

# Biennial as a Tool of Broadcast the Historic Identity of the City: The Experience of Yekaterinburg

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*Yekaterinburg is one of the Russia's largest cities. It entered into the international competition in promoting cities a few years ago. The strategy of global events is one of the ways to positioning the Yekaterinburg: Yekaterinburg hosted the SCO summit in 2009, the city will hold FIFA World Cup in 2018, today the city claims to host the EXPO 2020. However, not all city events are focused on the translation of the unique Yekaterinburg identity. One of these events is the Ural Industrial Biennial, held in Yekaterinburg twice - in 2010 and 2012. While the industrial theme of Biennial meets certain traditions in the history of the city, the communicative potential of the event is still not used completely. Article aims to determine the location of the Ural Biennial in the conceptualization and translation of historical identity of Yekaterinburg.*

## Introduction

Ural Industrial Biennial (UIB) of contemporary art was held in Yekaterinburg for the first time in 2010. The 2nd Ural Industrial Biennial took place in 2012. This event caused a mixed reaction from the local community. Many visitors simply didn't understand the exhibited art objects. The question of the justification of this event is sharpened by the fact that a neighboring town to Yekaterinburg – Perm - already has the experience of contemporary art exhibitions. Perm, like Yekaterinburg, is the city of Soviet industrialization with corresponding mentality of city residents. Therefore Permian local community met the idea of Moscow gallery owner Marat Gelman of positioning Perm as the cultural capital through contemporary art exhibitions with hostility.

The story of Ural industrial biennials is slightly different. They were initially positioned as industrial, thereby limiting the semantic frame of art projects to the historical identity of the city.

In January 2013 Second Ural Biennial of Contemporary Art was awarded the "Silver Archer" in the category of place promotion. The aim of this article is to find out how Ural Biennial solved the problem of "accommodation of the city on the world map" (Prudnikova, Interview, 2010). And not only the name

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of the city should be discussed here, but also a certain identity, otherwise there is no city in communication space.

### **Concept of Identity in the Theory of Place Branding**

The topic of historical place identity became a subject of numerous studies in the field of place branding. Place branding as a marketing strategy includes the formation and translation to a target audiences an unique image of a place with a view to attract investors, residents and tourists. From the standpoint of theorists definition and broadcasting of local identity is an attribute of place branding (Ashworth, Kavaratzis, Stas', Vizgalov, Can-Seng Ooi). M. Kavaratzis and G. Ashworth consider that "a place needs to be differentiated through unique brand identity if it wants to be first, recognised as existing, second, perceived in the minds of place customers as possessing qualities superior to those of competitors, and third, consumed in a manner commensurate with the objectives of the place" (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005: 510). Place branding is formed on the basis of the concept of corporate branding, when the brand of the company acts as an umbrella brand with respect to a set of number of branded product lines.

Concept of identity in the theory of place branding has become one of the key ones. For example, S.Anholt built his theory of nation branding on the concept of competitive identity (Anholt, 2007: 25).

The key feature of place branding is that audience and stakeholders are more complex than those in corporate branding. City residents design the image of the place in the course of their daily lives (Campelo, Aitken, Thyne, Gnoth, Vizgalov). City identity is included in a relatively closed system of interaction of residents with the city in its various manifestations (public spaces, courtyards, houses, street names, etc.), which settles in city symbolic capital (Vizgalov, 2011: 39). The city identity is formed and stored in the local consciousness. Strength or weakness of the city's identity is measured with such parameters as uniqueness, identity of perception, and positiveness of perception, and urban community cohesion (Vizgalov, 2011: 39).

For residents the common experience of the place becomes of great importance, because it accumulates cultural characteristics of place, "sense of place is based on and creates the uniqueness of place experience" (Campelo a.o., 2014: 155).

As seen from the above quotations, many authors consider the identity of the place as a kind of general feeling developing in the course of everyday life.

However, from a perspective of place branding, the place identity becomes a matter of targeted management, "place identity should be thought of as a complex process of identity construction rather than a specific outcome of such a process" (Kavaratzis and Jo Hatch, 2013: 71). Identity cannot be considered in isolation from the branding as it is formed in the process of branding.

A. Kalandides believes that identity is something constantly changing, because it is formed in the system of relations; he identifies five components of

place identity: place image, materiality (buildings, streets etc.), institutions (laws, organisations, etc.), relations (gender, production, of power, class, etc.), and people and their practices (i.e. traditions, repetitive actions, everyday life, etc.) (Kalandides, 2011). M. Kavaratzis and M. Jo Hatch reject the understanding of identity as an object of manipulation. From their point of view branding is “a set of intertwined collective sub-processes” (Kavaratzis and Jo Hatch, 2013: 7), since the branding process includes various stakeholders, who are engaged in a dialogue with each other. Identity matures through the contact of their points of view, “because brands are built out of the ‘raw material’ of identity and identity emerges in the conversation between stakeholders and what brings them together” (Kavaratzis and Jo Hatch, 2013: 82).

Thus, the identity of the place is dynamic and is formed in the process of stakeholders’ dialogue about the nature and benefits of place, when the local community is trying to conceptualize the place positioning and to express it in the brand.

There are many tools for detecting and broadcasting local identity in the brand. One of them is the initiation of events.

### **Biennial as a Global Event**

Biennial is a kind of global events, as it is an international exhibition of contemporary art, which takes place once in two years. Rich global experience of organizing biennials showed wide variation in the use of this type of event as a tool for solving various problems.

Biennial was first held in 1895 in Venice as a way of representation of nations through their artists. The Venice Biennial has established a developed infrastructure of the national pavilions, which expresses the idea of international dialogue. This model was then repeated many times: São Paulo Biennial (1951), then Paris Biennial (1959), and then Sydney Biennial (1973).

Biennials are directly related to the practice of contemporary art. Biennial creates a special relationship lines “viewers-objects, one object-another object, all of these elements-space, architecture, cultural and institutional history” (Filipovic, van Hal and Øvstebø, 2010: 15). Thus, the Biennial is institutionally organized event, designed to serve as a catalyst for communication, which involves the audience, artists, curators, environment and history; contemporary art serves as the subject of this communication.

E. Filipovic suggests considering the modern form of the Biennial as a kind of theoretical seminar, the participants of which contribute to the opening of a new understanding of social and artistic problems.

According to M. Van Hal, the main tasks of Biennial are:

- creation of a new platform for a dialogue and exchange of artistic practices that stimulates local infrastructure,

- creating a new image through integration of peripheral city or region into global world, formulating of a new geography for international art,
- initiating of a global dialogue through the internationalization of local artistic circle,
- stimulation of the world art economy, cultural tourism and the promotion of urban gentrification and innovation (van Hal, 2010: 18).

Discussions about Biennial are mainly on the question of how objectives pursued by the organizers influence Biennial itself. Originally Biennial served as organizational form for the global contemporary art, so they were allowed to unknown artists to gain worldwide recognition.

But as international event Biennial is now considered in the context of global policy: both as a tool of cultural dominance of Western countries, and as a means of positioning in this context of the Third World countries. In this sense, Biennial is a communication tool, a peculiar form of making statements from and to the international community (van Hal, Gardner and Green).

This allowed A. Gardner and Ch. Green to conclude that the prevalent practice of Biennials formed two groups of critics: the first group considers that “the ‘biennials are bad’ model in which biennials are perceived as little more than handmaidens to globalized neoliberalism”, supporters of the second point of view believe that ‘biennials bring hope’, because they create a multicultural utopia of contest (Gardner and Green, 2013: 442-443).

Therefore, it is already not a controversial issue as either the Biennial is a pure phenomenon of art or it is generated by the requirements of social order.

The practice of using Biennial as a means of increasing tourist attraction of place drew criticism for Biennial of the transformation of Biennial from the platform for dialogue into tourist attraction (Abu Dhabi Biennial).

Organization of the exhibition space at the Biennials also became the object of criticism. According to E. Filipovic, aesthetics of the exhibition space, which was formed in the modernist tradition and is implying environment in the form of white walls, forming a square (White Cube), has outlived its usefulness, but continues to be used in the practice of modern Biennials. According to E. Filipovic, crisis of Biennials lies not in wide distribution, but in distributing forms, which do not change in most cases (Filipovic, 2010: 341).

Biennial typology. The most detailed typology of Biennials, founded on the accentuation of the initiator pursuing certain objectives, was created by M. van Hal:

1. Art Scene Initiatives. These are designed to promote contemporary art practices, intensifying the dialogue between artists and the public (Venice Biennial).
2. Reaction to the West. These Biennials were initiated by Third World countries with an aim of declaring themselves to the world

in the circumstances of Western domination (São Paulo Biennial in 1951 and the Sydney Biennial in 1973).

3. Institutional Initiatives. This group includes the Biennials organized at the initiative of museums, seeking to promote the public interest in their exposures (Tate Modern started its triennial in London since 2000, the Berlin Biennial - an initiative by KW-KunstWerke Institute).
4. Political Historical Origins. This group of Biennials appeared as a response to significant political events. Documenta has emerged as a reaction to the Nazi dictatorship and has been focused on the integration of the Germans in the international community. Manifesta refers to the fall of the Berlin Wall.
5. Ecological Biennials arose as a response to environmental disasters. The Gyumri Biennial helps Armenian artists and the Armenian diaspora to show their attitude to the city that survived the earthquake and to rebuild the city as a hub of contemporary art, Prospect New Orleans aims to overcome the trauma of the city caused by hurricane Katrina.
6. State and Municipal Initiatives. This type of Biennial works as a promotional tool of the city. Thessaloniki Biennial emerged as a reaction of the Greek north to Biennial of the South in Athens. For Singapore Biennial it is significant as it expresses the city's claim for the status of a hub of culture and art world.
7. Alternative Events. This group is in fact not the Biennial, but uses this concept to provoke a critical rethinking of Biennial. For example, sixth International Caribbean Biennial (Hal van, 2010: 20-28).

So, based on the literature review carried out, we can draw conclusions about the key signs of Biennial in its present:

- Biennial is an international platform, pursuing the task of intensifying the dialogue of artists and the public under the theme designated by organizers;
- predominantly artistic way of performing such a dialogue serves a catalyst of critical thinking about curator-stated problems;
- through international format and thematic orientation, Biennials proved their high communicative potential;
- therefore, Biennial can be considered and today are или is? actually used as a communication tool between initiators and local and international community;
- often regional authorities initiate Biennial to use international response of this event to raise fame of the place.

## **Biennial as a Tool of City Marketing**

When it comes to events designed to draw attention to the area, we are talking not just about a certain reputation, but about the establishment of associative links between the place and its attributes in order to obtain benefits in the economic and social development (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005: 513).

Events long proved to be an effective tool for promoting large companies (Coca-Cola, Red Bull). In place marketing events also take anything but the last place. Tourists attracted by events (Oktoberfest, Salzburg Festival, Cannes Film Festival, etc.) leave a lot of money and create jobs. Many cities even bet on the events as a strategic platform for their ranking (Edinburgh, Melbourne, Avignon).

D. Vizgalov ascribes the following characteristics to city events: uniqueness, symbolic content pertaining to the city's identity, spectacularity, attractiveness for audiences (Vizgalov, 2011: 114). Benefits from holding events could be not only economic. They can be social (increase of civic engagement of the local population) as well as infrastructural.

Analyzing global experience in initiating events in terms of advantages obtained by the city, G.Clark highlights the economic, social and financial benefits. The city which triggers events may have different objectives: to use the event as a catalyst for local development, for infrastructure upgrade, for raising the awareness of the local community (Clark, 2008: 176-177).

As we can see, the event has long proved to be an effective tool of urban marketing. However, the potential impact of events on the city brand depends on the type of the event and how it relates to the event and place brand including place identity. Many Biennials are related to the topic of cities and regions in which they are held: the 1st Athens Biennial Destroy Athens was aimed at changing stereotypes in the perception of Athens as a city with ancient history only, and Ute Meta Bauer's 3rd Berlin Biennial focused on the structural changes taking place in Berlin after the fall of the Berlin wall.

If we concentrate on the possibility of using Biennial in the marketing of the city, there a number of new problems can be found. Since the use of events in the city marketing subordinates to the task of translation of city's formulated identity, debating potential of Biennial starts to be underestimated. In addition, there are problems associated with conflicts of interests of stakeholders. For such event as the Biennial, key stakeholders are artists and curators, local administration, residents, and tourists attracted by the event (Aalst van and Melik, 2012: 196). Event's orientation to external audiences can come into conflict with the interests of the residents, because the influx of tourists (the aim of local authorities) can cause discomfort for the residents. Therefore, B. Quinn insists on an integrated approach to organizing art festivals (Quinn, 2005). Furthermore, by binding Biennial to a particular place, not only the location of the event is of great importance, but also the generation of key messages about the place. For example, analyzing the experience of the

Shanghai Biennial, S. Waterman relates the blurring of the Biennial's idea with the weaknesses of this event (Waterman, 1998).

As experience shows a prominent event that attracts a lot of visitors is more self-sufficient than the city in which the event takes place. Analysis of "moving" of North Sea Jazz Festival from The Hague to Rotterdam showed that the new city benefited from this (Aalst van and Melik, 2012).

In relation to the Biennial as a specific event, risk from linking event to the city promotion lies in weakening of its discussion potential, as was demonstrated by the experience of Abu Dhabi.

So, we can conclude that global events have long been used by cities as a means of attracting attention and profit from tourists. For this Biennial as a communicative tool should be thematically linked to the place identity and be attractive as a show for tourists. However, the interests of the event organizers and local residents often come into conflict with the interests of city administration and businesses who are interested in the commercialization of the event.

Ural Industrial Biennial in the context of industrial heritage of Russian cities

The topic of industrial heritage and post-industrial future of Russian cities is now actively discussed among theorists and practitioners of place branding in Russia (Abashev, Timofeev, Shaburova, Kochuhina). For Russia, the era of industrialization is closely intertwined with the Soviet form of realization of the governance, imprinted in the humanitarian history. And today, many Russian cities ushering in the era of post-industrial society against the background of globalization are in crisis. These are not only various kinds of social crises, but also a crisis of identity in a situation when industry has ceased to be a major driver of local economy, but is saved as infrastructural heritage. Branding of post-industrial Russian cities is complicated by two factors: firstly, it is the lack of cultural and historical heritage that makes it difficult to form a unique place image, building place identity. Secondly, the presence of the local identity formed in the industrial era: local community identifies itself as subservient to a large enterprise (Lasarev, 2013: 355-356).

Western experience shows examples of successful conversions of previously industrial places into centers of new creative economy (the most famous example, the Ruhr in Germany). Meanwhile the "post-Soviet industrial "trash" often presumes the opposite: the de-urbanization and cultural provincialization of many post-Soviet cities" (Chukhrov, 2010: 73).

Many Russian cities are turning to different bases of designing a new identity: capital of culture, center for contemporary art (Perm), the cleanest city (Chelyabinsk) or city-birthplace of the famous fairytale character (Tver). Sometimes the cities with rich industrial heritage try to convert own history into a museum (Nizhny Tagil) (Timofeev, 2013).

Yekaterinburg as a postindustrial city. Yekaterinburg was founded in 1723, receiving the name of the first Russian Empress - the wife of Emperor Peter I. Since its founding, the city began to develop into a center of heavy industry in the vast field of mining and metallurgy. During the Soviet time

Yekaterinburg was a city of military industry enterprises, so it was a closed city: foreigners couldn't visit the city. Today it is one of the largest cities in Russia, the main city of Sverdlovsk region. Today, the city is home to about 1.5 million people.

A few years ago Yekaterinburg was actively involved in the global competition of cities for fame and appeal. The city has already carried out a number of major international events. The first was the summit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 2009. Yekaterinburg will host matches of the World Cup in 2018, and it was nominated for holding EXPO 2020. All these actions have found their objective expression in the fact that the city is actively developing modern infrastructure of international business tourism.

Today, the city actively debates the question of its identity – historical and current. The most known historical facts: the proximity of the border between Europe and Asia, shooting of the family of the Russian Emperor Nicholas II in 1918, the birthplace of the first Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the history of mining and factory civilization and Soviet industrialization that leaved behind not only the industrial infrastructure, but also the architectural monuments in Soviet constructivism style, and the special mentality of local people, which manifests itself in a few sullen attitude towards life.

Ural Industrial Biennial took place only twice - in 2010 and 2012. The initiator of this project was the Yekaterinburg branch of the National Centre for Contemporary Art. UIB has several features.

The name itself - Ural Industrial Biennial - refers to the subject of the Urals industrial identity as a major industrial region.

Slogan of the first UIB - Shockworkers of the Mobile Image. As the curators of the first Biennial stated, “of course, we wouldn't be here if we didn't like it, if we weren't as eager as Stakhanovites. Shockworkers of the Mobile Image. It sounds a little romantic, like Raiders of the Lost Arc, or maybe just a combination of strange and (now) harmless Soviet phraseology and curatorial jargon” (Costinas, Degot and Riff, 2010: 31).

The 1st Ural Industrial Biennial was attended by more than 250 artists from 59 countries. They presented about 100 art-projects. The art-projects were housed in the printing house "Ural worker" and large enterprises (Ural Heavy Machinery Plant, Sverdlovsk Worsted, Upper Iset Metallurgical plant, VIZ-Steel).

Biennial budget was 9.5 million rubles, mostly it was the financial support of the Ministry of Culture. During the month, which the event lasted for, the main exhibition "Shockworkers of the Mobile Image" was visited by not less than 20 thousand people (Zhoga, 2010).

UIB made the theme of rethinking of industrial past as a basis of city positioning.

As argued by the Biennial's Commissioner A.Prudnikova, “this Biennial puts contemporary art to the forefront as a way of thinking that can activate our industrial legacy and make it visible and meaningful in Ekaterinburg's cultural space” (Prudnikova. Welcoming Remarks, 2010: 25). A. Prudnikova recognizes that reflection on the industrial heritage in Yekaterinburg is not the

first such experience in the world, but the uniqueness of Yekaterinburg is its transitional situation. Therefore UIB staked on interaction of industriality as a landscape and contemporary art (Prudnikova, 2010).

The city public met 1st Biennial warily – the city is not used to modern art. Therefore M. Sokolovskaya assesses UIB as an effective tool of cultural policy, because ultimately Biennial should lead to the development of the spirit of innovation in the local community (Sokolovskaya, 2011).

So 1st UIB's feature was the fact that it initiated a discussion about the industrial heritage, not trying to broadcast any ready-made interpretations of the industrial city's identity.

The 2nd UIB, held from 13 September to 22 October 2012, demonstrated greater scope. Its budget was 18 million rubles: 5 millions from the administration of Yekaterinburg and from Sverdlovsk region government, as well as 8 million from the Ministry of Culture. (Budget of..., 2012)

In 2012, the Biennial was not limited to the industrial area of Yekaterinburg, it moved beyond Yekaterinburg to the site of several small cities in the Urals with industrial past (Pervouralsk, Nizhny Tagil, Nevyansk, Upper Salda and Verkhoturye).

The project of Ural residences was interesting, because it was assumed that each of the participating artists would have at his disposal an abandoned factory in one of the small towns in the Urals and would be free to dispose of it in accordance with his/her own artistic conception. As a result, there were 6 dramatic installations (for example, "Abandoned Utopia: Verkhotursky skates plant" by L. Tishkov). Deep relatedness of the 2nd UIB to the reflection about local identity is confirmed by the fact that visitors argued more about the Urals and industrial heritage than about art projects (Sokolovskaya, 2012). Second Biennial's slogan "Industry of meanings" could not be better but to express this orientation of the event on an elaboration of meanings.

2nd UIB "continued to work with the problems stated at the 1st UIB: the return of industrial areas on the map of the city, where they are not blind spots, but factories for production of symbolic capital; interaction of "ural" and "industrial" (Budget of..., 2012).

As can be concluded from the above data, the amount of funding of Biennial is growing over the years alongside with the number of visitors. The geography of exposures is expanding too. Meanwhile, we cannot say that today UIB operates as a communication tool of branding of Yekaterinburg or Urals. As the analysis of publications in the international media made through the Google News service showed informational resonance of UIBs abroad is small (Table 1).

**Table 1.** *Number of References to the UIB in Foreign Media in 2010 and 2012*

2010	2012
<a href="http://en.uralbiennale.ru">en.uralbiennale.ru</a>	<a href="http://www.e-flux.com/announcements/the-2nd-ural-industrial-biennial-of-contemporary-art/">http://www.e-flux.com/announcements/the-2nd-ural-industrial-biennial-of-contemporary-art/</a>
<a href="http://www.ncca.ru/en/events.text?id=299&amp;filial=5">http://www.ncca.ru/en/events.text?id=299&amp;filial=5</a>	<a href="http://www.ncca.ru/en/events.text?filial=5&amp;id=726">http://www.ncca.ru/en/events.text?filial=5&amp;id=726</a>
<a href="http://blog.frieze.com/1st-ural-industrial-biennial/">http://blog.frieze.com/1st-ural-industrial-biennial/</a>	<a href="http://baibakovartprojects.wordpress.com/2012/04/09/the-2nd-ural-industrial-biennial-gets-its-intellectual-foundations-in-ekaterinburg/">http://baibakovartprojects.wordpress.com/2012/04/09/the-2nd-ural-industrial-biennial-gets-its-intellectual-foundations-in-ekaterinburg/</a>
<a href="http://www.aaa.org.hk/WorldEvents/Details/16075">http://www.aaa.org.hk/WorldEvents/Details/16075</a>	<a href="http://www.aaa.org.hk/WorldEvents/Details/16075">http://www.aaa.org.hk/WorldEvents/Details/16075</a>
<a href="http://www.mutualart.com/OpenArticle/1st-Ural-Industrial-Biennial/250F5A5973BC3F65">http://www.mutualart.com/OpenArticle/1st-Ural-Industrial-Biennial/250F5A5973BC3F65</a>	<a href="http://culture.pl/en/event/polands-industrious-vision-at-the-ural-biennial-2012">http://culture.pl/en/event/polands-industrious-vision-at-the-ural-biennial-2012</a>
	<a href="http://culture.pl/en/event/polands-industrious-vision-at-the-ural-biennial-2012">http://culture.pl/en/event/polands-industrious-vision-at-the-ural-biennial-2012</a>
	<a href="http://europa.zero.eu/2012/09/ural-industrial-biennial-of-contemporary-art/">http://europa.zero.eu/2012/09/ural-industrial-biennial-of-contemporary-art/</a>

The few reports that have appeared in the media, primarily represent mentioning of the event (somewhere limited only by date and venue), there were no articles about UIB. Information appeared on the web-sites devoted to culture, exhibitions, there were no news sites. Biennial events were attended by local residents, mostly members of the creative class and students. Biennial Intelligent Platform sparked the interest of a limited community of local intellectuals.

So, we can draw conclusions about the features of UIB.

I would have stated the following as advantages of UIB:

1. Striving to keep discussion format with establishing a clear framework of semantic events - "Ural Industriality".
2. Complete abandonment of the exhibition model White cube. On the contrary, use of abandoned industrial spaces and active intervention into urban space.
3. An attempt to understand the cultural heritage of the past as part of own local identity.
4. Orientation to stimulate the creative economy is an important social benefit of Biennial.

Weaknesses of UIBs:

1. Although the UIB organizers treated it as a means of promoting Yekaterinburg, the Biennial's "industrial" theme does not reveal the unique identity of the city: Yekaterinburg has a rich industrial experience like many other Russian cities, including the cities in Urals.

2. It is unclear which place is the question of identity – the identity of the Ural region or Yekaterinburg, because 'Ural Industrial' identity and the identity of Yekaterinburg are not one and the same.

3. Ural identity (industriality) is turned not into the future but into the past, so the future shape of local identity is not yet manifested.
4. Weak informative effect of Biennial.
5. Almost no marketing effect – tourists have not arrived at the Biennial.

## **Conclusions**

As a platform for international dialogue of artists UIB has classical pattern of biennial movement of the twentieth century, as a means to represent the city on the world map it belongs to the twenty-first century. But this Biennial does not quite fit into the common format of city branding, because it doesn't translate some formulated identity but is likely a method of catalyzing community discussion about the historical uniqueness of the place. In the framework of discussed above concept of place identity as an organizational component of place branding (Kavaratzis, Jo Hatch, 2013), UIB is a promising project, and thus proves that the format of the Biennial as a platform for international dialogue may well be combined with the objectives of place branding, if the brand is interpreted dynamically – as an identity that is generated during the discussion of stakeholders.

The advantages of both UIBs are that organizers desire to actively engage various urban spaces in the exhibition process. In particular, one of the showcases of the Biennial was an installation of Julius Pope «Bit: Fall» on one of the central squares. These are words made of rhythmically falling water droplets that are directly associated with the vocabulary of most popular searches in the Internet. Meanwhile, not all loci of postindustrial city have yet been mastered.

If we talk about what new territories the Biennial may continue to seize, I would like to offer public spaces of everyday life, the historical identity of which was worn in the experience of modern life.

Everyone knows that the city grows with districts within a certain age, and this leads to the fact that time leaves its mark on the infrastructure of the place and seems to be frozen in its space. Designing space of city-plant, the Soviet authorities used the concept of "labor feat for the Future. The base value of labor and labor achievements mold - organization of space with fixing symbols on this space" (Shaburova, 2012: 153). There are urban areas in Yekaterinburg that were built up during the Soviet period. This fact significantly influenced the appearance and names of the streets. Here is an example of these two most iconic districts – VIZ and Uralmash. Both districts have grown around plants, which is reflected in the semantics of street names. Moreover, if the area around the plant VIZ is formed with streets named after blue-collar occupations (street Metallurgists, Turners, Weavers, Masons, Laborers, Welders, Carpenters, Prospectors, Tankers), then the streets around Uralmash have received the names of revolutionary orientation (Ilyich, Rebellion, Victory Stakhanovskaya, Old Bolsheviks, Red fighters, Red partisans, Socialist, Industry).

Of course, there are streets named after historical figures, but the streets with industrial-proletarian names form the basic semantics of place.

Therefore, in continuation of the vector passed by UIB on searching place identity and integration in the urban space, the subsequent art analysis of the Soviet industrial toponyms could help to clarify what exactly are the specifics of industriality in Yekaterinburg.

Of course, the question remains: where will biennial form of construction of Yekaterinburg identity/brand bring? This can be either destruction of the Soviet or attempt to commercialize the Soviet (Shaburova, 2012: 156). Despite the possible options, the question remains open.

However, the undisputed fact remains that the classical (discussion) format of Biennial as part of a strategy of place branding, for example Ural Industrial Biennial, showed undoubted potential as a means of identification and registration of local identity by the representatives of the local community.

But the main benefit of UIB is social. The bold integration of exhibition projects in the post-industrial spaces has provoked interest and discussion of post-industrial heritage in local community. At the moment it is converting into exhibition spaces, and perhaps tomorrow will lodge new projects of actors of the creative economy.

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