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Regenerating a coastal town through art: *Dismaland* and the (l)imitations of antagonistic art practice in the city

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Abstract

Coastal cities have increasingly welcomed initiatives for producing temporary urban art spaces to lure tourists and revitalize the local economy. This article examines the under-explored contested relationships between a major temporary art event and social (dis)engagement in the context of coastal urban regeneration. During the pop-up art event *Dismaland* (2015), led by the reputed graffiti artist Banksy and company, the coastal resort of Weston-super-Mare in England experienced an upsurge of international visitors. Banksy envisaged this "Bemusement Park", situated in an abandoned lido, as an antagonist twist of Disneyland and the commercial modus operandus of theme parks. Drawing on discourse analysis of expert and public perspectives and autoethnographic experience, this article challenges the experienced extent of antagonistic art practice in juxtaposition to the formal discourse of creators and urban policymakers. The examination of the event's artistic, behavioral, spatial and temporal frameworks shows how it ambiguously navigated between authentic and engineered trajectories of involving its target audiences. The creators' anarchist plea for radical change was ambivalently met with appreciation of an urban art space for serious contemplation as well as a perceived lack of local community investment – the latter rendering *Dismaland* an urban 'art colony' that fostered an elitist global art market rather than urban-citizen-led participation. The in-depth case study concludes that greater attention, both in urban policy and scholarship, is needed to the implications of the production of temporary urban art spaces for immediate inclusive engagement with

end users as well as sustained community development. The study particularly calls for caution in assuming inclusive community benefits of art-led regeneration as abundantly ascribed in creative city theories and urban policies.

Keywords

Art-led regeneration; Cultural policy; Coastal city; Antagonism; Social engagement; *Dismaland*

1. Introduction

Overseas competition, economic stagnation and continuing austerity since the 1990s have led to the decline of visitors to seaside resorts in middle-sized cities across the British coast, including Margate, Barry, Liverpool and Weston-super-Mare (Purdue et al., 2002; Davies, 2009; Edensor & Millington, 2013; Ward, 2016), which were once traditionally attractive as 'bucket and spade' holiday destinations (Rickey & Houghton, 2009). In the wake of increasing levels of social deprivation, these coastal towns have explored ways for economic revitalization (Beatty, 2011). The medium-sized town of Weston-super-Mare with a residential population count of over 77,000 (North Somerset Council, 2016b) is one of them and forms the geographical locus of this article. This previously popular seaside resort, situated under the unitary authority of North Somerset in England, received worldwide media attention when a Banksy-led art collective launched the temporary exhibition *Dismaland* (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2), lasting from 21 August through 27 September 2015, and henceforth attracted a significant number of national and international visitors. It was hosted in a 2.5-acre disused Tropicana recreation facility, featuring Europe's former vastest outdoor swimming pool (Swirsky, 2015).

Although urban scholarship has largely attended to post-industrial art-led regeneration in metropolitan urban contexts (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Grodach, 2013; Markusen, 2014; Thompson, 2016), hitherto there has remained little consideration of coastal contexts of the production of urban art-spaces, and especially of the social implications of a short-lived but impactful event such as *Dismaland*. This event showcased multimedia artwork, installations and performances by 58 established artists, including Damien Hirst, Ben Long and Jenny Holzer, and various live shows with concert finales by De La Soul and Pussy

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Riot. Hudson (2015) contemplated the exhibition as, à la Wagner, *Gesamtkunstwerk*: "a single total work of art of which Banksy is the author".

Banksy's installation of a life-size inflatable doll of a Guantánamo Bay inmate in Disneyland in Los Angeles in 2006 (see Nath, 2013) set a notable precedent for reading *Dismaland* as an antipode of Disneyland and theme parks in general. *Dismaland*'s leaflet satirically advertised itself as "Bemusement Park": "UK's most disappointing new visitor attraction! A festival of art, amusements and entry-level anarchism" (Banksy, 2015, NP). Banksy's radical rationale for fighting against "global injustice" (ibid.) resonates with academic debates on antagonistic social art practice (e.g. Kester, 2011; Bishop, 2012). From here, this article steers further attention to the medium of a celebrious temporary art event in an urban subcenter location. Bishop (2012) stressed how antagonistic art practice typically highlights the unequal power relationships underlying social problems.

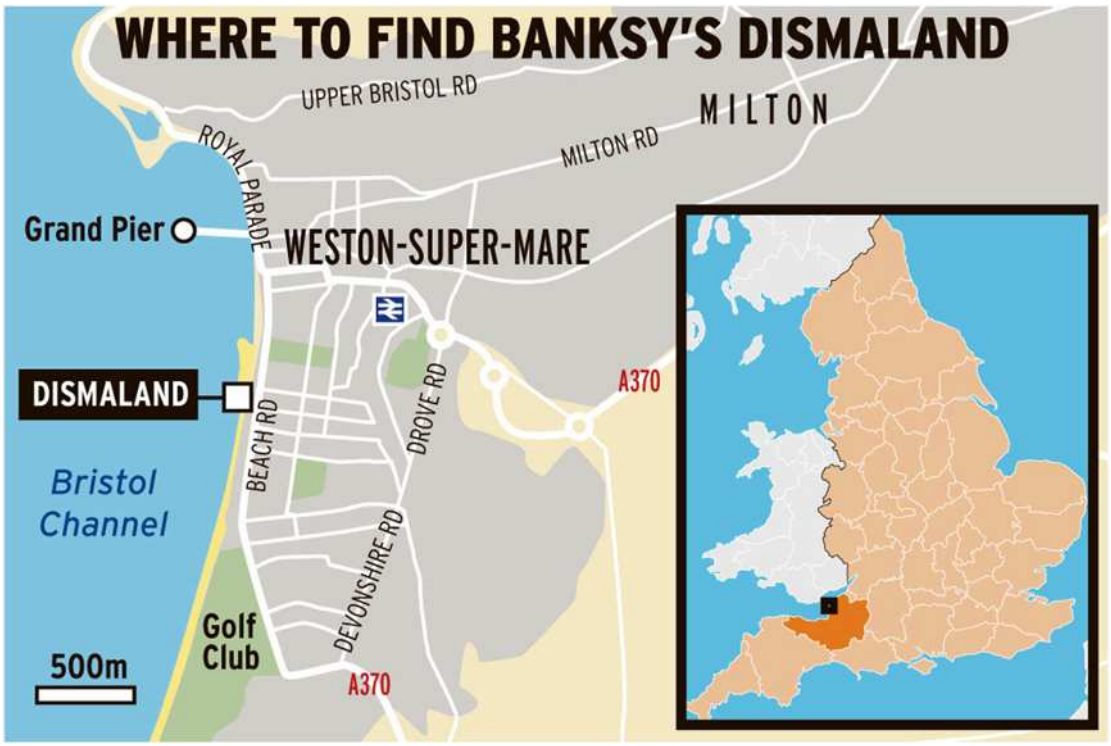

Fig. 1. *Dismaland*'s location as announced in the Daily Mirror on 20 August 2015. National and international media profusely reported about this urban pop-up art event. *Credit:* Mirrorpix.

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Fig. 2. The official *Dismaland* exhibition brochure and leaflet including park legend. The limited editions of these memorabilia, originally for sale at the exhibition venue only, have become collectors' items. *Photo credit:* Martin Zebracki.

Gladston (2016), drawing from Bishop (2012), conveyed that antagonistic art might "instill a distinctly [adversarial-]critical relationship between viewers and instances of social inequality/relations of dominance" (Gladston, 2016, p. 4) and, as such, could "uphold some sort of critical gap between art and society, including a number of distinctly alienating works" (ibid., p. 69). After Bishop (2012), such *relational* practice embodies the ambit of *socially engaged art*. This terms essentially means the production of art through social relations, implicating the actions of encountering and participating as well as the conditions of being engaged, which may be enveloped in collaborative production and critical learning (see Bishop, 2012; Zebracki, 2012). That said, Kester (2011) casted doubt by asserting how antagonistic art practice, construed by this art historian as a politics of art activism, may hold a paradoxical tendency to imitate social injustice and symbolically manipulate user participation. This critique can also be traced in Kwon's (2004) argument on the

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(un)deliberate exploitation of local communities in participatory art practices, which might be complicit in sustaining unequal power relationships and the unfettered market demands of creative industries (see also Trumble & van Riemsdijk, 2016). Following this critique, privileged spectatorship of mostly well-educated and cosmopolitan consumers of the art world would then be retained, for whom the artistic representation of injustice may well become an exclusive experiential realm of pleasure (Kester, 2011 in Kent & Prasetyo, 2016).

Urban scholarship has critiqued grand claims proffered by creative city theories regarding assumed positive impacts of the production of urban art spaces on its audiences and local communities (see Florida, 2012; Grodach, 2013; Pratt & Hutton, 2013; Markusen, 2014). Nevertheless, the socially inclusive/exclusive dimensions of art-led revitalization through the specific context of a contested temporary landmark art event within a coastal urban setting remains a conceptually and empirically under-explored niche. This article raises questions about ambiguous authentic and engineered mechanisms of antagonistic art practice. It examines the tense relationships between a major international urban-based ephemeral art event and engagement/ disengagement with both local communities and wider publics in the regeneration context of a seaside location.

The article proceeds as follows. I explain the research methods and setting. I then dissect urban literature on art-led regeneration and antagonistic social art practice through the formal reasoning of creators and urban policymakers involved in *Dismaland*'s art-making. I also critically attend to the alleged impacts of what its creators regarded as a socially engaged art event for both the urban community and wider spectatorship. To contrast formal discourse, I challenge theory and practice of art-led social engagement by scrutinizing mediated public receptions of this temporary art event, where I also incorporate my very own experiences as visitor-researcher. I conclude with reflections on the implications of the production of a major international temporary exhibition space as incubator for urban community (dis)engagement.

2. Methodology

This study was based on discourse analysis and auto-ethnography. The former implied the analysis of expert and public perspectives, which I derived from formal documentation issued by *Dismaland*'s creators, local policy reports, as well as viewpoints from experts,

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critics and everyday users as they were mediated over (social) media – the foremost part of the sources is incorporated into this article's body of analysis. Discourse analysis basically involved an analytical social constructionist focus on communicative human interactions through language, either written or spoken (see Potter, 1996). It is a method widely used across the humanities and social sciences and, as such, holds multifaceted provenances, definitions and epistemological beliefs (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Across the board, discourse analysis is appropriated as a concern with everyday social and cultural perspectives as they are enacted by 'realist' language, which exist in the mind, body and world (Gee, 2014). Discourse analysis may offer a fruitful opportunity for providing insights into the dynamic assemblage of context-specific meanings. That is to say, meanings are expressed, shared, negotiated and sometimes contested with specific *intentions* and within specific *contexts* of usage, which are therefore *situated* (ibid.; see also Rose, 1997).

Gee (2014, p. 8) considered discourse analysis an approach to examining meaning-making as an integrated process of informing (i.e. ways of saying), doing (i.e. action) and being (i.e. identity). Valuing language as a political tool, this sociolinguist required discourse analysis – such as *socially engaged* art in the vein of Bishop (2012) – always to be *critical*, rather than descriptive, as it wants to "speak to" and *apply* critiques to the social world (Gee, 2014, p. 9). Based on the poststructuralist precept that the context of meaning is socially constructed, Gee (2014) moreover called for discourse analysis to attend to the dialectic relationship between the self and the social-material environments: "the context is always both simultaneously there (what is physically present and shared knowledge among participants) and construed by the participants, as they interpret the context and what is relevant in and to it in certain ways" (ibid., p. 215).

In this article, I have moreover scaled down, or grounded, the gaze to the analytical level of the very individual, myself: a scholar with a deep interest in public arts. I realize that discourse analysis harbors a great potential for examining documented knowledges to distil conversational threads, gain social relational insights into – and potentially even obtain vicarious experience of – real-world phenomena (see Potter, 1996; Gee, 2014). At the same time, I acknowledge that such second-hand views may pass over the locus of the body and

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primary meaning – considering that situated meaning involves tacit and embodied knowledges of site-specific natural occurrences which might get 'lost' in translation.

Therefore, in complementing 'disembodied' accounts, I performed auto-ethnography. Spry (2001, p. 710) defined this method as "a selfnarrative that critiques the situatedness of self with others in social contexts", which I used to attain first-hand experiences and generate grounded critical knowledges from my own inscription into the area of research, in this case *Dismaland*'s exhibition space. Denzin (2014, p. x) regarded auto-ethnography as critical interpretative method, which, similar to discourse analysis, implicates "a commitment to a social justice agenda" and compels deeper judgement through epiphany, an intuitive yet critical understanding of the social world (ibid.).

To this background, I regard my own visit to *Dismaland* as what Anderson (2004) discerned as peripatetic methodology, a phenomenological 'conversation in place', producing coalescing place understandings, attachments, visceral responses, and vernacular memories (see Osborne, 2002; Edensor & Millington, 2013). Ulmer (1987) described the auto-ethnographic epistemology in contexts of situated meaning-making as 'mystory', i.e. "to approach knowledge from the side of not knowing what it is, from the side of the one who is learning, not from that of the one who already knows" (ibid., pp. 348–349). This answers intellectual assignations of the non-representational and performance turns to shift the gaze from a dominant focus on visual experience towards the doings of encounters, thus bodily experience, including the experience of 'adventure' (see Larsen & Urry, 2011) – *Dismaland* comprised the latter for me.

Denshire (2014) conveyed that auto-ethnography is a "relatively young and contested" experimental method. Contingent and tentative knowledges produced through this method (see Gannon, 2006) have received critiques of a perceived lack of objectivity (e.g. Anderson, 2006), as well as biases and ethical weaknesses due to an ascribed overemphasis on self-interest (e.g. Delamont, 2009). Nevertheless, this method can operate as immediate contact zone to sense social space (Pratt, 1991) and introspectively and genuinely render the relationships between self and culture (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Despite limitations ensuing from issues of positionality (Anderson, 2006), auto-ethnography would enable the researcher to understand the socially grounded nature of 'a way of life' within a *particular* context (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Correspondingly, this method would do justice to

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its central tenets to produce 'believable' and evocative findings (see ibid., 2000; Zebracki, 2016), as well as to comprehending idiosyncratic knowledges as expected in the remit of case study research (Yin, 2013).

In all, the auto-ethnographic method enabled me to critically digest in-situ particularities of the dynamics between humans, art matter and spectatorship. I had been placing the empirical findings in dialogue with the discourse analysis of documented narratives since the event was ushered in. This was attended by a process of triangulation, a crossmethod corroboration technique (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989), where I juxtaposed the analyses of auto-ethnographic experience and documented views with conceptual debates on antagonistic art practice and social (dis)engagement – as pursued hereinafter.

3. Setting the scene: A *tour d'horizon*

The official *Dismaland* brochure (Fig. 2) conveyed that Banksy drew inspiration from the German playwright Bertolt Brecht who once declared that "art is not a mirror held up to reality, but a hammer with which to shape it". Banksy added: "which is fine, but what if you're in a hall of mirrors and the giant hammer is made of foam? His so-called "Bemusement Park" (Banksy, 2015, NP) operated as art-space for existential questioning of humankind. Banksy said he visited Weston "every summer until I was 17" (in Harvey, 2015) and, hence, the choice for the deserted lido as quaint exhibition venue comes from his personal life course:

> I've dreamed of installing a theme park on this site ever since I walked past the building .... But this is not your average sugarcoated fantasyland selling scrapings from the Hollywood floor ... Instead this is an attempt to build a different kind of family day out – one that sends a more appropriate message to the next generation ... The fairy tale is over, the world is sleepwalking towards climate catastrophe, maybe all that escapism will have to wait. (Banksy, 2015, NP)

Following an interview with Banksy, the leading urban underground art magazine *Juxtapoz* portrayed *Dismaland* as "an art show for the 99% who would rather not be at an art

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show" (Pricco, 2015). In place of being located in a major urban art center, Banksy's *Dismaland* was installed "in the center of an unfashionable British seaside town frequented by low-income families" (ibid.), the "perfect art audience" according to Banksy (ibid.). This pop-up exhibit, co-produced by a lineup of reputable artists, within the setting of an abandoned recreational facility of a seaside resort triggered curiosity across the art world and (social) media. Soon it became classified as must see, and Banksy's reputation as being more than 'just' a street artist (see Blanché, 2016) became reinforced. While displayed artworks received ample attention from art critics, the focus of this article is on the overlooked urban geographical dimensions of social (dis)engagement.

Wall (2016) referred "Dismal Land" to a commodification of what Žižek (2014) articulated as 'trouble in paradise': the crisis of capitalism where everything is for immediate consumption and sale. For me, a surrealistic meta-reality of the art-space was produced through the ways in which the creators introduced the park to the wide public and the fashion in which end users (were) engaged in situ and over (social) media. This transformed the art installation into a more-than-urban entity.

My relationship with *Dismaland* intensified when the event was formally announced at the beginning of August 2015. I spent an excessive amount of hours on the exhibition website http://*Dismaland*.co. uk to eventually secure a ticket. The booking system crashed by a "huge demand" (BBC, 2015). Like many others, I came to experience the online and walk-in queues as frustrating affairs. There was speculation whether the ticket sale page on the website, which at some point showed a frozen image of a reservation schedule, was a hoax (ibid.). For Wall (2016), this showed how "the signified has a slippery relationship with the signifier" (ibid., p. 1, after Lacau & Mouffe, 1985), meaning that the audience was packaged around the commotion, being an indelible part of the artwork.

I visited *Dismaland* on 4 September 2015 (Fig. 3). I experienced the exhibit, both in anticipation and during my real-life visit, as the embodiment of, in Stevens' (2007) lexicon, a ludic art-space with strong potentials for playful engagement. In the queue, depressed-looking stewards with Mickey Mouse ears stared at me. They wore pink highvisibility vests with the equally gloomy back text "DISMAL". After a substantial wait, I entered a mock airport stop-and-frisk checkpoint with grumpy live actors at the backdrop of a papier-mâché

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décor (Fig. 4): "an entrance fit for a Kafka story", as worded by Swirsky (2015). This clearly set the tone for the remainder of my amalgam of frivolous, sinister and earnest encounters.

Fig. 3. Snapshot of arrival, after a long wait, at *Dismaland*'s entrance building with menacing gothic-style park sign and flags. *Photo credit:* Martin Zebracki.

Although it is impossible to provide an exhaustive décor sketch of the art park and my ensuing experiences, for me the absurdist ramifications of the in-park exhibits largely unleased an emotional mix of admiration and irritation of counter-Disney, anti-utopian and apocalyptic symbolisms. Artworks that took root in my memory were a distorted Little Mermaid statue in a pool with police water cannon. The adjacent derelict structure in Disney-castle fairy style (Fig. 5) housed Banksy's centerpiece installation. It represented a Cinderella coach crash surrounded by a paparazzi crowd – a macabre anecdotal wink at Princess Diana's fatal car crash. After, I was offered the possibility to buy a Photoshopped image, showing myself in front of this morbid phantasmagoria.

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Fig. 4. Bill Barminski's mock security entrance to *Dismaland*. *Photo credit:* Martin Zebracki. For video coverage, see Zebracki (2015a).

Dismaland continued as a concatenation of witty and disturbing experiential souvenirs. The diorama pond with a remote-control boat overloaded with refugees along the White Cliffs of Dover was particularly the architype of what Plenty (2015, p. 114) described as "a carnival of awfulabilia". Furthermore, there was a showcase of 'cruel designs', political readings, and a Grim Reaper-in-a-bumper car performance (see video in Zebracki, 2015b). Overwhelmed by my hectic wanderings, I found my way out through an 'anti-consumerist' gift shop and entered a world of recollection, introspection and retrospection.

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Fig. 5. Banksy's ramshackle fairy-tale castle and distorted Little Mermaid, a Ferris wheel, a combined riot control vehicle and children's slide, and many more installations in 2.5 acre. *Photo credit:* Martin Zebracki.

4. *Dismaland*: The validation of a coastal urban art-space

British coastal resorts have increasingly aimed at reimagining themselves and promoting place through culture and the arts (Gray, 2006; Ward, 2016). In their case study on the annual, 2-month light festival Blackpool Illuminations, Edensor and Millington (2013, pp. 147–148) argued that "as with most 'traditional' British seaside resorts, numbers of visitors have steadily declined since the 1960s, and new measures have been sought to increase the diversity of the visitor base and provide new attractions".

This rationale indicates the on-going pursuit of many British seaside resorts to engage residents, tourists and new publics with cultural activities – although Agarwal (2002) and Ward (2016) pointed out that the nature of coastal culture-led regeneration in the UK's post-industrial economy cannot be simply generalized. Coastal actors have increasingly and

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typically endeavored to boost conviviality, create place distinctiveness and, consequently, invigorate place identities that are negatively associated with stagnation, bad taste and the production of "a bland cultural and spatial sameness" (Edensor & Millington, 2013, p. 158). Moreover, culture-led regeneration in the post-industrial era suggests in many cases a symbolic-economic transition from a lowerclass to a cosmopolitan creative class (Skeggs, 2004; Peck, 2005), which has been forged alongside neoliberal socio-spatial rearrangements:

> Certain cities (and parts of cities) are celebrated as hotspots of creativity while other places (untrendy cities, provincial towns, lowcost housing estates, suburbs and rural communities) languish in the uncreative world (Edensor & Millington, 2013, p. 151).

Agarwal (2002) stressed that the restructuring contexts of British coastal resorts need to be carefully attended through a differential appreciation of place distinctiveness. The latter is molded by a complex amalgamation of local and external actors and factors, which do not neatly fit so-called resort cycle models and hypotheses of capitalist phases (ibid.). On place distinctiveness, going back in time, Weaver (1933) wrote that …

> Weston-super-Mare is a modern growing seaside resort ... with a large seasonally fluctuating visitor population ... It is supplied with all modern amenities and facilities for amusement and sport, and further, the district abounds in natural beauties and centers of historical and archaeological interest. Weston has the advantages of ready and cheap accessibility from most parts of the country and, as compared with foreign resorts, of the avoidance of a sea passage. The town can be reached from London and the Midlands by rail in under three hours, road transport is good, and steamers from Cardiff and Newport serve visitors from South Wales (ibid., p. 31).

This vignette has still currency for understanding the geographical situation of Weston-super-Mare today. However, as indicated earlier, changing multi-scalar post-industrial economic conditions, as well as their local social corollaries, have translated into less prosperous faces of this coastal locality. Consequently, as imparted by Agarwal (2002), Weston-super-Mare was incorporated into Tourism Development Action Programs over 1985

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till 1995, which were followed through by various local and regional public-private regeneration initiatives ever since, such as the 1997–2002 Weston-super-Mare Regeneration Partnership (Purdue et al., 2002) and the council's on-going "major program of regeneration", including TownCentred (North Somerset Council, 2016a; TownCentred, 2016).

These initiatives over the last decades can foremostly be understood as efforts to heighten the image of the resort and stimulate tourism development through place marketing and, which, as formulated by Agarwal (2002, p. 37), moves "away from mass market low-spend tourists [...] toward high-spend special interest visitors". Notwithstanding, actions were also aimed at tackling social issues (such as those experienced among youth in suburbs relegated from the center) (ibid.).

Banksy's choice for Weston-super-Mare as site for *Dismaland* does not find its origin in the aforementioned local and regional regeneration discourses and initiatives, although it has been inflected by them. As denoted earlier, the reinvigoration of the abandoned lido in the shape of the exhibition was informed by Banksy's combined personal and practical motivations as embedded in his artistic-philosophical journey. Banksy's activist incentive for an "anti-capitalist" funfair, described by Wiles (2015) as "rubbish winter wonderland", served as intellectual and aesthetic critiques of theme parks' profit-driven mode of operation. Interestingly, this art event uncovered a compelling ambiguity by the means through which local urban governance entrepreneurially appropriated and communicated about the event's 'unique' quality for developing an authentic place image for the economic benefit of the locality. Such claims relate to oft-axiomatic assumptions of art-led urban policy as heavily criticized in critical urban literature on public art (e.g., Zebracki, Van Der Vaart, & Van Aalst, 2010; Zukin, 2010; Grodach, 2013).

In its report *Dismaland* One-Year On, the local council prided itself on hosting *Dismaland*. It highlighted various perceived benefits for the urban economy: "150,000 visitors to the show; £20 million additional benefit to the local economy; 50% increase in hotel stays; 9,000 extra visitors to Grand Pier in August" (North Somerset Council, 2016a) (Fig. 6). The *Local Government Chronicle* indicated that the anticipated urban upgradings drove the council to honor Banksy's proposal for this "controversial exhibition" (Jackson, 2015). Considering challenged budgets for urban culture and the arts, it was an important

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given that the event was fully funded by Banksy himself, barring some logistic support from the council.

Fig. 6. Although the local council asserted that *Dismaland* turned the city into a popular visitor destination, the photographer of this online posted photo annotated that "life on Weston-super-Mare sea front continued much as usual, apart from the large crowds que[u]ing [*sic*] to get in" (Sheppard, 2015). *Photo credit:* Geof Sheppard (distributed under a CC BY-SA 3.0 license).

The council collaborated with Banksy in top secret and believed that this surprise would put Weston-super-Mare on the map as a global urban hotspot (Jackson, 2015). Banksy's recent exhibitions in notable art venues in cities like New York and Los Angeles and, a bit closer, Bristol taught the local authorities how an exhibit by this celebrity artist is likely to perform as crowd-puller and place brander, as explicated by the Council's Chief Executive:

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> Hosting Banksy's *Dismaland* was an opportunity to reach out to a wider audience and let people know what the town and area has [sic] to offer. We wanted to use the Banksy effect [in reference to the 'Bilbao (Guggenheim Museum) effect'; see Morpeth & Long, 2016] to attract investment to help us with our ambitious plans for the development of the town ... Culture and the arts, as part of the cultural economy, have a key role in the future of the area ... We want to harness the potential of the creative economy and nurture local talent through the development of a town center creative hub (North Somerset Council, 2016a).

The council's rhetoric interestingly revealed power relations which signified *Dismaland*'s strategic, bifurcated discursive perspectives. On the one hand, it can be considered a local, *town*-based community regeneration project and, on the other, a city-event drawing regional and, even more, global attention to Weston-super-Mare as major tourist resort. Morpeth and Long (2016) argued that *Dismaland* especially showed the potential to benefit the latter: "the wider promotion of a seaside destination" (ibid., 49). They conceived of the installation as a temporary variant of how *Angel of the North* at Gateshead functioned as public-art method to "[attract] visitors to unlikely tourist destinations" (ibid., p. 50). But the concomitant aim was to entice artists, too. The Weston Chamber of Commerce stated that *Dismaland* served as "springboard" for various improvised (official as well as non-official) artistic activities during, yet beyond the borders of, the *Dismaland* exhibit: "already the streets between the railway station and [Banksy's] attraction have been enlivened by rival street artists" (cited in Jones, 2015).

Also, the local council planned all sorts of creative follow-up activities to re-earmark *Dismaland*'s art-space. Following Brown, Novak- Leonard, and Gilbride (2011), this might hold the potential for bolstering 'co-creation': public contributions to artistic experiences as enkindled by professional artists. This may involve physical- and materialbased participation as well as mental and discursive appropriations, for example by in-situ and online/distant observation and ekphrasis (Mitchell, 1992).[1]

[1] Ekphrasis is a Greek rhetorical term denoting the transfer of the experience of an object of art through oral or written description (such as this analysis), which is often directed at those who have not encountered the work in 'real life' (see Mitchell, 1992).

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The council actively encouraged creative start-up businesses as reaction to the event. The former exhibition venue became reused for ongoing theater shows in cooperation with a local arts charity and for a free public exhibit, which contained visual and video memories of *Dismaland*. A local photographer created new work for this exhibit, aiming to deepen connections between the temporary purview of *Dismaland* and the everyday lived spaces of Weston-super-Mare: "[the] photographs [for public sale, red.] intentionally blur the line between the *Dismaland* art and Weston reality, showing the light and the dark side of both" (North Somerset Council, 2016a).

Furthermore, the council dovetailed the *Dismaland*-elicited cultural entrepreneurial regeneration with Weston-super-Mare's broader Housing Zone program, supported by the British Homes and Communities Agency, and with the Weston Business Improvement District. Although the council upheld its objective to "invest in our people rather than our buildings" (ibid.), this was partly the case as of writing. Although the city has made strides in community capacity building since the late 1980s by establishing community centers alongside residents' associations (Purdue et al., 2002), the focus has notably shifted towards "[creating] a vibrant and diverse town center with a thriving economy" (North Somerset Council, 2016a). So far this has mainly involved up-to-date quality housing and commercial facilities.

This somewhat utilitarian trajectory is expected to foster the demand for all kinds of creative economy services, including a post- *Dismaland* artistic hub as envisaged by the local authorities (ibid.). For this purpose, the council inaugurated a multi-partner research and advice center on "creative place-making", examining "the potential impacts of arts and culture in town center revitalization" (TownCentred, 2016). The council drew "fresh inspiration" from other coastal regeneration programs in the UK, such as the revamping of the former popular seaside attraction *Dreamland* in Margate (see Angear, 2015).

In various respects, *Dismaland* validated itself as what in literature on social art practice has been conceptualized as a 'space between', mediating multi-scalar realities and social relations through art practice (Irish, 2010 in reference to Lacy, 1995). Verschelden, Van Eeghem, Steel, De Visscher, and Dekeyrel (2012) described such communicative and relational arts space as "urban cracks": "spatial, temporal and relational manifestations of changing dynamics in the city, in which different logics and needs conflict" (p. 277). The

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event was encoded by an assemblage of more-than-gallery, anti-traditional, radical art: the venue was situated in a peripheral seaside locality, remote from urban arts centers, and deconstructed art–everyday life dualisms (see Hawkins, 2013). While *Dismaland* spoke to an abstract conceptual level, seeing that the creators developed an antagonist stratagem to propagate global social change through the public mind, connections to public needs and place specificities remained fairly opaque. In a sense, I rendered Banksy's appropriation of the abandoned lido as non-place. In the spirit of Agamben (1998), it lent me the feeling to be momentarily locked up in an 'art camp', manifesting nomos ('evil' neoliberal practices) in atopos (a place of non-belonging) through the lens of provocative art practice.

Dismaland was incorporated into the city's longer-term local regeneration program and, as such, consolidated as more-than-temporary event. The council wanted to transform *Dismaland* into a lasting legacy. Not only art events in the lido had been planned, as said, but the local authorities also expressed the intent to use other city venues to remind visitors and the local community of *Dismaland*. In so doing, *Dismaland* was opened up in physical places to those who had not been in a position to visit the park during its official exhibition period.

The acclaimed and fecund Banksy as *Dismaland*'s leader, or rather "media-savvy cultural entrepreneur" (Jones, 2015), proved to have a knock-on effect in media coverage and debates. As contended by Pricco (2015), following an interview with Banksy, "this [*Dismaland*] is art that thrives and is shared in the online environment", as, for instance, remarkably appeared from Banksy's introduction to *Dismaland* on YouTube (in Banksyfilm, 2015), which went viral. The condition described by Banksy as "post-modem-ism", involving art with an eminent "click potential" (ibid.), digitally stretched *Dismaland*'s urban artspace. Also, it boosted the online reputation of the town, or city – the differential semantic use of these terms may depend on strategic perspective, as argued earlier. Thus, while much literature on antagonistic art practice has focused on socio-physical settings, *Dismaland* is an interesting case for considering such practice in the digitally networked space of social media. The online documentation and debates produced virtual possibilities for relaying experiences of *Dismaland* to those who have not immediately experienced the exhibit in real life (see footnote 1 on ekphrasis).

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The numbers provided in the annual council report transpired the online outreach: "six million hits a minute on the *Dismaland* website when it launched; fifth most photographed UK place in 2015 on Instagram – and it was only open for five weeks!" (North Somerset Council, 2016a). Banksy fans and notable art critics and celebrities, including Jack Black and Brad Pitt, visited the park, which seemingly credited a 'coolness' to *Dismaland* in popular culture (Orr, 2016). Bish (2015) therefore intimated that the powerful media apparatus "memeified" the status of Banksy as world's most successful 'street' artist, and accordingly communicated, in the vein of Skeggs (2004), a cosmopolitan class appeal.

Yet, the abundance of sheer facile interactions with *Dismaland*, not only as I encountered on site but especially over social networks, reverberate Walmsley's (2013) point that urban policymakers should acknowledge that the co-creation of art in the city might perhaps only really "deepen engagement for a select view" (ibid., p. 108). On the latter, Jones (2015) argued:

> [*Dismaland*] looks much better in photos than it feels to be here. 'Being here' is itself just a way of touching the magic of Banksy's celebrity – that's why everyone is taking pictures [and sharing them over social networks]. This is somewhere to come to say you went.

The organizers were apparently aware of *Dismaland*'s social media potential. I witnessed the queue sign "Feeling dismal in the queue? Make sure you tweet us your pictures! @WestonSeafront #*Dismaland*". Various in-park art installations, with the 'selfie hole' as example par excellence, were, in the phraseology of Swirsky (2015), "yoking us in complicity by commenting on our own desire to feed the image culture", thus, to come full circle, validating *Dismaland* as "media phenomenon" (Williams, 2016, p. 183).

The broad public engagement with *Dismaland* over social media can be taken as re-performance of the urban condition, where urban art is digitally reproduced and archived (see Gardiner & Gere, 2010), and the city, in the spirit of Lefebvre (1996), is turned into an artwork as such. Brooks (2015) pointed that "online sarcasm is now industrially produced, thanks to the mass quantities of content that digital media must churn out each day". Through online mass engagement, as mutually informed by in situ and online interactions,

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Dismaland has become respatialized, re-temporalized and re-aestheticized within the hybrid material-virtual public realm. This condition has offered spectators rich potentials for re-valuating the art event based on personal and secondary experiences vis-à-vis official views of the creator, implying a process of cultural inter-legitimation (Bourdieu, 1984).

In my view, *Dismaland* encompassed anything but a static urban landmark. The underpinning artistic concept had placed art, human relation and social context central in its execution and wide dissemination during and after the event. Accordingly, *Dismaland* sparked a process of value finding among arts-user audiences. I recognized a navigation through, after Holden (2006), intrinsic values (i.e. the motivations of artists; individual experiences), instrumental values (i.e. social benefits ascribed by organizers and officials) and institutional values (i.e. the art event as institutionalized strategy of local governance).

Such processes and dynamisms cultivated modes for broad public engagement with *Dismaland*'s (post-)art-spaces, unfolding as spatially fluid and socially situated. The latter tallies with Bourriaud's (1998) understanding of relational aesthetics, i.e. theory of the social formation of art, which critically questions ideas of fixed sites, conventions of the object and form of art, as well as the ambiguous role of viewerparticipant (see also Bishop, 2012). This case therefore calls for closer critical attention to the shifting positionalities of the city, urban policymakers, art world, artists, visitors, and members of the local community, as analyzed hereinafter.

5. 'Dismal land'? Critiques of antagonistic engagement in temporary urban art

Since the 1990s, urban policymakers have progressively deployed so-called flagship-art strategies to invigorate the image of seaside towns – described by Shah (2011) as 'coastification'. Morpeth and Long (2016) critiqued that this has commonly be underlain by a tourist market logic centered on drawing (inter)national visitors into broadly advertised temporary events. *Dismaland* might therefore be taken as an attempt of the city to 're-event' itself through such logic.

Ward (2016), in a case study on Margate's regeneration, discussed how such coastification involved a mixture of classic goals of ameliorating the area's socio-economic profile and accentuating a coastal idyll. On the latter, Morpeth and Long (2016) explained

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the historical alchemy between key artists and the British coast, such as the associations between J. M. W. Turner and Tracey Emin with Margate and David Hockney with Bridlington and, here, Banksy with Weston-super-Mare. These connections "provided a spur for tourist visitation to a seaside town through the medium of the visual arts and [the artist's] celebrity status" (ibid, p. 48).

Although the local council seized the temporary *Dismaland* installation as tourist pull factor, the creators precisely ridiculed tourism as social manifestation (Morpeth & Long, 2016). A plethora of art critics, visitors and local policymakers have paid tributes to the event's antagonistic disposition. Green (2015) interpreted the fusion of joking, ironic and cynical art as "dystopian" and "deeply unsettling, yet bizarrely entertaining". However, the event received substantial criticism of its antagonistic effectiveness, the possibilities for public participation, and the presumed benefits to the local urban community at large. Some critics experienced "triteness" among visitors (Williams, 2016, p. 184), and Brooks (2015) claimed that the overall installation "presents conventional wisdom as insights". On top of that, Bish (2015) phrased *Dismaland* as a "smug, cliched monument to Banksy's dated agenda", showing an "awful-for-nice swap" reprise (Plenty, 2015, p. 114). For some, *Dismaland* therefore felt out of place, or even redundant altogether.

Notwithstanding what some critics viewed as the engineered, contrived nature of addressing global injustice through 'anti-amusement' artwork, mediated public receptions suggested that many visitors, including local residents, got some degree of pleasure from their visit to *Dismaland* – at least adding a short-lived curiosity to the locality. This echoes Pollock and Paddison's argument (2014, p. 102) that "the 'limits to participation' may not detract from the role of public art may have for the aesthetic [cum authentic] enjoyment of individual residents".

Some critical views negated what others appreciated as *Dismaland*'s genuine avant-gardist quality to challenge the status quo through momentary subversive interventions, as prevailed in Situationist art practices and alike (Kwon, 2004). According to Brooks (2015), Banksy's curatorial technique has lost aesthetic and intellectual strength and has …

> put the art enthusiast in a bind ... [W]hen you see bad expression praised as good – when your Facebook friends share a sarcastic news report, or a millionaire street artist

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> puts mouse ears on an actress and tells her to frown – you must also feel some injustice has been done. Kitsch [i.e. art curated at *Dismaland*] should not get away with exploiting people's desire to feel the art." (ibid.)

The above is not just a critical attack on the level of *Dismaland*'s artistic quality, or 'artfulness' (see Chang, 2008). This critique also challenges its 'publicness' (ibid.), in this particular case referring to the ascribed critical public participatory qualities of the exhibited artwork. Following Kester (2011), *Dismaland* might be perceived by critics as complicit in imitating social exploitation for the prerogative experience of a happy few – as encapsulated by a public Twitter post: "brutality & low level criminality from #Banksy & the crew". Yet, as the allegedly not-for-profit-seeking Banksy paid for the entire exhibit himself, one might argue that his 'anti-capitalist' effort was frank in the first place: "this project isn't sponsored or government aided; it's selffinancing" (Banksy in Pricco, 2015).

Dismaland's genesis was, nevertheless, kept secret for the broader public by Banksy and the contributing artists, as well as by the few local council officers who were aware of Banksy's proposal (Shea, 2015). Some critics indicated that the event was so overstaged that it raised both mental and physical barriers to its publicness. Authoritative rather than public input ramified the event, as strikingly illustrated by Jones's (2015) point that *Dismaland* epitomized 'official' graffiti:

> This joke about modern security systems does not change the fact that before you enter *Dismaland* you do actually get your bag thoroughly inspected by very real security guards who asked one visitor if he had any knives or, get this, spray cans. (ibid.)

This predicates the thin and arbitrary lines between legal and illegal urban art-makings (see Ehrenfeucht, 2014). Also, *Dismaland* was imbued with deeper art codes of anarchist escapism, which were not necessarily known to all. Bish (2015) even saw a 'classical' misfit between audience, place and artwork: "without the complicity of the viewers the art looked silly, two things staring at each other in confusion and misapprehension" (ibid.).

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However, Swirsky (2015) suggested that the event produced a democratic public art-space: "by inciting so many people to visit and talk about this anti-capitalist vision, Banksy has pulled off an incredible feat. Unlike art-institution exhibitions that command high entrance fees, democracy anchors this experience". Yet, the exhibition was fenced, making it physically exclusive, despite all fanfare over public social networks. It was difficult to get hold of tickets, as aforementioned, considering that the availability was limited to 4000 public tickets at about £3 every day. Yet, many members of the public tried to visit the park by joining the first-come-first-served queue. Initially, *Dismaland* opened for locals only (Brown, 2015). They had to present a local paper copy, but there were just 1000 free resident tickets available (Bolton, 2015).

Regardless of this initial democratic gesture to 'please' the local population first, the event soon opened its doors to its primary target audience: a rather international, cosmopolitan class of art visitors (whose travelling sometimes excessively exceeded the low ticket price, like in my case). Bish (2015) could not identify how the art installation revitalized the genius loci of the coastal town – critically illustrated as follows:

> The attitude towards Britain's seaside towns hasn't changed. They're seen as a passé relic of a pre-EasyJet era, the crumbled ashes left in the wake of a particularly violent Ryanair take-off ... [Banksy's] paint-by-numbers anti-capitalist, anti-establishment schtick has become as woefully archaic as the seaside setting of his tawdry monument to humanity's ills.

Brown (2015) reported that some local residents were involved as park staff, who, through a local newspaper advertisement, were recruited under the pretext that they would serve as background actors in a Hollywood production. This arts correspondent hinted that, in the cocreation of the event, the residents acted as 'onlookers' rather than 'activated' participants – a differentiation made in Bishop (2006). Also, the fabric of the official event merely involved collaborative art-making among mostly established international artists. It was yet after the event that the council solicited local artists to deal with its legacy. Although *Dismaland* might have been contemplated as socially engaged in its inception by creators

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and local authorities, this rather took shape as collaboration on their own side than in orchestration with everyday publics.

Nakagawa (2010) acknowledged the 'seductive' and sometimes short-term neoliberal competitive motives for art-led coastal redevelopment in the so-called era of post-urban policy (see Wilks-Heeg, 2016). Nakagawa (2010) conveyed that arts-based coastal regeneration too often bypasses the local material and symbolic idiosyncrasies, as seen in Ward (2016), while it should pay heed to firmer, long-term concerns with resident participation and with advancing social inclusion. As evidenced by Nakagawa (2010), such attention to site-specific publics and social issues (see also Kwon, 2004) too often creeps in as secondary importance to art-led coastal regeneration, which is a critique that may also well apply to this case study.

Some criticism was vented on how *Dismaland* embodied an overly abstract generic infill and therefore misplaced event, which was disconnected from the realities of those living in this locality and, accordingly, from local memories and nostalgias (see Bonnett & Alexander, 2013). As postulated by Condron (2015):

> Some complain that the famous artist and his pals are taking the piss out of a sad, tired seaside town, while some (one would hope, many) of those who live here don't see Weston as that at all: we love it for the large bays, the beautiful walks, the woods, the boatyard, the enviable topography that carboniferous limestone has bestowed upon us, its proximity to a major city [Bristol] and the Somerset countryside. (ibid.)

Disapprovingly, Ellis-Petersen (2015) reasoned that *Dismaland* left a "Banksy-shaped hole in Weston-super-Mare". Such critique chimes with a critical discourse around European Capitals of Culture, where Koefoed (2013) profoundly criticized the parachuting of celebrity artists into urban spaces. They, as the argument goes, are usually alienated from those places and, to boot, lack the resources to make sustainable impacts on urban communities, especially when it comes down to oftapplied transient art practices.

However, *Dismaland* did have some follow-up trials that aimed at sustainable art practice. After thousands of visitors have flocked to the fairground in Weston-super-Mare, the lido became 'refilled' again, as said. Also, some key pieces, as high-end canonical

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commodities, were exhibited in major urban art galleries, which continued the circulation of *Dismaland* in other hegemonic art spaces. For example, the ex-KLF Jimmy Cauty's post-riot, anti-surveillance miniature *Model Village (The Aftermath Dislocation Principle)* was shown in London. In so doing, larger (cosmopolitan) communities of the art world were introduced to the *Dismaland* theme after the event's formal horizon.

Furthermore, the event was radically co-opted beyond the local scene in pursuit of making 'real' global community impacts. *Refugee* by Pussy Riot was *Dismaland*'s concert finale, which not coincidentally faced Banksy's *Refugee Boat People* installation. Kaltefleiter (2016) argued that this performance advanced altermodernity (Bourriaud, 2009), meaning a new reflection on subjectivity and ethics in the postmodern crisis of humanity. This was done by negating at-will borders alongside the unfeigned transmittance of the lived realities of today's most disenfranchised people in order to move beyond the 'bemusement' park's semblance of subversion (Kaltefleiter, 2016). At the controversial initiative of Banksy, *Dismaland*'s dismantled exhibition materials were recycled for migrant shelters in "The Jungle" right across the Channel in Calais upon termination of the event (Burrows, 2015) (Fig. 7).

This incentive, to my mind, fulfilled the artist's intent to sincerely engage with contested communities (Hoggett, 1997) within a deprived coastal cul-de-sac. Banksy's envisaged antagonistic art practice was extrapolated to a real-life friction space between an absent state and stateless people in the geographical periphery of continental Europe. This case pinpoints Bishop's (2012) theorem that 'ameliorative' socially engaged art practice, sometimes out of sheer necessity, takes up the role of the state where it is absent (and feel ashamed on its behalf; see Kent & Prasetyo, 2016). However, reverberating Kester (2011), to what extent is such attempt genuinely addressing the marginalized lives of migrants – or rather exploiting their situation to create artistic imageries for the gaze of an elite, cosmopolitan audience? So, to what extent did (post-)*Dismaland* art curation validate or destabilize artistic and political hegemonies?

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Fig. 7. Fixtures and timber from *Dismaland* were reused in the Calais "Jungle", 2015. The rearranged park sign, reading "Dismal aid", was reputedly co-installed by Banksy and dismantled soon after its appearance. *Photo credit:* Courtesy Lee McGrath/Lincolnshire Aid 2 Calais.

Kidd (2014) indicated that behavior with popular art, such as in this case study, is often typified by cursory and potentially attitudinized behaviors. Reverting to the above critique, for example, Jamieson (2015) imparted that "the ['Dismal aid'] lettering [Fig. 7] was quickly torn down by unidentified onlookers who reportedly accused Banksy of capitalizing on the plight of refugees and who wanted to cash in on the millionaire artist's sought-after creation". The initiator of Lincolnshire Aid 2 Calais echoed this particular discomfort (when I contacted this aid worker to obtain permission for reusing the photos in Fig. 7). This instance presses home the question about the degree to which the hyper-popular *Dismaland* installation as well as its recent spinoffs instigated profound community engagement: for whom and by whom were the artistic creations made? Were deeper, radical codes of the artistic produce understood and engaged by all? And had spectators been actively involved in the co-creation of *Dismaland*'s (more-thanurban) art-space before, during and directly after the event? This, then, queries the level of authentic engagements with the antagonistic values of art as copiously inscribed by its creators.

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6. Conclusion and discussion:

Challenging temporary art-makings in/of the city

This article has deconstructed the relationships between a temporary art event and the city, as well as the relationships among artists, spectators, urban policymakers and citizens. It has stressed the value of comparative research on formal discourse, public receptions and autoethnographic experience in engaging with theory and practices of artled coastal urban regeneration and social engagement.

The case-study analysis on the temporary art event *Dismaland* in Weston-super-Mare has revealed how Banksy's antagonistic art practice operated both as a means of disrupting the urban societal status quo and catalyst for the revitalization of a coastal town. In this regard, the event concurrently operated as political artwork, regeneration tool, tourist attraction as well as social media spectacle. The local council used *Dismaland* for providing a renewed reflection on the local community of Weston-super-Mare and a global profile for this seaside location. It also incorporated the event into the council's broader sociospatial strategy for boosting the local economy and creative industries. This showed how the town/city (depending on perspective), in the sense of Lefebvre (1996), functioned both as an art object and spatial practice.

Dismaland embodied palimpsestuous qualities of 'publicness'. Despite the limitations of this temporary art event for public participation, the extensive documentation, debates, tributes, critiques and follow-up re-appropriations, artistic interventions as well as public engagements, clearly demonstrated the *co-creation* of this urban art event in public domains across material contexts and social media networks. The prolonging art-(re)makings of *Dismaland* are engaging new interested and critical arts-user audiences across the art world, the everyday life, and the academe.

Critical creative cities scholars, such as Nakagawa (2010) and Trumble and Riemsdijk (2016), discussed the tensions arising in how cities attempt to influence the practices of antagonist artists. The *Dismaland* case presented the reversed. It was Banksy who proposed this event to the local council in the first place, whose uncommissioned theme art park concept was honored by the council without calling it into question, potentially owing to this artist's iconic status. *Dismaland* was acclaimed 'successful' before it even came into effect.

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The event also became immediately incorporated as add-on tool of the coastal urban regeneration strategy which was already in place.

As Morpeth and Long (2016) argued regarding the so-called Bilbao effect, critics questioned the extent to which *Dismaland* operated as an "image-making device", instead of an "authentic must-see facility" (ibid., p. 49). In my experience, precisely the art collection and experience of social critique, rather than the park architecture, were highlighted as assets to visitors. It was Banksy who argued that "theme parks should have bigger themes" (Banksy, 2015, NP). Public reportage and receptions, however, largely condemned the artist's dispositif and attendant high expectations of local governance. Critiques revealed that the event was remiss in power to address Banksy's consummation: "problem being, reality wasn't avoided, it was on display" (Orr, 2016). For some critics, the art-space was therefore sterile and unreal, nothing more than a simulacrum that was disaffiliated with the local social reality. According to Williams (2016, pp. 186–187), "the first step always seems to be exposure to and integration into communities that hold these ideals and act on them". But did *Dismaland* reclaim space in the right place and in the righteous way for precisely making its grand claims on global wrongdoings and unequal power struggles?

Criticism illuminated how *Dismaland* was fraught with paradoxes, such as an international spectacle of art vis-à-vis assumed regeneration opportunity, and some level of ersatz antagonism. On the one hand, the artist team attempted to fetishize its self-ascribed status of anti-establishment. On the other, for some, the critiqued apparatus was employed for producing a temporary urban bubble: a somewhat open-air museum created by an 'artist colony' (see Morpeth & Long, 2016) and intended for generic visitorship from beyond Weston-super-Mare. This would rather sustain an elitist globalized art market, privileging the echelon of international established artists and cosmopolitan audiences over the empowerment of local communities (see Skeggs, 2004; Sassen, 2010).

Yet, there persists an ambivalent interdependency between antagonistic art practice and the art market, as Trumble and Riemsdijk (2016) imparted: "antagonistic artists never completely avoid the demands of the art market, yet through community, they keep many of the market demands at bay while producing art" (p. 159). New research could shed further light on such (conflicting) power plays and how they may potentially evacuate from predominant top-down urban art practice. Accordingly, urban scholarship may further

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address how policy hierarchies, as well as privileges of the institutionalized art world, are maintained, challenged, or potentially reformed for the sake of social justice.

According to prevalent criticism, *Dismaland* did not come up to the mark of site-specific, socially situated art practice, taken as sine qua non of antagonistic art practice (Bishop, 2012). Socially engaged art ideally entails a fully collaborative public process, but a somewhat narrow variant of it was pursued. *Dismaland*'s creators and local authorities did, to some degree, have intents to engage members of the public, including locals, to fuel the event's level of social criticality. Commentary, however, largely bespoke how such public collaboration remained an overly discursive reality in lieu of a fully-fledged implementation into practice. Despite the council's attempts to connect other spaces of the coastal locality to the *Dismaland* experience, also after the event, the creators and local policymakers might have done a more strenuous job at addressing "the substance of lives lived" (Williams, 2016, p. 185), especially during the official exhibit.

Relatedly, the creators and policymakers could have more firmly initiated social change in the locality and explored deeper ways for activated spectatorship (Bishop, 2012). This could have been foremostly incited by advocating collaborative grassroots art production beyond formalized art market parameters. Citizen-led and hence community-centered revitalization, then, would provide more democratic support within local communities for the creation of a major temporary art event in their midst (see Grodach, 2013; Koizumi, 2016). Art practice with such wider public rapport might also arrive at a stronger position to, as debated across urban literature, enhance longer-term senses of spatial ownership among citizens (see Vickery, 2011), transform tourist attractions into community resources (Morpeth & Long, 2016), and strengthen participation agendas of urban policy (Trumble & van Riemsdijk, 2016).

In brief, this study has contributed to urban scholarship by thinking through the under-examined nexus of artists, art-led regeneration policy and coastal urban space. It may be especially useful to studies on creative industries, art tourism and temporary event organizing. The case study on *Dismaland* has expanded debates about antagonistic art practice by analyzing the extent to which it, despite intents of authentic and inclusive engagement, implicated new forms of engineered urban development and social exclusions. In seconding Morpeth and Long (2016), Edensor and Millington (2013) as well as Ward

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(2016), urban research and policy should further pursue the (oft-uncredited) collaborative bottom-up labor from which art-led urban policies frequently originate. This approach would provide more critical cogency than a mere focus on end products of flagship art, which are assumed to benefit the local economy and (international) tourist demands. Such focus, nevertheless, has become accelerated through the succession of financial urban crises (Pratt & Hutton, 2013).

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