'Wot For?' – 'Why Not?'

Controversial public art -
An investigation of the terms.

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the
University of Liverpool for the degree of
Doctor in Philosophy.

By

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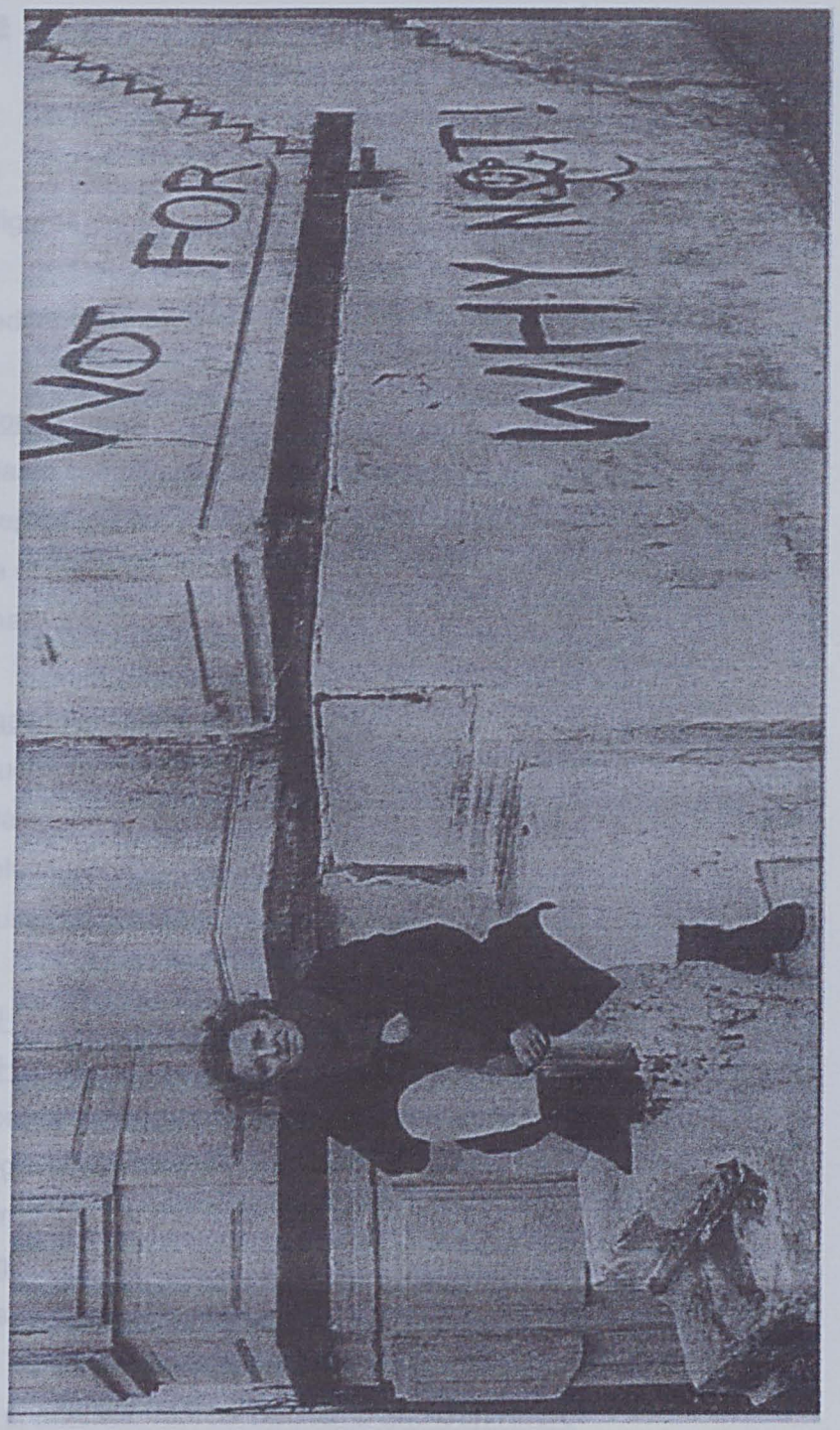

Figure 1.

Rachel Whiteread and *House* (1993).
This illustration has been included because it shows the graffiti: 'wot for,' 'why not'.
Photograph printed in *The Sunday Telegraph*, 24.10.93 to accompany 'The House that Rachel Unbuilt', by J McEwan. Clipping held in the Henry Moore Institute archives, Leeds.

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ABSTRACT

The focus of my thesis is western visual art that has been described as controversial and specifically, what it is able to reveal about the relationship between the visual arts, its institutions and the public.

In the first instance an overview of other relevant research is performed. There are few other works that attempt to investigate the relationship between controversy and the visual arts, despite the perpetuated concept of the 'shock of the new'. Of those available none continues the research into a wider social context, which appears essential when it becomes clear that controversy is the manifestation of conflicting opinion revealing discernible public groups, within that assumed to be 'general'. This research is pertinent at a time when the Government is pursuing a policy of 'Social Inclusion' and demands that art institutions should proactively seek to attract new audiences.

There is much documentation on Social Inclusion from a social perspective, but none which explores the possibility that the 'art product' itself may alienate, or how the general publics currently perceive the visual arts and their related institutions. Are the visual arts themselves 'included' in society and is it a necessary condition of art that it be distinct and, in fact, excluded from mass culture?

My first chapter explores the causes and ramifications of controversy and how it can be used to focus upon key themes. There then follows an historical survey of controversy and the visual arts. This is conducted through comparison of six examples. These reveal what causes for controversy lie within the fine art practice itself and introduce related sociological themes. The case studies also enable an examination of the relevance of the visual arts to the general publics, with reference to art historical practice and media dissemination.

The findings of these chapters are contrasted with three contemporary case studies of public sculpture. This necessitates and enables assessment of key themes, including notions of public, public space, public art and public opinion. The attitudes of the identified publics and how they are measured and perpetuated, is then assessed within a social context. This facilitates a better understanding of the relevance of the visual arts in English, contemporary society. My conclusions assess the ramifications of the contemporary case studies and lead to a consideration of the real possibilities for 'Social Inclusion.'

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the first instance I would like to thank the late Professor David Thistlewood, for the encouragement and confidence to embark on a Ph.D. I am very grateful to Anne MacPhee for fulfilling the role left by David and thank my fellow postgraduate students, particularly Vicki Kirkman and Susan Moroney, for their support.

The staff of the following institutions have provided invaluable help and guidance: the British Libraries in London and Boston Spa, Leeds Art Library, the Universities of Liverpool and Leeds Libraries, the Henry Moore Institute (HMI), Bretton Hall Education Archives, Artangel, Leeds City Council, Bow Council, Gateshead Council and Angie de Courcy Bower, Curator of Archives at Yorkshire Sculpture Park.

On both a personal and professional level I am indebted to Dr Fiona E Spiers and Peter Murray of Yorkshire Sculpture Park, for enabling me to combine employment with my research, and for the interest taken in my thesis and its applications.

Many individuals have also aided this research and I must thank the Leader of Leeds City Council, Councillor Brian Walker, for his invaluable insights into the Brickman case and Antony Gormley for his personal and carefully considered response to my questions. Special thanks to my parents, Charlotte, Norma, Simon, Chris and Sylvia.

Introduction to thesis

Why research controversy and the visual arts?

The original intent of this thesis was to examine the role of art in society. It became obvious that this was too vast an area to research and on which to write anything worthwhile. Through careful examination of the material it was clear that the focus of interest was concentrated upon works of visual art that were deemed controversial and public. Initial examination of these specific examples indicated that controversial art revealed much about an assumed public, public opinion toward the arts, and the extent to which all art is 'public'.

The research and findings of my thesis are especially pertinent as the current 'New Labour' Government has invested significant amounts of revenue and manpower into its 'Social Exclusion Unit' (SEU) and attempts are being made to make art more 'socially inclusive'. The SEU is part of the Cabinet Office, established in December 1997, when Tony Blair was first elected Prime Minister, and is staffed by Civil Servants and external secondees. The SEU set up 18 Policy Action Teams, related to different areas of Government activity. PAT 10 stems from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport and part of its initiative has been to establish a New Audiences Programme. In order to understand the current Government's perspective of Social Exclusion it is necessary to refer to their guidelines, and their interpretation by groups working with PAT 10. Social Exclusion has been officially defined as the

> "dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society."[1]

The determining factors of social exclusion, as defined by the Government, are based on the Index of Multiples Deprivation (IMD) as shown in appendix 1, page 219, and are measured in terms of economic capital. This premise has led the Government to equate the removal of economic barriers with greater inclusiveness. For example, the

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[1] Sandell, R., 'Museums as Agents of Social Inclusion', in *Museum Management and Curatorship,* vol. 17, no.4, p.405.

opening of new gallery areas at the National Coalmining Museum[2] was used by Baroness Blackstone, the Minister for Culture, Media and Sport[3], as a platform to announce the extension of free entry charges, as part of the Government's mission toward inclusion. The existence of barriers to visual arts and its institutions is an area investigated within my research, particularly the extent to which any such barriers are economically based.

An historical precedent for stating that cultural institutions are traditionally exclusive has been suggested:

> "In the mid-eighteenth century access to museums was preserved for a privileged elite where, "the rules and proscriptions governing attendance ... had served to distinguish the bourgeois public from the rough and raucous manners of the general populace by excluding the latter.""[4]

That the exclusion of certain publics could be divisive and develop social conflicts was realised by the Victorians. They embarked upon a national policy of extending access to the newly founded museums and galleries[5] with the intention of promoting social cohesion. In parliamentary debates concerning the establishment of a National Gallery, Sir Robert Peel expressed that he:

> "'trusted that the erection of the edifice would not only contribute to the cultivation of the arts, but also the cementing of those bonds of union between the richer and poorer orders of the state.'"[6]

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[2] Wakefield, West Yorkshire, on April 8th, 2002.
[3] This Government title suggests that the visual arts are not considered as an independent or unique entity.
[4] Bennett, T., *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics,* Routeledge, London, 1995, p.28 in Sandell, R., 'Museums as Agents of Social Inclusion', op. cit., p.409.
[5] The British Museum was founded in 1753, the Royal Academy in 1768 and the National Gallery 1824.
[6] Sir Robert Peel: Parliamentary debates concerning the establishment of the National Gallery, 1832. Cited in Minihan, J., *The Nationalization of Culture: the Development of State subsidies to the Arts in Great Britain,* Hamish Hamilton, London, 1977, reproduced in Sandell, R., 'Museums as Agents of Social Inclusion', op. cit., p.409.

The practical application of these ideals has been brought into question. Paul Glinkowski, writing for a BBC publication, believes that entry to galleries tended to be for the privileged few, until the wealth generated by the Industrial Revolution increased the educated middle class. These subsequently became the public of cultural institutions and attempts were made in the late nineteenth century for the poor to visit art galleries, such as the newly founded Whitechapel Art Gallery in the East End of London.[7]

There have been attempts to prove that cultural institutions, but not specifically art galleries[8], can operate inclusively. The GLLAM[9] Report, researched at the University of Leicester, concluded that museums do have the potential to become powerful agents of social change.[10] Andrew Newman has considered the relevance of current Government policy toward art institutions and concludes that

> "Our analysis of documents, as well as an interview with two members of staff at Resource[11], indicates that the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council strongly supports the view that museums and galleries have an important role to play in ameliorating social problems."[12]

The Arts Council of England[13] has developed a New Audiences Programme as part of its 1999-2000 agreement with DCMS, which includes a performance indicator relating to social exclusion. It has founded its policies on the Government's economic based analyses and states:

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[7] Paraphrased from Glinkowski, P, *Would you have it on your living room wall?* Published in association with the BBC series, 'Date with an Artist'. December 1997.
[8] This should not be taken to include private or commercial art galleries.
[9] Group for Larger Local Authority Museums.
[10] *Museums and Social Inclusion, the GLLAM report.* The University of Leicester, 2000. This report also recommends best practices but is still based on a study of museums and galleries and not galleries in isolation.
[11] Resource is the organisation given the responsibility of implementing the government's strategy of Social Inclusion and the arts by DCMS.
[12] Newman, A., 'Social Exclusion Zone', *Museums Journal,* September 2001, vo.101 no.9, p.35.
[13] The Arts Council of England is a Non-Departmental public body and receives funding from the Treasury via DCMS, which is then distributes through regional bodies, such as Yorkshire Arts. Gerry Robinson, the Director of the Arts council of England, has re-centralised funding distribution back to London.

> "the Arts Council's contribution over the first year of this agreement is to broaden social inclusion and regeneration initiatives, including its response to the recommendations of the Social Exclusion Unit Policy Action Team's report (PAT 10) on the contribution the arts can make to combating social exclusion."[13]

The Government appears to have solely based its conclusion that the arts, and related establishments, are socially exclusive upon the findings of the IMD. The policy reflects Abraham Maslow's *hierarchy of needs*[14] which concludes that art, and its appreciation, are not an aspiration of the individual until other, more practical necessities, have been satisfied. Maslow's hierarchy has no empirical foundations but has proved influential because it appeals to common sense. The validity of these assumptions is to be assessed in my thesis.

I have undertaken to evaluate the possibility that other, less concrete, factors are able to form barriers to the visual arts and its institutions. The core focus of my research is to draw attention to and promote awareness of how opinions are formed within the various groups and where feelings of alienation arise and are perpetuated. Such an analysis is essential before such factors may be mitigated. Whilst it may be obvious that those on a limited income will prioritise food and shelter over the cost of visiting an art gallery, could there perhaps be a root cause for the perceived irrelevance of the visual arts by the various publics, and a widely held opinion that the arts are the preserve of an elite?

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[13] Jermyn, H., *Arts and Social Exclusion Review,* The Arts Council of England, London, 2001, p.3.

[14] Maslow has propounded a theory of human motivation which assumes that needs are arranged along a hierarchy of priority or potency. When needs that have the greatest potency and priority are satisfied, the next needs in the hierarchy emerge and press for satisfaction. When these are satisfied, another step up the ladder of motives is taken. The hierarchical order from most potent to least potent is as follows, with knowledge and the arts at the final stages.

* physiological needs such as hunger and thirst,
* safety needs,
* needs for belongingness and love,
* esteem needs,
* needs for self-actualisation,
* cognitive needs such as thirst for knowledge,
* aesthetic needs such as the desire for beauty."

Maslow, A., *Motivation and Personality*. Harper, New York, 1954.

Arnold Hauser in his *Social History of Art* has traced an historical development of alienation between the visual arts and wider publics.[16] Hauser stated that an 'unbridgeable gulf' emerged in society during the Northern and Italian Renaissances (which he defines as beginning at the end of the twelfth century), between those who had the knowledge and motivation to understand and appreciate art and an uneducated majority who were completely unable to relate their own experience and interests to the cultural achievements of the Renaissance.[17] Hauser further argues that a greater gulf than ever before opened up between the dislocated cultural avant-gardes – dependent on the bourgeoisie for their income, but thoroughly alienated from it – and the rest of the population, during the nineteenth century.[18]

That this trend has continued into twenty-first century England is supported by evidence from public opinion polls. Appendix 2[19], page 229, reveals that approximately double the people from social groups ABC1[20] either participate in or experience the arts than those from social groups C2DE. Appendix 3[21], page 230, shows that members of social group ABC1 are more likely to personally value the arts in their area than those from social groups C2DE.

Such polls are currently the best material available for examining public opinion toward the arts and are inherently flawed in that the complex social matrix which produces such opinions is overlooked. For instance, it is possible that cultural

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[16] Hauser, A., *The Social History of Art,* Routledge, London and New York, 1999 edition with introduction by Jonathan Harris.

[17] Paraphrased from Harris, J., Introduction to Hauser, A., *A Social History of Art,* volume 2, op. cit., p.xl.

[18] ibid., p.xxxvii.

[19] Awareness of and attitudes towards the arts: Mori poll on behalf of the Arts Council of England, Among adults in England. Interviews were conducted with a representative sample of 1,801 adults in May 2000.

[20] Social groups are determined by Mori as being

A	upper middle class
B	middle class
C	lower middle class
C_2	skilled working class
D W and E	subsistence levels.

[21] Results of Mori Poll in Dix, G., & Feist, A., *Local Government and the Arts: A Statutory Duty for the Arts, Public attitudes to local authority funding the Arts,* The Arts Council, London, 1996. Researchers asked 1,913 people face to face over age of 15, taken in 141 constituencies between 18.11.93 and 15.12.93.

appreciation is a determining factor of class, rather than a product. I will consider such issues, and others that may arise, through case study analysis.

I attended a seminar on 19th November 2002, *Managing for Social Inclusion,* presented by the Sheffield Information Organisation, Yorkshire Museums Council and CILIP Public Libraries. The leader of the seminar, John Vincent, is a Director of 'the Network tackling social exclusion in libraries, museums, archives and galleries.' Vincent suggested that the Government's policy of Social Inclusion was the result of a desire to reduce social costs, rather than an altruistic motivation to enlighten. To some extent, Vincent's suspicion is borne out by the PAT 10 progress report. It states:

> "If having nowhere to go and nothing constructive to do is as much a part of living in a distressed community as poor housing or high crime levels, culture and sport provide a good part of the answer to rebuilding a decent quality of life there."[22]

The seminar revealed that none of the current information available differentiates between the three institutions of galleries, museums or libraries. Each of these establishments should be considered as unique and distinct from the others, as should their audience. There is a need to assess the relationship between the differing product these institutions offer and the publics.

There is no information available as to who and what are currently 'included' in society (one construes that for there to be exclusion, there must be something to be excluded from). There has been no examination of who is socially included and whether the visual arts and their institutions are themselves included. This suggests that the policy of Social Inclusion is based upon certain assumptions. I will attempt to identify and assess the validity of such assumptions and whether they are so widespread and deep-rooted that they have come to be accepted as factual.

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[22] Building on PAT 10 – Progress Report on Social Inclusion, published by PAT 10, February 2001, London.

One such assumption is that the visual arts only appeal to and actively seek to be relevant to a limited audience. It has been suggested that Government policy has brought about a shift toward greater accessibility:

> "Not so long ago, the arts were proudly elitist and exclusive. There was an 'us' (cultured, educated, superior) and a 'them' (everyone else). If you weren't able to climb the stairs to your theatre seat, tough, if you didn't visit the opera because you couldn't hear it adequately, or didn't understand the language, too bad. If you couldn't afford it, obviously it wasn't for you. Nowadays things are different. Arts organisations now want to be accessible – culturally, physically, financially. Indeed, their funding depends on it."[23]

An aim of my research is to analyse if the arts have been perpetuated as elitist, what conditions formed the initial circumstances and how far they have since been mitigated. It is also necessary to assess whether such conditions arise from art practice itself, art dissemination and presentation or assumptions of mass public opinion and media. It will become necessary throughout the various chapters to define and examine the terms employed including public, public opinion, public space, media and information, all are relevant to an analysis of contemporary art that provokes conflicting opinions. For the purposes of definition and in an attempt to provide the most considered evaluation available, I intend to collate and analyse notions of the terms presented by key thinkers and compare them with the evidence from the case studies.

The research contained in my thesis aims to provide a useful cross-reference between art historical research and social policy through an examination of controversial examples of western, visual art. This core investigation of the thesis may be surmised in the graffiti sprayed on Rachel Whiteread's *House*: "Wot For?" to which someone responded "Why Not". These simplistic manifestations of the possible parameters of opinion toward contemporary art are the product of many and various social, artistic and historical themes, to be explored through the chapters.

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[23] George, S., 'Direct Access', in George, S., *Arts for All?* (Supplement to *The Guardian Newspaper*), 09.12.01, Introduction, p.2.

The concept of 'public'

In this setting, the main goal of Social Inclusion is to make the visual arts and its institutions more public. For any meaningful analysis of the relationship between visual arts and the public, it is essential to understand that there is an assumed definition of 'general public' and an associated 'public opinion'. In reality there are many publics and many public opinions. A major investigation of my research is to identify the assumed general public and its general opinion and how that relates to the real publics and opinions that are discernible in each case study. It is also necessary to take into account the vast areas of public that express no opinion toward the arts and whether that means that the visual arts are irrelevant to the majority. This is a difficult and complex exercise because perpetuation of a generic public and associated opinion not only obscures real opinion but also has to be considered to have contributed to its formation. The task is essential toward a concept of public and public opinion that is based upon real events.

The formation and perpetuation of public groups and related opinions is most usefully examined though the case studies of public sculpture. This not only reveals case-by-case information, but also relates to the perceived function and public appropriation of the visual arts in general. Hannah Hein perceptively noted:

> "Strictly speaking no art is private ... but neither does art become public simply by virtue of its exposure and accessibility to the world."[24]

The means by which art becomes public is a thread of investigation that continues throughout my research. It is also necessary to examine the relationships between the discernible groups of public in each case study. The controversial examples reveal areas of conflict and it is possible to consider this in a wider social perspective to assess how conflict between groups further strengthens their relative opinions and assumptions.

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[24] Hein, H., 'What is Public Art?' *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism,* v.54, no.1, Winter 1997, p.1.

An outline of my thesis structure

My first chapter concentrates on attempting to define the phenomenon of controversy through analysis of controversy in another field: that of historical research. This will also serve to illustrate why controversy is useful as a medium to the issues of core investigation.

I originally intended to follow this with an historical survey of the relationship between controversy and the visual arts dating from Edouard Manet. However, it became more relevant to take six key historical examples in order to assess the relationship between controversy and artistic practice. I develop the findings of the art historical analysis into a wider social context, which is a complex area of cross-reference, multiple causes and ramifications and again relates to assumed and real definitions of public and public opinion.

Such an analysis leads back to sociological questions as to the driving forces of those publics, including capital in all its forms, elites and power. Public art has been chosen as the focus of attention for the contemporary case studies as is it the specific medium through which to analyse differing opinions being formed from the same stimulus and because one if its main definitions is that of taking fine art, as produced by the elite within the field, and making it public.

The main points and issues raised shall then be finalised in the main conclusion. As with any useful philosophical investigation to provide an ultimate, definitive conclusion would be to generalise the research explored beyond effectiveness. I hope to contribute toward an improved understanding of art, and its history, in relation to wider social issues. I also wish to provide a useful and meaningful understanding of the relevance of the visual arts and its institutions to their potential audiences and ask significant questions of current assumptions.

At all times during the thesis a conscious effort has been made to clarify and support the theoretical arguments as far as possible. This is straightforward when applied to sociological concepts but depends upon implicit rationale for philosophical matters.

The originality of my thesis

My thesis is original in that it provides the first thorough consideration of the relationship between controversy and the visual arts within a worthwhile social context, as suggested by the evidence. It looks at both the complex correlation between the causes and the ramifications of issues revealed.

There is a significant dearth of research into the role of controversy and what it reveals within the history of art and, especially, public art, despite being an implicit factor in many histories. This was verified by an exhaustive bibliographical search of the collections held in both British Libraries (London and Boston Spa) and an international search of resources,[25] including ESTAR electronic storage and retrieval system available at the British Library.[26]

Very recently, Anthony Julius[27] wrote a book entitled *Transgressions: the Offences of Art.*[28] Julius' research is a study of controversy within a purely artistic context, concerned solely with the avant-garde in reaction to itself. This is a naturally arising concept in a consideration of the historical association between art and controversy and as such is an element of my research. It is not sufficiently central to my line of

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[25] Take resources to mean books, journal articles, seminar/conference presentations and, where appropriate, newspaper/magazine and web-page copy.

[26] I accessed the extensive catalogues of the British Library and Leeds University Libraries via the internet and was able to conduct a thorough bibliographical survey. I also used the physical catalogues to search for relevant works based on content as well as title. In addition I searched through journal articles, from every discipline, and discovered very few studies devoted, or even concerned, with an analysis of controversy and its manifestations. Where titles or keywords suggested relevance examination of the work often proved disappointing and avoided analysis or definition of controversy. The notable exceptions were
Coser, L.A., and Larson., O. N., (ed.s) *The Uses of Controversy in Sociology*, Collier MacMillan, London, 1976 and Chomsky, N., *Consensus and Controversy*, Falmer Press, England, 1987 which proved useful in a sociological context.
Jeremy Beach, a postgraduate researcher at the University of Northumberland has researched public art toward a PhD thesis entitled Public art in Tyneside and Wearside 1960s-1997: history, context and meaning. Analysis of this work revealed that it was sufficiently distinct from my own and the originality of our projects was not compromised.
The key work that explores controversy in the public arts, albeit in an American model, is Senie, H. F., and Webster, S., (ed.s) *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context and Controversy,* Harper Collins, New York, 1992 which begins to ask the right questions but fails to provide the context for a fully relevant analysis. A survey of Journal Articles and books relating controversy and art revealed a tendency to rely upon the 'Shock of the New' motif and failure to examine controversy within the wider sociological context or provide any meaningful conclusions.

[27] Incidentally the lawyer who defeated David Irving, the historian at the centre of the controversy I examine in my first chapter.

[28] Julius, A., *Transgressions: Offences in the Name of Art,* Thames and Hudson, London, 2002.

inquiry that it would be compromised by the conclusions drawn by Julius, as he does not relate his study of controversy to wider social issues.

John A Walker's *Art and Outrage*, published in 1999, is the study most similar to my own. The fact that both books reached the light of day is encouraging as it is an acknowledgement of the need for an academic assessment of the role of controversy in art. *Art and Outrage* claims to be:

> "A scholarly yet accessible study of the interface between art, society and mass media which offers an alternative history of postwar British art and attitudes."[29]

It is hard to believe that a theory resting upon one topic in isolation can fully comprehend a century in which many artistic movements have evolved; at best it can hope to enrich theories already promoted. Walker's study does cite valid historical precedent through his analysis of case studies and primary evidence. What is more, he ultimately suggests that shocking the viewer has come to be equated with content, but he then omits any in-depth examination, despite stating: "the story of Modern art and its shock tactics is a familiar one".[30] Clearly, shock is an implicit factor in many critical accounts of modern art, but the resulting controversy has never been adequately examined in its own right. An assessment of shocking works will be considered in my art historical survey as they are usually controversial and it is necessary to understand what shocking art reveals about art practice and its expected audience. An aspect of my study is to consider whether an historical precedent has promoted a desire among artists practicing in the 21st century to be deliberately controversial and so resort to immediately shocking images and, in effect, to synthetically recreate the effects of innovation.

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[29] Walker, J. A., *Art and Outrage,* Pluto Press, London, and Stirling, Virginia, 1999, p.2.
[30] Ibid.

Figure 2.

Francisco Goya, *Great Deeds! Against the Dead!*, 1810. One of the *Disasters of War* series produced 1810-1820.
Etching, 15 cm x 20.5 cm.
The physical location of this sketch is unknown, although one reproduction refers to The Fotomas Index.

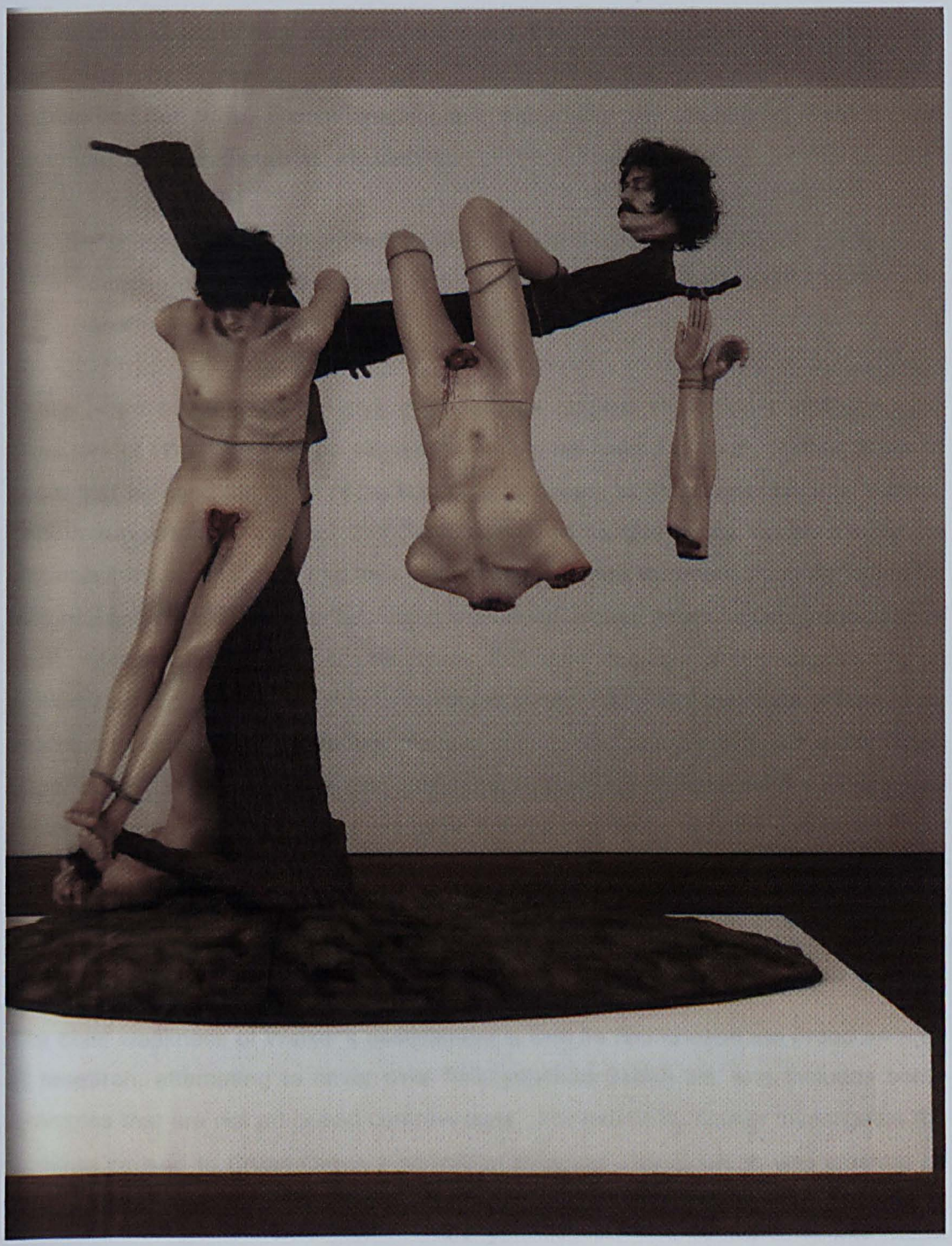

Figure 3.

Jake and Dinos Chapman, *Great Deeds! Against the Dead!* 1994.
Mixed Media with plinth, 277 x 244 x 152 cm.
Saatchi Collection, London.

Walker cites *Great Deeds! Against the Dead!* (1810) from the *Disasters of War* series (1810-1820) by Francisco Goya, (figure 2) as an oft quoted, historical precedent and justification for today's controversial art, especially the disturbing work of the Chapman brothers, (figure 3). He claims:

> "There is something profoundly disturbing and contradictory about images of mutilated corpses which are also found to be beautiful and aesthetically pleasing."[31]

There is no evidence that Goya intended his original sketches, constituting the *Disasters of War* series, to be viewed as part of his artistic career. Rather, it would seem that he used the tools of his trade, so to speak, to document historical events. This is supported by the fact that Goya attributed no title to the works, simply the statement 'I saw this' and 'this too,' suggesting a desire to record such atrocities for history using his skill as an artist, rather than revel in their shock value for the sake of art.[32] Similarly, we would not categorise BBC news footage of war atrocities to be primarily artistic. The situation is complicated by the fact that Goya is an artist and so anything he produces will be regarded as art, as well as the fact that even direct observation is subjective to the individual. Goya was prosperous and enjoyed success during his lifetime, but his work reveals a dichotomy within his personality and some of it is extremely dark and disturbing. The fact that the *Disasters of War* series was not published until after his death reinforces that such works were a cathartic exercise for the artist, rather than an aesthetic one.

The chief weakness of Walker's assessment is that he has chosen too broad an area of research, attempting to cover over forty years of British art, and includes some examples that are not art-based controversies. For example, Walker investigates the damage caused to Bryan Organ's portrait of Princess Diana, which was slashed by

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[31] Notably, when the police entered and questioned the Director of the Cork Street Gallery, where the Chapman brother's work was being displayed in the window, they decided to take no action after being shown the Goya source print. Walker J. A., *Art and Outrage,* op. cit., p.18 and 198.

[32] As documented by Victoria Solt Dennis, she writes "Goya took great pains to make quite clear that the *Disasters* were works not of imagination but of reportage." Solt Dennis, V., letter to *The Times*, 18.09.97, p.23.

Paul Salmon, a nationalist from North Belfast who admitted to the vandalism on the grounds that he wanted to attack a "symbol of everything British".[33]

A study which examines the relationship between high art[34] and the 'non-art publics' needs a valid definition of the meaning and parameters of those two categories. Walker does make the very valid distinction between prepared and unprepared audiences, but acknowledges that the line of delineation is blurred. Walker also recognises the need for a consideration of fundamental questions concerning the integrity of contemporary art. It is possible that there is an assumed definition of art in the opinion of the general public and that much of contemporary art does not fall within its parameters:

> "When the general public see or read about new, experimental works of art the questions, '"is it art?' 'What is art?' 'If it is art, is it any good?' are repeatedly asked."[35]

A common theme within examples of controversial art is the role of the media. The way in which information is broadcast reveals much about both the nature of the media and assumptions about its audience. For example, journal articles are marketed toward art professionals and presume a certain level of knowledge. To another public this could seem elitist and pretentious, and so colour perceptions of art professionals held by others and perpetuate a notion of 'us' and 'them'.

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[33] Walker, J. A., *Art and Outrage,* op. cit., p.117.

[34] The definition of high and low culture is a matter for continual debate and reassessment.
Julian Stallabrass writing for *Art Monthly* was of the opinion that "far from fusing in some ideal unity, high art and mass culture constantly redefine one another. They are mirrored, negatives images of each other; high art, an idealistic creation of objects which are valued for themselves through meaningful work, mass culture, its popularity comprehensibility and high technical standards. Each also has its corresponding weaknesses: the elitism and obscurity of high culture; the banality and idiocy of the low." Stallabrass, J., 'On the Margins', in *Art Monthly,* vol. 182, 1994-95, p.4.
I believe one of the assumptions upon which the premise of social exclusion is based is that there is still a high culture, referred to as 'art' by the Government. The validity of this assumption will be considered through my research. An art practice by those respected among their peers concerned with creation rather than profit, and so an elite within their field, be deemed high art as opposed to craft or popular culture. This is not to ignore the fact that high art continually employs the tools of popular culture but that they are differentiated by intent and are often defined by being distinct from one another other.

[35] Walker, J. A., *Art and Outrage,* op. cit., p.4.

That art critiques appear to be unnecessarily complicated has been acknowledged and criticised from within the 'art world'. Brian Ashbee wrote an article published in *Art Review,* highly critical of what he describes as the 'art bollocks' written by some art critics. Ashbee explains:

> "The art world is teeming with professionals – curators, critics, journalists and many others – who are in the business of imposing their own narratives on the practice of artists."[36]

When information about, and interpretation of, an issue is broadcast via the mass media it becomes 'public' and occupies abstract public space. It is necessary to understand the ramifications of occupation within physical public space as well, and how the two relate. One or both of the spaces may also be described as the 'public sphere'. Walker goes some way to investigate the importance of physical location, when he recognises:

> "A new sculpture located in the grounds of a sculpture park - a semi-public space dedicated to art - may be accepted without demur, while the same sculpture located in a town square or a suburban open space may arouse intense hostility."[37]

Walker instigates an essential area of consideration through this example, but does not proceed to question why a piece would be accepted in one space and not another. There is no attempt, on Walker's part, to understand the notions of public space and its occupation. The physical and social threshold that separates the art gallery from the street and its relevance, is a theme I examine through the case studies. For example Richard Jenkins asks, "Is a pile of bricks Art, or is it a pile of bricks? Answer: it's Art when it's in an art gallery."[38] An assessment of assumptions about location is essential to my stated goals. A sculpture park still possesses a

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[36] Ashbee, B., 'Art? Bollocks!' in *Art Review,* volume 51, April 1999, pp.51-53 Ashbee cites examples of that which he deems to be 'art bollocks,' an example he chooses to be representative of the ridiculous, was written by Martin Coomer for *Time Out* magazine. Ashbee writes that "any uncertainty in you, the critic, can be neatly attributed to the work, say it 'hovers between woeful inadequacy and unaffected poignancy,' (Martin Coomer, *Time Out* 20.01.99 p.12)."

[37] Walker, J. A., *Art and Outrage,* op. cit., p.60.

[38] Jenkins, R., *Pierre Bourdieu,* Routeledge, London and New York, 1992, p.128.

threshold that delineates it from the mass physical public sphere, although it is still not necessarily an art specific space. In essence a sculpture park is a space beyond anonymity of the high street or shopping centre and benefits from a luxury of distinction that the town centre cannot afford.

Walker does raise the valid point of consideration that much of the conflicts of opinion, and therefore controversies, depends upon an imagined 'us' and 'them' scenario:

> "The general arrogance of modern sculptors in relation to the lay audience was summed up in William Turnbull's comment: 'The problem of public sculpture is largely with the public - not with the sculpture.'"[39]

For my case studies, I have chosen examples of 'public art' for several reasons relating to the history of art, as will emerge through my discussion of the historical context. I have also chosen public art because it occupies a sphere of common reference between 'art' and 'public'. Art writer Andrew Brighton is of the opinion that "public art is an oxymoron." [40]

I want the research to explore the parameters of validity of this statement and to understand the art historical and social reasons for this to be the case, as well as to consider whether this is a necessary condition of both public and art, rather than something that should be mediated. The conclusions will obviously have ramifications for the Governments' policy of Social Inclusion.

There is a multiplicity and combination of layers of meanings for the term 'Public Art', as a major theme of this research reveals. When the 'general' public are assumed to be those uninformed and uninterested as to art practice, then attempts to make art more 'public' is often equated with appealing to the lowest common denominator. In this sense 'public art' is an oxymoron, as it follows that it will not be of sufficient quality to be considered among the best examples of its discipline. A policy of lowering artistic quality in the belief that it is inversely proportional to accessibility is recognised

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[39] Walker, J. A., *Art and Outrage,* op cit., p.17 the source of the Turnbull quote is not made clear.
[40] Brighton, A., 'Philistine Piety and Public Art', in *Modern Painters,* Spring 1993, p.42.

and challenged by James Lingwood, Co-Director of Artangel, which independently promotes and sponsors contemporary artworks. Lingwood states:

> "It is an unspoken assumption of most writing about art that art should be universal in its appeal, and should interest and please everyone." [41]

Lingwood argues that this perception is unrealistic and patronising and is of the view that art can become more inclusive through public familiarity with works of quality. He substantiates this opinion with the example of Rachel Whiteread's *House* (1993), an Artangel project, which 'laid bare its limits of consensus.'[42] *House* was still deemed to be a success and was controversial because wider public groups protested against its destruction, not because they could not appreciate it. The extent to which art and its institutions have been 'dumbed down' is to be considered with reference to themes presented through my case studies of *House,* together with Gormley's projects *Brickman* (1988) and *Angel of the North* (1998). It will even be necessary to consider whether or not the aesthetics of a piece is an issue for the public. Walker believes:

> "Whatever its artistic value, Gormley's statue serves as positive propaganda for the North-East by exemplifying the engineering/ manufacturing skills still available in the region."[43]

Whilst Walker raises many issues that I take into consideration, he does not examine them at sufficient depth to reduce the value of my research. The attempted breadth of Walker's research is so ambitious that the case studies sometimes serve only as chronologies of events with little, or in most cases no, theoretical analysis of their relevance to the paradigm[44] of controversy he proposes.

Walker's study may be surmised as being: before 1800 European artists did not set out to shock or outrage their audience deliberately but that during the nineteenth century certain artists, such as Manet and Rodin adopted this as their aim. Walker

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[41] Lingwood, J., 'The Limits of Consensus' in *Random Access 2: Ambient Fears,* Buchler, P., & Papastergiadis, (ed.s), Rivers Oram Press, London, 1996, pp. 61-72.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Walker, J. A., *Art and Outrage,* op. cit., p.220.
[44] Pattern or model.

perceives that a tendency to manipulate, rather than to conform to, contemporary taste and style is encouraged by the capitalist art market and has become associated with innovation. This results in individualism and extremism within the visual arts and results in the intention to shock through form or content. This leads to an assumption in Walker's account that the case studies cited rely on a conscious decision and intention to shock on the part of the artist, which he does not prove. The levels of intent behind controversial works are a key concept explored in my work. Walker claims that the goal of *Art and Outrage* is to summarise and contextualise each instance of controversial visual art work and ultimately examine the social contradictions and conflicts of opinion involved. Any study that assesses controversial works of art without a coherent attempt to define controversy, or differentiate between the different forms of it, its origins or relevance, serves little purpose, other than to instigate a worthy debate that may greatly contribute to an understanding of contemporary art and public.[45]

It would be inappropriate to criticise the lack of definition in Walker's book then promptly succumb to the same fault. Hence, the purpose of my first chapter is to analyse and attempt to define the phenomenon of controversy, the related issues of the public and media, and their relevance. It is necessary at all times to understand controversy within the context of other examples of difference of opinion, such as debate or argument. My first chapter uses the example of David Irving's libel case against Deborah Lipstadt to assess what is meant by controversy and what it may reveal.

[45] Despite there being a vast amount of research undertaken in the field of public art, very few beside Harriet Senie, in her book *Critical Issues in Public Art: Context and Controversy,* published by Harper Collins in New York, (1992) have attempted to measure and assess the notion of controversy and what it suggests about the conflicts between publics and the arts. Senie's research is based upon the American model but her research will be referred to where appropriate to my examples.

1 Investigation concerning Controversy

1.1 Introduction

Controversy is a word often employed but seldom defined or carefully examined; its exact meaning is elusive, abstract and it is easy to become confused by notions of debate, argument and rhetoric. Through the case study of David Irving's libel case against Deborah Lipstadt I intend to examine the causes, manifestations and effects of controversy within a current social context, and in relation to other forms of conflict.

Controversy is evident through its manifestations, from which we are able to source its causes. Manifestations such as media coverage also serve to perpetuate it. Controversy is caused by events or ideas that provoke conflicting opinions, and so allows us to trace and map those views. However, there are many instances in which such occurrences could be controversial, but the controversy does not materialise.

New academic theories have the potential to provoke a controversy, but when controversial ideas are contained within a discipline, the parameters of academia often confine the ideas and responses to debate. Whilst many within the discipline may deem this to be a controversy, I want to focus my attention on controversy caused by when a new theory is broadcast into the wider public spheres, in which more than those publics with specialist knowledge are involved. Whilst considered within a specific discipline, controversy serves to reveal the views of those involved. When that division of a presumed entity it disseminated to the general publics, it not only reveals the views toward the specific cause of controversy but fundamental assumptions and opinions that non-experts hold toward the subject and to the discipline as a whole.

1.2 The David Irving court case

The work of historian, David Irving, proved questionable to his peers, but when details of the subsequent court case were broadcast the controversy escalated and apparently provoked widespread outrage.

David Irving filed for libel against the historian Deborah Lipstadt and her publishers Penguin. The crux of the case rested upon whether Lipstadt had made a 'concerted attempt to ruin his [Irving's] reputation' as an historian in her book *Denying the Holocaust*. The practicalities of the trial meant that Irving's beliefs and methodologies were also on trial as they were fundamental to the case. Ultimately the Judge ruled that David Irving knowingly distorted or suppressed evidence regarding the Nazi massacre of European Jewry.[1]

The ruling against Irving reveals the intricacy and complexity of attempts to devolve the truth from available evidence within any discipline. A factor of controversy is that such subtleties are reduced, by association with scandal, into simplistic and often stereotypical points of view, as witnessed in the mass media. This can actually be a positive ramification when trying to identify an assumed public opinion.

It is possible to propose a paradigm for the emergence and continuance of controversy from the evidence available:

1. A received opinion[2] is accepted to be fact.
2. The popular press and mass media, (and other aspects of popular culture), perpetuate the majority opinion and ridicule and promote fear of minority opinions.
3. Few question the majority opinion for fear of being alienated and, often through apathy, and pressure of time, find it easier to absorb mass opinion than form an individual one from source evidence.

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[1] Paraphrased from Guttenplan, D. D., 'Why History Matters' in *The Guardian,* Review section 22.04.00, p.1.

[2] By received opinion I imply that a general consensus or assumed public opinion has been achieved toward an issue and is perpetuated through society by lower level education and the mass media. The integrity of such assumptions will be thoroughly assessed.

4. Academic research proposes a different interpretation of the original evidence, usually termed revisionism.
5. Within the confines of academia the revised interpretation remains the subject of considered argument and counter–argument, often conducted within institutions of research, discipline specific forums and, occasionally, the serious press. At this stage the conflicting opinions are expressed via the same means, such as journal articles and conferences. The conflict of opinions has positive benefits including opening up the subject for academic re-assessment, but need not imply that the views are not passionately held.
6. Once the revised opinion is taken out of context and broadcast into abstract public space, controversy develops.

The received opinion that forms the background to the Irving case-study is that of the history of the holocaust and how knowledge of it has been disseminated. There is evidence that special interest groups have promoted a certain history of the holocaust with the result that it has become inherently associated with the persecution of Jews. The true figures of individual deaths in the holocaust have become obscured by lack of primary evidence and biased interpretation of that available[3]. Some suggest that 11.5m individuals were murdered under Hitler's orders, 6.5 million of which were Jews. There is debate that at least twice as many Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, other Slavic groups and gypsies were murdered[4]. Validation of these figures is hard to ascertain, partly due to the lack of official records from which to determine victim numbers, but also due to a subtle promotion of the Jewish cause within the history of the holocaust, and its ramifications for present world politics. One record states:

> "Because the major impetus and financing for memorial in those two countries [USA and Israel] has come from Jewish survivors, it is

[3] Including Nazi efforts to conceal the identities of those they murdered, which were often successful because of the confusion of dispersal of victims and the Nazi efficiency with which they destroyed not only identities of individuals but entire families and tribes.

[4] Including the Catholic Information Network Conference paper, 31.08.97, available electronically from www.cin.org/avatar/probcon8.html that states 20 millions Slavs, 3 million non-Jew Germans, 1.5 million French and 0.5 million Italian and Spanish individuals were murdered in addition to the 6.5 million Jews. This is a ratio of roughly 4:1, non Jew : Jew.

> uncommon to find explicit acknowledgement or Gypsies of the handicapped as victims."[5]

Despite evidence and debate to the contrary, the received 'truth' is that the term 'holocaust' represents the murder of 6.5million Jews. This is even perpetuated in academic work. Harriet Senie, in her book *Contemporary Public Sculpture,* refers in passing to the "holocaust and its 6 million victims."[6]

The first North American memorial was opened in New York during a ceremony in October 1947 by Mayor William O'Dwyer and consists of a plaque with the inscription:

> "This is the site for the American memorial to the Heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto Battle, April – May 1943 and to the six million Jews of Europe martyred in the cause of human liberty."[7]

So inherent is the association between the holocaust and Jewish loss, that the proposed *Holocaust Denial Bill* presented by Mike Gapes, the Labour MP for Ilford in 1997, referred exclusively to Jewish victims and was only subsequently redrafted to include the phrase "'other similar crimes against humanity', so as not to overlook Nazi crimes against other groups such as gypsies."[8] The fact that the policy document analysing the impact of the proposed bill was authored and published by the Institute of Jewish Policy Research, further emphasises the symbiosis.

While academic debate concerning sensitive evidence may be considered respectable,[9] Irving obviously felt that the debate in which he found himself involved was no longer simply within the 'respectable' boundaries of academia and so he involved a third party arbitrator. It was at this point that the case entered the abstract public sphere, via media dissemination. The controversy developed because Irving's

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[5] Milton, S., (ed.), *In Fitting Memory: The Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials,* Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1991, p.9.
[6] Senie, H., *Contemporary Public Sculpture,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992, p.21.
[7] Young, J. E., 'Holocaust memorials in America', in Senie, H., and Webster, S., (ed.s), *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, context and Controversy,* Harper Collins, New York, 1992, p.59.
[8] *Combating Holocaust Denial through Law in the UK,* Jewish Policy Research, No.3, London, 2000, p.11.
[9] In many ways 'respectable' is viewed as the antithesis of 'controversial'.

points of view are against mainstream thought and received opinion of history, which is not usually challenged in the public sphere. His views, and those with whom he is alleged to associate, including the National Front and Neo-Nazi groups, were in opposition and conflict with the mass opinion.

Controversy does have some beneficial and practical ramifications. It invokes interest where they may previously have been none and necessitates that the issues be better defined, through revaluation. Controversy is differentiated from debate, in that it is not associated with rational objectivity and tends to create an instinctive desire to cling to previously held beliefs with even deeper conviction. There have been many controlled debates in academia concerning the true nature and extent of the holocaust, including how much Hitler knew of the atrocities committed in the camps. When Irving's views were broadcast they were greeted with outrage.

The ruling against Irving indicates a perturbing situation in which the law follows assumed mass opinion and reinforces a received interpretation of history and, in so doing, has the potential to prevent serious academic reassessment. In the British press throughout the last decade, David Irving has been typically referred to as 'the revisionist historian' with 'way-out' views. For example:

> "The monstrous David Irving marvels that such a mouse of a man, a simpleton, an innocent could end up showing him the true path. [Irving says] 'That's what converted me. When I read that report in the courtroom in Toronto I became a hardcore disbeliever.'"[10]

Irving's views are simplistically expressed in the mass media being either misrepresented or repeated without qualifying context. One assumes that this is done with the assumption that every reader will disagree with Irving's views.

There are other forms than controversy in which opposed opinion manifests. The Irving case, being widely described as controversial both in the field of historical research and the mass media, reveals certain criteria that define a controversy that also relates to controversies in other fields. In the case of scientific research:

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[10] Hattenstone, S., 'Screen: gas, gallows and the electric chair', *The Guardian* 22 Oct 1999, p.6.

> "For a disagreement to count as 'controversy' then it must seem to the community to be worth taking seriously."[11]

This factor is also common to the controversies studied. It seems generic that the opposing views have to be deeply held, which means that controversy manifests around issues that provoke strong and emotional responses. In the case of David Irving it is the highly sensitive nature of the holocaust that prompts passionate discussion.

In fact, from my reading, Irving's work appears to be objectively written, thoroughly researched and often refers to previously unseen primary sources. In his introduction to the biography of Goebbels, Irving admitted to having "lived with the evil shadow of Dr Joseph Goebbels for over seven years";[12] one would not expect a neo-Nazi to describe Hitler's minister of Propaganda in this way. Such statements contradict the television and press descriptions of Irving as a neo-Nazi. In this book, Irving offers no evidence to support Lipstadt's accusation that he was a holocaust denier, rather he quotes Hitler's rationale for the Jewish persecution:

> "'When they (the Jews) hatched their plot for the total destruction of the German people they were signing their own death warrant,'"

Irving continues

> "Despite the apparent implicit admission in that article, when his press officer showed him foreign allegations about Gestapo extermination camps Goebbels dismissed them as sensationalism. Nevertheless Borman notified every Reichsleiter and Gauleiter that Hitler did not want public discussion of any overall solution (gesamtlosung) of the Jewish problem. It can however be stated

[11] Engelhardt, H. T., *Scientific Controversies,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987, p.52.
[12] Irving, D: *Goebbels: Mastermind of the third Reich*, Focal Point, London 1996, p.viii.

> that the Jews are in confinement and being given appropriate employment. Goebbels knew different."[13]

It would be illogical for one in denial of the 'final solution' to quote the German term for it, unless he was willing to compromise his own beliefs. This leads to two implications. Either Irving is not a holocaust denier, or, he knows evidence does not exist for his views to be placed in serious academic work, thus undermining them. Irving does acknowledge the atrocities committed under the Nazi regime and their attempts at concealment when he writes:

> "Ugly rumours were already circulating abroad, fuelled by British propaganda. The Daily Telegraph quoted Polish claims that 7,000 of Warsaw's Jews were being killed each day in gas chambers. The reassuring reply spoke of the Jews being used to construct defences and roads. Be that as it may, in Goebbels' files the original press report was rubber stamped *Geheime Reichssache* (top state secret). How much did Goebbels know? In his surviving file there is plenty that implies a broad general knowledge of the atrocities. In the long run he wrote 'I fear we shall not be able to get away with this by hushing it up'"[14]

Irving goes on to state, most pertinently:

> "The secret is out: in September 1944 the *Forschungsamt* picks up a Moscow radio broadcast about a Nazi death camp found at Lubin. Goebbels orders silence." [15]

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[13] Ibid., p.430.
[14] Ibid., pp. 403-4.
[15] Ibid., p.385.

Journalist Don Guttenplan was present throughout the Irving case and is currently collating the information toward a book, an abstract of which appeared in *The Guardian*. Guttenplan believes:

> "History, 'what actually happened' had no place in the court room, but a great deal of time was spent hearing about what happened to the Jews of Europe and how the knowledge of what happened has been preserved."[16]

Therein lies the problem of history and its dissemination throughout the press and its potential to causes controversy. History is taught at G.C.S.E. level to be fact, as 'what actually happened', and it is only if the subject is pursued to 'advanced level' or beyond, that it becomes clear that history can only ever be reasoned interpretation of available evidence and some speculation. William Churchill famously quipped that history would deal gently with him because he intended to write it.[17]

And William Lamont notes:

> "At school, history is often perceived as the most authoritarian of subjects. Paradoxically, at University, history emerges as the most unauthoritarian of disciplines."[18]

Guttenplan acknowledges:

> "What everybody knows about the Holocaust isn't always true ... although the grisly tale of soap figures is in some of the earliest accounts of Nazi occupied Europe, it is now rejected by historians as a fabrication – similar to the atrocity stories of Allied propaganda during the First World War - Dachau did have a gas chamber but it was never used. The Nazis did not come for the Jews first, they came for the

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[16] Guttenplan, D. D., 'Why History Matters' op. cit., p.1.
[17] Paraphrased from GABB *Compact Classics*, England, Utah, 1991, p.200.
[18] Lamont, W., *Historical Controversies and Historians,* UCL Press, London, 1998, Introduction p.1.

> communists. Though it is impolite to mention it, there are still live questions about the Holocaust."[19]

The fact that few have attempted to examine the phenomenon of controversy, its causes and ramifications reveals the necessity of my research but, simultaneously, requires that my work be based on case study analysis where possible and be less reliant on previous research (as there is little worthy of inclusion or reference). Of that which is useful, Helge Kragh discusses the two different forms of controversy identifiable within science and the models proposed are applicable to other disciplines. Kragh writes that there is the first controversy in which two groups of scientists disagree, but that this is the minimum condition. This relates to my choice of controversial examples to study in that I am specifically interested in controversies that extend beyond their particular discipline. Kragh proceeds to write that to be defined as a controversy the event should be of some duration, take place in public and by means of argument and counter argument. He reasons:

> "It should contain elements of a social and methodological nature. Moreover, a controversy is more than just a debate or a dispute: the parties must be committed to one of the opposing views, hold it important enough to defend, and attack the rival view."[20]

The initial stage, in Kragh's view, is that two scientists, (or for the sake of generalisation, two specialists or elites within their field), disagree as to the interpretation of evidence; with the result that each will arrive at a different conclusion and opinion from the same stimulus. Kragh also believes that the larger the opposing groups, the stronger the controversy. The example of Irving is that of his opinion, (although media allusion was made to an association with far-right political groups), against the mass, undermining Kragh's definition. It seems more realistic to state that only one of the conflicting groups need be large for the controversy to be strong, and that this sense of a majority versus a minority can serve to intensify it.

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[19] Guttenplan, D.D: 'Why History Matters' op. cit., p.1.
[20] Kragh, H: *Cosmology and Controversy: The Historical Development of Two Theories of the Universe,* Princeton University Press, Princeton 1996, p.389.

Burr and Duvall, in their work *Introduction to a Formal Theory of Political Conflict,*[21] devised a formula for the creation of political conflict, which could be adapted to suit the formulation of conflict within any field. [22]

Their rather complicated model actually serves little purpose, as the variables upon which the conclusion rests are extensive, but some useful considerations are made. It suggests that controversy is associated with conflict between groups of public, and its intensity directly proportionate to the numbers involved. This is a very useful indicator when considering the relationship between art and the public and their opinions. For example, the Irving study reveals conflict between those educated to a basic standard of history, those who desire to reclassify historical 'fact' and those who refute it outright, as well as other groups with a special interest in promoting a particular version of history.

This indicates a very important aspect of controversy: the fact that it is defined by opposing views and is seen as apposite to 'respectable' allows it the potential to

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[21] Burr, T.R. & Duvall, R.D : 'Introduction to a Formal Theory of Political Conflict' in Coser, L.A. & Larson, O.N. (ed.s): *The Uses of Controversy in Sociology,* Collier Macmillan, London, 1976.

[22] Burr and Duvall's formula for calculating political conflict

$$MPC_s = \underset{i}{[\Sigma_i\ PA_i]^{\theta 1}} \{[\Sigma_c (DC_c)(OS_c)] - [(DC_1)(OS_1)]\}^{\theta 2} + CO_S.\ MPC$$

MPC_s	is the magnitude of manifest political conflict
PA i	is the potential for goal directed or remedial action by individual i
DC_c	is the disposition to manifest conflict behaviour of collectivity C
OS_c	is the organisational strength of collectivity C
DC_1	is the disposition to manifest conflict behaviour of the strongest collectivity in the system
OS_1	is the organisational strength of the strongest collectivity in the system
i	is the number of individuals in the system
C	is the number of distinct politically relevant collectivities in the system
$\theta 1$ & $\theta 2$	are elasticities, or sensitivity coefficients for determination of MPC
CO_S MPC	is error in the specification of the MPC model for system S

Used 3 sets of conditions:
1st general intensity of motivations
2nd orientation to manifest conflict characteristic of each of the various collectivities which compose the society.
3rd relative capacity of groups for taking concerted conflictual action.

The nature of the formula means that should any of these factors not be present then the result will be zero, or no action.

threaten social harmony and state control on some levels. Psychologist Joseph Agassi argues that negative consequences of conflict arise when disagreement is associated with disrespect[23] and this is evident in controversies that leave the confines of their original discipline. Once in the public sphere controversy reveals a flaw in the unity of a presumed 'other' group and representatives of the public are able to question the fundamental principles of the discipline itself.

When something proves to be controversial, it is no longer discussed within the practice of the discipline itself and its terms of reference expand to those of 'general public,' rather than specialists. This is evident in the media portrayal of Irving and his revised history: David Cesarani, Professor of Modern Jewish history at Southampton University and Director of the Weiner Library, London, wrote in *The Guardian*, with obvious passion:

> "A 1994 Gallup poll showed that 50 per cent of 1,025 interviewees in Britain had encountered material suggesting that the genocide against the Jews in 1939-45 never occurred. Alarmingly, 70 per cent of people with a university education had experienced Holocaust denial. Ten per cent of 17-to18-year-olds believed that it was possible that it didn't happen. In 1993, David Irving was fined DM30,000 by the Munich district court for violating German laws against holocaust denial. Holocaust denial is an attack on truth and democracy. Its purveyors seek to rehabilitate Nazism, a movement not noted for its appreciation of civil liberties. It is a heinous form of racism which maintains that the Jews are engaged in a vast conspiracy to deceive the world in order to extract sympathy and money from guilt-ridden countries."[24]

Irving was accommodated in the same newspaper and responded to this article with a letter entitled 'My cruel persecution for declaring Auschwitz a fake'. He stated:

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[23] Agassi, J., *The Gentle Art of Polemics,* Open Court, Illinois 1988, preface.
[24] Cesarani, D., 'Why we must outlaw these race lies,' *The Guardian*, 30.01.97, p.19.

> "I was fined DM30,000 (around pounds 13,000 [sic.]) in Munich for violating a law of the kind that he and his ilk desperately want introduced in this country.
> According to the indictment, I uttered these words in a 1990 public lecture: "We now know that the gas chamber shown to the tourists in Auschwitz is a fake built by the Polish communists after the war.""[25]

Irving's explanation is, in turn, refuted by another letter from Dudley Turner who advised that the gas chamber referred to may have been 'fake' in that it was not the one actually used to kill people, but in the sense of accurately depicting historical events it was real.[26] Indeed in Irving's reference to 'fake' he does not explain its context and implied meaning.

This exchange of views confirms one of Kragh's premises for the definition of a controversy: the opinions concerned with Irving's libel case were conducted in public through argument and counter-argument and the proponents of the conflicting beliefs are completely and passionately committed to their view. The Irving controversy continued and there appeared to be concerted efforts in the serious press to allow both sides their say. However, there is a distinct detachment and distancing from the views of Irving, his supporters and defenders. Often they are presented as curiosities, in order to substantiate the controversy.

'When it comes to killing, this man knows it all' is an article written by Simon Hattenstone for *The Guardian.* In it Hattenstone discusses a film about Fred A. Leuchter Junior, who builds humane execution machines for prisons in America. In Canada, Holocaust denial is an offence; Leuchter was asked to prove whether or not cyanide could have been used in the Nazi gas chambers as history claims. They went to Auschwitz and experimented in the chambers for samples. There was no trace of cyanide. Leuchter never wished to deny the Holocaust, he was objectively examining the evidence, as presented in the 'Leuchter Report'. He never asserted that the Nazis were decent people with decent policies, simply that they hadn't gassed

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[25] Irving, D., Letter to *The Guardian,* 03.02.97, p.14.
[26] Turner, D., Letter to *The Guardian* 6 February 1997, p.16.

millions. "'Who knows', he suggests, 'perhaps they had other methods: Why not just blow them up? Shoot them?'"[27]

Irving uses the Leuchter Report as evidence to support his argument that the Auschwitz gas chamber is a fake. However, experts in forensic analysis added that cyanide would not penetrate a depth further than one tenth of a human hair and that the results were worthless.[28] There is also, of course, other evidence of the murders. One commentator wrote:

> "The Zyklon B gas to kill them had to be paid for. And the ovens that disposed of the bodies had to be specially built, by Topf and Sons, a firm that patented the design."[29]

My Irving case study is revealing as it shows how much the interpretation of given information is fundamental to the causes and perpetuations of controversy. Irving has conducted far more research and has gained more knowledge of this aspect of history than the majority, but the majority of opinion is against his views, if we view the mass media to represent mass opinion[30]. In this instance it is Irving's views, and the conclusion drawn from them by Lipstadt, that instigate the controversy but it would not have developed without the dissemination of their disagreement. It is possible that many individuals in the wider public groups do not find Irving's views controversial, but that the media assumes a certain consensus, toward which they comply and in doing so, exert influence.

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[27] Leuchter, F. A., in Hattenstone, S., 'Screen: Gas, Gallows and the Electric Chair: When it comes to killing this man knows it all.' *The Guardian,* 22.10.99, p.6.
[28] Paraphrased from Hattenstone, S., 'Screen: Gas, Gallows and the Electric Chair: When it comes to killing this man knows it all.' Op. cit., p.6.
[29] Guttenplan, D.D., 'Why History Matters,' op. cit., p.1.
[30] The extent to which the mass media represent and/or create mass opinion is a major area of consideration in my research.

1.3 The relevance of the David Irving example

It is possible to conclude that this controversy arose from new interpretation of historical documentation that conflicted with views apparently generally held.

I cite this example of controversy to show how the phenomenon, by its very nature of argument and counter-argument, is assumed to represent the opinions of various public groups and the tendency for views to harden when exposed to that which contradicts them. I appreciate that I have not explored this particular controversy to sufficient depth to form a definite version of the true history of the Second World War, however this was never the purpose of the exercise. The intent was to expose how, by careful selection, a different image of the same history, event, or even personality, can be created and structured.

I also hope to have provoked a reaction against some of the information and quotations presented, themselves sometimes 'controversial', as a practical example of how controversy reacts with views inherent to the individual. The case is illustrative of the problems of interpreting history in an academic context and how this becomes virtually impossible if based solely on information derived from the popular media, which tends to sensationalise the text with little attempt to provide the reader with the subtleties of the arguments. I cite heavily from Irving to show sympathy with the Devil, so to speak, in order to challenge accepted views of history and practice Mill's argument:

> "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind."[31]

That the atrocities committed during the holocaust have a resonance throughout the nation's conscience, is evident in the fact that Blair's Government seriously considered a bill against free speech with regard to such events, and 'Holocaust Day' (January 27th) has been promoted.[32] The Holocaust is a subject that has gained a

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[31] Mill J. S., *On Liberty*, Penguin Books, London, 1985 edition, p.76.

[32] Incidentally the official website promoting Holocaust Memorial Day has links to Jewish history sites, including the American holocaust day which is a solely Jewish memorial.

received, accepted opinion, and deals with very sensitive issues, which few dare challenge. In the evolutionary light of academic research there will no doubt come a time when the history of the Second World War becomes revised, not that we should advocate the re-writing of history in Orwellian fashion[33], but it is widely understood in the field of research that a pattern of interpretation emerges. The history of the Second World War has been influenced by propaganda published during the event, guilt and horror at humanity's inability to prevent such atrocities occurring, relief at its outcome and anxiety that such horrors should never happen again.

Guttenplan enforces this point when he writes:

> "Let me be clear: Lipstadt deserved to win. But the encouragement that her victory will give to some groups supporting her – such as the Board of Deputies of British Jews or the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai Brith - in their efforts to police public discussion of the Holocaust and of Israeli policies, is no cause for celebration.
> ... if the effect of the Irving decision is to strengthen the hand of those who wield the Holocaust like a totem or truncheon, then truth and history might as well never have had their day in court." [34]

Historian E. H. Carr has asked us to question the profit of denouncing the sins of Charlemagne and Napoleon. This is possible because it is now beyond the frame of emotional reference. The shocking nature of their crimes has been neutralised by the years between. It is easy to disassociate them from our society in the belief that humanity has progressed and such atrocities would no longer be admitted, which is precisely why the Second World War is not yet ready for re-examination. Its wounds are still sore and re-inspection of them incites instinctive repulsion.

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[33] In his work *1984*, George Orwell's main character Winston Smith worked for the Ministry of Truth and re-wrote historical documents, such as newspapers, so that the past would substantiate the present.
[34] Guttenplan, D.D., *Why history matters,* op.cit., p.2.

1.4 Conclusion to chapter

I was attracted to a study of controversy because it is an indicator of social conflict and therefore a route to understanding its causes, and to ultimately better understanding the relationship between the visual arts and the 'general' public.

Controversy is derived from the Latin *controversia, controversus* meaning 'turned in the opposite direction'. This indicates a state in which one belief or set of opinions is in direct opposition to those of another. This aspect of the development of controversy, as being a manifestation of underlying, possibly subconscious conflicts, relates directly to the initial 'Wot For', 'Why Not', premise of the thesis and is a medium by which to understand the social context for those conflicts:

> "Controversies are often the focal point for social conflicts that are coming to a head for their own historical reasons".[35]

The reason controversy is so effective as a means of promoting imaginative reassessment of information and beliefs, is also because it is interesting, it arouses curiosity in the subject matter under discussion and captures the imagination. It is, ironically, (or perhaps inevitably), this very attribute that exposes it to abuse. Plato wrote in *Gorges* that any criticism is better than a dismissal or oversight and its ability to arouse interest has long been recognised by the media as a commercial tool for selling newspapers and gaining an audience.

A controversy arises when the provided information causes different, often diametrically opposed, reactions from groups. It is necessary to look beneath their reactions to see what social factors provoke the same response within one public and the opposite within another. This is relevant toward a better understanding of art and the public.

Having considered controversy on a general level it is necessary now to turn to a focus specifically on controversies within the visual arts.

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[35] Engelhardt, H. T., *Scientific Controversies,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987, p.171.

2 Edouard Manet at the *Salon des Refusés* compared with Marcus Harvey at *Sensation*

2.1 The controversial artist in historical context

When conducting a survey of controversy and its association with the history of art it is useful to trace a probable lineage for the pieces in question, and also to compare and contrast those histories. For this reason I have chosen to compare and contrast historical and a more recent examples in order to extract major themes. Each of the six examples was widely described in both popular and serious accounts as controversial. Using the knowledge from my first chapter, I will consider these examples in relation to the wider study of controversy already undertaken but also with respect to this history of art and its development. This will ultimately lead to the sociological causes and provide the historical context toward assessment of the contemporary case studies.

The purpose of this chapter is to further explore controversy and continue to assess opposed opinions and the associated public groups within the context of contemporary art. Controversy is an implied factor in many histories of late nineteenth and twentieth century art, yet has seldom been investigated explicitly, with the exception of Walker and Julius. Such an investigation is essential toward a more meaningful understanding of the role of art and its publics in England today.

Through my analysis two central questions arise:

1. To what extent was controversy intrinsic to developments in the art of each era?

2. How far has controversy been deliberately sought by the artists concerned?

It becomes necessary to discover whether the artists involved intended to alienate certain public groups from the wider public audience and if the relevance of art to those publics has changed as a result. One of the initial premises of my thesis is that through a desire to innovate and challenge established boundaries, artists provoked

controversy, particularly once their work had entered the public sphere, in the same way that Irving's theories proved to be widely controversial after they left the academic realm. Other issues worthy of consideration have also emerged: it is necessary to assess the apparent importance of perceived public opinion and media representation and whether this has changed over the course of the last 140 years. Notions of public and public space, the relevance of the artist and art space are also to be considered as well as the social position of the artist.

Historically there was a set route of training and examination that had to be followed if an artist was to become an established name, if in fact that was their aim. The road to legitimacy was often so long that the artist was dead before widespread fame was achieved. For example, the French Academy was established to reintroduce technical skills and raise the social status of the artist. It took apprentices, who studied under a strict hierarchy, progressing from *élèves*, through the level of *agréé* toward the ultimate goal of becoming an *académicien.* This took many years to complete. It has been said:

> "All this training led towards acquiring official recognition and approbation; the artist would gain the coveted Prix-de-Rome. His ultimate achievement after years of study would be membership of the Academy."[1]

Though complicated and ruthless, such a process did serve the purpose of filtering out work of inferior quality. By the time the artists' work entered the public sphere it had survived rigorous assessment and criticism. This tradition is to be assessed with respect to Edouard Manet and the *Salon des Réfuses* of 1863. The themes revealed are then related to the *Sensation* exhibition held at the Royal Academy in 1997. Assessment of artists' careers since Manet suggests that the process of acceptance and integration within wider culture has now become dangerously foreshortened. Critics and galleries are so afraid of appearing ignorant of innovation that the quality of the work is assumed before being truly assessed. Harold Rosenberg recognised this in 1963 when he wrote that the:

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[1] Boime, A., *The Academy and French painting in the nineteenth century,* Phaidon, London, 1971, p.4.

> "Vanguard audience is open to anything. Its eager representatives – curators, museum directors, art educators, dealers – rush to organise exhibitions and provide explanatory labels, before the paint has dried on the canvas or the plastic has hardened. Co-operating critics comb the studios like big-league scouts, prepared to spot the art of the future and to take the lead in establishing reputations. Art historians stand ready with cameras and notebooks to make sure every new detail is safe for the record. The tradition of the new has reduced all other traditions."[2]

The close association between new art and controversy, and resulting fame, has the potential to create a forum in which artists seek to shock in order to achieve notoriety. The danger therein, is that controversy becomes the goal of the artist and it is seen to be an infallible indicator of quality, through historical association with innovation. The historical and contemporary relevance of this statement is another strand of thought in my study.

There are several examples of controversial artists before Manet, but the evidence is sporadic, with no systematic lineage or documentation. It has been widely stated that Michelangelo's *David* (1501-4) provoked such outrage from its contemporaries that it required protection by the Civil Guard[3]. It is true that a fig leaf was commissioned for the statue when it was exhibited in Victorian London in 1837, an interesting example of a classical, as opposed to contemporaneous, work of art having the potential to cause scandal 300 years after its creation. This is anomalous within the findings of examples in my study, as controversy usually subsides once the work becomes integrated into the history of art.

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[2] Rosenberg, H., 'The Vanguard Audience', *The New Yorker,* 06.04.63.

[3] 'The Installation of Michelangelo's *David*', published originally by Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisi dei sec, XIV, XV, XVI (Florence, 1839-40), II, 454-463;* Reprinted in *Italian Art 1500-1600: Sources and Documents,* eds. Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1966, pp.39-44. The editorial from *Leeds Art Diary* in Winter 1952, in its discussion of Henry Moore's *Reclining Figure,* noted that "Contemporary records show that when first exhibited the outcry against it was so bitter that the civic guard had to protect if from an indignant and outraged public," 'The Reclining Figure' p.1, in *Leeds Art Diary,* Winter 1952, held in Leeds Art Library. Epstein also cited Michelangelo as an example of an artist whose work provoked outrage with reference to vandalism of his own work, *Rima,* in an article in the *Jewish Chronicle,* 18.10.29, when he wrote "It looks as if I am in the historical tradition. Michelangelo's *David,* at Florence, had bars put round it during the night to protect if from attack after it had been stoned by the populace. So I am in good company." reprinted in Gardiner, S., *Epstein,* Flamingo, London, 1993, p.305. The reason for *David's* controversial status is not stated, although it is possibly its nudity or links to the political intrigue of the Renaissance state.

There are other examples of controversial sculpture, such as those produced by John Gibson (1790-1866). He provoked scandal through his habit of colouring sculptures, which seemed garish to his contemporaries who were familiar with unblemished marble. In a letter of 1846 he wrote:

> "My eyes have become so depraved that I cannot bear to see a statue without colour."[4]

That his work proved controversial is evidenced by the writings of contemporary critics who could:

> "Scarcely conceive it to be anything other than a dangerous departure from true art."[5]

Ironically, research has proven that the ancient Greeks did also highly decorate their marble sculptures, but to the Victorians it seemed incongruous and anachronistic. In this instance the artist was controversial because he contradicted a received aesthetic 'truth'.

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[4] Gibson, J., cited in Gunnis, R,. *Dictionary of British Sculptors,* The Abbey Library, New Revised Edition, London, 1954, p.171.

[5] The Editor of *Art Union* 1839, p.106 cited in Gunnis, R., *Dictionary of British Sculptors,* op. cit., p.171.

2.2 Paradigm of rebellion and rejection

It is possible to identify a pattern of rebellion and rejection in the history of modern art. Once an art movement became accepted into mainstream culture, it was regarded as the establishment and was subsequently rejected by the next generation of artists. In the mean time critics, the media and eventually the public, accepted the original movement and embraced it, and so found the next form outrageous.

The outrage provoked by the various schools often soon exhausted itself, fading away into either acceptance or indifference. The art critic Ian Dunlop described this process in a book with the self-explanatory title *The Shock of the New,*[6] and it is a theme adopted by Antony Julius. Norman Rosenthal, Director of the Royal Academy, London, believes that it:

> "Has always been the job of artists to conquer territory that hitherto has been taboo."[7]

This is an acceptable statement, with the caveat that it is not the only purpose of art or artists. How Rosenthal's opinion relates to the perceived role of artists as deemed by the wider public will be considered. The integrity of the statement is further circumspect when one realises that Rosenthal was writing in the catalogue of the *Sensation* show and so justifying his decision to hold the exhibition.

It does not seem possible to cite one reason for controversy in art. Impressionism, for example, enraged the public because they had come to expect a degree of finish[8] and were convinced, (because they were used to the historical painting convention), that shadows were black, but it did not take long before everybody could see 'like an Impressionist'. Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc* was deemed controversial because it disrupted physical public space and raised issues concerning ownership of such

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[6] Dunlop, I., *Shock of the New*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1972. Ian Dunlop discusses seven controversial exhibitions, including the *Salon des Refusés,* Roger Fry's *Post Impressionists* and the *Armory* show.

[7] Rosenthal, N., 'The Blood Must continue to Flow', exhibition catalogue, *Sensation,* Royal Academy of Arts, Thames and Hudson, London, 1997, p.11.

[8] Al Boime in his book *The Academy and French painting in the nineteenth century,* states that the official Academy emphasised the importance of finish and deemed a sketch not worthy of public view. Op cit., p.10.

space. Marcus Harvey's *Myra*, which I discuss in detail on pages 77 to 90, provoked scandal because of the atrocities committed by its subject and the artist's apparent glorification of child-murderer Myra Hindley and, by association, her crimes.

A generic condition of all the controversies considered is that much depends upon groups of people forming opposed opinions. It is necessary to define those opinions and why they are in opposition.

Through comparison of the *Salon des Refusés*, with reference to Impressionism, and *Sensation*, with reference to the young British artists, I will focus on controversial exhibitions featuring one particularly controversial painting. Through this analogy I hope to analyse several pertinent issues including the relevance of the gallery and gallery based art to its contemporaneous society and what this suggests about the relationship between art and the various publics, the role of the media and public opinion. Other themes to be developed include the validity of a paradigm of controversy, its relevance, and how far artists intentionally provoked controversy.

2.3 Edouard Manet and the *Salon des Refusés*

It is essential to view the Impressionists within the context of their own time. Visiting an art gallery in France in the mid to late nineteenth century was a popular form of entertainment across social classes. It interested a high proportion of society who were used to the work of Academy trained artists.

An Independent group of artists, who subscribed to the ideology of Romanticism,[9] challenged the dominance of the Academy method of training and the view it perpetuated of the artist in society. The traditional French Academy believed "originality to be the mark of an aristocratic elite,"[10] whereas the Independents "emphasised originality as the mark of personality and subjectivity accessible to all."[11] The Salon was the official annual exhibition of works established by The July Monarchy[12] who began the tradition in 1831, and was held at the *Palais de l'Industrie* in Paris, shown in figure 4.

> "The Salon attracted, on Sundays when there was no entry charge, between 30,000 and 40,000 people."[13]

This is put in context when one considers that the daily average of visitor numbers to the Royal Academy's sell out, blockbuster exhibition of Monet's work held in 1999, (which received the most visitors of any European exhibition in that year), was 8,597 and totalled 739,324 in three months.[14] Exhibiting at the Salon afforded artists a wide exposure and it was an ideal breeding ground for controversy and scandal.

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[9] Interdisciplinary artistic movement concerned less with technical accomplishment than freedom of expression.
[10] Boime, A., *The Academy and French painting in the nineteenth century,* op. cit., p.9.
[11] Ibid.
[12] The July Monarchy, 1830-1848 describes the period of rule by Louis Philippe and is recognised as an era characterised by the rise in influence of the bourgeois class.
[13] Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New*, op. cit., p.19.
[14] As detailed in Appendix 4, synopsis of gallery attendance.

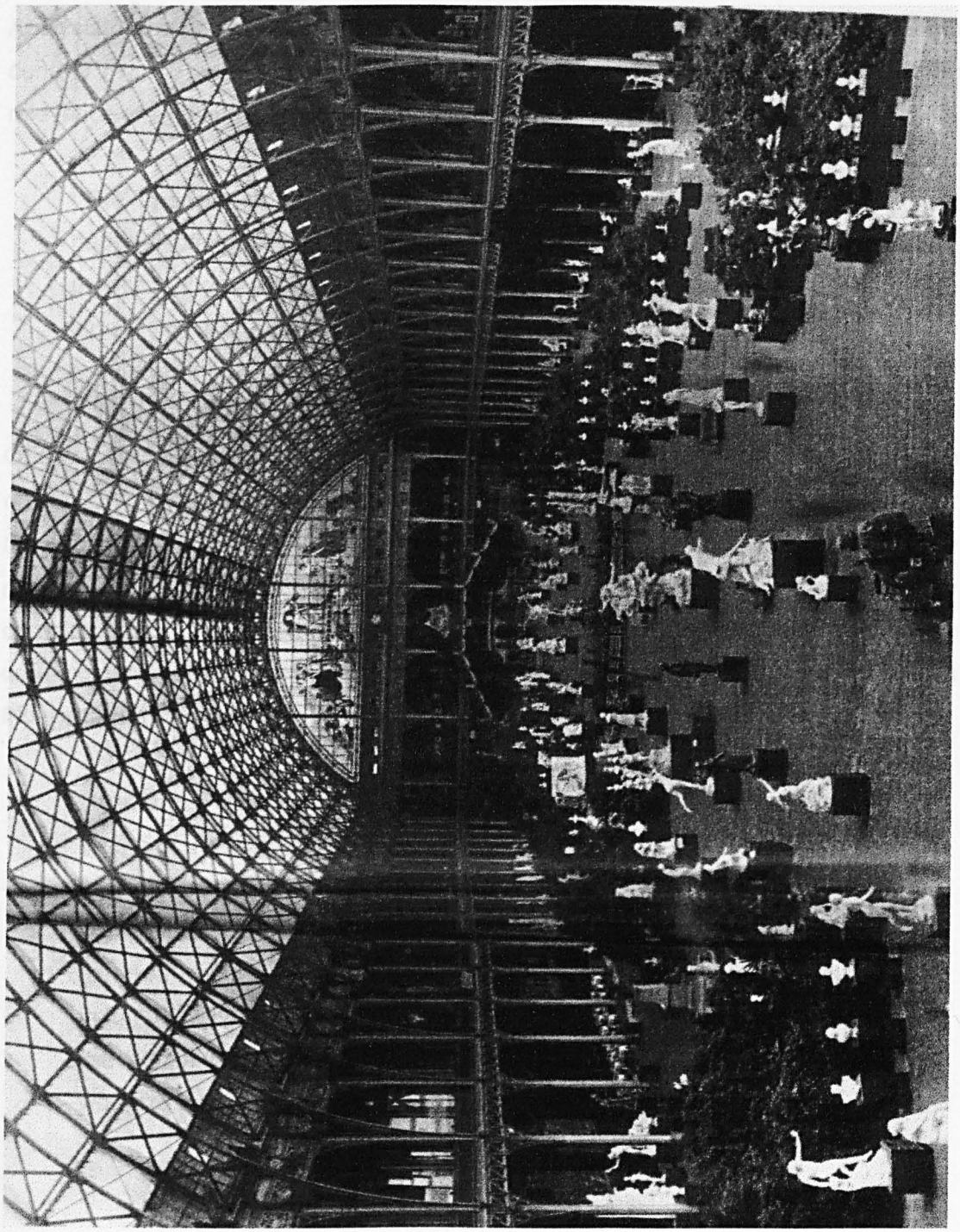

Figure 4.

The interior of the Palais de l'Industrie, Paris, c.1860.
Image held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Analysis of the importance of the Salon reveals that circumstances in late nineteenth century France were different from late twentieth century England in terms of the relevance of exhibitions to the general public. Albert Boime states:

> "The importance of the public[15] should not be underestimated; the national competitions were designed to obtain their support, and the preoccupation with cultivating the public's taste began during this period. Lip service was paid to public opinion in almost all the Salon reviews and critiques."[16]

Of the 5,000 works submitted, 2,783 were rejected from the official Salon exhibition of 1863.[17] Those rejected included all three presented by Manet: *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863), *Mlle. V. in the Costume of an Espada* (1862) and *Young Man in the costume of a Majo* (1862) as illustrated in figures 5, 6 and 7. Those refused entry complained to such an extent that Napoleon III attempted to placate the artists by creating an alternative exhibition, the *Salon des Refusés.* An announcement in *Moniteur*, April 1863 stated:

> "Numerous complaints have reached the Emperor on the subject of works of art which have been refused by the jury of the Exhibition. His Majesty, wishing to allow the public to judge the legitimacy of these complaints, has decided that the rejected works of art shall be exhibited in another part of the *Palais de l'Industrie*. This exhibition will be voluntary, and artists who do not wish to participate need only to inform the administration of the exhibition, which will hasten to return their works to them."[18]

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[15] Boime does not define who constituted this 'public' but reference to contextual political history suggests that the term implies the middle classes, or bourgeoisies.
[16] Boime, A., *The Academy and French Painting in the nineteenth century,* op. cit., p.14.
[17] Kats, R., and Dars, C., *The Impressionists in Context,* Acropolis Books, Leicestershire, 1991.
[18] *Moniteur Universal* 24.04.1863. Translated from the original French and reproduced in Kats, R., and Dars, C., *The Impressionists in Context,* op. cit., p.70.

Figure 5.

Edouard Manet *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* 1863.
Oil on Canvas 208 x 264 cm,
Le Louvre, Paris.
Originally sold to Faure in 1878.

Figure 6.

Edouard Manet, *Mlle. V in the costume of an Espada,* 1862.
Oil on canvas, 165 x 127.6 cm.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Sold to Durand Ruel, 1872.

Figure 7.

Edouard Manet, Young man in the costume of a Majo, 1862.
Oil on canvas, 188 x 124.8 cm.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Mrs H O Havemeyer Bequest.
Sold to Duran Ruel in 1872.

This suggests that Emperor Napoleon did not wish, possibly for political reasons, to appear to be imposing an art that was 'state' approved, but the fact that the works were shown with the label 'refused' presupposes that they are inferior, implying that there was an expected response to the work in the official Salon and a different one expected from the work in the *Salon des Refusés.* The notion of expected codes of behaviour in certain environments is a point to be considered, with particular respect to concepts of public space.

Many of the works in the *Salon des Refusés* were judged by the official Salon Jury to be poorly executed and lacking skill.[19] One critic felt that the *Salon des Refusés* was:

> "At once sad and grotesque ... there is not a painting that deserves the honour of the official galleries."[20]

Themes of morality and subject matter deemed inappropriate were also reasons for rejection, for example just Courbet's name was enough to:

> "Drive most critics into a state of apoplexy. His main contribution, *The Return from the Conference,* which showed a group of drunken clerics was turned down on moral grounds."[21]

Despite the apparent purpose of the exhibition being to allow the wider public to form their own opinion, a contemporary commentator, Chesneau, wrote:

> "They [the rejected artists] have mocked us for too long with their insults and their ridiculous pretensions. They are now obliged to surrender themselves to the just mockery of the public."[22]

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[19] Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op. cit., p.43.
[20] 'Revue des deux mondes', (1863) from Maxime du Camp's review in *Manet and his Critics,* George Heard Hamilton, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1986 edition, pp.41-50.
[21] Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op.cit., p.37.
[22] Chesneau, , 'L'Artist', 1.5.1863, in Dunlop, *The Shock of the New,* op. cit., p.29.

Those present on the official Salon Jury[23] are a measure of the art establishment in Paris at the time. The jury was mainly traditional, rather than romantic, and was led by Emile Signol, who was a "staunch and bigoted upholder of the academic tradition".[24] Although Delacroix[25] was present, he was not a selector.

The example of the *Salon des Refusés* supports a view that controversy is the result of innovation, in that some of the works, (admittedly not all), have subsequently been accepted as seminal works of the epoch. It reflects radical and innovative ideas entering the public sphere and being broadcast by a mass media to the wider public groups, less informed about the discipline. That it received widespread attention in the mass public sphere is substantiated by the fact that:

> "The press seized upon the opportunity offered by the fiasco that the Salon was turning into."[26]

The *Salon des Refusés* opened on 15th May 1863 and in the first few hours 7,000 people went to see it. Some contemporary accounts cite that more went to see it than visited the official exhibition[27]. A contemporary caricature shows a dejected artist saying:

> "'My painting has been accepted, but nobody looks at it' to which his companion replies 'mine is with the refused and there is a crush to see it.'"[28]

Paul Signac, a painter who came to reject Academic conventions of painting, believed that it is was the bourgeois public who were shocked and amused by the *Salon des Refusés,* and it was previously noted that the significance of this class, and so its views, increased up to and during this period.

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[23] Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, François Heim, François Picot (traditional history painter), Victor Schnetz, Auguste Couder, J R Brascassat, Léon Cogniet, Joseph Robert-Fleury, Jean Alaix, Hippolyte Flandrin, Delacroix, Émile Signol and Meissonier (academic with impeccable finish). Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op. cit., p.25.
[24] Ibid., p.25.
[25] Ferdinand Victor Eugène Delacroix, 1798-1863, painter in the style of Romanticism.
[26] Katz, R & Dars, C., *The Impressionists in Context,* op.cit., p.70.
[27] Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op. cit., p.42.
[28] Caricature by Cham reproduced in Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op. cit., p.44.

Figure 8.

Cartoon depicting the *Salon des Refuses* from *Charivari,* 1864.
Held in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

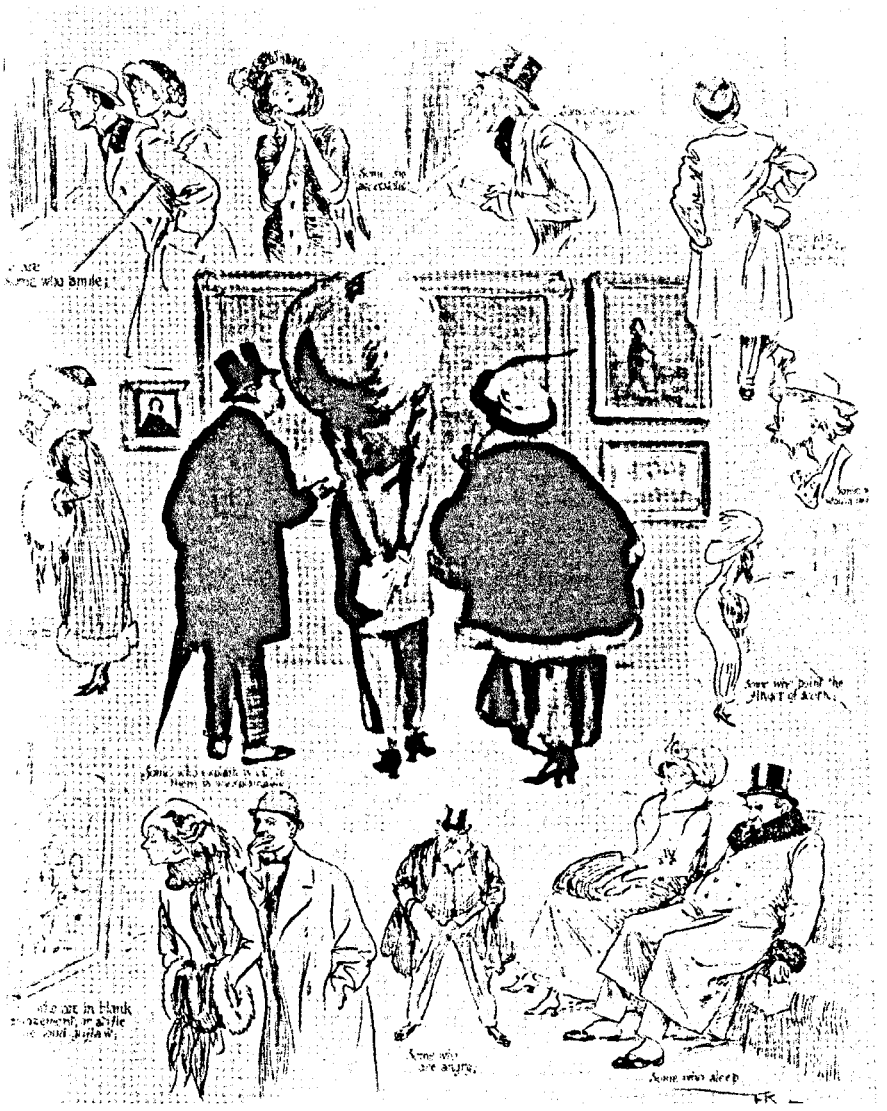

Figure 9.

Cartoon capturing the various scornful reactions of visitors to the
Post Impressionist Exhibition, 1910.
The Illustrated London News, 3rd December 1910.
Collection of A. C. Cooper.

The Salon des Refusés

Un tour au Salon

EXPOSITION

DES

BEAUX-ARTS DE 1863

ALBUM COMIQUE

PAR BARIC

—Je trouve, monsieu, que l'on fait trop de nudités : qu'on en fasse, je le veux bien, mais qu'on les habille !!!

PARIS
E. DENTU, LIBRAIRE-ÉDITEUR
PALAIS-ROYAL, 17 ET 19, GALERIE D'ORLÉANS.
1863

Figure 10.

Album Comique, by Baric, Paris 1862.
Held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

It is interesting that controversial art often provokes humorous responses and there is a parallel history of cartoons. Figures 8 and 9 show cartoons created in response to the *Salon des Refusés* and the later, but also controversial, *Post Impressionists* exhibition of 1910, organised by Roger Fry. Figure 10 shows the front page of a book specifically designed to provide humour at the expense of the *Salon des Refusés.* It is possible that cartoons are a natural response to something not deemed worthy of serious assessment. When considering the *Salon des Refusés,* it seems that the lower classes were not so quick to judge:

> "Some weeks ago, at the Exhibition of Independent Artists, faced with the pictures of *The Independent* and Impressionist painters, there were those who exclaimed against them. On Sunday, by contrast, some proletarians were rather intrigued by what they saw."[29]

As previously stated, Sunday was the free entry day at the Salon and so would have been attended by, as Signac terms, the proletariat. That they were curious about the work, further suggests that the usual art public consisted of higher classes and that such would expect the paintings to reflect and relate to their lifestyle and tastes, rather than those of the lower classes. Worst still was the possibility that the paintings may satirise the hypocrisy of the bourgeois lifestyle.

Signac's article was originally published in the communist/anarchist journal *Révolte*, suggesting that whilst many of the artists were not politically motivated, there was an element of rebellion that sat well with revolutionary ideology. Some saw controversy as a fortunate side-product of their motivation as an artist: it is documented that Courbet wished to shock the bourgeoisie, but that his sole desire was to remain true to his perception of art. He wrote in a letter in 1854 of his wish:

> "Always to earn my living by my art without having ever deviated by even a hair's breadth from my principles, without having lied to my

[29] Signac, P., 'Impressionists and Revolutionaries', (1891) originally published anonymously in the Communist, Anarchist journal *La Révolte,* 13-19.6.1891. Translated by Christopher Miller.

> conscience for a single moment, without painting even as much as can be covered by a hand only to please anyone or to sell more easily."[30]

This begins to highlight the complexities of the relationship between visual art and controversy and an assumed 'general' public. It has to be remembered that shocking art did not sell quickly or at high prices during the late nineteenth century in Paris and it seems likely that any impulse to shock was not fiscally based, although it could have attracted artists seeking infamy.

The *Salon des Refusés* has been widely described as controversial. This is evidenced in the large amount of discussion that took place in the newspapers and journals of the time, reveal widely differing and deeply held opinions. That the paintings had captured the imagination of many public groups is reflected in the cartoons published in contemporary media. Also, it is a reflection of the amount of discussion taking place between people in their everyday conversations, (otherwise the cartoon would not have been understood). In addition, the amount of visitors to the show reveals that it was widely publicised and entered the general vernacular, although probably not in the way the artists would have hoped.

Salon des Refusés is particularly relevant to my research as it served to further publicise the work of Edouard Manet. Manet has become closely associated with the *Salon des Refusés* and can be seen as one of the first historically documented controversial artists in the sense that the controversy which surrounded him was observed and details of his career preserved, not in the sense that the controversy was analysed in its own right. Mobs[31] gathered around *Olympia* (1863), (figure 11), when it was exhibited at the Salon of 1865 and two attendants had to protect it from attack until it could be hung out of reach.[32] The extent to which Manet deliberately courted controversy is a focus of attention as his career has set a precedent for that of the controversial artist.

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[30] Courbet, G., letter of 1854, in Gombrich, E., *The Story of Art,* Phaidon Press, Oxford, first printed 1972. Taken from 15th edition, 5th reprint, 1994, p.404.

[31] "*Mobile Vulgus* meaning the turbulent common people within the context of class conflict." Hayes, P *The People and the Mob*, Praeger, London, 1992, Introduction.

[32] Harris, N., *The life and works of Manet,* Parragon Press, London, 1994, p.15.

Figure 11.

Edouard Manet, *Olympia,* 1863.
Oil on canvas, 90 x 110 cm.
Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
Originally bought for the Musée du Luxembourg in 1890.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu perceived the example of Manet to be significant in that his career began to erode the importance of the established judges of art and the established institutions of training and validation: He stated:

> "The symbolic revolution initiated by Manet abolishes the very possibility of reference to an ultimate authority."[33]

It is interesting that the controversial exhibition *Sensation* should be held in the Royal Academy, London, and thereby become incorporated into the establishment.

Dunlop believed that the scandal around the *Salon des Refusés* was deliberately provoked by some of the artists included, particularly Manet:

> "Any artist who set out to shock people – and both Millet and Manet expected to do just that at the Salon of 1863 – was bound to arouse suspicion. But they set out to shock the Salon public for very different reasons. Millet wished to draw attention to a Christian message. Manet wished merely to draw attention to himself."[34]

Others believe that Manet painted without deference to the established tastes of the time and, so, was misunderstood by his contemporaries and that this was not done with self-promotion in mind.

Manet's attempt to achieve official recognition through the Salon is ambiguous. In one respect it seems unlikely that he should seek the approval of the judiciary if he sought controversy, yet it could also be an audacious act of publicity seeking. This is an area widely and historically debated by academics.[35] For instance, Clive Bell

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[33] Bourdieu, P., *The Rules of Art,* trans. Emmanuel, S., Polity Press, London, 1996, p.133.
[34] Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op.cit., p.19.
[35] Archer Brombert, B., *Edouard Manet: Rebel in a Frock Coat* Little Brown, Boston and London, 1996. Bataille, G., *Manet,* Skira, Geneva 1955. Boime, A., *The Academy and French painting in the nineteenth century,* op. cit., Coffin Hanson, A., *Manet and the modern tradition,* Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1977. Hamilton, G. H., *Manet and his Critics,* Yale Publications, New Haven & London, 1954. Perruchot, *Manet,* Perpetua Books, London, 1962. Reff, T., *Manet and Modern Paris,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1982. Reff, T., *Manet, Olympia,* Allen Lane, London, 1976. Wilson-Bareau, J., *Manet by Himself,* MacDonald, London & Sydney, 1991.

believed that Manet possessed "'a vulgar ambition for honours'"[36] and official recognition that would be the antithesis of seeking to be scandalous. Manet denied any deliberate attempt to provoke controversy and claimed to only want a fair and serious assessment of his work:

> "Msr. Manet has never wished to protest. On the contrary, the protest entirely unexpected on his part, has been directed against himself; this is because there is a traditional way of teaching form, methods and manner of looking at a picture and because those who have been brought up to believe in these principles will admit to no others."[37]

In this, and other correspondence, Manet denies that his work is intrinsically controversial. Rather, he blames a narrow-minded expectation of painting as the basis for conflicting opinions and hence controversy. He believed if his work was exhibited it would soon lose its shock value, which he claimed to desire. This would seem to contradict the idea that innovation is controversial when it enters the public sphere, but Manet implies that this is a stage his work needs pass through in order to be properly assessed when the controversy dies down.

The three works entered by Manet into the *Salon* of 1863 are not shocking to an audience accustomed to twentieth century visual art. Of the three it is possible to see why *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* had the most potential to be controversial, in that it presented a nude woman in a non-classical setting. The subject matter would have seemed very inappropriate to both the *Salon* judges and the wider public. Manet's painting technique also represented a break with tradition. The Academy of the mid to late nineteenth century demanded excellent finish and careful gradations of shade. Manet's style defers to neither concept, rather his brushstrokes are laid bare and one is made aware of the presence of an artist and creator. Such manipulation of standard artistic conventions confused the audience.

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[36] Clive Bell in Richardson, J,. *Manet*, Encyclopaedia of Art, London, 1972, p.87.
[37] Manet, E., 'Reasons for Holding a Private Exhibition', (1867) printed as a forward to the catalogue to Manet's 1867 private exhibition, in Edouard Manet, Jacques de Biez, Paris 1884, translated in Ross, M., *Portrait of Manet by himself and his contemporaries,* Cassell, London, 1960, pp. 60-61.

Déjeuner is of very large proportions and this in itself is a statement against painting convention of the time, as large canvases were usually used only for very important or revered subject matter. Whilst he broke with established conventions and tastes, Manet also manipulated his classical training and knowledge of the masters. *Déjeuner* refers to several previous works, including *Le Concert Champêtre* (Pastoral music-making) c.1510 by Titian and held in the Louvre, which shows two dressed men in the presence of two naked women. In the classical example, though, the women are nymphs and so the scene is acceptable. Manet's focus on the pile of clothes in the foreground reinforces the fact that the naked woman is real and contemporary to her audience. That the viewer might see the woman on the streets of Paris only served to heighten the sense of impropriety.

Having been rejected from the Salon a second time and ignored by selectors for the large exhibition at the Paris World Fair, in 1866, Manet felt forced to stage his own exhibition. His wish to facilitate appraisal beyond initial shock and so undermine his controversial status, was borne out in the catalogue to his private exhibition. In it Manet stated:

> "To be able to exhibit is the vital concern ... because it happens that after looking at something for some while one becomes familiar with what seemed before surprising or shocking. Little by little it becomes understood and accepted. Time itself imperceptibly refines and softens the original hardness of the picture.
>
> On his first appearance in the Salon, Msr. Manet received an official distinction but since then his work has been so often rejected by the jury that he feels that if any attempt to do something new in art is worth a struggle, it should at least be conducted fairly and he be enabled to show his work. The fact is that official acceptance, encouragement and rewards are seen by a certain sector of the public as a guarantee of talent."[38]

[38] Ibid.

Manet may have wished to avoid controversy, but it did have its advantages, one being that the scandal surrounding his paintings prompted those who supported him to be as vocal as those who derided him. This illustrates the factor of controversy in which opinions of opposed groups, or 'publics' are revealed and justified. One of Manet's most eloquent advocates was writer Émile Zola, who wrote that Manet:

> "Obeyed his own personal inclinations, which have offended the eyes of people accustomed to other points of view. And now those same people, without trying to understand why their eyes have been offended, abuse this painter, insult his integrity and talent; have turned him into a sort of grotesque lay-figure who sticks out his tongue to amuse fools. The reason for the anger of the young ruffians and the weakness of the police is explained to me. I am given to understand what crime it is that this pariah whom they are stoning has committed. I go home and prepare, for the sake of truth, the official evidence, which you are about to read; here is the popular opinion concerning art: there is an 'absolute' of beauty which is regarded as something outside the artist, a perfect ideal. What is shocking to them is not the inner meaning of the work, but the general superficial aspect of it. Originality that's what shocks; we laugh at or are irritated by things we don't understand. The artist is getting tired of his role as scarecrow but there is nobody to guide the public.[39]

Zola also wrote that the scandal surrounding Manet inspired him to examine the phenomenon, he asked:

> "Isn't such a commotion an interesting subject for study? Isn't it a reason for an inquisitive, unbiased man like myself to halt on his way in the presence of the mocking, noisy crowds which surround the young painter and pursue him with their hoots of derision?"[40]

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[39] Zola, E., 'Edouard Manet', Révue du xx siecle, January 1867. Translated by Michael Ross in Pierre Courthion and Pierre Cailler (eds.) in Ross, M., *Portrait of Manet by himself and his contemporaries,* Cassell, London, 1960, pp.113-139.
[40] Ibid.

Charles Baudelaire in *The Painter of Modern Life* reflected the romantic notion of the artist as removed and distinct from normality but also demanded that artists should paint from the world around them, not adhere to a classical ideology. He also believed that Manet did not deliberately seek to be controversial:

> "Today I want to discourse to the public about a strange man of so powerful and so decided an originality that it is sufficient unto itself and does not even seek approval. Consider him also as a man-child, as a man who is never for a moment without the genius of childhood, a genius for which no aspect of life has become stale."[41]

Manet stated a belief that controversy detracted from his work and clouded judgement of it. He did not find it so detrimental to his career, neither did he seek establishment recognition, to the extent that he was willing to capitulate and conform to the official art of the time. Nor was he naïve enough to overlook the potential advantages of the controversy that surrounded him. He once asked:

> "Who is this Monet whose name sounds just like mine and who is taking advantage of my notoriety?"[42]

There is evidence, however, that the fuss that invariably accompanied his work, caused him to question the validity of his aims. He wrote in a letter:

> "I wish you were here my dear Baudelaire, insults are beating down on me like hail ... I wish I could have your sound judgement on my pictures because all this uproar is upsetting, and obviously someone must be wrong."[43]

Manet recognised that there was little profit in exclusion from the *Salon* and official acceptance, and consistently sought to have his work approved by the establishment

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[41] Baudelaire, C., 'The Painter of Modern Life', (1863), translated and edited by Jonathan Mayne Da Capo Press, New York, 1986.
[42] Wilson-Bareau, J., *Manet by Himself,* (ed.), MacDonald, London & Sydney, 1991, p.33 recorded by Theordore Duret at the Salon of 1865, held in the Bibliotheque d'art et d'archeologie, France.
[43] Letter to Charles Baudelaire, Wilson-Bareau, J., *Manet by Himself,* op. cit., recorded by Theordore Durer, pp.32-33.

of his day, but always without compromise. Close to the end of his life the Third Republic did award Manet the *Légion d'Honneur*[44]. However, Manet's career and subsequent importance in the history of art undermined the relevance of official recognition and success. Dunlop stated that Manet:

> "had failed in his attempt to win popular approval through the Salon, and the Salon des Refusés failed to provide a new climate for the appreciation of *avant-garde* art. But, as Thoré and others were dimly aware, the exhibition was the first crack in the academic wall. The year 1863 marks a turning point in the history of French art."[45]

Manet's example of subversion succeeding against established traditions is as important a legacy as the practical changes he made to painting technique.

2.4 The significance of Manet and the *Salon des Refusés*

That others would follow in Manet's path and become embroiled with controversy and scandal, with or without intention, was recognised by his contemporaries and a pattern of rebellion, rejection and acceptance was predicted. *Déjeuner* proved a focus of attention for many modern artists, including, Claude Monet, Paul Cézanne and Pablo Picasso, who used it as a point of reference throughout their careers and as partially illustrated in figures 12, 13 and 14. More recently the image still proved powerful when it was appropriated by Malcolm McLaren and the scene recreated by real people on an album cover for his band *Bow Wow Wow,* in August 1981. This provoked a media controversy in its own right.

Manet claimed not to belong to any particular movement and, indeed, was never fully incorporated into Impressionism. Rather his career is relevant as a facilitator for the Modern movement: a break with the old that enabled the new. It is widely acknowledged that Manet was inspirational for the Impressionists both stylistically and ideologically.

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[44] An order for civil or military merit established by Napoleon in 1802.
[45] Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op.cit., p.53.

Figure 13.

Claude Monet, *Luncheon on the Grass,* 1865-66.
Oil on canvas fragment 248 x 217cm.
Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

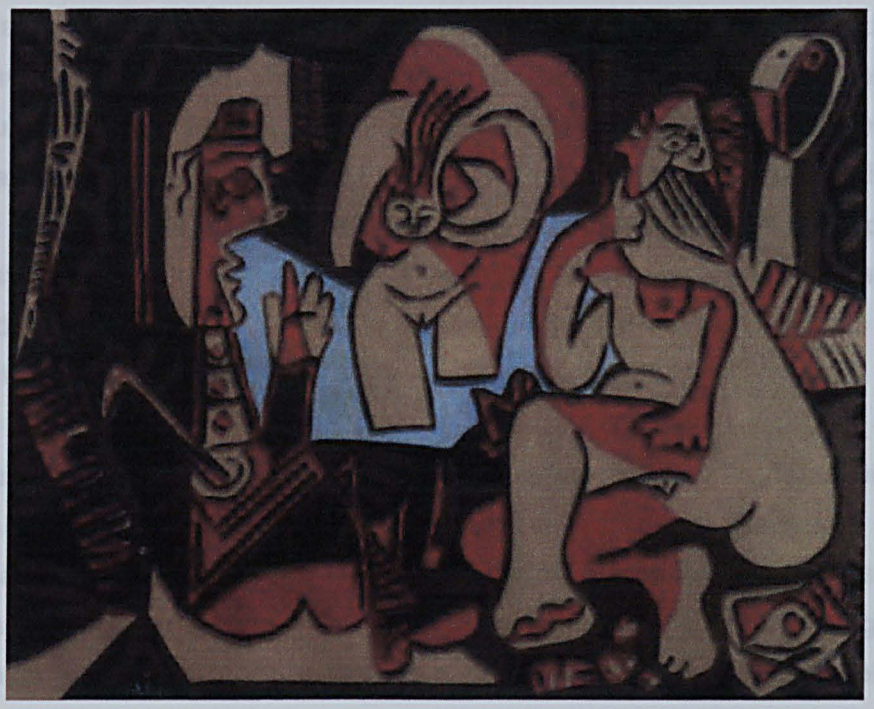

Figure 14.

Pablo Picasso, *Le Dejeuner sur L'Herbe,* 1961.
Linoprint, 81 x 99.8 cm.
Le Musée Picasso, Paris.
This was one of 27 paintings, 6 lino prints and 140 sketches that Picasso produced with reference to Manet's original.

The paradigm of rejection of values, concerning both subject matter and practical technique, in any discipline, has been shown to cause controversy when exposed to wider public groups. Once a discipline is challenged from within, it becomes easier to challenge from without. Painter, Walter Sickert recognised a danger in that the publicity surrounding certain works had a disproportionate effect on the reputation of the artist. In criticism of Baudelaire's view that Manet was controversial because people did not understand his genius, Sickert wrote that he "resented the making of artists into deities overnight."[46]

One could dismiss Sickert's view as professional jealousy, but he does voice a valid concern and is incisive in also criticising the resulting commercialisation and mass profit that accompanies such hype. If the notion of controversy as a shortcut to success was recognised by contemporary artists, it logically suggests that subsequent artists would also recognise it and its effects and actively seek to utilise and manipulate controversy.

The result of the controversy surrounding the *Salon des Refusés* was not that the visitors, or the Salon, felt threatened - rather it titillated a complacent society. This is clear from the fact that very little serious debate surrounded the event, much of its dissemination taking humorous form, and that which did emerge tended to emanate from other creative people. After the experience of the *Salon des Refusés* eleven years previously, the First Impressionist exhibition of 1874 opened to an audience expecting scandal and amusement. The First Impressionist exhibition did not promote high prices, or even many sales, for the protagonists. The unexpected and enduring success of such innovation had the result that, from this point, the validity of a legitimised, official opinion toward art had been undermined.

New developments in the visual arts, regardless of how ridiculous they at first appeared, now had to be taken seriously and considered as potential masterpieces by the establishment. This created widespread confusion amongst the wider public audience, as described by Norbert Lynton:

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[46] Sickert, W., in Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op.cit., p.187.

> "Before very long there resulted the kind of total misunderstanding and lack of faith as was manifested when the Impressionists were denounced as incompetents and Ruskin accused Whistler of 'flinging a pot of paint in the public's face'.
>
> The case of Impressionism is particularly instructive. Impressionist paintings today are more loved and admired than any others. In the 1870's and 1880's they were scorned by almost everyone. The strength of this antagonism is surprising, even allowing for the repeated ritual of denunciation followed by interest and acclaim that modern art has witnessed since then."[47]

The removal of an official examination process allows artists more freedom, but it also generates an arena in which quality, in the sense of having achieved the highest standard, is not easily measured. Frederick Taubes ascribes the Impressionists with more audacity than genius[48] and this is, perhaps, their greatest legacy to subsequent artists. Manet and the Impressionists legitimised the right of the artist to paint autonomously, rather than seeking official sanction. Manet's career revealed the wisdom of riding out the storm of protest and set an example of controversy as a form of promotion. Subsequent artistic movements reveal a pattern of acceptance and rejection. As soon as anti-art received official backing, it became art with a capital A and what was left to be defied?[49]

In the Impressionist exhibition of 1874 we can already see the incorporation of artists, Cézanne and Van Gogh for example, who were to grow dissatisfied with the aims of Impressionism and develop the genre defined by Roger Fry as 'Post Impressionism.' The term itself places Impressionism into the annals of history, but also maintains it as the point of reference against which the new movement rebels.

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[47] Lynton, N., *The Story of Modern Art,* Phaidon Press, London, Third impression, second reprint, 1989, pp.14-15.
[48] Taubes, F., *A Judgement of Art, Fact and Fiction,* Northlight Publishers, New York, 1981, p.106.
[49] Gombrich, E., *Meditations on a Hobby Horse,* Phaidon, London, Oxford & New York, 1972, pp.488-9.

When Manet died in 1883, his career had become firmly established in the history of art, not only in the sense of official sanction, but also as no longer new. At this point in history, it is possible to summarise the life cycle of a modern visual art movement from conception to incorporation within the establishment as being approximately twenty-five years, evidencing itself in the following manner:

1863 *Salon des Refusés*
1874 First Impressionist Exhibition
1876 Victor Chocquer (described as an eccentric) begins collecting Impressionist works
1876 Critics still deride the Impressionist movement
1880 Monet and Renoir very successful
1884 Within a decade of the first exhibition the influence was evident to varying degrees all over Britain, Europe, Australia and North America
1886 Last Impressionist exhibition, attention of the public diverted to some extent by the Post Impressionists

This simplistic pattern contains within it many complex issues, but it does serve to substantiate a paradigm of acceptance and rejection. It reveals how new art develops against itself, an introverted trend which is identifiable in subsequent artistic movements. As modernism progressed this pattern became dramatically foreshortened. The cycle has become accepted and potentially manipulated by some subsequent artists as a career route, actively seeking controversy as the first step to achieving success.

Manet represents the break with tradition, particularly with reference to the act of painting itself. He consciously manipulated techniques of painting so they became exposed. For example, his use of historical reference not only acknowledges an understanding of precedent set in art historical techniques, but is also used as a comment on his contemporary society. His methods of rendering shade promoted the role of the artist from a hidden tool of representation, imbuing the painting with the presence of its creator. *Déjeuner* demands involvement from its public: the naked woman stares defiantly out of the painting to confront her audience. This is as important in its influence as Manet's break with rules concerning tone and finish. The

painting no longer exists in isolation, the viewer is simultaneously aware of the artist and themselves in relation to the picture.

It is necessary to assess how all the facets of Manet's legacy as controversial artist have come to affect the visual arts of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, with particular reference to the relationship between the visual arts and the 'general' public.

2.5 Marcus Harvey at *Sensation*

The 'young British artists' (yBa), is the name attributed to a group of people, rather than an artistic style. The emergence of the yBa is commonly traced back to the *Freeze* exhibition organised by Damian Hirst whilst he was still a student at Goldsmiths College, London, in August 1988. The work of the yBa is usually seen as shocking on an immediate level and is famously collected by the advertising guru, Charles Saatchi. An example of the work by artists categorised within this group is that of the Chapman brothers, as seen in figure 3, page22. In a description equally applicable to Manet in 1863, Gregor Muir perceives:

> "The Chapman brothers are concerned with the pathological breakdown of aesthetics. Accordingly much of what they produce is hard to swallow. On many occasions it is as though their work is an accumulation of things that no one wants to see."[50]

Experience of the Chapman brother's work in the flesh is that the observer feels confronted by images that are deliberately designed to discomfort and shock, in the Freudian sense of provoking a reaction felt beneath the protective shield of the psyche. Muir attributes the shock art of the yBa a legitimate pedigree, citing luminous ancestors such as Bataille and Goya, an argument already undermined through discussion in my introduction. Muir even states that the artists are performing an important social function through such art:

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[50] Muir, G., *General Release: Young British Artists at Scuola di San Pasquale,* Venice, 1995, The British Council, Introduction, p.13.

> "Dinos and Jake Chapman's work deals with another form of extreme experience: the notion of 'outrage'. The word itself has become a *cliché* of British tabloid journalism to the point where everything that is in anyway disturbing becomes thus classified, removing the need to even think about the motivation or implications of the act that has been described as such. The last decade has seen some very unpalatable truths about British society come to light, in particular the extent of child-abuse and its obverse, children's capacity for evil."[51]

Another painting that provoked outrage through its reference to atrocious acts committed by another human being was the focus of another controversial exhibition: the *Sensation* exhibition, staged at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, in September 1997. It contained work by the yBa, from the collection of Charles Saatchi. In some ways this can be seen as the point at which yBa art became the establishment. This also reveals much about how the establishment has changed since the forced *Salon des Refusés* exhibition and the role of the art establishment within wider society.

Sensation achieved wide-ranging press condemnation, particularly over its inclusion of Marcus Harvey's portrait of the Moors murderer Myra Hindley, produced through a skilful collage of a cast of children's handprints. *Myra* (figure 15) provoked strong reactions from many public groups and was attacked on two occasions by visitors who threw eggs and ink at the painting.

Marcus Harvey has established a career through painting works containing stark dichotomies, so that experience of the one heightens experience of the other. In figure 16, *Proud of his Wife,* (1994) this takes the form of a pornographic image in the style of the abstract expressionists against a formulaic and depersonalised pattern.

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[51] Ibid., p.62.

Detail 

Figure 15.

Marcus Harvey, *Myra,* 1995.
Acrylic on canvas, 396 x 320 cm.
Saatchi collection, London.

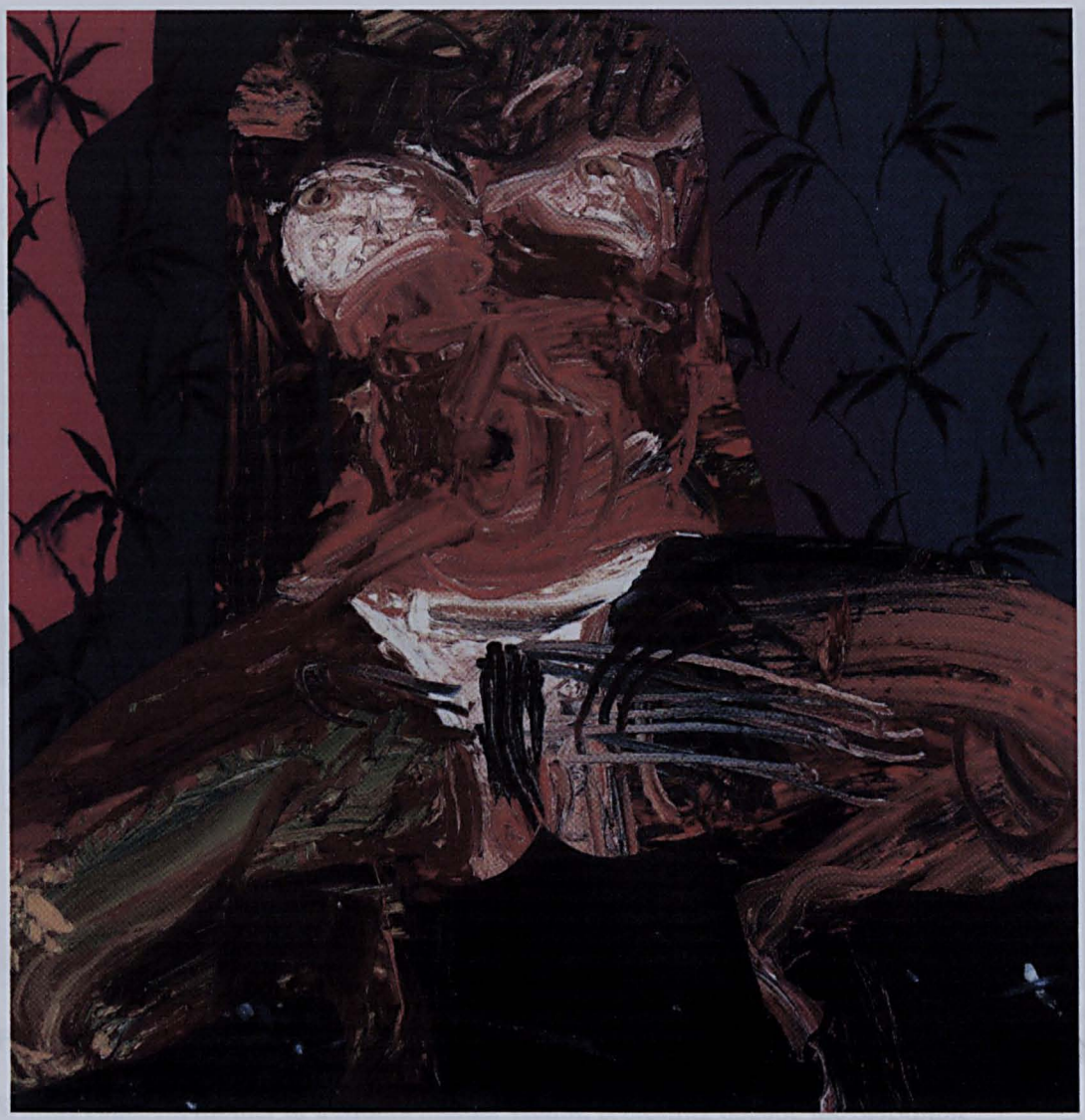

Figure 16.

Marcus Harvey *Proud of his wife*, 1994.
Oil on and acrylic on canvas, 198 x 198 cm.
Saatchi collection, London.

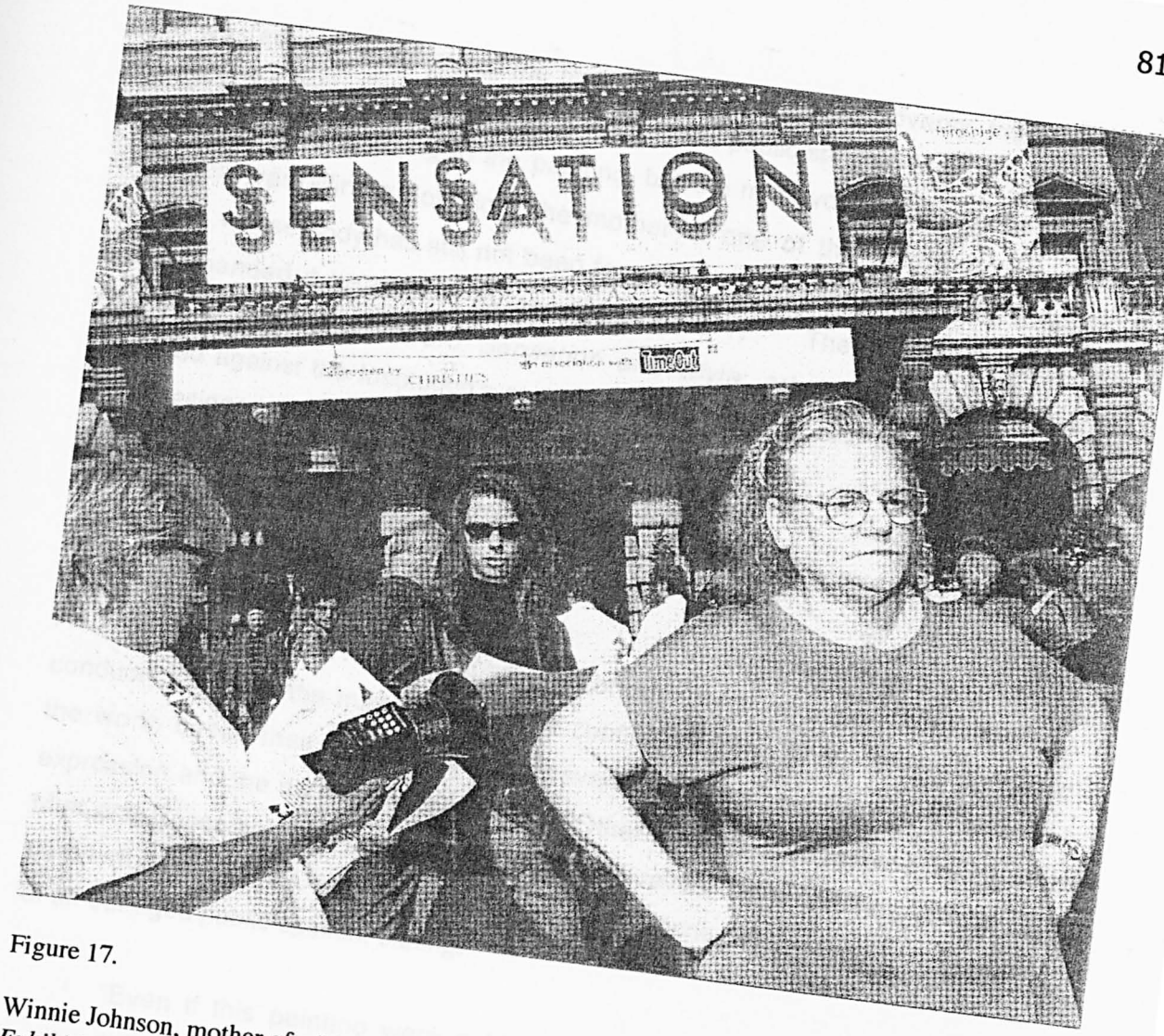

Figure 17.

Winnie Johnson, mother of a Moors murder victim, protesting outside the *Sensation Exhibition*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, September 1997.
Printed to accompany Dalya Alberge's article 'Attacks force Hindley portrait to be removed', *The Times*, 19.09.97, p.9. Photograph by Simon Schluter.

Myra was several years old at the time of the *Sensation* controversy, the exhibition providing the publicity necessary for it to enter the public sphere. Myra Hindley wrote to *The Guardian* objecting to the painting, but the most vociferous opponent of the exhibition was Winnie Johnson, the mother of one of the Moors victims, Keith Bennett, whose body has still not been found. She protested outside the exhibition and demanded it be closed, as shown in figure 17.[52] The 'art' public was also divided and factious toward *Sensation* and *Myra:* artists within the Academy protested against the Institution's endorsement of the work and academician Gillian Ayres resigned stating:

> "I'm a mother. Feelings matter very much. Life comes first. My sympathy is with the parents."[53]

As witnessed in the Irving example, the controversy surrounding *Sensation* was conducted through the mass media. The conflicting group of public who defended the work, based their arguments upon several premises, many cited freedom of expression and the dangers of censorship. Other reasons were mooted, in line with Muir and Rosenthal, that the purpose of art is to reveal the problems of society. A pertinent letter to the Daily Mail recognised the hypocrisy of the media presentation of an outraged public opinion, stating:

> "Even if this painting were a blatant attempt by Harvey to achieve notoriety, he could never compete with the shameless, endless exploitation of that photograph by the Press. Using a cast of a child's hand to reproduce this image is no more exploitative than what is written next to the image in newspapers or magazines. It's just different."[54]

As with Irving, the subject attracted powerful and emotional views and the apparent idolisation of Myra Hindley went against assumed public opinion. A friend of Marcus

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[52] In an interesting epilogue to the controversy surrounding *Myra*, when the subject's death was reported in November 2002, much of the media used this painting of her, rather than a photograph, to accompany the story, including *The Guardian The Independent* and the *BBC News.*

[53] Alberge, D., *Attacks Force Hindley portrait to be removed,* The Times, 19.9.97, p.9.

[54] Packer, J., Letter in *The Daily Mail,* 10.08.97, letters page.

Harvey[55] believes that the artist did not compromise his artistic or social, integrity through producing and promoting the work. Gordon Young is of the view that Harvey created the work despite the fact that it would be controversial, rather than because of it. This is supported on some levels by critical assessment.

Myra is mesmerising, instilling a morbid fascination in the viewer. This is perpetuated by the technique used: as it is viewed from a distance, the cold and disturbingly familiar face of Hindley's police mug shot stares back. Emotionless and remorseless it could represent the media's two-dimensional characterisation and demonisation of Hindley. When one views the image up close, the children's handprints come into focus and the technique used adds a third dimension to the image both physically and psychologically. The use of the handprint communicates on several levels. Technically, it brings to mind the human creator of the piece and exposes its construction, in the tradition developed by Manet. It possibly suggests that Myra was, in life, created and moulded as a person and is more complex a human being than we would like to acknowledge. That these are casts of children's handprints, reinforces the atrocity of Hindley's crimes, particularly as a cast was use repetitively - lifeless and manipulated by the artist. The dual visual meaning of the work serves to illustrate that Myra Hindley will never be considered without relation to the children she helped to murder, they form her media controlled personality as much as the handprints form her mug shot.

Those in support of Harvey, including Norman Rosenthal, Director of the Royal Academy, often criticised the mass media for their involvement in the controversy and argued that their perpetuation of the story was biased and ill-considered. A reader's letter was published by *The Times* which cites a tradition of controversy and the avant-garde as relevant to *Sensation:*

> "This show does not anticipate criticism, as you report, it courts it. That is what it is for. Surely it is a little late for those jaded Dadaists to

[55] Gordon Young, sculptor responsible for a number of controversial public art projects internationally, in personal conversation.

> continue to *épater*[56] *les bourgeois* and for the bourgeois conveniently to oblige ... Of course it would be more interesting if the RA put on a show that was rather more up to date. In the meantime, one was always taught that the right way to deal with naughty children was to ignore them."[57]

This view reflects a paradigm previously mooted in which artists, to varying degrees, seek scandal and sensation in order to widen their audience, even if that audience is actively negative in reaction. The above correspondence is correct in the view that the most damaging response to such a tendency is to ignore it, because artists need an audience. The Royal Academy cited the historical association of the avant-garde and controversy as justification of their promotion of *Sensation,* and was of the opinion that real art, (although no definition of that term is provided), could never be immoral. Rosenthal also uses the controversy paradigm as justification for *Sensation*, stating that Manet not only outraged contemporaries, but actively sought to do so:

> "Why were Manet's *Olympia,* or *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* such an outrage to contemporaries? Manet drew attention to contemporary and even sordid problems. He did so with aesthetic refinement, but also with naked sensation every bit as attention-grabbing as that of his contemporary novelists or political commentators."[58]

In this statement, Rosenthal oversimplifies a complex case, as previously analysed, and has done so to defend his own position. The Royal Academy is financially self supporting and often finds itself in several hundred thousand pounds worth of debt; that it charged seven pounds admission to *Sensation* suggests that, in this instance, no publicity was bad publicity and the media attention was manipulated to attract more visitors, and so raise revenue.

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[56] The term, 'épater' has often been used in discussion of the avant-garde, meaning startling or shocking, and is derived from the French for flabbergast but the association between innovation, shock and the bourgeois has been recently challenged by Thomas Crow. Cited in Mitchell, W J T., *Art and the Public Sphere,* University of Chicago, Chicago and London, 1992, p.156.

[57] van Praag, A., letter in *The Times,* 18.09.97, p.23.

[58] Rosenthal, N., 'The Blood Must Continue to Flow', op. cit., p.10.

Figure 18.

Chris Ofili, *The Holy Virgin Mary,* 1996.
Paper collage, oil paint, glitter, polyester resin, map pins and elephant dung on linen,
243.8 x 182.9 cm.
Saatchi collection, London.

It was intended that *Sensation* would be shown in Australia, Berlin and New York. It was exhibited in the Brooklyn Museum of Art from 2nd October 1999 until 9th January 2000. Protestors in the US found different works controversial. An elderly visitor squirted white paint onto Chris Ofili's *Holy Virgin Mary* (1996) reproduced in figure 18, because he believed it to be blasphemous. The then Mayor of New York, Rudolph Guiliani condemned *Sensation* calling it 'sick stuff', and attempted to prevent the Brooklyn Museum of Art from being allowed to stage the exhibition.[59] In keeping with the apparent ethos of the exhibition, and in response to the outrage it engendered, the Brooklyn Museum of Art deliberately reflected the controversy manipulating tactics of the art within *Sensation* and issued a flyer with a mock health, warning (figure 19), which stated:

> 'The contents of this exhibition may cause shock, vomiting, confusion, panic, euphoria and anxiety. If you suffer from high blood pressure, a nervous disorder, or palpitations, you should consult your doctor before viewing this exhibition.'[60]

In December 1999 The National Gallery of Australia announced it was cancelling the exhibition, planned for June 2000, on the basis that it was too closely aligned to the commercial market. The influence of controversy on this decision is a matter for speculation.

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[59] It is perhaps worth noting that at this stage Guiliani's position was simply that of New York Mayor (before any scandal surrounding his extra-marital affair, sympathy toward his illness or exalted status following the leadership he displayed after the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001). Knowledge of this reflects the value of his opinion to others.

[60] Flyer for Sensation exhibition, New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art, 2.10.99 – 9.1.00.

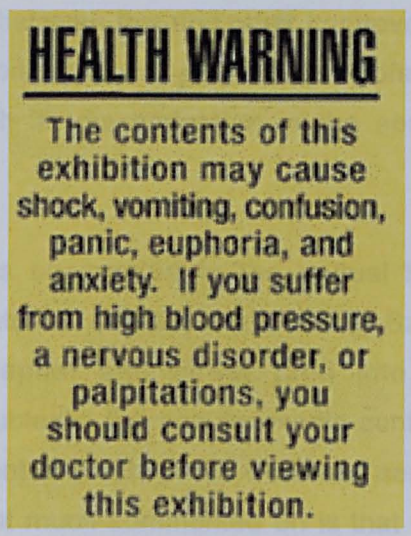

Figure 19.

Flyer advertising the *Sensation* exhibition, Brooklyn Museum of Contemporary Art, New York. 2.10.99-9.1.00.
Personal archive.

A fundamental difference between this and other controversies is that this exhibition was of privately owned works and was only public insofar as the gallery space is a public space and through its dissemination in the abstract public sphere. The exhibition was:

> "Cynically seen as engineered to the mutual benefit of the Royal Academy and Saatchi – officially underwriting Saatchi's yBa holdings while injecting capital and street cred into the cash-strapped Academy.[61] Undoubtedly, the popular media controversy over the sex and violence content of much of the work has served to swell the box office. An irony not much commented on is that through the 70's and 80's the typical call from the British press in the face of avant-garde outrages was for a shift to private patronage."[62]

Though not public in the sense of funding or occupation of physical space,[63] the example of *Sensation* reveals the points at which the media feels an issue should become 'public' in the abstract sense, in terms of ownership and who is entitled to an opinion. It also reveals, that unlike Manet or the *Salon des Refusés*, controversial art works only shock in this abstract arena, not in the art gallery itself. A survey of visitors to *Sensation* in New York,[64] reveals that the overall majority did not find anything shocking in its content.

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[61] A view stemming from the fact that *Sensation* contained works in the exclusive collection of Charles Saatchi and satirised in the cartoon shown in figure 20.

[62] Mulholland, N., 'Sensation', exhibition review in *The Burlington Magazine,* vol.139, December 1997, pp.886-8.

[63] The extent to which art galleries are public spaces is to be considered.

[64]

	1 (not at all)	2	3	4	5 (very)
Did you find the following offensive?					
General exhibition	63.3%	21.3	8.2	3.2	3.9
Sam Taylor-Wood	86.9	3.9	3.9	0.5	4.8
Holy Virgin Mary (Ofili)	81.2	8.3	4.3	1.6	4.6
Myra (Harvey)	75.1	10.8	5.5	5.2	3.5
Piggy (Hirst)	70.6	13.1	6.8	4.6	4.9
Chapman Brothers	56.6	15.6	10.5	6.6	10.8

Cited in Rothfield, L., (ed.), *Unsettling Sensation,* Rutgers University Press, London, 2001 relating to the *Sensation* exhibition when held at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York.

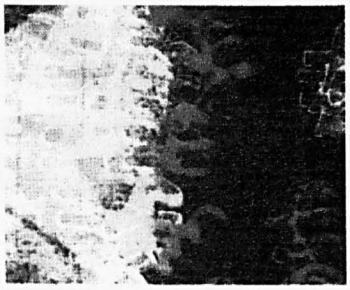
Detail 

Figure 20.

Cartoon of Charles Saatchi by Ferguson, published in the *Financial Times*, September 1997.
Personal archive.

The interaction between the public and such art as is deemed controversial provides valuable insights. That visitors to the art gallery did not find the exhibition shocking has several possible interpretations. It is possible that the majority have become so jaded to the avant-garde and its associated controversy, that they no longer visit art galleries or exhibitions of contemporary art. Conversely, the majority may no longer visit art galleries because art has become irrelevant to mass culture, not because the product has systematically alienated, but because other forms of leisure activity have replaced it. Another consideration is that it may no longer be possible to shock people, despite the media's assumption of an outraged public, due to a "wider culture of shock"[65] to which the controversial conforms rather than rebels.

I have traced a pattern of acceptance and subsequent rejection by the next generation of artists, but an overall adoption of a controversial avant-garde by the establishment. This chapter has highlighted the importance of artistic innovation and how quickly new art is now incorporated into the establishment. It is now necessary to consider how breaking traditional conventions in visual art practice, to the point of challenging the very definition of art, has affected the relationship between the visual arts and its audience.

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[65] Sierz, A., 'Outrage', in *The Telegraph, Arts and Books,* 17.02.01, p.1. Aleks Sierz cities *Sensation* as one example to support this theory, as well as the Benetton advertising campaign and the *Jerry Springer Show.* Oliviero Toscani was responsible for the Benetton campaign of the last decade, which has included images of a man dying from aids, a bloodstained uniform of a dead soldier from the Bosnian conflict and a new-born baby covered in blood. Even Toscani was deemed to have gone too far with his death row campaign which placed photographic portraits of real prisoners sentenced to death alongside personal details. He was subsequently sacked by Benetton.

3 Artist or charlatan? Marcel Duchamp and Carl Andre

3.1 Marcel Duchamp

Fountain (1917) was a sculpture consisting of a manufactured urinal (figure 21) and signed 'R Mutt'. Marcel Duchamp, its initially anonymous creator, claimed it was art because he, an artist, had chosen it. The complexities and ramifications of this action and Duchamp's career are essential to my analysis.

Duchamp was aware of the ways and means in which the avant-garde was disseminated and assimilated within wider culture. He recognised that the public needed a banner, a star:

> "whether it be Picasso, Einstein or some other. After all, the public represents half of the matter."[1]

Duchamp integrates an understanding of the relationship between art and public beyond the direct experience of the individual, so developing Manet's technique of involving his viewer in such works as *Déjeuner* and *Olympia*. Duchamp also takes into account external factors identified in analysis of the way Manet's work became public, including the media, marketing and public opinion. Duchamp believed that the artist only exists if he is known by a wide public,[2] and stated:

> "One can envisage the existence of a hundred thousand geniuses who are suicides, who kill themselves because they didn't know what to do to make themselves known, to push themselves, and to become famous."[3]

To follow Duchamp's own logic, if art exists when defined by an artist, and artists exist when known by a public, it leads to the conclusion that art cannot exist without a public. This is complicated by the fact that, although Duchamp's work achieved an audience, much of its public were dubious as to its validity.

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[1] Duchamp, M., in Cabanne, P., *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp,* Thames and Hudson, London, 1971 ed. Translated by Ron Padgett. P.26.
[2] Ibid, p.70.
[3] Ibid.

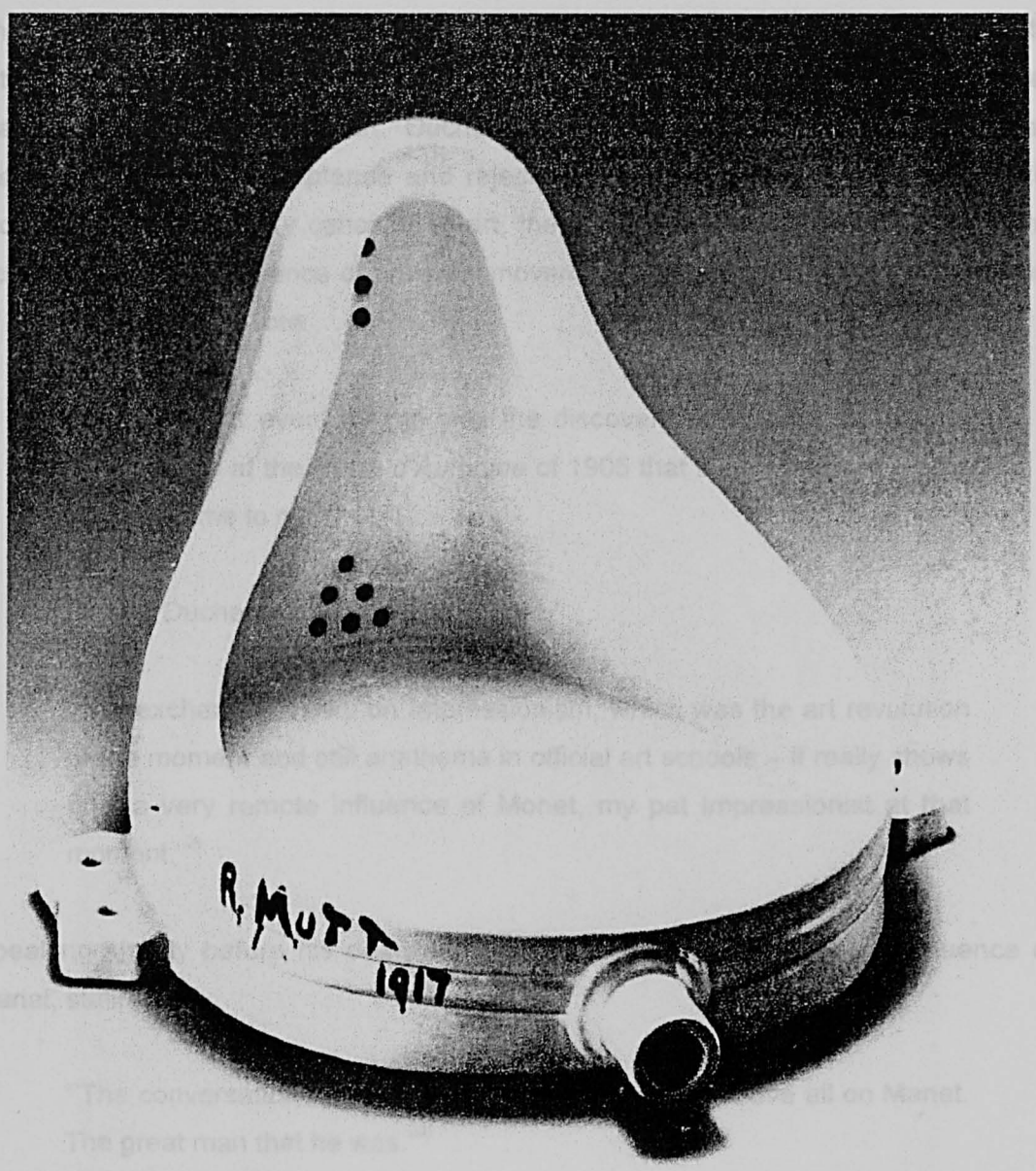

Figure 21.

R Mutt, *Fountain,* 1917, (Marcel Duchamp).
Ceramic and paint.
Original lost.

The example of Duchamp in comparison with Carl Andre is instructive with regard to artworks which challenge the conventions of painting and sculpture to the extent that many no longer see them as art. Duchamp's career develops further the notion of an historical pattern of acceptance and rejection, he came to reject not only artistic movements, but the very concepts of art, the artist and the avant-garde. Duchamp acknowledged the influence of previous movements as essential to the development of his own style. He wrote:

> "An important event for me was the discovery of Matisse in 1906 or 1907, it was at the *Salon d'Automne* of 1905 that the idea of being able to paint came to me."[4]

In an interview Duchamp also stated:

> "'We exchanged views on Impressionism, which was the art revolution of the moment and still anathema in official art schools – it really shows only a very remote influence of Monet, my pet Impressionist at that moment.'"[5]

Speaking shortly before his death in 1968, Duchamp emphasised the influence of Manet, stating:

> "'The conversations [with his artistic peers] centred above all on Manet. The great man that he was.'"[6]

The history of modern western painting and sculpture is imbued with a sense of progression. The Renaissance artists developed a mastery of perspective and realistic rendering so that objects could be created on canvas or in solid material as they appeared in real life. The eventual limits of this practice were hastened by the invention of the camera.

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[4] Duchamp, M in Ades, D., Cox, N., & Hopkins, D., *Marcel Duchamp,* Thames and Hudson, London, 1999, p.23.
[5] Lecture by Duchamp, 1964 in Ades, D., Cox, N., & Hopkins, D *Marcel Duchamp* Op. Cit,. p.10.
[6] Duchamp, M., in Cabanne, P., *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp,* op. cit., p.22.

Figure 22.

Marcel Duchamp, *Nude Descending a Staircase, no.2,* 1912.
Oil on canvas, 145 x 87.5cm.
Philadelphia Museum of Art, Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection, Philadelphia.

Innovation in art, as witnessed in Manet, shifted from representing reality, to research concerning the techniques of painting itself. Learnt skills were no longer just a means of representation, but became part of the content. This tendency leads to an intellectually and philosophically based art. A greater understanding of the world is implied and expressed rather than merely replication of visual form, or reference to religious iconography or classical myth. Duchamp stated that *Nude Descending a Staircase,* (1912), reproduced in figure 22, "was breaking the chains of naturalism forever."[7] The visual arts became more introverted and self-referencing and in so doing distanced themselves from 'the real world' to the extent that the possibilities for alienating wider public groups increased. Duchamp represents a paradox often resolved by controversy: the need to experiment in pushing the boundaries of the visual arts to the point of repelling the audience, but simultaneously understanding that art needs an audience in order to exist.

Nude Descending a Staircase was fundamental to the establishment of Duchamp as an artist. The controversy it caused among his Parisian peers at the *Salon des Indépendants* prompted his peers to request its withdrawal. Its subsequent successful exhibition and sale at the *Armory Show* in New York encouraged Duchamp to leave Paris for New York, where the painting had become famous, and where he benefited from the patronage of Walter Arensberg.

> "He was told to rename *Nude descending the stairs* but he refused so it was withdrawn. Inevitably the furore surrounding it made it the *success de scandale* at the Armory show in New York of 1913. Duchamp took the rejection badly. His lack of faith in the supposed open-mindedness of the self-appointed avant-garde can be dated from this event."[8]

In interview with Pierre Cabanne he discusses this incident. He admits, it "gave me a turn" that supposedly free artists asked him, via his brothers, to either remove or rename the piece.[9] Dawn Ades perceives the culmination of Duchamp's

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[7] Ibid., p.30.
[8] Ades, D., Cox, N., & Hopkins, D *Marcel Duchamp* op. cit., p.49.
[9] Cabanne, P., *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp,* op. cit., p.17.

disillusionment as the *Fountain* hoax,[10] her definition as 'hoax' is a matter for conjecture. In a rare interview, for the BBC in 1959, Duchamp confirmed that *Fountain* was intended to reveal the pretensions of the avant-garde when it was entered into the First Exhibition of Independent artists[11] in 1917. This could be taken to be a hoax in the sense of mockery, but could also be viewed as a legitimate work of art precisely because it conforms to the pattern of rejection and rebellion.

Duchamp spoke little of the episode at the time, satisfying his audience with an agenda in *Blindman,* a journal he formed with the backing of his American patron, Arensberg:

> "'They say any artist paying 6 dollars may exhibit.
> Mr Richard Mutt sent in a fountain. Without discussion this article disappeared and never was exhibited. What were the grounds for refusing Mr Mutt's fountain?
> 1. Some contended that it was immoral, vulgar.
> 2. Others it was plagiarism, a plain piece of plumbing.
> Now Mr Mutt is not immoral, that is absurd, no more than a bath is immoral. It is a fixture that you see every day in Plumber's shop windows.
> Whether Mr Mutt with his own hands made the fountain or not is of no importance. He CHOSE it. He took an ordinary article of life, placed it so that its useful significance disappeared under the new title and point of view – created a new thought for that object.
> As for plumbing, that is absurd. The only works of art America has given are her plumbing and her bridges.'"[12]

Duchamp's true intentions are an enigma, and worthy of a thesis in their own right. I have tried to negotiate the complex material available concerning Duchamp because reference to his career and legacies is essential to a better understanding of the relationship between the visual arts, visual artists and audiences today. Many

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[10] Ibid., p.49.
[11] Of which he was a founding member when it was established in New York, 1916.
[12] BBC interview, 1959, paraphrased in Duchamp, M., *Blindmen,* Ades, D., Cox, N., & Hopkins, D., *Marcel Duchamp.*, op. cit., p.127.

subsequent artists have interpreted his work and methods and continued them from a point they deem relevant. Among his many legacies is the notion of artist as shaman, later discussed by Greenberg and Rosenberg with reference to the Abstract Expressionists. Duchamp's work requires a certain leap of faith or as Hollywood describes, a suspension of disbelief, and can be seen as the precursor of conceptual art. It is true to say, however, that whatever his intentions and integrity, he pushes the definitions of artistic practice to its limits and beyond. His legacy, for relevance to my study, is that he placed art well beyond the usual frame of reference of the 'general' public. Even if he was a charlatan, he has been sufficiently accepted into the history of modern art to have changed its course, as Eduardo Paolozzi stated in his discussion of Whiteread's *House*

> "Why not? Anything goes; after Duchamp anything's possible."[13]

Duchamp acknowledged the problems of the issues he raised and when asked if he thought the ready-made could be a work of art, responded:

> "That is a very difficult point, because art first has to be defined. All right, can we try to define art? We have tried, everybody has tried and in every century, there is a new definition of art. Meaning that there is no essential, no one essential, that is good for all centuries. So if we accept the idea of not trying to define art, which is a very legitimate conception, then the ready-made can be seen as a sort of irony, because it says here it is, a thing that I call art."[14]

There is much to suggest that Duchamp identified and manipulated the ramifications of controversy. He viewed controversy provoked by shock as synonymous with innovation. Cabanne documented the following conversation:

> "PC: 'you have said, "A painting that doesn't shock isn't worth painting."'

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[13] Paolozzi, E., 'Opinions' in *The Independent on Sunday,* 31.10.93, p.25.
[14] BBC interview, Duchamp, M., Ades, D., Cox, N., & Hopkins, D., *Marcel Duchamp* op. cit., p.151.

> MD: 'That's a little rash, but fair enough. In the production of any genius, great painter or great artist, there are really only four or five things that really count in this life. The rest is just every day filler. Generally, these four or five things shocked when they first appeared.'"[15]

In this statement, Duchamp firmly acknowledges an association between avant-garde originality and the power to shock, despite rejecting the principles of the avant-garde. He also states that "painting dies when incorporated into history"[16], implying that the controversy which it first provokes is what makes it relevant.

One of the fundamental differences between Duchamp and today's controversial artists is that he did not profit financially from his career. When asked if the fame surrounding him had any commercial repercussions for him he answered "no never!" and that he neither wished for nor looked for them.[17] His publicity seeking was motivated more by seeking a public for his work, so that it may exist, but in so-doing Duchamp made it more acceptable for artists to deliberately court controversy. Duchamp was not just an artist in the sense that he called himself one; his career in itself was both an art form and a reflection and manipulation of the society to which he belonged.

> "Divisions of opinion about his work are different in kind from those provoked by, for instance, Picasso, with whom it is largely a matter of taste, of liking or disliking his reconstructions and representations of objects and bodies. In the case of Duchamp, it is not only the works he produced themselves that have one effect, but also his whole attitude to art, the artists and the institutions of art."[18]

Duchamp was innovative because he recognised and manipulated the implicit fear the public has of the modern artist: i.e. that he was a conman and charlatan (a fear that is rarely voiced by those wishing to appear educated). This was even an opinion

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[15] Cabanne, P., *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp,* op. cit., p.69.
[16] Duchamp, M., in Cabanne, P., *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp,* op. cit., p.67.
[17] Ibid, p.56.
[18] Ades, D., Cox, N., & Hopkins, D *Marcel Duchamp* op cit., p.6.

stated by the former Chairman of the ICA, (the Institute of Contemporary Arts), who was sacked from the position after stating:

> "I was at the scene as the artistic wave took off [YbA] and was often left speechless by some of the rubbish that was passed off as art. However, the problem with art is that people are terribly frightened of expressing an opinion. It's as if they are frightened that "people will know" will accuse them of not "getting it".[19]

When one embarks on considering Duchamp's career there is no sense of certain definitions. While this is frustrating to the researcher, it is also exactly this facet that makes it relevant to my thesis. Manet may have broken the rules but Duchamp refused to acknowledge their existence. The subsequent lack of definition in the visual arts has led some to accuse the arts of having lost their way and serves to re-enforce an assumed alienation between art world and real world. The extent of this alienation is to be further illuminated through a more recent controversial example: that of the 'Tate Bricks'.

[19] Massow, I., 'Brit Art: at last, it's goodbye to bad rubbish', *The Times,* 24.08.02, Comment.

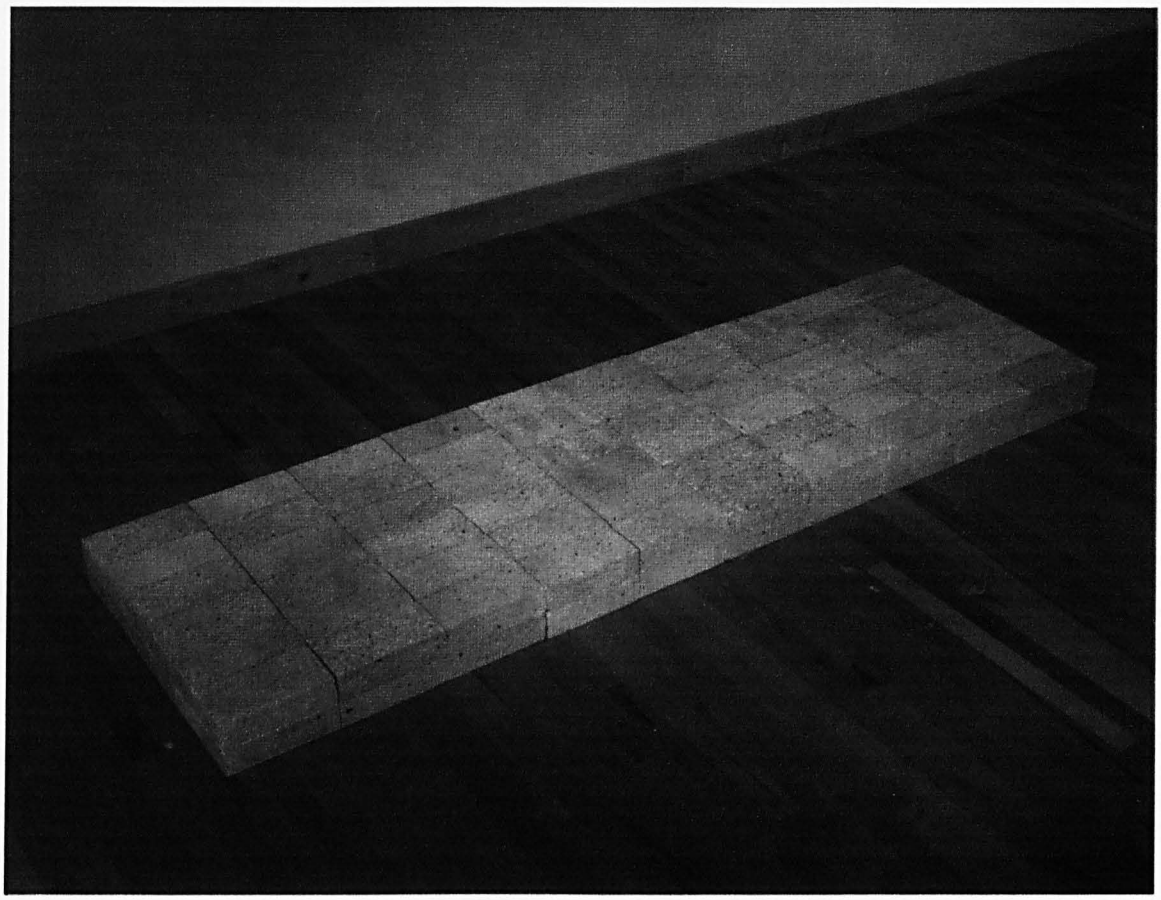

Figure 23.

Carl Andre, Equivalent VIII, 1966.
Firebricks, 12.7 x 229.2 x 68.6 cm.
Tate Gallery Collection no. t1534, London, purchased 1972.

3.2 Andre and the 'Tate Bricks'

Carl Andre, born 1935, is North American, but has mainly exhibited in Europe. He works with raw materials and is concerned with volume and form, in particular, how works of the same mathematical volume can be newly structured and differently occupy space.

Andre's *Equivalent VIII* (1966), shown in figure 23, was purchased by the Tate Gallery[20], London, in 1972 and proved to be one of its most controversial acquisitions. It attracted much media copy and questions were even raised in Parliament as to the Tate's spending policy.

With the benefit of hindsight and the vast critical analysis available, it is clear that Andre was attempting to produce a legitimate artwork with a solid philosophical background, rather than produce something that would deliberately shock and outrage wider public groups in order to be famous.

> "Minimalist artists ... believed that the aim of art should be to stimulate experience, not thought ... just make people aware of the raw presence of things, and of their bodies in relation to those things." Carl Andre believed that his 'work is about the fundamental innocence of matter ... I don't start with a concept or drawing. I start with a set of physical realities which I order in a way that I find satisfying to me.'"[21]

Minimalism, the concept of which entered the public domain through the Tate bricks incident, was controversial because it was measured literally and fiscally, rather than by any intrinsic intellectual quality. The wider public groups had recognised the visual element of Pop Art because it manipulated familiar images and those only accustomed to mass visual culture could still relate to it. This was not true of minimalism. This fundamental lack of understanding was perpetuated and aggravated by the mass media who consistently discussed the artwork without context.

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[20] At this time comprising both the British and Modern collections.
[21] Andre, C., in Glinkowski, P., *Would you have it on your living room wall?,* op. cit., p.16.

> "Some critics and journalists complained that minimalism was too simple to be art. They failed to get the point. "[22]

Contemporary tabloid newspapers made little attempt to encourage knowledgeable interpretation or accessible appreciation of *Equivalent VIII*. The Daily Mirror ran an interactive poll in which the reader was asked to nominate their reaction to the piece ranging from none, through anger and humour to bewilderment. It is very revealing that their gamut of possible reactions did not include enlightenment, interest, curiosity or understanding. This suggests that the editor of the newspaper believed that appreciation of the work did not fall within the expected parameters of his readers' opinion. In so doing the newspaper re-established the limits of those parameters. The Daily Mail also ran a front-page image of the *Equivalent VIII* with the headline 'what a load of rubbish' and copy implying that Andre was a charlatan. Philip Mellor wrote:

> "It began in 1965 when ex-railwayman Carl Andre decided to launch his own brand of down-to-earth sculpture.
>
> He bought the bricks and arranged them in a low pile on the floor of his studio.
>
> Then he slapped a £4,000 price tag on them but there were no takers. The way-out sculptor was determined not to be out of pocket, so he took his creation back to the brickyard .... and got his money back."[23]

Despite, or possibly due to, there being several inaccuracies in the text the controversy surrounding *Equivalent VIII* was launched. As with Irving, the controversy involved an elite practitioner in his field, whose work was presented to the wider public without a meaningful context.

The idea of the equivalent series was conceived by Andre in 1966[24] and the piece acquired by the Tate in 1972, details of which were published in the Biennial Report

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[22] Ibid., p.16.
[23] Mellor, P., 'What a load of rubbish', in *The Daily Mirror,* 16th February 1976, front page.

covering acquisitions of 1972-4 and had already been exhibited a number of times. It was nearly four years after the original purchase that Colin Simpson reportedly:

> "Sprinted breathlessly into *Sunday Times Business News* with his scoop ... [his article] shared two elements in common with practically every commentator thereafter; he never know what the sculpture actually cost, nor had he seen the work he derided. He simply wanted to have a giggle and cash his cheque."[25]

The *Burlington* commented:

> "It has not been regularly on view and would no doubt have continued to lead a quiet life in store had not the 'Business News' section of *The Sunday Times* run a somewhat facetious article on 15th February entitled 'The Tate drops a costly Brick'. The story was bound to have repercussions because it raised two issues that never fail with the public, the possibility that experts were being made fools of and that public money was being misspent."[26]

A 3,000-word response article was offered to the *Sunday Times* by the Tate Gallery but it was too long to publish, and by the time an edited version was ready it was deemed no longer topical.[27]

What followed is illuminating as to the development of controversy in the visual arts and its usefulness as a medium of understanding wider issues. The response was immediate and included serious articles, such as that by Edward Lucie-Smith,

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[24] Nicholas Serota, Director of the Tate, describes how Carl Andre "chose brick as the material, but that he was not simply trying to be provocative. Following a canoeing trip on a New Hampshire lake he wanted to make a sculpture that was as level as water. He wanted to show that when a given number of elements was arranged in different combinations it would create very different sculptures, even though the volume of each was identical." Serota, N., *Who's afraid of modern art?* The Richard Dimbleby Memorial Lecture 2000, 22.11.00, BBC1 10.30pm – text available at www.bbc.co.uk.
[25] Gilmour, P., 'Trivialisation of Art by the Press,' *Arts Review Yearbook,* 1977, p.49.
[26] Editorial, *The Burlington Magazine,* No. 877 Volume CXVIII, April 1976, p.187.
[27] Ibid., p.50.

and the less serious ramblings in the mass media:

> "And so it went on. The jokes got worse, tempers rose, letters proliferated in the correspondence columns of *The Times*. Hugh Jenkins, Minister responsible for the Arts, was said to be 'enquiring into the purchase' and discussing the matter with senior officials in his Department. As the Tate's acquisitions are decided by the Trustees, and have nothing whatever to do with the government, Mr Jenkins's possible intervention was perhaps the only issue about which everyone was united – in condemnation. In the *Observer* for 22nd February, Michael Davie's 'Notebook' claimed that the *Sunday Times* story had been engineered by a gleeful Douglas Cooper, who had lambasted the Tate and the bricks six weeks before in one of the regular articles that he writes for *Books and Bookmen.* More recently Mr Andre's work has had dye thrown over it, and been withdrawn for restoration."[28]

The main reason for conflicting opinions toward Andre's work appears to stem from the belief held by the tabloid press, that it was not art[29]. Within the protected confines of art as an academic discipline, Andre was seen to be challenging and redefining what constituted a work of art. Again, the work was only controversial once it entered public space. In this instance, the public sphere was not the Tate Gallery space, (the piece had already been on show, and no controversy had arisen), but was abstract public space as communicated via mass media. As was considered in the case of Duchamp, *Equivalent VIII* required an intellectual understanding, which was not appreciated by those who expected art to provide instant aesthetic gratification. The 'Emperor's New Clothes' syndrome predominated: that the artist was having a joke at the expense of all those who believed in him. Andre was directly challenged with this

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[28] Editorial, *The Burlington Magazine,* op. cit., p.187.

[29] As can be seen from the statistics presented in Appendices 2, 3 and 4, pages 229 to 232, the wider public groups have a narrow definition of art, which decreases in proportion to social group as defined by government statistics and educational achievement. The newspaper readership of these social groups, Appendix 5, page 233, reflects that those defined as the lower social classes tend toward the tabloid press. The association between public opinion among groups and the newspapers they read is to be considered to greater depth.

accusation; a newspaper reporter noted the following exchange between the artist and passers by:

> "'How can we be sure you're not putting us on?' The spectators asked. Andre replied, 'I may be putting myself on. If I'm deceiving you, then I've deceived myself. It's possible.'"[30]

The traditionally conservative *Burlington* questioned the validity of the piece and the Tate's wisdom in its purchase, this editorial itself being criticised in a later volume of the same publication. This is a valuable example of how the same controversy may be conducted on many levels:

> "In the Tate's view the Andre will, in time, be generally accepted as among the important art of its period. This cannot yet be proved or disproved. But it can at least be said that the BURLINGTON's opposition to the purchase is consistent with this possibility. For the magazine is well aware that for more than a century whatever has later been seen to have been vital in a period's art has usually been unacceptable to established taste in its own day and has at first prompted the mistaken response that *this* time things have gone too far ever to be acceptable. This being so, it was unsound in principle for the BURLINGTON to come out in criticism of the Andre in the absence of any attempt to establish for its readers an informed context, indicating the artist's intentions and the state of the development of Western art around the time the work was produced."[31]

This statement was written by the Deputy Keeper of the Modern Collection at the Tate Gallery, Richard Morphet. It is a striking manifestation of the identification and use of a paradigm of controversy as precedent. Morphet actually states that the avant-garde has a historical tradition of being controversial and that this itself is

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[30] Henry, D., *New York Times,* 05.09.77, p.72n.
[31] Morphet, R 'Carl Andre's Bricks', in *The Burlington Magazine,* Volume 118, no.884, November 1976, p.762.

sufficient for the Andre piece to be accepted. He proceeds to argue that Andre has been respected by the art world for many years, remarking:

> "'Andre's standing in the informed sector of the art world has been very high ... By 'informed sector' one means, of course, that part of the art world by no means confined to the United States, which is closely involved with the facts of the development of Andre's art and of Western art as a whole in the same period, a rich and complex field which, regrettably, is hardly entered by either the BURLINGTON or the popular press."[32]

Interestingly, the Keeper of the Tate's modern art collection does admit that the institution allows a time lapse between production of work and its acquisition, suggesting that the quality of the work may not be immediately apparent even to the 'informed sector' of the art world. Morphet wrote:

> "In most years the Tate does buy a certain number of works that have been recently created. However the majority of purchase of works in controversial idioms are made several years after the work was first produced ... To put this point another way, the Tate usually delays buying examples of major new developments in art until some time after they have become noticeable."[33]

This contains a number of relevant issues. The informed sector to which Morphet refers is believed by many to be Andre's intended public:

> "His works do not, I think, believe in or welcome the participation of the masses."[34]

However, Barbara Rose directly contradicts this statement when she writes:

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[32] Ibid., p.762.
[33] Ibid., p.764.
[34] Hensher, P., 'Carl Andre and Derek Jarman', exhibition review in *Modern Painters,* v. 9 Summer 1996, p.90.

> "The idea that Andre's art is in essence democratic[35] might seem perverse; yet he, like Ad Reinhart who claimed that 'this is your painting if you paint it' holds forth the possibility of Andre for everyone. Certainly Andre's stacks of styro-foam, rows of bricks, metal squares, and piles of timber are more literally available to the layman than Reinhardt's meticulously applied and carefully mixed shades of black. Andre displays the raw materials with which we could transform the world, if we cared to build a new order."[36]

Rose implies that *Equivalent VIII* is accessible because the materials used are readily available. This is debateable as Andre's concept may still be obscure.

In Richard Morphet's account of the Tate Collections there is a very interesting admission in his stated regret that the history of the institution's acquisition has been too little, too late:

> "it should not be overlooked that just as the pace of change in art has accelerated, so has the speed with which the prices of significant recent works rise. A museum administration cannot afford the risk of waiting till the work of its own period can be seen in distant perspective. Its competitors for important works of the present and immediate past include a quantity of other museums (in the Tate's case almost all abroad). Moreover, so long as a museum buys early, and thus cheaply, it can afford the risk of making a few 'mistakes' as a cheap price to pay for securing more examples of major importance than would otherwise be possible."[37]

While this policy may seem to make economical common-sense to those familiar with the complexities and problems of defining what is art, and what is good art, it is nonetheless a revealing statement by someone responsible for acquiring art on

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[35] In this sense the term 'democratic' is taken to mean equally accessible to all. A meaningful interpretation of this definition in the context of public art will be a theme of consideration with reference to the case studies.
[36] Rose, B., in Bourdon, D., *Carl Andre: Sculpture 1959-1977,* Jaap Reitman, New York, 1978, p.11.
[37] Morphet, R 'Carl Andre's Bricks', op. cit., p.765.

behalf of the nation. It suggests that the pattern of acceptance of the avant-garde has become so condensed that it has become inverted: works are accepted before being fully legitimised and so are legitimised through acquisition by important art institutions. Morphet admits that the quality of works purchased cannot be assured, only the probability that the piece is worthwhile.

This practice creates a number of relevant consequences. Through its very acquisition the Tate imbues art works with a pedigree. In the sense that Duchamp was an artist and so anything he selected was art, so the Tate is an Art Gallery, therefore, anything it exhibits is art. If the keepers buy work that has achieved notice, as they cannot judge quality, then any artist who attracts attention stands a good chance of being bought, and subsequently, integrated into the history of art.

It is an aim of my thesis to explore the possibility that the historical association between art and controversy has engendered a view among certain contemporary artists that deliberately shocking wider audiences is a means of ensuring mass media coverage and publicity. I have traced how controversy may be prompted by innovation internal to a discipline, conducted by elites within those disciplines, which is then broadcast into the abstract public sphere. It is now necessary to consider examples in which artistic innovation comes to occupy the physical public sphere.

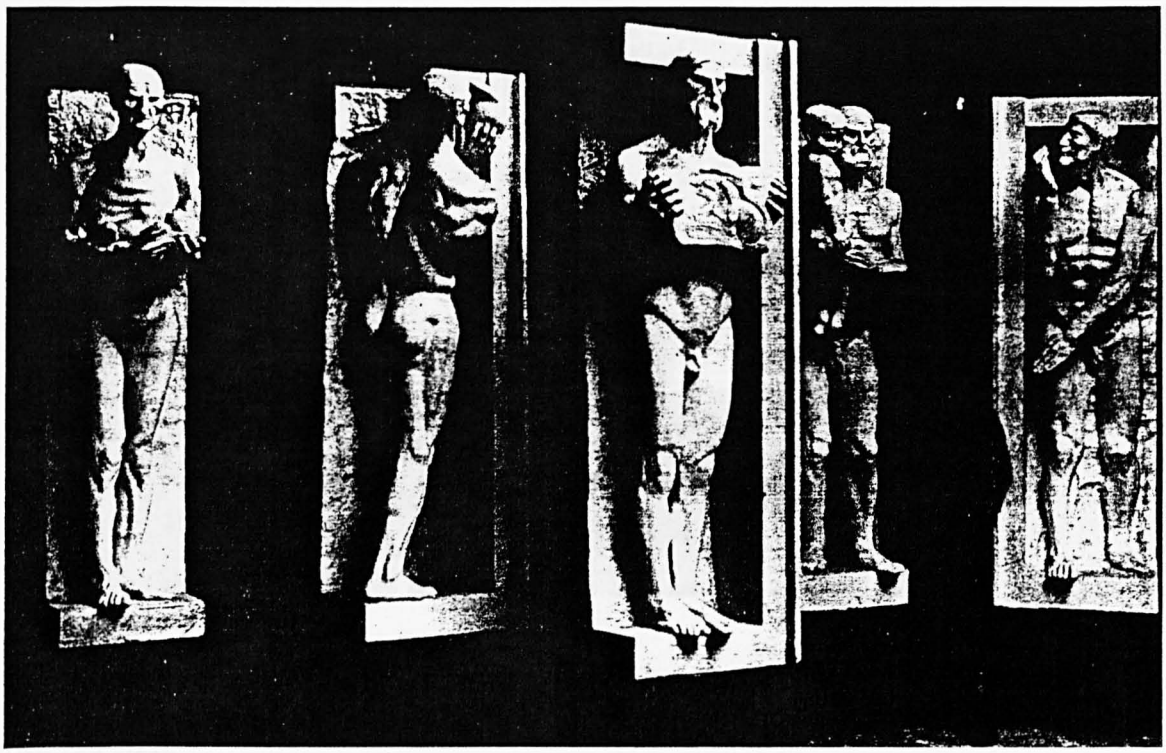

Figure 24.

Jacob Epstein, designs for the Strand Statues, 1907.
Carved stone.
British Medical Building, The Strand, London. Now destroyed.

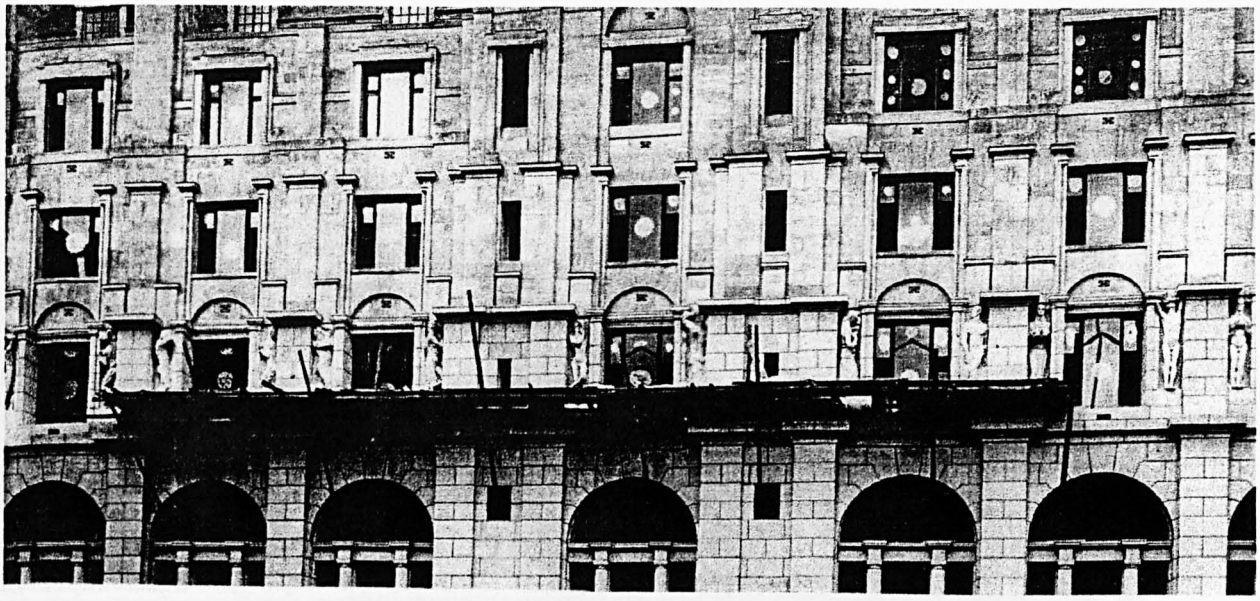

Figure 25.

Jacob Epstein, Strand façade, London, 1908.
Portland Stone.

1. Primal Energy.
2. Matter.
3. Hygieia.
4. Chemical Research.
5. Academic Research.
6. Mentality.
7. Youth.
8. New-born.
9. Man.
10. Maternity.
11 .Youth.
12. Dancing girl.
13. Dancing girl.
14. Dancing youth.
15. Dancing man.
16. Dancing youth.
17. Dancing youth.
18. Dancing youth.

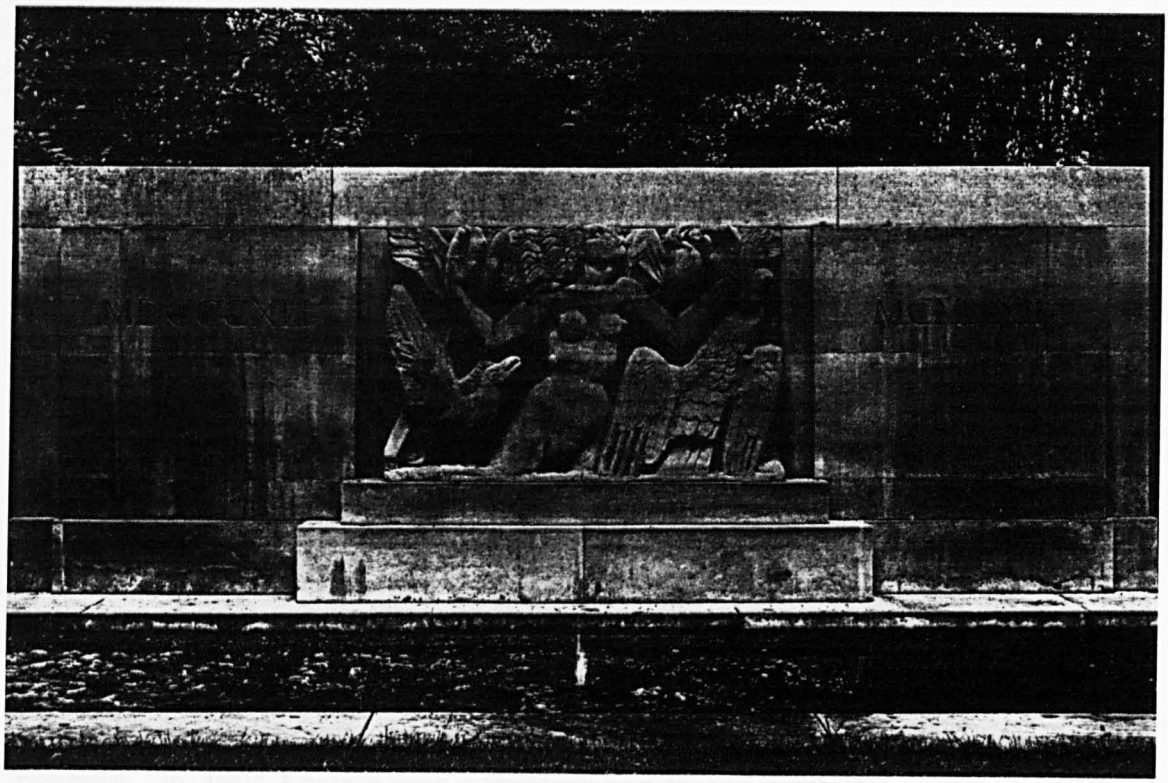

Figure 26.

Jacob Epstein, *Rima,* 1925.
Stone carved relief.
Memorial to Hudson, Hyde Park, London.

4 Jacob Epstein and Richard Serra: art in physical public space

Jacob Epstein attracted much controversy during his career, particularly through his works displayed in physical public spaces including his designs for the *Strand Statues* (1907) as shown in figures 24 and 25 and the memorial he created to W. H. Hudson, *Rima,* (1925) illustrated in figure 26.

4.1 Jacob Epstein: *Strand Statues*

This example, with comparison, further reveals the role of the media and introduces the notion of public art, as distinct from gallery art; the distinction between to be considered with reference to contemporary case studies.

Jacob Epstein was born in New York in 1880 and after he moved to London in 1905, developed a reputation as society portraitist, working mainly in bronze. Epstein collected primitive artefacts and his works in stone relief tended to be in an unsophisticated style reflecting the sculptor's interest in primitivism and his Jewish heritage. In 1907 Epstein was commissioned to carve 18 statues for the British Medical Building on The Strand, London. As can be seen from the reproductions, the figures were based on concepts of the human form and continued Epstein's naïve rendering of subjects.

Epstein's designs for the British Medical Building were deemed unsuitable by the press because the figures were nude and in a modern style, and so lacked the modesty of tradition. Although Epstein is not widely acclaimed as a great artist, he is important to my investigation because he applied avant-garde techniques to outdoor sculpture, rather than following a tradition of statuary. As such he is fundamental to an understanding of public art in the sense of art in physical public space.

The *Evening Standard and St. James' Gazette* bore the headline:

> "'Bold sculpture – we draw attention with some reluctance'",
> But less publicly admitted that 'it was shocking to do so, of course, but good for sales.'"[1]

[1] *The Evening Standard and St James' Gazette* 19.06.98, cited in Gardiner, S., *Epstein,* Flamingo, London, 1993, p.60.

Despite recognition that its position was compromised, caught as it was between integrity and providing the sensation it felt would promote profits, the newspaper assumed the moral high ground and claimed to represent 'public opinion'. Controversy over the *Strand Statues* spanned 29 years and incorporated vast amounts of media representations of an assumed public opinion, much of it claiming to be morally motivated.

> "'At the best of times, there is great difficulty in defining the limits of art and the boundaries of decency. Here the problem is complicated by our unwillingness to describe the statues in detail. So far we cannot go. Nor the public see for themselves. It is inadvisable that they should, and we trust they will never get the chance .... The police, however, did realise the unsuitability of the statues directly they had the opportunity of seeing them. They were so impressed by their unsuitability, that they immediately considered whether their powers were sufficient to enable them to order a removal of the nuisance. Unfortunately, they found that they could not step in. Public opinion and the good sense of the management of the Institutions must effect what the Police cannot.'"[2]

That the paper presented a biased version of the scandal, and so adopted an allegiance toward its assumed public opinion of the work, is suggested by the fact that it only published the views of the publics with whom it agreed,[3] and who it believed to be in the majority. Clearly, to have sided with the apparent minority would have been commercially damaging. That this practice would either perpetuate, or possibly even form, a negative public opinion toward Epstein's work was recognised by contemporary commentators:

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[2] Leading article 'The Strand Statues', in *The Evening Standard and St. James' Gazette,* 23.06.1908 in Gardiner, S., *Epstein,* op. cit., pp.240-241.

[3] "I see that an evening paper has started a virulent attack on the sculpture on the façade of your new building, and as I understand the paper in question refuses to print any letters refuting their attacks, and as the other journals seem to think that an agitation of this sort and from this particular quarter answers itself, I venture to address you a few lines regarding the statues on your building." Bone, M., letter to the *British Medical Journal,* 04.07.08 cited in Gardiner, S., *Epstein,* op. cit., p.27 Muirhead Bone was also a leading member of the art public who was to support Epstein during the *Rima* controversy.

> "The assumption by the Pearson newspaper that it alone is the voice of the public, and the arbiter of what is moral, is a grave danger, and were such an equivocal 'voice' of the public followed, many things we cherish today would long ago have ceased to exist."[4]

The ability of the press to escalate a minor scandal into a national controversy for the sake of good sales was identified, although the fact that the accusation was written in another newspaper carries its own caveat:

> "'The Committee of the British Medical Association will, it is said, meet today to consider whether the statues on their new building in the Strand ought to be 'modified'. The very idea of such a thing would not have occurred to anyone had not an enterprising journalist, in search of sensational 'copy', discovered them. In these exceedingly inoffensive works, raised some forty or fifty feet from the ground, where nobody would see them unless his attention was directed to them ... We trust that this appeal to the Philistinism and hypocrisy of a portion of our middle class will be met by the British Medical Association with the contempt it deserves."[5]

This example reveals that media representation of public opinion is not straightforward and the 'media' does not necessarily represent a consensus of opinion. *The British Medical Journal* concluded the affair with this opinion:

> "'We are glad that a sculptor of genius awoke one morning to find himself famous, but we are sorry and not a little ashamed that he should owe the foundations of his fame to the hypocrisy with which other countries, not wholly without reason, reproach the British people.'"[6]

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[4] Ibid., p.27.
[5] Leading article 'Statues, Morals, and the Press', in *The Times,* 25.06.08, in Gardiner, S, *Epstein.*, op. cit., p.243.
[6] Gardiner, S., *Epstein,* op. cit., p.249. This proved to be only a temporary reprieve for when the building was taken over by the Southern Rhodesian Government in 1935 it was argued that they owned the statues as well as the building and their destruction was ordered.

The *Strand Statues* study shows that the reasons for a media based controversy are complex, depending upon an assumed public opinion and the motivation for high sales. It also suggests that the 'media' should not be considered as a homogeneous entity.

4.2 Jacob Epstein: *Rima*

Epstein chose the figure of *Rima* from W. H. Hudson's book *Green Mansions* and, being inspired by the idea of primitive woman close to nature, created a relief in a naïve style. It was this unfinished approach that sparked objection, as well as the xenophobic rooted complaint that it was not western in origin.

> "'When Mr Baldwin unveiled the monument a real shudder seemed to pass through the spectators, and someone behind me said 'poor Hudson'."[7]

Another reason for opposition to *Rima*, contributing toward its subsequent controversial status, was the notion that it was out of proportion with its surroundings. Epstein dismissed this by writing about Nelson's column as:

> "'That silly little column, carrying a puny little figure ... which is all out of proportion and cannot be seen.'"[8]

The *Rima* example revealed the very important ability of controversy to create wider public group interest. This is an aspect worthy of note and one that has been used in the marketing of several artworks in public spaces, including *Angel of the North*. It was noted at the time of *Rima*, 1925, that there had been a recent indifference to public statuary, but the unveiling of Epstein's work prompted the gathering of a large crowd. Epstein claimed that such wider public interest did not affect him, suggesting he did not actively seek a wide audience or create work that was intended to be accessible to wider public groups.

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[7] McMillan, G., *Morning Post* 26.11.25 cited in Friedman, T., *The Hyde Park Atrocity: Epstein's Rima: Creation and Controversy*, Centre for the Study of Sculpture, Leeds, 1988, p.8.
[8] Epstein, J., in *The Times*, 09.09.25, in Friedman, T., *The Hyde Park Atrocity: Epstein's Rima,* op. cit., p.23.

The Epstein examples reveal how definitions of public relate to notions of ownership. This concept is significant and one that shall be analysed toward a better understanding of both the terms 'public' and 'public art.' Innovation has been shown to be controversial, particularly because it contradicts accepted 'truths'. At the time of *Rima,* it seems that the 'accepted truth' about outdoor art was that it should be in the tradition of commemorative statuary, typified by 'men on horses'. This also had a ramification for the perceived social function of the sculptor as craftsperson rather than artist capable of originality.[9]

Epstein began to transfer motivations and ideals from a gallery based art into a wider public space, rather than conform to the tradition of historical statuary. In the same way that innovations become controversial when discussed in the abstract public arena, then one would expect innovative art to become controversial when sited in the physical public sphere. Rosalind Krauss recognised that Rodin broke with the tradition of commemorative statuary in her essay *Sculpture and the Extended Field* (1981).

> "The logic of sculpture, it would seem, is inseparable from the logic of the monument ... But the convention is not immutable and there came a time when the logic began to fail. Late in the nineteenth century we witnessed the fading of logic of the monument. But two cases come to mind both bearing marks of their own transitional status. Rodin's *Gates of Hell* and his statue of *Balzac* were both conceived as monuments [but] with these two sculptural projects, I would say, one crosses the threshold of the logic of the monument, entering the space of what could be called its negative condition, a kind of sitelessness, or homelessness, an absolute loss of place."[10]

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[9] In Ancient Greece, sculptors were well respected and highly paid in ancient Greece. In fact, Socrates was originally a sculptor. There were also sculptors who were famous for their trade: the most famous in ancient Greece being Phidias. Ancient subject matter was not just religious or commemorative, public sculpture did tend toward propaganda, for example the sculpture of Marcus Aurelius 173AD in Rome: raising a statue was the "most effective way of honouring the Emperor and his function." Barral, I and Aliet, X., 'The Roman World' in Duby, G., and Daval, J. L., *History of Sculpture,* Taschen, Koln, London, Madrid, New York, Paris, Tokyo, 1991, p.156.

[10] Krauss, R., 'Sculpture in the expanded field', in the *Originality of the Avant-garde and other modernists myths,* The MIT Press, Cambridge Mass., London, 1991, p.279.

Andrew Causey, in his book *Sculpture Since 1945* believes that sculpture became modern through reference to painting and collage, rather than statuary, and therefore traces its history through art created for a gallery environment. The communication between public art and the public became interrupted by conventions connected with a gallery-based art in the 'extended field'.

Democratic[11] initiatives to take this form of art outside, and develop a truly 'public art' made little sense to an audience expecting work in the commemorative tradition. This is a concept to be considered in the remainder of my thesis, particularly when examining the historical context for the three contemporary case studies.

The relationship between Epstein and the controversies with which he was associated is complex. On many occasions he claimed that such publicity was not deliberately provoked:

> "I am quite used to '*Rima*phobia' by now, but I never let it worry me in the slightest. It is no good paying any attention to the opinions of the man in the street. A man who knows nothing about surgery would not be allowed to criticise a surgical operation. .... There is no-one with the spirit of Whistler today. They all kow-tow to publicity and run after the press.'"[12]

The cynic could argue that Epstein was successfully manipulating publicity to his own advantage, and actively sought to be controversial toward that end, a judgement not unremarked at the time:

> "More to the point is that Epstein is the only artist among us who *wants* to shock. His work is definitely *épatant.*"[13]

Epstein considered this statement to be a betrayal by another artist and denied any such accusations when he wrote, of the *Strand Statues,*

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[11] In making art more public artists believed a greater number would have 'ownership' of the piece.
[12] Epstein, J., cited in Gardiner, S,. *Epstein,* op. cit., p.311.
[13] Nash, P., Weekend Review, 18.4.31 cited in Gardiner, S., *Epstein,* op.cit., p.320.

> "'I felt like a criminal in the dock, and this unexpected hubbub in 1908 ushered me into a publicity I have always detested. To accuse me of making sensations is the easiest way of attacking me.'"[14]

In fact, there are those who believe that the controversy surrounding Epstein's examples of art in public were damaging to both his career and his reputation.[15] The ability of the mass media to assume the views of conflicting publics and antagonising them was fully revealed during the *Rima* controversy. Again cartoons were published (figure 27), revealing a wide-spread understanding of the controversy. This study has shown that controversy creates further interest and, therefore, is self perpetuating, for as long at is deemed topical.

> "'The press launched the controversy 'claiming to speak for the general public ... between May and the end of 1925 over 200 letters and articles were published. Vast numbers of people visited the notorious memorial and the crowds grew so great that it became impossible even to glimpse the relief. There were even questions asked in Parliament.'"[16]

Analysis of the evidence gathered in appendix 6, page 234, also shows that the full gamut of newspaper opinion, from tabloid to broadsheet, was generally negative toward the piece. My analysis also implies a similarly negative, general public opinion.

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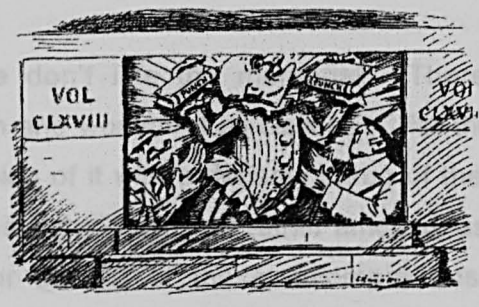
[14] Epstein, J., *Let there be Sculpture: Epstein an Autobiography,* op. cit., p.29.
[15] Including Peter Murray, Executive Director of Yorkshire Sculpture Park in personal interview.
[16] Friedman, T., *The Hyde Park Atrocity: Epstein's Rima,* op.cit., p.9 and as evidenced in Appendix 6, which details the chronology of controversy including national press coverage.

a)



b)

Figure 27.

Cartoons relating to *Rima*.
a) Anonymous, 'Punch as Rima', from *Punch* 01.07.24, p.725.
b) Stanley P Scase, ' A proposed design for a memorial to a famous architect', from *The Builder*, 19.06.25, p.930.

There is evidence that the public groups in favour of *Rima* consisted mainly of an 'art' public and that they were in conflict with every other public group:

> "'Ordinary people don't like the memorial. There is a constant procession of men and women of all classes ... for the most part they express their opinion of it with a derisory shrug of the shoulders; they are not by any means indignant, but rather amused, as at an exhibition of eccentricity, or at one of those incomprehensible absurdities occasionally produced by modern artists.'"[17]

Epstein believed it was only the bourgeois who were outraged by his work, a view supported in *The Times* discussion of *The Strand Statues* reproduced on page 114. The artist stated:

> "I believe that in England it is this class, the upper middle class, that has most resented my work. One might wonder at this, wonder what it is that strikes at them in my sculpture, what profoundly rooted beliefs and shibboleths are disturbed. I know that my work has become the sport of popular music-hall quips and 'man-in-the-street' jocularities but the middle classes grow furious over it."[18]

For whatever reason, social or aesthetic, there was genuine animosity toward *Rima*. It was regularly vandalised including being painted green by a party of law students in November 1925.

In this study, the opposing sides whose opinions created the controversy, are clearly defined. *Rima*'s champions were broadly based, by no means exclusively radical modernists, and included well-established traditionalists.[19] Those described by Terry Friedman as being 'well-established traditionalists', were within an art world elite, such as Muirhead Bone, or were among the higher echelons of society, (such as those who Epstein had previously made a career sculpting).

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[17] 'The Daily Mail', 26.5.25 in Friedman, T., *The Hyde Park Atrocity: Epstein's Rima,* op.cit., p.28.
[18] Epstein, J., *Let there be Sculpture: Epstein an Autobiography,* op. cit., p.106.
[19] Paraphrased from Friedman, T., *The Hyde Park Atrocity: Epstein's Rima,* op. cit, p.39.

There is evidence that the sides which emerge in this example constitute an 'us' and 'them' which identified an 'art public' as distinct and in opposition to a 'general public', a concept of significant relevance to my research. The hypocrisy of the art establishment is also revealed through the *Rima* scandal:

> "[Roger] Fry felt compelled to defend the relief as a demonstration of 'real inventive ingenuity and sense of proportion', qualities he regarded as 'almost always absent from our public sculpture'[20] although he wrote privately to a friend that 'London is in a state of emotion about a sculpture of Epstein's, a Jew with immense dexterity who has concocted a relief ... against which all the Philistines have raised a hue and cry ... this object was exactly as I'd imagined, a thing lacking true artistic inspiration, but a counterfeit work of art with great decorative style. So in spite of my lack of sympathy for things of that order I had come to the help of the sculptor and say that, whatever defects one might find, it was much better than all the other monuments of the academic schools that clutter up our parks; and crush as best I could, the virulence and intolerance of those gentlemen the Philistines.'"[21]

This reveals a distinct difference from the way in which publics had grouped around the Manet controversy, in which the Salon Jury and the wider public groups were united in their rejection of the works, although one source documents that the lower classes were curious and intrigued.[22] It was commented at the time of *Rima* that the ignorance of the mass public groups had been finally revealed[23] and the rumblings of class conflict that had accompanied previous controversial examples were firmly articulated and established:

> "'The public monument became a private monument. Keep away, said the superior person, keep away you Philistines, you of the common sort.

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[20] Fry, R., in 'Dial', 07.09.25, in Friedman, T, *The Hyde Park Atrocity: Epstein's Rima,* op. cit., p.29.
[21] Fry. R., letter to Marie Mairon 10.06.25 reprinted in Sutton, D., (ed.), *The Letters of Roger Fry,* vol. 1, Chatto and Windus, London, 1971, pp. 572-73.
[22] Signac, P., 'Impressionists and Revolutionaries', (1891) op. cit., as discussed on page 62.
[23] Daily Mail, 4.6.25 in Friedman, T., *The Hyde Park Atrocity: Epstein's Rima,* op. cit., p.29.

> The Epsteinian art is not for you. Of course you would dislike it. Your sort has always clamoured against the new and fresh fancies of genius.'"[24]

Policies of the current Government relating to Social Inclusion have failed to acknowledge or take into account this historical theme of alienating innovation. Seminars organised to educate how to overcome social exclusion in connection with visual arts and their institutions, completely overlook and omit the relevant fact that the product on offer within that arena has its own specific and often alienating relationship with what is termed the 'general' public.

That the 'art world' and the 'real world' is seen to be distinct and in conflict is further revealed through the North American example of Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc* (1981), shown in figure 28.

[24] 'Art and the Superior Person', unidentified clipping held in the Public Record Office, London, reprinted in Friedman, T., *The Hyde Park Atrocity: Epstein's Rima,* op. cit., p.32.

Figure 28.

Richard Serra, *Titled Arc*, 1981.
Cor-Ten steel, 3.66 x 36.6 x 0.064 m.
Federal Plaza, New York. Now destroyed.

4.3 Richard Serra: *Tilted Arc*

American sculptor, Richard Serra, has concentrated upon work using lead and steel plates, in gallery, studio and public spaces, since the end of the 1960's. His work is concerned with the physical space occupied by the metal forms and how it interacts and conflicts with its environment. As such, his career can be seen as continuing explorations with the possibility of sculpture and installations as interventions in space.

His sculpture *Tilted Arc*[25] will be analysed within my thesis by assessing its relevant factors within parallels generic to North American and English cultures.

Some see Serra's choice of placing his work beyond the gallery, as an attempt to overcome any chasm existing in the relationship between art and the general public. Serra himself expressed a wish to introduce wider audiences to sculpture. *Tilted Arc* was planned to enforce the same concentrated attention in a passing (and usually non-committed), audience, as that habitually exercised by informed gallery visitors[26]. Serra stated:

> "I know that there is not an audience for sculpture, as is the case with poetry and experimental film. There is however, a big audience for

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[25] Chronology of *Tilted Arc:*

1979	Serra selected by the Central Services Administration as part of the Art in Architecture Program that the American Federal Government started in 1972, and which designated 0.5% of building budgets toward art.
1980	Concept of *Tilted Arc* approved
1981	Installed, Serra promised permanent site in the Federal Plaza, lower Manhattan, outside the Jacob K Jarvits' office by CSA.
1984	William Diamond, Reagan's right-wing regional administrator, appointed as Director of CSA.
1985	Panel established, public hearings to discuss the future of *Tilted Arc.* The result of the vote was 4-1 for relocation of the piece
1986	Serra brought a law suit against the National Endowment for the Arts, stating that to move the piece would be to destroy it and cited his constitutional right to freedom of expression in its defence
1987	Case dismissed by Judge Pollack stating the piece had already had sufficient time to communicate.
1988	Serra's appeal dismissed.

[26] Paraphrased from Crimp, D., *On the Museums Ruins,* MIT, London, 1997, p.150.

> products which give people what they want and supposedly need, and which do not attempt to give them more than they can understand."[27]

In this statement, Serra admits that he is imposing an aesthetic view on those who encounter his work, but that this is done altruistically, rather than patronising the public by producing something accessible but banal. Nevertheless, *Tilted Arc* was widely stated as being controversial. One speaker commented:

> "In the 1980s, another now-notorious public work also prompted an intense public debate. Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc*, an oppressive, leaning slab of Co-Ten steel that bisected the equally inhospitable Federal Plaza in lower Manhattan, was built in 1981 and dismantled in March 1989 after several years of intense debate, when the workers in the Federal Building petitioned to have it removed. In the Media, *Titled Arc* came to symbolise the alienating effect of modern sculpture on the viewing public and a questioning by the public of the mechanisms by which tax funded public sculpture is imposed on them."[28]

Ostensibly, the conflict between public groups arose as a result of the use of public space by an assumed art elite, as sanctioned by a perceived political elite. The conflict in itself, served to perpetuate the alienation between the 'art' public and the 'general' public. This was evidenced by Judge Pollack[29] who criticised Serra for creating:

> "An enclosure by a private person of a part of that which belongs to, and ought to be free and open to the enjoyment of the public at large."[30]

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[27] Ibid., p. 150.
[28] Sturken, M., *Art and the Public Sphere,* Talk given at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles, 29.09.96, www.csusm.edu, p.2.
[29] The judge who ruled against Serra in his case against the National Endowment for the Arts.
[30] Judge Pollack in the case Richard Serra v. The United States General Services Administration in Hoffman, B., 'Law for Art's sake', in Mitchell, W J T., (ed.), *Art in the Public Sphere,* University of Chicago, Chicago and London, 1992, p.116.

Those against the work cited valid practical objections: that it may decrease the safety of the site and would encourage graffiti[31], as well as theoretical and philosophical objections against an elite having control over a space that was intended for use by all. In particular, the work was seen to be exclusively created by a member of the art elite and supported by his peers. Serra was blamed for not consulting the specific public who would have to live with his work and was accused of being arrogant and elitist.[32] One view is that:

> "Hidden in the rejection of *Tilted Arc* is the populist distrust of authority and reaction against the cultural establishment which chooses not to speak their language."[33]

The extent to which this statement is true is assessed in this case study. The relationship between the various public groups is further complicated, in this instance, in that they were a consideration of Serra's work. He stated that the location of the piece, its intervention in the space and its subsequent reception from the public was integral to the work itself, a view supported by other members of the 'art' public one of whom wrote:

> "Sculpture, formerly equated with form and structure, was now to be equated with place."[34]

However, not all members of the 'art' public were of the same opinion, the integrity of the piece in relation to its site did not prevent Peter Stern, the Director of Storm King Sculpture Park, from being "most anxious to have Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc* at the Art Center [sic.]."[35]

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[31] The concept of graffiti raises interesting notions about the ownership of public space. Sheffield graffiti 'artist' Simon Sutherland was sentenced to 5 years in prison in March 1996 for persistent offences. It seems that the main objection to graffiti stems from one person imposing their sense of ownership upon a space it. This is a main contention against much art in public spaces.
[32] Beeker, J., *Public Art Review,* Fall/Winter, vol.6 no.1, issue 11, 1994, p.3.
[33] Jordan, S., *Public Art, Public Controversy,* ACA Books, New York, 1985, p.15.
[34] Crimp, D., *On the Museum's Ruins*, op. cit., p.155.
[35] Peter Stern, transcribed in Weyergraf-Serra, C., & Buskirk, M., (ed.s), *Richard Serra's Tilted Arc* Abbemuseum, 1988, p.41.

Upon more careful assessment of the controversy surrounding *Tilted Arc* it becomes clear that the public groups integral to the conflict were not the wider or general public groups but were its Governmental representatives, whose motives were not necessarily the interests of its public, despite protestations to the contrary. It was reported:

> "Republicans attacked Serra's work as the product of the entrenched, self-interested minority culture brutally indifferent to the needs of the average individual."[36]

Tilted Arc did attract adverse comments when it was installed in 1981 but it was only with the appointment of William J Diamond, one of Reagan's Republican administrators, that opposition to the piece became organised, the opinions of the various publics highlighted and the resulting conflict relevant.

Public consultation regarding this piece was at a high level. William J Diamond announced the public hearing and issued a formal notice in the press which addressed:

> "Dear Friend, I would like to extend a cordial invitation for you to attend or send a representative to a public hearing."[37]

Supposedly, the outreach to the mass public groups was toward consultation in order to conceive an objective overview of public attitudes toward the piece. In reality, the biases of the instigators were clear from the flyers issued to advertise the public hearing and assess the future of *Tilted Arc.* The promotion encouraged people to:

> "Speak out!
> GSA will hold a public hearing on ways to more fully utilize the plaza on the La Fayatte Street.

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[36] Crow, T., *Modern Art in the Common Culture,* Yale University Press, London, 1996, p.148.
[37] Peter Stern, transcribed in Weyergraf-Serra, C., & Buskirk, M., (ed.s), *Richard Serra's Tilted Arc* Abbemuseum, 1988, p.49.

> We would like to hear from you. Call 264-4068 to get more details and schedule a time to 'speak out'."[38]

There were also form letters distributed in the Federal Building before the hearing stating:

> "Dear Mr Diamond:
> I am pleased to hear that GSA is seeking public comments on the use of the Plaza at 26 Federal Plaza.
> I would like to express my opinion on the use of the plaza and more specifically the relocation of the artwork known as 'Tilted Arc'.
>
> I AM FOR REMOVAL OF THE ARC ☐
>
> I AM AGAINST RELOCATION OF THE ARC ☐
> Comments:
> Signature
> (General Services Administration)."[39]

The public hearing, which ultimately decided to remove the work and place it elsewhere, (and in so doing destroy it according to the artist), is a very useful indicator of the public groups concerned and their attitudes toward the piece. Interestingly, the public that appeared in support of the work was documented by occupation and was heavily biased, almost exclusively, in favour of the arts and academia.[40] This distribution of opinion would tend to justify the assumption that the general public groups are in conflict with an apparent art elite and so perpetuate a notion of 'us' and 'them'. However the 'general' public were not a representative sample drawn from a

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[38] Reproduced in Weyergraf-Serra, C., and Buskirk, M., (ed.s), *Richard Serra's Tilted Arc.*, op,. cit., p.49.
[39] Ibid., p.51.
[40] Those in support of *Tilted Arc* at the hearing

Arts Administration/Curatorial	35
Artists	47
Academic	17
Art Market	9
Lawyers	4
Other	8

Gleaned from material reproduced in Weyergraf-Serra, C., & Buskirk, M., (ed.s), op. cit., p.49.

cross-section, but were members of the American Government. Douglas Crimp observed:

> "At the show trial staged to justify the work's removal, the most vociferous opposition to the work came not from the public at large but from representatives of the state."[41]

This case study reveals that those who maintain a stance on behalf of a general public do in fact have their own agenda. Hence, care must be taken when their views are used as indicators of the opinion of a 'general' public.

In summary, developments which emphasise innovation and which may involve experimentation with conventions of both subject and technique may raise issues intrinsic to the visual arts that imbue the product with the potential to alienate. This is conducted within a complex sociological context which itself is capable of promoting conflict and alienation. I now intend to examine these concepts to further understand the relationship between the arts and the 'general public', through case studies of English public sculpture produced in the decade 1988 to 1998.

[41] Crimp, D., *On the Museum's Ruins,* op. cit., p.180.

5 The case studies and themes to be developed

5.1 Terms requiring definition

An investigation concerning the relationship between controversial art and the public necessitates a meaningful analysis of the terms. Having assessed controversial visual art through the historical case studies, certain themes have come to require further consideration, particularly notions of 'public'.

If there are many different publics with different backgrounds and opinions, it would appear impossible for public art to achieve a wide-ranging consensus, and the value of such an aspiration would questionable. Is it worth considering whether the promotion and examination of conflicting publics should be a condition of public art? After all, Duchamp believed that controversy is evidence that the work is alive.

It has also become essential to attempt an understanding of abstract social space[1] and physical social space[2] and how occupation of one affects occupation of the other. There is evidence[3] that art gallery attendance increases in direct proportion with social class and education. I will attempt to assess these findings through my case studies. There is also an apparent assumption among those who do not visit art galleries that more should be done to make them feel welcome. Of those polled by Mori:

> "Three quarters of all people thought there should be more effort to make the arts more accessible to them. This was especially true for those in the 15 to 24 age group, 82% of whom held this view. The belief that the arts should be more accessible was also found across the social classes."[4]

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[1] The occupation of abstract social space is one's perceived, or self perceived, position within society, as discussed with reference to notions of class and social stratification.

[2] The occupation of physical social space is related to the occupation of abstract social space, for example individuals feel uncomfortable in places from which they feel alienated.

[3] Evidence from public opinion polls as detailed in appendices 2 and 3, pages 229 and 230 respectively. Substantiated by Bourdieu's analysis of the French model in which he states that art gallery attendance increases proportionally with higher levels of education, appendix 7, page 238.

[4] MORI *Public attitudes to the arts* on behalf of the Arts Council of England, London 2000, p.6, appendix 2.

Such a view is in line with current thinking within the art public, together with National and Local Governments. What is not clear, is how the Arts Council intends to make the arts, particularly the visual arts, more accessible. One method has been the introduction of free entry to galleries and museums. As most art galleries did not charge an entry free previously, there is also a need to identify and challenge any oblique perpetuation of the inaccessibility of the visual arts such as abstract barriers and assumptions.

Within twentieth century sculpture and through my analysis of Epstein and Serra, it is possible to see a definite transition from statuary and public sculpture to the positioning of sculpture in public, thereby reflecting art in the tradition of Manet leaving the gallery and entering a public space.

This statement requires further understanding as to the status of sculpture and the definition of what is meant by "in public", raising issues of space, including consideration of how the relevance of gallery space may have changed. The theoretical complexities of these notions are thus discussed with reference to real cases. In the first instance definitions of public, public space and public art seem obvious. It is necessary to present the complications of these definitions before I can pull threads of relevance within the context of real examples. This is a grey area of current research and occupies a void between art historical and sociological study that must be bridged, or at least acknowledged, before policies of any relevance can be implemented.

The example of Manet and Sensation has necessitated a need to examine the social role and relevance of art, the relationship between sculpture and the gallery environment and the changing relevance of the media and public opinion. The issues raised through comparison of Duchamp and Andre necessitates investigating the indications that the continuing art practice alienates through innovation and leads to the possibility of the wider public believing contemporary art to be a hoax. The final study of Epstein and Serra reveals the complex status and definition of public sculpture. The intricacy of the issues raised is further complicated by their interrelationships. These will all be considered through the case studies, with the ultimate aim of better understanding the visual arts and their publics.

5.2 The case studies

The case studies chosen are contemporary, (dating between 1988 and 1998), and are examples of sculpture in a public space. I chose examples of this genre for several reasons, but mainly because the themes of public, public space, art and the public, media and controversy arising from conflict between publics, are all exposed at this interface of 'art' and 'public'.

A purpose of this thesis is to explore the current level of 'publicness' of the visual arts through the specific indicator of controversy. The case studies explored from primary evidence are exclusively concerned with sculpture in public space and what the controversy surrounding them can suggest generically about the attitudes of the 'public'. The case studies are *Brickman* (1988) by Antony Gormley, *House* (1993) by Rachel Whiteread and *Angel of The North* (1998), again by Antony Gormley. These are illustrated in figures 29, 30 and 31 respectively. That they occupy the same kind of public space and are, superficially at least, of the same genre enables relevant comparison. All the examples were, and still are, variously described in the popular and specialist media as being controversial. The ways in which they conform to the parameters of controversy as previously defined will be considered. The nature and implications of their associated controversy will be examined with respect to the issues revealed in the historical comparisons.

5.3 *Brickman*

Antony Gormley, born 1950, studied archaeology and art history at Trinity College, Cambridge. He travelled extensively through the Middle and Far East and Asia between 1971 and 1974. On his return to England he enrolled at the Central School of Art, went on to Goldsmiths School of Art, 1977, and the Slade School of Fine Art in 1980. Since 1981 Gormley has exhibited regularly, nationally and internationally, including solo exhibitions at the Serpentine and Whitechapel Galleries, London.

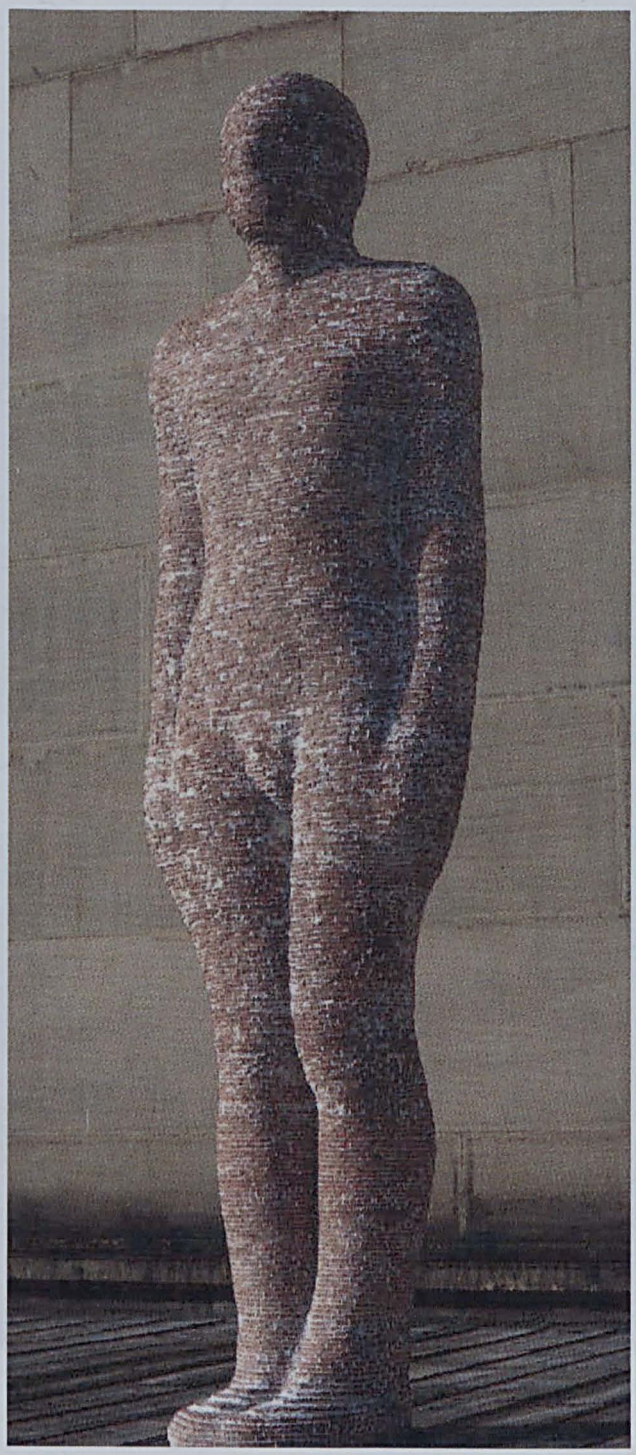

Figure 29.

Antony Gormley, maquette for *Brickman,* 1986.
Fired clay and cement over a plaster and fibreglass core. 198cm high.
Leeds City Art Gallery.

Figure 30.

Rachel Whiteread, *House*, November 1993 to January 1994.
Concrete and steel. Bow, London.
Commissioned by Becks. Organised by Artangel. Sponsored by Becks Bier and Tarmac.

Figure 31.

Antony Gormley, *The Angel of the North,* 1998.
Steel, 20m high, 54m wing-span.
Gateshead.

Brickman was Gormley's first proposal for a significant work of art in public. Reflecting Gormley's career based on figuration and particularly his own form, *Brickman,* was to be a scaled up version of a cast of his own body. It was intended to be sensitive to the local environment, which harked back to Leeds' industrial past and brick chimney skyline. *Brickman* also reflected the height and material of the Victorian towers, Globe Road, which are scaled replicas of the Lamberti Tower in Verona by Shaw (1864) and the taller tower modelled on Giotto's campanile in Florence, created by William Blakewell (1899). The area had fallen into disuse and the project was linked to regeneration plans for the Holbeck triangle.

Leeds City Art Gallery owns the maquette for *Brickman* and describes it as:

> "part of a proposal for a 180ft high sculpture, which was to have been erected over the Holbeck triangle, a delta of waste-ground between intersecting railway tracks. Sadly, despite the completion of a feasibility study and the establishment of a committee to raise funds and administer the project, the opportunity was lost for Leeds to boost its identity world wide through this major public monument."[5]

In the early 1980s, British Rail leased the area of wasteland on the outskirts of Leeds to the Holbeck Triangle Trust, with the intention of siting a work of art that would welcome train passengers to the city and provide it with an internationally recognised landmark. Planning permission had already been obtained for a piece of sculpture and a competition was held for its design. It was intended that the work be a focus of the 1990 Leeds exhibition, a showcase for the region's culture.

Fifteen artists submitted proposals and an exhibition of their projects was mounted in a Leeds shopping centre. It is interesting that the submissions were displayed in a public space accessed by a wider variety of publics than the City Art Gallery. This suggests that real consultation with the communities was desired, although such notions of democracy are compromised by the fact that the original decision to have a sculpture and its location were decided by committee. The results of the public vote put three of the entries in close ranking. The favourite, by Colin Wilbourn, was an

[5] Leeds Sculpture Collections, Centre for the Study of Sculpture, Leeds 1996.

amusing perspective on a table, consisting of a teapot pouring into a teacup. Technical problems made this work impractical. The second choice was devised by Andrew Darke, and was a pyramid of reflective foil. This was disqualified as a viable project because British Rail was concerned about the risk of reflective bright light.[6]

Antony Gormley's proposal of a 120 feet high figure made of bricks, based on a cast of himself, was the public's third choice, but became the successful entry by default. The project had received promises of sponsorship from various sources including the Arts Council of Great Britain, British Rail and Public Arts, none of which relied on Leeds City Council or ratepayer's money. It was hoped that investment in the sculpture would stimulate spending and tourism in the city and promote regeneration. At this stage it seemed inevitable that the project would proceed, fund-raising was underway, the Holbeck Triangle Trust established and was at the stage of drafting press releases and educational programmes. There was apparently little or no opposition from the public, or the media. Unfortunately for *Brickman* this was not to remain the case.

5.4 *House*

Rachel Whiteread, is a sculptor who has achieved widespread critical acclaim. Born in 1963, she studied painting at Brighton polytechnic, but shifted her focus to sculpture as a student at the Slade School, London, during her education there between 1985 and 1987. Whiteread received international attention as part of the yBa group in the early 1990s and won the Turner prize in 1993. There was a major retrospective of her work at the Serpentine Gallery, London, in 2001. In 1993 her ambition to create an interior cast of a house was realised and represented a culmination of her work in casting familiar and domestic objects.

Having chosen the structure in Bow, in the East End of London, a complicated, technically demanding and unique task of casting the house commenced. In the first

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[6] Details of the competition as stated in Bakewell, J., Bakewell's View 'Vote to cement History' in *The Sunday Times,* 30.10.88, HMI archives. Despite extensive research, no illustrations of these designs are available. Antony Gormley has since stated that the choice of the public in Leeds was the result of "simply choosing something they knew, that they'd seen in high-street gift and novelty shops," suggesting low regard for the public's opinion. Gormley, A., in Glancey, J., 'Never mind the quality', *Guardian Weekend,* 21.11.98, pp.50-52.

instance concrete was sprayed from the inside until all the walls were thickly coated. The original exterior was then dismantled leaving the concrete cast, all the details of the original structure being inverted.

The publicity surrounding *House* and the subsequent positive affects it had on Whiteread's career should be noted with respect to the theme of artists deliberately provoking controversy. Her success, which included winning the Turner prize, drew accusations that she had deliberately created a controversy rather than created a work that was simultaneously controversial. One report read:

> "Rachel Whiteread, the sculptor who became world famous three years ago when she made a concrete cast of a London terrace house, has done it again: dwarfed the efforts of her peers by the force of sheer controversy. For the modern artist, controversy is a rare gift; like alchemy, it can turn dross, or concrete, into gold. It's a gift Rachel Whiteread shares with the only other young British artist who compares with her in terms of world-wide recognition, Damien Hirst."[7]

Whilst gently acknowledging the feasibility of the controversy paradigm and its manipulation by contemporary artists, Whiteread strenuously denied this as her motivation and stated that she found the publicity it created unsettling:

> "'I was harangued and hounded for three months: ... *House* took on a life of its own, because people read so much into it. It was an achievement because it spoke directly to a whole lot of people who wouldn't have taken modern art seriously before, and I'm very proud of that.'"[8]

Although Whiteread may not pursue controversy to the detriment of integrity, there is an adherence to the tradition of the genuine avant-garde that sets out to subvert, and results in controversy as a by-product of innovation. Unlike Manet she does not

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[7] Popham, P., 'An artist cast into controversy' *The Independent,* 2.11.96, clipping held in HMI archive, Leeds.
[8] Vander Weyer, M., 'Monumental Pleasures' *The Telegraph* 13.09.96, clipping held in HMI archive, Leeds.

seek approval from the art establishment. This was evidenced when following her acceptance of the Turner prize, she rejected an offer of membership to the Royal Academy in 1997 on the basis that she was not interested in becoming "an establishment figure working on committees."[9]

Although Whiteread may not actively seek controversy and its associated publicity, she does not allow its threat to inhibit her. This is evident through her acceptance of the commission for the Judenplatz memorial to Holocaust victims in Vienna, which is politically sensitive and destined to create opposed public groups with passionate views. The journalist DeBlonde believes:

> "Whiteread is an artist who, for all her natural diffidence, clearly hates losing control of her own publicity."[10]

Whiteread's attitude toward controversy is that it is a necessary evil haunting the contemporary artist which, while actively not encouraged, should not be allowed to prevent her from working or censor the work she creates.

5.5 *Angel of the North*

Angel of the North is Antony Gormley's successful attempt at producing a colossal work of public art and was erected on the 15th February 1998. Following the Holbeck Triangle debacle it has been reported that Gormley was reluctant to become involved in a similar project. As with *Brickman,* Angel is figurative and based upon a cast of Gormley's body. The notion that a human figure is instantly recognisable and, therefore, more accessible was substantiated through my personal correspondence with Gormley as he wrote that to aspire to universality necessitates figuration.[11]

Angel is the extension of a series of works in which Gormley developed casts of his own body, substituting wings for arms. He gave the series the title *Cases for Angels* and in so doing suggests pupae rather than beings.

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[9] Whiteread, R., *Daily Telegraph,* 12.06.97, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.
Anthony Caro, Henry Moore and Stanley Spencer also rejected membership of the Royal Academy.
[10] Deblonde, G., 'Materials Girl', in *the Business FT weekend magazine,* 16.06.01, p.18.
[11] Gormley, A., personal correspondence 23.02.01.

Gormley has written:

> "There is a sense in which my works exist within an understanding of historical precedent but also within a matrix of contemporaneity."[12]

This indicates a denial on behalf of the sculptor to pigeon-hole his work temporally and a desire to create a work that can be understood by many different audiences both today and in the future. The presence of *Angel* has contradictory interpretations. On the one hand *Angel of the North*, like *House,* is a physical negative. On the other, the angel does not seem to have been released and is grounded by sheer mass and size, not just the existential suggestion of presence, as with *House,* but the being itself. *Angel* can still function as a messenger, but simultaneously commands awe and sympathy. This reflects a sense of melancholy present in many of Gormley's works[13]. Gormley states:

> "'*A Case for an Angel*' is a declaration of inspiration and imagination. It is an image of a being that might be more at home in the air, brought down to earth. On the other hand it is also an image of somebody who is fatally handicapped.'"[14]

That Gormley's work is based on casts from his own body, could be perceived as an arrogant obsession with capturing and preserving his own body in stasis. I believe that they are an attempt to capture life itself, rather than the ego, and that Gormley is motivated by sentimentality. Gormley laments that "everything is erasable; rewind, fast-forward, delete, record, re-record, forget."[15] It is possible that Gormley is attempting to establish a personal memorial to his own existence and that the

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[12] Gormley, A., Gombrich, E., 'Interview with Antony Gormley' in Njatin, L.., (ed.), *Antony Gormley,* London 1995 p.26.

[13] The reflection of emotion in Gormley's work may also be witnessed in *Sound II* installed in the, sometimes flooded, crypt of Winchester Cathedral which emphasises the isolation and vulnerability of the individual.

[14] Gormley, A., in McGonagle, D 'Interview with Antony Gormley', in Konsthall, M (ed.), *Antony Gormley,* Exhibition Catalogue from the Tate Gallery, Liverpool, 1993, p.47.

[15] Antony Gormley, in Yamawaki, K., (ed.) *Antony Gormley, Still moving, Works 1975-1996,* exhibition catalogue from Japan 1996, p.126.

melancholy inherent to his work is a reflection of mourning the "loss inscribed in the movement of temporality itself."[16]

Gormley has adapted techniques of mass culture, in an attempt to make *Angel of the North* appeal to a wider audience through an understanding that our relationship with the visual is informed by a systematic bombardment which makes most only appreciate it on a trivial level. Gormley asks:

> "'How do you condense from this multiplicity of images, certainly in sculpture, something that is still, silent, maybe rather complete, and therefore rather forbidding because it isn't like a moving image on the screen?'"[17]

It is interesting then, that due to its location, *Angel* does appear to be a moving image to people passing in their cars. It is possible that Gormley is seducing publics into seeing the sculpture through means with which they are familiar.

5.6 'Public' as adjective

5.6.1 'Public' art

I have stated that each of the examples is one of public art, but this requires further definition, particularly in relation to what is implied when the term public is used as an adjective, and why other forms of visual art are not, necessarily, public. At the time of Manet the social relevance of the Salon suggests that the visual arts were public in the sense of ownership and who felt eligible to visit, although there was distinction as to which days certain classes went, with the lower classes utilising free entry on Sundays. I have shown that through developments and innovation, art has become less central to mainstream culture, compounded by external factors resulting from the fragmentation and multiplicity of options now represented by mass culture.

If art is not public, an assumption implied by its official definition as 'socially exclusive', then when does art become public? The definitions of contemporary public art are as

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[16] Daniel Burnbaum, in Yamawaki, K., (ed.), *Antony Gormley, Still moving, Works 1975-1996*, op. cit., p.45.

[17] Gormley, A., in Gombrich, E., 'Interview with Antony Gormley' in Njatin, L.., (ed.), *Antony Gormley,* op. cit., p.16.

complex as those of the public spaces (both abstract and physical), which they occupy. It is necessary, however, to attempt a serviceable definition as it is integral to the conflicting opinions it provokes. The most basic meaning of public art is that it is art outside the gallery and 'on the street'. This definition brings with it assumptions about a top-down imposition upon a public space. The creation and existence of diverse public groups with conflicting opinions toward public art creates a political dilemma for those in charge of public spaces and who ostensibly represent the public.

With reference to the laws of copyright, public art is legally defined at that from which:

> "Sculpture can be excluded when permanently situated in a public place or alternatively situated in premises open to the public"[18]

This means that neither the artist nor the patron own the work if it is in a public space, although no definition of 'public' place is provided.

Public art and its related concepts have attracted much academic attention, including attempts at a valid definition. Whenever we discuss 'public' as an adjective, it implies ownership by the many. Sara Selwood, an authority on the subject of public art in the British context, recognises that it is notoriously ill-defined and until the mid 1980s it depended upon the work being in the open air, or public sphere, such as hospitals and offices. Now definitions must also acknowledge methods of funding and contributions to local communities.[19] The definition of public art as being in 'public' space also assumes an agreed definition of what is a public space and that every member of the public sees such spaces in the same way.

Brickman was public in its initial selection, (though not conception or location), and was publicly funded in part by voluntary donations. Other aspects became relevant to its 'publicness' and the extent to which ownership was by the publics. Although Gormley, until this point, was an artist in the tradition of gallery art, *Brickman* is also

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[18] DACS factsheet no.8, held in the archives at Yorkshire Sculpture Park, Wakefield available from Design and Artists copyright society, Parchment House, 13 Northburgh Street, London EC1V 0IR.
[19] The 1997 Labour report *'The arts and the people'* proposed a policy for inner cities, witnessed in the Inner Urban Act 1978 and included the Liverpool Garden Festival. Selwood, S., 'Art in Public' in Jones, S., (ed), *Art in Public, What Why and How,* AN Publications, Sunderland, 1992, p.15. Interestingly, the Liverpool site is now derelict.

seen in the tradition of public monument and statuary. *Brickman's* lack of features and unemotive stance possibly reflect Gormley's attempt to keep the figure simple and so appeal to as wide an audience as possible through a fundamental recognition of form.

In the case of *House*, Artangel, Becks Bier and Tarmac sponsored the project. In this respect it was not public in its funding, nor were the wider public groups consulted over its conception, location or creation. Nevertheless, the location of *House* in a public street meant it could not be passed unnoticed and so it is defined as public due to its physical location. Other aspects of its 'publicness' relate to how much this was seen as an intervention into public space, (as previously considered with respect to *Tilted Arc)*, how far the public took ownership and whether or not it became integrated into the community.

5.6.2 'Public' space

I am aware of the shift in world perception that occurred to me as a child when I was informed that somebody owned all the physical space around me, and even that in the entire nation. The notion that an individual, corporation or government owns all space is potentially alienating.

There are some public spaces that are physically or practically inaccessible to certain groups of people,[20] but more relevant to my research are those public spaces which come to be viewed as inaccessible by certain publics as a result of their own feelings of intimidation or alienation.

The definition of public space is problematic. Peter Dormer classes a public space as "a space or place to which the public has physical access or access through some other medium."[21] Artangel suggests that artworks shown on the television should be viewed as occupying public space, albeit abstractly.

That galleries maybe acting as agents of social exclusion leads to the conclusion that gallery space is not public space, despite the fact that all the works owned by such institutions are ultimately public. There are several possible reasons why art galleries have the potential to alienate certain audiences. The historical examples have revealed that the art product itself can confuse and alienate. Norman Rosenthal, the Director of the Royal Academy, believes that gallery space is intimidating because:

> "The art gallery is a public place where we cannot easily keep our thoughts and blushed embarrassment to ourselves, unlike in the darkness of the theatre or cinema, or the privacy of reading."[22]

Rosenthal acknowledges that the space is public, open to all, but that an implied code of behaviour creates a barrier. Attempts to widen the audiences of art galleries and museums, in part, maintains the difference between publics because it presupposes that these are new audiences and that, normally, such institutions only attract a

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[20] For example not all amenities or spaces are accessible by wheelchair and several spaces are still legally the domain of male members only.
[21] Dormer, P., 'Somewhere to take lunch in a bag' *Artists Newsletter,* July 1994, p.36.
[22] Rosenthal, N., 'The Blood must continue to flow', in *Sensation,* op. cit., p.10.

certain element of the general public. Implicit in the Social Inclusion policy is the assumption that these new audiences are now being encouraged by invitation rather than natural inclination. Baroness Blackstone believed that the removal of entry fees promoted social inclusion and was intended to open access to those economically less fortunate. The mass media's[23] response to this policy was that it was a 'perk for the middle classes'[24]. The attitude of the mass media suggests that even if the economic barrier is removed there is still an abstract social barrier. This assumption is substantiated by research conducted for Wakefield Metropolitan District Council[25]. This sense of exclusion could also stem from the previous attitude of art galleries and museums toward their audiences.[26] It is alleged these institutions have:

> "Balked at trying to attract mass audiences. Opening up access to the many would, they have feared, meant a loss of privilege for the few: scholarship would suffer, intelligent comment would give way to sound bites, and quiet reflection would be overwhelmed by noisy and inappropriate behaviour."[27]

The social inequality of audiences has been recognised by many institutions. Attempts have been made toward greater inclusion, such as the active outreach programmes that have been in evidence for over a decade. The extents and limits of the definition of art gallery as public space are currently being re-considered and the

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[23] Taken as being newspapers and televised news with a wide audience such as national daily newspapers and terrestrial news presentations.

[24] *The Times* headline, 19.11.1997, p.23.

[25] Poppleton, A., *Cultural Strategy – Consultation with socially excluded communities of interest,* notes from workshop, Wakefield Metropolitan District Council, Wakefield 29.04.02. The brief of the project was to consult six specific target groups to identify aspects of their cultural identity and influences. Those six groups were Travellers, Asylum Seekers, members of the South Asian Community, people with physical and sensory disabilities, people with learning disabilities and people with mental health needs. All barriers suggested by the researching team, on which to gather comments, did constitute real barriers for people wishing to access cultural provision. These included access to information, physical access, barriers created by family and friends (peer pressure), attitudes, transport, finance and other barriers including lack of vision, inability to consider options outside current experience, lack of motivation, lack of self esteem and self confidence, timing of activities, lack of appropriate childcare and finding time for leisure interests.
Although these are very specific public groups many of the barriers are transferable to a 'general' public.

[26] Incidentally, part of the inspiration to undertake my research was the result of witnessing a group of teenage boys being told to leave a local 'public' art gallery on the basis of who they were and the stereotypical behaviour that was expected of them before they had done or said anything.

[27] Fleming, D., 'Can Museums change the world?' in *The Saturday Guardian,* p.2 (For).

policy of Social Inclusion suggests a desire that more art become public. As a result of this, the current assumed definition, or possible plurality of definitions, of public art needs to be examined and understood within a contemporary context, taking into consideration recent developments and historical hindsight.

If the art gallery is not seen to be a public space by the general public then how do we define public art? Conversely, is it possible or even desirable to make all art public? The aim of my thesis is to examine such questions. In addition, if being public leads to wider ownership, should such ownership bring with it levels of responsibility? For example, if the Government believes art and its institutions should be more public, does it plan to equip the public with the tools necessary to care for and respect such spaces and its other visitors? Perhaps a belief that Social Inclusion intends to facilitate ownership, without the demands of responsibility, has contributed toward the criticism that the visual arts are being 'dumbed down' to give them a superficial gloss of accessibility. Waldemar Januszczak, culture journalist for the *Sunday Times* wrote:

> "God protect the modern British art critic who dares to suggest that the public has lousy taste, and that the nation needs saving from it; that populism leads invariably to pap, and that knowing what you like is no substitute for knowing something about art. Oops, I've just suggested it."[28]

If art is to maintain a quality then it has to be produced by an expert elite. This does not necessarily mean that it may only be appreciated by an elite, as will be considered through the material available within the case studies.

[28] Januszczak, W., 'The Birth of the new,' *The Sunday Times,* 24.10.99, Culture Section, p.12.

5.7 'Public' as noun

Having introduced notions of public space and public art which will be developed within the material from the case studies, it is necessary to consider the meaning of the term 'public'. This is not intended to provide a new and radical rewriting of class structure, but a term meaningful within the context of my research.

Controversy is borne from conflict of opinion and so allows identification and analysis of those opinions and associated publics. The case studies of controversial public art will also facilitate an appreciation and awareness of the complexities of the many and varied social impacts and influences that form a filter through which information is absorbed, knowledge created, and opinions formed.[29] Luhmann has noted that it is more useful, particularly when tracing conflict perspectives, to group people according to their opinions toward a topic than to group them in the historical stratifications based upon accumulation of wealth and the social group of birth.[30] In my research I have adopted this method. The topic is controversial public art, and it is hoped to better understand the common factors toward the views being formed, with comparison to traditional class delineators such as economic capital. This is a departure from the studies of public opinion toward the arts in England currently available, which are based upon economic measures alone.

As research into ideas of public progressed it became evident that the public must be viewed as a group of various 'publics', the creation of which and whose opinions needed to be assessed in relation to each of the case studies individually. Historically the split of the public into groups has been differentiated in terms of 'class'.

It must be noted that many believe the British class system no longer operates, but the traditional system of decreasing elites is still relevant toward understanding public reception of art. Notions of class adopt significant meanings when discussing public art and the uses of public space, as it may be viewed that use of such space is an imposition by an elite. It seems realistic to state that, although class is no longer an

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[29] This theme of the thesis corresponds with current sociological theory, in that it belongs to macro-sociology, the study of society as a whole, rather than that of individuals within society, as controversy depends upon mass opinion. It could then be narrowed down into conflict perspective.

[30] Luhmann, N., *Art as a Social System,* Meridian Stanford University Press, California, 2000, p.2.

explicit hierarchy, it is still present in a much more complex and fluid form and whose existence does influence audiences for art.

The phrase *cultural capital* is synonymous with the work of French sociologist/philosopher Pierre Bourdieu and has been cited interminably since it was proposed in *Distinction,* (published in French in 1979 and translated into English in 1984). Bourdieu based his conclusions on information gathered by survey in 1963, with supplementary data gained in 1967-68 on a sample of 1,217 people, in France. Certain elements of Bourdieu's work may need to be modified in the context of English contemporary society and practical application of his theories. Bourdieu felt that over-emphasis on the concept of cultural capital distorted his research, but it is an essential point of consideration when analysing the visual arts and its audiences. Bourdieu introduces the concept of cultural capital with a quotation:

> "You said it, my good knight! There ought to be laws to protect the body of acquired knowledge.
> Take one of our pupils, for example: modest and diligent, from his earliest grammar classes he's kept a little notebook full of phrases.
> After hanging on the lips of his teachers for twenty years, he's managed to build up an intellectual stock in trade; doesn't it belong to him as if it were a house, or money?"[31]

The premise of cultural capital is based on Marxist principles of the accumulation of fiscal capital by the elite, (or those aspiring to be the elite), but proposes that the acquisition of capital is multi-dimensional and not based on economic capital alone. Cultural capital means the accumulation of cultural knowledge and experience and is directly proportional with the acquisition of economic capital, according to Bourdieu. The practical relevance of Bourdieu's conclusions will be assessed with reference to the case studies to see if they are applicable to contemporary, English, works of art in public.

It is intended through the analytical evaluation of the case studies and with historical reference to aid a better understanding of the formation of the various publics and the

[31] Claudel, P., *Le Soulier de Satin,* quoted in Bourdieu, P., *Distinction* op. cit., Introduction, p.i.

attitudes toward each example. I will also examine the extent to which these observations can be applied to the visual arts in general. To group individuals into 'publics' is to attribute them a certain position within society, but it must be emphasised that I intend no hierarchy, simply emphasised differences. However, that those within certain groups are sensitive to their position in relation to others is a concept worthy of exploration and often contributes toward conflict, real or imagined elitism, and senses of superiority and inferiority. An understanding of the construction and ramifications of such social space is relevant and necessary in terms of the possible, and indeed desired, parameters of public access to the visual arts and will be assessed on the primary and secondary evidence collected.

6 The 'public' as discernible in the case studies

The research so far has revealed the inadequacy of reference to a general public. Each historical example has suggested different formations of publics, or various public groups. The comparisons did show that there are common factors to each example which deserve further analysis, particularly the identification of an 'art' public and an assumed 'general' public. For the cases to be controversial, it is also evident that there must be a public for, and a public against, which sometimes corresponded respectively to the art public and assumed general public, but not in every instance.

One means of understanding the 'public' is to analyse their opinion. The historical examples revealed the relevance of 'public opinion' toward the visual arts and it becomes fundamental to analyse how those opinions are formed and perpetuated. The term has an assumed meaning, but one that fails to be meaningful in practice. The choice of controversial examples serves several important functions. The opinions of those public groups are more clearly in evidence, as is their relation to that which they oppose. The reasons for conflict between two or more public groups are suggested and it is possible to trace the way in which those opinions are disseminated and perpetuated.

At the beginning of this chapter I introduced the case studies and the critiques operate upon two levels within this thesis. On the art historical level, they serve to present the case studies. On the sociological level they reveal the opinions of those who have contributed as belonging to an assumed 'art public'. In considering these two levels I presented my opinions of the works and those of art academics and commentators. Through this I have taken ownership of the pieces in an abstract and partial sense and readers could assume certain allegiances and associate me with a particular public group. In order to better understand the publics and their relationships with the visual arts I am to assess the evidence available in each of the case studies.

6.1 Comment by members of different public groups

6.1.1 Art public

A generic 'art' public would consist of artists, art critics, patrons, academics and administrators. Study of the historical examples revealed an increased support base for the avant-garde among this group, as shown in the contrast of support for Manet

with that for Serra. That this is by no means a homogeneous group is evidenced on several occasions, for example Roger Fry was publicly supportive of Epstein and privately critical.

It is evident from 'art' public analyses of *House* that it was, on the whole, deemed by them to be a work of quality. Whiteread's project was commissioned by Becks Bier and realised through Artangel[1] at an estimated expense of £50,000. When one considers that a national newspaper advert costs from £6,000 upwards, it is clear that the sponsors made a shrewd business decision as *House* attracted extensive national copy. It was concluded through the historical examples that works of art which challenge convention receive wide media attention, and their subsequent occupation in the abstract public sphere ensures exposure and publicity. Becks Bier reinforced their association with the project by issuing limited edition bottles bearing an image of *House* and the sponsorship consultant for the company enthused:

> "It's one of the most exciting projects we've been involved in. It will be very hard to follow."[2]

The rest of the money came from the Henry Moore Foundation, a further indication that *House* received support from the elites of the art world, or the 'art' public. Some believe that *House* won the 1993 Turner prize for Whiteread, even though its creation was four months past the deadline for submissions. There is no doubt that the Turner judges encountered the critical acclaim Whiteread received for *House* and the positive effect it had on her profile. Whether or not it influenced their decision is a moot point.

Much of the critical, academic writing concerning *House* emphasised the publicness of the work, in the sense that the work emphasised common aspects of individual existence and the pathos of humanity:

> "its form is recognisable as the remains of a house, but the indentations left by light switches, door latches and textured wallpaper

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[1] Artangel is a London based company that co-ordinates art projects, co-directed by James Lingwood and Michael Morris.

[2] Fawcett, A., Sponsorship manager, Becks Bier, cited in Lingwood, J., (ed.), *House,* Phaidon, London, Oxford & New York, 1995, Introduction.

> are all that is left of a home exposed, inside out, and turned to stone. ... it triggers off all the potent responses associated with its shape and form, but it is no longer there." [3]

It is this relation to common factors of human existence that contributed to its intervention in abstract concepts of public space, as well as the physical. Stuart Morgan, writing in the Liverpool Tate Catalogue to Whiteread's retrospective in 1996, believes that the meanings and implications stretch beyond the individual to communicate universal notions of home and shelter. In this sense the work occupied and criticised the abstract public sphere. It highlighted the physical result of the most extreme level of social exclusion, that of being homeless. In many ways Whiteread used *House* to highlight and criticise the exclusive view that not only is this art "not for you" but what it represents - home, security and possessions, all these can be and are excluded from certain publics. It is in itself a comment upon social exclusion.

A widely stated perception about Whiteread's work is that it is characterised by morbidity. It is possible to relate this to the 'lost form' process that the sculptor employs: through its preservation as a cast the original object is destroyed. Morgan senses a disturbing element to her work, particularly *House,* due to the powerful associations of the original object. This gives rise to a sense of morbidity which may be connected with the sense of memory and the ghosts of its residents. One critic states:

> "*House* is a memorial to memory, an East End family home (latterly an 'eye-sore') in which the spaces actually lived in constitute the work, rather than the bricks and mortar that sheltered its residents. It does not commemorate public events or individual achievements - for all we know any kind of unsavoury or banal life may have existed here. ... certainly *House* has about it both seediness and hauteur as, for the last time, transformed, sepulchral, it rears its pale bulk above the street in defiant grasp before it too becomes simply a memory. At the same

[3] Chitty, M., 'House' *Architectural Review* v.194 Jan. 1994 p.13.

> time it seems to speak, paradoxically, of reticence, of keeping itself to itself." [4]

That the sculpture is a manifestation of memory stems not so much from nostalgia, but from a desire to extract the deeper, more hidden meanings and abstract memories of home. Most homes are deemed to be happy places, but even the happiest of homes bears the scars of periods of deep unhappiness and tensions, Whiteread, through probing and exposing the darkest recesses of the building forces such issues to prominence. *House* is a manipulation of the concept of outdoor statuary, turning a memorial to a minority of significant people, into a memorial that relates to the majority. Whiteread's work is accessible, because it is essentially figurative and is based on the effects of human existence, even though it concentrates upon absence rather than presence. We are aware the original building was designed and used for human occupation and *House* relates to an existentialist philosophy, as Sartre wrote:

> "My body is everywhere, the bomb which destroys my house also destroys my body in so far as my house was already an indication of my body."[5]

However, such a concept requires a certain level of intellectual understanding that is not immediately accessible, and the majority of 'art' public commentary on *House,* involves complex notions that could possibly alienate wider public groups from attempted appreciation, especially when discussed in obtusely intellectual terms. A common factor of alienation from the visual arts is the confusing commentary that it often generates. For example:

> "Much of the success of Rachel Whiteread's extraordinary *House* resides in its effective resistance of any single, fixed, dominant meaning, or single cluster of meanings." [6]

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[4] Shone, R., 'Rachel Whiteread's House' in *Burlington* v.135 December 1993 p.838.
[5] Sartre., J. P., 'Being and Nothingness' New York Philosophical Library, 1956, p.325 in Wakefield, N., 'Separation Anxiety and the Art of Release', *Parkett 42*, 1994 p.80.
[6] Watney, S., 'About the House,' *Parkett 42* op. cit, p.105.

The presence of an 'art' public group is also identifiable in the material for *Brickman.* The strata defined as 'art' public with relation to this case consisted of the artist, Antony Gormley, the funding bodies such as The Arts Council of Great Britain and those who were familiar with contemporary art including academics, curators, art administrators. James Hamilton, the Director of the Contemporary Art Group and later the Director of the Holbeck Triangle Trust, claimed:

> "It is a thrilling and inspiring project. Gormley's figure will be the most important piece of public sculpture sited in Britain since the First World War, if not this century."[7]

The *Brickman* project received much prominent support, evidenced in letters from Margaret Drabble CBE[8], the chairman of the European Year of Environment, Dr Patrick Nuttgens CBE, and Lord Harewood.[9] Those who are deemed to form the art establishment elite endorsed the project including the President of the Royal Academy of Arts who wrote to James Hamilton[10] that he fully supported the project. Neil McGregor, the Director of the National Gallery, wrote:

> "May I, at this late stage, wish you and Antony Gormley every success in your planning application ... I am convinced it would be an inspiring and exhilarating achievement."[11]

The Director of the Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts[12] wrote:

> "It is a work that will add aesthetically to the landscape of South Leeds and do so in a way that relates naturally to the site in its use of materials and its relationship to other landmarks there."[13]

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[7] Hamilton J., Press release 'Holbeck Sculpture Exhibition', HMI archives.
[8] Sheffield born and Cambridge educated author.
[9] As addressed to and stored in the archives of Leeds City Council Planning Department.
[10] Letter held in HMI archives, Leeds.
[11] McGregor, N., 'Letter to Holbeck Triangle Trust' 1988, HMI Archives.
[12] Now re-branded as 'Arts and Business'.
[13] Tweedy, C., Letter to James Hamilton from the director of the Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts, HMI Archives, Leeds.

Brickman was also welcomed by other groups in society deemed to be its general elite, such as Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales, who wrote of his interest and support of the piece, although was not able to agree to become a patron due to other commitments.[14]

Angel was discussed among specialists in the field of visual arts, some of whom examined Gormley's work with respect to interpretations specific to art history. Stephen Ala believes that:

> "For him Gauguin's *'where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?'* succinctly poses these quintessential questions."[15]

Lewis Biggs, the former Director of Tate Liverpool, perceives an affinity between Gormley and Stanley Spencer, (about whom the artist wrote a thesis while an undergraduate at Cambridge), stating:

> "He [Gormley] signalled his desire to align himself with an ancient artistic tradition in which angels can still be angels, as much for Rilke as for Dante, as much for Spencer as for Piero della Franscesa,"[16]

Generally the 'art public' may be seen to be supportive of the case studies chosen.

6.1.2 Non-art publics

The Visitor's book at Leeds City Art Gallery, where the maquette for *Brickman* was on display, lists many expressions of interest and enthusiasm for the project.[17] However, art gallery attendance may be particularly related to those with a propensity to be sympathetic toward art. Hence, such evidence is not necessarily representative of a wider public view.

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[14] Letter held in Leeds City Council archives – also referred to in letter from Councillor Walker.
[15] Ala, S., *Antony Gormley,* New York & London, 1984,p. vii.
[16] Biggs, L., 'Learning to See', in Konsthall, M (ed.), *Antony Gormley*, Exhibition Catalogue from the Tate Gallery, Liverpool, 1993 p.12.
[17] Cited in Hamilton, J., 'Letter to Councillor B, Walker' 3.11.88, Leeds City Council Archives, the original visitor books to which he refers are unfortunately no longer available for analysis.

The mass public groups whose opinions were documented with respect to *Brickman* were mainly local residents who were to be immediately affected by the work. The controversy surrounding the project developed and became a national topical news story and wider public groups came to be encompassed.

Individuals in support of the project who wrote to the Council in favour included a local, retired miner, the Chief of the Fire Brigade, Bill Dunlop and Peter Sloyan, the Chief Executive of Northumbria Tourist Board. One letter of support from a member of the 'non-art' public shows how far people interacted with the concept for the work:

> "When a sketch was first published the wings were truncated and squared off, which I thought made the figure macho. [It] also conveyed a sort of resurgence. Now the longer, narrower ends of the wings make it seem more effeminate ... Is calling it an 'angel' correct? It seems more earthy. Have you a sense of humour? It seems irreverent but I can't resist it – what about the 'Colossus of Roads'?"[18]

The bronze maquette for *Angel* was displayed at Gateshead Ship Gallery in 1998, in the same way as the *Brickman* was exhibited at Leeds City Art Gallery. Unlike *Brickman*, the Visitors Book is still available for view and rough estimations show that visitors were three to one against *The Angel of the North.*[19] One of those in favour wrote:

> "Thank you, thank you, thank you
> Thank you for having the vision
> Thank you for ignoring the critics
> Thank you for the most wonderful,
> Inspiring piece of sculpture right here
> In Gateshead. Thank you."[20]

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[18] Hall, H., Letter to Gateshead Council, January 1995 printed in Various, *Making an Angel,* Booth-Clibborn Editions, London, 1998, p.21.
[19] White, M., 'A Northern Tale', in *Making an Angel,* op. cit., p.22.
[20] Forsyth, A., Visitors Book from the exhibition at Gateshead Central Library 13th February – 28th March 1998.

An example of wider public objections, shows equally strong views against the project:

> "I think it should be taller for the money we spent on it. The man that designed it wants locked up. It is of no use to Gateshead what so ever. If Clarke Chapmans was still open or any other industry was supported by the money wasted on this rubbish the people of Gateshead would have had better value for money."[21]

One particularly passionate individual, Graham Corey,[22] established the 'Society for the Accidental toppling by Wind of Antony Gormley's Calamitous Angel of Death at Gateshead.' He wished to raise funds for the installation of a very large sign advertising it as a "public hazard, keep away". In its place Corey desired a statue to the English martyr Margaret Clitheroe. His organisation, if a little odd, was well planned and offered membership in the following categories: Life: £5, Family £3, Individual £2, Institution £10. The duties of membership were:

a) Enrolling new members
b) Copying this invitation and sending it to the press, friends, the clergy and arts organisations
c) Serving on the Society's social committee
d) Condemning the otherwise benign work of Antony Gormley
e) Living a life of faith

The promotional leaflet for Corey's association, stored in the HMI archives, also requests that *Miserere domine animis motori vectorous in via suprema.* ('May the Lord have mercy on the souls of the drivers on the A1(M)').

The material presented reveals individual opinions. Wider surveys of public opinion were not conducted at the time for any of the projects. All that is clear from the scant examples of evidence available is that opinion among the wider public was divided. Understanding public opinion toward the examples is fundamental to an

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[21] Anon., Visitors Book op. cit.
[22] Graham Corey, Bingley, West Yorkshire. Leaflet held in HMI archives, Leeds.

understanding of public reception of those examples and the relevance of the visual arts to the wider publics.

6.2 Public opinion of the case studies

Robert Worcester, who founded the Gallup organisation which conducts public opinion polls, wrote in his book, *British Public Opinion,* that

> "Sometimes 'public opinion' is the extension of the journalist's own prejudices, sometimes of the political hack's taxi driver/lift operator *vox populi* report; sometimes the result of a pressure group or political party's (usually ineffective) effort to manipulate a bandwagon or a backlash, sometimes of an unrepresentative phone-in or questionnaire-in-the-magazine mail-in-poll, or a newspaper's 'straw poll'; or increasingly frequently, it can be the outcome of a scientifically conducted, properly reported, professionally constructed public opinion poll which carries with it the best combination of polling expertise and journalistic excellence in providing a 'state-of-the-art' effort to report, explain, entertain and educate the reader/listener/viewer with the most accurate, up to date, measure of public opinion."[23]

This is an explanation of some complexity. Simply, public opinion is taken to be the general public's attitude toward a subject. The meaning derived from the David Irving example equates with an accepted and assumed set of values often deemed to be fact within society. However, we have seen that means of measuring public opinion are not accurate and are complicated by the media, through which it is both presented and manipulated.

Other means of measuring public opinion are through interviews, questionnaires and focus groups. These are being promoted by Local Authorities as part of its Best Value initiative.[24] The research conducted toward this chapter has revealed a dearth

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[23] Worcester, R. M., *British Public Opinion*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1991 (founder of Gallup), p.124.

[24] 'Best value' is the established performance indicator framework, designed to deliver continuous improvement and is demanded across all local government departments. Scottish Museum Council, *Museum Issues, Best Value for Museums,* No.8, Edinburgh, 1998/

of serious public opinion assessment with regard to art, particularly the visual. Even Public Arts, Wakefield, which serves a national function, admitted that they have no material representing public opinion toward public art or the arts in general, nor were they aware of any other research in the field. This deficit has been acknowledged by the South West Museums Service who commissioned Sheffield University funded by Resource, to evaluate the perceived relevance of the visual arts and its institutions in their area.[25]

The Group for Large Local Authority Museums Report states an assumed public opinion:

> "For a long time museums reflected a society largely white, middle class, male, imperialist, straight and dead."[26]

And a survey conducted among young Britons, particularly teenage boys, supports a belief that art is the preserve of the rich and old:

> "The report, Crossing the Lines, finds that teenagers believe the arts are for old, rich people rather than themselves. It says those young people who do show an interest in visiting a museum or an art gallery often do not do so because they have no-one to go with. The report found that young people from professional backgrounds were seven times as likely to go to arts events as those whose parents worked in semi-skilled jobs."[27]

One respondent said:

> "It's usually upper class, middle aged people with money to go and splash out every week on something like that."[28]

Appendix 8 provides an example of the paperwork being promoted to Arts Organisations as a method of measuring public opinion as part of Wakefield Metropolitan District Council's Best Value assessment.

[25] Newman, A., 'Social Exclusion Zone', *Museums Journal,* September 2001, vol.101, no.9, p.25. the results of the research have not yet been released.

[26] The GLLAM report, *Museums and Social Inclusion,* op. cit.

[27] *Crossing the Line* report found on www.newssearch.co.uk, 14.12.99 instigated and published by the Gulbenkian Foundation.

[28] Gulbenkian Foundation, London, *Crossing the Line,* Survey, 1999, posted on bbc.co.uk web site.

Public opinion as a concept with practical applications evolved during the latter half of the eighteenth century,[29] although a historical precedent is evident in ancient Greece where the Athenians conducted demos, whereby the political views of citizens eligible to vote were sought and documented.[30] In 1937 the British Institute of Public Opinion was established[31] and was similarly used, purely for political research.

Much of the available commentary concerning public opinion and the arts is extremely vague. This reveals how much work is necessary in order to assess wide public opinion, in particular with reference to the visual arts. This said, from historical examples through to the case studies, the concept of an assumed public opinion has been relevant and influential. I will assess the public opinion of the various case studies through the material available, namely media representations and the views of public representatives such as including local and national government. This is necessary toward a better understanding of Social Exclusion and elitism.

6.2.1 Public opinion toward the case studies as represented by the media

Initially the local press[32] appeared ambivalent in its attitude toward *Brickman,* as the following extract reveals:

> "Leeds is to get its own answer to the Statue of Liberty - a 100ft. figure of a man, with an outer skin of old bricks. But no-one can say how much the project will cost, nor how much the sculptor, London-based Mr Antony Gormley, will be paid. The figure will be built in the Holbeck Triangle, waste land in South Leeds bordered on all sides by busy rail

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[29] Habermas, J., *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1989, p26.

[30] Those eligible to vote were only the male elite.
The Athenian example is not the only historical evidence that 'public opinion' was not an invention of the advertising evolution in post-war America. In the eighteenth century J Hector St. John de Crevoceoer travelled the American colonies assessing public mood, such evidence is presented by Robert Worcester. However, as the founder of Gallup, Worcester may be establishing precedent for own career.
Letters from an American Farmer, cited in Worcester, R. M., *British Public Opinion.*, p.124.

[31] Tyler, D., *British Opinion Polls 1960-1988,* vols. 1 & 2, Research Publications, Berkshire, 1990, Introduction.

[32] The local media in this instance was mainly the Yorkshire Post and the Yorkshire Evening Post, which at the time of *Brickman* was owned by Lord Hollicks' United News and Media group and is now owned by Regional Independent Media.

> tracks. It will be the first glimpse of the city for thousands of rail travellers arriving from the South and West. The land has been provided by British Rail and the project is led by the Yorkshire Contemporary Art Group.
>
> The figure will be hollow, with windows where the ears should be. According to Mr. Gormley, this should enable viewers to stand in the base, look up and see "a dimly-lit hollow dome" formed by the head.
>
> He was "not interested" in providing steps to the top of the figure, offering a panoramic view of the city ... Mr. Gormley said: 'it is a single image of man made of the material of collective labour. The work hopefully embodies something about living in a city.'"[33]

This report is apparently merely providing information, but it includes implicit provocations to the Leeds reading public including issues regarding the cost of the project and how much the 'London-based' sculptor will be receiving for his work. This reporting could suggest that the project is being organised by an exclusive group who are not accountable to the wider public. Although the article is not deliberately hostile it is possibly operating as a gauge to public opinion toward the matter and, simultaneously, aggravating the issues which it suspects will stimulate a response from its readers.

Once plans for the project were broadcast, the local newspapers did begin to receive letters of objection from its readers. Opposition to *Brickman* was based on a variety of views. Among the criticisms, as previously encountered in consideration of both Duchamp and Andre, was the view that the work was not good enough to be called art:

> "Please don't make Leeds a laughing stock, which is what it would be with that thing parked up in the air."[34]

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[33] Bye, C., (editor) 'Brick-age man lined up for the city' in *The Yorkshire Post,* 03.10.86, p.9.
[34] Dixon, A., Hunslet, Leeds, Letter to *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 19.10.88, p.10.

A correspondent believed that the project was merely a hoax[35] and others expressed valid, practical concerns about the treatment and care of the piece after it was erected, claiming it would be "a target for the vandals to demolish within weeks of its construction."[36]

There was an appearance of balanced representation in the *Yorkshire Post* and *Yorkshire Evening Post*. The papers published letters for, as well as against, such as the letter of support published on the 5th October 1988, in which a reader expressed the view that the Holbeck sculpture would be a worthy tourist attraction.[37] This would be a valid reason for support of the sculpture and one substantiated with hindsight of the effects of *Angel of the North*.[38]

Brickman was also supported by many local businesses which had the vision to foresee the advantages to commerce that would be stimulated by the project:

> "I wish to place on record the support of the members of the Confederation in Yorkshire for the building of the *Brickman* sculpture to go ahead."[39]

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[35] Butler, V. C., Letter, *The Yorkshire Evening Post,* 1.11.88, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.
[36] Derrick, S. B., Letter, *The Yorkshire Evening Post,* 5.10.88, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds. This is indeed a valid concern: the Seattle Public Art Policy produced a magnificent showcase of work which necessitated expensive upkeep, which is largely unfulfilled. All the prominent accessible pieces of contemporary public sculpture were physically attacked and vandalised. Such house-keeping concerns are a common and justified challenge of controversial art.
[37] Paraphrased from Paton A., Letter, *The Yorkshire Evening Post,* 5.10.88, clipping held in HMI archives, artist file – Gormley, Leeds.
[38] It is a condition of the European Regeneration Development Funding, who awarded the project £150,000, that it meet certain criteria. The project was successful on the following measures as stringently monitored. Angel has

- given the area a national/international profile.
- Won dozens of art awards
- Reclaimed many derelict areas
- Attracted more than £5million in outside support
- Involved 1,000s of people locally in the arts
- Helped win £46m funding Baltic flour Mills.

[39] Broadhead, J.M., President, Building Employers Confederation, Yorkshire Region Letter in 'To Build ... or Not to Build' *The Yorkshire Evening Post,* 19.10.88 p.10, HMI archives, Leeds.

Other favourable views were represented in the paper. A local reader wrote:

> "I believe the *Brickman* would attract attention from people outside Leeds as well as those in the city, and that only good could come as a result."[40]

Positive letters published included those from individuals deemed to be members of an 'art public' including, from Margaret Drabble:

> "The design of the Holbeck sculpture is wonderful and would add greatly to the Leeds landscape."[41]

And from local cultural commentator, Ian Carmichael:

> "*[Brickman]* will be an important work of art and a major feat of engineering. In addition it will provide an identity that - short of an earthquake - will forever promote the City of Leeds ... It is an exciting and imaginative project. May the appropriate planning committee lift up the light of its countenance upon it and give its blessing."[42]

It is worth noting that the main geographical areas of support were economically wealthier than those whose residents wrote against *Brickman.*[43] The sample represented suggests that the newspaper was impartial in its representation of public opinion. The editor, Chris Bye, did claim to be only printing what he received.[44]

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[40] Topp, A., Roundhay, Leeds, Letter to *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 18.08.88, p.19.
[41] Drabble, M., Letter to *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 19.10.88, p.10.
[42] Carmichael I., Letter in 'To Build ... or Not to Build', Op. Cit. , Ian Carmichael in a Yorkshire-born actor.
[43] Letters in support came from the North Leeds area, including Adel, Alwoodley. Letters against tended to be from areas such as Bramall and Hunslet. This could be purely coincidental but is an association between economic capital and cultural appreciation parallel to that proposed by Bourdieu and supported by subsequent conflict between the public groups.
[44] Bye, C., 'Who hit Brickman?' Letter to the *Sunday Times,* 06.11.88.

However, the material printed within the newspaper is chosen by the editor and is not necessarily representative of the news, or even the truth:

> "According to one estimate, most print and broadcast organisations receive 10 times as much information each day as they can use."[45]

As newspapers are organised to make economical profit, common sense dictates that they will select to publish views believed to appeal to its audience. This could mean printing stories that are interesting to the mass public and will include sensational reports and those involving people familiar to the general public such as members of Royalty or celebrities. It also means that they will publish 'popular' views. Raymond Williams in his book, *Keywords*, has defined 'popular' as being originally a legal and political term meaning 'belonging to the people' and was defined in 1697, as 'courting the favour of the people by undue practices'. The meaning of popular has evolved into 'widely favoured'. Williams defines the popular press as being distinct from the quality press, stating that the popular press sets out to deliberately win favour.[46] It would be in the mass media's interest to present information, or certain opinions, in a manner that pleases its clientele, suggesting that newspaper editors will adopt the views they assume to be representative of the majority.

As news concerning *Brickman* spread, local press coverage began to align itself with opposing opinion and those in support gradually became the minority. On October 19th 1988, the *Yorkshire Evening Post* ran an article 'To Build or not to Build?' (Reproduced as figure 32.) A number of readers' letters, roughly for and against in equal numbers, was juxtaposed in the double-page spread with a letter from the Holbeck Triangle Trust and a computer-generated illustration *Brickman* in-situ. The balance of representation ended there, however, and the attention grabbing headlines were overridingly negative.[47]

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[45] Sandman, P.M., Rubin, D.M. & Sachsman, D.B., *Media and Introductory Analysis of American Mass Communication,* 2nd ed. Englwood Cliffs, N.J., cited in Engelhardt, H. T., *Scientific Controversies,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987, p.585.

[46] Paraphrased from Williams, R., *Keywords,* Fontana Press, London, 1988 edition, p.236.

[47] Such as 'Beyond Comprehension', 'Laughing Stock', and 'Arty Disaster', as seen in figure 32.

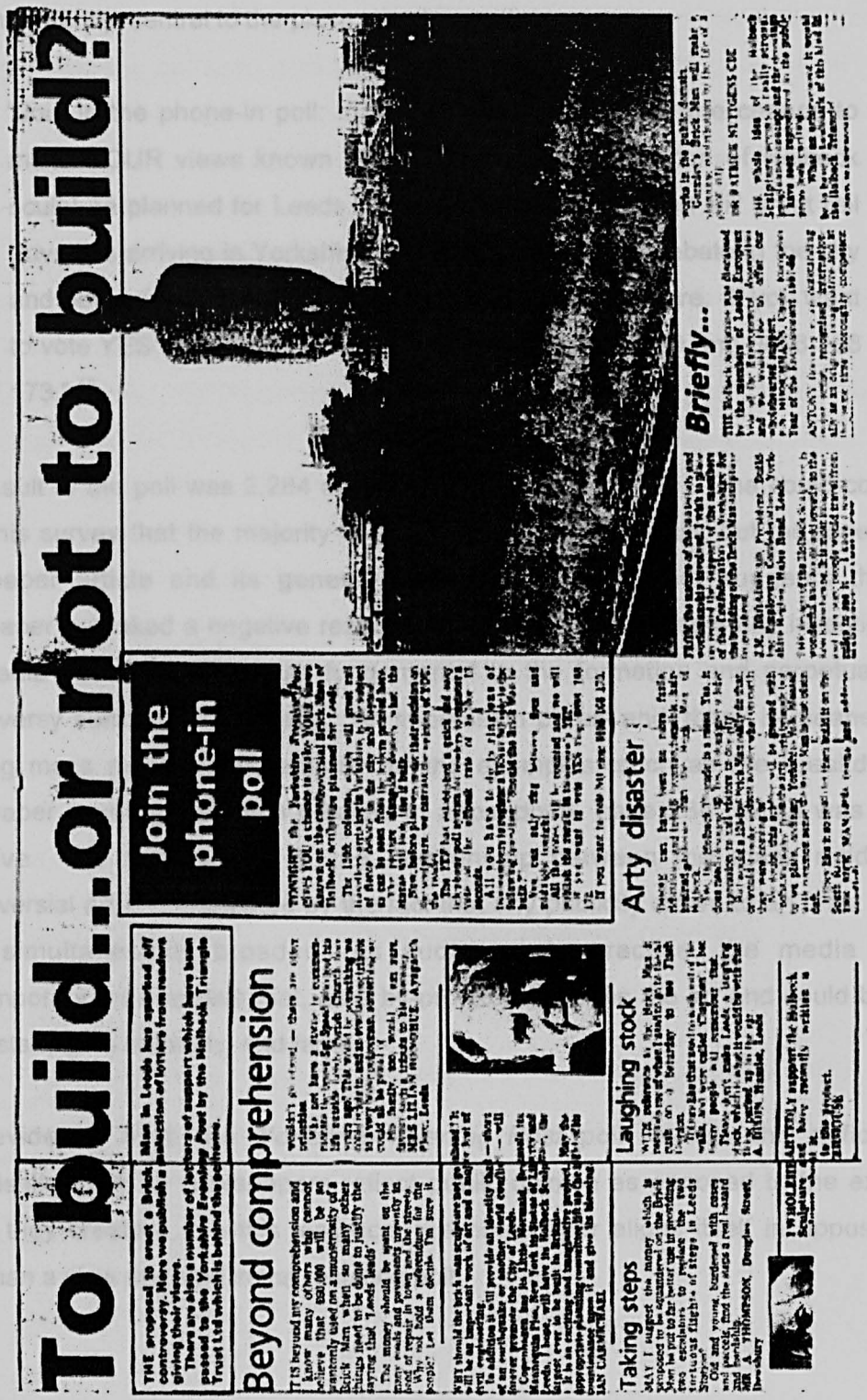

Figure 32.

Yorkshire Evening Post, pages 10-11, 19.10.88.
Clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

More importantly, central to the piece was the caption:

> "Join in the phone-in poll: tonight the YEP gives YOU the chance to make YOUR views known on the controversial *Brickman* of Holbeck sculpture planned for Leeds. The 120ft colossus, which will greet rail travellers arriving in Yorkshire, is the subject of fierce debate in the city and beyond - as can be seen from the letters printed here. If you want to vote YES ring 0898 168 172. If you want to vote NO ring 0898 168 173." [48]

The result of the poll was 2,284 against and 830 for *Brickman.* One could conclude from this survey that the majority of public opinion was against, but the tone of the newspaper article and its general coverage of the project suggests that the newspaper provoked a negative response. Throughout my case-study investigations the media has been shown as fundamental to the formation and perpetuation of controversy surrounding the arts. An impression of 'us' and 'them' is gleaned from reading mass media representation of the examples, such as the breakdown of newspaper coverage of *Rima* detailed in appendix 6, page 234, which was mainly negative. An assessment of the relationship between the mass media and controversial art is complicated by the fact that any publicity drawn to an artist or their work simultaneously broadens its audience. In practice, the media create contemporary art scandals that, as a by-product, publicise the art and could be used by artists to gain notoriety, and fame.

The evidence from the *Yorkshire Evening Post* poll reveals the difficulty of establishing how far newspapers reflect public opinion as opposed to the extent to which they create it. In this instance, the newspaper aligns itself in opposition to *Brickman* a view mirrored in the resulting poll.

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[48] Editorial 'To Build ... or not to Build?' *The Yorkshire Evening Post,* 19.10.88 p.10.

Mori attempted to assess the nature of the relationship between newspapers and their readers, by polling opinions toward the US-led Coalition bombing of the Al Amaria shelter, Iraq, on February 14, 1991 through comparison of newspaper opinion and those of its respective readers.[49] Mori arrived at the conclusion that reader opinion is directly derived from the newspaper read.

There are several inherent flaws to this conclusion. It is possible to conclude that reader's opinions correspond with that of the newspapers they read and that is why they choose to read one over another. Another complication is that readers may form no real opinion until prompted, by a poll gatherer, at which point they refer to the information they have previously experienced. The evidence in appendix 5, page 233, shows that approximately 30% of the population do not read a newspaper, further undermining the view that newspapers create opinion.

Such complexity of interpretation means that the *Brickman* poll can only be taken to represent a particular assumed public opinion, the meaningful reality of which cannot not be verified other than through the fact that it would be commercial suicide to present anti-popular views to a certain readership on a regular basis. If such an opinion was proven to be true, it could be as a direct result of such media

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[49] **Perceptions of the bombing of the Al Amaria shelter by newspaper readership.**
Newspaper headlines reporting the event:
The Sun: SADDAM HUSSAIN TRICK
The Daily Star: VICTIMS HERDED BY SADDAM
The Daily Mirror: WHOSE FAULT?
The Daily Express and Daily Mail and Daily Telegraph referred to the target as a military bunker, so justifying allied bombing of it.
The Times reported it as being a military bunker but qualified this with an eye-witness account which contradicted this statement.
The Independent reported it as being a military bunker but gave a more balanced account.
The Guardian was the only newspaper to present a negative opinion of the bombing.
The Independent and *The Guardian* were the only newspapers to give prominence to the Iraqi death toll.
Perceptions of the bombing of the Al Amaria shelter by newspaper readership %

	Military Centre	Civilian Shelter	Saddam Propaganda	Casualties of War	N
Sun and Star	21	9	58	12	33
Mirror	30	6	32	32	47
Other tabloid	28	7	39	26	34
Broadsheet	19	45	13	23	19
All respondents	26	14	36	24	168

Shaw M., Civil Society and media in Global Crisis, Pinter, London, 1996 cited in Lacy, S., *The press as public educator, cultures of understanding, cultures of ignorance,* University of Luton Press, Luton, 1997, p.3.

representation. The integrity of evidence presented by the YEP poll is further compromised because it was not conducted under adequate conditions. A representative from Mori assessed the validity of it and maintained:

> "It is my view that the results of this 'poll' cannot be taken to provide a fair and representative view of what people in Leeds think about the sculpture because:
>
> 1. The sample is self selecting.
> 2. It is only open to readers of the *Yorkshire Evening Post.*
> 3. The technique of registering opinion is open to abuse,
>
> (for example people could phone up more than once).
>
> 4. Those ringing in are almost certain to be more opinionated.[50]

It is also possible that others who were in favour of the project were apathetic toward such polls because it seemed that the project was already underway. Another important point is that the *Yorkshire Evening Post* has an average circulation of 91,000, indicating that at least 97% of the readers felt no need to express a view.

Rachel Whiteread placed *House* into physical public space, and in so doing exposed the piece to all the dangers of being unprotected in a big city. The location of *House* also allowed a certain level of public interaction, most obviously graffiti. A pertinent instance of this was the comment *'Wot For'*, which, after a short while, received the response 'Why Not'. This is symbolic of the views of opposed public groups as are identifiable in controversial examples and possibly reflects the gamut of opinions not just toward this project, but toward art in general. Whether this exchange represents the full range of possible public opinions, or if there is an active acknowledgement of 'what art is for' and 'why art it is necessary', is a matter for consideration. Examples of active appreciation of *House* are available, such as:

> "It caught the public imagination, to the extent that some local residents began leaving milk and papers at the door,"[51] and:

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[50] MORI letter to Holbeck Triangle Trust, HMI archives, October 1988.
[51] Deblonde, A., 'Materials Girl', op. cit., p.34.

> "There's a man who even addresses his letters to the house itself, a house that no longer exists."[52]

During its three month tenure *House* received 100,000 visitors, almost half as many as attended the National Gallery's blockbuster Rembrandt exhibition between June and September 1999, (appendix 4, page 232). Again, no surveys of public opinion were taken, so its main measure has to be gleaned through the secondary evidence presented in the mass media, particularly newspapers, with the caveats as previously discussed. Cartoons have been shown to have a history concurrent with controversial works, and the contemporary case studies are no exception. Several cartoons were produced in reaction to *House,* a sample of which are reproduced in figure 33, which reveal that it had entered into the general, national, vernacular.

From interviews with members of the 'general' public, the press presented a variety of opinions ranging from derision, through serious aesthetic appraisal, to admiration[53]. In a possible parody of a stereotypical member of the mass public, art critic Adrian Searle relates:

> "'You know what I think?' the cabby who picked us up on Roman Road said, in a perfect imitation of one of Michael Heath's 'Great Bores of Today' cartoons in *Private Eye*, 'when I first saw it I thought it was bloody horrible but I had that Lord Renfrew the famous archaeologist in the back of the cab the other day and I said you know what that is I said it's the Stonehenge of Bow that's what it is and I've had Americans in the cab come over special to see it it's bloody great that's what I say and good luck to her bringing a few bob to the area 'specially if Tower Hamlets puts a turnstile on the park and sets up a tea-stall they should sell souvenirs ... that bloke from the council whatsisname Flounders what sort of a name is that he wants to pull it down he's a bleedin' nutter good luck to her I say." [54]

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[52] Searle, A., 'Rachel Doesn't Live Here Anymore', *Frieze,* January/February, 1994, p.28.
[53] Reproduced in 'Opinions' *Independent on Sunday* 31.10.93 in Watney, S., 'About the *House,*' *Parkett 42* 194, p.104.
[54] Searle, A., 'Rachel doesn't live here any more' op. cit., p.25.

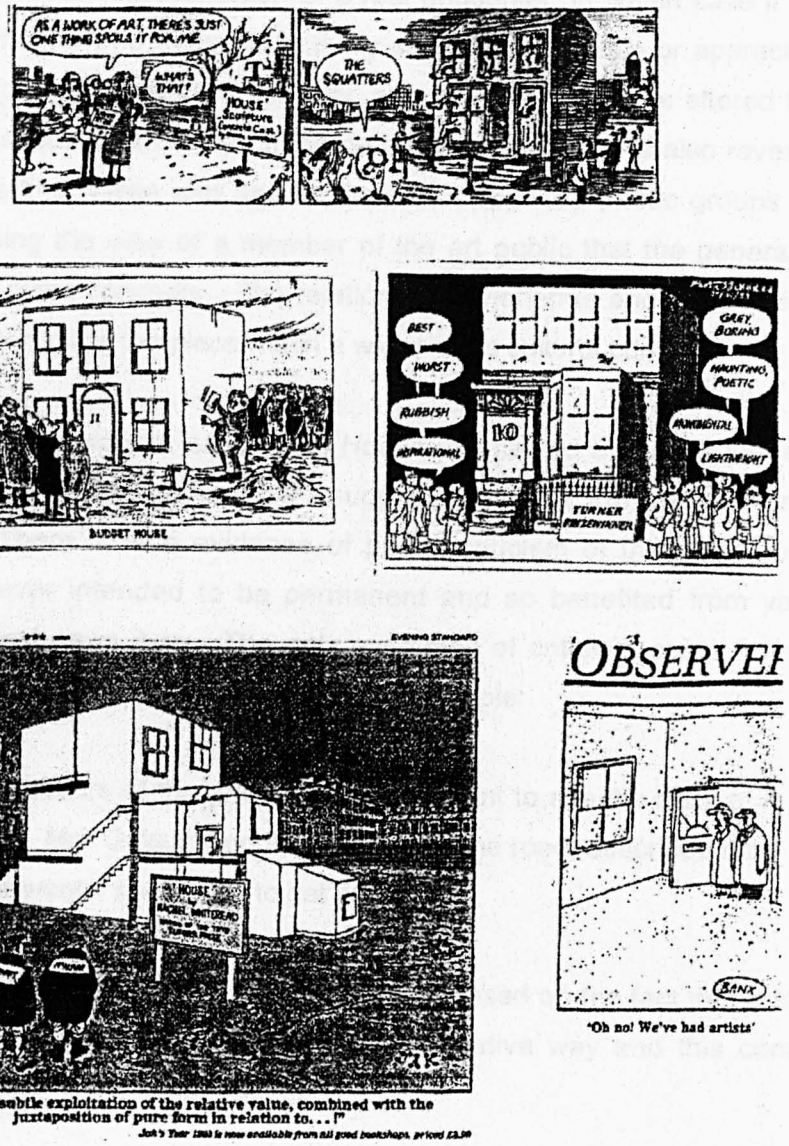

Figure 33.

Various cartoons relating to *House*.
Clippings held in HMI archives, Leeds.

This could be a genuine representation of a real encounter, in which case it reveals the opinion of someone who does not actively seek to experience or appreciate art, (especially if he does not deem it to be 'real' art), but whose view is altered through exposure and subsequent familiarity. If the paragraph is fiction, it is also revealing as it highlights the distinct views and assumptions that opposed public groups hold of each other, including the view of a member of the art public that the general public can only relate to mass concepts. The relation to Stonehenge and the possibility of setting up a tea stand place the piece within a wider mass cultural context.

The majority of press coverage concerning *House* maintained a curious interest and the breakdown presented in appendix 9[55] suggests attitudes toward the work were mainly positive. There is little evidence of public criticism of the piece, possibly because it was never intended to be permanent and so benefited from value as novelty and a topical news item. The only examples of criticism come from those whom it directly affected on a day-to-day basis, for example:

> "In Bow, neighbours of the ghost house only want to see the back of it - so to speak. Mrs Gulsun Bodur, from across the road, described it as a 'pain'. She wants, she adds ' to get rid of it.'"[56]

The local residents' motivation to remove *House* was based on the fact that it affected their immediate environment in an invasive and negative way and this cannot be taken as representative of mass public opinion.

In its discussion of *Angel of the North* the local press cited the more extreme points of view it received from the wider public. It seems an obvious observation, but it must be noted that these articles concerning *Angel of the North* were printed before it was built to subsequent acclaim.

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[55] Appendix 9, page 241, is a detailed chronology of press and journal articles concerning *House*.
[56] Alberge, D., '*House* of Ghostly Memory' *The Independent* 26.10.93 in Watney, S., 'About the *House*,' *Parkett 42* op. cit.,, p.104.

> "A letter to the *Newcastle Journal* declared the sculpture a blasphemous idol: "The Lord shall stretch forth and the fire of Heaven will be unleashed."[57]

Angel of the North also prompted cartoons, as shown in figure 34. From such evidence and the views expressed in the columns of the local press, it is evident that public opinion was assumed to be in opposition to *Angel.* The local press:

> "Gleefully reported every new objection to the Angel project: that it would distract motorists, interfere with TV reception, pose a danger to aircraft using Newcastle airport and have Hitlerian overtones. Indeed the day before Gormley spoke, the front page announced that a readers' poll had roundly condemned the proposed work."[58]

In an attempt to mitigate the effects of negative opinion, Gormley spoke to local people at Gateshead Civic Centre but some were still vitriolic in their condemnation of the plans. Ron Mitchell, a pensioner who lived on the hill near *Angel,* expressed his opinion that:

> "'drivers don't need a bloody landmark', ... he says vowels as thick as his elbows ... 'they're never going to stop in Gateshead.'"[59]

And another Gateshead resident wrote to *The Guardian* that

> "I write in full view of the so-called Angel of the North and have yet to meet a fellow Geordie who expresses anything but scorn for the angel and the whole philosophy behind it."[60]

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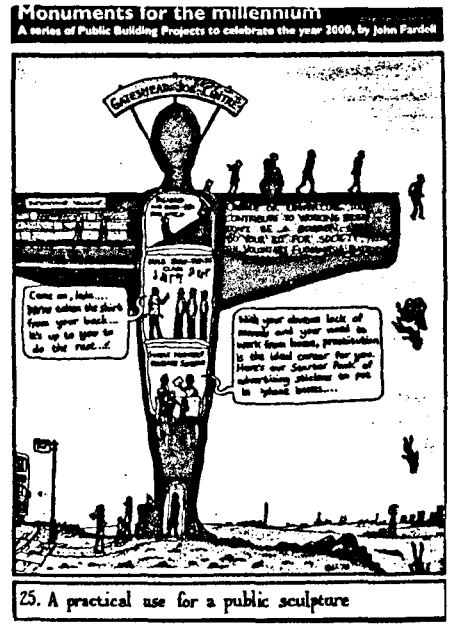
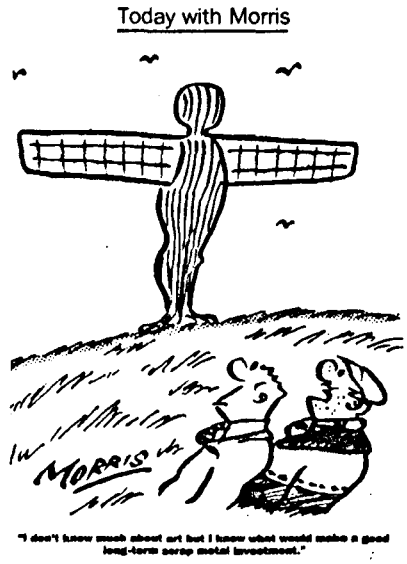
[57] Becket, A.'The Angel with the dirty face', *The Independent on Sunday*, 28.7.98, pp.16-18.
[58] Usherwood, P. 'A Wing and a Prayer', *Art Monthly,* no.184, 1995, p.39.
[59] Beckett, A., 'The Angel with the dirty face', op. cit., pp.16-18.
[60] Birtley, P., Gateshead, Letter to *The Guardian,*18.2.98, p.17.



a)



b)

Figure 34.

Cartoons relating to Angel of the North.
a) The Independent on Saturday Magazine, 15.3.98 by John Fardell.
b) Northern Echo March 1998 by Morris.
Clippings held in HMI archives, Leeds.

Again, such evidence is purely an interpretation of public opinion allowed by one or more newspaper editors. Whilst such examples are a useful indicator of an assumed public opinion the extent to which it reflects genuine views of the 'general' public has been shown to be unreliable. Another means of assessing public opinion, and one to be conducted with reference to assumed views as published by the media, is to consider the reactions of public representatives. The respective local councils proved fundamental to the fate of each piece of art discussed in my case studies.

6.2.3 Public opinion as represented by the Local Council

Initially, the opinions of Leeds City Councillors toward the *Brickman* proposal were equally split[61]. As the project progressed opinions both for and against hardened. Through personal discussions with the Leader of Leeds City Council, Brian Walker (Head of the Planning Department at the time of *Brickman*), he revealed that he had found the controversy surrounding the project both stressful and divisive.

Councillor Walker approached The Civic Trust[62] for their view and they responded, in *Brickman*'s favour, that it was a welcome contribution to assist in re-generation of the area and that fears about its visual impact were exaggerated.

[61] Leeds City Council Archives, as shown through memos and meeting minutes.

[62] "Leeds Civic Trust is a voluntary, non-political body, open to everyone who wants to participate in and influence the planning of our City - not simply at election time or on other formal occasions, but constantly in the everyday decisions that affect our environment and the way of life in work and leisure. The objects of the Trust are to promote and encourage the following, by charitable means but not otherwise;
To stimulate public interest in and care for the beauty, history and character of the City and locality,
To encourage high standards of design, architecture and town planning,
To encourage the development and improvement of features of general public amenity,
To promote and organise co-operation in the achievement of these objectives"
www.leedscivictrust.org.uk.

The Civic Trust acknowledged that public opinion was divided, but it does not state where, or how, such views were measured. In an optimistic surmise the missive concluded:

> "If the following deficiencies were remedied we feel that the scheme would be worthy of strong support:
>
> a) There is a need to provide better public access (physical by foot or car).
> b) Explore the possibility of being able to ascend the sculpture and have aerial views of the city." [63]

Despite this positive assessment Councillor Walker reveals his personal inclination in correspondence with another Councillor, who had questioned the validity of the project. He wrote:

> "There is not a lot of support for the *Brickman* from the Civic trust because:
>
> 1. Wrong place.
> 2. Wrong design.
> 3. No public access.
> 4. No internal circulation."[64]

It is apparent that Councillor Walker interpreted the findings of the Civic Trust to suit his own opinions. On a personal level, Councillor Walker stated that he could not perceive a relevant role or purpose for the artist within society. He related it to his previous employment, as a British Telecom engineer, in which his job purpose and value was self-evident, but stated that he could not apply the same rationale to that of an artist. This is a viewpoint to which he is fully entitled, and is, perhaps, more genuine than National Government's perpetuation of the idea that it is the job of artists and art galleries to promote social cohesiveness and "improve performance within

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[63] Letter to Councillor Brian Walker from The Civic Trust 12.10.88, Leeds City Council Archives.
[64] Walker, B., to Councillor Mrs. Myers, October 1988, Leeds City Council Archives.

communities on the four key indicators of health, crime, employment and education"[65]. The extent to which Councillor Walker's views are truly representative of the public group for which he stands requires further investigation.

In the case of *Brickman,* Councillor Walker superimposed his personal view that art is a luxury, and the preserve of an elite, onto that of the public he represented. Walker was of the belief that the money could and should, be better spent serving his perceived needs of the public. It was clear from my interview, that Councillor Walker spoke candidly and was firm in his belief, that his views toward *Brickman* were shared by the mass public and inhabitants of the city. He said that house-to-house interviews had been conducted in the immediate vicinity of the proposed sculpture and that very little support was expressed. Extensive research has failed to unearth evidence of the interviews and it seems likely that if all telephone messages had been saved and filed, (which they were), such documents would also have been preserved. In fairness it is clear that the archives of the Council are in need of systematic reorganisation and it is possible that such documents have been lost.

Peter Hartley of the Leeds Development Corporation invited people to write to him so that their opinions could be measured[66] and a few letters to the Council, addressed to Councillor Walker, do reveal individual attitudes. These were taken as an indication, by him, that public opinion did indeed reflect his own. For example:

> "Dear councillor Walker. I think they should build a statue of you and call it the Prick man because you are an idiot using rate payers money for it when it could be used for better things - A Ratepayer."[67]

As the Planning Department became increasingly concerned about its association with the escalating controversy, it attempted to avoid total responsibility for an inevitably unpopular decision, by enquiring to other departments as to their view. The Leeds Development Corporation replied:

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[65] DCMS, statement issued in 1999 and reproduced in Bridgwood, A., *Social inclusion: policy and research in the arts,* Arts Council of England, Paper presented to the Second International Conference on Cultural Policy Research, Wellington, New Zealand, 22-26 January 2002, p.2.
[66] Hartley, P., Yorkshire Evening Post, 24.8.88 clipping held in HMI archives.
[67] Anon and undated, Leeds City Council Archives.

> "From our discussions at last Monday's meeting it maybe helpful if I set out the Corporations position. The Board is aware of the proposal and understand that it is a matter for City Council ... it will be considered at the Board meeting. However, I am in no doubt from informal comments at our previous Board meeting that the corporation would be most unlikely to support the proposal." [68]

Similar attempts by the Central Planning Department to relinquish responsibility for the decision to the Local Planning Department, received the response from Local Planning that they felt they, "need have no real input," but added that the project was a "strange, but not necessarily unacceptable use of public funds."[69]

Councillor Walker's sense of predicament was expressed in a letter to James Hamilton, in which he reveals that he felt under pressure because the "application is very contentious and whatever decision is reached some will be unhappy."[70] The controversy ensuing from the representatives of the broadly differing publics and their opinions, was compounded by pressure from within the Council. There is much evidence of the personal political motivations from the archival material available, which includes informal interdepartmental memos and handwritten notes, including one that simply says:

> "I personally doubt whether it is interesting enough to attract tourists to Leeds. I wasn't aware of difficulties with ground condition. This has never been used before by us as grounds for resisting it. It is 'not a question of doing x, y, and z to it to make it 'acceptable" you either accept it or you don't. I don't!"[71]

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[68] Letter from Alan Goorum Leeds Development Corporation to A. Hull department Planning Nov 88, Leeds City Council Archives.
[69] Internal memo from Local Planning Department to Central Planning Dept., Leeds City Council Archives.
[70] Letter from Councillor Walker to James Hamilton (Director of the Holbeck Triangle Trust), 14.10.88, Leeds City Council Archives.
[71] Note to Councillor Walker from another Councillor, 25.10.88, Leeds City Council Archives

The easiest decision for the Council department was to commit to none at all, and the Planning Department stalled their final decision, which should have been made on 23rd July 1988. It was reported:

> "Last Monday Leeds City Planning Committee considered Antony Gormley's proposal for a 120 foot high *Brickman* ... This provoked Labour councillor Graham Platt into declaring his support for the Colossus of Holbeck, on aesthetic grounds. But Gormley's vision - of a statue made from local materials, representing the potential at the topological heart of mainland Britain, and bridging the industrial past and a post-industrial future - this was not on the agenda. Next to me, James Hamilton of the Holbeck Triangle Trust seethed politely, since the answers to all these questions were in the very detailed engineers report he had submitted, but which had apparently been mislaid." [72]

The Planning decision to deny *Brickman* permission to stand was finally taken on 7th November 1988 by the South Divisional Planning Sub-committee, overruling the previous decision that had granted 'use of the site as a modern sculpture display area.' The original decision was rejected on the basis that the nature of the scheme had changed and a new application had to be made. Planning permission for the subsequent revised application was denied for the following official reasons:

1. "The sculpture was perceived to be alien in form and out of scale and character with its surroundings and buildings.
2. No evidence toward regeneration – rather it is felt that it would detract from the area.
3. Given wide amount of public interest which will be generated there are no adequate measures such as parking."

[72] Editorial 'Permission to Stand' *The Independent,* 4.7.88, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

This is despite the statement among the notes in support of the Planning Application, April 1988, that:

> 7. "The height 120' has been chosen so that the figure will be approximately the same height as the Giotto tower nearby. The two verticals will complement each other in the landscape, and neither will be dominant."[73]

In this instance the Council assumed public opinion to be negative and many involved also personally held this view. The extent to which Councillor Walker's view that art is the preserve of an elite, is a generic opinion of the non-art public, is a matter for further consideration, as are possible reasons for this assumed opinion.

The Local Council responsible for *House* were equally as destructive to the project as Leeds was to *Brickman.* Tower Hamlets granted Artangel a short licence to site a work of art, in October 1993, with the original intention that the piece be removed before Christmas of the same year.

The main voice of the public as represented by the Council was that of Councillor Eric Flounders, the Chairman of Bow Neighbourhood Committee, who was of the opinion:

> "If this is art then I'm Leonardo da Vinci," [74]

Again, the extent to which this statement is truly representative of public opinion toward *House,* is a matter for further analysis. That the opinion of the Local Council is often fundamental to the success, or otherwise, of the relevant project is substantiated by the example of *The Angel of the North.*

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[73] Ove Arup & Partners and Holbeck Triangle Trust The Holbeck Sculpture Notes in Support of Planning Application, April 1988.

[74] Flounders, E., in *East London Advertiser* 4.11.93 cited in Watney, S., 'About the *House*,' *Parkett 42* 194, p.104. The quotation is also attributed to previous resident of the house, Sid Gale in *The Guardian* 27.10.95, and to another local resident, Jim Dann, by Ulla Kloster in the *East London Advertiser*, 4.11.93, p.15, and was possibly used as a generic 'man in the street' point of view.

On that occasion the local Labour Council both devised the scheme and were its most stoic supporters, as it spearheaded their stated mission to promote Gateshead as a centre of culture. Reportedly:

> "The Chairman of the Arts committee, Councillor Sid Henderson, introduced the artist with a stout defence of Gateshead's commission. He claimed it would represent an island of individuality in a sea of shopping-mall uniformity (a pointed reference perhaps to the fact that Gateshead has one of the largest shopping malls in the country). In addition, it would be educational in that schoolchildren would find inspiration in being brought up in the shadow of a work by a figure of national standing. Mercifully there are still places where the spirit of municipal socialism lives on."[75]

In this statement, academic Paul Usherwood[76] proposes that the Council was acting on behalf of its residents. The controversy surrounding the project and its ultimate acceptance reveal how the Council acted on behalf of, but also marketed toward, the wider public groups. Unlike Leeds Council who stopped *Brickman* being built with the justification that it was acting upon perceived public opinion, Gateshead Council refused to bow to apparent public opposition toward the project and, subsequently, may be seen to have acted in the best interests of the residents. This raises interesting concepts regarding the responsibilities of the various public groups and those who claim to represent the public.

Again, the Councils' representation of public opinion, as with mass media, is very narrow and does not provide a realistic or workable account of anything other than an assumed public opinion and random, individual, views.

For further understanding it is necessary to consider the tensions between those with opposing views. Controversy aids this exercise as it depends upon at least two groups of conflicting publics. Having assessed the opinions of the various publics as

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[75] Usherwood, P. 'A Wing and a Prayer' *op. cit.*, p.39.

[76] Paul Usherwood is a lecturer at the University of Northumbria, Newcastle, a member of the Centre for Northern Studies Management Committee and is an authority on *Angel of the North.*

evident in the case-study material, it is necessary to examine the interface at which such groups collide and their opinions conflict.

7 Conflict between identified publics

7.1 The relevance of an elite

Having attempted to assess public opinion toward the case studies, (in relation to wider assumptions concerning general public attitudes toward the arts), it becomes clear that there is no such thing as an unequivocal and generic definition of public opinion toward the case studies, which implies that the same is true of public opinion toward the arts in general. What has been determined is the nature of an assumed public opinion as perpetuated by the newspapers concerned, and reflected by the actions of the local councils, as one that perpetuated a notion of the exclusivity and pretensions of the art world.

The importance of the interface between those views and what this reflected about social causes for art based controversies was also emphasised. There has been allusion to an elite, reaction against it and incorporation within it throughout the material of my thesis. The meaning of the term elite has functioned both as an art establishment and as an official or governmental establishment, (at both local and national levels). It has become necessary to understand the implications of this term, particularly as Social Inclusion suggests that the arts are currently perceived to be the preserve of an elite. Neil Danziger, a journalist for the *Sunday Times,* questioned who now had real power and if those with power could be defined as the elite within society. He asked:

> "Are the traditional bastions still the Establishment? Or has a new, more modern sphere of influence developed? The areas I chose were the arts, the military, the judiciary, the church, the media, academia, landowners and the aristocracy."[1]

The study of elites and their relevance to sociology has been an area of extensive academic research and is one usually considered in a political context. 'Elite' originally referred to someone elected or formally chosen and by the end of the nineteenth century elite was used as an expression of social distinction by rank.

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[1] Danziger, N., 'Corridors of Power', in *The Sunday Times Magazine,* p.36.

Today, it still relates to those perceived to occupy a higher and better social position and relates to the acquisition of capital, both economic and possibly cultural.

Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca conducted investigations into the notion and relevance of elites in a political context. Pareto distinguished between governing and non-governing elites, but also argued that political changes replace a former elite with a new one. Mosca saw the emergence and success of elites as necessary alternatives to revolutions. Since 1945 unfavourable descriptions of those associated with elites are 'elitism' and 'elitist'.[2] Assumed elitism has had significant effect upon public opinion toward the arts and has become equated with inaccessibility and exclusiveness. It has been said:

> "Today 'elitist' no longer means the application of the highest standards; it means something that is not comprehensible to everyone within a few minutes."[3]

The extent to which the arts are truly elitist, or in fact, just assumed to be, is developed through tracing the basic assumptions held by public groups, from which conflict is derived.

7.2 *Brickman* and conflicting publics

The formation of publics in response to *Brickman* reflects wider conflicts. James Hamilton, of the Holbeck Triangle Trust, recognised that the media was presenting negative views of *Brickman* and that they had the potential to influence the mass publics. He attempted to offset negative coverage with counter-arguments to Councillor Walker, such as:

> "I would like to give my views on the further points that have been raised, mainly by the scheme's opponents in the press ... the argument will run and run, I am sure, but in the mean time I look forward to Monday's decision."[4]

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[2] Williams, R., *Keywords* op. cit., pp112-115.
[3] Clark, A., 'Swangsong for the Century' in *The Financial Times,* 9/10.01.99 , p.1.
[4] Hamilton, J., 'Letter to Councillor B, Walker' 3.11.88, Leeds City Council Archives.

The Council was aware of a possible backlash it would experience from the 'art' public, suggesting that it identified itself as distinct from that group. A member wrote:

> "I am of the view that the proposal ought to be rejected. Undoubtedly such a decision will be viewed by the Art establishment as reflecting no appreciation - we could be heading for a stinker of a Public enquiry." [5]

Although there was no systematic and organised 'no' campaign against *Brickman,* objection against the project was represented through the local media and was adopted by the Central Planning Department. The relationship between these two groups is difficult to discern. Councillor Walker consistently claimed to be acting on behalf of the public and believed the majority to be against the project. Councillor Walker, and thereby the Central Planning Department, supported the local media's opposition to the project, and in turn, used it to justify their own position. The following extract relating to the *Yorkshire Evening Post* poll concerning *Brickman*, as discussed on pages 166 to 168, is indicative of an alliance between the Council, *Yorkshire Post* and *Yorkshire Evening Post*:

> "Councillor Brian Walker, Chairman of Leeds Planning Committee, said: "I very much welcome this poll, which gives an indication of public opinion. Certainly the result will be noted when we discuss the planning application next month. The Holbeck Triangle Trust who are behind the scheme have rightly tried to get across to the public the concept of the *Brickman* and it is very interesting to learn of the public's reaction.""[6]

The Council also accepted the views of this poll, despite its inherent flaws, as more relevant than the views expressed in the City Art Gallery Visitor Book because, by their logic, it represented:

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[5] Letter from A. Hull (assistant Director Development and Design) to Councillor Walker 3.11.88, Leeds City Council Archives.
[6] Bye, C., 'A big no to *Brickman*' *The Yorkshire Evening Post,* 20.10.88, p.1.

"1. A larger sample.
2. All sections of society (whereas the gallery was described as the art world).
3. Residents of Leeds in the YEP.
4. Hamilton's reasons for result: speculation." [7]

This episode substantiates a view that there is an assumed public opinion toward the arts defined as 'us' and 'them', which to some extent forms the basis for the concept of exclusivity. How far this assumption is validated by fact is an area of little previous research and is undermined by the conclusion of the Irving example, discussed in my first chapter, which revealed how an assumed public opinion toward issues is perpetuated as 'truth'.

The survey of the historical relationship between controversy and the visual arts partially revealed the development of a general media portrayal of contemporary art as being unnecessary and bizarre. In his discussion of Carl Andre's *Equivalent VIII,* Pat Gilmour believed:

> "Without doubt 1976 will be remembered in art circles as the year of the bricks. The episode has revealed finally and absolutely, not only how alienated from the art of their own time is the popular press, and through it the general public, but how irresponsibly superficial even the theoretically serious papers are."[8]

The current Chairman of the Arts Council of England, Gerry Robinson, believes that this perception has become outdated. He states:

> "The arts can no longer be characterised as a middle- or upper-class pursuit. Research shows that, even in the lower-income groups, half of

[7] Letter to the Yorkshire Evening Post, Leeds City Council Archives, available to view by appointment.
[8] Gilmour, P., op cit., p.49-51.

> all adults participate in the arts: that's more than the number who participate in sport."[9]

Mr Robinson bases this conclusion upon a MORI poll, which showed 78 per cent of people agreeing that the arts play a valuable role in the life of this country.[10] This evidence is potentially misleading as it is in the interests of the Arts Council and those of the Government, to appear to be achieving Social Inclusion performance indicators. As there is no meaningful evidence that represents public opinion toward the arts before the implementation of the Social Inclusion policy, no measure of change can be gauged. In addition, much of the practical application of Social Inclusion refer to diversity of audience and seek to attract minority groups rather than to effect a shift in general attitude or wider assumptions.

In the specific instance of *Brickman,* one of the key factors contributing toward the controversy was the nature of the relationships between the personalities involved. Councillor Walker said he had been made to feel a Philistine and inferior to those constituting the 'art' public. Walker stated that Antony Gormley and Lord Gowrie, of the Arts Council of Great Britain, spoke to him condescendingly in their personal dealings. He also believed that Gormley wanted *Brickman* to happen as a coup for his own career and ego, rather than for the general good of the city and its population. The latter view is reflected in an article published in the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, which stated:

> "In 1986 the Turner Prize winning sculptor arrived in Leeds after selecting the city to give life to his vision to build Britain's biggest statue."[11]

It is possible that Councillor Walker felt himself inferior to the well spoken Cambridge graduate and the peer simply because he assumed them to be members of the elite and that in fact, his personal perception was clouded by this assumption. Similarly,

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[9] Robinson, G., *The Creativity Imperative,*News Statesman Arts Lecture 2000, Banqueting House, Whitehall 27.06.2000, p.2.
[10] MORI *Awareness of and attitudes towards the arts among adults in England carried out by MORI on behalf of the Arts Council of England,* London, 2000, full details reproduced in Appendix 2.
[11] Bye, C., "The Sculptor Leeds Turned Away," *Yorkshire Evening Post,* 07.02.91, clipping held in HMI archives, artist file – Gormley, Leeds. Antony Gormley won the Turner Prize in 1994.

resentment of an assumed elite by the mass public could lead to a misunderstanding of the arts. Art, of necessity, is created by an expert elite, but this does not equate with art only being appreciable by an 'elite'.

Nonetheless, the tensions between the groups did create a conflict between the Council and the 'art' public, that was compounded by a Northern reluctance to agree to London based decision-making. A major source of conflict was that the Council did not feel the process had been democratic enough in its debate over the use of a public space. This relates to the removal of Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc,* as previously discussed in chapter four, and Gormley and his supporters were similarly accused of elitism.

Brickman did receive approval by the elite, members of academia and the 'art public', as previously noted. This served to only further antagonise the conflict. Councillor Walker referred to them as the 'heavies' of the art world. One would expect the general public to adopt similar attitudes toward the piece as Walker, if we are to believe the Government's statement that art galleries operate as agents of social exclusion. Such antagonisms are reflected in some of the mass publics' rejection of the concept. A reader wrote to the *Yorkshire Evening Post*:

> "There can have been no more futile, ridiculous and totally incomprehensible, hair-brained scheme than the *Brickman* of Holbeck. No doubt this scheme will be greeted with 'oohs and aahs; from the arty-farty brigade but to we plain, ordinary Yorkshire folk blessed with common sense the *Brickman* is just plain daft. If they like it so much let them build it on the South Bank.'[12]

The fact that the media printed this opinion fits snugly with a view that there is an 'us' (normal and general), and a 'them' (the art world), and this suggests that the editor believed this comment would appeal to his target audience who would be antagonistic toward any perceived elite.

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[12] Letter from 'the sickman' To Build ... or Not to Build', *The Yorkshire Evening Post,* 19.10.88, p.10, HMI archives, artist file – Gormley, Leeds.

As considered in the last chapter, it is very difficult to discern how far the media felt it was reflecting public opinion and, simultaneously, how far the mass publics' opinion of the work was created by such coverage. It is also difficult to assess how far this represented a consensus. Another element that is very hard to measure, but relevant to my thesis, is the opinion of those who chose to not express it, but who are undoubtedly in the majority. Does this suggest a widespread apathy, a mass lack of interest, or irrelevance of the projects to the majority?

That the local media, and thereby assumed public opinion, were in conflict with the 'art' public is evident from the material in the *Brickman* case and misrepresentation of its details was particularly damaging to the project. For example, the sources of funding were quoted as being public, when in fact it was intended to tap new sources of revenue, rather than redistribute funds intended for schools or hospitals. In his initial press release James Hamilton stated unequivocally that:

> "The money used to build the Holbeck Sculpture - approximately £600,000 – will be new money tapped from new sources. It is not our desire to direct funds from other projects in the city, on the contrary it is envisaged that the investment will act as a 'pump primer', stimulating the flow of capital into the urban environment."[13]

It is, therefore, understandable that Hamilton felt bitter about the paper's negative influence. He wrote to the editor:

> "The extent of your coverage of the *Brickman* project over the last four or five weeks has been extremely gratifying, and must run neck and neck in column inches with the Royal baby or a 'Coronation Street star catches cold' story. Your coverage of this serious issue of controversial art in the community must break all records for a culture story in any popular newspaper. And the art world - whatever that may be- thanks you for it. However, please can you adjust some apparent misconceptions:

[13] Press release 'The Brickman Steps Forward', Holbeck Triangle Trust, 1988, HMI archives.

1. £600,000 not from rates.
2. Figure includes maintenance.
3. Figure includes Education.
4. Some of your readers have complained that Leeds would be a laughing stock, it certainly will be if it misses the opportunity and 'if Leeds, literally drops a brick.'[14]
5. Potential of art for regeneration.
6. Poll critical 'I am confident that the Planning Committee will make its decision on the basis of reason rather than emotion.'"[15]

It must be acknowledged that Hamilton's letter was published in the newspaper it criticises, but at such a stage that the previous opposition had already gathered momentum. There ensued an argument, via the *Sunday Times*, between the editor of the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Chris Bye, and Joan Bakewell,[16] that elucidates many of the areas of conflict between publics, particularly attitudes towards a perceived elite. Joan Bakewell was highly critical of the way the *Yorkshire Post* and *Yorkshire Evening Post* had presented the project. She wrote to the *Sunday Times*:

> "And so to the row. The *Yorkshire Evening Post* stirred it - recognising, as all editors know, there is mileage in modern art from the 'call that art - my five-year-old could do better" school of criticism. Here is a sample: 'No doubt this scheme will be greeted with 'oohs and aahs' from the arty-farty brigade but to we plain ordinary Yorkshire folk blessed with common sense the Brickman is just plain daft.'
>
> The letter is signed, revealingly, The Sick Man. It is a caricature letter. As a fully paid-up member of the arty-farty brigade, I line up with others who wrote applauding the project[17].

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[14] It is probably no coincidence that Hamilton uses the same phrase as the headline in the *Sunday Times* that initiated Carl Andre's Tate Bricks controversy.
[15] Hamilton, J., 'Letter to the Editor *'The Yorkshire Evening Post,'* 20.10.88, clipping held in HMI archives to be seen by appointment.
[16] Broadsheet newspaper and television journalist with a special interest in culture.
[17] Including Lord Harewood, Leeds born film director Keith Waterhouse and Margaret Drabble.

> But the idea of putting art, or indeed architecture – to the popular vote raises interesting issues. On matters of aesthetics instant public opinion must be weighed against other judgements and considerations.
>
> The Brickman will overshadow nobody's home. The money raised for it – sponsors are standing ready – will not transfer into hospitals or old people's homes."[18]

Chris Bye, the editor of the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, responded through the letter page of the *Sunday Times*:

> "She [Joan Bakewell] claimed that the *Yorkshire Evening Post* "stirred it"; and that in this instance 'on matters of aesthetics, public opinion must be weighed against other judgements and considerations' ... Like most newspapers, we recognise our duty to publish readers' opinions. This can hardly be described as 'stirring it' Joan Bakewell's comments about public opinion could be interpreted as a gratuitous insult to the people of Leeds, who have as great an appreciation of avant-garde art as anyone else, as is evidenced by their enthusiasm for one of its most famous sons, Henry Moore."[19]

There is also the danger that publication of the more extreme letters of objection, received by the *Yorkshire Post* and the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, imbues the opinions therein with a level of respectability. Reproduction suggests that the 'information' therein is legitimate and a fictional 'truth' arises around the project that, in the case of *Brickman*, contributed toward its failure.

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[18] Bakewell, J., Bakewell's View 'Vote to cement History; *Sunday Times,* 30.10.88, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

[19] Bye C., Editor of The Yorkshire Evening Post, letter, *Sunday Times,* 6.11.88, clipping held in HMI archives, artist file – Gormley, Leeds. It is very interesting to note that the Editor, whilst still in opposition to the project, has dramatically altered his approach when dealing with the changed audience of National Media and a prominent member of the art establishment. He, astutely, attacks the project on aesthetic terms and refers to a knowledge and appreciation of twentieth century art and its history.

It would appear from the available evidence that the Council and media allied against the 'art public'. It was ultimately duplicitous, then, of the newspaper to criticise the ultimate Planning Department Decision not to build *Brickman* in an extensive lament:

> "This being an age when those who dare are supposed to win, it seems a pity that the proposal for a 120ft high brick statue of a man has been tripped up by nothing more evocative and compelling than one city's local Leeds Planning Committee. Apparently the Holbeck Sculpture as he would have been known might have clashed with his surroundings and put other listed structures in the shade, could it also be that policy makers shrank at the last moment from the risk of creating a brick folly? Of course people would have laughed to begin with, they usually do, whenever a project cuts across their horizons and far more obstructive structures than that have been granted planning permission on occasions. There never was much chance of the *Brickman* becoming a Civic monument. But he might have provided a marker of sorts, a kind of urban lighthouse which forewarned visitors that the shapeless agglomeration of buildings arriving at the next platform was in fact Leeds. Nelson's column, the Eiffel tower and so on became badges for their respective cities. The very people who criticised them at first were happy to cash in on the tourist trinket. The *Brickman* may not have been quite in that league but he seemed to have possibilities."[20]

This is a striking example of the complicity of the press, criticising a decision it had largely engendered. No doubt the paper viewed the story as lucrative fodder for several editions, perhaps we should not be too quick to condemn the newspaper for going about its business, and, even, perhaps celebrate it for dragging the contemporary art debate into the public arena, whatever the motivation. The danger, however, is that the debate largely overlooked the real public. It involved only representatives of those directly connected and those individual members of the mass public who felt strongly enough to attempt to voice their opinion through correspondence with the press or directly with the Council.

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[20] 'Dreams and Dust' *The Yorkshire Post,* 8.11.88, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

7.3 *Angel* and conflicting publics

Gormley's *Angel of the North* project suffered similar opposition from those claiming to represent public opinion. It is clear from the extent of media comment and dissemination that every group within the public did not immediately accept the proposed work, and that it provoked conflicting opinions as shown in the following extracts:

> "From the outset, Mr Gormley's sculpture ... outraged the public as well as some sectors of the art world because of both its design and its size."[21]

> "In just four hours, the Stop the Statue campaign, headed by local Liberal Democrat Councillors,[22] collected 1,500 names on a petition calling for the plans to be dropped."[23]

> "Since the inception of the Angel, local polls have shown 85 to 95 per cent against the developments."[24]

There is evidence that Gateshead Council and other groups in support of *The Angel of the North* were aware that the project would provoke a controversy, based on previous examples of significant works of public art, and that they used it to their advantage. For example, Northern Arts were discretely giving out Kathy King's phone number to the media from the outset.[25]

Antony Gormley is of the belief that public involvement and conflict is often intrinsic to a work of public art,[26] and in a view reminiscent of Duchamp's notion that controversy is an indication of vitality, stated:

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[21] Celmins., M., 'The Angel of the North came Down ... well not Yet', *The Independent on Sunday,* 21.12.97, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.
[22] Suggesting a political rather than civic motive 4,500 residents signed the petition in total, organised by opposition Liberal Democrat Councillors Noel Reppern and Kathy King on two Saturday mornings.
[23] Clark, K., 'Angel with a Diabolic History', *The Northern Echo,* 13.2.98, centre pages.
[24] Gaffing, G. H., Letter, *The Guardian,* 18.2.98, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.
[25] One of the Liberal Democrat Councillors who organised the 'Stop the Statue Campaign'.
[26] Alberge, D., 'Lottery Cash feeds anger over artists' steel angel', *The Times,* 11.04.96, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

> "My main point about controversy is that actually controversy is a natural outcome of all human transformation and that's as true of the arts as of anything else."[27]

It is a purpose of this thesis to collate the information learned from the various case studies in an attempt to propose ways which the 'public'ness of art can be understood and developed and to consider whether controversy should be avoided or actively sought.

The conflicts that manifested between the various public groups in Gateshead, largely depended upon subconsciously held views toward elite groups in general and resentments engendered through wider social conditioning. For example, conflicts around *Brickman* included a discernible North/South resentment, a notion also reflected in discussion of *Angel:* Frank Hindle, a local Liberal Democrat Councillor, asked:

> "If the Arts Council want it so much, why don't they just put it up in London where they can have the dubious pleasure of seeing it every day. We don't want it."[28]

In typical high camp manner, Brian Sewell wrote:

> "Gormley's statue is vulgar, it should be pulled down and the North-east town bombed to the ground."

The local paper responded that they hoped Sewell was very happy living in London.[29] Kathy King, the local Liberal Democrat Councillor in opposition to the project stated that her views were founded on her belief that:

> "We're not going to combat the pigeon-whippet image if we're thought of as putting things up just to change that image."[30]

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[27] Gormley, A., personal response to my correspondence, 23.02.01.
[28] Frank Hindle Liberal councillor for Gateshead in Alberge, D., 'Lottery Cash feeds anger over artists' steel angel', *The Times,* 11.04.96, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.
[29] Vallely, P., 'A New Friend for the North' *The Independent* 28.2.98, p.24.

Conflicts based on assumptions of elitism were developed by the fact that Lord Gowrie, who was Chairman of the Arts Council of England at the time, was responsible for 'pushing through' *The Angel of the North* and is perceived by many to be at the core of the 'establishment.'[31]

There is material that supports the assumption that 'art' public and its supporters constitute an elite and that they believe opposition to the project to be the result of lower social status. For instance, an excerpt from the Visitors Book at Gateshead reads:

> "Having read thus far through this book, I can't help noticing that almost all the complaints are written by people who can scarcely spell, never mind conjugate verbs. The angel is beautiful."[32]

An academic wrote:

> "I've long since ceased to be amazed that people with demonstrably no training in art and/or knowledge of the study of perception, ideology and creativity and their essential role in artistic understanding are given acres of space to expatiate on any new work or exhibition."[33]

That *Angel* has reference to guardian angels, may in itself contribute to resentment of power, suggesting a philosophy in which the destiny of the individual is not self-governed.[34] In this sense the image could possess a menacing, overseeing presence and be the physical manifestation of much that is alienating and elitist about the creation of public sculpture.

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[30] Beckett, A., 'Angel with a dirty face.' Op. cit., pp.16-18.
[31] Lord Gowrie, who was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, and brought up at Windsor Castle, also drops in on 'Mrs T': 'I have 24 hours access' and 'dear Ted' (sir Edward Heath). Nobody exemplifies the merging of political, artistic and business lives better. It seemed to me that he is at the core of the Establishment." Danziger, N., 'Corridors of Power', op. cit., p.47.
[32] Forsyth, A., Visitors Book from the exhibition at Gateshead Central Library 13th February – 28th March 1998.
[33] Rodway, D., Lecturer, letter in *The Independent*,9.3.98, p.16.
[34] McGonagle, D 'Interview with Antony Gormley', in Konsthall, M (ed.), op. cit., p.45.

There were political motivations behind opposition to *Angel* and these must be taken into consideration. Organised resistance and the "Stop the Statue Campaign' were formed by Liberal Democratic Councillors who were in opposition to the Labour Councillors. Even the lone Conservative Council Member, Callanan, opposed the project because he was of the view that it was anti-democratic.

As in the *Tilted Arc* example, the views of politicians may not relate directly to the views of the public they claim to represent and also revealed the political minefield involved when imposing an intervention in public space. Evidence of such tensions reveals that a power determined to place an artwork in the physical public domain, is in danger of dictating to those it claims to represent and risks accusations of elitism and autocracy:

> "The Angel will surely serve a purpose in replacing the legacies of the Poulson era as a monument to the north-eastern political classes' arrogance and alienation from the public."[35]

This view is substantiated by the apathy of one local resident who stated he:

> "Was not happy about it when it was first planned, but there was nothing you could do about it."[36]

Another factor of opposition to *Angel*, as with *Brickman,* was the belief that public money was being misspent and this reflects the idea that art is a luxury. This is the accepted, even de rigueur, response to most examples of culture, the price of art being "counted in nurses and special needs teachers."[37] Again, none of the funding was directly from local taxpayers, but was from art-specific funding sources including £584,000 from the National Lottery. Even this fact was a source of contention.

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[35] Gaffing, G H., Chester-le-Street, Co. Durham, Letter to *The Guardian,* 18.02.98, p.17.
[36] Gibson, J., in Clark, K,, 'The Angel Spread its wings in the North' *The Northern Echo,* 16.2.98, p.1.
[37] Gill, A., A., 'They have a word for this kind of Angel up North,' *Sunday Times, 22.*2.98, clipping held in HMI archive, Leeds.

Dr. Wallis, a member if the Council's Art and Public Places Committee, complained:

> "The North East has the highest level of people purchasing lottery tickets. This is what we get in return. Is it really worth it?"[38]

Despite the resolve of the Councillor Sid Henderson, the uncomfortable accusations of dictatorship incited rumblings of resistance within the Labour council. Gormley began to suspect the project could descend into a second Leeds, the allies began splitting into factions and there were criticisms about the southern artist. It seems that the pivotal and decisive moment was Gormley's *Field* exhibition, which attracted 25,000 people, six times more than signed the petition organised by the 'Stop the Statue' campaign. This signified an apparent shift in wider public attitudes toward the artist and his work.[39]

> "'People are saying there's method in Gormley's madness', says Caron Storey who manages the pub and guest house: 'loads of people went to see *Field* they discuss it in the hotel.'"[40]

That public opinion altered toward the *Angel of the North* is further substantiated by the fact that the Labour council was returned in 1996 with an even bigger share of the votes and the opponents lost heart and supported *The Angel of the North.*

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[38] Dr Jonathan Wallis, a member of Gateshead Council's art and public places sub-committee, in Alberge, D., 'Lottery cash feeds anger over Artists Steel Angel', *The Times,* 11.04.98 clipping held in HMI archive.
The project also received £45,000 from Northern Arts and £150,000 from the European Regional Development Funds.

[39] Beckett, A., *The Angel with a dirty face,* op. cit., p.16-18.

[40] Ibid., p.16-18

7.4 *House* and conflicting publics

The example of conflicting publics toward *House* initially supports the premise of an 'art' public' elite in conflict with a 'general' public. The self-imposed spokesperson for the public was Councillor Eric Flounders, whose attitude toward the project has been was almost stereotypical in its Philistinism. Flounders wrote in a letter to the *The Independent*:

> "Those poor, unsophisticated readers who share my view that Rachel Whiteread's concoction *House* is utter rubbish can rest assured that, despite the pleas of *The Independent,* the monstrosity will not remain in place beyond the end of November."[41]

Flounders did not accept that the piece was art and demanded that it be destroyed. His objection to *House* was based less on aesthetics than perceived elitism and control of public space. Councillor Flounders was on holiday when the original three-month licence was granted and said that, had he been present, he would not have sanctioned its construction. As the plans to demolish *House* proceeded, the urgency surrounding the project engendered a heightened development and establishment of opinions and public groups. It was noted:

> "Flounders has become the villain of the piece [sic.] - The Philistine. He seems almost to relish the role. Without him, *House* may not have provoked such an avalanche of comment, and he has certainly served to dramatise the final condition of the work itself: that it should be demolished."[42]

Flounders protested that *House* was the imposition of an elite and irrelevant aesthetic upon a public space. He stated:

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[41] Flounders, E., letter to *The Independent*, 5.11.93, clipping in HMI archives, Leeds.
[42] Searle, A., Rachel doesn't live here any more' op. cit., p.28.

> ""This structure is a little entertainment for the gallery-going classes of Hampstead ... It's all very well for them, but what people who live in tower blocks in Tower Hamlets want is parkland.""[43]

As was also apparent in the discussion of *Brickman,* the local Council's views were imposed above those of all the public groups, but in the study of *House* a flaw in the 'us' and 'them' assumption is revealed. Rather than allow their representative to make decisions on their behalf with little comment, as occurred in Leeds, some within the 'general' public felt so strongly that they acted against their own representative and publicly expressed their support for *House.* Local schoolchildren completed petitions and sent them to the Council requesting *House* be preserved and 3,000 visitors signed a preservation petition in 12 hours.[44] Eighteen local inhabitants wrote a letter to *The Independent* in support of *House*[45] stating:

> "Sir: Councillor Flounders has every right to express his personal dislike for Rachel Whiteread's *House* in your columns, but it seems an abuse of his local authority office for him to imply in his correspondence that he speaks for the Bow [parks] committee he chairs in this matter, and that he represents the views of the electors he is means to serve. Mr Flounders refuses to allow appeals for a stay of execution on *House* to be formally discussed by the relevant neighbourhood bodies, showing scant regard for normal democratic procedures and the legitimate concerns of local residents.
>
> Nobody knows exactly what the balance of local feeling is towards *House* at this juncture. Opinion is divided in Bow as it is nationally. But the response to the work's challenging presence is strong, and its power and validity are hotly debated.
>
> We believe that our neighbourhood committees should recognise the considerable swell of public interest in Rachel Whiteread's work, in Bow as

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[43] Ellison, M., 'Ups and Downs for art House' *The Guardian* 25.11.93, clipping held in HMI archive, Leeds.
[44] Lingwood, J., (Director of Artangel), *The Independent,* 29.11.93 clipping in HMI archives, Leeds.
[45] Searle, A., 'Rachel Doesn't Live Here Anymore', op. cit., p.28.

> elsewhere, and delay demolition – originally set for the end of this month – for the time being."[46]

Flounders responded to this criticism in a letter to the same newspaper, stating:

> "Sir, I take strong exception to Nigel Glendinning's suggestion that I have abused my local authority office. The award of the Turner prize to Ms. Whiteread does not change any of the facts."[47]

The fact that Flounders was in direct conflict with his own residents and the elites of the art world was evidenced when Lord Palumbo awarded Whiteread the Turner prize.[48] In the midst of the *House* controversy, he did so with the advice:

> "Don't let the dunces have their day."[49]

Also, Sir Anthony Caro was of the opinion that "for the council to be determined to pull it down is Philistine."[50]

The simplistic battle lines perceived by Walker in Leeds and Flounders in Bow is possibly well described, in an editorial which asserted:

> "Whiteread's ghostlike *House* perfectly exposed the tight-arsed Philistine insensitivity of civic bureaucrats when they ordered its destruction." [51]

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[46] Seventeen residents letter to *The Independent,* 20.11.93, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.
[47] Councillor Eric Flounders, letter *The Independent,*25.11.93, letters page, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.
[48] It is interesting that Whiteread was simultaneously accused of being the 'worst' artist on the shortlist by the K Foundation on the night of the Turner prize, and awarded twice the money that she received for the latter. As the K Foundation famously also burnt £1 million as a publicity stunt one can draw the conclusion that the Turner prize debacle was similarly motivated. As Walker believes "they needed an art world event upon which they could piggy-back to fame, they seized upon the Turner prize." The K Foundation placed advertisements asking for the public to vote for the 'worst' of the four shortlisted artists. Whiteread was the clear winner by 3,000 votes. The K Foundation also spent £20,000 on television commercials.
Details paraphrased from Walker, J. A., *Art and Outrage,* op. cit., p.170
[49] Lord Gowrie cited in Sudjic, D., 'Art Attack', in *The Guardian,*25.11.93, clipping held in HMI archive, Leeds.
[50] Caro, A., letter to *The Independent,* 1.12.93. Clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

The neatness of an 'us' and 'them' argument is further compromised by the fact that this statement is drawn from *The Guardian*, a mass media publication. This apparently contradicts any notion that the mass media represents mass public opinion and that mass public opinion is united in its rejection of contemporary art. The paradigm is further contradicted by a member of the art elite, Marjorie Althorpe-Guyton,[52] in her defence of *House* based on her belief that it appealed to a much wider public than the one she represented:

> "Rachel Whiteread's *House* has captured the imagination of 500-800 visitors daily. They leave with an image of a work of art they will not forget."[53]

James Lingwood, co-Director of ArtAngel believed that Flounders was aligning himself with a supposed public opinion that is no longer, and possibly was never, relevant. He stated:

> "He's [Flounders] convinced himself it's a conspiracy of the chattering classes, which just isn't true."[54]

Members of the various conflicting public groups continued the arguments through the press and journals, on the one hand arguing that the work was not elitist but 'public' in every sense:

> "The irony of *House*, sitting in Bow doing nobody any harm, was that it was on the side of the people who appeared to hate it the most. Indeed, the scandal was fuelled by misconception - that all sorts of characters from Hampstead were imposing their view of what

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[51] Editorial, 'Exhibitions: Shedding Life' *Guardian Guide* 14.9.96, clipping held in HMI archive, Leeds.
[52] Visual Arts Officer for the Arts Council of England.
[53] Althorpe-Guyton, M., letter *The Independent* 29.11.93, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.
[54] Lingwood, J., quoted in Sudjic, D., 'Art Attack', *The Guardian,* 25.11.93., clipping held in HMI archive, Leeds.

constituted excellent modern art upon the good people of the East End."[55] On the other hand arguing that it was irrelevant to the public:

"It angered me that Mr Graham-Dixon's patronising tone made the assumption that the meaning attached to the sculpture was lost on these East Londoners. Why should they give a monkey's about a two storey block of concrete just because it merits as a piece of modern art?"[56]

Councillor Flounders extracted as much pleasure as possible from his position of authority over the physical space in question, and the subsequent power he held over those he believed to be elite. Artangel and the sponsors of *House* appealed to Bow Neighbourhood Committee that the license be extended, Flounders used his casting vote to reject the request. It was only after persuasion, and one assumes ingratiation, on the part of the Arts Council of England, James Lingwood, and other personal requests from influential individuals, (including Charles Saatchi's then wife),[57] that he granted a temporary reprieve. Despite proving to have captured the imagination of many public groups *House* was destroyed on the 11th January 1994 and Flounders ultimately victorious. One of the reasons that *House* became so controversial is because it created, or possibly revealed, an appreciation of art not normally apparent. This was due to its ability to appeal to all the public groups on some level. It could even be argued that it appealed to Councillor Flounders as a concrete symbol of all he resented and that he engaged with it on those terms.

The concepts explored in the context of the case studies have important ramifications which challenge generally held assumptions and notions of the exclusivity of the arts. Adrian Searle noted at the time:

"The *House* affair teaches us many things, not least the inadequacy of political claims concerning the supposed value of works of art according to their 'accessibility' or their supposed 'elitism.' A minority

[55] Januszczak, W., 'Room for Reflection' *Sunday Times* 21.5.95, Culture section, pp.2-3.
[56] Jackman, R., letter to *The Independent,* 14.01.94, p.16.
[57] Barber, L., 'House Calls', *The Sunday Times,* 5.12.92. Clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

> is not necessarily an elite. Nor is 'accessibility' an intrinsic universal aesthetic value. *House* could not have been uncontroversial. Its triumph as a work of art, however, lies not in the index of attendant controversy, but in the confident eloquence of its refusal to take sides."[58]

Creating *House* in a physical public space was integral to the controversy it provoked and it has been observed that its occupation was a political statement about the uses and abuses of such spaces. Its occupation of that particular space was also seen by Whiteread, in the same way as Serra in relation to *Tilted Arc*, as absolutely integral to the work, to the degree that she preferred the piece being destroyed than it be sited elsewhere. She stated:

> "When I made '*House*' it was absolutely specific to the site. When it was knocked down there were various offers to prolong its life: to put it on wheels and place it somewhere else ... I would have liked it to have been there long enough for it to have become invisible. It fought very hard for its dignity, every moment it was there, and it would have been nice if people had just forgotten about it and glanced at it once in a while, rather than have it on the front page of every newspaper all the time it was standing ... yes the memory of it is very important." [59]

House was deemed public, not in its creation, but through its location. It also became public in the sense that many people took ownership of it and expressed their opinions as to what should become of it. In this way, charges of elitism were unfounded because support for it crossed assumed public groupings. This case study reveals that when an example of the avant-garde crosses the threshold of the gallery and into a public space it will be controversial, so conforming to the paradigm of controversy, but that this is not symptomatic of an art work that simultaneously alienates.

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[58] Watney, S., 'About the *House*,' *Parkett* 42 op. cit., p.107.
[59] Interviewed by Andrea Rose, March 1997, in *La Biennale de Venezia XLVII,* Catalogue 1997, pp.31-2.

8 Conclusions

Examination of the material generated by the case studies has highlighted the complexities of the interrelationships between all the themes considered. Every effort has been made to extrapolate meaningful assessments from the evidence, rather than manipulate simplified and apparently definitive conclusions.

The investigation of controversy studied through the example of David Irving, revealed how controversy occurs when radical ideas are presented outside the specific sphere of related research then enter into the public spheres, either in the abstract sense, through dissemination of information, or through physical occupation. It also revealed the presence of an assumed public opinion toward issues manipulated by the media.

The historical examples assessed through chapters two, three and four, further endorsed the correlation between innovation and controversy. The question as to whether the interrelationship between the visual arts and controversy may prove to be a paradigm for the avant-garde, has produced no solid conclusions. The historical relationship between innovation and controversy could lead to a suggestion that contemporary artists deliberately seek to be controversial in order to gain wider publicity, but I feel that there is not sufficient proof to conclude that artists have prioritised controversy over artistic integrity. Gormley believes controversy is inevitable and has potentially positive uses:

> "The media need shock-horror stories and they rely on art to provide it. It is an attitude of mind and it may well be that this is now finally changing but certainly there are some artists who do play up to the media's expectations of art to shock. Some art is shocking on purpose, but I would hope that mine isn't. Artists have to use the media. It is one way, although not the only one, of assessing the work's effect."[1]

Rachel Whiteread also believed controversy to be unavoidable, but told the reporter Lynn Barber in 1996:

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[1] Gormley, A., personal response to my correspondence, 23.02.01.

> "It just drives me mad ... all it does is kind of paralyse you with worry and it just makes your job a lot harder."[2]

This lack of consensus between artists indicates that controversy is not widely seen as positive. One of the negative aspects of controversy is that it creates a distorted perception of art and prevents objective appraisal, as identified by Manet. On this subject it has been stated:

> "David Lee, former editor of Art Review, says promoting controversial or conceptual art may be counterproductive. "Apologists for this work claim it causes discussion. It serves only to confirm people's worst suspicions about contemporary art. Mr Lee says national collections are selecting high-profile artists of the sort promoted by Charles Saatchi, at the expense of other styles and not just artists who give galleries and the government a youngish, coolish image.'"[3]

The extent to which innovative, controversial art has systematically alienated the 'public' cannot be ascertained. It is not possible to measure the relevance of the visual arts to all publics at the time of Manet as a study of historical publics tends to be an analysis of an elite, as their views predominated, were documented, and so are discernible through survey. The example of Manet showed how important 'public' opinion was to artists at that time and that 'public' apparently represented the middle classes upward. The lower classes also visited the *Salon* when it was free on a Sunday, and any observations taken of their opinion toward the *Salon des Refusés* suggested that they were largely curious, rather than derisive and no consensus of a general public opinion is evident.

In my research, I have attempted to identify the various publics and their views. It became obvious that the greater the number of discernible publics, the greater the number of associated opinions. This consideration has significant and fundamental ramifications for a policy of 'inclusiveness'.

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[2] Walker, J.A., *Art and Outrage,* op. cit.,p.14.
[3] Dilley, R., *Do New Galleries put us all in the frame?* BBC News Online, www.newssearch.bbc.co.uk, 13.12.00.

The evidence of public opinion available initially suggested a concept of an 'us,' (the general public), and 'them,' (the art world and its appreciators). It has become apparent through my research that the media present views they assume to be in accordance with the 'general' public, and by their assumptions, potentially create such opinions. The historical case studies traced a growing alienation between an art public and a general public, as represented by media dissemination of an assumed public opinion. This alienation was also founded on notions of elitism and reflects wider sociological conflicts and assumptions about other groups. All the controversies revealed how much the publics involved were misunderstood by the other groups, and how easy it was for representatives of those publics to misinterpret the opinions of those they claimed to speak for. The paucity of understanding of a meaningful public opinion was shown, as Gormley suspected. He asserted:

> "Art, particularly public art is a lightening rod for social disease. I think that, if you took a real poll, there would probably be an unusually high percentage in favour and then a few people who have been invited by misinformation and political interests to complain."[4]

Though an assumed opinion may not be taken as truly representative, it still has measurable ramifications. All the art works considered, but particularly Jacob Epstein's *Strand Statues*, Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc,* and Antony Gormley's *Brickman,* were directly affected by reaction toward an assumed public opinion. The study of an assumed opinion must still be considered an area of investigation toward any understanding of a relationship between the arts and the general public, as long as expression if it and its influence is understood with respect to the motivations of those who perpetuate it.

One of the results of an assumed delineation between 'us' and 'them' is the concept that 'public art' is an oxymoron. A main complaint against public art, as expressed by a certain faction within the 'art' public equates accessibility with the compromise of quality. There is a danger that attempts to make art more immediately appreciable and attract wider audiences, could result in it no longer being an elite activity in terms

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[4] Gormley, A., in Alberge, D., 'Lottery Cash feeds anger over artist's steel Angel,' *The Times,* 11.04.96, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

of producing the highest quality of work and that accessibility without responsibility can reduce the value of experience for all. Art writer Jonathon Glancey subscribes to the 'us' and 'them' scenario in his belief:

> "The reason that pub bores get so hot under the collar about the idea of spending on public art a miniscule proportion of the money we spend building arterial roads is that, while they can understand tarmac and cats'-eyes, art is still something of a threat, the stuff of shamans, incomprehensible waffle on smart talk shows and undecipherable writing in low-circulation magazines."[5]

To some extent Gormley himself agrees with this concept, acknowledging:

> "There are no short cuts in art ... all worthwhile art is about taking risks, about pushing boundaries. You can't get great art by committee. Art simply isn't democratic ... the more this government talk of art as some sort of commodity to be valued like any other, the more art will be dumbed down."[6]

Gormley's *Brickman* wasn't built and was victim to an assumed public opinion, reaction against an assumed elite and fear of controversy itself. The case is pertinent as it reveals generic circumstances relevant to committee art projects and the artist concerned, such as the inevitability of controversy surrounding works of art in public spaces and the role of the media.

Interestingly, the aesthetic merit of *Brickman* was never a point of controversy and suggests that the controversy surrounding *Brickman* was the result of different objections than that of Epstein's *Rima*. The articles and letters relating to *Rima,* as detailed in appendix 6, discuss Epstein's design. What was relevant to the demise of *Brickman* was the media, assumed public opinion and the Council's view that it was preserving public space for use with mass public consent. That no public outcry

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[5] Glancey, J., 'It's out there the art we love to hate', *The Independent* 6.4.96, clipping in HMI archives, Leeds.
[6] Antony Gormley in Glancey, J., 'Never mind the quality', *Guardian Weekend*, 21.11.98, pp.50-62.

apparently greeted its rejection by the Planning Department suggests that, either the mass publics agreed with the Council, or were largely indifferent. The presence of an apparent elite imposing its views on a Northern City also contributed toward the alienation of the Council and local media from the project, its instigators and its supporters. The results of *Brickman* present a depressing picture of committee led decision-making with regard to public art, as reflected in the following commentary:

> "So the *Brickman* will not be built after all ... Instead of an artistic landmark that would have drawn millions of visitors to the city over the years, that would have been written about in the international press and singled out in guide books, that would have launched a thousand postcards and gone down in the annals as the most ambitious and biggest example of public sculpture in Britain, instead of all this Leeds has voted itself a lovely piece of waste land by the side of a railway line with nothing on it."[7]

The rather negative conclusion to this case-study is that, had the project been dismissed on reasoned aesthetic arguments or even by an apparently interested mass public, then the decision could be accepted as democratic. From the evidence available its seems that the main reasons for its failure were based on local politics, a sense, possibly unfounded, of elitism and lack of basic education promoting the relevance of the visual arts.[8] One writer stated:

> "No, the *Brickman* will not be built in Leeds not because he was impractical, not because he was unpopular, not because he was expensive, not because he would have dominated the skyline, but because he was seen as an arty-farty imposition form the south and a threat to the city's virility."[9]?

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[7] 'Weekend Arts', *Weekend Guardian,* 17/18.12.88, Review section, clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

[8] While the value of art to is not axiomatic I am of the view that individuals are being done a great injustice if the chance to become familiar with the visual arts is not offered from an early age.

[9] 'Weekend Arts', *Weekend Guardian,* op. cit.

Gormley, in response to my questioning as to the reasons for the failure of *Brickman*, was firmly of the following opinion:

> "The local council in Leeds, who originally commissioned the work, and their lack of confidence, were absolutely the reasons that the work was not finally built. Timing had something to do with it, money we would have got."[10]

House successfully engaged with public groups who would not normally be expected to appreciate art and demonstrated that an assumed distinction between an elite and a 'general' public can be overcome. *House* revealed how audience development is possible without compromising the integrity of the art in question. Whiteread welcomed the wider audience and did not feel that its accessibility compromised it as an artwork. She said:

> "I've never found any lack of warmth in the reaction of the general public to *House*, or to my other work. I think people have a mind of their own. People respect hard work and they see that I've worked hard."[11]

This optimistic surmise is qualified by the fact that the publics who expressed support for the piece, expressed their opinions largely through broadsheet newspapers such as *The Independent.* This was not necessarily representative of a mass public, and may serve to justify a view that art appreciation is elitist. Mori have attempted to define newspaper readership by social economic group, as shown in appendix 5, and conclude that the highest economic groups tend toward broadsheets, and the lowest toward tabloids. This is directly reflected in the propensity to appreciate the arts, as shown in appendices 2 and 3, pages 219 and 229. That broadsheets now tend to be broadly positive toward the visual arts, as identified in Appendix 9, suggests a correlation between economic capital and cultural capital. It is this line of reasoning that supports the Government's belief that art appreciation is exclusive and the

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[10] Gormley, A., personal response to my correspondence, 23.02.01.
[11] Vander Weyer, M., 'Monumental Pleasures' *The Telegraph* 13.09.96, clipping held in HMI archive, Leeds.

implication within the policy of Social Inclusion that the visual arts only cater for an elite audience. One broadsheet published the view that:

> "[The] master sin of late twentieth century is elitism. Elitism was a term first used by American sociologists in the mid twentieth century. The slogan of picketers attacking the Turner prize in 1994 was 'down with elitism'."[12]

The notion of an elite and its association with the arts is one that has been steadily attacked from within the 'art world' itself. Raymond Gubbay charged the Arts Council of England with elitism in June 1998 stating "the Arts Council seemed to assume that if something is popular, it can't be good."[13]

That the arts, (as represented by the works of art in public considered herein), do not necessarily appeal only to an elite audience, was proved by Gormley's successful project *Angel of the North.* It is seen to be successful for a number of reasons,[14] including overcoming public opposition and being accepted by the initially antagonistic, wider community. *Angel* challenges the concept that an art work cannot be simultaneously accepted by both the art world and mass publics. While some art critics were dismissive of *Angel* on art historical terms, it has been shown that it achieved general support from this public group.

From the evidence available, it is possible to identify a shift toward acceptance by wider public groups and not just those among the higher social groups. This has had ramifications for the relevance of the visual arts in the community. On the day of *Angel's* 'opening' Councillor Sid Henderson had "spoken to 50 or 60 people, and just one person thought it was a waste of money."[15] That it achieved the stringent criteria monitored by the European Regional Development Fund is proof that it has satisfied targets, which included increasing the profile of arts in the area and involving

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[12] Cruise-O'Brien, C., 'Better the elites we know', *The Independent,* 02.12.94, p.5.
[13] Alberge, D., 'Gubbay attacks 'elitist' Arts Council, *The Times,* 17.6.98, p.10.
[14] *Angel of the North* won many awards and commendations including the 1996 British Gas Properties/Arts Council working for Cities Award for Arts in Progress and ABSA Award for Arts in Urban Regeneration 1991.
[15] Councillor Sid Henderson in Clark., K,. 'The Angel spread its wings in the North', *The Northern Echo,* 16.2.98, p.1.

members of the community in the visual arts. Visitor numbers to the area are on the increase and it has contributed toward a local thriving art scene. One report stated:

> "There has been a constant stream of sightseers since it went up. The school group I stood near thought it was fun, even if it looked a bit like a plane crash, but the elderly party did not look that impressed. Whatever people's views on the *Angel* - it has been described as anything from a 3D gents toilet sign with glider wings to a wide screen satellite dish - its home in Gateshead is the perfect location. It is a symbol of resistance to the elements, just like the scores of lads who insist on strutting through the town on Saturday nights in their T-shirts, even in mid winter when the temperature is below freezing."[16]

That *Angel* became accepted and integrated into the community is suggested by figure 35. Eight Newcastle United football fans had "taken measurements from the Internet and paid £1,000 to have a 29ft x 17ft nylon shirt made."[17] There are interesting parallels between the visual arts and football. Both are necessarily performed by expert elites and both need not be appreciated by elites, but tabloid dissemination information about the two is markedly different.

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[16] Brace M, 'A show around an Angel's new home,' *Independent on Sunday,* 8.3.98, clipping in HMI archives.

[17] Reynolds, N 'Shearer plays on the Wing', *The Daily Telegraph,* 13.12.98, p.91. A driver on the A1 reported the addition to the police and the top was removed within half an hour of it being placed.

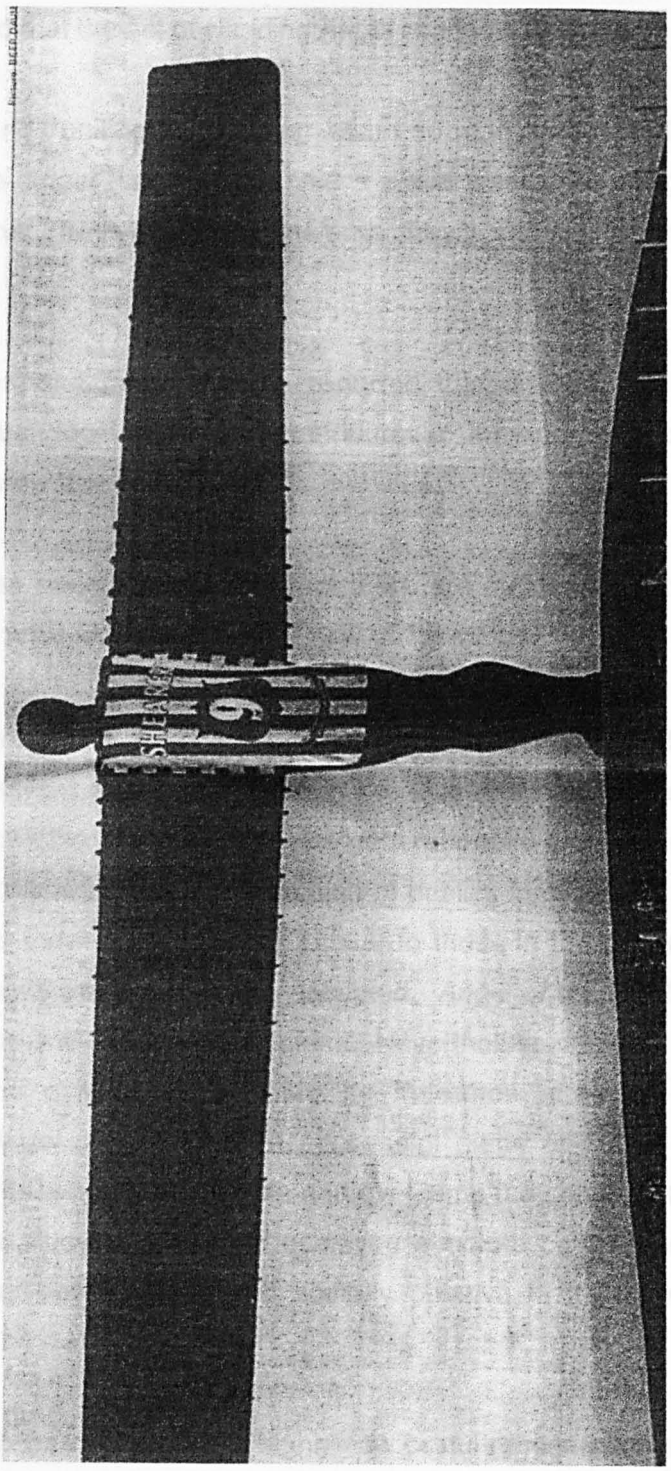

Figure 35.

Photograph Beer Davies credit to Beer Davies and accompanying newspaper article, N Reynolds, 'Shearer plays on the wing', *The Telegraph,* 23.5.98, p.95 clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

Gormley believed that the act of cladding *Angel* in a football shirt was a symbol of:

> "Two worlds uniting - I've never heard so many people talking about art. The *Angel* has now become a place where people go to meet each other, have picnics - I'm sure they'll end up getting married there."[18]

The local Gateshead paper proudly reported that a 'local lad' had climbed the sculpture and such local interaction contributes to the appropriation of the piece, as does the report view that:

> "Such has been the publicity that there are suggestions it may even raise the price of property with a view of the statue."[19]

Analysis of *Angel of the North* and comparison with *Brickman* and *House* suggest a shift in opinion toward public art, or possibly a more enlightened interpretation of it, as expressed by both the 'art world' and the general public groups, and reflected in the media. When one considers the formation of publics in response to *Angel* it is clear that the conflicts between groups are similar to those in the previous examples, but the piece still exists and has become accepted. *Angel of the North* provoked its own conflicting publics and associated opinions. Nevertheless, through examination of the controversy and events surrounding its inception, creation and subsequent appropriation, *Angel* proves to be a successful piece of public art in that it was physically and intellectually accessible and overcame the conflicts it created. *Angel* is a complex case study and has not achieved absolute consensus, but proves how controversy may be politically and socially positive in its results, rather than a phenomenon to be avoided.

The city of Leeds has undergone a highly successful regeneration and is now officially recognised as the fastest growing city in the UK[20] indicating that a piece of public

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[18] Editorial, *Independent on Sunday,* 17.5.98, page unknown, HMI archive.
[19] MacDonald, M., 'Gateshead Angel wins cash award', *The Independent,* 8.8.96, clipping held in HMI archive, Leeds.
[20] According to the National Office of Statistics, 2001.

sculpture was not necessary for its regeneration. Following the success of *Angel of the North,* John Wellington, writing in the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, asked:

> "Why not revive the Brick Man idea and ask Antony Gormley, very politely, if he'd do it for us? That would really be a great coup for Leeds."[21]

The Leeds Civic Trust wrote, in November 2002, "we need a dynamic vision for the city's future," and acknowledged that it now lagged behind other European cities culturally, criticising the Council's "lack of ambition."[22]

An understanding of the causes and effects of controversy has also proved an intrinsic element in each of the case studies considered. Fear of its apparent divisiveness prompted Leeds City Council to avoid it and Paul Usherwood considered alternative results that the associated controversy would have upon *The Angel of the North.* In the first instance, he perceived that the controversy surrounding the piece would dry up and prove to be a negative aspect, because as the novelty wore off, people would lose interest. In the second scenario, Usherwood suggests that the controversy could serve to prolong *Angel*'s vitality[23].

Partly through an understanding of the nature of controversy and its possibilities, rather than avoidance as in Leeds, Gateshead Council successfully marketed *Angel* and achieved Usherwood's second scenario. Some public art projects fail because they do not capture the imagination of the wider public group and the manifestation of controversy may be seen as a measure of success. For example, artist Tess Jaray was commissioned to create a work of art on the precinct area outside Wakefield Cathedral. The concept consists of a pattern of bricks that can only be seen from above and is indecipherable to the pedestrian. Of those questioned approximately 95% were unaware that they were walking on a work of art.[24]

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[21] Wellington, J., *Yorkshire Evening Post,* 26.11.99, p.11.
[22] Dr. Kevin Grady, Director of Leeds Civic Trust in Bond, C., Yorkshire Post, 12.11.02, p.8.
[23] Usherwood, P., 'Is it a bird, is it a plane?' *Art Monthly,* no. 213, 1998, p.30.
[24] Of those members of the wider public, and even art public, questioned only 3 out of 50 realised that a work of art existed, and that those three were members of the same family suggests the knowledge was from a common source or shared between, this is despite a plaque on the wall informing passers by.

In contrast, Gateshead Council and the artist realised that, through being controversial, the work would achieve a wider, albeit initially negative, audience. This is supported by the fact that the work was recognisable to 86% of the national public before it was even built.[25] The challenge, as seen by Gormley, was not to avoid controversy but to apply his understanding of it positively, to make the best use of his access to the wider public groups afforded by the publicity. Controversy enabled Gormley's work to become public in the abstract sense both through knowledge of the project, but also through interaction and ownership. The fact that a name for the sculpture was decided by common usage, rather than by the artist, supports Gormley's claim that:

> "I want it to be considered not as a public amenity, a council logo, but as a work of art that is collective, tribal almost, that ignores every twentieth century orthodoxy and invites people to dream."[26]

The project was partly experimental on the part of the artist, to test the reaction of wider public groups to a work of visual art, deemed by the 'art public' to have achieved a high quality. Gormley stated:

> "'I wanted to see if it was possible for art to live outside specialised conditions – ideological and institutional."[27]

One of the successes of *Angel,* which points to optimistic possibilities, is that it not only lived outside those specialised conditions, but thrived and generated a level of understanding of those conditions outside the gallery space. It also reveals that controversial need not equate with alienation and undermines any notion that works of art should seek universal consensus.

Angel of the North's success in the exposed physical and abstract public spheres also indicates that the wider public groups familiar with the piece are now less alienated

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[25] Three years after its construction, the internet search term 'Angel of the North' connects to over 10,000 web pages, an indication of its widespread relevance.
[26] Gormley, A., in Grove, V., 'Valerie Grove meets Antony Gormley' *The Times*, 21.2.98, p.21.
[27] Gormley, A., cited in Campbell, B., 'Gateshead and the Angel', *Making an Angel,* Booth-Clibborn Editions, London, 1998, p.54.

from visual art in general and that it has contributed toward increased relevance of the visual arts to more publics. This is borne out by the following report:

> "In Newcastle[28], research shows that three out of four residents visit museums every year. Why? Because Tyne and Wear Museums have spent the last decade building audiences, producing exhibitions and programmes, so varied in style and content that their appeal is very broad. Ten years ago the two big Newcastle museums attracted 160,000 visitors, last year the figure was 487,000."[29]

The case studies have shown works produced by acknowledged elites within the art world can still be accessible. *House* and *Angel* represent art in the tradition of gallery based avant-garde, rather than that of statuary. It is possible that the case studies which succeeded did so because they refused to be seduced by notions that 'they' would not appreciate it.

Gormley was asked:

> "Do you think public art will become the predominant art form in the UK in the 21st century?"

He replied:

> "There is only one art and it is becoming more and more known either being more in collective spaces or by being well known."[30]

House and *Angel* have shown that 'public art' may be an oxymoron but that 'art in public' need not be. The case studies have also shown that controversy surrounding art, whether it be public or gallery based avant-garde need not be a barrier to appreciation. Gormley created a challenging image in *Angel,* one that is not intended to bring comfort, but to confront existence, the main point is to attract attention to the

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[28] Whilst *Angel* is in Gateshead, rather than Newcastle, it can be seen to contribute to the overall cultural regeneration of the area.
[29] Fleming, D., 'Can Museums change the world?' in *The Saturday Guardian,* p.2 (For).
[30] Gormley, A., response to question from Caulfield, M., available at www.bbc.org.uk.

area and to engage people in debate.[31] A local poet, Sean O'Brien, believes that the controversy is all part of the creation of a work of art, that its strength is sometimes discovered through resistance. Controversy is one way in which art may become more public.

This insight suggests an optimistic possibility for outreach programmes from art institutions as well as for art in public projects. As seen from the case studies, in each instance the publics adapt and are responsive to the stimulus to which they are exposed and are influenced by the means by which it is broadcast.

The results of my research have highlighted that to accuse the visual arts and its institutions of exclusivity and expect that they alone can become inclusive without reference to other forms of socially conditioned barriers, is unrealistic.

Unfortunately, the fact that the Government has put the onus upon art galleries and museums to attract wider audiences, suggests that they are attempting to remedy the current situation through its effects rather than its causes, being concerned less with basic education. Such education would take a generation to be effective and so the results would not be witnessed during the Government's term of office, whereas attacking perceived elitism has the immediate appearance of prompting immediate change. Attempts to make galleries increasingly accessible, more democratic and less elitist, are valiant and appear to be succeeding:

> "However, in recent years there has been an increasing tendency to justify the arts, for instance the funding of museums, by reference to the contribution which they make to economic or social regeneration rather than by reference to their cultural importance."[32]

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[31] Lambirth, A., 'Is it a Bird, Is it a Plane?' *The Independent*, 17.02.98, clipping held in HMI archive, Leeds.
[32] ibid.

The results of my research have proved that it is essential to distinguish between art as produced by an elite and art as appreciated by an elite. It is necessary that art be produced by an expert elite, as practiced in any field. But the way in which it is disseminated can make art more public through familiarity. This can be done by raising its profile in the abstract public sphere through education and media interpretations and/or intervention into physical public spaces.

The current relationship between English visual arts and the publics is a new area of study and one which brings with it its own problems. It is also essential. With certainty, I can conclude that to remove economic barriers is to oversimplify the sociological and art historical reasons that have led to the visual arts and its institutions being viewed as exclusive.

Appendices **Page**

Appendix 1

Policy Action Team 18: 'Better Information'
An explanation of the means of measuring social exclusion.
Working Paper: Measuring deprivation: a review of indices in common use

This Working Paper was produced to inform, and support the work of, Policy Action Team (PAT) 18 on 'Better Information'. It reviews the most commonly used deprivation measures and highlights some of the issues surrounding their use.

There are a variety of deprivation indices currently in use which have been developed to meet a range of different objectives. Despite the conceptual differences, there has been much discussion of their relative merits. This paper outlines the general concept of deprivation indices. It then presents brief summaries of the most commonly used measures and highlights some of the issues surrounding their use.

Deprivation Indices
In general, deprivation indices "measure the proportion of households in a defined small geographical unit with a combination of circumstances indicating low living standards or a high need for services, or both" (Bartley and Blane 1994)[1]. An important note to be made about all ecological measures of deprivation – that is, measures based on geographic areas, rather than individual circumstances – is that "not all deprived people live in deprived wards, just as not everybody in a ward ranked as deprived are themselves deprived" (Townsend et al 1988)[2].

This point is reiterated by Sloggett and Joshi who note "deprivation indices may be gainfully used to identify areas of relative concentration of disadvantage, in the absence of data at the personal level, or where the fact of geographic concentration is pertinent ... but disadvantaged people also live elsewhere and could be excluded in large numbers if interventions were planned purely on the basis of a local, census-based, deprivation score" (Sloggett and Joshi, 1994)[3] They go on to note that "for maximum effectiveness, health policy needs to target people as well as places" (Sloggett and Joshi, 1994)[4].

Measures of Deprivation in Common Use

Jarman Underprivileged Area Score
The Jarman Underprivileged Area (UPA) Score was not originally constructed to measure deprivation but to measure General Practice workload. The Jarman Score was designed to take account of geographic variations in the demand for primary care based on a survey of GPs' subjective expressions of the social factors among their patients that most affected their workload. The variant of the score in most common

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[1] Bartley, M. and Blane, D. (1994) 'Appropriateness of deprivation indices must be ensured' British Medical Journal 309: 1479.
[2] Townsend, P., Phillimore, P. and Beattie, A. (1988) Health and Deprivation: Inequality and the North. Routledge, London.
[3] Sloggett, A. and Joshi, H. (1994) 'Higher mortality in deprived areas: community or personal disadvantage?' British Medical Journal 309: 1470-4.
[4] Ibid.

use – the UPA8 score – comprises eight variables which were individually weighted by a sample of London GPs (Carr-Hill, 1988)[85].

1. Unemployment – (3.34) residents unemployed as a percentage of economically active;
2. Overcrowding – (2.88) % of residents in overcrowded households (more than one person per room);
3. Lone parents – (3.01) % of residents in 'lone parent' households;
4. Under 5s – (4.64) % of residents aged under 5 years;
5. Elderly living alone – (6.62) % of elderly persons living alone;
6. Ethnicity – (2.50) % of households headed by a person born outside the United Kingdom;
7. Low social class – (3.74) % of residents where household head is unskilled (social class V);
8. Residential mobility – (2.68) % of residents who changed address in the previous year.

Each variable is based on the percentage of all residents in households, with the exceptions of unemployment, which is based on the percentage of the economically active population which is unemployed, and residential mobility, where the denominator is the total resident population. Each variable is firstly expressed as a proportion (between 0 and 1). The proportions are then transformed by calculating the square root and then finding the equivalent arc sine (asin). The variables are expressed as Z scores[6] and multiplied by their respective weighting factors. The final score is obtained by summing the variables (after statistically reworking). Higher scores indicate greater levels of GP workload.

The index has been criticised as "being better at defining inner-city deprivation because it includes factors like overcrowding and ethnicity" (Davies, 1998)[7]. Talbot (1991)[8] has extended this criticism by stating that "in particular, there is a strong bias towards London in the proportion of the population classified as deprived". He goes on to state that "the index fails to recognise the nature of deprivation in the north of England...benefit[ing] the Thames regions at the expense of peripheral regions" (Talbot, 1991)[9].

Townsend Material Deprivation Score

The Townsend Score is based on four variables originally taken from the 1981 Census that were selected to represent material deprivation: unemployment (lack of material resources and insecurity), overcrowding (material living conditions), lack of owner occupied accommodation (a proxy indicator of wealth) and lack of car

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[5] Carr-Hill, R. (1988) 'Revising the RAWP formula: Indexing deprivation and modelling demand' Centre for Health Economics, University of York. Discussion Paper 41.

[6] Z scores express each variable in terms of its mean value in the population and its standard error. If this were not done then variables with longer scales would have more weight than variables with shorter scales in the overall score. For example, the number of children in a household could vary from 0 to 10, while the number of cars could range from 0 to 3. Simply adding these together would given children more weight than cars – standardisation is intended to avoid this problem (Bartley and Blane, 1994).

[7] Davies, J. (1998) 'Healthy Living Centres' Health Services Journal 5 November pp1-5.

[8] Talbot, R.J. (1991) 'Underprivileged areas and health care planning: implications of use of Jarman indicators of urban deprivation'. British Medical Journal 302: 383-6.

[9] Ibid.

ownership (a proxy indicator of income). It is a summation of the standardised scores (Z scores) for each variable (scores greater than zero indicate greater levels of material deprivation). Two of the variables – those relating to unemployment and overcrowding – are firstly transformed using the log transformation y = ln (x + 1) to produce more normal distributions. The Townsend score is considered the best indicator of material deprivation currently available. The four variables are combined together in an overall deprivation index, with each variable being given an equal weight.
The units of measurement of the four indicators are:

1. Unemployment – % of economically active residents aged 16-59/64 who are unemployed;
2. Car ownership – % of private households who do not posses a car;
3. Home ownership – % of private households not owner occupied;
4. Overcrowding – % of private households with more than one person per room.

The variables selected are direct indicators of deprivation - that is, they represent the condition or state of deprivation. In contrast, indirect indicators of deprivation represent the victims of those conditions or states, for example, the elderly, ethnic minorities and single parents. Townsend et al (1988)[10] highlighted that "even if many among these minorities are deprived, some are not, and the point is to find out how many are deprived rather than operate as is all are in that condition. It is the form which their deprivation takes and not their status which has to be measured".

Townsend scores can be recalculated using the equivalent variables extracted for areas from the 1991 Census. However, it should be noted that the change in variable scores for any one area between 1981 and 1991 cannot be taken as indicative of reducing or increasing relative deprivation - primarily because of exogenous changes in the social characteristics of car and home ownership. Hence, explanatory models calibrated using 1981 Townsend scores should not be applied to 1991 scores without recalibration.

Carstairs and Morris Scottish Deprivation Score
This index was constructed by Carstairs and Morris for the analysis of Scottish health data. Like the Townsend Score, it is based on four variables originally taken from the 1981 Census which were judged to represent, or be determinants of, material disadvantage. Three of the indicators are the same as those used in Townsend, the fourth - social class - is used in place of housing tenure. The authors state "we do not find Townsend's reasons for excluding social class convincing since we believe that being in a low social class, equally with being unemployed, places families in a position of poor access to material resources..." (Carstairs and Morris, 1989)[11]. The authors considered housing tenure to be "less relevant in Scotland as a much higher proportion of housing stock is in the public sector and the variable would not have acted as a discriminator between large sections of the population" (Morris and Carstairs, 1991) [12].

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[10] See note 2.
[11] Carstairs, V. and Morris, R. (1989) 'Deprivation and mortality: an alternative to social class?' Community Medicine 11: 210-9.
[12] Morris, R. and Carstairs, V. (1991) 'Which deprivation? A comparison of deprivation indexes' Journal of Public Health Medicine 13: 318-26.

The units of measurement of the four indicators are:

1. Overcrowding – persons in private households living at a density of more than one person per room as a proportion of all persons in private households;
2. Male unemployment – proportion of economically active males who are seeking work;
3. Social Class IV or V – proportion of all persons in private households with head of household in Social Class IV or V;
4. No car – proportion of all persons in private households with no car.

The deprivation measure is an unweighted combination of the four standardised variables.

MATDEP and SOCDEP

MATDEP (a material deprivation index) and SOCDEP (a social deprivation index) are both indices of deprivation that were developed by Forrest and Gordon (1993)[13] following the 1991 Census. The distinction between material and social deprivation has been explicitly stated by Townsend - "Material deprivation entails the lack of goods, services, resources, amenities and physical environment which are customary, or a least widely approved in the society under consideration. Social deprivation, on the other hand, is non-participation in the roles, relationships, customs, functions, rights and responsibilities implied by member of a society and its sub-groups. Such deprivation may be attributed to the affects of racism, sexism and ageism ..." (Townsend et al, 1998)[14].

The distinction between material and social deprivation has two conceptual forms - "the argument between the use of direct and indirect measures and the different dimensions of deprivation when taking a social (roles and relationships) and a material (goods and services) perspective" (Lee et al, 1995)[15].
Indicators used in MATDEP:

1. Overcrowding: % households with more than 1 person per room;
2. Lack amenity: % households lacking or sharing use of a bath/shower and/or inside WC;
3. No central heating: % households with no central heating;
4. No car: % households with no access to a car.

Indicators used in SOCDEP:

1. Unemployment: % economically active population unemployed;
2. Youth unemployed: % economically active 16-24 year olds unemployed;
3. Lone parents: lone parent households as a proportion of all households;
4. Elderly: % households containing a single pensioner;

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[13] Forrest, R. and Gordon, D. (1993) People and Places: a 1991 Census atlas of England. SAUS. University of Bristol.
[14] See note 2.
[15] Lee, P., Murie, A. and Gordon, D. (1995) Area measures of deprivation: a study of current methods and best practices in the identification of poor areas in Great Britain. Centre for Urban and Regional Studies. University of Birmingham.

5. Long-term illness: % households containing a person with limiting long-term illness;
6. Dependent only: households containing dependants only (e.g. single pensioners with long-term illness) as a percentage of all households.

MATDEP and SOCDEP scores are the summation of the unweighted standardised scores for each variable. Each variable is standardised by dividing the percentage value for each indicator in a particular geographic area by the maximum value for each indicator in all areas to give a value between 0 and 1. This means that the maximum score for SOCDEP is 6 and the maximum score for MATDEP is 4 (the minimum score for both indices is 0). Higher scores indicate greater levels of deprivation.

Department of the Environment's Index of Local Conditions (1991)

The Index of Local Conditions (ILC) comprises 13 variables - seven of which are Census variables and six of which are non-Census variables:

Census variables:

1. Unemployment – residents aged 16 and over who are unemployed compared to residents aged 16 and over who are economically active;
2. Children in low-earner households – resident dependent children (aged under 16) living in households with no one in employment or with a single parent in part-time work compared to all dependent children (aged under 16);
3. Overcrowding – households with above one person per room compared to all households;
4. Housing lacking basic amenities – residents in households lacking amenities compared to all residents in households in permanent and non-permanent accommodation;
5. No car – households without a car compared to all households;
6. Children in unsuitable accommodation – dependent children (aged under 16) living accommodation that is either purpose-built flats, non-permanent, or unshared dwellings either converted or not self-contained compared to all dependent children (aged under 16);
7. Educational participation – residents aged 17 years not in full-time compared to all residents aged 17 years.

Non-census variables (Sources and dates)[16]

1. Long-term unemployment – the ratio of long-term unemployment (more than one year) to total unemployment (DfEE 1991);
2. Income support – persons or households in receipt of income support expressed in relation to total adult population (DSS 1991);
3. Low educational attainment – passes in GCSE exams at grade D or below in relation to the total number of passes (DfEE 1991);
4. Standardised mortality ratios – all cause SMRs expressed in relation to a value of 100 for Great Britain (1991);
5. Derelict land – area of land defined as derelict in DoE survey in relation to total land area (DoE 1988);
6. Home insurance weightings – weightings for premiums on house contents insurance used by three national insurance companies (1991).

[16] At the electoral ward level only the census-based variables are used in the calculation of the index.

The index of local conditions is an unweighted summation of the selected indicators using their log-transformed signed chi-square values20[17]. The actual number of persons having each selected variable are compared to the numbers that would be expected if average English rates applied. The difference between the actual and expected numbers is squared and then divided by the expected number after which the value of 1 is added. A log transformation is then applied and those scores where the actual rate was below the expected rate are given negative signs. Summed scores greater than zero indicate greater levels of material deprivation.

This index differs from those previously described in using actual numbers rather than percentage rates as the input into the calculations. This has the effect of giving lower weights to those areas where the actual counts are small - and hence statistically less reliable (i.e. an area where 3 out of 10 persons are unemployed will have a lower score than one where unemployment is 30 out of 100).

Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions' Index of Local Deprivation (1998)

In June 1998, following consultation, the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) published an updated version of the 1991 ILC. The 1998 Index of Local Deprivation (ILD), based mainly on data for 1996, was calculated for all 354 Local Authority Districts as they stood at April 1998. The ward and ED level indexes are based on the 1991 Census Area definitions. There are 12 indicators in the district level ILD which relate to different dimensions of deprivation – income, health, education, environment, crime and housing. The indicators, their measures and their sources are:

1. Unemployment – persons unemployed compared persons economically active (ONS claimant count 1997);
2. Dependent children of income support recipients – compared to persons aged 16 and under (DSS 1996);
3. Overcrowding – households above one person per room compared to all households (1991 Census);
4. Housing lacking basic amenities – residents in households lacking amenities compared to all residents in households in permanent and non-permanent accommodation (1991 Census);
5. Non income support recipients in receipt of council tax benefit [18] – compared to total population aged 18 and over (DSS 1996);
6. Educational participation – 17 year-olds not in full-time education compared to all 17 year-olds (1991 Census);

1. Long-term unemployment – the ratio of long-term unemployment (more than one year) to total unemployment (ONS claimant count 1997);

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[17] The standardisation and transformation 'has the merits of: taking account of the small size of the denominators of many of the observations; using an interpretable value of zero; and using values which approximate the normal curve' (see Note 18).

[18] Department of the Environment (1995) 1991 Deprivation index: a review of approaches and a matrix of results. HMSO. London.

2. Income support – persons or households in receipt of income support expressed in relation to total adult population (DSS 1996);
3. Low educational attainment –fifteen year olds with no GCSE passes or gaining GCSE passes at grades D-G only compared to all 15 year olds (DfEE 1996);
4. Standardised mortality ratios – all cause SMRs for under 75 year olds (ONS 1996);
5. Derelict land – area of land defined as derelict in DoE survey in relation to total land area (DoE 1993);
6. Home insurance weightings – weightings for premiums on house contents insurance used by three national insurance companies (1996).

There are two main differences in the methodology between the 1991 and 1998 Indexes. Firstly, in the 1991 Index the values for the indicators were simply added together, whereas in the 1998 Index only the positive values (those where the actual count exceeded that expected) have been added together to produce the overall index score. Secondly, in the 1991 Index no weightings were attached to any of the indicators. However, in the 1998 Index the values for the standardised mortality ratio and insurance premium indicators
"have been multiplied by two to give them a similar level of influence in the overall index" (DETR, 1998) [19].
1999 Review of the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions' Index of Local Deprivation
Although the 1998 update of the Index of Local Deprivation was not intended to review either the methodology or the combination of indicators used, the consultation process highlighted a number of issues relating to these aspects. Moreover, since the last review was undertaken many new sources of sub-district level data have become available. In the light of this, DETR decided to undertake this further review of the Index to look at:

- the conceptual basis of the ILD as a mechanism for identifying the most deprived areas in England;
- the current indicators, to assess whether they represent the best, up-to-date measure of relative general deprivation and, if not, test and recommend robust alternatives;
- the methodology used to combine the individual indicators into single indexes of general deprivation at the different spatial levels and, if appropriate, suggest improvements based on assessment of alternative methods.

The Index will be revised and updated on the basis of the recommendations from these reviews, in agreement with the DETR and following extensive consultation with users in central and local government and other relevant organisations.
At the end of the review users will be sent a short summary of the revised and updated Index and guidelines on how to use and interpret it. The full Index will also be available, and DETR will publish a full report of the process incorporating a description of patterns of deprivation and how these differ from the 1998 ILD (Noble et al. 1999).[20]

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[19] The 1998 indicator on 'non income support recipients in receipt of council tax benefit' replaces the 1991 indicator 'no car' which was used as an income proxy. The 1991 indicator 'children in unsuitable accommodation' was dropped from the 1998 classification.
[20] Noble, M. et al (1999) Index of Deprivation 1999 Review. Newsletter 1 – January 1999.

Breadline Britain Score

The Breadline Britain Score is the result of two surveys carried out by MORI for London Weekend Television and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in 1983 and 1990. The 1983 study pioneered the use of the 'consensual' or 'perceived' deprivation approach to measuring poverty. The approach set out to determine whether there are some people whose standard of living is below the minimum acceptable to society. The minimum standard of living was determined by interviewing a quota sample (based on age, sex and working status) of 1,174 adults in 1983 and 1,831 adults in 1990. Aggregated data were weighted by age, household type, household tenure and ACORN housing type (see below) to be representative of the population of Great Britain. In order to ensure a large sample of people living in deprived areas over-sampling was conducted in ACORN areas known to contain poor households.

In the 1990 Survey respondents were presented with a set of 44 cards onto each of which was written the name of a different item covering a range of possessions and activities that relate to standards of living. For example, a television, a night out once a fortnight and a warm waterproof coat. Respondents were asked to place the 44 cards into one of two boxes. Box A was for items which they considered necessary; those items which all adults should be able to afford and which they should not have to do without. Box B was for items which they considered to be desirable but not necessary. They were also asked if they felt differently about any of the items in the case of families with children. An item was deemed to be a socially perceived necessity if more than 50 per cent of respondents put it into Box A. Later in the interview the respondents were asked to assign one of the following 5 options to each of the 44 items:

1. Have and couldn't do without
2. Have and could do without
3. Don't have and don't want
4. Don't have and can't afford
5. Not applicable/don't know

Respondents (and their households) were assigned a deprivation index score each time they answered 'don't have and can't afford' to an item that was considered to be a necessity by more than 50 per cent of respondents (Gordon and Pantazis, 1997)[21].
Low Income Scheme Index (LISI - a deprivation scale based on prescribing in general practice).

The indices listed so far are calculated for area populations; their values may not be reliable when attributed to registered lists of General Practitioners, if the persons registering with a particular practice do not represent an unbiased sample of the population of their area of residence. An alternative direct measure of practice list deprivation has been derived from prescription data. More than 80 per cent of items dispensed from prescriptions issued by NHS GPs in England are exempt from prescription charges. Most exemption (54.6 per cent) is based on age. An additional 6.6 per cent of items are accounted for by family health service authority (FHSA) exemptions – mainly related to pregnancy. However, 12.1 per cent of items are exempt from payment under the low income scheme (by ticking boxes H, I, J, K, L on

[21] Gordon, D. and Pantazis, C. (eds) (1997) Breadline Britain in the 1990s. Ashgate Publishing Limited. England

the back of the FP10C form). The low income scheme covers recipients (and their dependants) of Family Credit and Income Support and others who qualify on the grounds of low income. Two types of Low Income Scheme Index (LISI) have been calculated, one based on the number of prescription items and the other on the net ingredient cost (Lloyd et al, 1995)[22].

Exemption information is not, however, routinely collected where patients have their drugs supplied by a practice dispensary - and hence LISI scores are not calculated for practice lists where more than 30 per cent of the list have applied for practice dispensing. The national file of LISI scores was circulated to all Health Authorities as part of the Attribution Data Set (NHSE, 1998)[23].

Area Classifications
In addition to the measures of deprivation that have been discussed above there are various area classifications which "cluster [geographic distance] places together on the basis of various socio-economic commonalities" (Burrows and Rhodes, 1998)[24].

Geo-Demographic Classifications
Geo-demographic classifications are not measures of deprivation but they are used extensively for marketing purposes to target customer groups. The assumption is made that those households within a defined neighbourhood are likely to have similar lifestyles and buying habits. Like area classifications, they group geographically disparate places together on the basis of certain characteristics that distinguish customer groups. Traditional forms of social classification used for market research were based on the occupation of the head of the household in which they were categorised. Geo-demographics takes this concept further, and can be expressed as, the classification of people by the neighbourhood in which they live and by having a similar pattern in terms of their ability to consume, behave or purchase.

ACORN – A Classification of Residential Neighbourhoods
ACORN is a geo-demographic classification developed by the market analysis company CACI. The classification is built entirely using Census data and includes information on age, sex, marital status, occupation, economic position, education, home ownership and car ownership. Like the ONS Area Classification, ACORN is based on a three-tier system which classifies people living in Great Britain into one of 6 Categories, 17 Groups or 54 Types (plus one 'unclassified' in each case). Although not a true measure of deprivation there are Groups and Types which relate to areas which have such characteristics as high unemployment, a high percentage of elderly with health problems, a high percentage of lone parents and severe overcrowding.

Super Profiles
Super Profiles is another geo-demographic system, similar to ACORN, available from the market analysis company CLARITAS. It categorises households in Great Britain according to the characteristics of the neighbourhood in which they are located. The classification is derived from numerous data sources including the 1991 Census, the

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[22] Lloyd, D., Harris, C. and Clucas, D. (1995) 'Low income scheme index: a new deprivation scale based on prescribing in general practice'. British Medical Journal 310: 165-70.
[23] NHSE (1998) Using the Attribution Data Set.
[24] Burrows, R. and Rhodes, D. (1998) Unpopular places?: Area disadvantage and the geography of misery in England. The Policy Press. England.

electoral roll, credit information and market research data. The classification is again based on a three-tier system. At the most detailed level there are 160 different Super Profiles Clusters which are ranked in order of affluence. Each Cluster relates to one of 40 Market Groups, which in turn relate to one of 10 Lifestyles.

Appendix 2

A selection of the findings of research into the

Awareness of and attitudes towards the arts

among adults in England carried out by MORI on behalf of the Arts Council of England. London 2000.

The Arts Council commissioned MORI to carry out some research on its behalf. This report presents the findings of the survey. Interviews were conducted with a representative sample of 1,801 adults in England in May 2000. The main focus of the research was to explore people's awareness of and attitudes toward the arts.

Proportions watching, participating in or experiencing the arts

	Ever			In the last 12 months		
	Total %	Social Class		Total %	Social Class	
		ABC1	C3DE		ABC1	C2DE
Theatre/Drama	69	81	57	36	49	24
Festivals/Carnivals	48	59	38	21	29	14
Painting/Drawings	46	60	32	20	29	10
Classical concerts	34	50	19	12	20	5

Which, if any of the activities on this card do you think of as being part of the arts?

	Total	ABC1	C2DE	GCSE	A Level	Degree	No qualificiations
Unweighted	1801	839	962	561	214	255	548
Weighted	1844	916	928	928	234	287	507
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Painting & Drawing	79	84	74	77	85	92	70
Theatre & Drama	79	87	70	76	88	91	68
Ballet	77	87	67	74	86	92	66
Opera	73	84	61	69	85	91	58
Sculpture	70	78	62	67	80	86	58

Appendix 3

Net Revenue expenditure/head on arts by UPCS classification 1993-4[25]

Cost in £	< 0.49	0.50-0.99	1.00 – 1.99	2.00-2.99	3.00 – 3.99	4.00 – 4.99	5.00 and over	Total
London	-	3	4	4	4	-	6	22
Metropolitan	1	6	9	4	1	3	5	29
Cities	-	-	1	2	4	1	11	19
Industrials	1	2	2	2	3	-	1	11
New Towns	1	2	2	2	3	-	1	11
Resorts	4	3	4	3	2	2	3	21
Urban/rural	36	8	9	4	6	5	5	73
Rural	24	11	7	3	3	1	2	51

Does not include county councils.

55% support local council providing funds for the arts.
50% say they personally value having arts events and facilities in their area
Women are more likely to say yes than man – as are social groups A and B then D and E
Over 65s slightly more likely to be opposed
Support most widespread in A and B social groups in the South
67% arts beneficial impact on the are they live.
56% improve the quality of local life[26]

'To what extent do you support or oppose your local council providing funds for arts facilities such as theatres, galleries and professional and amateur arts events:

Strong support	19
Tend to support	36
Neither	25
Tend to oppose	9
Strongly oppose	6
Don't know	5'[27]

Interestingly, results broadly replicate those of a study done earlier.

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[25] Dix, G., & Feist, A., *Local Government and the Arts : A Statutory Duty for the Arts Public attitudes to local authority funding the Arts* Arts Council, London, 1996.
[26] Results of Mori Poll in Dix, G., & Feist, A., *Local Government and the Arts : A Statutory Duty for the Arts Public attitudes to local authority funding the Arts* Arts Council, London, 1996.
Poll asked 1,913 people face to face over age of 15, taken in 141 constituencies between 18.11.93 and 15.12.93.
[27] Results of Mori Poll in Dix, G., & Feist, A., *Local Government and the Arts : A Statutory Duty for the Arts Public attitudes to local authority funding the Arts* Arts Council, London, 1996.
Poll asked 1,913 people face to face over age of 15, taken in 141 constituencies between 18.11.93 and 15.12.93.

Social groups are determined as

A	upper middle class
B	middle class
C	lower middle class
C_2	skilled working class
D W and E	subsistence levels

Of those asked 70% AB for and 44 % D and E against

'How much do you personally value the arts and facilities available in your area?'

Great deal	17
Fair amount	33
Not very much	29
Not at all	18
Don't know	3'[28]

Please tell me how much you feel local art facilities and events:[29]

	Great deal	Fair amount	Not very much	Not at all	Don't know
Keep city/town centres lively and attractive places to visit	23	44	17	8	7
Attract tourists and day trips to the area	23	40	21	9	7
Create sense of pride for local people	17	46	22	8	8
Provide a focal point for community/ gives sense of local community	14	47	23	8	8
Improve quality of life for local people	16	40	26	10	7

[28] Results of Mori Poll in Dix, G., & Feist, A., *Local Government and the Arts : A Statutory Duty for the Arts Public attitudes to local authority funding the Arts* Arts Council, London, 1996.
Poll asked 1,913 people face to face over age of 15, taken in 141 constituencies between 18.11.93 and 15.12.93.

Appendix 4

Synopsis of Gallery attendance[30]

Gallery	Country	Exhibition	Dates	Attendance
York City Art Gallery	England	Canaletto	Oct 98 – Jan 99	51,540 713/day
Atlanta Museum of Art	America	Impressionism	Feb 99 – May 99	252,333 3,194/day
Boston Museum of Fine Arts	America	Cassat	Feb 99 - May 99	569,914 6,705/day
Los Angeles County Museum	America	Van Gogh	Jan 99 – May 99	821,004 6,824/day
Bilbao Guggenheim	Spain	Rauschenberg	Nov 98 – Dec 99	208,361 1,929/day
National Gallery	England	Rembrandt	June 99 – Sep 99	226,000 2,539/day
Royal Academy	England	Monet	Jan 99 – Apr 99	739,324 8,597/day
Tate Gallery	England	Pollock	Mar 99 – Jun 99	195,900 2,226/day

[30] Apollo, vol. Cl, no. 454., December 1999, p.63/4.

Appendix 5

Mori survey of newspaper readership by social class.
MORI poll, London, January 1990 to December 1992.

Social Class	Quality Broadsheet % readership of each newspaper by social class			
	Guardian	**Independent**	**Daily Telegraph**	**The Times**
A+B	46.8	48.6	50.5	52.3
C1 + C2	44.3	44.2	41.9	38.7
D + E	9.0	7.2	7.6	9.0
N=	2878	2758	4182	1596
N%=	3.7	3.5	5.3	2.0

Social Class	Middle Market tabloids % readership of each by social class		
	Daily Mail	**Express**	**Today**
A+B	25.5	23.2	18.2
C1 + C2	58.4	59.0	59.5
D + E	16.1	18.0	22.3
N=	6589	5302	1962
N%=	8.4	6.8	2.5

Social Class	Popular tabloid % readership of each newspaper by social class			
	Daily Mirror	**Sun**	**Star**	**DRD**
A+B	7.7	6.3	4.8	8.0
C1 + C2	54.7	52.4	49.6	50.8
D + E	37.5	41.3	45.6	41.2
N=	11098	12488	2705	3448
N%=	14.2	16.0	3.5	4.9

Social Class	No paper read
A+B	16.9
C1 + C2	51.6
D + E	31.5
N=	23190
N%=	29.7

Appendix 6
CHRONOLOGY OF CONTROVERSY: RIMA

UNVEILED

Type of publication and view presented

1924

27.1.24 THE OBSERVER
The hidden hand or Jewish peril
Broadsheet negative

1925

1925 DIAL
The Hudson Memorial
Tabloid unknown

20.5.25 DAILY TELEGRAPH
LONDON MERCURY
YORKSHIRE POST
ROTHENSTEIN
reported brief excerpts of Baldwin's speech
Tabloid and broadsheet, impartial

21.5.25 DAILY MAIL
Protest letter from strong opponent George Hubbard
Mid-range, readers letter, negative

24.5.25 SUNDAY EXPRESS
'Personally I feel that I have interpreted the spirit of the writer ... with a work which may be described as symbolical' - Epstein
Mid-range, artists letter, positive

25.5.25 LEEDS MERCURY
Lavery has come out as a champion of Epstein
Mid-range, discusses controversy

DAILY NEWS
This is the limit - guarded by policeman for 3 days (charged to memorial fund)
Mid-range, negative

26.5.25 THE TIMES
Letter from George Hubbard expressing contempt
Broadsheet, readers letter, Negative

30.5.25 THE SPHERE
W. Muir 'Epstein in Hyde Park' An interview with the Famous Sculptor, whose memorial has Aroused a Storm of Controversy.'
Mid-range, interview with artist, discusses controversy

30.5.25 THE TIMES
Personal Letter from Hubbard to Mrs Frank Lemon (secretary of committee)
'I can imagine the scorn that Hudson would have shown had he seen the horrible thing erected to his memory.'
Broadsheet, readers letter, Negative

THE TIMES
Attack by Patrick Abercrombie of Liverpool University school of architecture
Broadsheet, readers letter, Negatve

1.6.25 THE *YORKSHIRE POST*
Mid-range, unknown

1.6.25 THE TIMES
Letter: 'The elbows are striking, but I found it difficult to make out the head until I realised that much of this was shaved off.' - George C Swinton
Broadsheet, readers letter, negative

3.6.25 PUNCH
Countess of Oxford criticised foolish expression of the whole
Satirical, negative

6.6.25 NATION AND ATHENAEUM
G.K. Weekly
Mobs and monuments
Mid-range, discusses controversy

12.6.25 THE BRITISH GUARDIAN
'Hideous and disgusting monstrosity for which the Jew Epstein is responsible
Broadsheet, negative

THE TIMES
Letter of support from Bernard-Shaw
Broadsheet, letter from 'art public', positive

THE TIMES
18.6.25 Letter: ' 'it cannot be in the public interest to humiliate a well-known and experienced sculptor who has done his best with a public commission'
Broadsheet, readers letter, positive

19.6.25 MORNING POST
Mid-range, unknown

1.7.25 DRAWING & DESIGN
The Epstein Controversy
Journal, discusses controversy

21.7.25 Parliamentary debates
Government, discusses controversy

9.9.25 THE TIMES
'Mr Epstein's reply to criticism'
Broadsheet, discusses controversy

6.10.25 Unidentified
'Ugly and Inhuman'
Unknown, negative

THE DAILY NEWS
Attack by hon. John Collier: 'bestial, head and face of an idiot'
Mid-range, Government representative, negative

7.10.25 THE STAR
Epstein accused Collier of having a 'feminine complex' and 'abusive' about nature
Tabloid, response from artist

13.11.25 VANDALISED WITH GREEN PAINT

14.11.25 THE TIMES
Criticised for being 'un-English'
Broadsheet, negative

THE EVENING STANDARD
'Rima washed with turpentine'
Mid-range, discusses controversy

DAILY HERALD
Epstein Panel disfigured

Mid-range, discusses controversy

18.11.25 THE EVENING STANDARD
Another attack on Rima

Mid-range, discusses controversy

THE MORNING POST
Epstein Panel new Demand for removal of Rima

Mid range, discusses controversy

19.11.25 THE EVENING STANDARD
A counter-blast for Rima
Also stated that Epstein's supporters were not 'troglodytes, but rather real life people'

Mid-range, positive

23.11.25 MORNING POST
The Memorial committee apparently only received 4 letters of complaint

Mid-range, discusses controversy

24.11.25 THE TIMES
Bone wrote against the deploring censorial role of the press and the RA ' I confess this Saturnine temperament makes me shudder'

Broadsheet, letter from 'art public', positive

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
No change at the Epstein panel

Broadsheet, discusses controversy

25.11.25 MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
The provocativeness of great art
In all school of art there has been a big rally to the side of Mr Epstein

Broadsheet, positive

MORNING POST
Frampton; 'Rima did not look so grotesque on paper as when sculpted ... the designer did not know the ABC of sculpture'

Mid-range, readers letter, negative

26.11.25 MORNING POST
'Rima and its designer'

Mid-range, unknown

27.11.25 WESTMINSTER GAZETTE
Parliamentary debates - Fascisti in connection with Rima

Mid-range, discusses controversy and Government involvement

MAN IN THE STREET
Perhaps a dose of TNT or dynamite would be even a better cure than the green paint

Unknown, negative

THE BUILDER
Rima controversy

Journal, discusses controversy

28.11.25 THE MORNING POST
Nightmare in Stone

Mid-range, negative

29.11.25 GOVERNMENT REPORT
Muirhead Bone

'Art public' discusses controversy

1926

1926 EVOLUTION IN MODERN ART: A STUDY OF MODERN PAINTING 1870-1925
Rutter believes ' if we can forget Hudson, and regard Epstein's work new work simply as his own expression of the soaring desires and upward gaze Genius, then I think we must admit that it is an expressive and impressive work of great power and originality'

Book, art public, positive

1928

1928 Persistent MP Sir W Davidson asked for the panel to be moved to a museum

Government representative, negative

1929

9.10.29 Rima tarred and feathered

1930

22.1.30 THE DAILY MAIL
Reported incident of 21.1.30

Mid-range, impartial

13.12.30 MORNING POST
Called Bolshvist art

Mid-range, negative

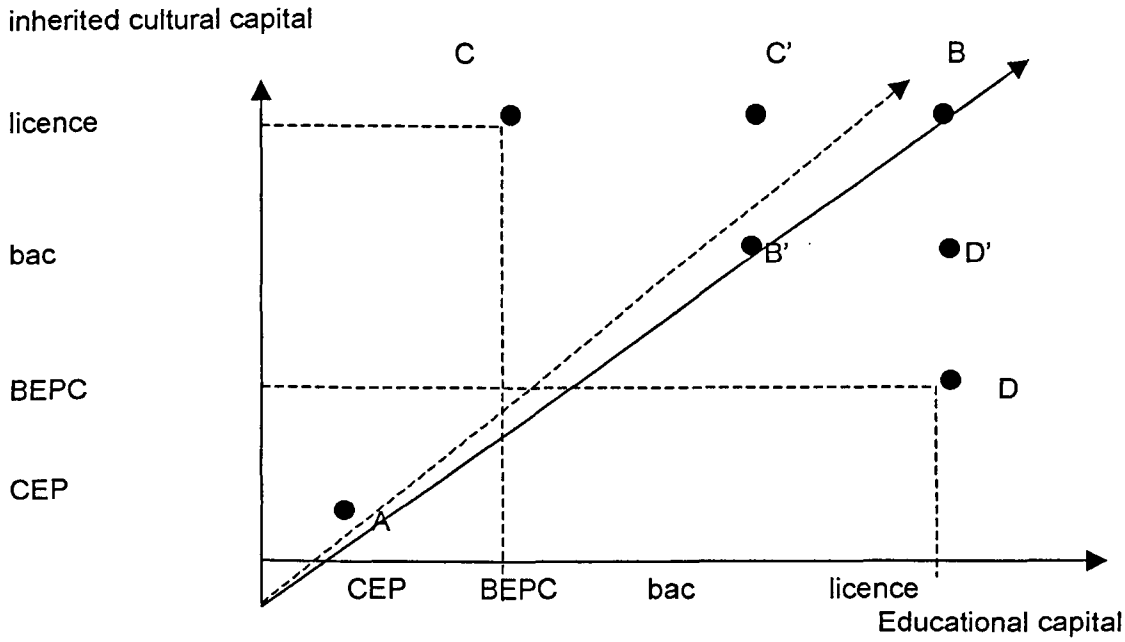
1933

1933 MODERN SCULPTURE
Debate about Epstein's view of nature

Journal, discusses controversy

Appendix 7

Bourdieu's correlation between inherited cultural capital and educational capital (For the French model).



"The possessors of strong educational capital who have also inherited strong cultural capital, and so enjoy a dual title to cultural nobility, the self-assurance of legitimate membership and the ease given familiarity (point B) are opposed, first to those who lack both educational and inherited cultural capital (A) (and to all those who are situated lower down the axis representing perfect reconversion of cultural capital into educational capital (C or C') (or who have an inherited cultural capital greater than their educational capital – e.g. C' relative to B', or D' relative to D) and who are closer to them, especially as regards 'general culture', than the holders of identical qualifications, and , on the other hand, to those who have similar educational capital but who started off with less cultural capital (D or D') and whose relation to culture, which they owe more to the school and less to the family, I less familiar and more scholastic. (These secondary oppositions occur at every level of the axis.)[31]

In Bourdieu's diagram relating (on the y axis) to the statement 'Abstract painting interests me as much as the classical schools' and (on the x axis) to know 12 or more composers. The lowest (less than 10% on both counts) were small shopkeepers, manual workers, craftsmen (although seemed to agree more with y than x) then office worker, commercial employees and big commercial employees. Worked up to Private sector executives, again emphasis on art. Teacher Heavier on composers. Highest artistic producers. And higher education teachers (y and x respectively). Again this is for an outdated French model, but still contains relevant general information.

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[31] Bourdieu, P., *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* op cit., p.81.

Appendix 8

WEST YORKSHIRE ART MARKETING
Wakefield Metropolitan Key clients' training 29th January 2002.

Introduction to strategic arts marketing: research that's affordable.

Writing a brief for research

Step 1 Define the problem to be solved.

Step 2 Consider whether you will have the resources to make changes as a result of the exercise and whether there is a will within the organisation to make such changes.

Step 3 Set objectives for research.

Why set objectives?
They are a constant reminder of what you are trying to find out and stop you deviating from the main question in hand.
They give you a benchmark against which to measure the results of the project (and therefore justify the expenditure).

Types of objective:
Exploratory – to define the problem and suggest hypothesis.
Descriptive – describes things like demographics and attitudes of the audience.
Causal – cause and effect relationships.

Step 4 Consider whether you're going to undertake the research in-houseo or whether you will use an outside agency to help you.

Step 5 If you intend to use an outside agency, write a brief for the research.

Why write a brief?
To set goals and construct a framework for the research.

There is no perfect brief, there will always be areas for further clarification, but in general a brief should include:

- A brief description of the organisation
- The research objectives
- Define the end product – if you want a report, how many copies and what format?
- Timetable/deadline
- How the project will be managed – who will be the lead contact for the consultant?
- The budget
- Are there any other documents or relevant pieces of research that the consultant can utilise?
- What you want from the consultant in response to your brief.

It does not need to include

Research methodology – the most appropriate method should be chosen in consultation with the researcher.

Step 6

After a meeting to discuss the brief, the consultant will then give you the following:

-A breakdown of dates

- A clear methodology
- A breakdown of costs
- An agreement to the terms of the brief

The agreement of this response forms the basis of the research brief.

Appendix 9

CHRONOLOGY OF CONTROVERSY -HOUSE

1993 ARTANGEL LEAFLET
A kind of public press release about '*House*'. Distribution unknown
Artangel, positive

24.10.93 SUNDAY TELEGRAPH
John McEwan believes that she should win the Turner Prize for *House*
Broadsheet, positive

31.10.93 OBSERVER
Discusses the K Foundations joke at the Turner Prize
Broadsheet, discusses controversy

2.11.93 INDEPENDENT
A Graham-Dixon. Supports the piece through an intellectual article
Broadsheet, specialist journalist, positive

6/7.11.93 FINANCIAL TIMES
Judges her career to be successful
Broadsheet, positive

22.11.93 TIMES
Leader: Discussing the Turner prize but only mentions Whiteread and only mentions *House*.
How much has publicity aided her Turner prize candidacy?
Broadsheet, unknown

25.11.93 GUARDIAN
D. Sudjic believes that the 'point of avant-garde art since the nineteenth century has been in part to provoke, 'to upset and twist the tail of the establishment. Now the roles have been reversed.' (K foundation)
By standards of art that sets out deliberately to offend, Whiteread's *House* is pretty tame stuff.'
Broadsheet, specialist journalist, discusses controversy

Dec 93 BURLINGTON
Shone '*House* her most spectacular work to date and one with a show stopping ambition as befits its site'
Journal, positive

5.12.93 *SUNDAY TIMES*
Tongue in cheek look at visiting *House*
Broadsheet, discusses controversy

1993 TURNER PRIZE BOOK
Believes that the piece was public by default
Book, positive

11.1.94 *HOUSE* DEMOLISHED

1994 *House* limited edition book with photographs by John Davies, Artangel
Book, positive

12.1.94 INDEPENDENT
'Most controversial work of art since Equivalent VIII demolished yesterday morning. More than 100,000 people saw *House* during its `10 week tenure' and blames councillor Flounders for its destruction.
Broadsheet, positive, discusses controversy

GUARDIAN
Most famous work of modern art since Carl Andre's bricks. 'If a work of art can generate this degree of interest then it's done its job.'
Broadsheet, discusses controversy, positive

1994 *PARKETT*
Many different articles about Whiteread considering various intellectual aspects:
WATNEY: publishes quotations from experts and public, discusses controversy, '*House* could not have been uncontroversial its triumph as a work of art, however, lies not in the index of attendant controversy, but in the confident eloquence of its refusal to take sides.' But did her career no harm.
Journal, positive

15.1.94 FINANCIAL TIMES
MacRitchie ' The appearance of *House* at the end of last year electrified the debate about controversial art.'
Broadsheet, discusses controversy

Jan 94 ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW
Chitty
Journal, positive

Jan/Feb 94 FRIEZE
'Whiteread bemused by the attention.' And the story of Untitled (*House*) 1993 has been repeated in the media throughout the world.
Journal, discusses controversy

1995 Excavating the House - VIDEO

1995 Rachel Whiteread: House VIDEO artangel

Feb 95 BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME
Intellectual review of her work - still refers to *House*
Journal, positive

8.4.95 GUARDIAN
Sutcliffe writing about new work but still refers to *House*
Broadsheet, positive

21.5.95 *SUNDAY TIMES*
Januszczak, 'scandal fuelled by misconception' 'curious human trait - if you do not understand it - rubbish it.'
Broadsheet, discusses controversy, positive

24.5.95 TELEGRAPH
Questions the originality of her later career
Broadsheet, negative

27.10.95 GUARDIAN
Sees *House* as raising a great many issues
Broadsheet, positive

8.9.96 INDEPENDENT
'Is this art debate' still refers back to *House*
Broadsheet, discusses conrtoversy

13.9.96 TELEGRAPH
'The controversy that surrounded the work, and its eventual demolition on the orders of the local council, turned Whiteread, rather than *House* in to a public property, a process she disliked intensely.
Broadsheet, discusses controversy

14.9.96 GUARDIAN GUIDE
Exhibition review. 'Whiteread; ghost-like *House* perfectly exposed the tight-arsed Philistine insensitivity of civic bureaucrats when they ordered its destruction.'
Broadsheet, positive

17.9.96 GUARDIAN
'Her magnificent House'
Broadsheet, positive

22.9.96 OBSERVER REVIEW
Discussing the Shedding Life exhibition - Feaver refers to *House*
Broadsheet, specialist journalist, positive

SUNDAY TIMES
Januszczak: 'Whiteread is not one of the bad Girls .. there is a great nobility to her work'
Broadsheet, specialist journalist, positive

INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY
Hilton: 'Whiteread's short career has been a success story.'
Broadsheet, positive

25.9.96 TELEGRAPH
Shedding Life: Dorment ' Whiteread is best known in this country for '*House*'
Broadsheet, discusses controversy

OCT 96 ART MONTHLY
Usherwood: 'Yet of course, despite the decorum, Whiteread's name brings with it the whiff of scandal. The seismograph recordings of the demolition of '*House*' ... shoed tremors nearly as great as those following the removal of Serra's tilted arc.'
Journal, discusses controversy

ARCHITECT'S JOURNAL
Discusses Shedding Life and House 'how successfully will the Judenplatz memorial confront a truly traumatic past? Only public reaction to her impenetrable library will tell'
Journal, discusses controversy

1.10.96 INDEPENDENT
A considered look at Whiteread's technique
Broadsheet, positive

18.10.96 TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT
Thistlewood, 'Rachel Whiteread was largely unknown before she won the 193 Turner prize, an occasion remembered mainly for her concrete sculpture 'House' emphasise what an astonishingly positive affirmation of achievement 'House' embodied for with 1 or 2 strong exceptions, this 'Ist' work is either faintly anticipated or weakly echoed in practically every exhibit - needs to do something equally as significant and with presence as House.
Broadsheet, specialist journalist, positive

2.11.96 INDEPENDENT
'Dwarfed the efforts of her peers by the sheer force of sheer controversy: for the modern artist, controversy is a rare gift; like alchemy it can turn dross, or concrete into gold. It's a gift Rachel Whiteread shares with the only other young British artist who compares with her in terms of world wide recognition, Damien Hirst.'
(Though Whiteread claims to have been totally unprepared for the publicity)
Broadsheet, negative

31.5.97 GUARDIAN

Hatterstone 'Perhaps controversy is the motor of her inspiration? She gives me a 'you can-not-be-serious look.' Says it was a godsend to leader writers. Still favourite work 'I like the way it lives in people's memories.'

Broadsheet, positive

1997 SENSATION EXHIBITION

Catalogue of figures

1 *House* and the artist Rachel Whiteread. Photograph taken by Richard Baker/Katz, The Daily Telegraph 24.10.93. Clipping held in the HMI archives, Leeds.

2 Goya, F., *Great Deeds! Against the Dead!*, series 1810-1820. This etching 1810. reproduced in Rosenthal, N., (ed.), *Sensation, Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection,* exhibition catalogue, Thames and Hudson, London, 1997, p.10. Credit not cited. The actual location of this sketch is unknown although one reproduction refers to The Fotomas Index.

3 Jake and Dinos Chapman *Great Deeds! Against the dead,* 1994, Saatchi Collection. Aachen courtesy of the Ludwig forum reproduced in Rosenthal, N., (ed.), *Sensation, Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection,* exhibition catalogue, Thames and Hudson, London, 1997, p.65.

4 Interior of Palais de l'Industrie, Paris, c. 1860. Image held in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Reproduced in Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1972, p.12. Photography credit not cited.

5 Manet, E., *Déjeuner sur l'herbe,* 1863. Reproduced in Harris, N., *The Life and Works of Manet,* Parragon Press, London. Image courtesy of the Bridgeman Art Library, London.

6 Edouard Manet, *Mlle. V in the costume of an Espada,* 1862.Oil on canvas. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Reproduced in Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op. cit., p.47.

7 Edouard Manet, *Young man in the costume of a Majo,* 1862. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Mrs H O Havemeyer Bequest. Reproduced in Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op. cit., p.46.

8 Cartoon from depicting the *Salon des Refuses* from *Charivari,* 1864. Held in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Reproduced in Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New* op. cit., p.42.

9 Cartoon capturing the scornful mood of visitors to the Post Impressionist Exhibition, 1910. The Illustrated London News, 3rd December 1910. Reproduced in Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op. cit., p.121.

10 Album Comique, by Baric, Paris 1862. Held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Reproduced in Dunlop, I., *The Shock of the New,* op. cit., p.15.

11 Edouard Manet, *Olympia,* 1863, Musee d'Orsay, Paris. Originally bought for the Musée du Luxembourg in 1890. Reproduced in Harris, N., *Manet,* op. cit., pp.14-15. Courtesy of the Bridgeman Art Library, London.

12 Paul Cézanne, *Pastorale,* c. 1870, Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Reproduced in Kendall, R., (ed.), *Cézanne by himself,* Chartwell books inc., New Jersey, 1988, p.47.

13 Claude Monet, *Luncheon on the Grass,* 1865-66, Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Reproduced in Katz, R., and Dars, C., *The Impressionists in Context,* Acropolis Books, Enderby, Leicestershire, 1991, p. 213.

14 Pablo Picasso, *Le Dejeuner sur L'Herbe*, 1961. Le Musée Picasso, Hotel Sale, Paris. Reproduced on www.boijmans.kennis.net.nl.

15 Marcus Harvey, *Myra,* 1995. Saatchi collection, London. Courtesy of the Tate Gallery, London. Reproduced in Rosenthal, N., *Sensation, Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection,* exhibition catalogue, op. cit.,p.65.

16 Marcus Harvey *Proud of his Wife*, 1994. Saatchi collection, London. Reproduced in Rosenthal, N., *Sensation, Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection,* exhibition catalogue, op. cit., p.88.

17 Winnie Johnson, photographed outside the Sensation exhibition, printed to accompany Dalya Alberge's article 'Attacks force Hindley portrait to be removed, *The Times,* 19.09.97, p.9. Photograph by Simon Schluter. Personal archive.

18 Chris Ofili, *The Holy Virgin Mary,* 1995. Saatchi collection, London. Reproduced in Rosenthal, N., *Sensation, Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection,* exhibition catalogue, op. cit., p.133.

19 Flyer promoting *Sensation* exhibition held at the Brooklyn Museum of Contemporary Art, New York, 2.10.99-9.1.00. Personal archive.

20 Saatchi Cartoon by Ferguson in The Financial Times. September 1997. Personal archive.

21 Marcel Duchamp, *Fountain* 1917. Photographed by Alfred Steiglitz. Reproduced in the second issue of 'The Blind Man', (Magazine published by Duchamp and his American patron Walter Arensberg), May 1917, p.4. Reproduced in Lucie-Smith, E., *Visual arts in the twentieth century,* Lawrence King Publishing, London, 1996. p.101.

22 Marcel Duchamp, *Nude Descending a Staircase, no.2,* 1912. Image courtesy of ADAGP Paris, reproduced in Richard Hughes, *The Shock of the New,* Thames and Hudson, London, 1993. p.53.

23 Carl Andre, *Equivalent VIII,* 1966. Image courtesy of DACS 1991, London. Reproduced in Richard Hughes, *The Shock of the New* op. cit., p.368.

24 Jacob Epstein, Designs for the Strand Statues, 1907. Image from Silber, E., *The Sculpture of Jacob Epstein,* Phaidon, Oxford, 1986, p.122. Photograph courtesy of the British Museum, London.

25 Jacob Epstein, *Strand Statues* in-situ., Reproduced from Silber E., *The Sculpture of Jacob Epstein,* op. cit., p.122., Photograph courtesy of the British Museum, London.

26 Jacob Epstein, *Rima,* 1925. Memorial to Hudson, Hyde Park, London. Image from Friedman, T., *The Hyde Park Atrocity: Epstein's Rima,* The Centre for the Study of Sculpture, Leeds, 1998, p.45.

27 Cartoons referring to *Rima.* Reproduced in Friedman, T., *The Hyde Park Atrocity: Epstein's Rima,* op. cit., p.32.

28 Richard Serra, *Tilted Arc,* 1981. Image reproduced from Richard Hughes, *The Shock of the New,* op. cit., p.241.

29 Antony Gormley, *Brickman,* Postcard commissioned by the Centre of the Study of Sculpture, and published by the Henry Moore Institute, Leeds.

30 Rachel Whiteread, *House,* Original photograph held in HMI archives, Leeds, artist file Whiteread. Credit not cited.

31 Antony Gormley *Angel of the North,* Own photograph, personal archive.

32 Clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

33 Squatters cartoon, *Time Out,* 3.10.93. p178.
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No.10, cartoon *The Times,* 25.11.93.
Builders Cartoon, Jake, *The Evening Standard,* 25.11.93.
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34 Clippings held in HMI archives, Leeds. Artist file, Gormley.

35 Photograph credit to Beer Davies and accompanying newspaper article, N Reynolds, 'Shearer plays on the wing', *The Telegraph,* 23.5.98, p.95 clipping held in HMI archives, Leeds.

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