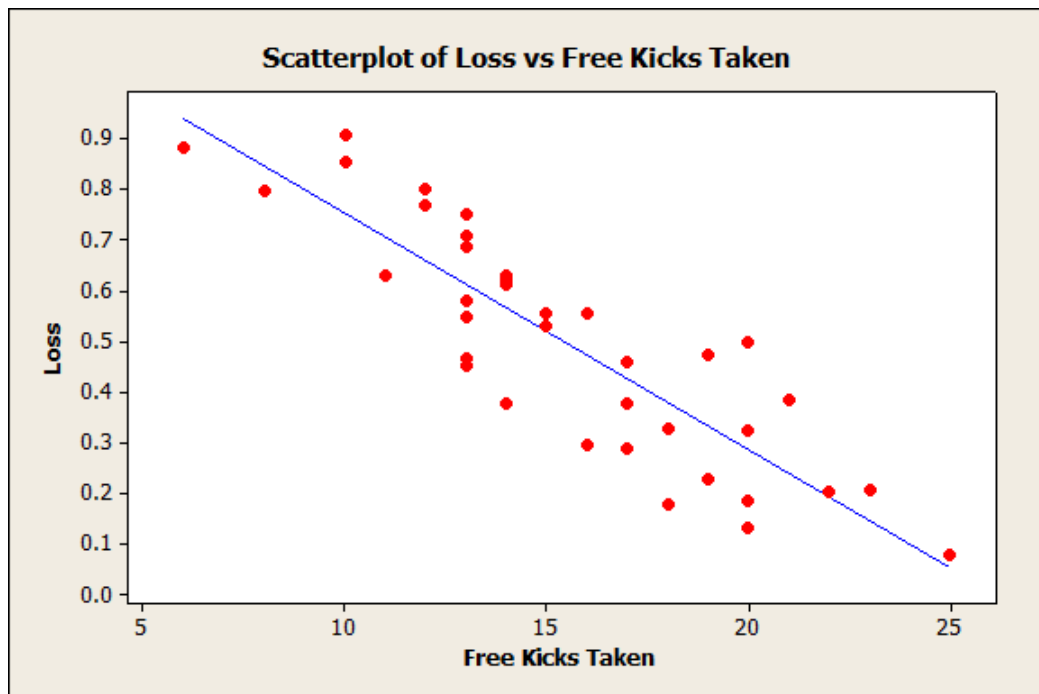
## Findings

In the example given for Team A (below), the outputs from the ordinal model are given after the stepwise process has been completed. The most significant factors and their associated p-values are highlighted in the footnote at the end of the paper. In the following figures, a plot of the event probabilities is then outlined showing how those event probabilities relate to free kicks.

**Figure 1 Scatterplot of Win vs. Free Kicks (Team A)**



**Figure 2 Scatterplot Loss vs. Free Kicks Taken (Team A)**



So, when more free kicks are awarded to team A, there is a higher probability of a win. Conversely, as the number of free kicks awarded decreases the probability of a loss increases.

What makes this type of analysis all the more revealing and significant is that the outputs show that there are variables – in this instance free kicks – that are significantly related to the outcome of a game. There is scope here for teams with this information to determine how to best take a strategic approach to counter teams they are playing that have a proven capability in their success in this regard. For example, for team A in this instance, there is scope to look at how it may maximise its advantage in this area and also an opportunity to both enhance its performance and look to broaden its capability in other areas of the field.

In the example given for Team B in Figures 3 and 4, the outputs from the ordinal model are given after the stepwise process has been completed. The most significant factors and their associated p-values are highlighted in the footnote at the end of the paper. In the following figure, a plot of the event probabilities is then outlined showing how those event probabilities relate to free kicks.

Figure 3 Scatterplot of Win vs. Free Kicks Taken (Team B)

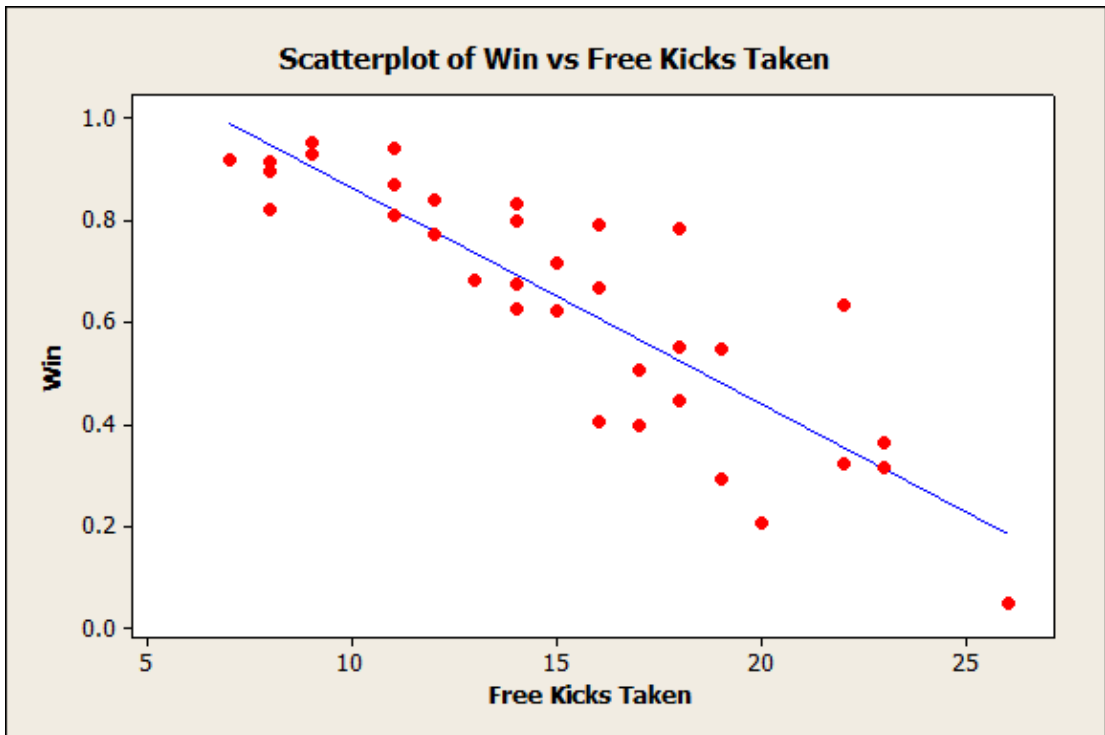
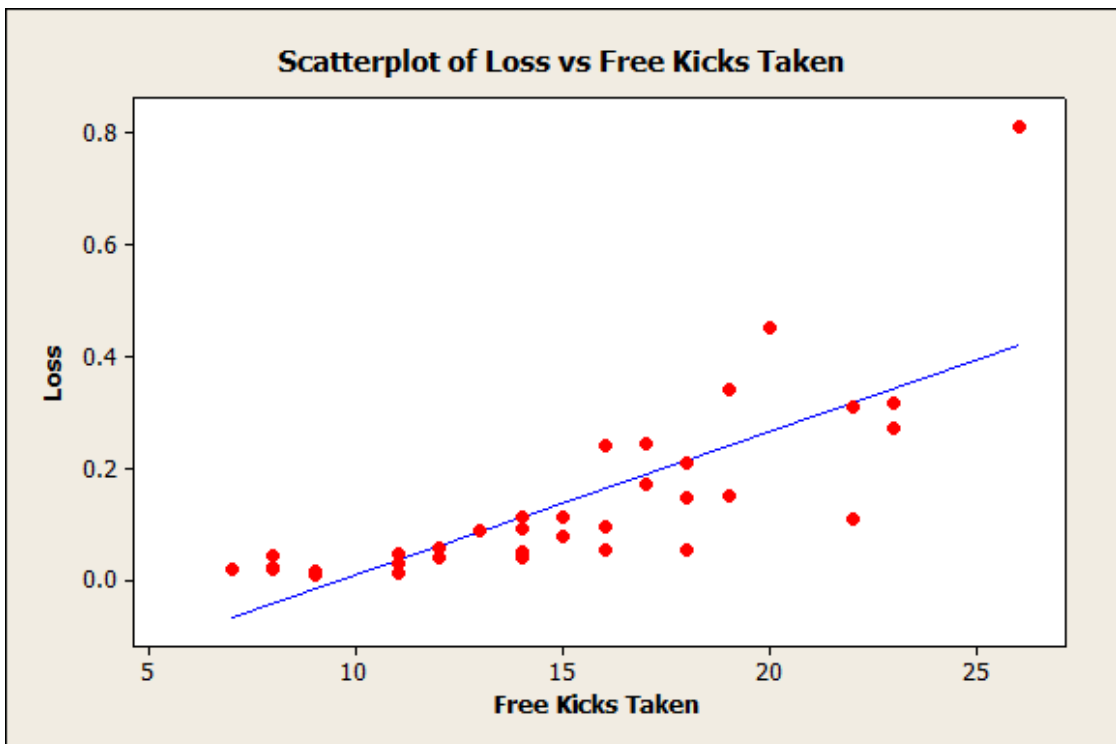


Figure 3 Scatterplot of Loss vs. Free Kicks Taken (Team B)



However, what we see here is a very different outcome to that determined for Team A. When more free kicks are awarded to team B, there is a lower probability of a win. Conversely, as the number of free kicks awarded decreases the probability of a loss decreases. This would appear to be counter-intuitive based on the findings generated for Team A.

However, it could be that Team B is winning more free kicks because they are being fouled more often in possession as the opposing teams seek to breakdown play and reduce the fluidity of Team B's game. There is again scope here for teams with this information to determine how to best take a strategic approach to counter teams they are playing with a proven capability in their tactics in this regard. As for team B in this instance, there is scope to look at how it may counter its disadvantage in this area and also an opportunity to both enhance its performance and look to broaden its capability in other areas of the field, as was the case with Team A.

### **Control over the Analytical Approach Applied**

Clearly, there is huge scope here to analyse data in a number of different ways and the challenge with that is to have consistency of the application of this analysis and in the associated interpretation of same. A potential control for the clubs would be the following:

- Communicate the analysis process and benefits clearly
- Train clubs to use appropriate software and follow the stepwise method
- Arrange for clubs to participate in developing further analysis
- Coaching for the clubs in making the most of the data

### **Conclusions and Recommendations**

Clearly a well-structured analytical approach can be illuminating for explaining the performance of clubs that may in turn improve the insights that a manager has to boost both team and business results. Although the approach taken is very much exploratory in nature, with the advent of the new UEFA Fair Play rules, there is potentially some real relevancy in the outputs to be gained. Due to commercial sensitivities, only two clubs (A and B) have been outlined here however there are some significant findings which can be summarised as follows:

- All 20 clubs were analysed and a number of key variables were identified such as Free Kicks, Successful Passes, Tackles, Interceptions, Dribbles and Shots on Target that had a direct relationship for specific clubs to the result response of an event probability of a win, draw or loss.

- Due to the volume of data generated by the data provider there is clear potential to run further analysis to harness and expand on the multiple variables and interactions of same that may become apparent
- There is clearly scope to run a similar exercise based on the season just passed by way of further confirmation – season passed, 2009/ 10. This is currently in progress and some further interesting findings are being uncovered. The approach may still be exploratory but the findings are illuminating aspects of the inputs within a game that are of significance to teams
- There is an opportunity to put the capability to run this type of analysis in the hands of the clubs through provision of the Minitab software and associated training
- In turn, and as the capability of the clubs grows, there is a clear opportunity for the data provider to offer a more tailored service with regards to the data provided
- Finally, there is a real opportunity here to inform and educate the professional football industry in the use of more sophisticated statistical techniques

One of the key aspects here is that a project with a relatively short timeframe was able to achieve such significant insights across the Barclays Premier League. With the steady increase of player power and clubs' finances stretched to cover player costs, there is an opportunity to apply statistical tools such as Ordinal Logistic Regression to better understand the most appropriate tactical formation to adopt and also help define player recruitment strategy based on significant factors from games. There are lessons that can be learned here to benefit clubs in both the immediate short-term and beyond.

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### Explanatory note on P-values

A more correct approach to referring to P-values is that they are areas under a distribution curve. A P-value obtained from a t-test is the area of a t-distribution beyond a magnitude of a given t-statistic. Analysis of variance uses an F-distribution for finding a P-value, and so on. Commonly P-values are referred to as probabilities as a method to help understanding of the terminology, although strictly speaking this is not quite true.

In practice you can never prove a null hypothesis is true, you can only prove when a null is false. Tests should be designed in such a way that an item of interest can be proved, by rejecting the null. An example here would be that the number of shots on goal has an impact on the chance of winning. Our null should be that shots on goal have no effect on the chance of winning; our alternate hypothesis would then be that it does effect the chance of winning. The emphasis then is proving an effect, rather than proving something has no effect.

## Appendix 2

### P-Values relating to Exhibits 1&2

Logistic Regression Table				Odds	95% CI		
Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	Z	P	Ratio	Lower	Upper
Const(1)	6.08502	2.35394	2.59	0.010			
Const(2)	7.18842	2.44007	2.95	0.003			
Free Kicks Taken	-0.224481	0.0891239	-2.52	0.012	0.80	0.67	0.95
Headers	-0.0270908	0.0174553	-1.55	0.121	0.97	0.94	1.01

### Appendix 3

#### P-Values relating to Exhibits 3&4

Logistic Regression Table			Odds		95% CI		
Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	Z	P	Ratio	Lower	Upper
Const(1)	-4.54888	1.69035	-2.69	0.007			
Const(2)	-3.01108	1.57610	-1.91	0.056			
Corners Taken	-0.215113	0.135624	-1.59	0.113	0.81	0.62	1.05
Free Kicks Taken	0.239165	0.0910662	2.63	0.009	1.27	1.06	1.52

## Discussion Paper

### 'What Do I Know?': How British and Swedish Newspaper Art Critics Approach Contemporary African Art

Henrik Lindén

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This paper sets out to discuss the art critic as mediator of contemporary African art in Britain and Sweden. The paper will bring to the surface some ideas concerning art criticism and contemporary African art, and through examples from reviews of *Africa Remix* it will point out an important field of inquiry – the role of the newspaper art critic as protector of traditional eurocentric values.

The discourse surrounding contemporary African art is not easily defined, and there will be no attempts to do so in this limited space. However, to point out the complexity of the field without being too elusive, the following quote serves as a general guide for what is referred to in this paper: "Contemporary African art denotes a field of complex artistic production, research, interpretation, and a repository of rich intellectual discovery at the intersection of the shifting models of cultural, political, social and epistemological analyses in which Africa is meaningfully interpolated" (Enwezor and Okeke-Agulu, 2009, p. 11).

In the 1990s, large group exhibitions in Europe and North America played a big role in steering the field of contemporary African art away from an anthropological and ethnographic discourse, and into the field of international contemporary art. In the wake of *Magiciens de la Terre* (Paris, 1989) – widely criticised for its focus on the "primitive", and adhering to an imperialistic view of non-European art (Deliss, 1995) – and *Africa Explores* (New York, 1991), with its celebration of the self-taught, and therefore more "authentic" artist (Kasfir, 1992; Deliss, 1995 and Enwezor and Okeke-Agulu, 2009), a more nuanced picture of contemporary African art emerged through exhibitions such as *The Short Century* (1994) and *Seven Stories About Modern Art in Africa* (1995-1996). These, and more recent exhibitions including *Authentic/Ex-Centric* (2001), *Looking Both Ways* (2004) and *Africa Remix* (2004-2007), along with articles in journals such as *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art* and *ThirdText*, have challenged old representations of Africa in art history, and also what Salah M. Hassan (2008) calls the "artificial boundaries" between northern and sub-Saharan Africa. This exclusion of North Africa was widely accepted well into the 1980s (Vansina, 1988; Hassan, 2008 and Njami, 2005) and is still present today. The October Gallery in London, one of the leading galleries in Europe when it comes to promoting art from all over the world, chose to state on their website that the 2009 exhibition *Transvanguardie* included artists from Algeria and Africa (October Gallery, 2009).

Prior to the paradigm shift in the 1990s, private collectors often acted as curators for exhibitions of African art in museums, with no other selection criteria than their own taste (Picton, 1999). Consequently, private collectors have played a big part in the

mediation of African art in the Western world, as stated by Christopher B. Steiner (2002, p. 133) “[p]erhaps more so than in any other field in the world of art, collectors have dominated the formation of taste and construction of aesthetic value in the study and exhibition of African art.” In the 1980s and 1990s, when postcolonial ideas found their way into the museum and gallery world, the power shifted away from collectors and towards curators who were trained and experienced in the field of visual art rather than anthropology. While curators, of course, have significant power over an artist’s career and status (Hassan, 2008), the role of the critics is vital in that they provide a link between the artist and the wider audience (Deepwell, 1998, p. 11), and they too have the power to define an artist’s style and identity (Meyer, 2003, p. 349).

When discussing art criticism, it is important to point out that traditionally there has been a divide between scholarly and journalistic art critics (Deepwell, 1998 and Elkins, 2008). This gap between different practices of art criticism is evident when considering the lack of interest British newspapers showed in *Seven Stories About Modern Art in Africa* when it was exhibited in London in 1995 (Court, 1999, p. 166), despite Irit Rogoff’s claim that the interest in cultural differences and postcolonial issues characterised art criticism in the 1990s (Rogoff, 2008, p. 99). In addition, Jan-Gunnar Sjölin (2003, p. 133) has pointed out that contextualisation is overtly emphasised when newspaper critics deal with non-European artists, and that their artworks are often automatically seen as expressions of origin and identity.

During the past decades, the “crisis in art criticism” has been an ever-present topic of discussion among art historians (Elkins, 2008; Hassan, 2010 and Stallabrass, 2006). James Elkins, for example, argues that art critics since the 1980s are less prone to express an opinion, as “they shy away from strong commitments” (Elkins, 2008, p. 79). It is worth noting that the “lack of judgment” rhetoric is a common argument against the postmodern rejection of traditional value systems, often closely linked to Eurocentric hegemonies – thus implying that the rise of postcolonial thought coincides with the loss of cultural value parameters. On the other hand, a strong critique against postmodern culture is the increased commercialisation of the contemporary art world, and Julian Stallabrass (2006) argues that criticism will be determined by what people (the wider audience for art) want not just the art world insiders. But in the case of contemporary African art, do the art world insiders know what they want, and what do the public want?

Who is this public, then? Andrew McClelland states that “there is no one public for art; the public for art is diverse”, but this is contrasted against “the fictive oneness of the public posited by mission statement issuing from museums” (McClelland, 2003, p. 1). In line with this Elizabeth Harney (in Hassan, 2008, p. 178) argues that it is difficult for museums to “avoid the expectations by numerous publics to present an essentialized Africa”, but that curators at the same time are struggling with the definition of the public – “which public are we talking about?” The idea of the fictive homogenous art public can be traced back to 18th Century France, when critics such as Denis Diderot called forth a public – that strictly speaking did not yet exist – when reviewing the Paris Salon, to be able to take “the point of view of a public visitor to the exhibition” (Newman, 2008, p. 52). According, to Michael Newman, by doing this, the critics invented a public. He suggests “the critic ‘stands for’ a member

of the public that he creates through his writing" (Newman, 2008, p. 53). Thus, the critic creates the public he both impersonates and addresses – when looking a bit closer at some British and Swedish reviews of *Africa Remix*, a touring "blockbuster" exhibition visiting Düsseldorf, London, Paris, Tokyo, Stockholm and Johannesburg between 2004 and 2007. The works of approximately 70 to 90 artists were on show in each location.

In his review of *Africa Remix* in *The Guardian* – after fiercely criticising the exhibition, and being confident enough to state that it "misdescribes the continent" – Jonathan Jones reveals that "[i]n the end, this is a subject I probably shouldn't even be writing about. What do I know?" (Jones, 2005). If this is the case, why does he make all these statements about the exhibition in the first place? The only art at the exhibition Jones is complimentary about are Chéri Samba's (colourful) paintings, since "Samba seems to tell us about African contemporary life, rather than setting out to fit into a global art system" (Jones, 2005). While *The Guardian's* treatment of the exhibition was not entirely expected, it is less surprising that Brian Sewell of *The Evening Standard* – considering his well-known aversion to female artists, for example – describes the exhibition as a "wretched assembly of posttribal artefacts, exhausted materials re-used, and what would easily pass for the apprentice rubbish of the European art school" (Sewell, 2005).

Both Jones and Sewell are confident in their role as critics within a discourse that takes for granted "the idea of the European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures" (Said, 1978, p. 7). Jones's half-hearted "excuses" only adds to what Rory Bester argues is the "inability to see beyond what the ethnographic code offers" (Bester, 2009, p. 83).

The approach of the Swedish critics appears to be slightly different. In her review in *Dagens Nyheter*, the leading Swedish quality newspaper, Jessica Kempe shows a more positive attitude to the exhibition, but diminishes the importance of the artworks when she implies that the quality does not matter: "Good or bad exhibition? Irrelevant question!" (own translation) (Kempe, 2006). When studying reviews in all the major national and local newspapers, what stands out is the faiblesse for discussing how one is *expected* to view African art and how African art was *previously* viewed (Lindén, 2009). Even if this, of course, is discussed critically, the focus is placed on the expectations of the public. Thus the critics assume that the visitors' idea of African art and culture has not changed over the past century. In addition to this, the reviewers separate themselves from the public by describing the imagined expectations of the general visitor, and that they themselves stand above this. It is clearly decided by the critics what public they are addressing, in that the readers' initial expectations of *Africa Remix* would be that of an exhibition promoting the idea of contemporary African art as naïve, colourful and primitive – what we might call an "ignorant" public; a public that is both created and impersonated by the critic.

This small sample suggests that both the British and Swedish critics promote a condescending attitude towards these exhibitions, thus conforming to a eurocentric view of African art. The tactics are different of course, the Swedish critics being more cautious and aware of postcolonial structures, but "the inability to see beyond what the ethnographic code offers" is still evident. In 1994 when Okwui Enwezor launched

*Nka*, the “goal was to embrace the complexities, contradictions, and anxieties of contemporary African artists struggling for visibility beyond the narrow ethnic enclave to which they had been consigned, but to follow the course of the development of their ideas, forms and practices with sophisticated tools, not with sophistry and mystification” (Enwezor, in Okeke-Agulu, 2010, p. 90) This has, unfortunately, not rubbed off on the newspaper critics, who are still using sophistry to illustrate the superiority of Eurocentric values.

It is widely argued within media and communication studies that the mass media reproduce rather than question dominant ideologies (McCullagh, 2002; Eldridge, Kitzinger and Williams, 1997 and Hardy 2008), including traditional cultural conceptions and structures of hegemony (Hall, 1997). It is not surprising then, that newspaper art criticism is lagging behind, or is out of sync with what is going on within the artistic and scholarly fields of contemporary African art. However, when editors assign specific review jobs to critics – experts as they ought to be – a certain level of knowledge, or at least commitment to the task, would be expected. The field of contemporary African art is part of the international contemporary art market. While the complexity and diversity of the field of contemporary African is acknowledged by curators and scholars, newspapers, to a large extent, continue to mediate an outdated and narrow version of contemporary African art.

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## Book review

**Morgan, M., Lugosi, P. and Ritchie, J. R. B. (Eds.). (2010). *The Tourism and Leisure Experience*. Bristol: Channel View Publications**

**Ivna Reic**

London Metropolitan Business School, London Metropolitan University

*The Tourism and Leisure Experience* successfully builds on the foundations set by two seminal works from the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century: Pine and Gilmore's (1999) *The Experience Economy* and Jensen's (1999) *The Dream Society*. It offers an interesting overview of what constitutes an experience in the domain of leisure and tourism. The concept of 'experience' naturally emerged as a result of the interaction of two opposing, yet interlinked, phenomena. The relentless 'McDonaldization' of society (Ritzer, 1993) which is linked to the 'commodification' of culture and the need for a new approach in appealing to consumers' aspirations and desires by offering a means of escaping everyday life. This need is, in part, served through what is described as the 'Disneyization' of society, by the application of primarily four techniques: theming, dedifferentiation of consumption, merchandising and emotional labour (Bryman, 1999).

The more remote origins of the theory of experience can be traced to the *theory of flow*, pioneered by Csikszentmihalyi (1975, 1990, 1998), which has since transcended psychology and is now used in many different contexts, most notably in experiential marketing. In the context of leisure and tourism, the 'experience' is very much dependent not just on the characteristics of the tourist destination and the activities on offer (Mathieson and Wall, 1995), but also on the motivations, expectations, needs and desires of the tourist. As such, the tourism and leisure experience is framed within the social, economic and political context of the destination, as well as the psychological context of the individual, and also created through the interaction of the individual with the location. It is this communication that is the basis of a tourism and leisure experience (McCabe, 2009).

The text places the tourist experience at the very centre of all tourist activity and explores the phenomenon from both an academic and practitioner point of view. It is divided into three intuitive parts. The first offers theoretical conceptualisations of the tourism and leisure experience, the second focuses on researching the experience, with an emphasis on interpretivist and constructivist methodologies, and the third examines the practicalities of managing the experience and delivering customer satisfaction.

The text represents a compact blend of selected ideas on the topic with a natural progression from theoretical concepts to practical case studies. Initial chapters analyse the theoretical underpinnings of experiences, others conceptually explore the interdependence of the tourist activity, tourist's internal motivations and expectations and their final sense of (dis)satisfaction and the final chapters focus on the practicalities of managing those experiences. By setting the concept of an

experience in a wide array of contexts, through the use of diverse case studies, the text raises and addresses a variety of questions about the implications of the global shift from products and services towards experiences (Pine and Gilmore, 1999). It reveals that this shift has already begun to create an entirely new context for leisure and tourism activities and that tourism and leisure service providers will need to adapt quickly and proactively to, if they are to gain and maintain a competitive advantage. Although the full range of managerial implications of this new reality is yet to be clearly identified, there are strong indications that authenticity, interactivity and storytelling are the pillars of the new, experience economy.

*The Tourism and Leisure Experience* helps define the new context of service provision within the sector, addresses key issues and provides several case studies to highlight the practical implications associated with adopting an experiential approach to tourism and leisure. It is a worthwhile read for anyone studying, researching or providing tourism and leisure experiences.

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## Call for Papers – LJTSCI Volume 5 Edition 7, Autumn 2011

London is one of the world's most heterogeneous and cosmopolitan cities. It is a quintessential 'global city' located at the interface of manifold networks and flows. *The London Journal of Tourism, Sport and Creative Industries* (LJTSCI) seeks to publish articles on a variety of related topics which encapsulates this diversity and the nature of its local-global intersections. A **general call for papers** is now being made for the next edition of the journal.

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