Beyond Targets: articulating the role of art in regeneration

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Contents

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Words: 80, 488

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Figures

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Images

Photographs

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Abstract

Beyond Targets: articulating the role of art in regeneration

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An anthropological study of urban practice, this thesis contributes a nuanced understanding of the role of visual art in regeneration. Inspired by the experiential philosophy of Dewey (1934), we have traced the effects mobilised by art as part of urban transformation. The literature of cultural policy and 'culture-led regeneration' (Vickery, 2007), discusses art as physical artworks, in support of development; or as socially-engaged practice, in support of social renewal. Through tracing the movements of all the actors involved, our research goes beyond explanation in support of policy targets. We have described what happens in practice, on its own terms. To account for a range of professional perspectives, the research included four empirical studies at different proximities to practice: an exploratory study embedded in art practice; eighteen in-depth interviews with a range of art and regeneration professionals; sixteen in-depth interviews with practitioners of an Urban Regeneration Company (URC) case study; and a six-month ethnography of the same URC case. Accounting for the agency of humans and non-humans (Latour, 2007a), our explications took close account of the effects produced by the associations of urban relationships, between: engineers, planners, construction workers, and artists; as well as plans and drawings, objects, materials, concepts, ideas and natural elements. Through tracing actors at the 'microscopic' (Geertz, 1973) scale, we did not observe art as 'works', but *the way* art works as a driver for re-imagining the urban.

In practice, we see regeneration not as buildings or communities, but as a continuous process of re-shaping human-physical relationships. As part of this relational network, art 'mediates' (Hennion, 1997) participation, collaboration and reflection on the ambitions of regeneration: producing new ideas for urban possibilities. The effects are produced through the continuous associations between 'inner' (human) and 'outer' (physical) materials. These material associations meld to create a neutral platform for professionals to shift from their usual remit; to re-consider the 'big picture' from a new perspective. Regeneration is an active part of the political landscape. As a catalyst for urban imagination, rather than deliver policy objectives, art re-shapes them. Through tracing practice this research contributes new understandings to the study of art and regeneration. By revealing urban networks through tracing art, rather than explaining regeneration as physical or social, we have made a contribution to urban studies by describing the micro movements of regeneration as a relational practice. As a contribution to art studies, through tracing how art works in regeneration, we have produced nuanced descriptions of how art 'mediates' action and reflection in and on urban practice. As a contribution to policy and practice, we have articulated the role of visual art in regeneration as: mediating emergent imaginings; re-shaping rather than delivering objectives. As a tool for the policies of the time, 'regeneration' has a shelf-life. As an articulation of the role of art as a catalyst for collaboration in support of positive urban transformation, the findings of this study continue to be relevant.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Preface

I submit this PhD as a doctoral student of Planning, in the School of Environment and Development, University of Manchester; and a student of the Centre for Doctoral Training (CDT) Sustainable Consumption Institute, University of Manchester. I have been supervised between Planning, and Manchester Architecture Research Centre (MARC), and supported via a broader steering group of inter-disciplinary academics and practitioners from the field.

I come from a visual arts practice background. My undergraduate degree was in Fine Art (BA (Hons) Drawing and Painting). From that basis, rather than work as an artist, I have performed different roles within the visual arts profession as a magazine editor, small gallery director, curator, festival initiator and organiser; and evaluation consultant. In order to begin my project to better articulate the role of the artist, I undertook a postgraduate degree in Development Studies (MSc Management and Implementation of Development Projects). This postgraduate degree, at the Institute of Development Policy and Management (University of Manchester) enlivened an interdisciplinary research interest in the role of the artist in support of making development more sustainable. As will be introduced in the thesis, the goals of sustainability can be understood to be integrated within urban regeneration policies. In utilising systems methodologies as introduced within the MSc programme, I previously undertook evaluations of art in regeneration contexts.

This PhD is aimed at articulating the role of art in regeneration. The project is supported via a four year scholarship within the inter-disciplinary DTC as an innovative contribution to the SCI's broad research agenda into 'sustainable development'. As a DTC scholar, as well as developing my own research, I benefited from an innovative enquiry-based learning programme in support of my career as an interdisciplinary researcher. Highlights of the programme include: co-designing, 'The Lost Sock' a public engagement event for visitors of Manchester Museum to engage with sustainable clothing via the global story of a familiar domestic item; facilitating an enquiry based learning module as part of the Manchester Sustainable Cities project; being awarded first prize group for Professor Mohan Munasinghe's short course on 'sustainomics'; as well as introducing my research to a broad public audience including presentations to the Ellen MacArthur Trust, E-ON and the Head of Ethical Trading Policy and other senior executives of Tesco Stores Ltd.

In partnership with the SCI, the first two years of my PhD were also supported in collaboration with Renaissance North West. Supported via this industry partnership, as part of the Whitworth Art Gallery's public participation programme, I visited the *Art of Participation* at San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (2009). As part of scoping the PhD project, I visited the exhibition and met with some of the exhibiting artists. As part of this early scoping stage, I also undertook a one-week observation placement at the Barlow Moor Community Centre, in South Manchester.

As well as my expanded PhD experience as supported by the DTC and Renaissance North West, I was also the recipient of an esteemed scholarship as fellow of the Arts, Science and Business Programme of *Akademie Schloss Solitude* in Stuttgart. The programme is an international centre for excellence in research and practice in the arts. As a fellow, I began my empirical research at the *Akademie* in June 2009. I returned for three months to write a draft of my empirical findings during the summer of 2010. As well as writing, whilst at the *Akademie*, I also benefited from presenting my research within a sustainability context, via an invitation to co-present a seminar, '*Klimafolie*' with Professor Peter Frankenberg, The Minister of Science, Research and Culture of Baden-Württemberg.

The development of my research also benefited from invitations to undertake international presentations: as an invited keynote presenter as part of the 'Artistic Research' programme at Valand School of Fine Arts, Göteburg (2010); and as a keynote as part of a public art seminar series at Truck Gallery, Calgary (2010). At Valand I particularly discussed the distributed nature of visual art practice. At Truck Gallery I focused on this distributed role of art in a regeneration context. In considering alternative perspectives to 'measurement' the development of my research methodology benefited from an early paper on the role of art that I gave at the International Conference on Sustainable Measurement and Modelling, Barcelona (2008). The continued development of my research has also benefitted from presenting at conferences and events throughout the UK: including the 2010 workshop 'Politics of Design' (MARC, University of Manchester) where I previewed the findings of my first few weeks as a participant-observer based at the office of an Urban Regeneration Company (URC) in the North of England; and the 2011 CRESC annual conference, 'Framing the City' (University of Manchester) where I presented the full 'story' of the ethnography of the URC, as the final of four empirical studies as part of the PhD.

Additional valuable invitations during my PhD journey have been as an advisor to: the SCI research project, 'Improving Sustainability Skills and Knowledge in the Workplace' (Tippett, J., V. Farnsworth, F. How, E. Le Roux, P.Mann and G. Sherriff (2009)). Here I benefited from discussions regarding the epistemic role of objects and aesthetic practices. I have also been advisor to the PAUSE, University of Newcastle (Fine Art) 'Intersections' programme of seminars and workshops developed to foster activity at the interface of public art practice and academic research. This has been valuable in terms of considering the position of my research across academic fields and visual arts practice. As part of the 'Intersections' programme, I will be undertaking a one-year part-time research position at the University of Newcastle (Fine Art) from January 2013.

Chapter 1: Art and regeneration – a practice perspective

1.1 Art as experience

In articulating the role of visual art in regeneration, this study presents rich descriptions of urban relationships. To notice the subtleties of the relational experience of art, we take inspiration from the pragmatism of Dewey (1934). We do not regard artworks as physical objects or social processes as separated from everyday living. We rather regard the way art works act as part of the renewal process of urban life. To explicate the fine detail of art's operation, we do not look at sculptures or artists directly. To illuminate art's finesse, we soften our gaze. To notice the agency of art, we expand our view to trace art as part of the big picture of transformation. We ask: How do the renewal processes of art operate as part of the renewal processes of regeneration? What does the experience of art produce as distinct from that of regeneration? How is this distinct contribution produced?

To trace the role of art in the construction of the urban tapestry we take close account of its material alterations. We are familiar with the notion that to make art, we must change 'outer' physical materials; such as clay, paint, wood and plastic. In our study we will also, however, pay close attention to the changes to 'inner' human materials (1934: 77); such as observations, thoughts and emotions. At the micro-scale of art practice we trace how the weave of the 'inner' and 'outer' intertwine. How relationships form and how these interactions meld to produce new shapes and formations. To study the depth of these associations we do not stay at the hard surfaces of urban living. We do not look at buildings or communities; we go 'beneath the human scale' (Dewey, 1934: 18). In taking our position amongst the micro textures we describe the ebb and flow of new beginnings.

The literature surrounding the role of art in regeneration discusses art in relation to the policy ambitions at the time. Art is discussed as supporting economic development and social renewal. Over four studies including forty two in-depth interviews and a six-month ethnography we trace the fullness of the art experience, as it plays out.We go beyond targets. Our contribution is to describe the fullness of practice. Through interpretive anthropology, we capture the detail of what is mobilised through art and how these effects are produced.

1.2 Conceptual framework: aim, objectives and research questions

The research aim is to:

Produce a nuanced articulation of the role of art in regeneration in order to build bridges of understanding in support of stakeholders of urban practice and policy.

The research objectives are:

- To describe the multiple effects triggered by art in-action within a regeneration context.

- To consider how the knowledge of the multiple agency of art as part of the processes of regeneration can be transferred in support of urban transformation.

The research questions guiding the research are:

- What are the multiple effects produced by visual art in regeneration: what effects are intentionally or unintentionally mobilised; and how do intentions merge?

- How are these effects produced: what is the role of 'outer' physical and 'inner' human materials; and how do materials fuse in practice?

- How best can effects be articulated to inform stakeholders of art and regeneration: how do the discourses and non-discourses meld and separate?

1.3 The journey to come: thesis structure

Presented over six chapters, the structure of this thesis will follow a traditional format. Through these chapters we will make an empirical journey towards the better articulation of the effects of art as produced in regeneration. Following the introduction of the thesis, Chapter Two will review the interdisciplinary literature as relevant to the experiential perspective of this study. Chapter Three will preview the anthropological research design and the methods used. Chapters Four and Five will present the empirical studies. Chapter Six will conclude the thesis by first presenting a discussion of the main themes as emerged from the studies, in positioning the contribution to the literature. The chapter will then conclude the research by: reviewing the research methodology; summarising how this thesis contributes to fields of knowledge, and making recommendations for future research.

The review of the inter-disciplinary literature in Chapter Two will be presented across five sections. These sections will traverse the fields of: cultural policy; art studies; regeneration studies and the study of 'culture-led regeneration'. This chapter will reveal the discourse of cultural policy and 'culture-led regeneration' (Vickery, 2007) as being focused on the role of art in support of social and economic policy agendas. In reviewing the literature the chapter will pose the need to go beyond this well-trodden policy debate, to contribute a nuanced description of what happens in practice. By undertaking an experiential study of practice, this chapter position's the anthropological contribution of this thesis.

In order to account for what professionals say as well as tracing what they do in practice, Chapter Three will outline the empirical studies. The research is undertaken over four empirical stages: firstly, an exploratory stage to submerge amongst art practice; followed by two interview samples, and a six-month ethnography of an urban regeneration company in the North of England. The first three empirical studies are presented in Chapter Four. In order to make a distinction between what professionals say in interview, and what is traced in practice, the ethnography is presented in Chapter Five.

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Chapter 2: The work of the art – what art does

2.1 Beyond targets: towards a language of practice

The eighteen-month empirical study period of this thesis is undertaken during summer 2009 until late 2010. In the UK, this period traces the end of New Labour and the formation of the coalition government. Globally, as summarised by Belfiore, this governmental change takes place against 'the backdrop' (2012: 103) of one of the most serious economic recessions in modern times. In 'taking stock', Belfiore (2012: 13) describes this period as characterised by the discourse surrounding the arts as an 'instrument' in support of economic and social policy. During this time the arts are valued based on their measurement against delivering against policy targets.

The evidence-based policy of New Labour, most values evidence that can be 'measured' (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008: 6). The requirement for evidence in support of continued public investment draws focus to what Belfiore (2002) described as 'methodological problems' for accounting for the value and impact of the arts. How to account for the transformative power of the arts is seen to be problematic. Instead of research describing the full range of effects produced through the complex nature of the art experience, this period rather sees a growth in economic and social impact studies. These reports are largely undertaken by sector consultants. These studies do not describe the full range of effects produced; instead, they measure impacts against pre-determined criteria.

Guided by the philosophy of Dewey, this study sets out to better articulate the complexity of the art experience as it happens in regeneration. Belfiore and Bennett report that the personal nature of the art experience makes it impossible to reduce 'to a set of measurable attributes' (2008: 6). Here, we do not reduce our account of the art experience, against that which can be measured. We do not set out to ask the question: How does art meet economic targets? Or, how can we measure the social impact of this art project? In this thesis we will describe the effects of the experience of art in regeneration, as they play out. Here we will ask: What are the multiple effects of art in regeneration? How are they produced in action? How can we develop a language outside of the terms of policy to articulate these multiple effects?

As a context to cultural policy, the urban policy of the 1980s and early 1990s had been dominated by property-led regeneration (Imrie and Raco, 2003: 3). During the later 1990s, however, there was increasing dissatisfaction with the benefits of regeneration programmes failing to meet the needs of 'poorer neighbourhoods' (Imrie and Raco, 2003: 11). There was a 'sea-change' in British urban regeneration policy 'towards seeing local people as the principal assets through which regeneration could be achieved' (Reeves, 2002: 13). This resulted in programmes emphasising 'the need for more inclusive approaches, with considerably greater emphasis upon the importance of actively involving and empowering all sections of the local community' (Mayo, 2004: 139). The focus of regeneration altered from being purely physical, to taking account of 'the community'.

The 1997 Policy Action Team review resulted in the development of the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU). The SEU published the report *Bringing Britain Together: A New Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (1998) (Wallace, 2001: 2163). The intention of *neighbourhood renewal* was to 'stimulate the development of long-term integrated and holistic approaches to regeneration and to strengthen local communities' (Coaffee, 2008: 380). The strategy was coordinated by the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit. The policy action teams report that the arts are 'officially recognised to have a positive contribution' (Belfiore, 2002: 91). Chris Smith, then Secretary for the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) states that the arts, sports, cultural and recreational activity 'can contribute to neighbourhood renewal and make a real difference to health, crime, employment and education in deprived communities' (Reeves, 2002: 17). It was argued that art (and sport) 'can be a fundamental part of successful schemes, often offering a catalyst for positive community engagement in local issues' (Coaffee, 2008: 380). This argument proposes that art delivers against the social and economic ambitions of regeneration.

Most nations have government departments that promote and support the arts and many also have arts councils which either distribute government funds or advise on how this should be done (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008: 01). The institutional framework of the arts also includes: theatres, museums, galleries, concert-halls and festivals (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008: 02). In the UK, the distribution of funds from the Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) falls to the Arts Councils of England (ACE), Wales and Creative Scotland (formally the Scottish Arts Council). The ambition of ACE is to 'put the arts at the heart of national life and people at the heart of the arts' (1997: 02).

The policy action teams of 1997 promoted the role of the arts in support of social and economic agendas. Since 1997, however there has been a 'generally acknowledged' (Selwood, 2002) lack of knowledge within the arts and culture sector in terms of how to produce evidence of the role of art in support of socio-economic targets. Frustrations with the lack of evidence are exemplified at government level by Estelle Morris, as minister for the arts (2003-2005), whilst Cheltenham Festival of Literature, stated: 'I know that art and culture make a contribution to health, to education, to crime reduction, to strong communities, to the nation's well-being, but I don't know how to evaluate it or describe it' (2003). Similarly, Tessa Jowell, as Secretary of State for Culture Media and the Arts published a personal essay that posed the question: 'How, in going beyond targets, can we best capture the value of culture? (2004)' More than in academic fields, this question has been responded to by the arts sector itself. We will now consider the key consultancy reports in circulation during our period of research.

Firstly, in *Capturing Cultural Value,* John Holden (2004) suggested that the lack of evidence to support public expenditure on the arts was due to the lack of evaluation frameworks that go beyond what is easy to measure. Similarly, Belfiore view was that instead of a rigorous exploration, 'a rather simplistic debate has taken place' (2004: 02). Focusing on measurable impacts, they suggested, has left a number of fundamental assumptions unchallenged. Instead of a more complex discussion, Belfiore and Bennett (2008: 07) have suggested that evidence is being generated by arts consultants advocating for the continuation of projects against policy criteria. As a consequence of the consultancy nature of the research, the 'impact studies' have suffered methodological flaws.

Recognised as the first impact study of its kind in Britain, *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* was written by John Myerscough (1988). Shortfalls in terms of its methodology were soon criticised, however. As elaborated by Belfiore (2002: 95), Hansen (1995) not only challenged the validity of the results, but also maintained that in such an approach the arts were evaluated on an incorrect basis, 'as the real *purpose* of the artistic activity (which is not producing economic returns) is not taken into account' Belfiore (2002: 95). The real purpose, as reported by Belfiore and Bennett (2008) is understood to be the 'social' role. Instead of the economic impact, the social impact of the arts increasingly became an area for methodological consideration.

Françoise Mattarasso's report, *Use or Ornament?* (1997), is understood to be 'the first – and so far the only – attempt at formulating a specific methodology for evaluating if and how participation in arts activity does change lives' (Belfiore, 2002: 98). The study was applauded for offering an alternative to 'hard' output-type indicators with 'soft' qualitative measures. As with Mysercough's (1988) economic assessment, this influential work was criticised. Firstly, based on its inductive methodology, Merli (2002) stated that in arrival to the conclusion - that the arts support positive social change - the causal arguments were lost between data and conclusions. Criticisms are also focused on the evaluation model itself. Matarasso proposed that the assessment stage should take place shortly after project completion. Belfiore (2002: 99) proposed that an evaluation method that really placed outcomes at its heart should 'focus on long-term monitoring of the participants and the effects of the arts organisations'. The study was also criticised for excluding 'artistic considerations' from the scope of his analysis (Belfiore, 2002: 100). Although influential in supporting the argument that art can support social agendas, this study was also widely criticised.

Post Matarasso's study, there is therefore reported to be a continued lack of cohesion in the understanding of the role of the arts. Since Shaw's (1999) literature review informing the policy action teams, Reeves (2002: 66) reviews that there has been a growing policy and research interest in methodologies for measuring their social impact. Reeves states that there 'remains a real shortage of 'robust evaluation' about the impact of this work at neighbourhood level' (2002: 66); and a pressing need to develop methodologies for evaluating art's effectiveness. Indeed, the literature review to inform policy action team 10 (that which made recommendations for the arts), although it recommended the social purpose of the arts, also pointed out that 'it remains a fact that relative to the volume of arts activity taking place in the country's poorest neighbourhoods, the evidence of the contribution it makes to neighbourhood renewal is paltry' (Shaw, 1996: 6). Reeves noted there was a particular interest in evaluative frameworks for assessing the contribution of the arts; particularly in support of neighbourhood renewal and social inclusion. In our research, we will not pursue the development of evaluation of targets; we will rather set out to describe the fullness of the experience of art and its effects by adopting appropriate research methodologies.

In 2001 Helen Jermyn was commissioned by Arts Council England to explore 'different models of social inclusion work occurring in the arts' (2001: 1). Eighteen projects participated in the research, all with aims of social inclusion. The objectives were to inform policy and advocacy initiatives and test appropriate methodologies for evaluating arts initiatives (2001: 01). Jermyn (2001:13) summarised the effects of the arts as ranging from 'increased self-confidence to increased educational attainment, from social cohesion to reduced offending behaviour'. The specific claims against the effects of the arts included: developing self-confidence and self-esteem, increasing creativity and thinking skills, improving skills in planning and organising activities, improving communication of ideas and information, realising or enhancing educational attainment, increasing appreciation of the arts, creating social capital, strengthening communities, developing community identity, decreasing social isolation, improving understanding of different cultures, enhancing social cohesion, promoting interest in the local environment, activating social change, raising public awareness of an issue, enhancing mental and physical health and well-being, contributing to urban regeneration, reducing offending behaviour, alleviating the impact of poverty, and increasing the employability of individuals.

The list of effects produced by the arts presented by Jermyn was a long one. She concluded that much of the research could be criticised in some way (2001: 13). One criticism was that definitions of concepts such as social cohesion either varied or were missing entirely from the research design. Secondly, Jermyn noted that the research was often what she described as 'generalist'. Within cultural policy, 'the arts' were included alongside design and architecture, sporting events, and a more 'general sense of creativity and the knowledge economy' (Jones and Evans, 2008: 112). 'Culture' was a 'contested concept' discussed from many disciplinary perspectives and their respective analytical silos (Gray, 2010: 215). Our research will make a specific contribution to our understanding of visual art as a specific art form within 'the arts' as part of 'culture'.

Although the research presenting the social impacts of the arts could be criticised, Jermyn emphasised that the themes emerging from them were consistent. Even though there were methodological flaws, the claims for the effect of participating in arts activity should 'not be dismissed' (Jermyn, 2001: 29). In this thesis we will contribute a robust methodological approach by designing an empirical study that goes beyond measuring effects against pre-criteria, towards describing the fullness of what happens in practice.

In her reflection on this period of cultural policy, Belfiore (2012: 104) has recently suggested that cultural policy makers and researchers could benefit from a more thoughtful and philosophical approach to the notion of 'impact' and 'instrumentalism', and the 'underlying assumption that the arts can be used as a tool to effect real transformation on individual's sense of self […] and ultimately on communities and society' (Belfiore, 2012: 104). In *Capturing Cultural Value*, Holden proposed that 'we need a language capable of reflecting, recognising and capturing the full range of values expressed through culture' (Holden, 2004: 09). Guided by the philosophy of Dewey, this research develops a more nuanced articulation of the role of art, beyond 'impact' and 'instrumentalism'. In our study, rather than regarding art as an 'instrument' we are concerned with art's qualities of agency and 'mediation'. By following the networks of practice, we will explore the full range of effects produced by art in regeneration. We do not set out to trace the experience of art against narrow objectives. In order to develop a nuanced language to articulate the fullness of what is produced by art, we set out to utilise more appropriate theories and methodologies for tracing the complexity of urban practice. We do not set out with *a priori* assumptions of what art does. Instead we set out to reveal what actually happens and how effects are mobilised by art in situations of urban production.

Making a contribution to the 'rather simplistic debate' Belfiore and Bennett undertook an historical-intellectual exploration of the claims for what the arts 'do' to individuals: 'how they can transform them (for better or the worse), and the role they ought to have in society and in relation to the state' (2008: 35). They discussed the notion of 'impacts' in its broadest sense, including: the functions of the arts, and their effects on people. The notion that art is seen to have a function in society was revealed as having a long tradition, which could be traced back to the Classical Greek period. Making a case for the arts was revealed as being rooted in Plato's proposal that 'the arts have a profound hold on the emotional, passionate and fundamentally irrational part of the human soul, and through that hold can affect moral behaviour *negatively* (Belfiore, 2012: 105). In response, Aristotle can be seen to have reacted to Plato's negative proposal, by proposing that art can have positive effects. Belfiore and Bennett's research is based on the novel and theatre. Our study will make a specific contribution to our understanding of the role of art by contributing an empirical description of the effects of *visual arts*, in regeneration. We do not set out to look for positive or negative effects. We set out to notice the fullness of what happens as it is produced in practice: as positive, as negative and as anything else.

As set out in Arts Council England's *Visual Arts Policy 2007-2011*, since the 1980s, along with other art forms, ACE has invested in and supported the development of the contemporary visual arts. In partnership with local authorities and visual arts organisations, ACE has invested £38 million a year in support of the promotion and presentation of visual art 'in and beyond the gallery' (2007: 04). ACE defines 'visual arts' as including a range of art forms, 'from the established media of painting, sculpture, photography and craft to moving image, new media and live art […] with crossovers with design and architecture' (ACE, 2007: 03); and describes visual artists as 'risk takers', crossing disciplines and working in many contexts, including: 'heritage sites, architecture, landscape design, healthcare environments, business, science and industry and rural communities' (ACE, 2007: 03). The report states that art takes risks, uses a range of physical media, is sited in a range of contexts inside and outside the museum and gallery, and crosses over with other visual and urban practices.

In considering the role of art, Belfiore and Bennett have presented a taxonomy: firstly in relation to the negative and positive traditions of Plato and Aristotle; and secondly against what they define as 'pragmatic' theories, and theories of 'autonomy'. 'Pragmatic theories' are set out as those that in some way present the arts as having a function to fulfil in society (as set out by Abrams (1953)). Autonomous theories are presented as those which propose 'whilst the arts might well have educational, cognitive, humanizing or other powers – the value and importance of the work of art reside firmly in the aesthetic sphere' (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008: 176). In producing this taxonomy, Belfiore and Bennett very well illustrated the historic framework of the role of art. In their review they present an historic overview of how art has been understood to have a purpose; not just in recent policy, but for many millennia.

We will not contribute to the debate that parses the value of art between that which is understood as aesthetic, and that which is understood to be functional. We will instead trace the experience of art as continuous. We will not discuss the aesthetic attributes of the artwork as being separated from what it might produce as an effect. We will not set apart the dimension of art, but regard it as part of the continuous life experience.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

In reviewing the field of cultural policy, Vickery has suggested that the interconnectedness of art and urban regeneration 'demands an acknowledgement of the non-visible and unquantifiable elements of experience' (2007: 16). The 'absorption of an aesthetic dimension into mainstream urban policy', he has said, suggests that government policy 'must be centrally concerned – [with] the realm of human 'experience'. (Vickery, 2007: 9). In taking direction from experiential philosophy and tracing experience itself, we will account for the *expansive* nature of art as played out through its multiple relationships. We will not set out to *explain* that which is easy to see or talk about. By submerging in practice we will set out to *describe* that which is difficult to articulate. By looking away from art, we set out to notice the effects mobilised by art as they play out within urban practice. By noticing the full range of effects, rather than setting out to better articulate how art delivers policy objectives, we set out to support policy's re-consideration of how to articulate the role of art.

As discussed by Rancière, political statements and literary locutions 'produce effects in reality' (2009 (2004): 39). Here we will not adhere to pre-statements about what art does. We will not use what has been pre-said as a script to map what is possible to say again. Instead, to re-consider what can be said about the role of art, we will explicate it in action. We will be brave. We will step off the well-trodden path and head to the wild. Away from the busy traffic, we will walk slowly amidst the shrubs and trees. As the loud noise of policy subsides, our senses will become enlivened. In taking time to experience the fullness of what goes on, we will notice subtle effects. We will sketch these subtle effects to draw a new descriptive picture. Through taking time to notice the colours, the shapes, the sounds, the smells, the actions, the words, the feelings, and how they come together; we will draw a new story, to be told. We do not set out to regard what is easily observed against what has already been said. We will not re-make thin statements of how art meets narrow policy objectives. We will rather present rich descriptions for reading by stakeholders of policy and practice. Through dissemination, our descriptions of the distributed agency of art, will support the re-scripting of how the role of art is articulated in contexts of urban transformation.

2.2 Outside the art world: as part of the everyday

In producing a nuanced articulation of the effects mobilised by art, we will be guided by theories and methodologies for explicating the processes of art in practice. In proposing how we can better understand art, Hennion and Grenier (1998: 351) have reminded us of the possibility of the expression coined by Genette (1994): *l' œuvre de l'art* (the work of the art). In order to better articulate the effects of art in regeneration, instead of looking at *l'œuvre d'art* (the work of art), here we will be concerned with *the way artworks work*. Instead of accounting for artworks as autonomous or artists as a lone genius, as the 'essentialist' tradition (Zolberg, 1990: 06), this thesis will rather direct a course to observe art as part of regeneration.

Regeneration, in practice, is acted out via the use of planning regulations within the policy context of the time. Town Planning, as a profession, is formed from the core disciplines of: architecture, surveying and civil engineering, with more recent disciplinary additions (Taylor, 1997: 325). Friedmann (2008: 248) suggested that the task of planning theory is to support planning practices to *adapt* to their real-world constraints and *translate* concepts and knowledge generated in other fields for use in the planning domain. As an empirical study, this thesis will seek to contribute new knowledge to the field of urban studies through describing the effects of art in regeneration by tracing practice via the lens of experience. In tracing the way artworks work, this thesis will make a nuanced contribution to the study of art, and the study of regeneration. The contribution to art will be in the description of art within its regeneration context. The contribution to regeneration will be in tracing regeneration in practice, through the lens of art.

The ambition of this research is to support the *adaption* of art within the practice of regeneration. In support of this adaption, the thesis introduces concepts in art to those of urban studies as an act of *translation*. This thesis is a study of the processes of art as part of the processes of regeneration. Through studying the micro movements of practice, this thesis will contribute a nuanced articulation of art in regeneration. The sociological study of art starts from the premise that art 'should be contextualised' (Zolberg, 1990: 08). As this thesis is interested in the work of the artwork *in situ*, let us start with sociological approaches to the study of art.

As stated by Bourdieu (1993 (1980): 142), sociology cannot understand anything about a work of art 'when it takes as its object an author or a work in isolation'. Differing from the essentialist view, art is not understood as being separate from society. The work of Wolff promotes art as 'a social product'. Wolff states that 'any notion of an 'essential' individual, pre-existing social experience (language, interpersonal relations, ideological influences and induction, and the social and material structures underlying these) must be abandoned' (1993 (1981): 03). Instead of an act of individual genius, Wolff regards art as the product of a social process.

Danto pioneered the rejection of the essential individual, stating that: 'To see something as art requires something the eye cannot descry – an atmosphere of artistic theory, a knowledge of the history of art: an art world'. Danto's (1964) suggestion of an institutional theory of art, that art is made by an 'art world' rather than an artist, is further elaborated by Dickie (1975). That something being conferred the status of art is via the 'appreciation [of] some person or persons acting on behalf of a certain social institution (the art world)' (Dickie, 1975: 34). Similarly, rather than considering the 'internal' history or reading of a work of art Bourdieu (1993 (1980): 140) proposes the consideration of what he refers to as a 'field of production'; the 'whole set of agents engaged in the production of the work' (1993 (1980): 139). Instead of art being the product of an artist, we have been introduced to the institutional theory; of art as being made by an 'art world'.

In *Art Worlds* (2008 (1982)), Becker offers an in-depth account of his perspective of the institutional theory. In Becker's account, Bourdieu's agents in the field of production are exchanged for 'personnel' and 'sub-personnel', within 'art worlds'. These art world professionals share common practice and conventional understandings that 'establish a network of cooperative links' (Becker, 2008 (1982): 35). As Zolberg (1990: 80) states, one of the implications of the art world theory, is to 'throw into question the idea of the uniqueness and genius of the individual artist'. Instead, artworks are understood as 'joint products of all the people who cooperate' (Becker, 2008 (1982): 35). Artists, however, are still viewed by Becker as being at the centre of the 'network of cooperating people' (Becker, 2008 (1982): 25). Personnel are there to support the artist.

The way artworks are made within these fluid and changing art worlds (Becker, 2008 (1982): 35), is centred around collective choices based on art world conventions (Becker, 2008 (1982): 194). As choices are located around pre-made conventions, Becker suggests that these choices are 'not original' (Becker, 2008 (1982): 29). Bourdieu (1993 (1980):

146) similarly suggests that: 'What circulates in a field, and especially between specialists of different arts, is stereotypes, which are more or less polemical and reductive'. As a study of the role of art in regeneration, our project is not one of looking at the relationships formed between artists, art professionals and art institutions as separate from other urban practices. In the context of regeneration, alongside artists and arts professionals, we also predict the involvement of town planners and other practitioners, such as engineers and construction workers. The professional relationships therefore fall outside of that which might be described as a specialist world.

Although this study will reject the notion of the art world as a relevant theoretical framework; there are two important points to flag for future consideration in this thesis. Firstly, Becker's (2008 (1982): 63) suggestion that the 'art world' conventions of making choices, are not only embodied in people, but also in equipment, materials, training, available facilities, and other things. That art making includes materials and objects as well, as people, is important in terms of how we undertake its study. In our survey of the literature we will continue to investigate theories that support us in understanding the relationships between objects and people, and *how* these relationships mobilise effects.

The second point is one of articulation. Becker (2008 (1982): 199) suggests that artists find it difficult to 'verbalise the general principles by which they make their choices' (Becker, 2008 (1982): 199). We will be concerned with better articulating the processes of art making in a regeneration context. That artists, as practitioners, find what they do difficult to talk about is also an important note in terms of the empirical design of this thesis. In order to better understand what is produced by the processes of art, instead of basing our articulation on what professionals are able to say about what they do; through ethnography, we will trace what practitioners actually do, by describing the practice of a regeneration case study.

As with Dewey, the philosophy of Rancière proposes that art is integrated as part of the practices of everyday living. Rancière describes art practice as 'ways of doing and making' that intervene in the general distribution of ways of doing and making' (2009 (2004): 13). As integrated in the political landscape of regeneration, art makes certain ways of doing and making visible. As a form of experience, politics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it (Rancière, 2009 (2004): 13). What can be said depends on the position and ability of the individual. Instead of relying on what practitioners can *say* about what they do, we want to *see* what they do; beyond what is *said* in policy. In this study we

will regard the ways of doing and making of art, as part of the doing and making of regeneration. Instead of art or artists being considered as exceptions to other practices they rather reconfigure the distribution of these activities (Rancière, 2009 (2004): 13). As such art is *part of* the political landscape of regeneration.

Reflecting on his elaboration of the institutional theory, Becker states that perhaps he has 'overemphasised the collective character of making and consuming art' (Becker, 2008 (1982): 351). From the experiential perspective of this study, arguably Becker has not considered the collective character of the relationships of art making far enough. In this study, we are observing art at work outside of a specialist 'art world'. Here, we are interested in accounting for the effects of art amongst the political landscape of regeneration. We do not ask long prescriptive questions such as: To what level does art achieve the social or economic policy ambitions of regeneration? We do not set out from these elaborate questions that pre-determine the role of art in line with policy. We rather set out with short questions, to allow broad events to take place. We ask: What does art do in regeneration? How does it do this? How can we articulate these effects?

Moving away from the Kantian essentialist understanding of the artist-genius being separate from the world, the 'art world' theory proposes art is made through a collective system of conventions between artists and art personnel. Based on the specialist value of this art world theory, we will reject it as a theoretical framework for this study. As this study is not situated in a specialist art context, rather than adopt an institutional theory, we will continue to survey approaches which account for a more fluid frame of relationships; as enacted amongst the practice of art within the practice of regeneration.

From the perspective of planning as the professional practice of regeneration, Taylor suggests that art has a role to play in urban practice. Taylor sees the role of art as born out of its objects, as well as 'the skills of the artists themselves' (1997: 331). He suggests that artists have skills of visual observation and representation that result in responses 'unfamiliar to planners'. Taylor (1997: 327) reports, however, that these skills are not utilised often enough. He says this is in part because the art world seems determined to put up barriers to 'discourage outsiders' (Taylor, 1997: 327). Here, instead of regarding art separately, as part of an art world, we will integrate our consideration of art as part of urban practices.

In regarding the way art works as part of regeneration, we must first dismantle the walls that protect art and its conventions, and instead re-connect it to the practice of others. Instead of keeping art behind closed doors, we want to set it free. We want to see it walk the streets and sit in parks. As a study in a regeneration context, art does not exist separately from our daily lives. We do not want to account for art by looking at an art world. We will rather account for art as being *in* the part of the world undergoing the transformation processes of regeneration.

As introduced by Taylor (1997: 325), regeneration as a practice is born out of multiple disciplines. This study will set out to trace the role of art as part of the multiplicity of urban practice of regeneration. In practice, regeneration is understood to be the domain of the town planner. Art has become a popular strategy of regeneration programmes; with Miles and Paddison reporting that the speed at which culture-driven strategies have been advocated by governments and local development agencies as being recognised as 'remarkable' (2005: 833). In accounting for the role of art in regeneration, this thesis takes an experiential view. Instead of treating artworks as 'extractions removed from their social context' (Hennion and Grenier, 1998: 341), this study will look towards tracing art as an experience, at work within the context of regeneration. From this experiential perspective, we will be driven by an interest in tracing practice. We will be interested in asking: How does art within regeneration, produce regenerative effects?

In introducing the anthropological study of art Morphy (2009: 08) suggests that 'mediation is always a component of material objects. Artworks, state Morphy 'mediate between domains of existence' (2009: 08). Instead of artworks being separate, as mediators, they rather become part of everyday processes. Morphy (2009: 15) proposes that art is 'an integral part of the processes that socialize people into ways of seeing things'. Hennion and Grenier (1998: 342) propose that 'mediation' is a popular notion for paying more attention to the materiality of intermediaries and acknowledging their opacity regarding social determinations or aesthetic effects'. In mediation the mediator is 'active and productive' (1997: 12). Mediation is an event.

In tracing art at work as a medium of mediation, we will set out to trace the fluidity of practice. We will not set out to ask the question: what does this sculpture represent or symbolise? Or, what does this sound work or video mean? We will rather set out to trace the production of new understandings. We will ask: How does art support us to see things differently? How does art support us to 'mediate' our understanding?

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

As mediators, art moves in action. Appadurai suggests that even if from a theoretical point of view we understand humans to encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the 'things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context' (1986: 5). Artworks are not static and mute. Art as a process is understood to be in-motion. Through this motion process art 'switches on' reflections in humans. As well as the anthropological study of art, the agency of objects is of interest to the field of material culture. Sherry Turkle proposes that we live our lives in the middle of things which support us in thinking. Turkle proposes that 'objects are able to catalyse self-reflection'; that objects bring together 'thought and feeling' (Turkle, 2011 (2007): 9). In accounting for artworks as with Miller (2005: 38) rather than following a vulgar theory of mere things as artefacts, we will regard 'how the things that people make, make people'.

In making artworks, Dewey notes that it is common to understand that the physical materials are changed through the experience of art, but not commonly understood that our 'inner' human selves are also changed (1934: 77). Artworks live life producing effects that alter human living. They do not cease when 'the direct act of perceptions stops' (Dewey, 1934: 145). Artworks operate continuously. Drawing on the philosophy of Dewey, we can propose that art is made of physical *and* human media. 'New media' artwork is that made from, for example, internet-based technology, 'old media' is material such as paint and canvas, bricks, metal and stone (ACE, 2007: 03). The artwork is not the sum of this old or new media. The artwork is the media-*tion.* It is the movement between the media of the physical outer and physical inner. In accounting for the mediation of art in regeneration, how can we trace this complex interplay of things-in-motion? How can we account for the materials as they (ex)change?

To account for works of art 'in the raw' (Dewey, 1934: 03), rather than adopting an institutional path, this thesis will adopt the biographical practice of anthropology. Anthropologist of art, Alfred Gell (1988) states that to discuss a 'work of art', is to discuss something that has been pre-defined or 'enfranchised'. When enfranchised, the work can only be discussed within the parameters of art theory (Gell, 1998: 12). Instead of pre-defining the artwork, he suggests that nothing should be decided in advance. Premised on the idea that the nature of the art object is a function of the social-relational matrix in which it is embedded; Art 'has no 'intrinsic' nature, independent of the relational context' (Gell, 1998: 07). Art is formed from its social relationships; and art forms relationships.

The curator and critic Nicolas Bourriaud proposes *relational* art as that which takes as its theoretical horizon 'the realm of human interaction and its social context' (2002 (1998): 14). Instead of looking at an independent and private symbolic space, in observing contemporary artistic practice we ought to talk, he says, of 'formations' rather than 'forms'. Bourriaud suggests that artistic practice resides in the invention of relations between consciousnesses, as 'a bundle of relations in the world' (Bourriaud, 2002 (1998): 14). In following Gell's theory of the art 'index', we should not consider works of art at all, but instead 'consider a 'domain' in which ''objects' merge with 'people' by virtue of the existence of social relations between persons and things, and persons and persons *via* things' (Gell, 1998: 09). As previewed by Becker (2008: 63) in his discussion of the role of materials, as well as professionals, in his institutional theory of the 'art world'; 'agents' and 'patients' can be 'persons', as well as 'things'.

'Animism' (where 'things' appear as 'persons'), is attributed by Gell (1998: 09) to the work of Marcel Mauss. In explaining Maori custom Mauss suggests that bonds that are seen to be created by things between persons are in fact bonds between persons; 'since the thing itself is a person or pertains to be a person' (1954: 10). In tracing the career of artworks, we do not trace artworks as static mute objects but rather as persons, 'physiognomies' (Gell, 1998: 15) themselves. His anthropological theory of art is based on there being social relations in 'the neighbourhood' or 'index' of works of art. These social relationships exist in actions. Performers of the actions are 'agents' who act on 'patients'. The 'index' theory includes four terms of the art nexus include: 'indexes' themselves – material entities that motivate relationships; 'artists' (or other originators) – those with causal responsibility for the existence and characteristics of the index; 'recipients' – those to whom indexes are considered to exert agency; and 'prototypes' – entities held in the index 'often by virtue of visual resemblance, but not necessarily' (Gell, 1998: 27). Here art objects are *not* symbolic; they are not signs themselves, with meanings. Rather than symbolism, 'the index' is 'action-centred' (Gell, 1998:06); focused around notions of agency and transformation.

Agency is attributed to persons and things who, or which, initiate events caused by 'acts of mind or will or intention' (Gell, 1998: 16). An agent is someone, or something, who cause events to happen. 'Artworks become indices of agency' (Morphy, 2009: 08); this indices of agency emphasises the mediation role of artworks. As with the work of Gell, Morphy and Perkins also understand art as being integral to social, economic and political dimensions.

Further, Morphy and Perkins see art as closely associated with the 'ideational aspects of society and […] knowledge associated with those ideas' (2006/10: 16). The anthropological study of art, therefore, requires attention to its social *as well as* formal aspects. Theories of art that neglect details of the physical form, regarding objects are 'likely to provide only a partial understanding of the role of art objects in social life' (Morphy and Perkins, 2006/10: 16). The anthropological study of art should take account of 'the social' *and* 'the physical' relations of the 'index' of art.

Through the practice of anthropology rather than studying the art world, we will study the relationships of the 'the index'. We will not look at a symbolic object as static and mute. We will not look at art as representing something. Rather we will look at what art does, in action; how the art experience 'mediates' the relationships of regeneration. In sketching our new descriptions of the expansive nature of the art experience, we will not ask long questions to specify what art does. Neither will we ask questions about the essentialist or symbolic nature of works of art. In order to be able to sense the fullness of what goes on, to contribute to our understanding of the experience of art in regeneration, we will ask open questions, such as: What does this sculpture do? How does it operate? Who does it operate with? How do their relationships take place? What are their formations?

2.3 Art in public: making conversations

'Public art' is defined by Miles as (1997: 12) as 'art practices located outside of the spaces and conventions of galleries and museums'. In 1993 Miles (1997: 40) reports that around forty per cent of local authorities in the UK had adopted a public art policy of some sort. Since then, progressively more cities have been using public art as a keystone in their regeneration schemes. In discussing public art Joanne Sharp suggests that practice has been shaped by policy. Sharp reflects that: 'As community participation has become an expectation in urban regeneration, so too has public art been celebrated as a way to deliver it' (2007: 274). As a result, there has emerged a more participatory form of public art practice. Rather than 'physical' work, work which is more specifically engaged in developing relationships with individuals and communities is described by the artist Suzanne Lacy (1994) as 'new genre public art'. New genre public art, as practice focused on building relationships with people and communities is also referenced in the literature, and by practitioners, as 'participatory' and 'socially engaged'. 'Interrupt: artists in socially engaged practice', a series of symposia convened by ACE in 2003 brought artists and arts professionals together to explore the nature of socially engaged practice. Designed to debate the question: Can art really change people's lives? (Butler, 2003), the symposia discussed the role of the artist as being an: 'educator', 'engineer', 'researcher', 'activist' and 'collaborator'.

Much of the literature surrounding the role of art in urban regeneration is focused on the spectacular and particularly the 'iconic' (Sharp et al, 2005: 1020). To make a contribution by discussing a smaller scale project, Sharp regards the role of public art within the *Five Spaces Project. Five Spaces* was a project in Glasgow, where five housing associations chose a piece of open space for redevelopment into an organized space that would in some way act as a marker of community. Instead of producing a 'thing' afterwards, artists were involved in the design and conceptualisation of the space (Sharp, 2007: 275). Sharp suggests this represented a shift in the usual relationship between artists and architect; where artists would usually be asked to contribute at the end of the process to fit in to the design imposed by architects.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

The outcome of Sharp's study revealed that the art process was not so much about *representing* community 'but about the processes through which communities are activated and stimulated into action' (Sharp, 2007: 288). This reflection of stimulating action rather than representing the community built on Sharp et al's comment that art developed through the effort of local governments and other local development agencies is not necessarily turning out the way 'it was intended' (2005: 1016). Alternative meanings emerge within projects. Sharp et al therefore suggest that it is increasingly important to understand the processes through which public art is made and placed within different parts of the city. As experiential, our study will set out to describe the fullness of what happens, rather than what is hoped for by the government officers and other stakeholders who commission it.

Instead of delivering ambitions, art historian Rosalyn Deutsche, argues that public art generates debate. She states that those who see public art as leading to the enhancement of community miss the point in their presumption that 'the task of democracy is to settle, rather than sustain, conflict' (Deutsche, 1996: 270). Sharp et al (2005: 1015) suggest that especially within urban regeneration 'where complex factors of public space, commercialisation and commodification, and cultivating an iconic cultural cityscape are intimately entwined' (Sharp et al, 2005: 1015) it is questionable whether the arts are able to be wholly inclusive. Indeed Hall and Robertson (2001: 19) argue that the role of public art should be to 'encourage […] contradictory voices – voices that represent the diversity of people using the space – rather than aspire to myths of harmony based around essentialist concepts'. Instead of looking for how art delivers against pre-stated agendas our study will trace discourse of practice on its own terms, as it plays out.

As a process that opens up rather than closes down dialogue through supporting conversation, art 'challenges institutions and funding bodies to consider […] traditional notions of the artist as creative genius' (Sharp et al, 2005: 1014). Instead of being the lone maker of an object, artists are rather catalysts and facilitators. Sharp et al (2005: 1016) suggest that 'critical artists' claim that their work establishes a conversation between the spaces and the people who inhabit them. They ask, however, who really has a conversation? To what extent does this rely on an elitist language of art and politics? Through tracing practice, our study will consider their questions. We will ask: What is the language of practice? How does the language of art interface with the language of politics? Who is involved? Who has the conversations? What are these conversations? What is revealed in the making of conversation?

In proposing future research in support of our understanding of the role of art in regeneration contexts, Sharp et al suggest two ways forward. Firstly that we must debate the very nature of policy concepts such as inclusion, asking: 'How is inclusion to be defined? How is it to be sought? What are the presumed linkages between social inclusion and urban economic competitiveness?' (2005: 1005). Secondly they suggest that we focus our attention on the 'democratic processes through which public art is produced and how these can foster a sense of inclusion' (Sharp et al, 2005: 1006). Rather than discussing it in terms of policy, as with the art historian Claire Bishop, in this study we are rather concerned with articulating the role of art outside of policy frameworks. We will develop a better understanding of the role of art in regeneration by following practice.

Instead of further debating the meaning of policy concepts as-made, in better understanding concepts we will act on Sharp's second suggestion. We will focus our attentions on the processes of practice; the production of art within the production of urban transformation. We will observe what is produced in the fullness of practice. In understanding the effects generated by the *Five Spaces* project, Sharp states that she sets out to trace the 'life' of the urban spaces. To do so, she turns to the 'materiality of the public art, something often downplayed by new genre public art approaches' (Sharp, 2007: 275). These micro processes of stimulation and action are what we are interested in tracing in our empirical study. We will not however seek to account for the physical material relationships of an artwork over its human relationships; or visa versa. We will rather account for the complex materiality of the art experience as it happens in action. We will not look for social effects; or particularly look for the physicality of the work. We will describe the full range of 'inner' and 'outer' material associations in their fullness, as they happen in practice.

Discussing the work of artists who she describes as being interested in 'the creative rewards of participation as a politicised working process', Bishop's aim is to find a more nuanced language to address the artistic status of the work, away from the 'demonstration of impact' (Bishop, 2012: 18). From her discipline of art criticism, Bishop sets out to better articulate the role of art outside of what she describes as an 'ethical' framework by emphasising the aesthetic in the sense of *aesthesis*: being 'an autonomous regime of experience that is not reducible to logic, reason or morality' (2012: 18). In her conclusion, Bishop states that participatory art 'has the capacity to communicate on two levels – to participants and spectators – the paradoxes that are repressed in everyday discourses, and

to elicit perverse, disturbing and pleasurable experiences that enlarge our capacity to imagine the world and our relations anew' (2012: 284). In following practice, as guided by Dewey, we too are interested in seeing art through the lens of experience. Our project will also set out to better understand the communicative role of art; specifically in regeneration. We do not, however, set out by pre-defining art practice as manifest *as* physical, or *as* 'participatory', or *as* 'socially-engaged'. In our project, we set out to follow what we find in the regeneration context. Guided by Gell (1998) we do not 'enfranchise' art, by defining it in advance of our study. We instead set out to trace the 'index' of relationships as they happen, in practice; defining the 'artwork' as it becomes what it becomes: physical, social or something else.

As an experience, as part of the holistic experience of regeneration, the effects produced by art cannot be measured through quantitative methods. As a dialogic discipline that takes a 'holistic approach' (Morphy and Perkins, 2006/10: 15), this thesis adopts the practice of anthropology as an appropriate methodological framework for tracing the complexity of the art experience. In the urban studies literature, the study of visual arts is generally included within the study of the 'the arts' or 'culture'. The properties of the visual arts, however, distinguish them from song, music, dance and other art forms and involve 'different senses' (Morphy and Perkins, 2006/10: 13). Utilising anthropological methods and drawing on anthropological theories of 'distributed agency' (Gell, 1998) and 'mediation' (Hennion, 1997), this thesis will make a contribution to our understanding of the particular effects of visual arts; in the particular context of regeneration.

Inspired by Dewey, we will particularly set out to account for the effects produced amongst and in-between the physical materials of construction and our 'inner' material selves. As such, we will be concerned with the notion of a continuous material landscape. 'Inner' and 'outer' materials will not be understood as separate domains. Instead, this thesis draws on Jane Bennett's notion of 'vital materiality' (2010); that the world is not parsed between dull matter (it, things) and vibrant life (us, beings). Concrete, marble, paint and plastic are not seen as discrete. These materials of physical making are not set apart from our emotional thread. They are part of the collective tapestry of living life.

In accounting for both human and non-human actors, building on Gell's (1998) theory of art as a process formed through an 'index' of human and non-human relationships, this thesis will follow in the footsteps of anthropologists taking inspiration from Actor-Network Theory (ANT) for the study of art. Instead of 'the social' being made as

something observable, Latour (2007b: 4) suggests that there are 'social associations' through 'the chaining' of the social: 'social is not the name of any one link in a chain, nor even that of the chain, but is the *chaining* itself' (Latour, 2007b: 4). As such, there is no 'society'. Instead Latour proposes that the chaining of social associations assembles 'the collective'. A methodology, therefore, should allow actors to 'build their own space' (Latour, 1999/2005: 20). Influenced by ANT, instead of being framed by policy objectives, our project will set out to trace human and non-human actors in the building of art their own life tapestry: as produced via associations between human and non-human relations.

To contribute to our understanding of the effects produced in the making of this fluid circulation, we will draw on the ANT inspired studies of anthropologists such as Sharon MacDonald (2002), Albena Yaneva (2003) and Vivian Van Saaze (2009). Relevant to this thesis, through tracing the full range of actors, these scholars have contributed nuanced understandings of the collective nature of artworks, gallery collections and museums. By tracing art outside of the art institution, in the context of regeneration, this thesis sets out to contribute a further perspective to the anthropological study of art.

Through a study of the Science Museum in London, MacDonald investigates the public understanding of science. Through attributing agency to both humans and non-human, she states that this ANT inspired approach supports her to de-familiarise from presuppositions of agency. The assumption of the 'neat practice' of science being taken from the world of science and translated by the museum into something to be 'responded' to by the public (2002: 06) is challenged as the complex associations between all the actors involved are revealed. In understanding the collection management of artworks in a museum Van Saaze traces the practices of the Van Abbemuseum to reveal issues of change, intervention and production. In exploring the trajectory of an art project she undermines the 'traditional notion of the artwork as a single, finite, autonomous produce of an individual artist' (Van Saaze, 2009: 21). In tracing practice she rather reveals multiple actors usually overlooked. Also accounting for art, Yaneva tells the story of the installation of *Beekeepers* (1568), a famous artwork by Breugal in the Musée d'art Moderne de la Ville de Paris. Instead of analysing art installations when completed, as sociologists of art usually do, Yaneva follows the process of the Breugal becoming art. In tracing this process she carefully describes the tiny movements of all the actors involved: the artists, curators and gallery staff, as well as paper, the floor and the carpet. Instead of art objects as having 'semantic and/or aesthetic properties that are used for presentational or representational purposes'

(2003: 170), instead Yaneva argues for art as being 'the dynamics of an object's transformation […] the 'pulse' of profusion of all material differences' (2003: 171). The work of these anthropologists does not set out with an *a priori* definition of what they will find: what art is or does; what an art collection is or does; what a museum or gallery is or what the public thinks it is; or how they think the public might engage with it.

We will not pose ideas of what art is or does in advance. We will not set out to account for participatory art, and debate the merits of its social function; neither will we look to the physical material quality of an artwork as a sculpture, video projection or sound work. We will rather account for what art does as it is enacted. In accounting for all the actors involved, our project rather sets out to describe, in detail, the fullness of the vital materiality of the art process; as it is in practice.

2.4 Between soft and hard: driving relationships

As discussed by Healey (2006: 04), rather than being driven by academic research, regeneration is driven by practice. In practice, regeneration is applied in almost all urban areas of the UK (Jones and Evans, 2008: 2). To offer a nuanced contribution to our understanding of art in regeneration, and regeneration through art, this thesis is interested in the processes of practice. Through the philosophical framework of this study we will contribute to our understanding of the experience of art in regeneration. We will ask: What are the multiple effects achieved by art in regeneration? How are these effects mobilised by art? What does this tell us about the art experience? What does art reveal about the experience of regeneration?

As an attempt to ameliorate the negative effects of deindustrialisation and enable cities to attract new investment (Jones and Evans, 2008), regeneration is described in the literature as a political strategy. As a political strategy, regeneration is said to use planning regulations and policies 'to encourage developers to invest in run-down and derelict urban areas' (Jones and Evans, 2008: 4). As policy is embedded in the field of study Jones and Evans (2008: 09) suggest that it is impossible to look at regeneration without considering the policy context in which it operates. Inspired by Actor-Network Theory, we do not set out to look for a political reality as static and viewable. In our study, inspired by Mol (1999: 75) we rather set out to trace the mundane practices that shape political reality. ``

As reported by Jones and Evans (2008: 18), Urban Regeneration Companies (URC) were established by New Labour in 1999. During the period of our research, they were strategic partnerships funded by the Department for Communities and Local Government, and the relevant Regional Development Agency and Local Authority. Instead of the URC having significant resources themselves, they acted to 'bring other agents together' (Jones and Evans, 2008: 18). The URC's charge was to set out a masterplan for the regeneration of a specific area, encouraging public sector involvement and private investment. URCs were understood to develop partnership relationships. Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) were charged with drawing up the regional spatial strategies covering: transport, housing, economic development, the environment, tourism and regeneration.

As a field of public policy practice, Healey (2006: 72) describes spatial planning as focusing attention not only on the individual organisations charged with policy responsibilities, but also on the 'relational webs' supporting the collective management between them. As such, spatial planning is reported to have the 'potential to shape the building of relations and discourses' (Healey, 2006: 57). Regeneration can be understood as a relational practice. The emergence of spatial planning practice, as reported by Nadin (2007: 43) was born out of the reform of town and country planning, as presented in the *Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act* (2004). The reform put planning at the centre of the spatial process, 'as a proactive and strategic coordinator of all policy and actions that influence spatial development' (Nadin, 2007: 43). This revision to planning practice is in the interest of more 'sustainable development' (2007: 43). Differing from 'land use planning', 'spatial planning' focuses on: outcomes, to help achieve the goals of other sectors; integrates the delivery of spatial policy; injects a spatial dimension; creates new policy communities; and use planning as a 'learning process – promoting understanding and argument in a collaborative political process' (Nadin, 2007: 53). Spatial planning supports collaboration.

The 2004 planning reform encouraged new ideas surrounding community planning. Up until the 1960s 'expert' planners excluded the public from processes of decision making (Davoudi and Atkinson, 1999: 229). The failure of the planning system to address social and economic problems led to mounting pressures for change. In 1969, the Skeffington Report introduced statutory obligation to involve the public in planning processes. In most instances however, the approach to participation was naïve, 'with little understanding of what was hoped to be achieved' (Davoudi and Atkinson, 1999: 229). In engaging the community, participation is 'central' to the work of the planner (Carp, 2004: 242). As well as urban planning, participatory approaches are also utilised in ecological planning, such as the work of Tippett et al (2007). Participatory processes used by planners to engaged local communities in spatial planning processes.

Reform of the planning profession, heralded by the 2004 act, is reported to have increased the use of participatory planning practice. Instead of being focused on physical building, town planning has expanded, to facilitate multiple relationships. Instead of the planner being seen as 'the expert', their professional role is now to engage professionals and local communities in decision making.

The study of planning is segmented across disciplinary fields: sociology, economics, politics, geography and economics (Healey, 2006: 04). In Carp's (2004) discussion of participatory planning 'public art planning' is introduced as a specific discipline. Carp proposes that 'public art planning' is a particularly rich discipline for exploring the nexus between 'planning practice, public participation, and place' (2004: 243). In relation to planning practice, Carp argues that despite its smaller scope and scale, public art 'has the same high visibility and broad accountability to embody the public interest as other planning disciplines' (2004: 244). Public art planning is proposed as a planning discipline in support of public participation. In our project, we will particularly contribute a nuanced understanding of the role of art in regeneration practice.

Regeneration as a concept is understood as being a holistic process in the pursuit of transformative effects. Evans (2005: 967) defines regeneration itself as 'the transformation of a place […] that has displayed the symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline'. Regeneration is described as a process of transformation. By following urban practice, in our study, we set out to describe these transformation processes. Hildreth (2007: 227) defines regeneration as a 'holistic process of reversing economic, social and physical decay in areas where […] market forces alone will not suffice'. This thesis will not set out to limit our vision by looking for the effects of regeneration as set out by the physical and social remit of regeneration policy. This thesis will not ask how art *supports* the realisation of economic development through physical development or social cohesion through social renewal. By following the transformation processes of practice, this study will rather look to observe how art's capacity for mediation and communication produces transformative effects. We will set out to ask: What does art produce? What does art reveal? What does art re-think?

The birth of the New Labour discourse of community is attributed to the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (NRU) and associated Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF). Set up in 1998, as previously introduced, the NRU was developed out of the Social Exclusion Unit as set up in response to the Policy Action Team research to tackle five key indicators of social deprivation: unemployment, crime, educational underachievement, poor health, and problems with housing and the physical environment (Jones and Evans, 2008: 20). In the aftermath of street disturbances in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in the summer of 2001 (Robinson, 2005: 1411), The Community Cohesion Unit was established in 2002.

Taking a central place in the discussion of social inequalities and social policies in Europe, 'social exclusion' replaces the concept of 'poverty'. As noted by Davoudi and Atkinson, the term is used frequently by politicians and academics alike. As defined by Davoudi and Atkinson, 'poverty' is derived from an Anglo-Saxon perspective, where society is understood to be fragmented and composed of individuals who are in constant competition with one another (Davoudi and Atkinson, 1999: 226). Poverty is viewed as a *static* concept, 'an outcome rather than a dynamic process' (Davoudi and Atkinson, 1999: 227) and explained exclusively in relation to income (Andersen and Siim (2004: 6). 'Social exclusion' is instead derived from French welfare policy (Davoudi and Atkinson, 1999: 226). Based on the view that society is composed of a fairly rigid hierarchy of groups with reciprocal rights and obligations and a common moral and social order 'that transcends particular individual, class, ethnic and regional interest' (Davoudi and Atkinson, 1999: 226); instead of being static, 'exclusion' is relational. Social exclusion is understood as relational, as it is used to describe an area's relations with other areas and with organisations and institutions, groups and individuals. We are interested in the role of art, in supporting relationships. By following urban practice we will trace how relationships develop and what effects relationships, in turn, produce.

'Exclusion' is concerned with the 'multidimensional nature of the mechanisms whereby individuals and groups [are] excluded from taking part in social exchanges, and from component practices and rights of social integration and of identity' (Andersen and Siim, 2004: 6). As such, 'inclusion' can be understood as the 'linkage of the politics of redistribution and the politics of recognition [to create] sustainable paths to democratic and social development increasing the capacity to handle conflicts arising from economic resources and life chances as well as conflicts about identities' (Andersen and Siim, 2004: 1). The concepts of 'exclusion' and 'inclusion' can be seen to sit amongst 'the politics of empowerment' (Anderson and Siim, 2004: 01). This politics of empowerment 'concerns the agency and mobilisation dimensions of social and political change'. 'Agency' within exclusionary discourse, is played out within a 'political' landscape of 'empowerment'. Anderson and Siim (2004: 1) define empowerment as 'the process of awareness and capacity-building, which increases the participation and decision-making power of citizens'. They argue the social exclusion approach is fruitful as a relational and differentiated discourse, because it 'includes both horizontal relations of dominance and inequality and vertical/hierarchical (class) relations of dominance' (Anderson and Siim, 2004: 8). As a relational approach, social exclusion is inclusionary.

Social capital, states Kearns (2009: 39) is understood as a 'means to the end of social inclusion and as way of tackling social exclusion'. Social capital is a multi-dimensional phenomena operating at different levels. Putnam defines social capital as being 'features of social life – networks, norms and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives' (1995: 664). Social capital is created through inclusionary processes.

In reviewing the term 'neighbourhood', Forrest and Kearns (2001: 2141) conclude that it can be understood from different perspectives. Wallace (2001: 2165) understands the neighbourhood not as places, but 'as communities'. Galster (2001: 2112) defines them 'spatially'; as 'attributes associated with clusters of residencies, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses'. The aim of neighbourhood strategies, is to achieve 'social' or 'community cohesion'. 'Social cohesion', is described by Forrest and Kearns (2001: 2127) as 'getting on at the more mundane level of everyday life'. 'Community cohesion' is conceptualised as social cohesion at the neighbourhood level (Forest and Kearns, 2001: 2129). The 'domains' of social cohesion, as suggested by Forrest and Kearns (2001: 2129), are listed as: common values and civic culture; social order and social control; social solidarity and reductions in wealth and disparities; social and networks and social capital; place attachment and identity.

In following the practice of regeneration, we will not be interested in measuring social cohesion or levels of social inclusion or exclusion. We will not ask: How does art achieve social cohesion? We will rather attempt to observe the making of 'the social' (Latour, 2007 (2005)). We will be interested to trace the making of regeneration: who the practitioners are and how they enact their transformational agenda. Gell suggests that art objects lead transactional lives; 'being made by an artist is only one of these' (1998: 24). We will ask: How do these 'transactions' build 'the social' of regeneration? We are not interested in concepts that represent 'the social'. We are not interest in art as a representative symbol. We are interested in how the social is produced and how art produces effects as part of this production. By stepping off the well-trodden path we will not say what is easy to be said. We will rather look beneath the human scale of what has already been made, and instead account for the processes of making.

In discussing their recent study of Birmingham, Lombardi et al (2011: 273) suggest that urban regeneration has substantial impact on all three dimensions of sustainability – society, economics and environment'. Lombardi et al observe that UK Government 'has integrated the goal of sustainability within urban regeneration policies' (2011: 273). As well as being understood through social and physical perspectives, regeneration is also discussed within the frame of sustainability. Sustainable development is a complex and contested field of study and practice, described by Jabareen (2004: 188) as an 'unresolved and fluid paradox'. The general agreement by scholars, environmentalists and governments however, is that sustainability as 'a process for improving the range of opportunities that will enable individual human beings and communities to achieve their aspirations and full potential […] while maintaining the resilience of economic, social and environmental systems' (Munasinghe, 2007: 21), *could* be achieved through the effective balancing of social, environmental and economic objectives (Jabareen (2004 and 2008), Munasinghe (2007), Neumayer (2001) and Pezzoli (1997)).

In the interests of achieving more sustainable development through spatial planning practice, drawing on the work of Faludi (2007), Nadin suggests that for new ideas from processes of vision building to take root, 'a parallel process of unlearning of basic concepts' needs to take place (2007: 52). We will not set out from *a priori* concepts. Instead this study will trace art and regeneration as it happens. At close proximity, instead of looking for transformational concepts such as social cohesion as made, instead the research will trace actors in the process of making transformation. To better articulate art within the experience we will regard both art and regeneration in the raw. Through tracing the experience of art, we will trace the relational practice of regeneration through the lens of art. In tracing processes of 'un-learning' (Nadin, 2007) as with MacDonald's anthropological study of the Science Museum, we will observe how attributing agency to both humans and non-humans, as inspired by Actor-Network Theory, will support us to 'de-familiarise from presuppositions of agency' (2002: 06). We will ask: How does art 'mediate' this holistic transformation? What is the role of art in producing this relational practice? How does art support learning? How does art support un-learning?

In discussing art's agency the art historian Meskimmon discusses how art might support us to connect, through dialogue rather than monologue, to our 'response-ability to our responsibilities within a world community' (2011: 08). Exploring her notion of the cosmopolitan imagination Meskimmon asks how art transforms our relationship with/in the world. She suggests that by materialising concepts and meaning beyond the limits of a narrow individualism, art enables us to encounter difference, 'imagine change that has yet to come, and make possible the new' (2011: 08). In making the world rather than representing it we will ask: How does art play a part in the regeneration process? Does art support us to go beyond individualism? If it does, how does it do this?

2.5 Beyond the 'culture-led': re-imagining the urban

During the New Labour period, as reported by Coaffee (2008: 381), government at all spatial scales increased its cultural programmes in the hope that they might be more successful in 'narrowing the gap between social-economic groups'. Miles and Paddison (2005: 834) report that the rapidity with which culture ascended the urban policy agenda has been 'little short of extraordinary' (see also Garcia (2004) and Mooney (2004) for reports of the extraordinary rise of culture-led regeneration). Specifically in relation to regeneration, as reviewed by Vickery (2007: 17), from the late 1980s the idea of 'culture-led regeneration' emerges as a policy concept; recognised as having four categories: public art; flagship cultural facilities including galleries and museums; innovative engineering, and performances and festivals.

In support of the changes to the physical infrastructure, the Sustainable Communities Plan, *Sustainable Communities: Building for the future* (2003) is recognised as the most visible intervention in the physical environment; with the key delivery mechanism being the Housing Market Renewal (HMR) Pathfinders. The HMR pathfinders began operation in 2003, in nine areas in the North of England and the Midlands; where the housing market was deemed near to collapse (Jones and Evans, 2008: 22). Their remit was to restart the housing market by making the area more attractive through physical reconfiguration. One of the nine areas was 'Bridging Newcastle/Gateshead' (Jones and Evans, 2008: 23). Discussing public art in a regeneration context, Cameron and Coaffee (2005) draw on the case study of Newcastle/Gateshead.

Described as a poor relation of Newcastle upon Tyne, Cameron and Coaffee report the first phase of Gateshead's story beginning in 1986 with the 'Art in Public Places Programme'. The ambition of this programme was to enhance the overall landscape architecture through creating large scale sculptures and 'decorative artwork'. The next phase is sited as the legacy of the 1990 Garden Festival; which left a further thirty major public works across the urban area. Following the Garden Festival, Anthony Gormley's *Angel of the North*, commissioned in 1994, was unveiled in 1997. Cameron and Coaffee state that this sculpture is 'probably the best-known and most instantly recognisable modern artwork in Britain' (2005: 49). The sculpture is well recognised at a national and even international level.

49

Following *The Angel of the North*, two major culture venues were commissioned as part of Gateshead Quay's cultural quarter: BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art, and The Sage Gateshead centre for music and performing arts. Both buildings, state Cameron and Coaffee, 'add striking new elements of new construction that now reflect the regeneration of the quaysides on both banks of the Tyne' (2005: 49). The 'blinking eye' Gateshead Millennium Bridge, the Stirling Prize 'Building of the Year 2001', joins BALTIC to Newcastle's quayside area across the Tyne. As reported by Cameron and Coaffee, the skyline behind BALTIC subsequently became dominated by expensive apartments: 'The power of the 'arts-based regeneration' […] strikingly evident in the queues overnight in order to pay high prices for apartments' (2005: 50). Criticising the scheme, drawing on the words of Wilkinson (1992), Cameron and Coaffee state that the area of development is now 'floating free from the rest of the quayside area' (2005: 50). Drawing on the case study of Newcastle/Gateshead, Cameron and Coaffee (2005) suggest that the use of this regeneration programme represents an attempt to create *positive* gentrification, through encouraging public rather than private consumption. 'Gentrification' is understood as a process of making 'more attractive places in which to live and work' (Sharp et al, 2005: 1014). The *negative* effects are reported as leading 'to an increase in property values which drives out the residual community' (Miles: 1997: 107). In summarising the literature, Cameron and Coaffee (2005: 46) present 'three waves' of gentrification as mobilised by art. The 'first wave', as 'characterised by the work of David Ley (1996)' (Cameron and Coaffee, 2005: 46), involves the creation by artists of a milieu for the *production* of art. The 'second wave', as discussed by Sharon Zukin's (1988) account of the SoHo district of Manhattan, involves the commodification and *private consumption* of this artistic milieu.

In describing this 'second wave' Zukin (1982: 06) tells the New York loft-living story where for artists occupied run-down parts of the city promoting an artistic culture, making it fashionable enough to attract other people and businesses. This attraction however eventually made these parts of the City too expensive for the original artists to live there. The objective to support social development is duped by the economic achievement. The 'third wave', as introduced by Cameron and Coaffee is based on the public, rather than private consumption of art: 'through public art and artistic events, [and] galleries, museums and concert halls' (Cameron and Coaffee, 2005: 46). Instead of being positive, this 'third wave' of public consumption, in the case of Newcastle/Gateshead, is rather seen to create divides through the effects of gentrification.

Plaza and Haarich (2009: 259) discuss further examples of museums and other cultural amenities as 'classic elements' of urban renewal projects and other strategies to overcome the effects of industrial decline. Claiming that more and more museums are the central part of urban development strategies for inner-city development, Plaza and Haarich draw on what they describe as the universally famous examples of the Tate Liverpool (UK), Tate Modern London (UK) and the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao (Basque Country, Spain). In particular Plaza and Haarich draw on the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao as being an 'effective re-activator of urban and economic revitalisation' (2009: 260). Not all museums, in urban regeneration, they state however, are reported as being successful as expected, against terms of achieving the objectives of the regeneration programme. Our study will not stop at measuring intentional results. We will trace all the effects produced: intentional and unintentional; and how intentions and non-intentions merge and meld in practice . Our study will follow the practices of urban regeneration. As Yaneva's pragmatist study of the making of a building (2009a), we will not set out to regard sculptures-made or cultural institutions as buildings-made. Following in the footsteps of Yaneva and other anthropologists inspired by Actor-Network Theory (such as MacDonald (2002) and Van Saaze (2009)) we will rather study the *making* of 'culture-led regeneration'. We will consider the effects of sculptures, performances, engineering features and art institutions by tracing the movements of all the actors involved in their operation in practice.

In the 1980s and 1990s Plaza and Haarich (2009: 260) remind us that many regeneration strategies were developed to start the 'rough restructuring' process of old industrial areas. The ambitions of these programmes were to improve the quality of life in cities which suffered industrial decline, economic crisis and social segregation: 'culture was one of the pillars of many urban renewal projects, in addition to economic promotion and job creation, environmental improvement and brownfield conversion' (Plaza and Haarich, 2009: 260). Two well-known examples in Europe are given as: the European Capital of Culture Programme, Glasgow; and the IBA Emscherpark in the German Ruhr area around Duisburg, Essen and Dortmund, a long process which received its 'final recognition with the city's selection as European Capital of Culture for 2010' (Plaza and Haarich, 2009: 270). Plaza and Haarich site Glasgow as a 'symbol of a successful beginning of restructuring' (2009: 260). Much has been written about Glasgow as designated European City of Culture 1990. What lies beneath this symbol of success?

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

As outlined by Mooney (2004: 329), 'image, art and culture' were used to refashion Glasgow's city centre with new warehouse-type housing in parts of the central city. As reported by Mooney John Myerscough's (1991) evaluation, calculated that 'for a public sector investment of £33 million, Glasgow 1990 saw a net economic return to the regional economy of between £10.3 million and £14.1 million' (2004: 329). Based on the economic analysis, the Glasgow experience was deemed a huge success, with fierce competition reported by Jones and Evans (2008: 132) between cities for the 2008 designation; before it was awarded to Liverpool.

The acceptance of the Glasgow-model is reported by Mooney (2004: 330) as being to such a level as a 'universal truth' (Mooney, 2004: 330). Miles and Paddison (2005: 837) propose however that: 'The rhetorical promotion of culture as a sort of an economic panacea is profoundly short-sighted'. Like the third wave of gentrification of Newcastle/Gateshead, while Glasgow as capital of culture in 1990 may have reinvigorate the local housing market, it can also be seen to 'have the effect of excluding the pre-existing poorer inhabitants from the ability to buy property in their own area (Jones and Evans, 2008: 93). Indeed, Mooney argues that Glasgow 1990 has contributing to the 'worsening levels of poverty and deprivation' (2004: 337). Jones and Wilks-Heeg (2004: 357), furthermore, propose that this model of regeneration is inherently misleading to the extent that: 'current trends suggest precisely the scenario of a rapidly regenerating and gentrifying urban core surrounded by a ring of intensely disadvantaged residential areas'. Miles and Paddison (2005: 837) discuss the dualism of both economic and social ambition as a 'strategic pun': that planning sees the arts as the 'scaffolding upon which vibrant urban economies can be established [as well as] social inclusion'. It is argued that art cannot service both social as well as economic agendas.

Booth and Boyle (1993: 23) suggest that city authorities promote arts events to 'patch over class, racial or ethnic division'. Miles (1997: 109) suggests that an enthusiastic lobby, to make a case for the visual arts blurred the distinction between 'development' and 'regeneration': 'Art in development aides this socially divisive process by aestheticizing it […] in ignoring the social impact of development, art is complicit in the consequent fragmentation' (Miles, 1997: 106).

The literature of cultural policy and culture-led regeneration considers art in connection with the policy context of regeneration *as* physical development and *as* social renewal. Within these policy themes there lie big concepts such as 'social exclusion' and 'cohesion'. Instead of allowing for slow understanding, through tracing these complicated and messy concepts; these concepts are spoken quickly and loudly with capital letters, or as 'bullet' points (Stengers, 2001). They are entrenched in the literature as linguistic shortcuts to understanding. Through their robust construction, rather than offering windows to new horizons, these concepts become closed doors. They block entry to new interpretations.

In summarising their analysis of the rise and rise of culture-led regeneration, Miles and Paddison ask whether we 'really understand the complex nature of the impact of cultural investment on our cities? (2005: 834). 'How do we go about understanding the impact of culture-led regeneration in a way that provides a more balanced understanding of its pros and cons?' (Miles and Paddison, 2005: 835). In developing a better understanding of art Miles (1997: 107) suggests that our question should not only be culture *for* whom, but also *by* whom; as the commissioning of art through 'art experts' develops a sense of remote others determining the form of the city. In following the full range of actors, our study will describe how art is produced, and by who. We will not pre-define what regeneration is and who performs it. Or what art is and how produces that.

To unravel meanings, through tracing effects and how they are produced, this thesis takes the capital letters off. Instead of walking from one closed door to another, the research circumnavigates this *loud* speech. Instead of being blocked at the surface by the over-occupation of buildings, artworks, communities and big concepts, this thesis unravels the relational texture by tracing the micro relationships beneath. Instead of only accounting for concepts as-made, the thesis traces concepts in-the-making. The thesis does not limit itself to language; where concepts are contained as static. To converse below the 'human scale' as well as interviewing practitioners about what they say about practice, the thesis also undertakes an ethnographic study to trace what is said *and* done between humans and non-humans in practice.

Chapter 3: Getting 'equipped' for our journey

3.1 Research design: four empirical studies

3.1.1 Taking account of the everyday: perspectives on practice

Positioned outside of the institutional theories of 'art worlds' our journey took interest in the role of art in regeneration as part of mundane living: perhaps getting our daily shopping, eating our lunch, or walking from work to home. Through engaging with the economic, physical and social dimensions of the urban, as an inter-disciplinary practice regeneration sets out to transform our city centres. The literature of cultural policy and 'culture-led regeneration' discusses the role of art in relation to policies of 'social renewal' and 'physical development'. We have not understood our world to be physical *or* social, but rather relational: a dense texture of associations between humans and non-humans. Instead of looking at art in relation to pre-set criteria, we have traced the fullness of what is produced by the art experience as part of the practice of regeneration.

We wanted to describe the effects produced by art as an experience as part of the processes of regeneration. To trace the distinct effects produced by art as part of regeneration, we took inspiration from Dewey and study art in 'the raw' (1934: 03). To see the fullness of the art experience, we did not look at it directly; we rather observed it as expanded within the practices of regeneration. In tracing the associations beneath the human scale the practice of anthropology was adopted as a suitable method for noticing the complex associations that produced effects. Anthropologists study art as integral to the processes that socialize people into ways of 'seeing things […] creating meanings and understandings about the world' (Morphy, 2009: 15). To account for all the actors involved, as with the work of anthropologists MacDonald (2002), Yaneva (2003, 2009a) and Van Saaze (2009), we took inspiration from Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 2005 (1999)), for our study of art in regeneration. In our study we learned from the actors involved without having imposed an '*a priori* definition of their world-building capacities' (Latour, 2005 (1999): 20). Taking inspiration from Actor-Network Theory, we revealed the actors' reality as *they* created it.

In order to develop descriptions of the effects produced by art as part of the multiple practices of urban transformation; rather than adopting a singular position, the researcher shifted perspective amongst the field of art and regeneration practice. Instead of looking sharply from a static gaze point, she moved position to create a softer lens. As illustrated in Figure 1, the research was undertaken via four studies representing a different distance to the practice of art and regeneration: nearer or further away from live practice, being enacted now; and lived practice, previously observed and being re-enacted through the description of professionals.
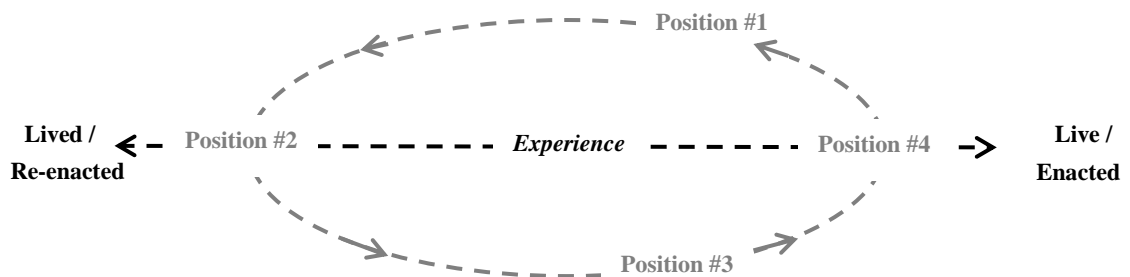
Figure 1 Research design #1: Four positions in relation to practice. JC, 2012.

These four positions were: (#1) an exploratory stage of interviews and ethnography; (#2) eighteen in-depth interviews with a range of art and regeneration practitioners; and a six-month participant-observation of an Urban Regeneration Company (URC) in the North of England including sixteen interviews with practitioners of the case (#3); and an ethnography (#4) of the same URC case study. As illustrated in Figure 2, in those positions closer to live practice (#1, #3 and #4), the researcher adopted the role of 'participant-observer'. Where the researcher is observing lived practice re-enacted via the reflections of professionals (#2), she adopted the role of 'interviewer'. Shifting positions of the research required the researcher to adopt different roles and techniques throughout her empirical journey.

Researcher *as interviewer* / Researcher *as participant-observer*

Position #1

Position #2

Position #4

Position #3
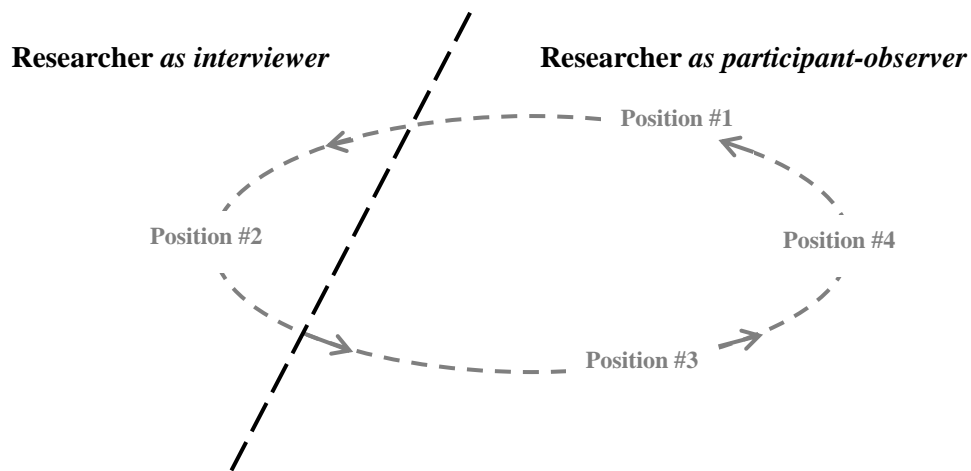
Figure 2 Research design #2: The role of the researcher. JC, 2012.

Participant-observation occurs when the researcher lives in the context of study for an extended period of time, participating in both daily and extraordinary activities. In our study, the researcher used everyday language as an interview technique, observed activities and recorded observations in field notes. She used both tacit and explicit information in analysis and writing. Anthropologist, Malinowski (1961) is recognised as the first to describe the method of participant-observation. In studying the tribal life of the Omarkana Trobriand Islands he describes his everyday experience of village life:

> As I went on my morning walk through the village, I could see
> intimate details of family life, of toilet, cooking, taking meals; […] the
> natives saw me every day, they ceased to be interested or alarmed, or
> made self-conscious by my presence, and I ceased to be a disturbing
> element in the tribal life which I was to study, altering it by my very
> approach, as always happens with a newcomer to every savage
> community (Malinowski 1961: 7-8).

In order to account for the day-to-day of art and regeneration practice, the researcher adopted Malinowski's method. As with the study of the tribal life of the natives of the Islands, here the researcher studied the everyday life of art and regeneration practitioners.

The qualitative methods adopted can be understood to be nested. In-depth interviews as a method were used by the researcher-as-interviewer. The interviews required her to undertake the methodological steps of: selecting interviewees; scheduling the meetings; agreeing the ethical terms; data collection through audio recording or note taking; and transcription and analysis. Participant-observation, as a method required the researcher to position herself as a 'research tool' in the environment of study in order to record the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events. In performing participant-observation, in-depth interviews and ethnography became *the methods* by which the researcher gathered the material of her observations.

3.1.2 Tracing practice: through description

The methodological steps of ethnography can be described as taking field notes, transcription, drawing maps, taking photographs and audio recordings. Geertz (1973) however suggests that instead of being a matter of methods, ethnography is an 'elaborate venture' of intellectual effort to produce 'thick description' (a notion used by Geertz, as 'borrowed from' Gilbert Ryle). In differentiating 'thick' from 'thin' description, Geertz offers the example of how to account for the act of winking. Rather than taking a first 'thin' reading of a conspiracy, the role of the ethnographer is to take a second 'thick' reading of the possibility of the winker *faking* the conspiracy. The aim is to take account of 'a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures in terms of which twitches, winks, fake-winks […] are produced' (Geertz, 1973: 7).Through thick description, Geertz suggests that the role of the ethnographer is to inscribe social discourse through *writing it down*: 'In so doing, he turns it from a passing event, which exists only in its own moment of occurrence, into an account, which exists in its inscriptions and can be re-consulted'(Geertz, 1973: 6). Through these in scripted descriptions, theoretical ideas, however, are not created anew in each study: 'one does not start (or ought not) intellectually empty-handed' (Geertz, 1973: 8). The analysis and presentation of this empirical material does not begin empty handed.

Drawing on the pragmatist perspective of Dewey (1934) the research took further inspiration from 'the index' theory of art (Gell, 1998) and art as 'mediation' (Hennion, 1997). In order to account for the agency of human and non-human actors, the methods also took inspiration from the work of Latour (2007 (2005)) and Actor-Network Theory. As discussed by Latour (1988), it is generally understood that to provide an explanation is 'inherently good', and without an explanation there is just story-telling. Latour rejects the quest for explanation arguing that there can be justification for stories: 'All texts need somehow to solve the problem of being about absent elements (whatever the various reasons for this absence), that is, of being written in A about B'. To solve this problem (in A about B), he argues for 'infra-reflexivity'. With 'infra-reflexivity', rather than reflexivity taking place methodologically by the 'knower' he argues for a 'deflation in methodology'; to get closer to the 'known'.

Latour claims that 'there is more reflexivity in one account that makes the world alive than in one hundred self-reference loops that return the boring thinking mind to the stage'. This research is designed to encourage the 'knower' (boring or otherwise) to move aside; and support the reader to construct the 'known' through engaging with 'the story' of art and regeneration, themselves. The empirical study set out to describe human and non-human actors performing associations amongst a collective. In making descriptions of these association, as with the work of Meskimmon, the researcher found that she could not 'separate her mode of making text from the questions [she was] seeking to address' (Meskimmon, 2011: 09). As an experience the act of writing has its own material quality. As Image 1, in support of writing, the analysis is shaped by drawings, sketches and tables.

Observation 1	'the office' – *as relationships*
Observation 2	'studio 87' – *as relationships*
Observation 3	'big p' and 'little p' – *as relationships*
Observation 4	'iron filings' – *as actors*
Observation 5	'shiny sculpture' – *as mutations*
Observation 6	'the gardens' – *as a stage*
Observation 7	'the public realm' – *as distributed agency*
Observation 8	The *becoming of* 'the iron filings'
Observation 9	The *performance* of 'central square'
Observation 10	The *becoming* professional-participants

253

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Image 1 'Drawing': Describing practice. JC, 2012.

The role of text is to 'perform' and 'give form' to the experience of the researcher (Latour, 2005: 139). In her textual accounts, in our study, the researcher gave space to the actors, to do what they do; and also presented a 'thick' rather than 'thin' description of their movements. The materiality of the writing was performed by the researcher, through the re-presentation of the associations of all the actors involved. In pursuit of thick description, the researcher serially rejected various suggestions for software solutions for transcription and analysis, in favour of close personal crafting. She rejected software in preference for getting as close as possible to the material; to really understand the voices, in order to describe them.

In the making of research Meskimmon (2010: 10) promotes the drawing forth of close reading and writing with 'acts of intimacy'. The making of the interview chapters resulted from many iterations of intimacy: emailing and phoning the person to make the appointment, meeting the person and undertaking the interview, listening to the tape, transcribing the tape, reading the transcript, filing it in the folder amongst the others, making notes on the papers in the file, highlighting sections, re-reading and noticing content; constructing tables and diagrams for analytical departure points; drawing further diagrams in response to first and developing thoughts, and so on, and so on; resulting in the researcher knowing this interview material very well. The making of the ethnographic chapter resulted even further intimate acts of being amongst the actors in their natural environment, as a participant in action.

To convey the complexity of what she observed directly to the reader, the researcher shapes and re-presents thick textual description. In presenting the ethnography, in order to support the reader to engage as closely as possible with the material for them-selves, she also presented 'drawings' and photographs. The 'drawings' are sketched interpretations of the associations she traced amongst the actors. Rather than text, these interpretations are textual: made of colours lines and shapes. They are crafted to support both the researcher and reader to engage with the action and movement of the transcripts. The photographs are included in the ethnography in two ways. Firstly as illustrations of what is being described in the discourse of the text; and secondly as research material themselves. Discourse is a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it (Rose, 2005 (2001): 136). In the final section of the ethnography photographs are presented directly to the reader as a visual presentation of the discourse; for them to shape for themselves.

3.2 Re-tracing the empirical steps: in-depth interviews and ethnography

3.2.1 Position one: close to live practice

In June 2009 the researcher began her empirical journey. As an exploratory first stage, she spent one week living amongst art practitioners at *Akademie Schloss Solitude* in Stuttgart. Situated in the previous ducal palace of the state of Baden-Wüttenberg, the *Akademie* is an internationally renowned centre for excellence in support of art practice. Every two years, some of the most acclaimed visual artists, writers, musicians, composers, and theatre performers and directors are selected to live and work at the *Akademie*. The application process is extremely rigorous. Only a small percentage of those that apply are selected to attend. To ensure that the *Akademie* is supporting the development of the very best new work, an esteemed panel of experts in their field are appointed by the *Akademie* Director to assess the applications in each art form category. Those with the most innovative proposals for new work, to be made at the *Akademie*, are invited to become resident fellows.

The range of art practitioners in residence, selected based on their excellence, made the *Akademie* a unique laboratory for the study of art practice. To encourage inter-disciplinarity, in subsequent years the *Akademie* also selected a range of researchers and theorists, as well as arts and business professionals, to join the artists in the house. This more recent fellowship programme is called Art, Science and Business. Based on her initial research proposal to 'measure the value of art and the artist in a regeneration context', the researcher was selected to join the *Akademie* as part of this extended programme. In order to explore the initial conceptual framework of her thesis, the researcher arranged to visit the *Akademie* for one week at the beginning of her empirical research period in June 2009. She then returned the following summer as a fellow in June, July and August 2010. As a fellow, she was invited to develop her research for three months during the summer of 2010. The fellowship offered a fantastic opportunity to meet and share ideas with a range of practitioners. It also offered an excellent opportunity for the close observation of the day-to-day practice of artists at work; and as such a rich environment to begin the empirical research.

In June 2009, on her first day at the *Akademie*, the researcher joined a guided walk through the forest of 'the house'. Dressed in clothing she had packed for a more 'gallery-like' experience, as with Malinowski's (1961) 'morning walk through the village', these maiden steps on her empirical voyage offered valuable insights into her eighteen month journey-to-come. Here, amongst the trees under an evening sky, she noticed herself as a researcher in her research environment, for the first time. During the guided introduction to the indigenous plants and animals of the grounds, she became aware of her footsteps. She could hear how she broke branches on the floor. She could feel herself sliding on the mud in her summer shoes. She smelt the damp in the air, and felt a chill through her lightweight jacket. She also sensed her proximity to the others: to the closeness of the Director; and to her fellow residents farther down the path.

As an anthropologist in-the-making, she began to 'find her feet' (Geertz, 1973: 13). 'Finding our feet' suggests Geertz (1973: 13), is the basis of anthropological writing. In adopting the practice of anthropology, the researcher is not seeking to become a native professional, or mimic them either; instead she set out with the aims of conversing *with* actors. This, reports Geertz, is 'a matter a great deal more difficult […] than is commonly recognized' (1973: 13). The total empirical contribution of the four studies of this thesis draws on thirty two in-depth interviews and a six-month ethnography - where the researcher *directly* converses with the actors of art in regeneration.

In *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Geertz (1973: 28-29) re-tells what he thinks to be an Indian story. The story is of an Englishman who had been told that the world rested on a platform, which rested on the back of an elephant, which rested on the back of a turtle. After hearing the story, the Englishman asked: 'what did the turtle rest on?' The reply was: 'another turtle [and after that] turtles all the way down'. This thesis does not focus on the physical platform, or the social circumstances of the elephant her (or him) self. This research traces the turtles beneath. Not by speaking for them - watching them from a distance (perhaps because we are nervous of coming too close to their reptile-ways); but by conversing with them.

The researcher does not speak native turtle. Neither does she know how to swim like a turtle, eat like a turtle, or do other turtle-like-things. In undertaking the research she does not become a turtle. Neither does she replicate what turtles do. As a researcher, she learns *enough* turtle, to converse with them, and interpret their exchange. To submerge amongst the turtles takes time, and it takes courage. Going in search of all-too-deep-lying turtles, warns Geertz (1973: 30), presents the danger of 'losing touch with the hard surfaces of life'. When plunging deep, rather than being afraid of losing sight of the known, however, in this research, the researcher was instead exhilarated by the challenge of the interpretation of the yet unsaid and undone.

The anthropological challenge was set for this researcher during her short stay at *Akademie Schloss Solitude.* She arrived with the hard surfaces of regeneration in her gaze. After lying-deep amongst the lives of the practitioners of 'the house', even after one week, she emerged with rich material for consideration. The hard edges of policy terminology had softened to reveal a more fluid world of dense relational exchange beneath. This experience at the *Akademie* further expanded the researcher's viewpoint. Instead of being tempted to look at 'the physical' or 'the social'; the researcher committed to explicating the complexity of practice as it happened in-action. Instead of plunging straight in, the research is designed to spiral downwards, in four steps, toward submerging within the practice of art and regeneration.

At the *Akademie* as Figure 3, she undertook eight in-depth interviews with professionals: four resident practitioners, the Director and three additional administrators. Regarding everything as data (Latour, 2005 (1999)), she kept records of the full interview process. To enable broad discussion, the interviews were semi-structured around a short set of questions. The interviews were not as unstructured as an informal conversation; but neither were they completely rigid in their replication. Each interviewee was asked the same set of question: how do you define or understand the role of art and the artist? What is the value of art and the artist? How do you measure, assess or evaluate the value? The final format of each interview, however, depended on the responses of the interviewees themselves. The order of the questions altered depending on the natural inclination of the conversation. The interviews lasted for around an hour and half and generated rich nuanced material. The interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed directly by the researcher. All names were changed.

Akademie Schloss Solitude

| **Isabella** | **Nathanial** | **Josiah** | **Julie** | **Kamal** | **Ines** | **Aaron** | **Michel** | **Nevaeh** |
| *Administrator* | *Artist Fellow (Germany/ UK)* | *dministrator Fellow* | *Research Fellow (UK)* | *Artist Fellow (India)* | *Administrator Fellow* | *Artist Fellow (USA)* | *Director* | *Artist Fellow (USA)* |
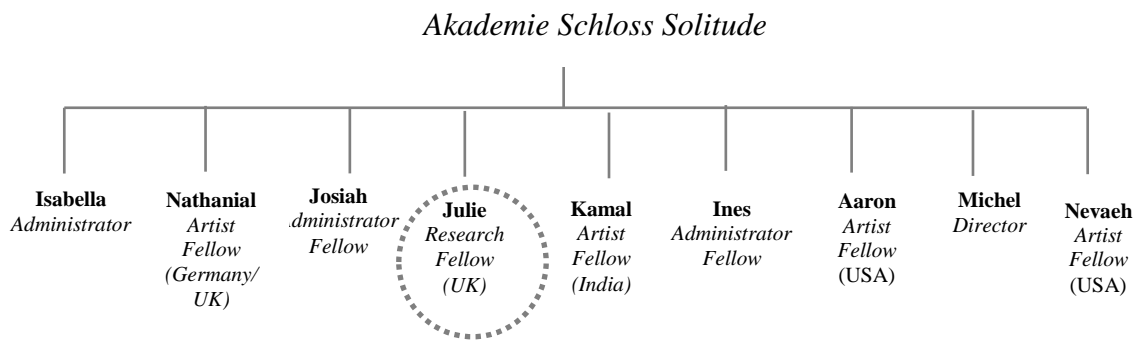
Figure 3 Position #1: Resident fellow at *Akademie Schloss Solitude*. JC, 2012

During the exploratory week, as well as collecting valuable research material, in preparation for the empirical journey ahead, the researcher developed her research skills. In the interviews, she practiced techniques of active listening and sensitive silence. In the interviews, she tried to be quiet. She limited the number of questions asked in order to enable the professionals to discuss art in their own terms, rather than being guided by her own language or assumptions. She only interjected to support the interviewee to interpret the question or add anything in addition to their immediate response.

Whilst at the *Akademie*, she also explored ethnographic methods. She kept diary notebooks of day-to-day observations, as well as photographic documentation. As an ethnographer-in-the-making she developed her techniques of being 'switched on' to her research environment; and recorded her analytic reflections to support emergent themes for discussion from close observation.

Image 2 Position #1: Meta analysis (page 1). JC, 2009.

Image 3 Position #2: Meta analysis (page 2). JC, 2009.

The interview transcripts and ethnographic field notes were transcribed. The researcher then indexed the materials for analysis. Index categories were made in the margins of the transcripts using the standard 'track changes' feature of word software. These categories were not listed *a priori* by the researcher. Instead, as guided by Actor-Network Theory she set about to enable categories to be shaped by the actors she observed and interviewed, *themselves*. In particular she took account of both the human and non-human actors as discussed by the interviewees, and as those she observed in scenes of action.

Once the material was indexed, as Images 2 & 3 in order to explore departure points for the presentation in the discourse analysis of this first empirical section (4.1), the categories were considered against the experiential framework of the thesis. As presented in empirical section 4.1, the analysis of the discourse of the exploratory week (as position #1) presents thick descriptions of the experience of art. The page scans (as Images 2 & 3) are to illustrate stages of analysis; they are not large enough to read.

3.2.2 Position two: reflecting on lived experience

After the *Akademie*, the second position took the researcher just below the surface of the profession. Through in-depth interviews with eighteen art and regeneration professionals she conversed with practitioners about their understanding of art and regeneration. In this second stage the researcher interviewed professionals out of their practice context. The researcher was positioned as an interviewer. Instead of engaging with practice-in-the-making, she interviewed professionals, as selected based on their prior experiences of practice.

In the empirical chapters, the first three positions are represented diagrammatically as tables of professionals. At the *Akademie* (#1) as Figure 3 the researcher is represented as a fellow resident alongside the eight professionals she interviews. With the eighteen interviews with art and regeneration professionals (#2), as Figure 4, the researcher is shown to be outside of their professional context.
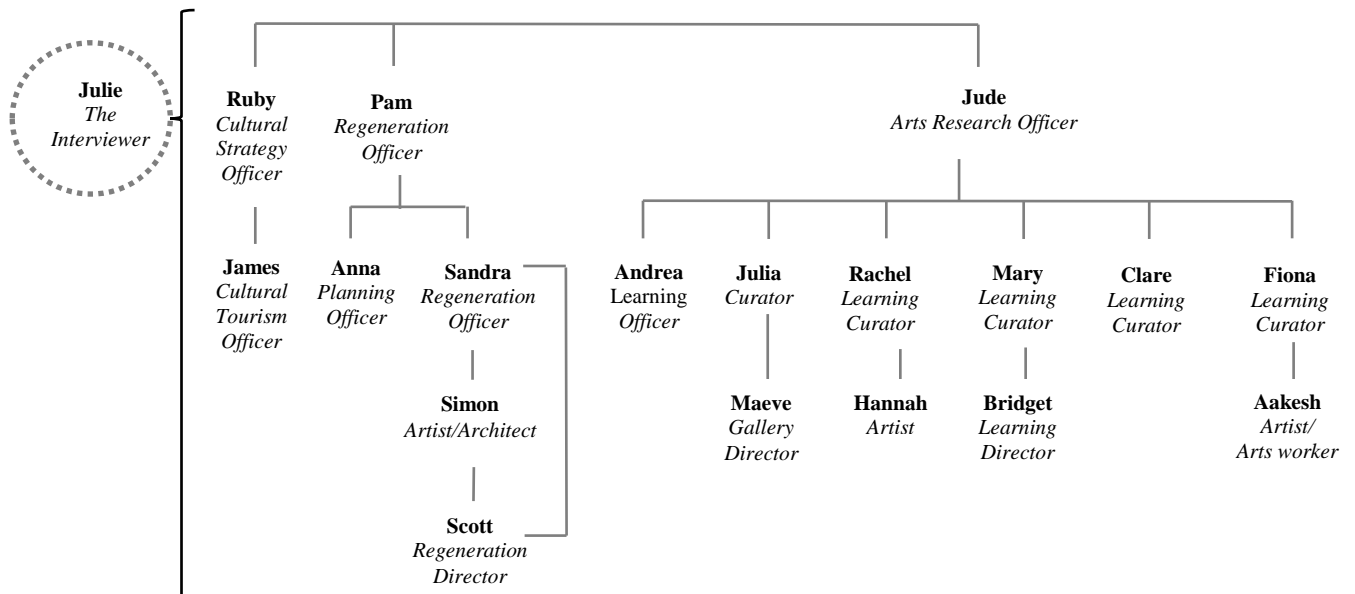
Figure 4 Position # 18 in-depth interviews. JC, 2012.

The interviews took place over two months in early 2010. As further elaborated in Chapter Four, the interviewees were selected via a snowball process. As Figure 4, in order to interview a broad range of professionals involved in art and regeneration, the researcher first made appointments with one local authority planning officer and one gallery education officer. The appointment with the planning officer was made based on a previous professional relationship with the researcher. The appointment with the gallery officer was made via an introduction by the Renaissance North West PhD research funding partner.

The first two interviewees were asked to suggest colleagues who they thought would offer a perspective on art in regeneration. The researcher continued to ask each interviewee for further recommendations. The criteria for nomination was based on the professionals being engaged with projects described as 'art', by their nominee and also described as occurring within sites of 'regeneration'. As galleries, as well as local authority departments are often involved with regeneration programmes, gallery and museum officers are included in interview sample. The interview sample includes a broad range of practitioners: artists, a planning officer, regeneration officers and a city centre regeneration partnership director, learning curators, exhibition curators, a research director and a gallery director. The sample was completed at the point of 'saturation'; when little original material was being contributed by additional interviewees. Influenced by the exploratory stage, to encourage the professionals to describe their understanding of art and artists on their own terms, the interviews were once more designed as in-depth and semi-structured. Slightly revised, in response to the exploratory stage, the questions asked were: what is the role of art and the artist? What is the value of art and the artist? How do you articulate (*rather than measure*) this value? What is the role and value of the institution? As with the exploratory stage, the interviews lasted for an average of one and a half hours, and also generated much rich material. All names have been changed.

The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher. As position #1, the transcripts were indexed using basic word software functions (as Images 4 & 5). The emergent themes, as shaped by the actors interviewed, rather than *a priori* categories, were then hand shaped in preparation for further analysis. The researcher cut up pages of categories for further hand-written analysis in notebooks (as Images 6 & 7).
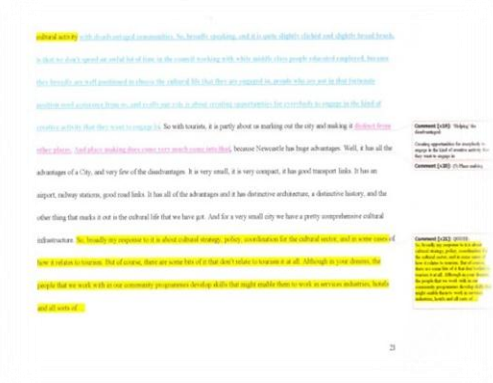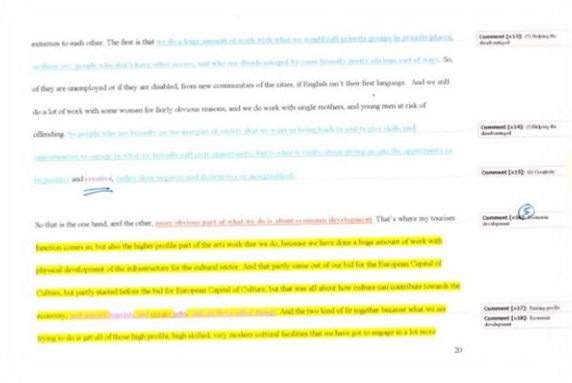
Image 4 Position #2: Transcripts with indexing using basic word (left). JC, 2010.

Image 5 Position #2: Transcripts with indexing using basic word (right). JC, 2010.

From this hand indexing, meta-themes emerged from creating tables using drawing tools in word software (as Images 8 & 9). The tables and diagrams generated as part of this stage of analysis are certainly not to be read as statistical data. They rather represent places for departure as steps in the content analysis.
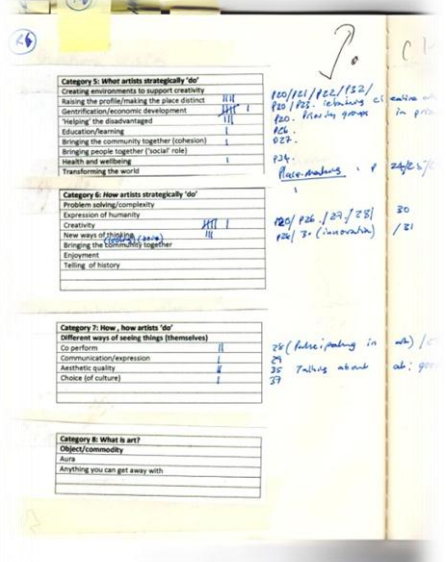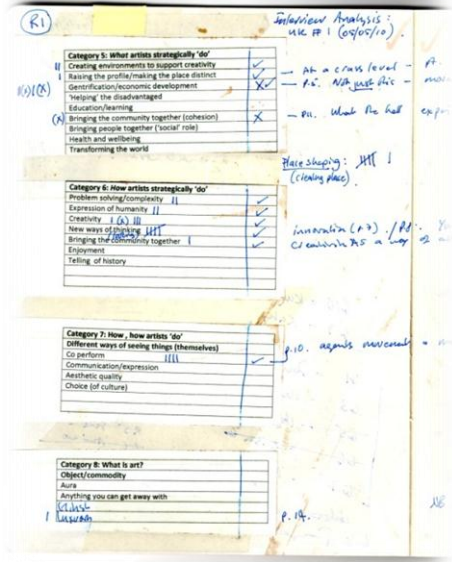
Image 6 Position #2: Hand analysis of the index categories (left). JC, 2010.

Image 7 Position #2: Hand analysis of the index categories (right). JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Image 8 Position #2: Meta-analysis of the categories (left). JC, 2010.

Image 9 Position #2: Meta-analysis of the categories (right). JC, 2010.

As presented in empirical section 4.3, this stage of analysis revealed two important themes for discussion. Firstly, through interviewing a range of practitioners, this second stage traced a tension between the static language of policy; in relation to the fluid movements of practice. Secondly, this position substantiated our understanding of the experience of art as being part of our everyday. Rather than the professionals discussing art as being contained by galleries or museums, we heard it described as part of the practices of regeneration.

3.2.3 Position three: moving back to practice

The third position moved us back to practice. This study introduced a case study of art and regeneration. Based at the office of an urban regeneration company (URC) in the North of England for six-months; the researcher was re-positioned as participant-observer. Whilst at the office, she did not adopt a role as a regeneration professional as an active participant. She was identified by her colleagues as a researcher. She undertook 'moderate participation' in the work of the office. Occasionally she was asked to contribute ideas or advice; primarily however she observed the day-to-day operations. She was based at her own desk working alongside her art and regeneration colleagues for three months during the summer of 2010. She returned at key points for a further three months that Autumn.

Similarly to the selection of the interviewee sample of art and regeneration practitioners (as position #2), rather than the case study being selected on the researcher's personal criteria or pre-definitions of an artist, or an artwork or an art project; instead the case study was once again selected through the recommendations of the professionals interviewed. At the end of each of the interviews, interviewees were asked to suggest an art and regeneration case study. The criteria was simply to recommend a case also described as being regenerated, and described as having art included as part of that regeneration programme. Rather than the researcher selecting the case based on what *she* defined as art or regeneration, instead the professionals guided her selection. All names were changed.

The selected case study was Scott's place of work. Scott was one of the regeneration professionals interviewed as part of the second stage. The researcher would not necessarily have chosen this case as an illustration of 'good' artworks or 'good' art commissioning practice; or 'successful' regeneration practice. Rather the mode of selection offers the opportunity to de-stabilise any predefinitions of her own; in order to investigate what 'art' and 'regeneration' becomes on its own terms. Directed by Gell's (1998) 'index' theory, rather than pre-defining what art is and thus 'enfranchising' it within art theoretical terms; she rather set out to observe art as an experience as it was enacted amongst the multiple actors of urban practice. She did not pre-define art, she rather traced it as it became what it becomes in action. As with Figure 5 during this six-month period of participant-observation sixteen practitioners working in a range of ways in relation to the case study were interviewed.

The Case Study
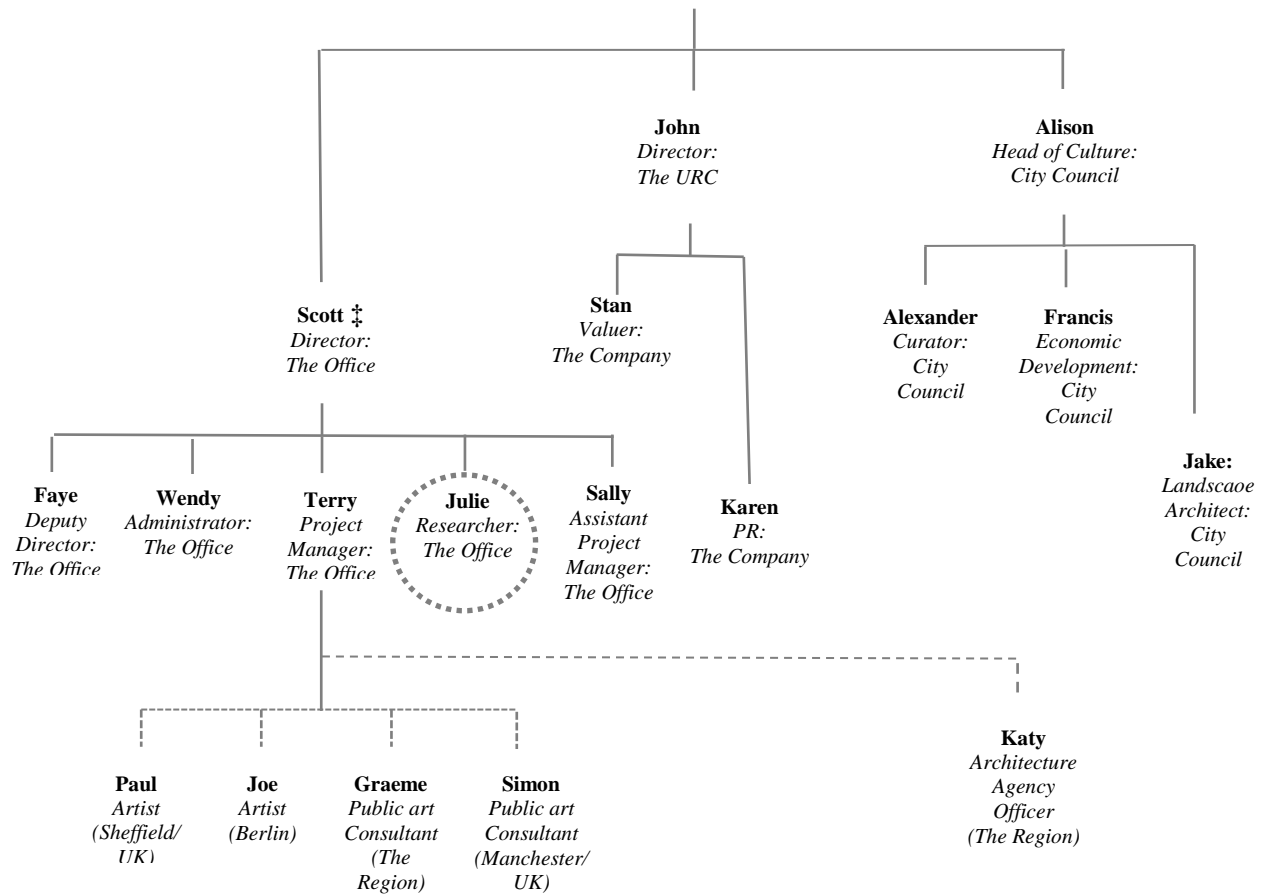
John
Director:
The URC

Alison
Head of Culture:
City Council

Scott ‡
Director:
The Office

Stan
Valuer:
The Company

Alexander
Curator:
City
Council

Francis
Economic
Development:
City
Council

Jake:
Landscaoe
Architect:
City
Council

Faye
Deputy
Director:
The Office

Wendy
Administrator:
The Office

Terry
Project
Manager:
The Office

Julie
Researcher:
The Office

Sally
Assistant
Project
Manager:
The Office

Karen
PR:
The Company

Paul
Artist
(Sheffield/
UK)

Joe
Artist
(Berlin)

Graeme
Public art
Consultant
(The
Region)

Simon
Public art
Consultant
(Manchester/
UK)

Katy
Architecture
Agency
Officer
(The Region)

Key:

———————— = employed member of staff

- - - - - - - - - - = freelance contracted member of staff

– – – – – – – = collaborator (employed elsewhere)

‡ - Scott, The Director of the office, was interviewed within the last interview sample as part of the second stage of the empirical research. He is positioned in this diagram in order to support the reader to locate his professional colleagues. All names changed have been changed.

Figure 5 Position #3: 16 interviews with practitioners of the URC case study. JC, 2010.

In the interviews she asked the practitioners about their professional role and the work of the office. Although still semi-structured in terms of interview definitions, they were less structured than those undertaken in the first two stages. Instead of asking the interviewees the set questions as previously; she rather asked each interviewee about their professional practice: what they had done previously to working at, or with, the office; and what their role was now, at the time of the interview.

As this research is concerned with accounting for the fullness of the effects of practice, the researcher was particularly sensitive to record what *professionals say* happens when interviewed, independently from what *she traces* through ethnographic observation. As Becker and Geer (1957: 28) she understood the ethnography as offering the possibility for exposing the incomplete nature of the interviews; 'distortions made by the person under study' (1957: 31). In particular she was interested in the distortions presented as policy terminology. The interviews are therefore presented separately as an independent chapter, in advance of the ethnography. The interviewees are introduced in Chapter Three. The URC, and the city as the context of the case study, is introduced in Chapter Four.

Photo 1 Position #3: Material from case interviews and ethnography. JC, 2010.

As with the previous interviews, the audio files were transcribed and indexed by the researcher. Initial analysis of this interview material took place while the researcher was resident for a second time at *Akademie Schloss Solitude*; as a researcher-in-residence during August-October 2010. While at the *Akademie,* the researcher drafted a manuscript of the case study material. The manuscript began to illuminate the distinction between what was *said* by professionals in interview; and what was observed as happening in practice through the ethnography.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

In shaping the presentation of what was said by practitioners at the end of Chapter Four (4.4), the discourse analysis from each set of interviews were compared alongside each other. The comparisons were supported by looking at the interview material against a simple diagram of dots on an arrowed line. The use of this simple diagram, as Figure 6, enabled the revealing of what is common and what is distinct about each research stage.

The material from these exploratory in-depth interviews, outside of the policy context of regeneration, contributes first-hand to Dewey's philosophy of experience in three ways. Firstly, in understanding the experience of art, the interviews particularly unravel explications of the exchange of 'inner' and 'outer' materials (xx). Secondly, connecting us with others xx. Thirdly, the experience of art as being continuous is described; as a continuous motion process.
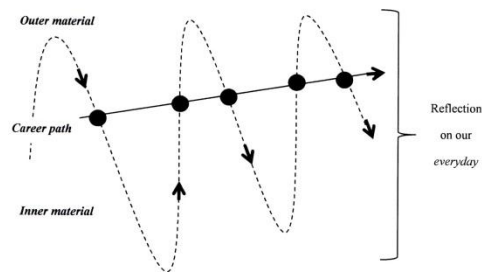
Fig xx: The motion-process of reflecting-in-action: a drawing to support the description of the exploratory week (position #1). Julie Crawshaw, 2012.

In reflecting on the literature surrounding 'culture-led regeneration', we now see plainly that to consider art 'as physical' or 'as social' or as representing an image of something as symbolic is negating the essence of its very being. Through conversing directly with art professionals, we see that art moves amidst the social and the physical. The culture-led regeneration literature positions art in terms of either a 'physical' or 'social' location. Through the experience of these practitioners, we would rather position art *as the movement* in-between.

263

Figure 6 Position #1: Macro discourse – reflecting on our everyday. JC, 2012.

What remains constant in all three studies, is that the experience of art supports reflection. At each stage this reflection is described as being 'mediated' by associations between human and non-human relationships; making alterations in 'inner' and 'outer' materials. These points of reflection are located as 'the dots' on the line. In position #1, when describing art, Michel the Director of the *Akademie*, refers to 'obstacles' that catalyse reflection. 'The dots' on the line represent 'obstacles'. The obstacles are formed from the merging of human and non-human relationships; as fused through the mutual alteration of 'inner' and 'outer' materials. The process of reflection-in-action remains constant in the descriptions of the first three studies (#1, #2, #3). What changes is what is reflected upon.

At the *Akademie*, as position #1, as illustrated by Figure 6, the artists and art professionals describe the art experience as a kindle for reflection on their everyday situation. As position #2, as illustrated by Figure 7, the focus of reflection is revealed by the professionals as being on their professional 'context' of regeneration. When interviewing the practitioners of the Urban Regeneration Company, as position #3 as illustrated by Figure 8, these practitioners describe their experience of being part of the process.

Position #2: Interviews with art and regeneration professionals

The second sample of interviews (as position #2) are undertaken with eighteen art and regeneration professionals. Unlike the *Akademie*, rather than being art professionals only, these practitioners represent a range of professionals working in the field of art within the New Labour policy context of regeneration. The sample includes professionals from gallery and non-gallery perspectives; and with differing proximities to policy and practice.
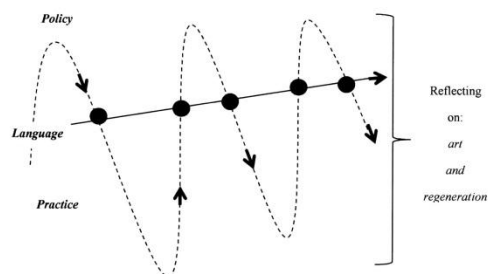
Fig xx: The motion-process of reflecting-in-action: a drawing to support the description of the exploratory week (position #1). *Julie Crawshaw, 2012.*

The frame of these interviews moves from that of art making at the *Akademie*, to the policy context of art in regeneration. Those closer to the policy context talk about art in terms of its 'physical' and 'social' role in relation to policy ambitions. Those closer to the day to day practice attempt to describe something more experiential, in similar relational terms to those of the *Akademie*.

When describing their experience of the work of the office, the staff account for an experience of reflecting on their professional role, in action. They describe how their engagement in the art projects, makes them reflect on what the regeneration office is there to do.
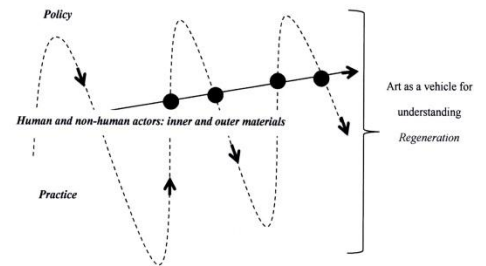
Fig xx: The motion-process of reflecting-in-action: a drawing to support the description of the exploratory week (position #1). *Julie Crawshaw, 2012.*

In the previous two studies we hear the art experience described as a process of exchange between inner and outer materials. At the *Akademie* this process is understood to reflect on the everyday. In the second study, from the context of regeneration, the art experience is understood to reflect *on regeneration* itself.

In this sample, as the diagram xx, we hear the process of reflection on regeneration as being an exchange between inner and outer materials *within* these professionals as actors. We hear how moving physical objects shapes their objectives; and how thinking about the art projects facilitates them to consider the bigger picture of regeneration. In altering the outside picture, they are altered inside.

265

270

Figure 7 Position #2: Macro discourse – reflecting on regeneration. JC, 2012.

Figure 8 Positions # 3: Macro discourse – reflecting on mind-sets. JC, 2012.

As human actors, we hear how the associations with non-humans, as part of their work at the office, changes their thoughts and feelings about what they do as professionals. Through their accounts of the materiality of their working lives, we hear how the reflection ignites reflection on themselves. With each empirical stage, the focus of reflection became closer, and closer and closer. Through the support of the simple diagram we see that the focus of reflection moves from: the collective day-to-day environment; to the 'external' context of regeneration; to the 'internal' mind-sets of the practitioners themselves.

3.2.4 Position four: immersed in practice

In order to capture their complex specific-ness, anthropologists don't study villages, towns or neighbourhoods, they study *in* villages (Geertz, 1973: 22). Anthropological writings, as stated by Geertz (1973: 15), are 'interpretations' and thus 'fictions'; in the sense of being something made or something fashioned. The value of an ethnographer's account is not in their ability to carry home primitive facts; but in the degree to which they are able to clarify what goes on 'to reduce puzzlement' (Geertz, 1973: 16). The value of their explications rests in the power of 'the scientific imagination to bring us into touch with the lives of strangers' (Geertz, 1973: 16). Drawing on Actor-Network Theory (ANT) this interpretation accounts for the lives of both humans and non-humans. Through the interpretive exercise of writing anthropology, we find ourselves below 'the platform' and below 'the elephant'. Here, in the deep, we observe the strangers *who* do it, *doing* it. A thick web of relations is described between: people, materials, ideas and objects.

Reality is described by Rancière (2004/09: 39) as being created through relationships between 'what is seen and what is said, between what is done and what can be done'. In the interviews the anthropologist's reality was limited to what those interviewed had said. The ethnography set out to capture a multi-sensory experience. The ethnographic material submerged the reader beyond the limitations of what is said, to tracing what is *done*. Through attempting to capture what is thought as well as acted on, the professional landscape is richly described. In this close proximity, as well as meeting the strangers; we can also trace how they converse in their language of action.

In introducing the case ethnography, to further convey the researcher's position as being *in* the study, a physical diagram was also offered. As Image 10, the diagram plotted the key locations of the ethnography. In the interviews (#1, #2, #3), the professionals describe what they do. They speak in the English language, directly to the anthropologist. They reference human and non-human colleagues, and attempted to describe how they conversed with them. How the anthropologist was able to converse with those interviewed is limited, by what they said, as spoken language. As Image 11, throughout the ethnography, the researcher also 'draws' the associations between the actors. These 'drawings' sketch out the movement and depth of the practice relationships.
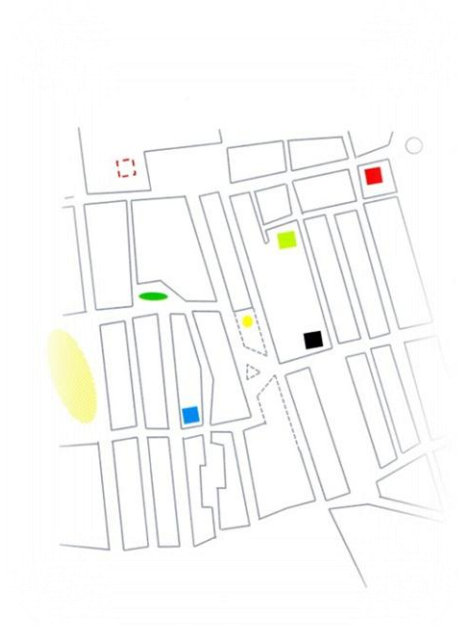
Image 10 Position #4: Case study - physical 'map'. JC, 2010.
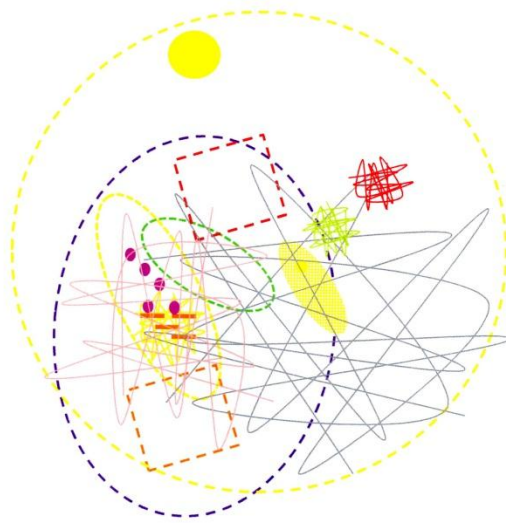
Image 11 Position #4: Case Study - relational 'drawing'. JC, 2012.

During the ethnographic study, following in the steps of anthropologists such as Malinowski, the researcher recorded her observations in field notes. She also took photographs. Inspired by Actor-Network Theory, her records took particular account of both human and non-human actors, including: artists, curators, regeneration professionals, council officers and others as well as objects, materials, ideas and things. As Image 12, whilst on her research residency at *Akademie Schloss Solitude*, the researcher produced an initial cast list of the actors of the case, as included in the initial monograph of the case study.

As prepared by the exploratory week at the *Akademie*, the researcher 'switched on' to her research environment. Instead of deciding in advance what the furniture of the world should look like, she rather prepared herself to 'feed off uncertainties' (Latour, 2005: 115). Her observations of daily informal exchanges, as well as her attendance at twenty four formal meetings were recorded in diarised notebooks and via photography. As with the interview materials, the notes were initially transcribed and indexed using basic word software.

Photo xx: Drawing up the initial cast list whilst at the *Akademie*. Julie Crawshaw, 2010.

Humans	Objects	Materials	Elements	Agendas	Concepts
Terry, Project Manager	'iron filings'	Concrete	Sunlight	Vandalism	'cultural offer'
Joe, Lead Artist	Lager tin	Piping	Water	Cleanliness	'social enterprise'
John, Director URC	'shiny sculpture'	Yellow paint			'sustainability'
Vince, Artist	LED lights	York Slate			
Sam, Journalist	Bins				
--, Punky woman	Pizza boxes				
Paul, Lighting Tech.	Rubbish				
Sam, Engineer	Progress report				
Simon, Site Manager	Samples				
Sally, Deputy PM	Drawings				
Karen, Administrator	Maps				
--, Architect #1	Cigarettes				
--, Architect #2					
Kenny, Foundry					
Keith, Foundry					
Helen, Artist					
Adam, Engineer					
Gil, Lighting Technician					
Tom, Lighting Tech.					
Graeme, Lighting Tech.					
Jake, Landscape Desig.					

Table xx: The final cast list of human and non-human actors. Julie Crawshaw, 2012.

4

Image 12 Position #4: Case Study – cast list of human and on-human actors. JC, 2012.

The first three observations are based on human and non-human relationships. As introduced by what the staff *said* about the office in their interviews (as Chapter Four), I now *experience* the micro interactions of my colleagues in our workplace. Firstly, in the terms of Jones and Evans (2008), 'the office' is not an object made as-finished; rather it is a set of complex relationships continually acted out between the staff and other human actors amongst their physical and conceptual environment. Instead of being told about the ways in which staff work together, I can now feel my position being co-created through my actions amongst those of others (Observation 1). These movements are subtle and various. Similarly to the office, rather than Studio 87 being static, it is alive with movement between the artists and the objects of the environment (Observation 2). Through observing the micro movements of the everyday, I particularly notice how the official language of policy is played out. In the interviews, I had previously noted that the staff use terms such as 'social cohesion'. In the ethnography I am now able to trace these terms as part of the movements of the scene. My third relational observation is that the case study itself is framed as 'political' relationships; the terms 'big p' and 'little p' are used by the actors to describe what they do; *and I have felt part of ... 'little p'.*

Observation 3: The 'big p' and 'little p'- relationships

Diagram 5.3: Field observation 3. Julie Crawshaw, 2012.

25

Ten observations are recorded (as Diagram xx). In summary, as Jones and Evans (xx) state, the city is not observed as an object made. Instead the ethnography describes a performance of multiple effects enacted via the biographical associations of all the actors involved. The movements of the city as recorded via the field notes cannot be presented as a map in two dimensions. Instead the culmination of the observations produces a drawing that is multi-layered, messy and abstract. Rather than being a static grid, it conveys movement, complexity, personality and depth.

Agency
Distribution
Mutation
Becoming
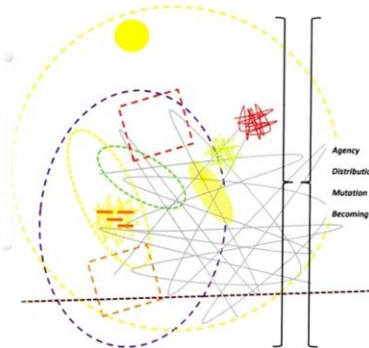
Diagram xx: The performance: a drawing of the case study, with emergent concepts for articulation. Julie Crawshaw, 2012.

6

Image 13 Position #4: Ethnography – sketch of observation 3. JC, 2012.

Image 14 Position #4: Ethnography – relational sketch of all observations. JC, 2012.

As the final written presentation, Chapter Five includes both direct presentation of the ethnographic material, as well as integrating the reflective analysis of the material. As Images 13 and 14 as well as text, the analysis also takes the form of 'sketched' observations. The ambition of the thesis is to better articulate the role of art in regeneration. In support of articulation, within the analysis, the research also draws on a range of theoretical perspectives of human and non-human relations and agency.

During the empirical journey the researcher was committed to hand-crafting the research. Instead of using specialist software to support transcription, coding or analysis, rather she has preferred to work with the material directly. Within Chapter Five, the observations revealed through reflective analysis born out of the writing of the material, are sketched as part of the final presentation. These sketches are included in support of infra-reflexivity and further discussion. They act as signposts of analysis for both the researcher and reader.

3.3 Research material: preparing the reader

The interview material as positions #1,#2 and #3 are presented as Chapter Four. The ethnography, as position #4, is presented as Chapter Five. The researcher's proximity to the action of practice, determined the level of her visibility in the text. As interviewer, she is remote; her presence is felt only in the analysis. As participant-observer, the reader will feel her more closely. The researcher, the instrument-of-research is closer to the material. The research is, therefore, brought closer to the reader. Chapter Four is narrated in the third person. In recognition of the closeness of the ethnographic material to the researcher, Chapter Five is narrated directly in the first person.

By adopting a staged approach, different positions of proximity to practice impacts on the material revealed. When the researcher is immersed in practice, close to the actors, the research material is 'thick'. When the researcher is distanced from the day-to-day, the material is less dense. The thick material submerges the reader amongst the dense relational texture of the deep. The thinner material however also makes contributions to the research. Through comparison, it illuminates the depth of the contribution as produced through the ethnography. On its own terms, however, it also previews the limitations of the spoken language of policy, in relation to the multi-sensory associations of practice.

Through adopting the anthropological tradition of the study of art, for the study of art in regeneration, this thesis offers a nuanced articulation of the role of art. As will be revealed, this thesis has produced rich descriptions of the role of art in regeneration as a medium for re-imagining. Instead of delivering regeneration objectives, this thesis presents art as a vehicle for *re-considering* regeneration anew. The thesis does not, however, present this articulation of art as a medium for re-consideration *as fact*. The empirical studies rather present in-depth descriptions of the movements of art and regeneration: at a certain time, in a certain place. The value of the thesis is in its material explication. Through tracing practice at a microscopic scale, our study puts us in touch with the previously unknown associations of practitioners.

Chapter 4: Breaking the waves – an experiential view

4.1 Position #1: Experiencing art

4.1.1 Living amongst art practice: forming close connections

To begin her empirical journey, the researcher lived at the *Akademie* for one week during June 2009. Based in a small apartment with a studio downstairs, she mixed amongst the everyday workings of 'the house', as residents referred to the *Akademie*. On the first evening of her arrival, she attended a guided walk of the grounds. One of the artists had designed this guided tour as part of the artwork they were producing during their fellowship. It was raining. Michel, the Director, and a number of other fellows joined the walk. Michel remarked on the nature of the shoes that the researcher was wearing. He joked saying that she obviously hadn't imagined she would be walking in the mud during her stay at the *Akademie*. She realised that he was correct. She hadn't packed for this experience. She hadn't brought walking boots, a waterproof jacket, or even particularly warm clothing. Rather, she had imagined being somewhere more gallery-like, perhaps somewhere more solemn and ordered.

During this first evening the researcher's assumptions about her research environment had changed. Rather than solemn and ordered, her experience during the week was rather more akin to the muddy walk. It was not of introductions to artworks made, neatly finished and presented. Instead she found herself in an environment of making. Her experience was more so of entering a micro-climate, where people, materials and ideas moved and changed. Just as in the forest, where rain had saturated the earth; inside the house, materials, things and ideas were being introduced, exchanged and added to one another. As with the walk, as an explorer of the *Akademie*, the researcher similarly stepped on branches and collected twigs along the way. She effected change in its micro-climate. She talked informally with staff and fellows over breakfast and lunch. She told them about her research, and why she was there. Her new associates offered reflections on her work and told her about their own projects. She responded to their ideas and stored these conversations in her memory. She smiled at people in corridors and chatted while undertaking her daily tasks. She made connections, and exchanges, with people.

She also connected with other non-human actors at play. She enjoyed the sound of music seeping through doors. She stood still, letting the notes wash over her. She allowed the smell of paint, glue, wax and hot plastic take her back to memories of being at art school when she made artworks herself. As a first exploratory stage, living at the *Akademie* gave the researcher the opportunity to observe all the actors involved in the practice of making art. As a peer of the house she experienced it on its own terms. As researcher-in-residence, rather than simply looking at art practice, she had an opportunity to take account of her live position. She was living amongst art practice; she was part of this environment-in-the-making. During her stay, she had the opportunity to interview people about their experience. She also, however, felt it relevant to account for her own. She therefore experimented as an ethnographer. She photographed her apartment and studio, and elsewhere throughout the house. She also experimented with diary styles and keeping notes. The place felt alive to her. Through the ethnographic observation she felt further 'switched on' to her environment. The house felt full of energy, and she felt energised from being part of it.

As well as experimenting with ethnographic approaches, she also organised interviews with resident practitioners. She emailed possible interviewees. In the email she introduced them to her research and invited those interested to meet her to undertake an interview as part of the exploratory stage. The self-selecting interviewees included Michel, the Director, three further arts professionals with administrative roles at the *Akademie*, and four fellows. The fellows' usual work places were: in Stuttgart and London, Mumbai, California, and Chicago. These interviews, therefore, offered an extraordinary opportunity to engage with practitioners, as representative of some of the most interesting practices internationally. Furthermore, rather than having to organise to meet the interviewees at a place of mutual convenience, separate from their day-to-day practice, here the researcher was able to visit the practitioners directly in their living and working environments. She visited the artists in their apartments and in their studios. She also visited the Director and administrative staff in their work places: the TV room, library and individual office spaces. Rather than representing the reflections of practitioners outside of their environment, these interviews were enriched by the researcher's engagement with the practitioners amidst their natural habitat. Like the researcher, because they were in their working environment, they were 'switched on' to their live practice.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Whilst at the *Akademie*, Isabella, the coordinator of the Arts, Science and Business programme, introduced the researcher to the fellowship programmes, and the house itself. Once selected as fellows, the artists were invited to live at *Akademie Schloss Solitude* for up to one year. Each artist was given a small apartment for general living as well as an appropriate studio. Sculptors, for example, were given very large dirty spaces. Musicians were directed to small immaculate rooms, some of which include a baby grand piano. Partners and children were also welcome to stay with fellows. As well as individual spaces, the house included administrative, communal, and exhibition areas. At the entrance there was a shared office, which linked to that of the Director, Michel. There were further offices on the first floor. Alongside the fellows, some of these administrative staff also lived in the house.

As a resident of the *Akademie*, the researcher became familiar with the workings of the house and with the studio spaces of those artists she visited during the week. She observed art practice as part of the everyday of the life of the *Akademie* and its residents. She considered the home studios of artists and thinkers of the Arts and Crafts Movement born out of Britain in the 1880s. Just as theorist and critic, John Ruskin, and the designer, writer and activist William Morris, the fellows lived and worked in the house. There was a laundry, TV room, library, and canteen. Although each apartment included a small kitchen area, during weekdays, fellows were invited to join the Director and other staff members for lunch in the canteen. At the beginning of each week fellows purchased lunch vouchers, and wrote their name on a calendar against the days they wished to join the group lunch. They gave a voucher to the cook as payment on the days that they attended. A self-service breakfast of croissants and rolls was also available. Fellows were asked to write in a logbook what they had taken, and were billed at the end of each month. The canteen was also used for a monthly formal dinner, social gatherings and talks by current and previous fellows. More formal presentations were given in the salon. There were also regular exhibitions in the gallery spaces that were open to the public over the weekends, as well as performances and conferences. In addition to events in the house, activities were also undertaken outside of the *Akademie*. For example artists often worked with schools, presented performances and exhibitions in other galleries, and made publicly-sited works outside of gallery or museum contexts. The researcher's observations recorded the day-to-day movements of the house. She was also introduced to projects and exhibition that had been, or were being, planned for outside of the *Akademie* and its grounds.

The researcher's one-week residence at the *Akademie* was designed as an exploratory research phase. The interviews themselves were also designed as exploratory. Semi-structured, the researcher asked the same set of questions of each interviewee. Most of the interviews lasted for over an hour. To encourage the interviewees to fully consider their interpretations and responses to each question, the researcher allowed plenty of time and space for discussion. She did this by taking time at the beginning of each interview to introduce herself and preview the research questions. She then opened the discussion by asking each practitioner to introduce themselves and their professional background. The set exploratory questions were: What is the role of art and the artist? What is the value of art and the artist? How do you measure, assess or evaluate the role of art and the artist? How do you define or understand art or an artist? In order to support the continued flow of the discussion, during each interview the researcher also asked additional sub-questions as appropriate. Through adopting this exploratory approach, rather than gathering short hard responses, the interview transcripts are instead fluid and descriptive. As such, the transcripts are rich, and offer a number of nuanced understandings of art practice.

Akademie Schloss Solitude
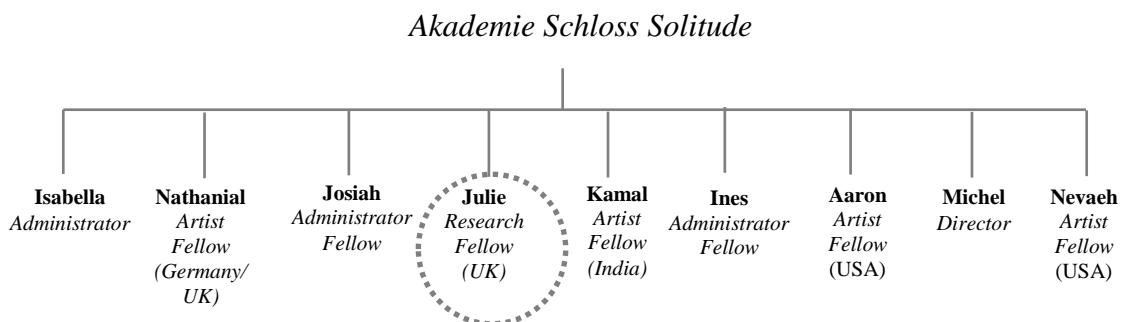
Figure 2 Position #1: *Akademie Schloss Solitude. JC, 2010.*

During her stay, the researcher was able to undertake eight in-depth interviews. The sample represented an equal range of artist fellows and those working in different ways at the *Akademie*. All names have been changed. Other than Michel, the Director, all those interviewed lived in the house. Michel and Isabella can be regarded as full employees. As well as performing their administrative functions, Ines and Josiah, however, were also part-time fellows. Before being awarded her full-time post, Isabella had also been a part-time fellow and administrator. As with the artist fellows, these part administrative fellowships were keenly competitive. As well as observing the day-to-day practice of the *Akademie*, the researcher also undertook exploratory interviews with a range of practitioners.

The interview sample included fellows as well as those working at the *Akademie*. Michel had been directing the *Akademie* for twenty years. Previously, he was Director of the French Cultural Institute, also in Stuttgart. He was a senior authority in the visual arts across Germany, Europe and internationally. Michel invited the researcher to undertake the interview in his personal office. Isabella had responsibility of the Arts, Science and Business programme. Also well regarded in the arts field, before joining the *Akademie* as a fellow, she worked with a number of cultural institutions in Essen. She also spent some time at ZKM in Karlsruhe, a well-known gallery specialising in new-media artwork. Her background was in history, German literature and the social sciences. As Isabella had an earlier appointment in the TV room, she invited the researcher to meet her there. Isabella's role was to 'mediate' between the requirements of the institution, the fellows, and the public audience of the *Akademie*. As the main contact for the fellows of the 'Arts, Science and Business Programme', Ines directly supported Isabella. Ines' coordination role was part-time. For the rest of her time at the *Akademie*, Ines is regarded as a fellow, undertaking her own research. She had a background in art history. Like Ines, Josiah also split his time between supporting fellows and undertaking his own work. Josiah lectured in sociology and was also undertaking a PhD. The researcher met Ines in the office she shared with Isabella. She met Josiah in the library. The administrative staff interviewed represented a range of backgrounds. Their experience spanned the arts and humanities; as well as a range of experience levels, from more junior to senior positions.

The Fellows interviewed also represented a range of backgrounds and practices. Kamal studied architecture before studying literature and cultural studies. He was based in Mumbai. The researcher met with Kamal in his large apartment that combined living and working areas. He had large rolls of paper and drawings piled up on a table, and many bookshelves, full of books. At the *Akademie* he was making a book based on the sites and stories of colonial Bombay. From training in design and visual communication, Nathanial proceeded to work as an artist and designer. He lived and worked between London and Stuttgart. His interview was conducted from his large sculpture studio. There were images and things pinned and posted around the walls, as well as objects on the floor. His artwork included the development of a commercial brand selling security products using non-threatening designs. For example he had exhibited padlocks with bear-like faces on them, and security chains made of hearts.

Aaron was based in San Francisco. As an artist, he developed projects that focused on economic themes such as profitability, private-ness and commerce. As he said there wasn't much to see in his workspace, he chose to visit the researcher in her own studio to undertake the interview. His projects had included setting up a foundation to award grants to other artists. He financed this foundation by saving his wages from working in a fine dining restaurant. At the *Akademie* he was working on a sound project. For the project he installed MP3 players by trees in the *Akademie*'s expansive garden. Nevaeh was also based in the United States, at the time in Chicago. She made drawings on paper. While at the house, Nevaeh translated her drawings into animations and experimental short films. The researcher met her in her living accommodation. She explained that as well as making work in her studio, she was also using her living space to display some of her earlier drawings. These drawings were hanging from the ceiling from pieces of string.

The sample of artists interviewed by the researcher represented a range of art practices. Although he made books, Kamal trained as an architect, and was listed by the *Akademie* as an architect. Working in different ways, the other three practitioners were listed as visual artists. Each had exhibited extensively in galleries internationally. Nathanial produced sculptural works. He developed the concepts for the objects to be made, and commissioned manufacturers to make them. Ines made two-dimensional works. She drew and painted them herself. Aaron had a more performative practice. Rather than make sculpture, paintings or drawings, he designed active interventions into economic systems. Instead of exhibiting objects or drawings, he exhibited the documentation of these interventions.

As an exploratory first stage to the empirical work, the *Akademie* offered an excellent environment as a laboratory of practice. As a fellow of the Art, Science and Business Programme, the researcher was able to immerse herself in the day-to-day of the *Akademie*. From this position as researcher-in-residence she: observed the practice of the *Akademie*, particularly noting the movements of both humans and non-humans; interviewed practitioners about their experience; and through adopting ethnographic methods, accounted for her own.

Photo 2 Position #1: The entrance to 'the house' - *Akademie Schloss Solitude*. JC, 2009.

Photo 3 Position #1: Entrances to the individual studios. JC, 2009.

Photo 4 Position #1: The forest path at the back of 'the house'. JC, 2009.
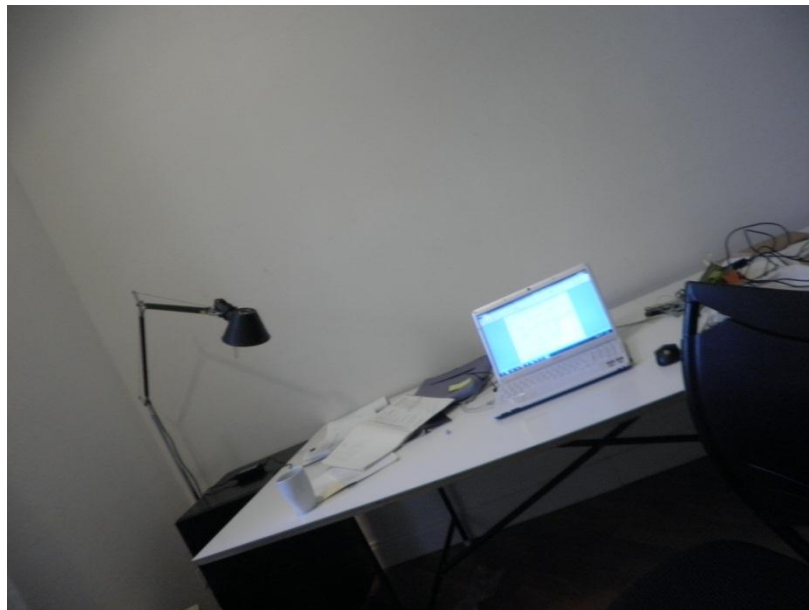
Photo 5 Position #1: Work desk in the researcher's studio. JC, 2009.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

4.1.2 Art in motion: being part of the everyday

The researcher's own experience, of living as a practitioner in the house, had introduced her to the micro exchanges between people, ideas, materials and objects. Rather than arriving at a place that was fixed, instead she found herself performing as an actor with others amongst an environment-in-the-making. During the interviews, in exploring the practitioners' experiences of art, the researcher was similarly introduced to art as a process of change. Rather than being still, art was described by the practitioners more so in terms of movement. 'When you deal with art, it starts a process' stated Isabella (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 34). Instead of making something finished, art and artists were understood to *begin* something. Rather than being described by their art form media, such as being 'painters', 'sculptors' and 'photographers'; artists were instead described as 'catalysts', 'innovators' and 'facilitators'. Josiah, sociologist and part-time coordinator, described artists 'as busy bees' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p.28). Rather than understand art as static; instead art was presented as movements, in-motion.

The motion process, switched on by art, was described by the interviewees as made of multiple reflections. These reflections, they said, take place in our everyday environment. They are ignited within our everyday experience. The experience of art is part of our everyday. Experienced arts practitioner, Isabella, described art as making us re-think our 'daily habits, ourselves, our chores' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 34). These re-considerations she believes, make us more aware of ourselves amongst our habitat. In Nathanial's interview, he suggested that the role of the artist is to support us to review our immediate environment. When visiting his studio, for the interview, the researcher was introduced to Nathanial's re-designed security systems. These objects, for example, would support viewers to re-think their immediate environment and reflect on issues surrounding ideas of 'safety'. He said, 'when people live close to the seaside, they are not aware after a period of time of the noise of the waves breaking, because it just becomes so natural. Or, that when you take the same walk to work every day, you don't see the trees along the way anymore' (Nathanial, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 31). He saw art, as an experience, illuminating us in our day-to-day environment. Rather than simply reflecting us in our reality, however, it alters our relationship to it. As described by Nathanial: the trees are there, but we regard them differently now. He did not regard art as static; but rather as a movement that sets us in motion, to reflect on ourselves in our environment.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

As described by the practitioners, in reflecting on ourselves in our environment, art makes alterations. These alterations occur inside artists. Part-time coordinator and art historian, Ines suggested that artists are like human filters: stuffing something in, with something coming out (Ines, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 5). In talking about the process of making her drawings, Nevaeh suggested how these alterations take place. Stating that 'materiality is pretty central' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p.45) to her practice, she described her working process by saying:

> I work with found objects: wood, metal, paper. I tend to handle the material for a period of time… and continue to work on it. By handling, I mean literally… in order to understand its properties […] I am basically trying to change the form of the material (Nevaeh, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 45).

To understand the properties of the materials, Nevaeh explained that she touched them, molded them and shaped them. In the interview, the researcher sat opposite the artist at her kitchen table. When she spoke about her art making, the researcher could feel the artists' fragility. It felt like the artist was porous to the outside world. Nevaeh described making her drawings as 'an interior life' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p.45). She told the researcher that she realised that what she was about to say sounded dramatic. She then paused and asked: 'without art, what would there be?' This question reflected how she felt; that making art was her life force. When Nevaeh changed the form of the materials to make her drawings, she changed something inside her. As noted by Dewey (1934:77) everyone knows that to make art, physical materials need to undergo change. What is not so readily recognised, however, is that a similar transformation takes place on the side of our 'inner' materials; such as observations, memories and emotions. In making something, something happened within Nevaeh, as a filter. What came out, is the drawings. The handling of the paper, wood and other materials to make the drawings, however also touched her, inside. The artist experienced change by making her drawings through her drawing practice. The artist changed the materials; and the materials effected change in the artist.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Not only does the artist experience change through an 'aesthetic practice' (Michel, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 20); the viewer or participant is also changed. Here, 'the external object, the product of art, is the connecting link between artist and audience' (Dewey, 1934:111). Michel said that the 'person', also discovers difference through an 'aesthetic experience', 'like you or me' (Michel, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 20).

Indeed, after describing her own experience in relation to making her own artwork, Nevaeh (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 46) stated that there was something 'that transcends' her own experience. Michel describes art as processing obstacles: 'the person who is producing art, and the person who is receiving it [has] an obstacle to go through' (Michel, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 22). In Nevaeh's description of her practice, the materials seemed to be these 'obstacles'. The materials, the wood, metal and paper were processed, and re-formed. This process re-formed herself; however the process re-formed others too. As a 'non-artist', Isabella stated that living amongst artists, 'this constant interchange', made her 'see through the eyes of another' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 34). The reflective motions of art are ignited by handling materials. The re-forming of materials both re-formed artists, and those experiencing art.

We are introduced to the art experience as being one of alteration that produces difference. Art is not about being given something complete, but about experiencing something on our own terms. In order to describe this production of difference, Michel introduced the term 'transmission'. Transmission, he explained, is 'like when you have a message in one language translated into another; and it is not the same language' (Michel, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 21). Art produces something new; a new language. As well as the art experience, or 'transmission' being understood only in terms of materials, it was also understood in terms of 'thinking'. Kamal describes it is as 'an intellectual learning process' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 17): as an artist, 'you can use your working space as a pure thinking space […] and through your work, and through your conversations, other people are thinking […] So, the product has an intellectual life of its own, and that is why it is important' (Kamal, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 15). This process merges thinking with touching and handling. The art experience produces difference through a combination of handling materials, linked with intellectual thinking.

As well as connecting us to ourselves (as artists or 'non-artists'), the art experience connects us with others. In the experience of connecting materials to make art, connections are made inside ourselves. We are altered. As well as connecting us to ourselves, these alterations can also make associations with others.

From our conversation with Nevaeh we see that her practice connects her to people: that making her drawings helped her to find 'her place in the world' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 47). Michel stated that the recognition of the art experience is probably the strongest thing which you can share with another person. That the art experience is probably one of the strongest ways we have to say 'we'. The fact that we enjoy the same landscape means we have something in common. That sharing the same experience is important, because: 'Nobody is able to say 'we' anymore […] The social link between people is broken' (Michel, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 21). Art supports the making of collective associations.

Further, in altering ourselves now, we re-shape our future path. As described by Isabella: 'Art is a process of reflecting on your past, taking stock of this learning from previous experience; and re-shaping where you are going, from now on' (Michel, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 34). After the reflective spark is lit, furthermore, it does not die out. Isabella described the role of art as 'prospective thinking' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 21). The reflection is not contained in one single moment; rather the spark is re-energised when we are reminded of that experience again, later. Art is continuous; it is part of our life. Life, as described by Dewey (1916: 05) is 'a self-renewing process through action upon the environment'. Kamal describes art as the 'the threshold between two processes: the before and the after' (Kamal, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 15). By being in-between past and present, that art is a lever to continuous movement.

For this exploratory week, the researcher was based at the *Akademie*. Here, she both observed the day-to-day of practitioners' lives, and their work, in the house. She also specifically interviewed eight of the practitioners. During the interviews she asked the practitioners about art and artists: what they thought the role of art and artists was, what their value was, and whether they have a definition. She did not ask about the role or value, or definition of an art institution. Through her ethnographic observations, the researcher noted however, that the art institution plays a role in the day-to-day. She lived by its rules and regulations: she had eaten lunch at the specified times, brought her own linen and cleaned her accommodation as requested. In the interviews the role of 'spaces' were discussed. Of art making, Kamal stated that when it 'shifts into the person's space: studio,

atelier and especially art galleries, it has a certain space within which it is operating' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, 13). Michel specifically talked about the role of the art institution: 'The place where art is articulated with a political purpose […] the very space where mankind can reflect', and is crucial in understanding art and society (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 25). After reflecting on her own observations and views of the practitioners, the researcher undertakes a further reflection. Very relevant to the study of art in regeneration, Michel states that, 'through the normal channels of the exchange, which is art consumption (sitting in a concert hall, and visiting an exhibition with three minutes in front of each painting), you are losing […] 95% of what art could give you as an aesthetic experience' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 21). Instead of tracing the remaining 5% of a full experience, she notes that this study, as taking place outside of the 'art world' institutions, offers an opportunity to reveal the fullness of the art experience.

4.1.3 Learning from experience: how to articulate the role of art?

The first exploratory stage of the empirical study had submerged the researcher in the day-to-day of practice. She employed ethnographic techniques to take account of her own experience. From this position she was able to take note of the movements of all the actors effecting change in the house. She observed the movements of the fellows and staff. She also accounted for the influence of the non-human actors at play. She recorded how sounds and smells produced reflections in herself; when for example, she recalled her memories from art school. She also noted when paper, charcoal, photographs, books, drawings, and other objects and things play a role, especially when visiting the studios of the fellows. Furthermore, she also described the effects of the procedures and traditions of the *Akademie* itself. How being asked to clean her apartment in a certain way, or where and when she is expected to eat her lunch or breakfast, influenced her experience of being in the house.

As well as taking account of the range of human and non-human actors while recording her own experience, she also noted the human and non-human actors as described in the interviews with practitioners. While at the *Akademie* the researcher undertook eight in-depth interviews with fellows and staff. Through a series of exploratory questions about the role, value and definition of art and the artist, these interviewees described art as igniting a reflective experience. Rather than discussing what art *is* in terms of its symbolic meaning, or its essential properties; the practitioners more so talked about the processes of art, in terms of what art *does*. Art and artists were not framed as someone, or something, special and separate. Instead the processes of art making were described by those interviewed in terms of an index of connections, a 'matrix of exchange' (Michel, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 20), between themselves and other people, materials and ideas surrounding them. Artists and artworks, as well as the art institution, were seen as catalysts and facilitators of a collective experience.

At the beginning of each interview, the researcher described her previous professional background. She explained that before starting the PhD research, she had been evaluating the impact of art in regeneration areas across the UK; and that this professional background had directed her initial aim for the PhD research. This initial aim was to measure the value of art. Those interviewed however, demonstrate a difficulty with measuring the value or role of art. Ines specifically stated that 'it is very hard to measure' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 3). Furthermore, the researcher, through her own experience of

living at the *Akademie* subsequently reflected on the limitations of measuring value. When she asked Michel, the Director about measuring the value of art, he specifically states that he did not think that the PhD project should pursue measurement at all. In his opinion, the measurement of value implies an overly economic approach. As such, this approach would therefore fail to account for the multiple values of art. At this point, in the interview, the researcher took the opportunity to reflect on her ambitions for the research. She explained to Michel, that she was using this vocabulary of value and measurement, because it is the familiar vocabulary of UK policy. Her aim for conducting this exploratory stage of the research, was to investigate views on art, and to expose her own assumptions in relation to the research. This exploration, she reflected, had exposed the limitations of this language of measurement. She noted to herself that through this exploration of practice, rather than viewing art through the language of policy; through focusing on practice amongst the everyday, she hoped to contribute an expanded pragmatist understanding of what art does and the effects it produces.

This exploratory stage informed the future direction of the empirical study from two significant perspectives. Firstly, this exploration re-framed the focus of the research. The initial ambition was to pursue the measurement of the value of art in regeneration. During this exploratory stage, art has been described as an experience. Rich accounts of practice described multiple actors producing infinite effects. These effects are reported as being impossible to account for in economic or quantitative terms. In order to account for the multiple effects of art practice, instead the research was rather re-framed in order to articulate the experience of practice. Secondly, as well as re-framing the focus, this exploratory stage had also promoted the benefits of a slow approach to observation. In order to view art practice amongst the everyday, this exploratory stage had introduced the researcher to the rich descriptions made possible by undertaking an ethnographic approach. By being submerged in practice, the researcher was able to take account of the movements and effects of all the actors at play. Our research does not look for the stated *ambitions* of policy, as economic, social or environmental. Our research rather observes the micro-movements of practice; to trace the full range of effects, as they are played out in their fullness.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Art is an experience produced through a collective performance of associations amongst people and other materials. As an experience, art triggers reflections in our continuous daily lives. The reflections are made through the coming together of internal and external materials. Through re-shaping 'outer' materials; our 'inner' feelings and emotions are re-shaped. Through re-shaping inner and outer materials, art changes our relationship to our place. As a process of associations between human and non-human actors, art generates immeasurable effects. These effects are produced through a collective set of associations as part of everyday events.

Rather than regarding artworks separately from our daily activity, this research endeavors to 'restore continuity between the refined and intensified forms of experience that are works of art, and the everyday events […] universally recognized to constitute experience' (Dewey, 1934: 02). Through restoring continuity between art and its everyday context, this thesis aims to articulate the full range of effects produced by the art experience. Furthermore, through submerging in the day-to-day of practice, this research specifically aims to contribute to the philosophical pragmatism of Dewey (1934) by carefully describing *how* the experience of art produces these effects. In studying the practice of art in regeneration amongst the everyday, this research will consider: who performs in the collective production of art and regeneration; how these actors operate; what effects they produce; and how they produce these effects.

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In brief, our analysis of the discourses of the exploratory week at the *Akademie* can be described as offering an understanding of the role of art in experiential terms. The artists and art practitioners describe art as a reflective process that takes place as part of their day-to-day experience. Art is not described as being set apart from their mundane patterns of living, but rather as part of their daily routines. The practitioners describe how art ignites reflection on their daily lives, changing their relationship with it. These ignitions are triggered through connections between their 'inner' thoughts and feelings and 'outer' physical materials. As materials, such as those used for drawing, are changed, 'inner landscapes' are changed: both in artists themselves, as well as others who might be described as 'the audience' or 'participants'.

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4.2 Position #2: The frames of experience

4.2.1 Meeting art and regeneration practitioners: creating a distant perspective

In early 2010 the researcher undertook eighteen interviews with a range of practitioners, each in some way working in relation to art and regeneration. In order to meet with a variety of professionals, the interviewees were selected via a snowball process. To start the selection process, as described in figure 4.2, the researcher firstly made appointments with professionals whom she knew to be funded via grants in support of neighbourhood renewal. She made appointments with a cultural strategy officer, a regeneration officer and arts research officer. The cultural strategy officer, Ruby, and regeneration officer, Pam, were both known to the researcher through her previous professional experience as a consultant to art and regeneration projects. Ruby and Pam are both based in local authority settings. The art research officer, Jude, was introduced to the researcher by Renaissance North West, one of the PhD research partners. Jude is based in a gallery.
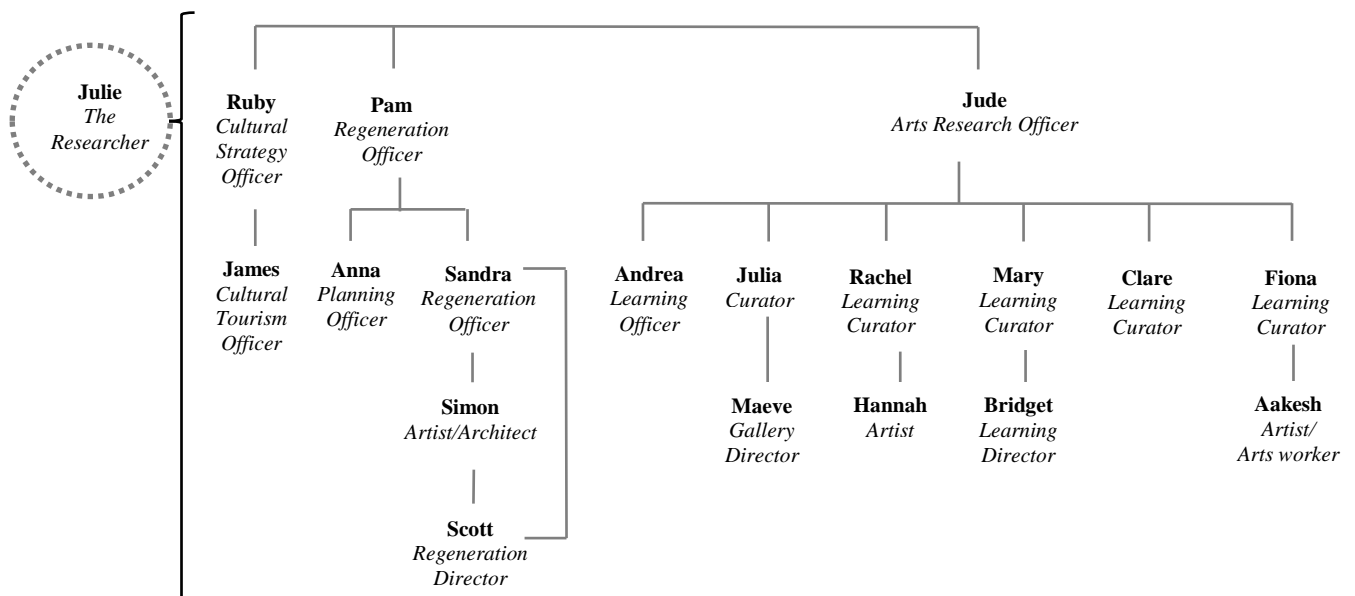
Figure 3 Position #18 in-depth interview. JC, 2012.

As illustrated in figure 4.2, Ruby, Pam and Jude also suggested other professionals for the researcher to interview, and many of these professionals also suggested further practitioners based on their work in art and regeneration. The interview sample represented a variety of roles: artists, a planning officer, regeneration officers, a city centre regeneration partnership director, a gallery-based research director, curator, learning curators and a gallery director. All names were changed.

After reflecting on the exploratory stage, the researcher had extended her research context. Instead of focusing specifically on art practice, in line with the focus of the research, from this point she set out to study the role of art *in regeneration*. At the *Akademie*, art had been introduced as a process of change. Instead of debating what art *is* or *is not*, rather the researcher was introduced to what art *does*, as a process. In investigating the role of art in regeneration, the continued research was guided by this rich exploration of art practice. Rather than being contained by an interest in what art *is* as a static artwork, the research instead endeavoured to expand its horizons. In order to account for the effects of what art does, and how it produces these effects in regeneration, the research will endeavour to account for the movements of all the actors involved. Instead of focusing on the artist, the research will account for art making as a collective process; involving multiple people, as well as materials, ideas and other influences. To account for the collective nature of the activity, the researcher will take time to consider every actor, and their actions. To gain a good view of all who take part, during the empirical study, the researcher will change her position in relation to art and regeneration practice.

The exploratory stage of the research introduced art as an experience. Through better articulating what art does in a regeneration context, this research aims to support practice by informing cultural policy agendas. The research, therefore, had to take account of the movements and influence of a range of practitioners. Firstly, of course, those who are making artworks for example: as artists, technicians and construction workers. Those advocating for and creating the circumstances for these projects, however, must also be taken account of, for example: local council regeneration officers, cultural strategy officers, and curators and gallery and museum directors. Before re-submerging herself as a researcher within the day-to-day practice of making art; the researcher firstly adopted a more distanced position to practice. In this second stage, the researcher shifted her position to study the views of a broad range of practitioners, with different levels of proximity to art and regeneration practice.

At *Akademie Schloss Solitude* the practitioners were interviewed in their workplace. The researcher observed them, and interviewed them in their day-to-day environment. She could see, smell and touch the materials with which they were working. Rather than being separated from their daily habits, as a researcher, instead she lived amongst them. For a different perspective on practice, this second stage of interviews was designed to create a more distant view. Rather than being in the day-to-day movements of practice at-the-time, these practitioners stopped what they were doing in order to reflect on their experience. At the *Akademie*, the researcher met the interviewees over lunch or in the corridor. They started a discussion that was continued more formally as an interview. In this second stage however, the researcher contacted the interviewees well in advance of their meeting. Mostly she met them in their work place. They purposefully, however, stopped what they were doing in order to talk to her. In these interviews these practitioners were out of their mode of practice, reflecting on what they had done. Instead of being 'switched on' to their day-to-day, they were 'switched off'. They were reflecting on their experience of practice, lived; rather than enacting practice, live. In this second stage of the empirical study, the position of the researcher, in relation to practice, changed. Here, she was not submerged in practice; instead she was looking at practice through the reflections of a range of practitioners. These practitioners offered a range of perspectives on art and regeneration.

Similarly to the exploratory interviews, in this second stage, the interviews were in-depth. Each interviewee was asked the same set of questions, with sub-questions to support the flow of the discussion, as appropriate. The set of questions were revised from those asked at the *Akademie*. In this second stage interviewees were asked: What is the role of art and the artist? What is the value of art and the artist? How do you articulate (rather than measure) this value? And what is the role and value of the art institution? Each interviewee was also asked to introduce their professional background and current post. The interviews lasted for an average of an hour and a half.

The interview sample represented a range of positions in relation to practice: from senior strategy officers, to regeneration officers, curators and artists working in the field. The sample also represented a range of positions in relation to regeneration contexts: from gallery-based directors, curators, education workers, to city council regeneration officers and artists working in community and neighbourhood settings.

Ruby is a team leader for a cultural regeneration team. Her role is to take the council strategy and look at how culture can help deliver that (Ruby, Manchester, 15.01.2010, p. 120). Pam worked as a secondary school teacher before becoming a project manager in housing market renewal. She is responsible for coordinating all aspects of the regeneration of a neighbourhood in East Manchester. Jude originally studied social history and now coordinates an arts research consortia. James is a senior culture and tourism manager for a large city council. Anna is a principle planning officer. She and her team deal with planning applications from across the city, including applications from the regeneration teams. Sandra has been involved with regeneration for over twenty-five years. She is currently coordinating the regeneration of a city centre area, also in Manchester. Andrea was trained as an artist. She works as a gallery-based learning curator. Julia took a degree and masters in art history. She was a curatorial assistant at the Victoria and Albert Museum before taking a post at Tate Britain. She then moved to her current curatorial post where she works primarily with the 'historic watercolours, prints, sculptures and paintings' (Julia, Manchester, 4.2.2010, p. 44). Rachel is an interpretations development officer; she supports young people, families, artists and other groups, to interpret pieces of the museum collection in different ways. Mary is a head of creative learning working on projects outside of the gallery setting. Clare trained as a librarian before becoming a gallery-based learning manager. Fiona is a gallery-based community development manager. Simon trained as an architect. He has been lead artist on a city centre regeneration programme for a number of years and also exhibits photography. Maeve is a director of a major regional museum and gallery. Hannah is an artist; she makes drawings and paintings for exhibition and also works as an artist in the community. She regularly works with galleries as part of their education and learning programmes where she uses the exhibitions to engage young people in considering the exhibition programme. Bridget is a Director of the Creative Partnerships programme. At the time of this research, Creative Partnerships was a national programme to support the development of creativity in schools through working with artists and other creative practitioners. Aakesh coordinated a local council arts unit, before developing his own work as an artist. He subsequently develops his own art projects as well as working with community groups. Scott trained as a project manager. He worked in a private consultancy before becoming an operating manager of a regeneration company, and then taking up his subsequent post as Director of a city centre regeneration programme within an Urban Regeneration Company.

Of all the empirical work, during this second stage, the researcher experienced the most distant relationship with the research. Apart from the first interviewees, Ruby, Pam and Jude, the researcher did not have any prior or subsequent relationship with the practitioners. To create further distance, at an early point of analysis, in looking for points of departure, the researcher created an additional level of analytical distance from the material by grouping the content of the interviews into themes and categories of discourse. These groupings, as represented in images 8 and 9 (on page 69 in Chapter Three), are certainly not to be read as statistical data. These tables rather represent points for departure. They are included in the methodology chapter (Chapter Three) only to illustrate how such a large volume of rich interview material was managed, in terms of the creation of the narrative of this section.

In this second empirical stage the sample of practitioners was extended, and the position of the researcher, in relation to practice, subsequently altered. The sample of interviewees in this second stage included a range of practitioners who worked in art and regeneration contexts between policy and practice and in gallery and non-gallery settings. The practitioners were located via a snowball selection process, starting with three practitioners working in roles supported by neighbourhood renewal funding. The practitioners included curators and other gallery professionals, as well as officers working in local authority settings. In terms of the position of the researcher; instead of her being embedded in the day-to-day movements of practice, rather there was a more distant perspective constructed. Here interviewees were asked to reflect on their range of lived experiences in their work milieus, rather than accounting for being in their immediate working environment.

4.2.2 Borders made visible: between policy and practice

This second stage of the empirical journey offered a broad view of the context of art and regeneration practice. Previously the researcher was submerged amidst the day-to-day of art practice. The exploratory stage offered a rich account of the continuous nature of the art experience: how the micro exchanges between 'inner' and 'outer' materials changes ourselves and our relationship to our environment. Art practice is understood as an 'index' of relationships. This 'index' cannot be measured through purely economic frameworks. The research instead sets out to articulate the multiple effects of art in regeneration: who performs in the collective production of art in regeneration; what effects they produce; and how they produced these effects.

In order to develop an understanding of the range of actors involved in art and regeneration practice, and how they operate in this second stage, the researcher undertook eighteen interviews with a range of professionals. Rather than focusing on the detailed movements of the day-to-day, here the professionals discussed the movements of practice within a macro policy context. Rather than focusing on what the art experience *does*, these practitioners rather discussed *why* artists are commissioned as part of regeneration programmes.

In delivering economic objectives, an argument was made by a senior local authority officer in support of commissioning public artworks to make 'places distinct' (James, Newcastle upon Tyne, 17.02.2010, p. 21). Public artworks are understood to contribute a distinctive feel to the physical regeneration of cities. Senior Culture and Tourism Officer, James, argued that the public artworks where he is based make different parts of the city 'recognisable and distinctive' (James, Newcastle upon Tyne, 17.02.2010, p. 24). This distinctive quality is felt to make these areas of the city places where people want to be. As distinctive signposts, public art is also seen to make the city easier to navigate. This air of quality, and increased ease of navigation, was argued by this senior officer, to support the economy by attracting tourism and retail. As he states, 'because the environment was nice, and because they could find their way around' (James, Newcastle upon Tyne, 17.02.2010, p. 25), art increases investment in the city; and in turn creates more jobs.

In terms of physical development, a more expanded role for artists was also described by James as contributing to an overall design role. As well as creating individual artworks, having artists included as part of physical regeneration schemes, is understood to raise the quality of design throughout development initiatives. Artists are seen to contribute a creative and inspirational approach to re-designing city centres. As he stated (James, Newcastle upon Tyne, 17.02.2010, p. 25), 'local government has never been famous for inspirational thinking […] what artists did for us was make the whole local authority - the highways department, the buildings department, think about what quality design does for making cities places that you want them to be'. As well as contributing finished artworks, artists were also seen to add value by encouraging and advocating for good design across council departments.

The value of art was seen as being held within its physical manifestation. That artworks installed as part of the physical re-development of cities convey messages of quality. Artworks promote the city as being one you would want to visit, and one you would want to invest in. Rather than art being understood as an experience that supports us to regard ourselves and our environment differently; from this perspective instead art was understood to represent the city as a static symbol of its regeneration.

Officers working more closely with the day-to-day, however, regarded the picture of regeneration rather differently. They saw it as being more complicated than that which can be symbolised through an artwork or object. Firstly, in recognition of this complexity, they stated that there are many definitions and understandings of regeneration itself. From Scott's experience peoples' understanding of regeneration 'varies dramatically' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 5). It is something different depending on your perspective. For the public and professional sector, Scott stated, regeneration is about property and money, and for politicians it's about 'cranes on skylines' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 5). As well as artworks, buildings are also symbols of regeneration. You know there is regeneration when you can see cranes. You know there are buildings and structures being made because cranes symbolise this, and this means that the city is being regenerated.

From a closer perspective, however, regeneration was understood to be more than encouraging economic buoyancy through physical development. The area of regeneration that Scott coordinated, for example, included '150 listed buildings, three conservation areas, 200 businesses [and is] highly populated' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 4). Sandra also led on the regeneration of an inner city area that included residents and a range of business uses. In comparison to brownfield sites, which require the parcelling up of development opportunities, Scott stated that this type of regeneration, requires a more 'fine grain' integrated approach: '[…] it is about marketing the area, business support, providing business guidance, start-ups' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 4). There is more 'texture' to it (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 9). These areas required a different sort of approach from building buildings.

Art is not static, and regeneration is not static. As Dewey (1934: 01) states: 'In common conception the work of art is often identified with the building, book, painting, or statue […] apart from human experience'. Here, the city itself is described in terms of human experience. Rather than understanding a city as something made that can be represented, instead a city is understood as something in-the-making. Scott suggested that 'what is crucial to the understanding of how a city works [is that] you are different agents within a city depending on what you are doing at any one time' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p.10). You could be racing across the city on foot because you are late for a train, or something could have altered, so you got a taxi. The landscape of the city is something on-the-move: 'it is physical, it is sociological, it's functional' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 8). The city is multi-layered and complex.

Regeneration, as a process can be understood to 'shape' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 5/17) the 'outer materials' (Dewey, 1934) of our physical environment. The role of art in the 'outer' urban experience is not understood as a static object or symbol. 'The role of the artist is not about creating statues, it is not about creating Imperial War Museums […] it is place changing' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 7). Art is not something that decorates a city. Art is instead part of the process of shaping places. Specifically, Scott understood art as re-introducing 'the human' amongst 'the buildings': 'an expression of human characteristics that can sometimes be lost through the wider shenanigans of delivering regeneration' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 6). As with the exploratory stage, Scott sees art as starting a process. That art encourages a new way of thinking (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 6). Art contributes to regeneration by

altering our relationship with the city environment: 'How you experience and engage with a place fundamentally' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p.8). In regeneration, art supports us to see things differently.

Instead of regeneration being something that can be represented as a building or artwork; rather the practitioners who were closer to it, understood it as a process. These practitioners, such as Scott and Sandra, saw regeneration as a process that supports us to be human. As human beings Scott suggested, we are quite complex. We need to sleep, to eat, reproduce and make money. What regeneration does is help us to do all these things (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.10, p 05). Rather than regeneration being something, regeneration *does* something. As Sandra (Manchester, 13.01.2010, p. 303) stated, it is not about either the physical *or* the social; it has to be 'joined up'. In practice, regeneration is a holistic process.

At a senior policy level however, economic and policy objectives *were* described independently of each other. In terms of social policy objectives James believed that 'cultural activity', including artists, could support 'community cohesion'. Community cohesion was defined as: bringing people 'back in' through developing skills to engage in what he calls 'civic opportunity'; 'giving people the opportunity to be positive and creative, rather than negative and destructive and marginalized' (James, Newcastle upon Tyne, 17.02.2010, p. 20). Overall, he explained, that his department targeted people who don't have the opportunities to engage with the facilities and services that the council provided, such as museums, libraries, art galleries, music venues and theatres as well as festivals and events. At this senior level it was advocated that artists play a role in enabling people to 'take part in society'.

Those closer to the day-to-day work than that of senior policy, did not all share James' view in the role of art in supporting 'community cohesion'. From a gallery perspective, there were mixed views. Like James, Rachel, a learning curator, had a firm belief in the role of artists in support of social aims, 'as big as community cohesion' (Manchester, 10.12.2009, p. 104). She acknowledged, however, that others would not necessarily share her view. With a different opinion, Julia, a curator in a different gallery, did not believe that artworks are 'far reaching' (Manchester, 04.02.10, p. 45) enough to change lives. Clare, an education officer, said that her work easily 'ticks their boxes' (Clare, Manchester, 19.01.2010, p. 217) in terms of community development; but did not feel comfortable about the work being driven by the community development objectives of

central government policy. In fact she questioned whether they *should* be trying to bring about social change (Clare, Manchester, 19.01.2010, p. 218). As with the economic perspectives, here there were also tensions between the policy and practice view.

Sandra, a regeneration officer, working more closely in the field than James, believed that the role of the artist is not to develop communities. Sandra stated that artists are not social workers, they are something else. Sandra remarked that artists could be positive or therapeutic; but what they did was *not* about community development '*per se*' (Sandra, Manchester, 13.01.2010, p. 302). Scott argued that using artists in social roles in the community is a 'crass way of saying there is our community consultation exercise' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 11). Like Sandra, Scott did not think that community consultation is the role of the artist. He suggested that what artists do is 'gel, or provide an event or spectacle […] provide something that gets people to come together as a community'; which he thought was important, 'but that is different from engaging with a community' (Scott, Case study city, 19.02.2010, p. 11). We heard that art is not about economic development. We have now heard that art is not about community development either; that it does something else.

Questions about the social role of art were also debated by artists and those working outside of the gallery. As an artist, Hannah seemed to *want* to believe that artists had a positive social role, but has doubts about whether, in reality, her work could deliver against these policy agendas. Talking about a project she was involved with, designed to support young people who had been in care or homeless to live independently, 'through some kind of learning, through museums and art galleries' (Hannah, Manchester, 02.03.2010, p. 153), Hannah told the researcher that, at the end of the project, although 'it had been good in lots of ways' and '*looked* rosy', she wondered whether the money could have been better spent elsewhere: 'These kids are so disengaged from learning it is really difficult to change that' (Hannah, Manchester, 02.03.2010, p. 153). As an artist, Hannah questioned whether she was able to deliver against the ambitions of social policy.

This research set out to articulate the multiple effects of art in regeneration. Through this second empirical study, the researcher met with a range of practitioners. The actors at a senior level, where the role of art was being advocated, saw art as valued against the level to which it achieved policy objectives (James, Newcastle upon Tyne, 17.02.2010, p. 34). As discussed by Belfiore (2012) during the period of this research social and economic arguments are regularly used to advocate for art in policy statements. In practice, however, the effects of art do not neatly fit with the economic or social policy frameworks.

At a senior officer level, art was described as being '*about* cultural strategy' (James, Newcastle upon Tyne, 17.02.2010, p. 21). Instead of the effects of art evolving freely in response to the matrix (Michel, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 20) of relationships developed between the many actors (human and non-human) involved; rather the outcomes are instead framed by predetermined ambitions. Artists and artworks are seen as working in support of the delivery of prescribed social and economic objectives. Indeed Ruby's role is to look at the ways culture can support the broader agendas of the council. She explains that the main strategies that they work to support are the community strategy and the cultural strategy, but others also come and go (Ruby, Manchester, 15.10.2010, p. 124).

Instead of the values of the art experience being reported as an 'exchange' (Michel, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p.20) rather professionals describe the 'massive monitoring' (Bridget, Manchester, 1.03.2010, p. 146) that is undertaken to substantiate the argument that art supports these policy ambitions: 'There is an awful lot of policy and politics involved' (Rachel, Manchester, 10.12.2009, p. 88). Instead of focusing on the effects of practice senior professionals focus on evidencing policy.

The more distanced position adopted by the researcher has enabled her to group different points of view shared by the interviewees. By being distanced from practice herself, she is able to observe the different perspective developed from the professional's own proximity to the day-to-day of art and regeneration. The points of view that are revealed, introduce a tension between the formed frames of policy and the fluid movements of practice.

In policy frameworks and senior officer positions artists and artworks are seen to deliver against economic and social objectives. Art and artists are seen as being tools for policy delivery. In policy terms, the city is reported as a 'physical' space that has 'communities' nearby, or living in it. Artists and artworks either make this physical space more attractive, by decorating it with public artworks or influencing the overall design, or they support 'community cohesion'. That is, they support 'communities' to engage with 'the city' and 'society'. The practitioners closer to delivering art and regeneration however, report practice as being more complex than this. Instead of cities being understood to be static and made, they are on-the-move, they shift and change. Humans and non-humans interact amongst the ecosystem.

Within these movements of the city, rather than art being static, and the roles of the artist as pre-defined, rather art and artists are drivers for regenerating the city. Through the perspective of professionals closer to practice, instead of art being described as being distinct from regeneration, art is rather described as being part of the experience of regeneration. Art is not a static symbol. Artists are not community workers, they are something else; something that ignites reflection and promotes new ways of seeing. Instead of looking at art in regeneration, as outlined by policy; rather this research looks towards noticing art *as part of* regeneration, on its own terms, as something else.

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In brief, our first presentation of the analysis of the discourses of art and regeneration professionals has revealed a 'disconnect' between policy and practice. Methodologically, the distanced perspective of the researcher has revealed a tension in the viewpoints formed in relation to the interviewees' *own* proximity to art and regeneration. Senior practitioners describe their understanding of the role of art and artists in regeneration in relation to pre-made policy concepts. They understand the role of art as being in support of economic and social policy objectives. Practitioners closer to the day-to-day of practice, however, do not see the role of art as being in support of policy. They rather describe art as being more complex and fluid. Instead of art delivering against pre-determined agendas the practitioners closer to the day-to-day of practice describe art as igniting action.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

4.2.3 At play: inside and outside the art institution

This interview sample with eighteen art and regeneration professionals offers a broad range of perspectives on the role of art in regeneration. The practitioners interviewed included a range of gallery-based curators and officers, as well as city council-based regeneration offices. The exploratory stage presented art as an experience. As catalysts of this experience, art and artists, as well as art institutions are described as having roles as actors in the collective process of art making. In continuing to consider the role of art and the artist, this second stage of interviews also offers a more expanded view of the role of the gallery and museum.

Within the gallery, a curatorial perspective on the role of artists was that they play a role in defining things as art. Julia a curator of historic artworks stated that the artist has an important role. In referring to a Radio 4 interview with the well-known contemporary UK artist, Tracey Emin, Julia stated that in defining the work of Emin as art, it is important to hear her associated with it (Manchester, 4.2.10, p. 47). In comparison to historical works, Julia regarded contemporary artworks as being more difficult to understand. She therefore sees the artist as having an important role in designating these things as art. As with essentialist views of art, Julia sees Emin, as the 'unique and individual creator' (Zolberg, 1990: 06) who as a 'genius' is able to make objects of equivocal genius. Julia suggests, the fact that Emin went to art school makes her an artist, and therefore the things that she makes are artworks.

As well as the artist designating things as art, the art institution is also understood as a place that has the power to give the status of objects within it that of artworks. Galleries and museums have a role in making things art. As Julia stated, galleries have been around for a couple of hundred years, 'and in that time we have become more obsessed with putting things in display cases, and it becoming art' (Julia, Manchester, 04.02.2010, p. 47). As institutional theories of art (Becker, 2008 (1982)), the gallery, as part of an 'artworld' is understood to hold the power to bestow 'art-ness' on objects. An 'artworld' is made up of conventions that are performed by artists, curators, gallery directors and other artworld professionals. Their collective actions confer things as art. Aakesh refered to galleries as socially constructed places (Aakesh, Manchester, 27.01.2010, p. 246); as galleries, these 'constructions', confer art-hood.

Julia's institutional view of art being defined by 'artworld' conventions, however, is overpowered by an experiential perspective. Rather than the gallery being still and mute, as a platform or set of parameters that determines objects as art; galleries are rather described as a space of collective experience. Within the exploratory stage, the researcher experienced the day-to-day movements of the *Akademie*. She recorded the actions of the fellows and materials surrounding her. In this second set of interviews the gallery was similarly described as *not* being a 'static organisation' (Julia, Manchester, 04.02.2010, p. 46). Rather, the gallery and museum was described as a 'socially engaged' space (Andrea, Manchester, 15.12.2009, p. 98) that facilitates the interaction between artists, other people, artworks, other objects, and ideas. The gallery is alive with movement.

Rather than presenting artworks as complete, galleries and museums are understood as places of experience. At the *Akademie*, the Director, Michel described the art institution as a place of reflection on society (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 25). In the same way, in this second empirical stage, Andrea stated that: 'In a world where reflection is something that is not encouraged enough, art is a space which enables anyone of any age to reflect, discuss, communicate and share values' (Manchester, 15.12.09, p. 101). Sharing values is certainly at the heart of the work of multi-media artist, Aakesh. Aakesh spoke with a serious passion about his work as an artist and 'art worker' (developing 'education' projects in and outside of galleries with community groups); as well as his involvement (as he describes) in the politicized movements of 'black art' and 'community art' in the 1980s (Aakesh, Manchester, 27.01.20). He talked firmly of his commitment to art practice as a tool for not only sharing values, but re-shaping them. We have previously heard the 'space' where art happens described as 'reflective'. Aakesh, however, seems to talk about something more than 'reflection' when he described his understanding of how artists support the (co)habitation of parallel worlds:

> Artists have certain sensitivities that society needs. Once you go into a slightly different mental state (which you can get in to as an artist), I think you can inhabit a parallel world.

> And people who don't have the opportunity to depart from their daily lives, that parallel world is able to come through art […] (Aakesh, Manchester, 27.01.20, p. 251).

Aakesh suggested that art creates spaces for consideration. That art supports the development of another space that you can occupy, apart from your day-to-day, in order to re-consider your realities.

As well as sharing values, those working in galleries and museums understand the gallery experience as evocative. As opposed to the work of an individual, the gallery is specifically considered as a place that evokes emotion (Jude, Manchester, 01.07.2009, p. 180). Through this experiential lens, rather than discussing what art *is*, those working in art institutions more so described what art does. Galleries are places of 'enjoyment' (Julia, Manchester, 04.02.2010, p.50) and 'transformation' (Andrea, Manchester, 15.12.2009, p. 100). As an experience, similarly to Aakesh, Jude suggested that art takes you to a 'different place' (Manchester, 01.07.09, p. 181); that it 'frees your mind' (Manchester, 01.07.09, p. 184). She beautifully described her own experience of engaging with a film, *Hunger* (made by the artist, Steve McQueen):

> It starts with somebody washing their hands. Long, long, long shots.
> There is a lot of time watching this man wash his hands. Long, long shots.
> Washing and washing.
>
> Afterwards, I notice when I am washing my hands. And that is what art does. It makes you self-aware. The value of art is making me aware of myself (Jude, Manchester, 01.07.09, p. 191).

As explored at the *Akademie*, the artist Nevaeh (Stuttgart, 25.06.2009) described how through manipulating 'outer' materials to make her drawings, her 'inner' (Dewey, 1934) materials were changed. Michel had suggested that this experience of change can be described as transmission. That the artist is changed through their practice, but the 'people' are also changed through an experience. Here Jude described how she has been changed through her experience of watching *Hunger*. She is not an artist; she has experienced this as a 'non-artist'. Through watching the film, as 'a person, like you or me' (Michel, 23.06.2009) she became more aware of herself.

The experience of art is amongst our everyday experience. But what makes the experience different from our everyday? Dewey (1934: 10) suggests that by setting out from an understanding that art is connected to 'ordinary experience' will reveal what makes 'common human activities into matters of artistic value'. Jude suggested that what makes the art experience different from other experiences, is that it gives both a physical and

111

emotional feeling: 'It takes me to a different place […] It gives you access to ideals, sensations and emotions which you probably don't get otherwise' (Manchester, 01.07.09, p. 181). She also thought there is something about the 'visual-ness' of it (Manchester, 01.07.09, p. 183). The inter-connection between her inner materials and the outer world through its material visual nature is what makes the art experience distinct from her everyday experiences.

From this experiential perspective, as introduced at the *Akademie,* and expanded by the range of professionals here, rather than artists being understood as lone creators making works of genius; they are rather understood as 'catalysts' of experience. In describing an education project, as an artist, Hannah is working to support young people to reflect on the work in the gallery collection. Rachel described Hannah's role as being about communication, and 'how art and artists enable people to be sociable' (Rachel, Manchester, 10.12.2009, p. 87). That art and artists 'make you look at the world in new ways' (Rachel, Manchester, 10.12.2009, p. 87).

Similarly, when artists are working in schools, rather than art being a 'product' (Bridget, Manchester, 01.03.2010, p. 18) its value was seen to be in its ability to 'engage with the multiple perspectives of people' (Bridget, Manchester, 01.03.2010, p. 18). Bridget understood art to be an experience that supports young people to 'think about things differently, and bring other perspectives'. That this role can be described as engagement and facilitation; 'rather than I am here to give you a message' (Bridget, Manchester, 01.03.2010, p.142).

Artists are seen to have a role in facilitating experience. As described earlier, they are not understood to be community workers, and they are not teachers either. Rather, in a gallery the education and learning curators and officers rather described the artist through the process of making and creating as having a role in supporting new ways of thinking (Fiona, Manchester, 15.01.2010, p. 202). That this process of reflecting supports people to interpret and experience the world; to experience 'what it is to be human' (Mary, Manchester, 10.12.2009, p. 210). Rather than being teachers, artists instead more so facilitate learning through experience.

Rather than galleries and artists being static and fixed, instead they play a role in a fluid experience. Galleries and museums facilitate movement. Artists, as agents, also facilitate reflection and change; artworks in a gallery are not static or mute either. Artworks communicate between themselves and with other people. Julia, whose role as a curator is focused on working with the historic collection, described what she does as telling a story through displaying artworks (Julia, Manchester, 04.02.2010, p. 45). Julia explained that 'the artwork responds to another artwork, and the people who come to it will inevitably learn something from it'. She doesn't think that artist 'need to be around'. The basis for her confidence in the absence of the artist, leaving only the artwork, is that '[…] you could say that the artist is *promoting* people to be reflective and thoughtful' (Julia, Manchester, 04.02.2010, p. 103). So, the promotion of this 'reflection' can be conveyed through the artwork alone, without being 'facilitated' by the artist. Like humans, as objects artworks have agency; they can cause events to happen. They speak to each other and to other people. Julia suggested that historic artworks tell stories about the past that change people's 'opinion about something' (Julia, Manchester, 04.02.2010, p. 45). As the term used by Michel at the *Akademie*, Julia describes this as an 'experience' (Julia, Manchester, 04.02.2010, p. 47).

As well as finished artworks, materials and things also perform a role. When the artist Hannah describes working with groups of young people in the gallery, she talked about the excitement of taking them into the archive. As part of their experience, she was keen for the young people, not only to engage with the exhibited finished artworks in the gallery, but also to engage with the documentation and paraphernalia that had been collected as a record of how the objects came to be there. In following the journey of the artworks, Hannah says: 'I take them in to the archives where there are all the drawers of files. I show them how to find the things; and the files of all the letters, and when they acquired it, and anything that is about that [artwork]. And then we research the artists' (Hannah, Manchester, 02.03.2010, p. 157). Through engaging with the objects outside of the gallery space, there is an interest in the career of the artworks. The young people are interested in their life stories.

At the *Akademie* Michel had suggested that the art experience inside the art institution was substantially limiting the possibility of the total experience. Here we hear how the young people in the gallery are interested in the life of the artworks before they enter the gallery. When Jude talked about visiting an exhibition by the artist Richard Long at Tate Britain she similarly described a frustration of wanting to know what happens outside of the gallery. She wondered about the life of the artworks outside, and she was disappointed that you didn't get to see the making of the work (Jude, Manchester, 01.07.09, p. 186). She sounded frustrated by the limitations of the window provided by the exhibition in the gallery, in comparison to the potential of the whole experience. So what of the experience of art outside of the gallery? What of the life of the artwork in its making?

As with inside galleries, outside of the gallery in neighbourhood settings, art was similarly discussed in experiential terms. The researcher had previously worked with Pam to support residents to commission an artist to re-develop part of their East Manchester estate. Pam believes in the role of art and artists as 'teaching people and showing them art skills' (Pam, Manchester, 08.12.10, p. 80). We might suppose that 'art skills' would therefore be the content of that learning. For Pam, however, the content of the learning is confidence. For her, sharing the skills of making develops confidence. Pam says: 'I don't think they would have had the confidence to do that if they hadn't spent time with the photographer' (Pam, Manchester, 08.12.10, p65). 'They' in this case, are a group of young residents in one of the neighbourhoods that Pam works. Once again, we might assume that she is referring to the young people developing confidence in making something. Pam however, talks about the experience of working with an artist (in this case a photographer), yes, to develop skills for making something, but that these skills expand to give the young people confidence. In this case the confidence in articulating a choice - around 'what was happening in the neighbourhood' (Manchester, 08.12.10, p. 64).

Pam's perspective further builds on the perspective of art as an experience, and points to something more than a one or two way exchange between the artist and others. Once again Pam described something that is more than teaching, something more like facilitated learning. She considers the art experience outside of the gallery as being a vehicle for 'self expression' (Pam, Manchester, 08.12.10, p. 69). Outside of the gallery, art is a space for people to make something that is theirs; the fact that the process of making is owned by them is important (Manchester, 08.12.10, p.66). As with the artist, their reflective experience comes through the process of making. Clare, an officer who works on a large

arts festival also agrees that when individuals get involved with making art, it has 'transformative effects' and promotes 'new ways of thinking' (Manchester, 19.01.10, p. 251). 'It is a good vehicle for understanding. You can stand back and look at something, and think about what you have done' (Pam, Manchester, 08.12.10, p. 67). In standing back, however, there doesn't need to be an artwork that is made as an object. Rather the art experience could be regarded as being contained within the making experience. As Ruby (Manchester, 15.01.2010, p. 121) stated, 'there may not be an artistic outcome […] the art might be a medium through which they go on a personal journey'. Rather than the art experience resulting in a physical object defined by the weight of its medium – concrete, paint or ceramic; rather it can be *a* medium. Art as a process that transports you to a different place to reflect on yourself now. Making art is a journey towards a space for reflection.

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In brief, our second presentation of the analysis of the discourses of the interviews with the art and regeneration professionals reveal that the art experience is not contained by the gallery walls or 'art world' conventions. As a reflective process, art is rather described as taking place both inside and outside of the gallery and museum. The reflective 'space' of art is proposed as being produced by artists and artworks with other human and non-human actors; and that this collective process acts as a catalyst to ignite reflection in both artists and 'non-artists'. As at the *Akademie*, these professionals further describe these reflections as being ignited through an exchange of 'inner' and 'outer' materials; produced through making and appreciating art. Through these interviews, we are also introduced to the reflective effects of art continuing throughout the 'life' of an artwork as being continuous. These continuous effects can journey inside and outside of a gallery; through residential areas, in neighbourhoods and amongst our everyday living.

4.2.3 A spectator's view: who are the actors?

Through interviewing a range of practitioners working in art and regeneration, this second stage of the research has scoped the landscape of practice. Instead of the micro movements as described through the exploratory stage, here a more distanced view of the practice of art in regeneration offers a perspective on the frameworks surrounding practice. Tensions are exposed between the pre-formed expectations of what art is; in relation to what it reveals itself to be, as it plays out. Art is not at work in support of a set of social and economic objectives to be assessed and measured against criteria. Instead art is something else; an experience to be encountered and described on its own terms.

Through these interviews, a much expanded group of human and non-human actors have been introduced. Human practitioners involved in art in regeneration are not only artists; but also gallery and museum directors, curators and education workers, as well as council based regeneration and planning officers and community members and residents. There interviews had demonstrated a range of professional positions in relation to art and artists in regeneration. Through these interviews it was also made further apparent that artworks and materials, as well as ideas and notions, also effect what happens in practice. Artworks are described as communicating with each other and other people. The materials and ephemera as part of the lifetime of an artwork also influence experience.

The effects that these actors produce as a collective performance, is described as reflective, evocative and emotional. The art experience is something that traverses inner and outer materials. Through the processes of making and appreciating art, both artists and others are taken on a journey to a place of reflection. Through shaping physical materials and physical space, people are transported to another space to reconfigure their inner thoughts and feelings. These transportations support people to think differently. This reflection levitates people to another space in order to look at themselves, in their current context, from somewhere else. They depart from themselves in order to return to themselves altered. These journeys take place in galleries and museums, in local neighbourhoods, community buildings, homes, parks and streets. These levitations are not contained within 'artworld' conventions; rather they take place as part of our everyday experience. What makes the art experience distinct from our general living is that the art experience sparks reflection on our day-to-day living. It makes us think about ourselves in our realities.

Setting out to take account of art in regeneration has exposed the experience of art. It has also, however, exposed regeneration. Instead of revealing regeneration as a static concept that can be represented by buildings or symbolised by artworks; regeneration is exposed as a long and involved process of re-shaping the city. Regeneration is not a fixed state. Like art, regeneration is an experience. Regeneration is made of the movements of humans and non-humans molding, and carving the city. People, objects and materials traverse the landscape. Their movements make changes to the environment. The movements of art cannot be separated from the movements of regeneration. Art drives regeneration through igniting reflections. Art is part of the shaping of the city. It is embedded.

Art ignites reflections on the experience of regeneration. Through the exchange of outer physical materials and our inner emotional landscape, art makes people think about themselves and their environment differently. As processes, art and regeneration are inter-connected. Art and regeneration cannot be looked at as independent spheres of operation.

The static parameters of policy, however, weigh heavy. The criteria of policy objectives, expects practitioners to measure the impact of the artworks against social and economic ambitions. Sandra finds, what she calls the 'tick box' approach, very frustrating: 'Measuring this and quantifying that. I would say teach me how to knit fog, and maybe we can do this in a way that will satisfy what I call process monkeys' (Sandra, Manchester, 13.01.10, p. 259). Sandra is inferring that it is impossible to quantitatively measure the impact of the effects of art. Instead of the policy criteria being fluid and able to accommodate a true account of what happens in practice; rather the measurement criteria is fixed. Practitioners, therefore, are expected to solidify the movement of practice, in order to present it as evidence. Instead of practice being accounted for, as it is in-movement; in reporting it against policy criteria, it is rather paused to present a snapshot, as evidence in support of the policy ambitions.

By looking at practice through this measurement approach, the full nature of the fluid effects of art are not accounted for. As Aakesh revealed to the researcher with reference to the reflective nature of the art experience: 'I have talked to you about a load of values which I think are really important, and I have never seen anybody ask, or come up with a format' (Aakesh, Manchester, 27.01.10, p. 252). In order to better account for art as part of regeneration, rather than following this tick box approach, this research will strive to better articulate the experience as it is; and the effects produced, as they are.

Instead of looking for what art *is* and what regeneration *is* through the lens of accepted formed categories; this research endeavoured to notice what art and regeneration does. Through adopting slow ethnographic techniques the researcher traced the collective movements of the actors. Rather than explaining what art is and what regeneration is through the use of the available language – of physical development and social cohesion; instead this research noticed what art and regeneration does, in order to describe how it becomes what it is.

The language of policy says art supports the social and economic ambitions of regeneration. This research has moved away from these ready-made blueprints to explain what art practice is, and what art practitioners are. Instead of accounting for practice, only via what is said, this research described practice via accounting for the actions of the actors, as they are played out. What the actors said, but also what they actually did. In accounting for the full range of effects as they are played out, in action; the researcher traced the performance of the associations between people, objects, materials, ideas and other things, un-guided. Instead of looking for pre-defined value made; this research accounted for the making of value – the emergent effects of its making; the becoming of what art and regeneration becomes.

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In summary, our analysis of the second empirical study has revealed tensions between what policy says about art in regeneration, and what happens in the collective movements of practice. It is proposed that the pre-set vocabulary of policy does not account for the full range of actions and their effects; as they are played out, in practice. Instead of art delivering against regeneration objectives; it is revealed that the experience of art transports people to think differently about regeneration. Instead of art delivering policy criteria, art re-shapes them.

4.3 Position #3: The agency of art in regeneration

4.3.1 Working with art and regeneration professionals: closer associations

In order to take careful account of all of those involved in the practice of art in regeneration, the researcher shifted her position in relation to practice. In this third stage, the researcher re-submerged as a participant-observer of art as part of regeneration. In the exploratory stage, the researcher embedded herself in the day-to-day of the *Akademie*. From this perspective, she gained rich descriptions of the continuous nature of the experience of art. How art starts a process of reflection that alters our view of ourselves and our environment. In the second stage, the researcher shifted her position to take a more distanced view of practice. Here, the researcher undertook in-depth interviews with an extended sample of professionals representing a range of proximities to practice, and practice contexts. Through this extended view, instead of a micro focus on the movements of practice, this perspective illuminated the tensions between the fluidity of practice, inside and outside the gallery and the static frames of policy. In this final shift, the researcher returns back to re-immerse herself in practice. Rather than a studio environment, this time the researcher is submerged in the field of regeneration.

The researcher was based in a regeneration office, at her own desk, from May to July 2010. She then visited the office at key points in the development of projects during September to December of the same year. Scott is the Director of the office where the researcher was based. Scott was included as an interviewee in the last empirical stage. The researcher was confident in the case study selection because those interviewed described what Scott did in terms of both 'regeneration' and 'art'. Scott himself also described what his 'office' did in these 'art' and 'regeneration' terms. Furthermore, Scott had been suggested as an interviewee by more than one professional, as part of the snow ball process. Scott's place of work, the office, was not chosen based on the researcher's personal definition of this being a good example of art, or good example of regeneration; rather the selection was guided by the professionals interviewed.
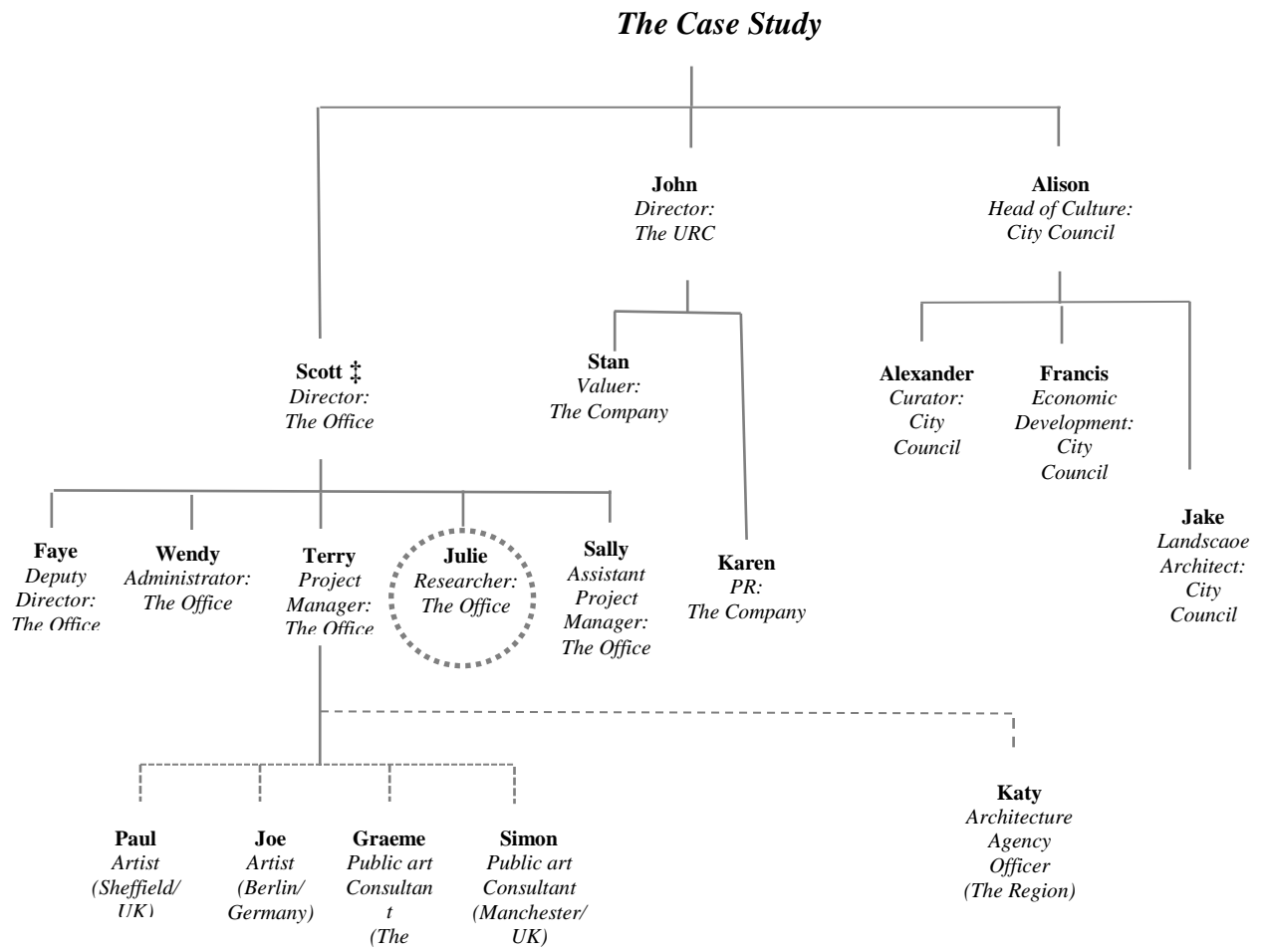
The Case Study

Key:

—————— = employed member of staff

------------- = freelance contracted member of staff

— — — — = collaborator (employed elsewhere)

‡ - Scott, The Director of the office, was interviewed within the last interview sample as part of the second stage of the empirical research. He is positioned in this diagram in order to support the reader to locate his professional colleagues. All names were changed.

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Figure 4 Position #3:16 in-depth interviews. JC, 2012.

During the six months as a participant observer, the researcher ethnographically observed and recorded the day-to-day practice of art and regeneration. Whilst based at the office, she also took the opportunity to interview over twenty practitioners, working in a range of ways in relation to the case study. This slow tracing, also required slow description. Before revealing the movements of the ethnography in the next chapter (Chapter Five), this section firstly presents the interviews with the practitioners. Here we are introduced to the case study through the reflections of the staff of the office and those they worked with. As Figure 11, in this section the material of sixteen of these interviews is represented. This research is committed to tracing the movements of art and regeneration slowly. The office is based in the North of England. In order to maintain the anonymity of the actors observed, however, the city or office will not be named. All individuals, organisational and place names were also changed.

The researcher started this third body of interviews by scheduling interviews with the four members of staff who worked with Scott. She met with: Faye, the Deputy Director; Karen, the Administrator; Terry, the Project Manager and Sally, the Assistant Project Manager. Similarly to the snowball process of locating the case study itself, at the end of these interviews, she then asked the office staff to recommend colleagues that they thought would be relevant, from their perspective, for her to meet. The office worked closely with two other organisations that are members of the regeneration partnership for the city: the Urban Regeneration Company (set up by the City Council, the regional development agency and the Homes and Communities Department) and the City Council itself.

As illustrated in Figure 11, the interviewees could be grouped as: employees of the office; employees of the City Council; employees of the regeneration company; other city-based, regional and internationally-based practitioners that the office worked with on a partnership or freelance basis. At the City Council, she met with: Jake, the landscape architect for the council; Francis, a member of the economic development team who had a special interest in glass artists, and was also the coordinator of a glass makers' charity; Alexander, the curator of the contemporary art gallery in the city and Alison, the Head of Culture. At the regeneration company, she met with: John, the Director; Karen the PR manager and Stan, a property valuer.

Other freelance practitioners and those who which the office had worked in partnership with, were: Graeme, a public art commissioner, who had been contracted by the City Council to oversee the commissioning of public artworks; Katy, a staff member of an architecture agency that included some of the arts-based projects of the office as part of an annual regional festival; Paul, an artist who had previously developed a project with the office; Simon, a public art consultant who had worked in an advisory role to the office and Joe, the lead artist currently working on two of the current projects in development.

Joe was from North West England, and was based in Berlin. He was leading on two projects. One project which was coming to completion, and about to be installed, was described as a 'public realm' programme. This public realm programme was the re-design of a street as part of the office regeneration area. Joe had re-designed the streetscape and was making a sculpture to be positioned permanently in Elizabeth Street. Joe described the sculpture as a pulpit. It was made out of granite. Joe has also designed some new lighting to be installed in the street. Additional artists had also been commissioned to make new seats, a series of film projections and an audio work. The second project that Joe was leading on was just beginning. This was the re-development of a public square in the centre of the city. Although Joe was referred to as the lead artist for these two projects, he originally trained as an architect.

Rather than the practitioners represented in this chapter being asked about their views of art and artists as based on their general experience, these practitioners were specifically asked about their own experience of art and regeneration as part of the work of the office. The interviews were in depth and lasted for about one and a half hours. Each interviewee was asked questions about their work, and the work of the office. In order to enable space in the conversation for the interviewees to talk about what they did, on their own terms, they were only asked a few questions. The researcher listened for what the office staff and their colleagues said in direct response to her questions: what they said it was that they themselves and their colleagues did. In order to look behind the established understanding of these urban practices however, she also listened closely to what might seem like less significant entries to the material of their conversation.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

4.3.2 The office: its objects and objectives

In the second empirical stage, regeneration was described as a series of multi-layered connections between people and their environment. The role of art within this movement was understood to spark reflections in support of new ways of thinking and seeing ourselves within our context. Continuing to see the environment as something continuously in the making, these interviews offered an experiential view of the movements of the office itself; rather than being the sum of its static architecture - doors, walls and windows. The researcher was instead introduced to a live multi-layered index of exchange. Art was not discussed separately from their everyday duties and activities, rather it was described as part of what the office did.

At the beginning of each interview, the researcher asked those working at the office to introduce their professional journey and their current role at the office. Although she did not specifically ask the staff to discuss their seniority or influence; they each, in some way, described their role in relation to Scott, the Director. In particular, Wendy, the administrator took the time to explain the office 'system' through this lens of seniority and responsibility. Wendy explained that whatever she did, as the most junior staff member, needed to be signed off by Scott. Terry, the project manager, however, made a lot of decisions on his own. Wendy explained that rather than this being based on Scott's more senior position, instead she explained it was because 'it' is so fast. Wendy said: 'If there is an issue on site, he has to make a decision' (Case study city, 19.07.10, p. 149). As Wendy explained, 'we have to be quicker than going up the hierarchy and going back down again. And if Liz isn't in the office, I will go to Scott anyway (Case study city, 19.07.10, p. 149). The pace of practice is very fast moving.

To keep up with the changes, therefore, rather than waiting for permission, Terry needed to make decisions at the time. Wendy, however, thought that Terry's decision making might 'annoy Scott and Faye a little bit, because they will feel like they are losing track of where it is up to' (Case study city, 19.07.10, p. 149). Wendy explained that there is a hierarchical system of decision making and Terry is the only one that 'rebels against the system'. Wendy thought this is justified, however because of the pace of what's going on. 'The system', as described by Wendy, presented a performance amongst the hierarchy of the employed positions of the office.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Although the researcher did not specifically ask those working in the office about what they had learned through working there, the staff members talked about the learning in their professional lives. Sally, the Assistant Project Manager explained that she 'didn't do anything after school', and that she 'learnt everything on the job' (Case study city, 16.06.10, p. 74). Both Sally and Faye, the Deputy Director, talked about learning about art. 'I didn't get the role of artists at first', says Sally (Case study city, 16.06.10, p. 78). Faye explained that she had learnt that art has to be 'integrated into the whole approach to add value […] it isn't just a sculpture in a park' (Case study city, 10.06.10, p.27). Rather than artworks being decorative; as described by Scott in his earlier interview (Case study city, 19.02.10) rather they are integrated as part of regeneration.

Here we might presume that Sally and Faye's learning is contained within the scope of reflecting on the role of art and artists. That art is more than making things pretty. This experience of the art projects, however, had not only supported them to reflect on the role of art and artists; but this reflection had expanded to encompass thinking about the wider role of the office itself. Wendy, the Administrator, for example stated:

> My perception has changed since I started. I used to think it was about
> making things pretty […]. Maybe it's just me, but I do think it has
> become a social thing, like about the people, rather than the aesthetics
> of regenerating a garden, or pointing a brickwork, it is more than that
> now (Wendy, Case study city, 19.07.10, p. 143).

Through engaging in the art projects, Wendy had reflected on the role of the office. That through working as part of the team, she had reflected-in-action on what it did. Karen, the PR officer for the regeneration company, who worked very closely with the staff of the office, similarly accounts for her learning experience through her involvement with the art projects: 'When I first came along, I just saw it as a physical development, but obviously the more I got into the projects, the more my understanding has grown, and it is more about the people than the physical development' (Karen, Case study city, 28.07.10, p. 188). Engaging in the art projects supported the staff to consider regeneration. Art has been a trigger to consider the regeneration process.

In the last empirical stage, we were introduced to the observations of Pam a regeneration officer. Pam described the learning she had observed with a group of young people working with a photographer (Manchester, 08.12.10, p. 64). Rather than simply learning technical art and photography skills, through the process of making photographs, the young people developed a level of confidence that supported them in articulating their opinion in what was happening in their environment around them. Through working with the photographer the young people had developed the ability to tell Pam what they thought of her regeneration plans. Through the process of manipulating external images, the inner confidence of the young people had been re-shaped. As with the experience of the young people; here the staff of the office, had also developed an ability to reflect on their environment. As employees of the office, they had become participants of the regeneration process. Through taking part in making the art projects, as part of the regeneration of the area, their inner materials had been changed.

In the exploratory stage, at the *Akademie*, through describing the process of making her drawings the artist Nevaeh introduced us to the process of transmission; the exchange of inner and outer materials. As an artist she described how the process of making her drawings by moulding paper and other materials re-shaped her inner emotions (Nevaeh, Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 46). In the second empirical stage we also heard Jude describe her transformative experience when appreciating, rather than making, artworks. Jude described how when she was watching the film, *Hunger*, she became more aware of her physical self (Manchester, 01.07.09, p. 191). Here, we are now introduced to the experience of those working at the office. They are not designated as artists, like Nevaeh. Their situation is not introduced as that of appreciating artworks, such as watching a film, or visiting a gallery, as described by Jude. Neither do they position themselves as being participants in the art projects, such as the young people in the case as described by Pam. As employees of the office, however, they also described something that can now be recognised as an experience, as something akin to that previously accounted for by those making or appreciating art, as artists or 'non-artists'. That the employees are part of a reflective experience ignited by art.

In considering regeneration, both Wendy and Karen talked about 'it': 'it' was about more than making things pretty; 'it' was more about the people than the physical development. Neither Wendy or Emily talked about 'regeneration', or 'renewal' or 'community cohesion' either. Interestingly these formed terms, with which we have become familiar through the literature and the previous sample of interviews were omitted from theses passages in favour of 'it'. Perhaps 'it' is something that does not sit comfortably within these stable terms. Perhaps 'it' is something that spills outside of, or is larger than, these parameters. Perhaps 'it' needs more room for consideration.

Secondly, rather than describing what 'it' *is*, it is relevant to reflect that Faye and Wendy, through their own reflection on their learning from their experience of the office, described what 'it' *isn't*. Art *isn't* just about making sculpture, says Faye. The role of the office *isn't* just about making things pretty, says Wendy. Wendy and Faye seemed to be saying that both the work of artists (and artworks), and the work of the office overall, is more complex in the making. It is perhaps more complex than what is projected by the final finished thing *made*. A sculpture is more than an object, more than an assemblage of concrete and steel, and the work of the office is more than what is 'made pretty', more than bricks and mortar. Rather than being able to articulate what 'it' is, with all its complexity, however Wendy and Faye defaulted to describing what 'it' *isn't*.

As well as those talking, un-guided, about their experiential learning through their involvement in the art projects; the staff, also talk un-guided about their experience of the making of the office itself. All staff members, when interviewed, charted their relationship with the office in terms of its development. In the interviews, the researcher asked the staff to introduce themselves and describe their role at the office. She did not specifically ask them about their role in its development. They all, however, felt inclined to talk about their role in its making in some way. Terry for example explained how he was there 'in the early days' as a consultant before becoming the project manager at the office (Case study city, 14.06.10, p.35). Sally, the assistant project manager, in particular, presented a rich picture of the early times. In describing her experience she says:

> I started here as administrative support […], so I was exposed to
> everything. When we first got here we sat on deckchairs, we had an
> upside down orange box […] it was a complete mish-mash of everything!
> (Sally, Case study city, 16.06.10, p. 73).

The use of the word 'making', in relation to the office, is purposeful here. Making is a term used in relation to artworks and craft objects. Making, is also used in terms of making dinner and making a cup of tea. It is not, in day-to-day language, used in terms of making an organisation. The way that Sally described the use of bits of wood and objects, however, felt very much like the office was made through the micro-arrangements of these physical materials.

During the exploratory week at the *Akademie*, when interviewing Nevaeh, the researcher noted that she could feel the porous nature of the artist. As she sat opposite the artist at her kitchen table in her living space, the researcher attempted to convey that she could almost see how the process of manipulating the paper and charcoal changed the artist, inside. Her human shell seemed very fine. It was like when her skin breathed, it absorbed the dust of the drawings, and this dust coated her feelings and emotions. When facing Sally across the desk in the meeting room of the office, the researcher had this feeling again. Sally talked very passionately about the work of the office. It felt to the researcher that there was a connection between the depth of her belief in the office, and the intensity of her experience of its making.

The researcher reflected on whether Sally's close relationship with the tiny operations between the objects and things and people, had supported her to embody the ideas that resulted from this performance; for her 'inner' belief system to be altered by the external operations. Sally described that she was 'living by the mantra all the time' (Case study city, 16.06.10 p. 75); that she was living by 'the objectives' of the office, and what it was trying to achieve. That moving the objects of the office shaped its objectives. Even while feeling the effects of the economic downturn of this period, while Sally bravely shared some personal disappointment in the reception of some of the projects by the business community, she still clarified however: 'It's not that I've lost the passion, because I still *believe*' (Sally, Case study city, 16.06.10, p. 75). As a participant shaping what the office did, Sally herself is also shaped through these actions.

Through the expanded lens of taking account of the making of art as part of regeneration, we can start to see the layers of operations at play. We have been introduced to the office, not as a physical place, made and finished. Neither have we been introduced to it as a fixed set of ideas. Rather we have been introduced to the office as a fluid system of movements. This system was first introduced via the micro politics of the office. Here, the employees described the hierarchy of their positions. In explaining these micro

movements what became clear, is the fast pace of practice; that decisions were made via reflecting-in-action, in the scene. We were also introduced to the office system as embedded within the regeneration process. The office cannot be observed separately. The reflective actions of the office are part of regeneration.

The experience of art is part of regeneration. Instead of looking at art as pre-defined; in order to notice art as it becomes something, this research is rather endeavouring to finely trace the movements of a place. Similarly, instead of pre-defining what regeneration is, the research rather sets out to notice it as it becomes what it becomes. In undertaking these interviews with the practitioners, while the researcher was submerged in the practice of the office, we have been introduced to the multiple loops of reflection and learning through material exchange. The office made art; and the office made regeneration. The office itself, however, is also made.

The office is made by the staff, desks, boxes and other objects and ideas. The orange boxes, desks and computers were arranged by the staff. The staff were also, however shaped by arranging these objects in the office. Furthermore, the staff were also shaped by engaging in the projects that the office produce. Like artists and those visiting galleries or consciously visiting works of art in order to look at them and consider them, through their day-to-day work these staff members underwent a similar transformation.

As the office was not pre-described as being made; neither were the staff pre-described as participants of an experience of making. Through listening to the material of these interviews as undertaken live, amongst their day-to-day working practice, these employees can now be described as participants of the art and regeneration experience. Rather than looking for a pre-described 'community'; through this slow approach, the staff have revealed themselves, on their own terms, as participants. Instead of looking for a participant-community already there, to be socially integrated; rather we have been introduced to how a participants are made through the micro movements of exchange between physical objects and things and their thoughts, feelings and ideas.

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In brief, our first presentation of the analysis of the discourses of the interviews with practitioners of the Urban Regeneration Company, further reveal the relational nature of practice. The office is not described by the practitioners who work there as static. The office is instead proposed as a fluid process of associations between staff, materials and objects, other people and other things; as constantly forming. As employees, the staff of the office, describe their experience as participants of the experience of art and regeneration. As participants, the art projects ignite reflection in them, on their work at the office. In describing what they do, however, the language available to them for describing their experiences of reflecting-in-action, is limited.

4.3.3 Art: made and in-the-making

Through the collective associations between humans and non-humans art takes us on a journey of becoming something anew. The process of becoming levitates us to create a new vantage point in order to see ourselves in the world differently. In the second empirical stage we were introduced to the broader context of art and regeneration. We saw that instead of art being separate from regeneration it was integrated *as part of it*. To further investigate the index of relationships and its effects, in this third sample of interviews, the researcher re-engaged with artists and those they work with in their practice environment; this time, *in regeneration*.

Through the first two empirical stages, the researcher met an expanding sample of professionals. In their descriptions, these professionals accounted for the non-human actors that demonstrate agency in the reflective process. These non-human actors included: drawing materials, sounds, smells, deckchairs and orange boxes. When interviewing practitioners in this third stage, publicly sited artworks and design objects were also introduced as actors that initiated 'causal sequences' (Gell, 1998: 16). These actors are both introduced as artworks and objects that have been made, as well as in-the-making.

Those actors that were made and 'completed' were: the 'City Seat', the 'Shiny Sculpture' and the 'New Seat'. The 'City Seat' was a bench that was commissioned as a bespoke design for the city. In his interview, Jake, the landscape designer for the City Council said: 'Scott hates it. He can't disguise his loathing of it! […] because it's not his' (Jack, Case study city 29.07.10, p. 117). It seemed as if this seat became a catalyst in the relationship between Scott and Jake. The seats had been commissioned and made; and were now located in various places across the city. Rather than finished, their careers as design objects were still continuous. These benches operated in the conversations of the city, they played a role in decision making. Jake liked them. Scott hated them. Rather than being mute objects, they performed a role, or even a voice, in the conversation between Jake and Scott.

What Scott referred to as the 'Shiny Sculpture' also seemed to manifest some sort of political role. The sculpture was positioned in 'The Gardens', a public square developed by the office. Graeme, the public art consultant introduced the sculpture as being part of the 'old regime'. He reported that: 'They had an arts consultant in for that […] so I am not taking responsibility for that whatsoever, any more than Scott will!' (Graeme, Gateshead, 29.07.10, p. 11). Rather than this object being bestowed 'art-ness' as an artwork by the 'art world'; it had rather been given an active role by the associations of the 'index' of professionals and the political landscape of the city. Rather than being dormant or mute, as-finished, the sculpture rather continued to perform an active position as part of the conversations of the city.

Another seat, the 'New Seat' that was being commissioned as part of the public realm programme of Elizabeth Street, was also described as being animated. Wendy said that she didn't like these seats. Firstly she didn't like the way they looked. She thought they were going to be shiny, but they turned out to be concrete. She didn't like the quality of them either. She elaborated this view by explaining:

> We have sat on them. It is cold and uncomfortable. We have discussed about women sitting on them and nicking their tights. I think this is a generalisation, but Scott and Terry like them because they are quite masculine and Rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr, whereas, we are saying: 'Well, my feet are going to be by my chin if I sit on them, and what happens if I nick my tights?!' And, 'oh, isn't it cold to sit on?!' We have to look at it from a different perspective (Wendy, Case study city, 19.07.10, p. 147).

As actors, in the mind of Wendy, these seats were gendered. They were male. Her relationship with them, as a woman, was affected by this. This discussion about the role and even personality of the seats further animated these actors in the performance of city making. As yet, these seats were not installed. They were in boxes waiting to be fitted. Their personalities, however, were already activated.

The city becomes a stage where performances of relationships are acted out. These relationships develop between people and others, including design objects and sculptures. There intended roles as seats for sitting on, or sculptures to represent the city anew, are extended. Rather than the objects only producing the intended effects; additional effects are played out. Their agency, as actors, effects multiple changes.

When interviewed, Alexander, the curator of the contemporary art gallery described what he was doing as 'civics'. He explained that he tried to avoid the word 'politics'. Instead he stated that he intended to connect to the phrase of the eminent geographer, Doreen Massey: 'How we are going to live together. We are all here […] Rather than being atomised individuals' (Alexander, Case study city, 28.07.10, p. 154). Rather than being separate, the ambition of the gallery, through its exhibition programme, was to investigate how we can live together.

There was a parallel with the concerns inside the gallery 'art world', and what was happening outside, in the city itself. Inside the gallery, Alexander was attempting to investigate how we can live together, rather than being separate. As he spoke, outside of the gallery, in the city, artworks and design objects were living together, amongst us. In their day-to-day lives, as artworks and objects, they connect us to ourselves and each other. The 'New Seats', encouraged Wendy to consider herself, in relation to them. The 'Shiny Sculpture' connected thoughts and ideas and conversations between Scott and other professionals. They supported interaction. They ignited reflection in ourselves and associations between us.

The regeneration area was a place that was making 'civic opportunity'. In the second empirical study, James stated that what he was doing in his role as Culture and Tourism officer, was supporting the development of skills to engage in 'civic opportunity'. Within this third stage, when describing the regeneration area, Faye the Deputy Director of the office said: 'It is very real. It is very small. It is focused. We couldn't do this across the whole of the city. We are very privileged that we have this focus' (Faye, Case study city, 10.06.10, p. 31). The work of the office had illuminated the regeneration area as a stage for civic performance.

In making civic opportunity, art instigates reflection. Joe, the lead artist, stated that he regarded the term 'regeneration' as referring to 'political planning' (Joe, Case study city, 21.07.10, p. 139). Generally he didn't think about the term. When asked to consider the term in the interview, he stated however, that what he was doing, as an artist in the city, was regenerating how people interacted with the public space: 'how they make it their own, both in their behaviour and also in their mind […]. People's relationships to public space' (Joe, Case study city, 21.07.10, p. 139). What he was doing as an artist, was 'making reflective spaces'. Joe explained that 'quite a lot of spaces are just about getting you from one space to another, or they are places of arrival. But there are sub-divisions,

and there are all sorts of other ways of breaking that down in the urban context' (Joe, Case study city, 21.07.10, p. 136). Joe's aim for the civic stage of engagement was to be one of reflection.

Artworks support reflection amongst civic space. As objects they form relationships and produce effects that traverse the borders of their original intentions. The artists also describe themselves as traversing boundaries; as being inter-disciplinary themselves. Rather than being 'special' Paul, believed that artists are 'lay' people (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 171). 'Our advantage', said Paul, 'is that we are not the experts that already have a pre-conceived idea or notion of how to react to a problem' (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 171). Instead, artists sit in-between disciplinary thinking and practice. Artists are not pre-formed by disciplinary specialism. 'Artists have a scope', he continued to explain, 'which is very very big, because we don't have a modified position' (Paul, Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 172). Rather than being understood as the solitary genius making artworks, here artists are regarded as non-specialists.

Rather that the artist being understood as the 'expert', instead everyone involved is an expert of their own perception (Paul, Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 176). Instead of being captured in their 'focus', the specialism of the artist is rather in their 'blur'. Their focal point is in their movement. Their contribution is captured in their shifting position; to see the world from multiple perspectives outside of any pre-formed remit or practice specialism. What artists do, said Paul, 'is interject another perspective in to the debate, and try to look at frameworks to do that' (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 176). Joe suggested that because of this lack of definition, the artist is able to offer 'more experimental perspectives on how you look at the city which don't fit into anyone's table or remit' (Case study city, 21.07.10, p. 130). As non-specialists, artists are able to contribute a perspective that sits in-between specialisms.

Instead of the artwork being made as a product of the process, professionals rather saw the process itself as being significant. In the second empirical study Ruby (Manchester, 15.01.2010, p. 121) suggested that the process could be the outcome. Katy, an officer at an architecture agency that collaborated with the office similarly suggested that 'the value isn't necessarily in the product' (Newcastle upon Tyne, 02.07.10, p. 88). The process is one of shifting position, in order to contribute new perspectives.

Simon, a public art commissioner who had previously advised the office suggested that the role of the artist is to bring a state of mind. He stated that it is not so much about artworks, but about bringing a mind-set of 'collaborative thinking' (Manchester, 14.01.10, p. 104). That the role of art in regeneration is more so within the approach than a product at the end. Instead of art being contained by one individual artist, we rather observe that the agency of art is distributed amongst a group of actors.

Those occupying this position or approach, or mind-set, do not have to 'be artists'. Katy suggests that the purpose of the process is to broaden understandings of 'what is possible', and this might not be an artist (Newcastle upon Tyne, 02.07.10, p. 88). This role of the inter-disciplinary mind-set can be undertaken by others. Joe, the lead artist currently working with the office trained as an architect. He had adopted the position of 'the artist' as he saw this as being the most relevant position to undertake the inter-disciplinary work that he did (Joe, Case study city, 02.07.10, p. 129). Rather than the artist being defined by their training at art school, as Julia in the second stage suggested when talking about Tracey Emin (Manchester, 4.2.10, p. 47), here artists are rather defined by their approach. Artists become artists not through 'art world' validation but through working collaboratively in the world.

The role of the artist is to think holistically, in-between disciplinary specialisms. In line with this view, when interviewed, neither of the artists (Joe or Paul) talked about the artwork made as being their focus. Instead, they talked about revealing assumptions and shifts in thinking as being their ambition. Joe described what he was doing as an investigation to unearth the foundations on which decisions were based. He stated that what he was trying to do was 'get everybody from here to *here*'; to shift their position in order to talk about things in a new way and question how things are done 'or built on that assumption' (Case study city, 02.07.10, p. 129). That what he was doing as an artist, was revealing assumptions on which perspectives and decisions were made. Similarly to Joe, Paul, who had previously worked with the office, talked about what he did, as re-thinking the big frameworks: 'to find these macro understandings and abstractions of society' (Paul, Sheffield, 13.07.10, p, 175). What artists are doing, he said, is unpacking these macro concepts on which regeneration is based. Through his artwork, Paul suggested he was trying to 'get people to think twice' (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p, 162). As an artist, Paul was looking for strategies, through artworks, to encourage people to think about the future of the city.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

As part of his work with the office, Joe was making a sculpture. He referred to the sculpture as 'a pulpit'. It was made of granite, and was to be positioned on Elizabeth Street. It was set a little way back from the curb. At one point in the interview, Joe simply stated that: 'the pulpit was going to be concrete. But there was a boat carrying granite […]. It seemed obvious fortune in a way' (Case study city, 21.07.10, p. 137). The highways department within the city council were planning the sculpture, and making the detailed drawings for it. As you would have to specify extremely high quality concrete to make the sculpture, they were concerned with using the material. The department then discovered that there was a lot of granite that had come from china, and was 'sat at the yard and never been used' (Joe, 21.07.10, p. 137).

This story of the pulpit beautifully described the reflective performance between many actors, both human and non-human. As previously described by the staff of the office, the art making experience is not self-contained, rather it is integrated amongst many other relationships and connections. Rather than the bespoke response being influenced only by the artist, instead there were multiple associations that brought the sculpture into being. Rather than being a physical lump of something, the sculpture does something. Through its birth, the sculpture enacted a set of associations between people, materials and other things.

Art making is not separate from the making of the city, or the individuals and organisations that make it. In the case of 'the pulpit', it was not the artist that was making the drawings of the sculpture, but the highways department within the city council. Further, although the city officers made the drawing, it was the materials themselves, ships and global trading that also played significant roles in its making. It was they that influenced how, in the end, the pulpit was made. Rather than decorate the city as complete, the sculpture, rather, revealed the city to be a continuous performance of fluid relationships.

In describing his time working with the office, Paul stated that what lay behind his response was 'a concern for the terrible complexity of the political landscape' (Paul, Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 174). When he first arrived at the office, he was curious about Scott. How somebody with Scott's professional background 'fosters people who are curious' (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 170). Paul also felt that there was also a curiosity about what artists did, 'and how we can define the value of what we do' (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 170). That there was a 'certain level of exoticism on both sides' (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p.

170). As an artist, Paul was curious about the role of the regeneration professionals, and the regeneration professionals were curious about the role of Paul, as an artist.

The invitation to work with the office was for a year. Paul stated that the advantage of having a longer time period was that it enabled exploration at a 'lower intensity' into each other's roles: that of the regeneration professional, and that of the artist. Paul explained that in his experience, the difficulty of commissioning an artist to come in and deliver something very quickly, is that 'clichés and stereotypes are not contradicted' (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 170). During his time working with the office, Paul found that he had shared interests with the regeneration professionals, 'in society and history and an interest in the process of making' (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 170). That there were mutual concerns between himself, as an artist, and the regeneration professionals.

Rather than these 'root concerns' as described by Paul (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 170) as being different for artists and regeneration professionals. Instead, they, as practitioners, had parallels in trying to find a better understanding. The role of the artwork, as described by Paul was to 'create a platform to think about the questions about the future of Case study city' (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 160). Through slow movement, their aim, as artists, is to create a shared language.

As with the methodology of this research, rather than making quick responses, the regeneration professionals were looking for slow revelations. Instead of moving quickly using ready-made concepts, Paul understood his role, as an artist, as being to create a bespoke response 'like when you have to mix your own pigment' (Paul, Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 173). The process of art making, moves slowly in consideration of the particular environment. Paul saw artwork as research, more so than as celebration or decoration (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 169). Artists describe themselves as initiators and co-investigators of a shared process to reveal possible future states. This process is more akin to a research methodology than decorating the city.

Art in regeneration, as a process of understanding, is similar to that adopted by the researcher herself. To see the slow movement of art practice, the researcher must also bravely relinquish the safety of known terms. She must rather trace what happens on its own terms, un-guided. In this research, the aim of the researcher is to find a language to better articulate this process of art as research as part of regeneration.

Artists did not introduce themselves as being 'special'. Rather than the lone genius, they instead saw themselves as part of a process of collective understanding. Amongst their regeneration colleagues, however, there was suspicion surrounding the role of the artist. Karen, the office administrator, stated the public's view of the artist was not very positive; that they think of them as 'charlatans' (Case study city, 19.07.10, p. 81). This negative view was also enacted inside the working team of the office itself. Faye, the Deputy Director happily refers to what she describes as 'art rubbish' (Case study city, 10.06.10, p. 29); and Jake the city council's landscape designer, remarked that he thought Joe, and those working closely with him, were being 'a bit indulged' (Case study city, 29.07.10, p. 118). That the artist, and those working with the artist were being treated differently, as being 'special'.

Although there was evidence of a suspicion of the stereotype of the artist as being someone who regards themselves as special and different, it was evident when talking about Joe as an individual, the practitioners were very clear about the benefits of his particular contribution. Rather than being 'art rubbish', Faye explained that Joe's role was important because he had the ability to put vision into practice. She suggested that the ability to have a vision and be able to translate it into a 'physical work […] is quite a unique balance' (Case study city, 10.06.10, p. 28). Part of Joe's unique contribution was his ability to 'talk the technical language with the people on the ground' (Case study city, 10.06.10, p. 29). That Joe could translate across the specialist domains of practice. As well as being seen as a 'translator', Sally suggested that what Joe also brought was 'a wider observation about people and about movement' (Case study city, 10.06.10, p. 72); that while the staff were driven by political pressures and legal requirements, Joe looked at 'it' with a 'different set of eyes' (Sally, Case study city, 10.06.10, p. 72). There was a suspicion of the stereotype artist-as-genius; as being someone special that sits outside of society. Joe as an individual, however, was understood to be an important and integrated part of the work of the office. That Joe both brought a different perspective, outside of policy frameworks, and was able to translate across practice borders to make visions into realities.

In this third interview sample we were re-introduced to artists and artworks. Through the previous empirical stages, we had developed an understanding of art as a reflective experience that is inter-connected with an index of movements and relationships. We had also heard that this reflective experience is performed not only by a range of human actors, but non-human actors, such as art materials, and day-to-day objects such as deckchairs and orange boxes. Rather than artworks being described as static and still, they have more distributed lives. They are made of many tiny components and movements.

Through these interviews with artists and others in their practice context we have been further introduced to the expanded role of artworks and artists in regeneration. That art as an experience translates between worlds: 'to bridge the gap, and find better vocabularies' (Paul, Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 170). Rather than being introduced to an artwork as something that when made, is finished; instead we are introduced to artworks as actors with distributed processes that continue to produce effects throughout on-going lives. That rather than artists being regarded as special due to a specific focus or skill; instead their contribution to regeneration is in their movement in-between disciplines, to support the development of inter-disciplinary thinking and vantage points. Artists and artworks contribute to developing a shared language, as part of regeneration, in order to consider regeneration itself.

Art as part of regeneration is a process of understanding. Instead of adopting pre-made concepts of 'the community' or 'the city', art reveals the assumptions behind these terms that shape regeneration. In the second stage of the empirical study, we were introduced to tensions between policy and practice. That what happens in practice is more complex than that described by policy frameworks. Through this third empirical stage, in meeting with the practitioners of the office case study, we have been introduced to a more nuanced relationship between policy and practice. We have been introduced to how the practice of art as part of regeneration questions pre-formed concepts. Rather than considering to what level practice delivers against policy objectives such as 'community development' or 'economic development', instead we have been introduced to how practice re-considers the foundations of policy itself.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

The process of reconsidering assumptions, through the art experience, is a slow process enacted via the micro associations between human and non-human actors. Actors move to co-create and co-occupy vantage points for viewing places of mutual concern. Rather than art as being manifest and finished in a physical form, for example as a public sculpture; instead art can be understood as inter-disciplinary viewpoint or position. In regeneration, art is not contained as a sculpture or as an artist; instead the sculpture and the artist are actors amongst others in the creation of a space for reflecting on action. Art is the experience that creates the space for reflection.

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In brief, our second presentation of the analysis of the discourses of the interviews with the practitioners of the Urban Regeneration Company further reveals the collective nature of the art process. Instead of observing art as contained by an artist or artwork, we rather observe how a range of human and non-human actors take part in the reflective process, collectively. The collective nature of the art experience supports inter-disciplinary thinking and working. Art slows down the processes of regeneration. Instead of enacting fast actions, art supports slow thinking to provide space for reflection. This space for reflection provides room to reveal and challenge the macro assumptions and views as embodied in policy, in support of developing a new vocabulary for better understanding what art does in practice.

139

4.3.4 The city: as understood and in-understanding

Art as part of regeneration can be described as creating a new shared vocabulary. Rather than speeding up our conclusions by using established short-cuts for 'society' or 'the city'; instead the process of art as part of regeneration slows down the process of understanding. In taking a slow approach to tracing the movements of practice, this research is creating a space for the slow movements of art within regeneration to reveal themselves. Instead of illustrating macro concepts, by taking micro meandering steps we rather endeavour to reveal new understandings of how society and the city operates; revealing how it becomes what it becomes.

When interviewing the professionals of the case study, when they initially describe what it was that they did, before moving into rich descriptions of their day-to-day practice, they are still often found adopting quick terminology. In the second empirical stage of research, we were introduced to regeneration as being concerned with the 'social' and 'physical' or 'economic' dimensions of a city. Similarly, within these case study interviews, the terms 'soft' and 'hard' were used. Stan, an officer working with the broader regeneration company explained that there are 'various strands to the regeneration agenda, [...] the 'softer end' involves people and employment and child poverty etcetera, [and] the 'physical bit' is what you see, and what is more obvious' (Stan, Case study city, 19.07.10, p. 122).

Faye, the deputy director of the office, also introduced the terms 'soft' and 'hard'. Like Stan, Faye described them in relation to the social and physical dimensions of regeneration. Faye, however explained that 'soft' and 'hard' were not terms that she would use, 'because you can't have one without the other' (Faye, Case study city, 10.06.10, p. 25). Faye suggested that rather than regeneration being social or physical, regeneration required a more integrated approach. Policy language is too static to hold practice. Practice rather spills outside of the social and economic frameworks of policy. As Faye stated, 'it is 'easy to write endless strategies and policies, but quite another thing to deliver the reality and control the quality of what comes out' (Case study city, 10.06.10, p. 19).

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Faye illustrates the limitations of the terms 'soft' and 'hard' by describing the city itself. She began with a sombre tone. She stated there are 'serious social problems' in the area where the office is based (Faye, Case study city, 10.06.10, p.33). There is a big homeless population, housed in multiple occupancy hostel accommodation. Faye was aware that the people living in these places had multiple problems, such as alcohol and drug dependency and addiction. She explained, however, that many of the people living in the hostels haven't been offered any help. She thought this was partly because the council didn't know what was there. Faye reflected that the remit of the office encompassed 'the physical side'. In explaining what she meant by the 'physical side' she revealed that that the office plan was to demolish the hostels. Reflecting on this strategy, Faye posed a crucial, but seemingly over-looked question: 'What will happen to the people *in* the hostels?!' (Case study city, 10.06.10, p.33).

This very visceral account of a real situation, very well conveyed the difficulty of relying on short-cuts to understanding: 'what about the people? asked Faye (Case study city, 10.06.10, p. 20). Stan stated earlier that the 'physical' is 'what you can see' (Stan, 19.07.10, p. 121). Demolishing bricks and mortar, however, does not account for social complexities that are less visible. Faye suggested that rather than separating the physical from the social, 'an integrated approach is the way to do it' (Faye, Case study city, 10.06.10, p. 33). With an expression of desperation, however, Faye alluded to the enormity of the problem by saying that 'even with integrated thinking, it is a very difficult situation to resolve'. 'Regeneration is joined up thinking and doing' (Faye, Case study city, 10.06.10, p.18). The reality of the practice of regeneration is far more complex than the language of policy documents.

This complexity is also, of course, not discretely contained within the area of the office itself. It is connected to neighbouring areas, and issues that span regional, national and international agendas. On a local and national scale, Faye explained that the office 'has to be very careful not to be seen as dumping what is a very serious long term problem over our red line, on to the neighbouring area' (Case study city, 10.06.10, p. 20). She said that this is an easy way to do things; and inferred that other councils might indeed simply move problems out of their area in order to 'solve' them. From her perspective, however, this is 'totally unacceptable', she said, 'we can't just look at *that* [particular] area' (Faye, Case study city, 10.06.10, p.20). The complexity of the regeneration area is not contained; rather

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

it spills outside of geographical boarders. It is more fluid than physical geography; it cannot be mapped by two dimensions.

Through referencing the immediate concerns of her day-to-day, Faye's description animated the complex realities of the work of the city. Rather than her work being undertaken in pursuit of being understood, 'it' is rather a process of understanding. It is fluid and complex. What it does cannot be described in terms of 'the social' or 'the physical' or the 'soft' or the 'hard'. It rather requires another language to describe it. Rather than a static formed language, it requires something that can allow for the multiplicities of the experience and its effects.

An attempt to describe a more fluid interface is suggested by Terry. Terry is the project manager of the office. He is from a construction background. In responding to how he would describe the work of the office, Terry started from a big picture approach. He described the work of the office as being within the context of the strengths and weaknesses of the global and European economy; and that their role is to see the city 'within that context […] to help it to become more sustainable' (Case study city, 14.06.10, p. 38). Simon, a public art consultant who had advised the office, also used the term 'sustainability'. He suggested that regeneration is 'more of a holistic thing, linked to the wider definition of sustainability' (Simon, Manchester, 14.07.10, p. 103). Terry suggested that in order to make sustainability happen, there is a need for a more combined approach. To do this, he says, 'you need to cut across lots of things [in order to be] a benefit to the community' (Terry, Case study city, 14.06.10, p. 38).

'Sustainability' of course, is a big and often used term. Terry seemed to be using it to describe a desired future state. At some point the city will have become 'sustainable'. That this end point, of being sustainable, will benefit 'the community'. As with 'sustainability', the idea of 'the community' here also sounds like it is solid and formed. Like you could look at 'the community'; or you could pick 'the community' up and put it somewhere else. Elsewhere in the interviews, however, there are few references to 'a community'. Faye had described a homeless 'problem'. These people were not described, however, as residents of the area, neither were other residents or other forms of 'community' referred to. Graeme, another public art advisor, in fact stated that when you think of community sustainability, there is no evidence of that; it is an 'anathema' (Graeme, Gateshead, 29.07.10, p.12). These frameworks for understanding what happened in the practice of the office, therefore seem to be inadequate.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

There is a disconnect within the council, which was well described by Francis. Francis was an economic development officer within the city council. She was also an advocate in support of glass makers in the city, and was leading on the development of a combined gallery, studio and workshop space for glass artists. This new space was planned for the area where the office was based. Francis explained that city councils work in 'silos'. Elaborating on this point, Francis stated: 'Traditionally, if you see local authorities as the drivers of regeneration activity, you have very distinct service areas […] they tend to work in a very isolated way. And they haven't realised that you can't achieve the outputs like that. That you have to bring everyone round the table, and everyone has to feed in' (Francis, Case study city, 09.06.10, p. 06). Alison, the head of culture at the City Council also talked about the separate nature of council departments. Alison referred to a 'disconnectedness' between her department of culture, and the department dealing with planning and landscape (Case study city, 10.07.10, p. 219).

There was a disconnect between policy and practice. Faye described a 'disconnect' between what is said in policy, and what actually happens in practice. Francis, also talked about the relationship between the policy level and level of practice, this time in terms of 'politics'. Francis explained that there are 'two lots of politics […] the 'big p' and the 'little p' (Francis, Case study city, 09.06.10, p. 05). 'Whatever you are doing', she says, 'needs to fit with the 'big p' strategy of the cabinet, otherwise you have got a 'hard task of selling it' (Francis, Case study city, 09.06.10, p. 05). The politics with a 'small p', she explained is 'the internal politics and the internal fiefdoms that are set up within the authority' (Francis, Case study city, 09.06.10, p. 105). Francis proposed that 'the trick is learning how to get what you want' (Francis, Case study city, 09.06.10, p. 19).

During the time of the interview, Francis is undertaking the early preparations of The Unit, a new gallery and studio building for glass makers. Talking about her working days during this time, she says, excitedly:

> Last week I put in a fourteen hour day sorting something out
> for The Unit, down in London. But on the train home I was on
> the phone to Terry about getting the asbestos out, and the
> wasps' nest out. And I get a slagging, well, just because I've
> done a 14 hour day! (Francis, Case study city, 09.06.10, p. 06)

She pauses, collects herself, and carries on:

> Getting the asbestos out. The wasps nest out. All of that.
> Me and Terry doing that. And, I'm on the train with my
> blackberry! (Francis, Case study city, 09.06.10, p. 06).

In this research we started our journey by inquiring into the role of art and the artist *in* regeneration. Through the previous interview studies we were introduced to a combined urban practice: of art *as part of* regeneration, and regeneration *as part of* art. Through Francis' description here, we now see a snapshot of this performance. What we are introduced to via this incidental yarn, is far more than via the quick answers, using established terms in direct response to the questions. These short descriptions offer a rich account of the movements of urban practice. Here we see Francis physically moving between London and the city where she lived and worked. She was also moving between the 'small p' politics of her work colleagues. Rather than her colleagues encouraging her effort, she alluded to them being critical of her being out of the office. In her eyes, however, she was working very hard. She even made sure that we knew that she'd done a fourteen hour day. We were also introduced to her working relationship with Terry. She called him from the train. We also heard, however, of other non-human actors. In the scene, she was holding her phone; there was also asbestos and a wasps nest in the scene with Terry.

The work of the office sits between the 'little p' and the 'big p'. These professionals interviewed work across the office, the regeneration company, and the City Council. At first we were told the well-rehearsed lines that regeneration can be understood as 'soft' and 'hard'. Through listening more closely to the spontaneous descriptions of the day-to-day performance, however, we were introduced to the micro movements of what Francis described as the 'little p'. Perhaps, however, what Francis was describing was more detailed, than 'little p'. Perhaps she was describing a 'micro p'; the micro movements, the processes of connections and relationships amongst and in-between people, objects and things.

Rather than talking in 'soft' and 'hard' terms, when John, the Director of the regeneration company described what he thought the role of the office, and regeneration company was, he said 'translation'. John said that he understood the role of the regeneration company as being a 'French/English dictionary' translating between the public and private sector (Case study city, 23.07.10, p.109). Further, when John was asked to expand on this notion in relation to the political context, he said that he would change the word 'politics' to 'communication'.

Through the preceding passages the word 'regeneration' has become distant. At first regeneration was described using the established terms of 'soft' and 'hard'. At a slower place, regeneration was then rather described as 'politics'. Now 'politics' has been replaced by John as 'communication', or 'translation'. Art has been described as a process of developing a new vocabulary. Similarly regeneration has also been described as a process of developing a new language. David talked about regeneration as being a process of translation across borders.

We have been introduced to a 'disconnect' or 'borderline' between the macro policy view, and the micro movements of practice. Rather than practice fitting the dualist perspective of 'soft' and 'hard' or even 'integrated', we see from close listening that practice is a live performance. It is not pre-scripted. Rather the actors assemble and re-assemble continuously in life, live. Instead of accepting pre-definitions prescribing the effects of art as part of regeneration to deliver against 'soft' and 'hard' objectives, rather we have revealed how the 'little p' performance effects how the actors think about the 'big p' policy frameworks. How art as part of regeneration makes professionals think about regeneration itself.

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In brief, our third presentation of the analysis of the interviews with practitioners of the Urban Regeneration Case study has revealed the relational nature of the city itself. The city is described as being formed through the fluid associations of humans and non-humans. They city is not explained or mapped in two dimensions; but as an active process. Regeneration is an active part of the political process. Instead of representing what happens, the pre-made terms of policy – such as 'soft' and 'hard' regeneration, 'sustainability' and 'sustainable communities' are observed as actors. Regeneration is introduced as fluid process: an act or 'translation'; communicating across boundaries.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

4.3.5 Presenting the play: how do practitioners articulate what they do?

In this third empirical stage, the researcher returned to practice. During the exploratory week, as a fellow-resident, she had both interviewed practitioners and ethnographically recorded the day-to-day movements of 'the house'. As presented in this final section of Chapter Four, the researcher has re-embedded herself in practice. Instead of being submerged amongst studio practice however, she was a participant-observer of art and regeneration. Whilst based at a regeneration office as a temporary member of staff, she expanded the approach as previously explored at the *Akademie*. As a participant-observer, she undertook in-depth interviews with over twenty colleagues and associates of the office, as well as undertaking a six-month ethnography of the day-to-day working procedures and practices.

As the fourth and final stage of the empirical body of work, the next chapter will present the ethnography. In order to observe how practitioners *say* what it is they do; in comparison to what the researcher observes *in action*, sixteen of the interviews were selected for presentation as a discrete stage as the third interview sample and preview to the case ethnography. In the re-presentation of the interview material, we were introduced to how the professionals understood 'the office', 'artists' and 'artworks', and 'the city' itself. Instead of any part of their everyday as being introduced as discrete, static and finished; through their rich descriptions of practice, we were rather presented with multiple layers of movement.

Firstly, we were introduced to the office as being something in-the-making. The staff and their colleagues did not introduce the office via a staffing chart or office seating plan or evaluations or visioning documents. They did not use these official documents as tools of communication in order to present what they do. Instead of being presented in two dimensions, the office was rather described in terms of its volume in multiple dimensions. Rather than being illustrated as a chart or plan, the office was described as a fluid process of manifold associations between staff, materials and objects, other people and other things.

The city in which the office was based was also introduced as being made through continuous associations amongst humans and non-human actors. It was not explained or mapped, it was described. Particularly the professionals described the city in terms of what they term 'politics'. The practitioners introduced two perspectives on this political view of the city: a 'big p' macro of policy; and a 'little p' at the micro level of the day-to-day fluid movements of practice.

Instead of the 'big p' and 'little p' being distinct from one another, however, we see that the pre-made language of policy, that presents notions such as for example - 'soft' and 'hard' regeneration, 'economic development' and 'sustainable communities' are observed, as actors, in the professional's descriptions of practice.

In practice, the pre-made language of policy is used by professionals. In presenting how professionals articulate the role of art in regeneration, we were introduced to two perspectives at play: the 'big p' perspective of policy; and the 'little p' perspective of the day-to-day movements of art and regeneration practice. The policy perspective has a language. This language contains pre-formed assumptions and concepts. Although they use it, practitioners however also variously declared that this language does not fully convey their rich experience of their day-to-day. The perspective of practice, however, does not possess a confident vocabulary. Policy is fixed; its language is pre-made and available. Practice however is fluid; its descriptors are in the process of being made, as part of the processes of practice itself. Instead of being available for quick use, the language of practice is produced slowly, in practice.

This multi-layered practice of the office, within the city, cannot be divided in terms of what the 'practice of regeneration' *is*, and what the 'practice of art' *is*. Instead, a combined practice is described. Art is *part of* the process of regeneration; and regeneration is *part of* the process of art. What unites art and regeneration is the *doing* of 'it'. In describing what their practice at the office amongst the city does, we see that their practice is one of continuous reflection-in-action (Schön, 1991). The staff of the office and their colleagues (humans and non-humans), including artists and artworks, described a collective pursuit of better understanding. Together they are committed to a process of revealing the complexity of the city.

This research aims to better articulate the role of art in regeneration. The research is philosophically framed by the experiential pragmatism of Dewey (1934). In order to reveal the effects of art its movements are traced as part of the full frame of regeneration activities. Through this third sample of interviews with the office staff and their colleagues, we have been introduced to a combined practice. The professionals have described a practice of art and regeneration as a continuous experience. From these descriptions we cannot easily peel art apart from regeneration. In order to articulate the *particular* role of art as part of regeneration, we must move even closer amongst 'it'.

In this final section of Chapter Four, 'it' has been adopted as a shorthand descriptor for what happens in the practice of the office. Instead of pre-adopting theories of practice, such as those of Bourdieu, (2009 (1997), this research is rather framed to enable practice to describe itself, *in action*. The empirical stages are designed to trace descriptions of practice from different perspectives, in relation to different proximities to 'it'. This third empirical stage represents a significant shift in the position of the research. Interviews have been undertaken with practitioners of an art and regeneration case study. The second empirical section (Chapter Five), represents an ethnographic account of the same case. In this section, in interviews 'it' is described by the practitioners *to* the researcher; and then re-described by the researcher, as the research. In the next section, 'it' is described directly *by* the researcher; directly, as the research.

The in-depth interviews re-presented here offer a rich account of how the case practitioners interviewed understand their practice. The section describes practice through the perspectives of the practitioners. In terms of the research design this stage is valuable for two reasons. Firstly, by replicating the researcher's own preview to the case, through interviewing the practitioners, the descriptions also act as an introduction to the case for the reader. More importantly, however, the descriptions are valuable on their own terms; in that they offer a nuanced account of practice from the practitioner's perspective.

The nuanced account of the practice experience of the office is described by the practitioners as multiple acts of translation. A collective of human and non-human actors are described as playing roles in these translations; as they are played out. Instead of practitioners having distinct roles as 'artists' or as 'regeneration professionals', rather their descriptions reveal a collective practice of participation in a more fluid experience of understanding. Instead of 'the artist' being a person, the role of the artist is more so described as a position; from which to account for the world holistically.

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In summary, our analysis of the third empirical stage reveals art as integrated within the 'political' performance of the 'big p' and 'little p'. Art traverses the 'big p' of policy, and the 'little p' of the day-to-day movements of practice. The language of 'big p' policy operates within the day-to-day of the 'little p'. As participants of the experience of the office, the art projects ignite reflection within the staff members, on their work. These reflections act out re-considerations of the role of the office, and regeneration itself. Instead of artists and artworks being special as 'specialists'; rather their value is operating in-between disciplines and perspectives. Instead of pursuing fast track solutions, the collaborative process of art slows the process of regeneration.

4.4 What do practitioners *say* about practice?

The empirical contribution of this thesis draws on interpretive anthropology, as the practice of Geertz (1973). In order to account for the unity of experience, rather than holding one position, the research has moved to converse with practitioners from a range of professional perspectives. In moving towards a nuanced articulation of the role of art in regeneration in presenting the interview material as distinct from the ethnography, we are able to compare what practitioners *say* about practice; in relation to what we trace they *do* in practice.

On entering 'the house' during the exploratory stage (position #1), familiar with the discourse of UK cultural policy, the researcher began her eighteen month process towards articulating a more nuanced description of the role of art in regeneration. During the in-depth interviews, she asked eight of her fellow residents to describe their understanding of the role of art and the artist. 'Switched on' to her research environment, she also took note of her own experience as part of her day-to-day movements at the *Akademie*. In the context of art making, away from a policy context, the artists and art professionals describe art through their experience, as an experience. The professionals describe art as an experience that takes place as part of their day-to-day. The experience, they say, is made of a collective set of associations between human and non-human actors. These associations trigger reflections on their continuous daily lives.

The practitioners describe art as beginning a process of change. Notably, Isabella (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 34), one of the administrators of the *Akademie* who previously worked in museums and galleries said, 'when you deal with art, it starts a process'. The motion-process, switched on by art, is described by the art professionals as being made of multiple reflections. These reflections are richly described by the artist Nevaeh as an 'interior life' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p. 45). By changing the form of the materials that she is working with, such as wood, metal and paper, she describes how she is changed on 'the inside'. Alterations take place in her 'inner' human materials, as well as the 'outer' physical materials that she is consciously manipulating. Described by Michel as 'transmission' (Stuttgart, 23.06.2009, p21) the motion-process traverses 'obstacles' to connect 'inner' and 'outer' materials, igniting reflection: connecting us to others, and to our-selves. As well as mobilising artists, the process ignites reflection in others: those who might be described as 'the audience', or 'participants'.

At the *Akademie* art is described as an experience that creates relationships with ourselves in our world; and with others amidst it. The second sample of interviews (as position #2), are undertaken with eighteen art and regeneration professionals. The frame of these interviews moves from that of art, to art *in* regeneration. Instead of being art professionals exclusively, these practitioners represent a range of professionals working in the field of art in regeneration. The interview sample includes professionals from gallery and non-gallery perspectives and with differing proximities to policy and practice. The themes of the discourses collected from this sample are presented across two contextual axes: that of policy; and that of the art institution.

The summary of the discourse reveals that more senior practitioners, closer to the policy context, describe the role of art and artists in regeneration in relation to pre-made policy concepts: that art operates in support of economic and social policy objectives. The practitioners closer to the day-to-day of practice, however, see art and regeneration as more complex and fluid. Instead of art delivering regeneration objectives, they understand art to ignite action *as part of* regeneration. At the *Akademie*, the art practitioners describe, art as a process that reflects on our everyday movements. In this second study, we hear how practitioners close to the everyday of art and regeneration also describe the art process as one of reflection on regeneration itself.

The language available to articulate art as experience however is less formed than the language of policy. At the policy level there is pre-made language available for quick use: in the dual policy terms of 'physical' and 'social' regeneration. At the level of practice, however, the language is in the making, as part of practice itself. At the *Akademie*, the notion of measuring the value or impact of art is felt to be too limiting. The sensory experience rather points towards a more experiential language; one of 'transmission' or 'communication'. In this second sample, we find however, that more senior regeneration officers *do* measure and value art against social and economic policy criteria.

The final interview sample (#3) is set in the practice context of an Urban Regeneration Company (URC). As a participant observer working alongside practitioners of a North of England URC, the researcher interviewed sixteen of her new colleagues amongst their everyday working environment. This sample represents a step change in the research. As interviews with the practitioners of the case study, the material offers a window towards the ethnography; to be presented in the next chapter (Chapter Five).

At the *Akademie* the arts professionals very well describe artworks as continuously igniting reflections through a process of obstacles. In the second stage, when interviewing the art and regeneration professionals in the policy context of the UK, these practitioners describe the process of reflection as being focused on regeneration itself. The contribution of this third sample (#3) of interviews in the practitioners' practice context is their descriptions of being actors as part of the process of reflection themselves. These practitioners did not describe an experience that is separate from their working lives. They described the experience of being at work.

In this third position, we hear the process of reflection on regeneration as being an exchange between inner and outer materials *within* themselves, as art and regeneration professionals. Through their professional descriptions of action, we are taken towards a world 'beneath the human scale' (Dewey, 1934). This world is not only inhabited by humans, but also materials, objects, artworks, concepts and ideas. In interviewing the practitioners, we are not yet close enough to describe the experience as it happens, but close enough to hear the complexity of the relationships as described by the practitioners. Through presenting the ethnography, the next chapter describes this complexity of what they do in practice, directly.

Chapter 5: Pavements and stuff – tracing associations

5.1 The first few days: joining the office

5.1.1 Introducing the case

As a participant-observer, the researcher spent six months working from a desk within a city centre regeneration office in the North East of England. The office is responsible for one of eleven sites as included in the portfolio of the Urban Regeneration Company (URC) for the city. The URC was set up in 2004 via a funding partnership between the Homes and Communities Agency, the Regional Development Agency and the Local Authority. As previewed in Chapter 2, as a URC strategic partnership the company's remit is to set out a masterplan for the regeneration of its area of responsibility.

The case study was selected as part of the interview snowball process to locate the sample in the second empirical stage. At the end of each interview the professionals were asked to suggest further colleagues to interview, and also ideas for case studies for the researcher to observe in detail. The criteria for the case study selection was simply that the professionals interviewed described the case as being 'regenerated' and including 'art' as part of the programme. Scott's place of work was chosen as the case study based on the professional recommendation of Sandra, a regeneration officer based in Manchester, and also Simon, an artist and architect, also based in Manchester (as figure 4.2 in Chapter 4). To maintain professional anonymity, all names, including places and organisations have been changed.

The case city has a population of 280,300. As described by Smith et al (2007: 151), the relative deprivation of an area is calculated against an 'index of deprivation'. The index uses thirty seven indicators across seven domains in sub-ward areas called Super Output Areas (SOAs). The domains of deprivation include income, employment, education, skills and training. Forty-one of the case study city's 188 SOAs, including that within which the office is based, are ranked among the ten per cent most deprived in England (as Indices of Deprivation 2008/09). These indices position the city and the office site as being a 'run down' (Jones and Evans, 2008: 2) area, and explain it being chosen as a site for regeneration.

The URC 'regeneration map' is presented as eleven distinct sites of regeneration (*URC Annual Report 2008/09*: 11). In line with Jones and Evans' (2008: 4) definition of the goal of regeneration being to attract investment towards the areas that most need it. Described as a 'public-interest private company' with a focus on 'commercial-led regeneration' (URC Annual Report 2009/09: 2); the URC is anticipated a total public investment of £318 million; levering in additional private investment of at least £1.3 billion (URC annual report 2008/09).

The targets of the URC are to develop 13,000 new job opportunities, alongside new businesses, and the development of 306 hectares of 'brownfield land' (as previously developed land, as Jones and Evans (2008: 5). 'Greenfield land' being that which is un-developed. The vision of the office is set out in the *Planning and Design Framework* (PDF).

Adopting the familiar language of policy (as discussed in Chapter Two) the vision for the area is described as delivering 'an *urban renaissance* […] through the definition and development of a revitalised distinctive mixed use city quarter which is an efficient, accessible and vibrant place' (PDF, 2003: 7). As previewed in Chapter 2, this framework document is to 'complement' and 'integrate with' a number of other planning documents (PDF, 2003: 14). The 'policy context' of the PDF is presented as specifically adopting *Planning Policy Statement 1: Delivering Sustainable Development*, stating: 'Planning has a key role to play in the creation of sustainable communities: communities that will stand the test of time, where people want to live, and which will enable people to meet their aspirations and potential' (PDF, 2003: 19). Further, the 'planning principles' adopt a sustainable design statement attributed to the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) (2007): 'No building, space or place can be considered well designed if it does not contribute to environmental, social and economic sustainability. Conversely, no building, space or place can be considered sustainable if it is not well designed' (PDF, 2008: 7). The primary policy ambition of the case study is sustainable development.

The policy context and planning principles influence the development framework as set out in the document as including: housing; gateways, landmarks, views and vistas; movement (pedestrian, cycling, vehicle, public transport and parking); and streetscape and public realm. Streetscapes and public realm includes signage, lighting and 'public art and creative industries' (PDF, 2008: 55).

The specific targets of the office are listed on the regeneration map (URC annual report 2008/09: 11) as: seven hectares of brownfield land regeneration; 2,400 jobs created; 730 new homes developed; 23,400 meter square of office space; 6,300 of retail space; 3,000 of industrial space; 7,600 of hotel and leisure; 2,700 of civic space and 7,800 for food and drink. The inclusion of public art as part of the public realm development is part of the strategy to achieve these targets. In commissioning 'public art' the URC aims to:

> integrate artists' skills, vision and creative abilities into the whole process of creating new spaces and regenerating existing ones, in order to imbue development with a unique quality and to enliven and animate the space by creating a visually stimulating environment (PDF, 2008: 55).

With '*successful* public art' being specifically defined as that which:

> resonates with the site and context [that] creates an opportunity for all people using the space to engage with it and meets the intentions of the client, community and artist [contributing] to the urban regeneration of the wider area (PDF, 2008: 55).

The document, however goes on to state that there is 'no simple definition' of public art; but that it has one consistent quality, 'it is specific to the site and relates to the social and physical context of its surroundings and the wider area' (PDF, 2008: 55). By way of giving examples of the forms that public art can take, the document lists the following. Public art can:

- Be incorporated within a building structure or public open space
- Take the form of lighting, sound, performance or a physical work in two or three dimensions
- Introduce narrative or text, be decorative, humorous, challenging, beautiful, subtle or contentious
- Refer to heritage or celebrate the future, highlight specific areas and issues or be conceptual
- Be permanent or temporary, internal or external, integral or free standing, small scale or monumental (PDF, 2008: 55).

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

The document conveys a considered approach to the inclusion of art as part of the public realm programme, with a budget of £2.2 million 'to support the physical improvements to six streets in the immediate area of [the office]' (URC annual report 2008/09: 12).

The public art programme, due for completion within the term of the researcher's placement in September 2010, is being coordinated by Joe. Joe is referred to as the 'lead artist'. He is based in Berlin and trained as an architect. Joe works in close liaison with Terry, the project manager of the office. Joe and Terry both report to Scott, the Director of the office. Joe himself is making new lighting, and also a sculpture referred to as 'the pulpit'. Other artists and designers are making: seats to be placed in clusters at different points along the street; videos to be projected on one of the walls; and a sound work, that will be heard along the street and its immediate vicinity.

The map on the following page has been drawn to locate the office in relation to key projects and locations as will be introduced in the ethnography. It locates the office itself and the site office. The site office is a temporary office developed to coordinate the public realm programme, of which the public art programme is part. Of the public art programme, the 'pulpit sculpture' (as previously introduced in the interviews) is located on Elizabeth Street. The seats, lighting, video and sound works are clustered beside this sculpture and elsewhere along the street. During the ethnography Central Square is also being developed. This square is located on the left of the diagram. Other projects located on the map are: The Venue, a multi-use arts space completed by the office in 2008; the 'shiny sculpture' (as also introduced in the interviews), located in 'the gardens', a new public square completed by the office also in 2006; a studio building recently set up by artist, Vince; and a glass gallery being developed by Francis, and Economic Development Officer at the Local Authority (as also previously introduced in the interviews).

Julie Crawshaw. 2012
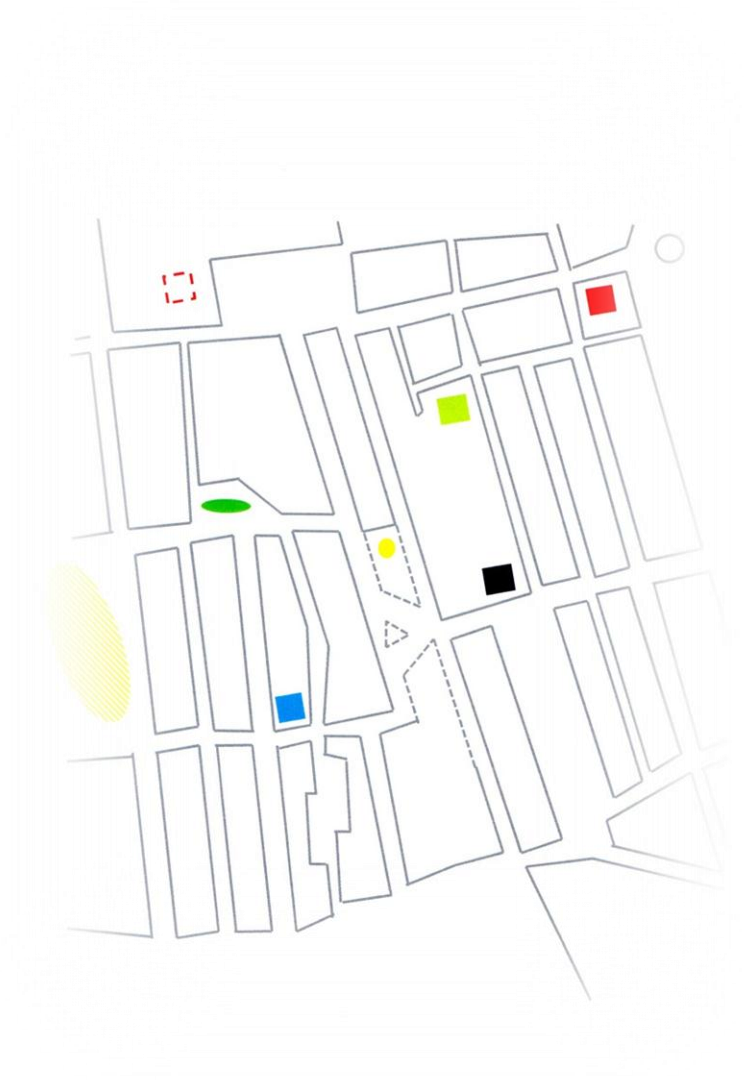
Figure 5 Ethnography: Locating the office and projects. JC, 2012.

 The office   Gallery 87 (artists' studios)   'Shiny sculpture'

 Site office   Gallery & glass studios   'Pulpit sculpture'

 Central Square   The Venue

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 6 Ethnography: View from the office. JC, 2010.

Photo 7 Ethnography: Near the office. JC, 2010.

Photo 8 Ethnography: The road where the office is located. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 9 Ethnography: Building for development into a gallery. JC, 2010.
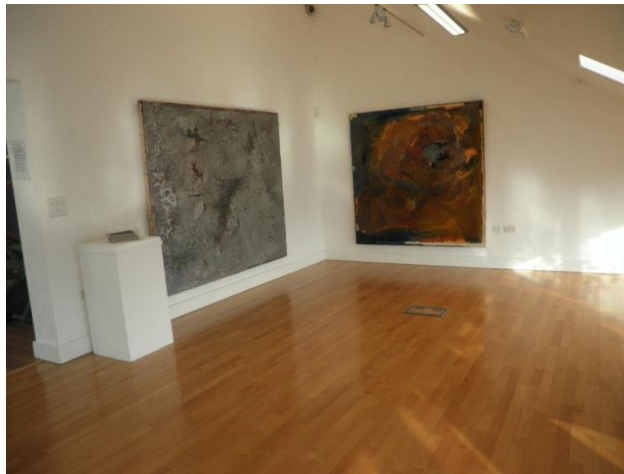
Photo 10 Ethnography: The gallery space inside The Venue. JC, 2010.

Photo 11 Ethnography: The 'shiny sculpture' in 'the gardens'. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 12 Ethnography: People walking past Gallery 87. JC, 2010.

Photo 13 Ethnography: The road where the site office is located. JC, 2010.

Photo 14 Ethnography: Paving being laid in front of 'the pulpit' sculpture. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 15 Ethnography: View of Central Square. JC, 2010.

Photo 16 Ethnography: View of Central Square. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

During her placement, the researcher undertook both a series of in-depth interviews with practitioners of the case study, as well as ethnographic observations of the day-to-day activities of her working environment. As the third stage of the empirical study, the interviews with the practitioners are represented in Chapter Four; here we are introduced to the case through the descriptions of practice, by the practitioners.

In articulating what they do, the practitioners utilise two registers. They use the ready-made language of policy: that regeneration can be understood in the terms of 'sustainability'; and also in terms of the 'soft' (social) and 'hard' (physical) dimensions. Practitioners, however, are frustrated by the limitations of this terminology; and also attempt to describe their experience through developing a vocabulary that articulates the micro movements of practice. In Scott's interview, for example he talks about the 'texture' and 'fine grain' of practice (Sunderland, 19.02.2010, p. 4). The practitioners struggle, however, to completely step outside of the official language. They often default to using the quick and known terms of policy.

As discussed in Chapter Two, instead of gaining access to the everyday processes of practice, theories of art as part of regeneration reproduce the terminology and discourses of policy. As illustrated in the interviews the actors also reproduce these official discourses. Further, the official language of 'sustainable communities' is distributed within documents referred to by practitioners, such as the PDF as used by the office.

Instead of adopting official language as a way of understanding practice, this ethnography rather offers the opportunity to describe practice as it happens on its own terms. Instead of adopting pre-made terminology, this ethnography contributes to the production of a new language to articulate the effects produced by art as part of regeneration; by tracing what is produced, as it is played out.

In order to support the better articulation of the agency of art as part of regeneration, through recalling her ethnographic observation, the researcher will now present her own descriptions of what happens during her time at the office. The researcher presents practice as she traces it, herself. In attempting to recreate her own close relationship with the ethnographic material, the researcher will now speak to you directly in the first person.

This is a description of what happened during my six-month research placement at the office of a regeneration project in the North of England. In May, June and July 2010 I was based at the office with my own desk. From this position as participant-observer, I was able to attend and record formal meetings, as well as the day-to-day incidental conversations and movements as part of the everyday office environment. During this first three-month period I was introduced to a number of projects which I then returned to observe at key points in their development during September, October and November 2010.

In June 2009, during my first evening in Stuttgart, I took part in a guided walk of the forest area surrounding the gardens of the *Akademie*. Instead of my experience of the *Akademie* being as I had pre-imagined as pre-made, I rather note that I enter an environment in-the-making. During this walk, my reception is altered from being pre-programmed, to being 'switched on' to engage with further experience. On entering this case study, I once again walk through the unknown in-the-making. My ambition is to re-describe my experience, for you, as closely and clearly as possible.

The narrative of the story is shaped by following Terry. Terry is the project manager at the office. He has responsibility for the projects involving artists and artworks, and is the actor with whom I spend the most time with. During the research period, Terry is focused on developing the Central Square and Elizabeth Street projects. Both of these projects involve Joe, as well as other artists, and many other practitioners. During my placement, I attended twenty-three meetings and also observed the day-to-day movements inside and outside of the office.

The ethnographic observations of the day-to-day operations of the work of the office generates much rich material. Through the ethnography I particularly trace: the development of the public realm programme located throughout Elizabeth Street; what is referred to as the 'shiny sculpture'; and the development of the 'iron filing' design details, as part of the re-design of Central Square. The sections of this chapter include descriptions of scenes in relation to these projects.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

In order to replicate the pace of my own introduction to the office; before re-presenting individual scenes, I will firstly narrate the first few days as they happen. In this introduction, as well as meeting new actors, you will also be re-introduced to some as Chapter Four: Terry, the Project Manager; Scott, the Director; Karen, the Administrator; Faye, the Deputy Director; and Sally, the Assistant Project Manager, also at the office; John, the Director of the URC; Joe, the lead artist; and Francis, an Economic Development Officer at the Local Authority.

5.1.2 The field description

Monday 10th May, 2010.

On the first day, Scott welcomes me warmly. The office is in a Georgian looking terrace house in the regeneration area. Left, at the top of the stairs is the office itself. To the right of the stairs is the meeting room. Scott takes me into the office area first. It is open plan with filing cabinets in the middle. It looks much like any other office that I have seen or worked in before.

Nearest the door are three desks. I say 'hello' to a young woman at the first desk. She introduces herself as Karen, and says it's nice to meet me, and that it will be nice to have somebody else in the office. She points to the desk opposite hers and says that she has set the computer up for me there. Scott gestures me out of the office and walks me to the meeting room. The wall nearest the door has an IKEA sink unit for tea and coffee making. Scott makes me a coffee and points out a list on the wall that shows how everyone likes their teas and coffees. Two members of the team join us and Scott makes them a drink. Terry introduces himself as the Project Manager, and Karen introduces herself as the administrator. Scott explains that there are another two members of staff, but they are out of the office. Sally, the Assistant Project Manager does not work on Mondays; and Faye, the Deputy Director, has been off work with a fractured leg for a while.

This is my first introduction to my new working environment. My observations are that there is nothing that suggests what happens here is particularly special or unusual. As with other office environments, people engage with small tasks. They make each other teas and coffees, and exchange incidental pleasant exchanges. I am now part of these incidental actions. In Chapter Four, I suggested that the office can be understood as something continuously in-the-making. I now see that the office is made of tiny movements that continuously shape and re-shape how things are done.

Scott invites Terry and Karen to join us in the meeting room. I suggest that I introduce myself, and say a little about my research and what I am doing there. Scott, Terry and Karen all nod and say that's a good idea. I let them know that I am doing a PhD at the University of Manchester; that I am looking at the role of art and the artist in regeneration. I explain that I will get a PhD in Planning, but my background isn't in planning.

Photo 17 Ethnography: The office building. JC, 2010.

Photo 18 Ethnography: Inside the office. JC, 2010.

Photo 19 Ethnography: My desk at the office. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 20 Ethnography: Inside the meeting room. JC, 2010.

Photo 21 Ethnography: The table in the meeting room. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

I explain that I trained as an artist and have worked in the visual arts for fifteen years. That I hadn't personally chosen the office. I had been directed there by people I had interviewed. When I came to interview Scott, I realised that it was an appropriate case and had asked if they would consider me being based there for a while. And that I was very grateful that they had agreed. I explained that I would like to observe meetings and probably interview everyone. Karen and Terry said that would be fine. Terry, however, added that some of his meetings would be about 'pavements and stuff' (Ethnography, 10.05.10, p. 1), and perhaps that wouldn't be very interesting for me.

I realise when making my introduction, that I edit myself to make my explanation as clear and concise as possible. I also observe my own presence. My interaction with the staff of the office, triggers further reactions. Their questions encourage me to be more reflexive. They offer an external gaze to my own work. When Terry voices his concern about 'pavements and stuff', I reflect on the very foundations of my research. I am at the office, I reflect, to trace art as part of the day-to-day fabric of regeneration. Rather than looking at art separately, as something special, I have purposefully based myself there to observe the making of art as part of the laying of pavements and other activities of construction.

I therefore respond to Terry's question by saying that, it will all be interesting to me. I asked Scott if he thought that I had covered everything, and he suggested that I say something about the evaluation consultancy that I had been doing, before starting the PhD programme.

Scott's suggestion offers me a further opportunity for fast reflection. I explain that, for the last five years or so, I had been evaluating projects for different clients that in some way all involved artists or artworks with a view to supporting community development or regeneration. I explain that I had been commissioned by arts councils, local authorities and environment agencies and had got increasingly frustrated with having to find what policy said art and artists did, rather than being able to account for what actually happened.

I say that the reason I had wanted to do the PhD was to document what really happens, rather than what policy says happens. After making this statement, I reflect on my approach. In order to find out what really happens, I am adopting an anthropological approach. Through this introductory interplay, I realise that my position as participant-observer cannot be independent. Instead my role is being co-constructed by myself amongst the assumptions and actions of my new colleagues. My role, as a researcher is

being framed as part of the creation of the research environment. As well as being part of the office, I am also part of the research in-its-making.

I arrive on the first day dressed as a 'professional'; hoping to look like the others. I also, however, put books on my desk, to somehow define myself as a researcher. I am aware that Scott is watching me. He tells me that he has books like that. I laugh and register that this is a signal from Scott to let me know that he sees himself as having an 'academic' role too. I look beyond the island of tall cabinets in the centre of the office and I can see that there are more desks at that end. I note that Scott sits over there, I am positioned beside more administrative staff, closer to the door.

Previously, in the interview materials, I referred to the 'political' nature of the office. Karen, in particular, references how her actions are to be reported to Scott, and how Terry seems to be the only staff member who works against this system (Karen, Sunderland, 19.07.10, p. 149). I now sense my own position within the office. I had been appointed by Scott at a time when his deputy, Faye, was away. Further, Sally, the Assistant Project Manager, wasn't working on my first day. I realised that I would want to try to develop the same level of relationship with all the staff; meaning that I would have to be 'political' myself. I would not want to be seen to have a 'special' relationship with the Director; but I knew, in reality, however that I would have to. In order to be invited to meetings and access documents, I would have to foster a close relationship with Scott, as the Director of the office. In the interviews, the 'big p' and 'little p' of politics is referred to. As part of the day-to-day of the office, I can now feel that I am amidst the 'little p'.

After this initial introduction, Scott takes me to meet John. John is the Director of the URC. His office is located ten minutes' drive away. Scott lets me know that John, the current Director, is 'very diplomatic, [and] is very good with politics' (Ethnography, 10.05.10, p.1). Scott explains that John has smoothed over some of the previous political difficulties, saying that he has 'built the relationships back with the council' after the previous Director left. Scott explains that the previous Director had a 'big p influence', but also tells me that there are a lot of 'small p politics'.

In the interviews, Francis refers to the interplay of the 'big p' and 'small p' of everyday practice (Francis, Sunderland, 09.06.10, p. 5). That to get what you want at the policy level, you need to perform a set of 'small p' movements to influence the policy framework.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

As part of his introduction to the environment Scott is also now talking about political influence, and how important it is that John is diplomatic and 'good with politics'.

After this prologue, Scott tells me about the projects of the office. He tells me it is easier to describe the projects to me as the business plan is in his head. He tells me that 'the gardens' were the first to be completed a few years ago. 'The gardens' is the name used by professionals for the public square near the office. Included, as part of the development of the gardens, is a 'shiny sculpture'. Current projects being undertaken include the development of 'the public realm programme' (Ethnography, 10.05.10, p.2). This is a £2.2 million programme, of which £400,000 is being spent on public artwork. The office is also developing a number of sites, including: a crypt of 409 bodies; a Travelodge hotel; hostels; a business forum; a commercial property grants scheme; and acquisitions of buildings. In addition to these projects, the city council has commissioned the office to develop Central Square, which is outside of the office regeneration area. Central Square is another public square to be re-developed opposite the entrance to the main shopping centre.

Fitting with Hildreth's definition of regeneration as 'holistic' (2007: 227), this introduction to the work of the office is extremely varied. I felt secure about my selection of this place as the case study. I had confidence that the office would offer a rich opportunity to trace art as part of a regeneration programme; in this case as reported in support of 'sustainable development' (PDF, 2003: 19).

Scott explains that he understands the work of the office to be about 'building bridges through social connections […] through the cultural offer' (Ethnography, 10.05.10, p.2). He adds that in the 'back of his mind' is to have 'artists as catalysts of social enterprise'. I note that, as in the interviews, Scott is using pre-made policy terminology to describe the work of the office. I wonder how I will notice what he describes as the 'cultural offer' or 'social enterprise'.

As well as within policy discourse, this is also the language reproduced within the discourses of 'culture-led regeneration' (as Chapter Two). As if reading my own reflections, Scott continues by saying that regeneration is about 'relationships and context', and that there is a big distinction between strategy versus delivery. You need to look at things 'differently and more holistically' (Ethnography, 10.05.10, p.3), to see what is good for an area.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

When John, the Director of the Regeneration Company is eventually available to meet us, I ask him about his understanding of the work of the URC. Rather than talking about the strategic 'big p' policy framework, instead John describes the company as a French/English dictionary, saying 'we translate between the public and private sector' (Ethnography, 10.05.10, p.4). He explains that everyone has 'a different story of regeneration'. 'Well', he qualifies, 'it is the same story, but a different language'.

As Jones and Evans explain, URCs themselves do not have significant resources. Their role is to attract investment to realise the masterplan for the area; they act to 'bring the other agents together' (2008: 18). As the Director of a URC, John articulates this acting role as one of 'translation'.

When we get back to the office, Terry takes me on a walk round the area. We walk for a few minutes to Studio 87, a building containing artists' studios, on Neville Street. Vince, the artist who set it up, is there. There are three other people. Two men with a dog are sat on a sofa, and one woman is walking about. There is a shiny new looking bike in the studio. A man in his fifties led us in, and points to his paintings. There are ten studio spaces. Vince shows us an image on his camera of a spray painting that he had done on a wall somewhere in the area.

Whilst at the *Akademie*, I visited artists' studios and their domestic spaces in order to interview them. In my previous professional capacity I have also visited a range of studios. Some have been purpose built with a pristine gallery feel about them. Some have been more roughly constructed; usually a larger space carved into individual spaces for each artist. This is a roughly constructed space. As at the *Akademie*, I register the amount of activity in such a space. There is furniture, temporary walls, a sink area, a kitchen, and piles of personal items belonging to each artist in their individual spaces. There are people, an animal and cups of tea and coffee moving amongst them. Standing in the space as a researcher, rather than a professional, I sense it feels noisy. I recognise that I am once again 'switched on' to processes-of-making. As noted in Chapter Two, Jones and Evans (2008: 2) state that 'cities are never finished objects'. This studio, as part of the city, is not a finished 'object' it is in-the-making.

After leaving the studio, we walk further up the same road. Terry says 'hello' to two women and a man at the front of one building. He explains that the building is a music recording studio. He says a casual 'hello' to a few other people. At the end of the street he points to the corner building, and explains that this is going to be a gallery and studios for glass artists. The building looks like a disused garage. It is boarded up with shutters on the windows.

I realise that this street is occupied by a number of what Vickery (2007: 20) describes as 'artist-led' projects: studios for visual artists and also for musicians. From the literature, I am aware of the well-documented phenomena of 'gentrification': where the occupation of artists and other creative practitioners develop an emergent community supporting the development of galleries as well as cafés and restaurants. Those developments, in turn, raise property values; out-pricing the very artists and others who animated the area in the first instance. I wonder how these emergent galleries and studios will affect this area.

Tuesday 11th May, 2010.

I am away from the office, teaching at the University of Manchester.

Wednesday 12th May, 2010.

At 10am Scott comes to my desk to say that we are going out on a press tour. We walk around to Gallery 87, where I had been the previous day with Terry. Sam, a journalist, interviews Scott. In his interview, Scott describes what the office is doing as 'sustainability through social enterprise' (Ethnography, 12.05.10, p. 18). In repeating this statement from the first day, I reflect that in his interview Scott had described the work of the office as 'fine grain'. In describing the work of the office in formal settings, rather than using 'fine grain' as a term, he rather uses the terminology of policy; that of 'sustainability' and 'social enterprise'.

Joe arrives at the office from Berlin. That evening I go for dinner with Joe, Scott and Terry. We talk about the various projects that Joe is currently involved with before discussing the Central Square project that he is here to attend meetings about. There is quite a lively exchange between Scott, Joe and Terry. Terry explains that he and Joe have discussed including some text on what he describes as 'iron filings'. The 'iron filings' are metal floor plates to be installed within the new paving as proposed as part of the re-design of Central Square. They are being made as part of the physical re-development of the

square. The 'iron filings', I learn, are a central feature of Joe's proposal for the design of the square, and that they may possibly commission another artist to develop this in collaboration with him.

Scott, however, doesn't seem convinced by this idea, asking: 'Why would people want to see random pieces of text?' (Ethnography, 12.05.10, p. 11). He asks them to explain what the idea is behind it; and whether they have thought about involving the residents of the nearby high rise tower block. He says that residents look down on to the square from where they live.

This short exchange beautifully introduces the area of concern. In this exchange, no one talks about 'regeneration', 'renewal', 'community sustainability' or 'cohesion'. What *is* described, however, is a concern for the interface between people and the physical environment; and between private and public worlds. The re-design of the square presents itself as a vehicle for exploring these spaces, boarders and boundaries. Instead of the 'iron filings' simply being physical objects made as part of the built environment, Scott is suggesting that they can encourage the residents of the tower block to connect with the public space of the square. That the 'iron filings' can drive the translation process of regeneration by making connections between the private space of the residents and the public realm.

Joe and Terry do not respond to this question about involving the community, rather they explain that the 'iron filings' will look similar to manhole covers. Rather than being round however, the 'iron filings' will be a rectangular shape. Some will have a function as lighting, or to fix furniture. To secure them and make the lights work, the 'iron filings' that are being used as lighting or in conjunction with the furniture, will have fixings and other technical equipment below the pavement surface. Some 'iron filings', explain Joe and Terry, however, will have no function. That means that there will be nothing in the space underneath them.

Joe explains that he likes 'the idea that some of them will just have space; that there will be nothing there, but people won't know that' (Ethnography, 12.05.10, p. 8). Scott responds by saying, 'I think this is a bit of that arty rubbish'. 'Over here', he says gesturing with his hands to the left, 'is the community text stuff, and the other side is arty rubbish [with his hand stretched to the right]. We need to be somewhere in between the two'.

I note that this suspicion of the work of artists has been previously considered within the interviews with the staff of the office. That there is a suspicion of artists as being 'charlatans' (Karen, Sunderland, 19.07.10, p. 81). It seems significant that Scott is comfortable in referring to 'arty rubbish' in conversation with the artist himself. Scott is not treating Joe as special. He is rather talking to Joe as he would any other member of staff at the office. It also seems significant that he refers to 'community text stuff'. That this 'community' approach to art, is not the type of artwork that he would like to see included as part of the programme.

Over this informal dinner setting, I have been introduced to Joe for the first time. As Joe is the lead artist on both of the projects involving artworks currently being developed by the office, he is of specific interest to me. Instead of Joe, as the artist, presenting his ideas for Central Square, as complete; instead I observe a discussion between Terry, Scott and Joe, in the collective development of ideas. Between the conversations of these professionals, I witness art as a collective process.

I am also introduced to the 'iron filings' for the first time. The effects of the agency of the iron filings are previewed here, in advance of the scenes-to-come. In this scene, the discussion about *how* the objects will be made, acts as a catalyst for Scott's reflection on *who* the re-development of the square is for. Scott asks whether Joe and Terry have considered involving the residents of the high rise. I wonder what further effects will be enacted through the agency of these objects.

We are at the restaurant from 6pm until 10pm. Terry gives me a lift home. He tells me where he lives and a bit about his personal life. I note that this forty-five minute ride is quite an intimate experience, and I presume that I will develop quite a close relationship with Terry over the coming months.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 22 Ethnography: Tower block over-looking Central Square. JC, 2010.

Photo 23 Ethnography: Central Square. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

5.1.3. Analysis of the field

Guided by ANT anthropological methods, in reflecting on the description of the first few days, the following actors with agency can be listed as: Karen, the office Administrator; Scott, The Director of the office; Terry, the project manager; Joe, the lead artist; John, the Director of the URC; Vince, an artist who set up the artists' studios; and the journalist, Sam – as humans; there are also other artists in the studios and people that Terry says hello to on the street; and the 'iron filings' (the metal floor plates to be installed on the floor of the Central Square development) – as a non-human actor. I also observe the pre-made policy-based terminology being adopted by actors, including: 'cultural offer', 'social enterprise' and 'sustainability'; and the emergent practice-based terminology as 'translation'.

After listing the actors I can now undertake preliminary reflections on their associations. In observing the original 'map' (as Diagram 5.1), as drawn to introduce the case study, we can re-sketch observations, as based on the analysis of the field notes. In support of analysis, I will re-sketch observations against this map:

Observation 1: The office – *as* relationships

Observation 2: Studio 87 - *as* relationships
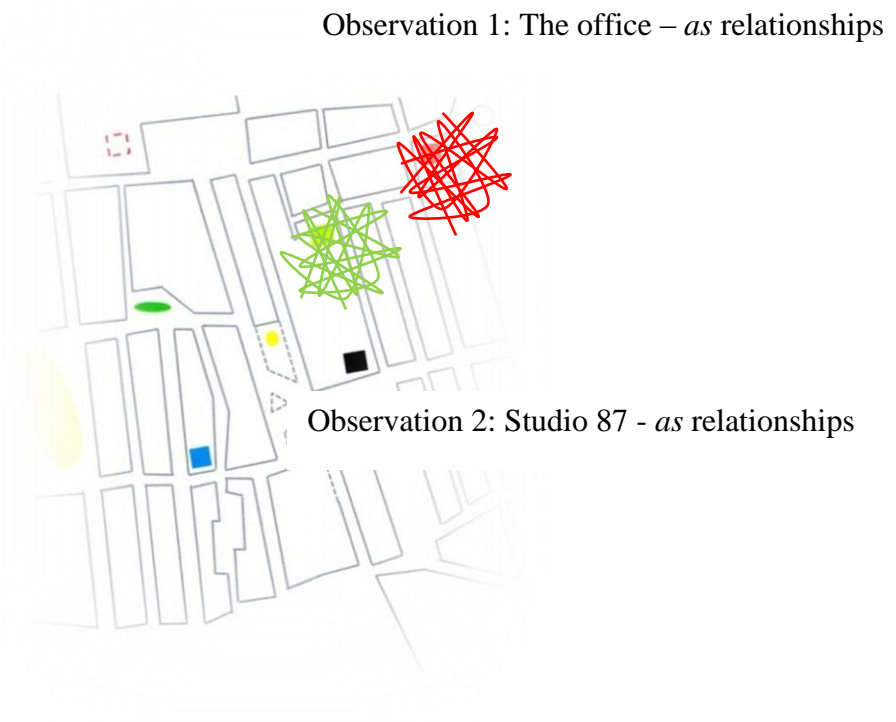
Figure 6 Ethnography: Analytic observations 1 & 2. JC, 2012.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

The first three observations are based on human and non-human relationships. As introduced by what the staff *said* about the office in their interviews (as Chapter Four); I now experience the micro interactions of my colleagues in our workplace. Firstly, in the terms of Jones and Evans (2008), 'the office' is not an object made as-finished; rather it is a set of complex relationships continually acted out between the staff and other human actors amongst their physical and conceptual environment. Instead of being told about the ways in which the staff work together, I can now feel my position being co-created through my actions amongst those of others (Observation 1). Similarly to the office, rather than Studio 87 being static, it is alive with movement between the artists and the objects of the environment (Observation 2). Through observing the micro movements of the everyday, I particularly notice how the official language of policy is played out. In the interviews, I had previously noted that the staff use terms such as 'social cohesion'. In the ethnography I am now able to trace these terms as part of the movements of the scene. My third relational observation is that the case study itself is framed as 'political' relationships; the terms 'big p' and 'little p' are used by the actors to describe what they do; and I have felt part of the 'little p'.

Observation 3: The 'big p' and 'little p'- relationships
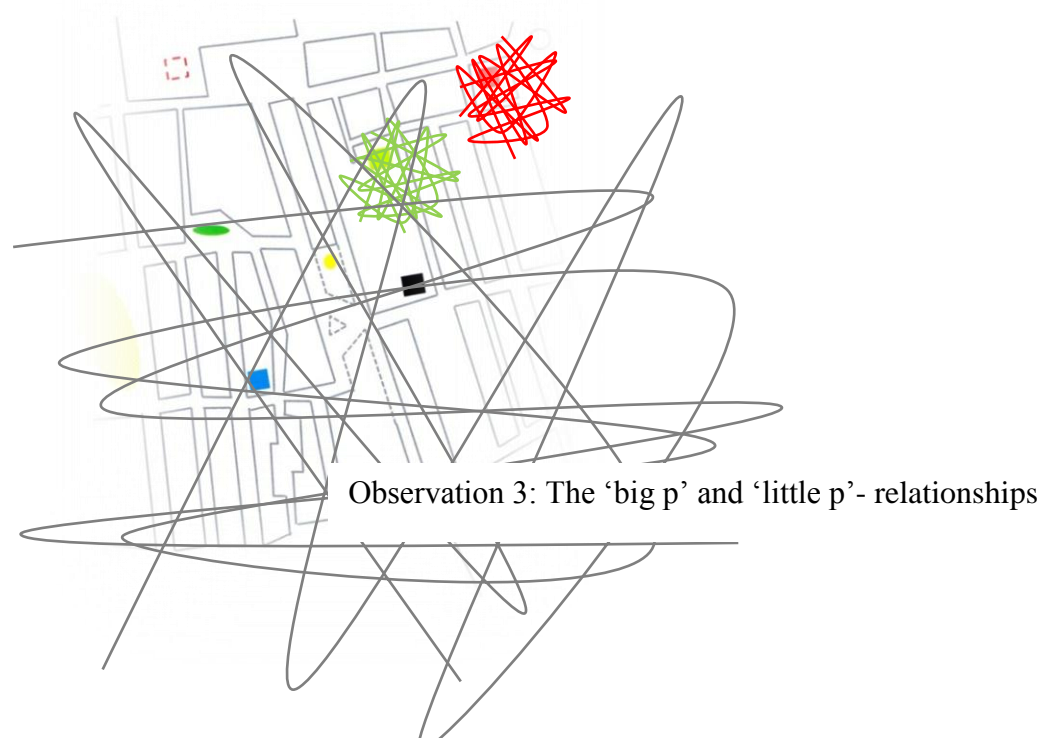
Figure 7 Ethnography: analytic observation 3. JC, 2012.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Observation 4: 'Iron filings' – as actors
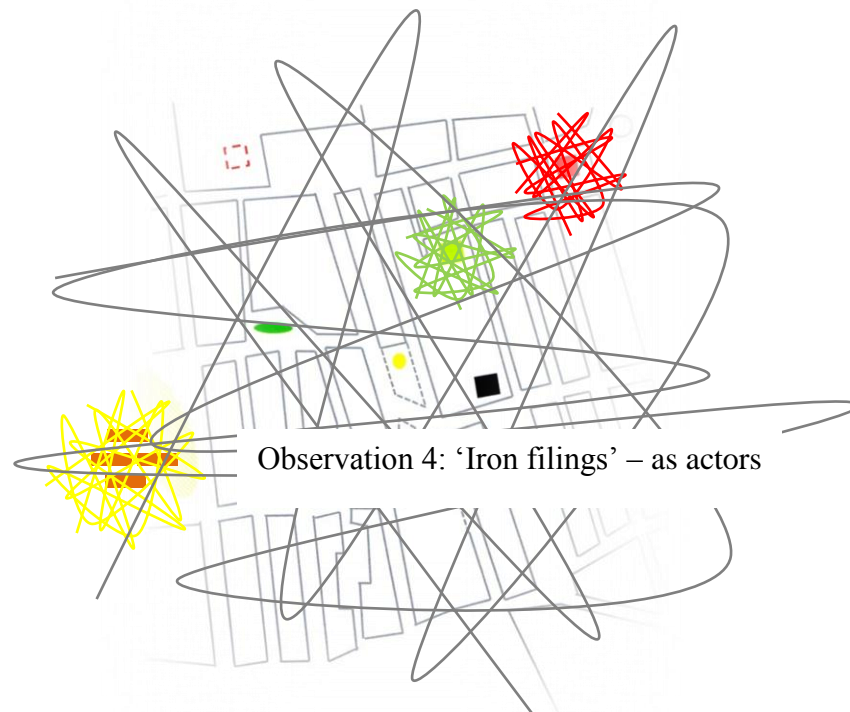
Figure 8 Ethnography: Analytic observation 3. JC, 2012.

My final observation is that the 'iron filings', the design details to be made as part of the Central Square development, are previewed as actors. In discussing how they are made, the discussion moves to reflecting on who the development of Central Square is for. The 'iron filings' become possible bridges of communication between the private space of the residents of the tower block and public space of the square.

In considering the experience of the first few days, emergent questions are formed for further consideration in the ethnography: (1) How are the relational associations between humans and non-human actors enacted? (2) What are the effects of these associations? (3) How do non-human actors become agents able to effect change? (4) How do the 'political' relations between humans and non-humans play out?

5.2 A sculpture made: experiencing its continued career

5.2.1 The field description

Thursday 13th May 2010.

As it is a sunny day, after an earlier meeting at the foundry, Joe, Terry, and myself decide to sit in 'the gardens' to eat our breakfast. Joe picks up two empty lager cans that are on the ground next to us. He puts them in the bin. There are other actors in the scene: a young 'punky' looking woman is walking two pit bull-type dogs in front of us. We talk about the previous meeting of the day. Joe says that he thought it went really well. He then remarks on the sunlight in the gardens. He particularly remarks on the different colours that are being reflected off the 'shiny sculpture' on to the ground.

Prior to its re-development, 'the gardens' was reported to have become run down and identified as a 'key investment to signal the change happening in the wider area and raise perceptions and confidence' (*Capturing the Impact of Quality of Place Investments: Year 3 Report*: 43). Completed in 2006, it is reported to have 'had a clear impact on the level of business and investor interest' (*Capturing the Impact of Quality of Place Investments: Year 3 Report*: 44), with twenty new businesses opening on and around the scheme's completion. Based on a local business perceptions survey, it is proposed that the gardens has led to an enhanced local image, with a significant share of the respondents perceiving improvements in 'quality of life, social cohesion and civic pride' (*Capturing the Impact of Quality of Place Investments: Year 3 Report*: 50). In improving the quality of the built environment the gardens are understood to have serviced the economic investment ambitions of the office, as well as successfully delivering against quality of life and social cohesion agendas.

'The gardens' is an area of planting and low level granite seating. It includes a 'shiny sculpture' at one end and a sculptural water fountain at the other. I am sat on one of the raised seating areas near the shiny sculpture. We are all eating our late breakfast sandwiches.

As outlined in Chapter Three, the design of this research takes an experiential perspective. As Dewey (1934: 68) suggests, instead of an artwork being understood as an 'instantaneous emission', this thesis adopts the perspective that artworks rather have a 'career', as processes constructed in time.

Taking note of my experience of the sculpture; as I sit in the square, I myself notice the light being cast from the sculpture on to the surrounding pavement. I note that the object, rather than being solid seems more so to be fluid. Its shapes move in shadows amongst the cracks in the pavement. I observe the 'mediating' effects of the shadow re-forming the landscape. The shadow draws lines across the grass, the pavement and on to the road, re-shaping the landscape. In *The Social Life of Things*, Appadurai suggests that even if from a theoretical point of view we understand human actors to encode things with significance, from a methodological view it is the 'things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context' (1986: 5). As a human in the scene, I recognise that I am 'switched on' to the environment by what both Dewey (1934) and Appadurai (1986: 15) describe as the 'career' of the sculpture. The sculpture as a thing-in-motion, has ignited reflection in myself, to take account of my surroundings.

Photo 24 Ethnography: The 'shiny sculpture' in 'the gardens'. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

In the terms of the office, this sculpture and the square itself are completed. They have been signed off the working lists. They are not included on Gantt charts or other working plans. Other projects that I trace within the ethnography, however, are still being made. 'The pulpit' and other public artworks on Elizabeth Street are nearing completion; and Central Square is at the initial stages of its development. Appadurai suggests that if we regard commodities, as having 'life histories', 'it becomes useful to look at the distribution of knowledge at various points in their careers' (1986: 41). This project is officially recorded as-finished. Sitting in the square, however, I still feel the sculpture's continuing effects.

Inspired by the experience of that day, I return to the gardens on my own with my camera a few weeks later. I spend more time considering the sculpture and the built environment. In considering architecture, Guattari (1994: 2) suggests that by 'constantly refusing all systematic labelling we may begin to locate some evolutionary becomings'. Instead, therefore, of looking for art, pre-defining the sculpture *as* a sculpture; in tracing the movements of the square, I rather try to trace things as they become what they are. I sit near the sculpture again. This time I face the water fountain. It is quite hot. I see children and adults playing with the water. The children run through it, splashing and laughing. The children move. The water moves. The sunlight moves. The movements hit the sculpture which reflects the movement back on the square. Through this re-casting I become part of the movement, even though I am still.

As Guattari's discussion of architecture (1994) rather than this environment being understood as static it rather moves and 'mutates'. The movements change the shape of the square. Through sitting and watching, and experiencing the movement myself, I see what Guattari describes as 'multifaceted assemblages' (1994: 2). Instead of observing individual people, individual elements of a physical landscape, and the natural environment, separately; I rather see an assemblage of associations between people, the square and the natural environment.

In the interviews Karen describes the new seats to be installed on Elizabeth Street beside 'the pulpit'. Karen gives these seats a personality. She says they are 'Rrrrrr' (Case study city, 19.07.10, p. 147); they are male and macho. The seats become their personality through Karen's reaction to them, they ignite reflections within Karen that are reflected on the seats to make their personality. Their personality is made via a series of associations between Karen and the objects. In the gardens I am observing this in-motion.

181

In the square, rather than see sculpture-as-sculpture, buildings-as-buildings, and people-as-people, as-made; I observe how multiple personalities take shape. How the sculpture and the square, instead of being individual elements can instead be regarded as what Guattari, when discussing the architecture of Shin Takamatsu, calls a 'becoming machine' (1994: 3). In its continued *becoming*, because we note that this sculpture and this new urban environment is finished, the mutations between materials unite the actors as one. Instead of individual characters, I observe a stage of humans and non-humans in-motion.

Photo 25 Ethnography: People near the water features in 'the gardens'. JC, 2010.

Photo 26 Ethnography: People near the water features in 'the gardens'. JC, 2010.

Photo 27 Ethnography: Playing with the water fountain #1. JC, 2010.

Photo 28 Ethnography: Playing with the water fountain #2. JC, 2010.

Photo 29 Ethnography: Playing with the water fountain #3. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

5.2.2. Analysis of the field

In once again taking inspiration from ANT, I can list the actors in the scene: myself, Terry, Joe and a 'punky woman' – as human actors; and an empty lager tin, two dogs, a sculpture, the seating and sunlight – as non-human actors. I list them, not because I am interested in them as individuals, but because I am interested in tracing the associations between actors.

Observation 5: shiny sculpture – *as* mutations

Figure 9 Ethnography: Analytic observations 5 and 6. JC, 2012.

In order to better articulate the experience of the scene I have drawn on the work of Appadurai (2004) and Guattari (1994). Once again, through reflecting on the original 'map' I can now re-sketch a further two observations. When sitting in the square (as a human) I experience a set of relational associations with the (non-human) sculpture and water fountain design feature.

184

Firstly, (Observation 5) through its relationship with the sunlight, I trace the sculpture mutate across the square. Instead of me being in the square sitting next to a sculpture as-completed, I rather observe the ongoing career of associations produced by the sculpture, as a non-human actor. The effects of the sculpture are produced through relationships enacted on stage: with both the human and non-human actors in the square.

In the earlier notes I record the experience of a dinner with Scott and Joe. At the dinner we talk about the 'iron filings'. Ignited by our discussion about how the 'iron filings' will be made, Scott asks whether this is an opportunity to involve the residents of the high rise in the project. Scott's question is one of specifically inviting the residents to get involved with the making of the new public space; through making decisions about the 'iron filings', such as what text could be put on them. Scott's question mirrors the expectations of policy: that the making of artworks can be ways to engage 'the public'.

When at the *Akademie* I observed how Nevaeh's 'inside' was changed by the manipulation of her drawing materials. When making an artwork, as an artist, she was engaged in self-reflection. As with Scott at the dinner, in subsequent interviews, I heard professionals describe how they had observed the reflective effects of art making; how they had seen how the process of others making artworks with artists also engaged them as participants in reflection, as non-artists.

In this scene I have been sitting in a 'completed' square next to a 'finished' artwork. Before visiting the square, I might have assumed that my opportunity for forming a relationship with the sculpture was over; my opportunity for reflection on myself through participating in its production, was long gone. That, as-completed, the 'in practice' mode would be over. Furthermore, as a public work, neither could I engage with it as a commodity to consume.

As an actor within the experience of the micro-climate of the square I have however been engaged. When sitting in the square to eat my breakfast with the others, I did not intend to have an experience. Through experiencing the mutations of the sculpture, however, I have become an actor on the stage. The sculpture is still in practice, as a non-human actor. As a non-human, the sculpture has 'switched on' my capacity to act, as a human. It is a continuous process of 'switching on' human and non-human actors.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

5.3 Elizabeth Street: art as part of regeneration

5.3.1 The field description

Thursday 20th May, 2010.

At 10am Terry invites me to what he calls a 'site meeting' with himself and Sally, the Assistant Project Manager. A 'site' is a particular physical area. The site these meetings focus on is Elizabeth Street and the surrounding area. The Elizabeth Street site is where the public realm programme is focused; and where the 'pulpit sculpture' as well as new seats, lighting, a sound work and video projections will be installed. The site meeting is where the construction of the site is managed; in terms of being kept to time, budget and to design specifications. The core members of the meeting group are: Terry and Sally; representatives of the construction company undertaking the day-to-day installation of the work on the site; an engineer; and then specialists and others as required.

Site meetings take place every week. At each meeting the site manager of the construction company gives Terry a progress report. This report items the progress of each area of the site, including Elizabeth Street. The second item is the programme schedule, illustrating the delivery of the works on a week-to-week basis (against a Gantt chart). Any delays or disruptions are listed. Any health and safety incidents are then detailed, such as accidents on site. There is then an item for services; such as gas, water or electricity supplies. The final items are then a list of the suppliers of materials and a list of subcontractors for specific 'works packages'. For example in *Progress Report No. 10* (30.06.10: 4) the material items are listed as: concrete, kerbs, mortar, sub-base, pipe bedding, drainage, flagging, granite flags, sandstone, grout, tarmac, covers and frames, zenith furniture, signs and high-strength mortar. The works packages are listed as: street lighting, tarmac, projector, stools and bins, white lining, stonework and sound system.

Joe isn't visiting from Berlin, so isn't attending. Terry explains that these meetings are scheduled regularly to discuss the public realm programme focused around Elizabeth Street.

Terry gives me a high visibility jacket and hard hat. He says that if we go on to the site, I will have to wear them. As I expect that wearing the jacket will make me feel closer to experiencing the role of the practitioners, I hope that I get the opportunity to put them on.

Myself, Terry and Sally walk just around the corner from the office to the site office. The site office has a lot of architectural plans round the walls and a lot of street signage piled up on the floor. Against one wall, there is also a stack of cardboard boxes. Terry explains that these are the new seats to be installed on Elizabeth Street. Like when in the gardens, I again recall the personality of the 'new seats' as described by Wendy in her interview. Wendy, the office administrator had described them as 'Rrrrrrrr' (19.07.10, p. 147). As if these objects have 'physiognomies' like people (Gell, 1998: 15). I had noted that Wendy was relating to the seats as being male. Rather than mute objects, I rather now see these objects as little personalities, waiting to be released onto the pavements of the city. Like the 'shiny sculpture', once positioned they will continue to effect the environment; drawing people toward them and influencing their experience of the city.

For my benefit, everyone introduces themselves round the table. Paul explains that he is a specialist lighting technician. Sam, a city council engineer tells me that he 'spends Stuart's money!' and James introduces himself as 'R. E.' I ask what that stands for. He says 'religious education!' (Ethnography, 20.05.10, p. 34). Everyone laughs. He then says 'resident engineer'. I note that there is humour in these meetings, and wonder whether this is something that is active in other meetings that I will attend. Simon, the site manager, also introduces himself.

After the introductions and general preparations for getting the meeting started, I realise how visible I am. I have been asked where I want to sit and I have been introduced, as having a role as a researcher. In this meeting, and all subsequent meetings I try and be as invisible as possible. I try and do this by limiting my eye contact with those round the table, and looking at my note book whilst attempting to write down every word and activity. I am visible, however, and my being there does influence what happens, as an actor in the story. Occasionally people reference me, or even ask me to contribute ideas.

Terry directs the meeting. He uses this week's *Progress Report* to order the discussion. To begin the meeting there is an exchange about 'sorting out' manhole covers. They then discuss when they will be paving certain streets, as well as 'pipe work', 'back filling', 'concrete block work' and 'double yellow lines' (Ethnography, 20.05.10, p. 35).

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 30 Ethnography: Site office – plans on the wall. JC, 2010.
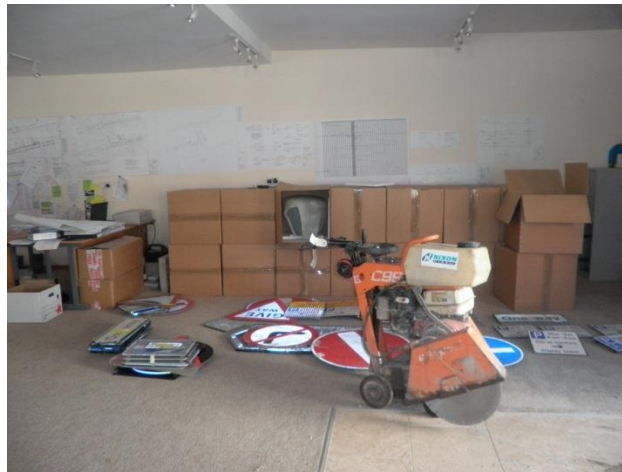
Photo 31 Ethnography: Site office – boxes of 'new seats' piled up. JC, 2010.

Photo 32 Ethnography: Site office – meeting table. JC, 2010.

Terry says that he can remember a difficulty in sourcing yellow paint had been itemised in an earlier progress report. Sam says that there is a 'worldwide shortage of canary yellow', but explains that he can get 'deep cream'. I think about the story that Joe had told me in my interview with him, about how the 'pulpit sculpture' had come to be made out of granite. The granite had come on a boat from China. I presume that a similarly complex set of world events were at play in terms of the shortage of canary yellow paint. In Gell's (1998: 29) terms, the yellow paint, is acting as an 'agent' with the construction workers as its 'patients'. Instead of the construction workers directing the paint, instead the paint is directing the construction workers.

Terry asks if the deep cream is 'compliant'. I presume Terry is meaning compliant, in terms of the listed status of the area. Simon says, 'yes, it's yellow, Oxfordshire uses it' (Ethnography, 20.05.10, p. 36). Terry responds, saying, 'well, I don't mind what yellow it is, as long as it's lighter, to fit in with the conservation area'. Simon says, 'well, to me, cream is white!', and goes on to explain that they had previously tried to lighten the standard bright yellow with 'sachets' (Ethnography, 20.05.10, p. 36), but that it hadn't worked.

That the construction workers had attempted to mix their own paint colour intrigues me. I reflect on Paul's interview when he talks about what he does, as an artist, as being '*like* when you have to mix your own pigment' (Sheffield, 13.07.10, p. 173). That he *isn't* mixing paint; rather he uses this traditional understanding of the artist as a metaphor for what he actually does. In making the city, what these actors do, *is* mix paint. Instead of the construction workers driving the story, however, it is the story of the paint itself that influences what is happening in this scene. Instead of the 'patient' of the yellow paint being Joe as the artist, rather the construction workers are the recipients of the influence of the paint.

The discussion then turns to the 'flagging'. Whether they have enough York stone to finish the job, or whether more should be ordered. Terry then updates everyone against an action point from the previous minutes. He tells everyone that they are 'cracking on with the LEDs in 'smokers' corner''. He then says, 'we need to think about the artwork stuff', then pauses briefly and says, 'there is one issue, the bins […] the people have let us down…' (Ethnography, 20.05.10, p. 37). Simon asks what the new bins are made of. Terry says that they are painted steel, so that they'll look like the 'frigger poles' and that they are 'quite sleek'.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

In the *Artworks Masterplan (2008-10)* the lights that are being developed by Joe are called *Helonimbus Lightpoles*. In the site meetings, however, the new lights are referred to as 'the friggers'. Specifically as the 'frigger poles' and the 'frigger heads'. As one side of Elizabeth Street is permanently in shadow, these lights have been designed to create light not only at night, but also during the day. The lighting 'heads' are made of mirrored segments which bounce light across the street, described in the masterplan document as 'an urban theatre of gathered luminosity and thrown reflections both mysterious and unique to draw people along the street from the city centre'. The 'poles' are tall slim stems on which the lights hang from.

What is referred to here as 'smokers' corner', I clarify, is the location of the sculpture that is attributed to Joe. The sculpture is referred to as 'the pulpit'. 'The friggers' will also be installed in this location. Terry goes on to explain that the bins are 100 litres; so they will 'fit pizza boxes!' 'And Greggs wrappers!', says Ian. These meetings are not only concerned with what we might assume, such as the sculptures, the new seats and the lighting. But also the more mundane urban artefacts such as bins, and what will fit in them.

These site meetings are the main project management framework for what was introduced to me by Scott on the first day as a £400,000 investment in public artworks as part of the £2.2 million public realm programme. Rather than the artworks being especially discussed, rather they are embedded in the general discussion of the fabrication of the city. In fact, rather than being described as special, they are referred to as 'stuff' in the same sentence as discussing the bins. What seems to be the most significant concern of those around the table, is not the artworks; it is the rubbish. The focus of this part of the discussion is that the bins in this area are large enough to fit pizza boxes and sandwich wrappers.

Instead of the location being labelled in connection to the artworks being made there, it is rather called 'smoker's corner'. The name has evolved from the day-to-day use of the space. The employees of the large department store next to this location use this area to smoke in during their lunchtime break.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 33 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street – the 'frigger poles'. JC, 2010.

Photo 34 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street – the 'frigger poles'. JC, 2010.

Photo 35 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street – bases of the 'frigger poles'. JC, 2010.

Photo 36 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street – bases of the 'frigger poles'. JC, 2010.

Terry, 'there's still a bit of fiddling to do at my end, to make sure that everything comes together. I'll not put the projectors up until September, and that can be done by sub-contractors' (Ethnography, 20.05.10, p. 38). Terry finishes his contribution by saying, 'that's it from me'.

I note that the term 'fiddling about' is an incidental term. It does not convey great skill or importance. It does not feel that this work is precious, over and above any of the other work being undertaken by the office. Instead the tasks undertaken to make the public artworks are part of all the other tasks.

Photo 37 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street – 'The pulpit sculpture'. JC, 2010.
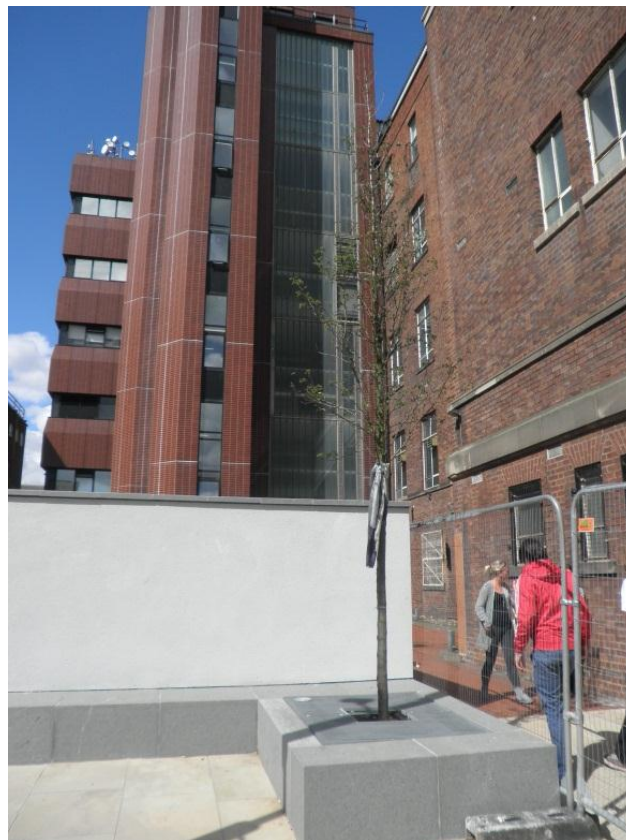
Photo 38 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street – the tree in 'smokers' corner'. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Myself, Terry and Sally leave the site office and walk round to 'smokers' corner'. 'Smokers' corner' isn't a corner. It is an area set back from the road in a gap created by a back alley behind the department store. There is wire fencing round 'the pulpit'. We put on our hard hats and jackets. I feel like I have put on a costume to play a role in this scene. To capture this reflection, while photographing the scene, I also photograph myself wearing the high visibility construction clothing.

Photo 39 Ethnography: Me – the participant-observer. JC, 2010.

When we are there, we bump in to Simon, the principle site manager. Terry let him know that he had noticed that the trim is the wrong colour outside of the pub round the corner. Terry also mentions that the tree in 'smokers' corner', where we are standing, is the wrong size. He says he will have to send a picture to the 'artist-guy' (Ethnography, 20.05.10, p. 38), as the projection might have to be moved up a bit. There is a projected artwork planned for the wall facing the back of the department store.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Terry, referring to the 'artist guy', rather than 'the artist' seems significant. It seems that by adding the word 'guy', he is attempting to make the term more palatable or generic. In the earlier scene at the restaurant, I heard Scott respond to Joe's ideas as that 'arty rubbish'. This restaurant scene built on the interview material where Karen and Faye talked of the suspicion surrounding artists as being 'charlatans'. Here Terry seems to be trying to integrate the word into everyday language and proceedings. That artists aren't special, instead they are part of the design team. They are like anyone else.

Thursday 30th June, 2010.
At 2pm Scott asks to give me an update on 'the friggers'. They have just been installed in Elizabeth Street. He says he is 'really pleased with 'the friggers''. He sounds relieved that they have been installed successfully. He then says, 'Joe knows what he is doing, I'm so jealous!' (Ethnography, 30.06.10, p. 122).

Instead of Scott being suspicious of Joe, or referring to 'arty rubbish', as he did in the restaurant to Joe directly. In this scene, privately, Scott rather shares his admiration for what he understands to be Joe's achievement in making the new lighting for the street. He says that his is jealous of him. In Gell's terms, it seems that Scott is 'captivated' (1998: 69) by 'the friggers'. That Scott's envy is such that he would like to see himself as the creator of these objects. Instead of being the director of the office, he has a fantasy to be the artist.

In the earlier scenes of the ethnography, and the interviews in Chapter Four, we have been introduced to art as a collective experience. This experience has been described as an act of 'transmission' or 'translation'. We have seen that it is not only the artist who makes artworks, but that it is an expanded set of relationships between people, materials, objects and ideas. During the earlier scenes tracing the Elizabeth Street site meetings, we have witnessed the exchanges between Terry, the construction workers, the engineer and the lighting specialist. We have also traced the influence that materials, such as the yellow paint as-an-agent, can have on what is made.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

In the restaurant scene, we witnessed Scott, as an actor, questioning the ambition of the text for the 'iron filings'. I traced how Scott's questioning of the text and the 'iron filings' ignited a reflection on whether they would be engaging the community of the tower block in the process. In the restaurant Scott is an agent. As an actor he is influencing the collective process of what is made.

In observing art as being made from an index of relationships, rather than something fixed, solid and separate; we can draw on Gell's theory of 'distributed personhood' (1998: 104). Instead of art being contained within an artist, the agency of art is rather distributed amongst all the actors involved. Rather than Scott fantasising about becoming the 'artist', he might rather celebrate his position as being one of the index of actors, as an artist-creator.

Photo 40 Relational view of Elizabeth Street (collage). JC, 2010.

Photo 41 : Ethnography: Elizabeth Street – the 'frigger heads' (collage). JC, 2010.

Photo 42 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street –'the friggers' installed. JC, 2010.

Photo 43 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street – a single 'frigger head'. JC, 2010.

Photo 44 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street – the 'frigger heads' being fitted. JC, 2010.

Photo 45 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street – 'the friggers'. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 46 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street – distance views of a 'frigger head' (collage).

JC, 2010

5.3.2 Analysis of the field

In reflecting on the description of my experience of the site meetings I can further contribute to the list of actors: Paul, Sam and Simon join myself, Terry and Sally; the additional non-human actors are - yellow paint, York stone, LED lights, concrete, back filling, piping, bins, pizza boxes, sandwich wrappers, a progress report, humour, the 'frigger poles' and 'frigger heads'. I continue to draw out colours and shapes in support of describing their associations.

Observation 6: Distributed agency

Figure 10 Ethnography: Analytic observation 7. JC, 2012.

In better articulating the experience of the scenes I have drawn on the work of Gell (1998). Particularly I have used Gell's anthropological theory of the 'art index' as a lense through which to observe the distribution of agency (Observation 6) between human and non-human relationships.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

5.4 The 'iron filings': creating an actor

5.4.1 The field description

Thursday 13th May, 2010.

At 6.30 am I leave the house to get to the office in time for the 8.15 start with Terry. We are going to the foundry. We meet Joe on the way there. Terry explains that as the foundry is local, it would be good to involve them in the Central Square project. I ask Terry if they are 'fabricators', as I'm not really sure about what kind of language to use. He says, 'yes', and that 'usually with foundries they can make just about anything, so we are just finding out really' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 12).

When we get there Terry knocks on the inside door and explains that we are here to meet Keith and Kenny. Keith, who I presume is the owner, comes down the stairs and says, 'oh, the full gang is here' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 13). Keith takes us into his office. There is a large table in the centre, with a desk at one end and a high back swivel chair. I notice that there is a small book case and a cabinet with lots of objects in it. The objects look like samples of things that have been made at the foundry. I felt like I was in a room that was committed to making things. I notice that the velvet cushion on the swivel chair is old and worn. I reflect that this room has played host to many meetings like this in the past.

We sit down. Kenny joins us. Keith introduces Kenny, saying 'he knows all of the technical aspects'. Terry opens the meeting by saying that he will make the introductions. 'This is Julie Crawshaw', Terry says, 'she is spending some time at the office doing some research into what we do. She will be coming to a lot of our meetings. This is Joe, he is the lead artist' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 13).

The conversation begins by Terry saying that Joe should talk through 'the drawings', as they are *his*. I presume, based on my previous observations, that the drawings have been produced through a process of working with others. I take note therefore, that Terry still refers to them as being Joe's, as *the* artist.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012
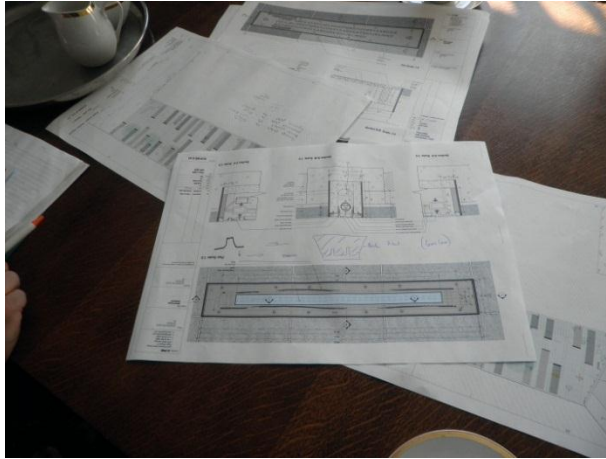
Photo 47 Ethnography: The foundry – drawings of the 'iron filings' #1. JC, 2010.
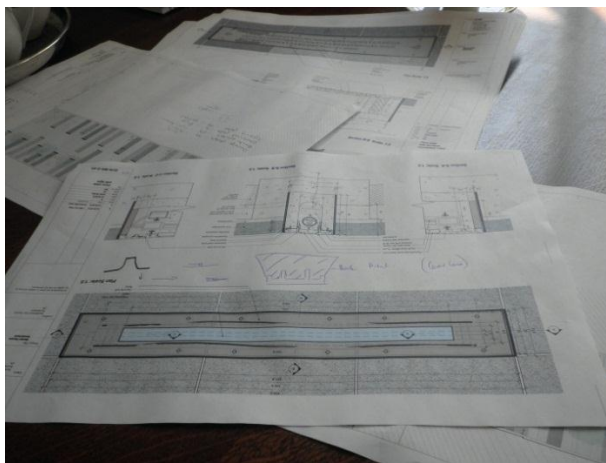
Photo 48 Ethnography: The foundry – drawings of the 'iron filings' #2. JC, 2010.
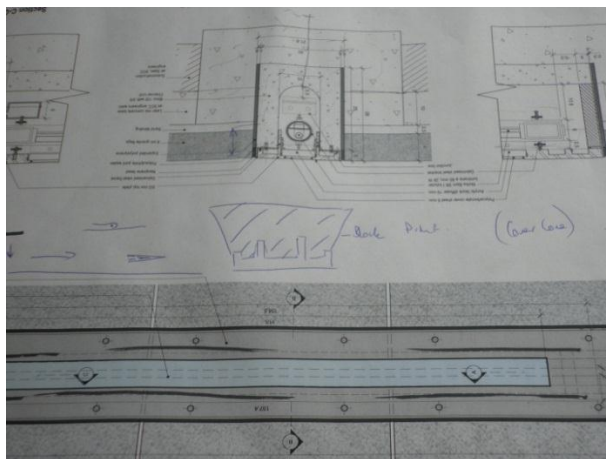
Photo 49 Ethnography: The foundry – drawings of the 'iron filings' #3. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Joe explains that the drawings are at first proposal stage and not at the technical drawing stage. These drawings then become a focus of the meeting. They are pointed at, referred to and drawn on by all of those around the table. Firstly we are introduced to the 'iron filings'. Terry explains that it is these 'little dashes', more often called 'iron filings', on the plan that they would like to talk to them about. He then says, 'so over to Joe' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 13).

Joe firstly explains the functionality of the 'iron filings'. He says that some are drain covers, some are lights, and some will be metal plates that furniture can be fixed to. The idea, Joe explains, is that furniture can be moved around Central Square, in order to 'make the space more flexible'. He explains that the context for this proposal is the '*real* micro-climate' of the square. 'The problem with the square', he says is that 'it is empty, and people are just sitting in a windswept place'. I am struck by Joe's use of the word 'real'. It feels like he is inferring that they are not working to a set of fictional criteria, but something that is 'real'.

My earlier experience of sitting in the gardens near the shiny sculpture introduced me to the micro-climate of that square. After sitting in the square rather than observing discrete actors separately, I began to rather observe mutations created through the movements of all the actors, including natural elements. The shadows as created between the sun and the sculpture and the splashes from the water fountain. The built environment as created by the office, the granite seats and the steel sculpture, become part of the 'real environment'; they become embedded in it. They are not illustrations or symbols of something, rather they move as part of their 'real' surroundings. In this scene, I am observing another point of the career of the making of the 'iron filings', as one of the family of objects in-the-making, to become part of the micro-climate of the new square.

In the interview with Alexander, the curator of the contemporary art gallery in the city, he stated that what he is working with is 'civics'. Alexander explains that he is interested in Doreen Massey's questions of how we can live together. This group are thinking about how people can live together in the square. That the iron filings will perform a role in uniting the inhabitants *as* inhabitants themselves, of the square. This meeting is a part of the process of the 'iron filings' *becoming* inhabitants.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Kenny and Keith then ask some simple questions: 'Will they sit flush? Will they be moved?' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 13). Through these simple questions I note that the iron filings have become 'they'. 'They' have become actors in the scene. The 'little dashes' on the plan are being pointed to. Rather than being static, the 'iron filings' are acting in the conversation. Joe explained that these little dashes, what he and Terry refer to as 'iron filings', have various roles in the Central Square scheme. The 'iron filings', through the index of relationships have become a 'prototype' (Gell, 1998: 27); a visual entity. 'They' have become something tangible in the room.

In better articulating their 'becoming tangible' I will draw on the notion of 'becoming': that the 'iron filings' are *becoming* inhabitants of the square. In focusing on a correspondence between two relations, Deleuze and Guattari (1980: 262) suggest that this 'most certainly impoverishes the phenomenon under study'. Instead they suggest adopting 'myth' as a frame of classification for registering 'becomings'; instead of relationships, more like 'fragments of tales'. Adopting the frame of myth, the 'iron filings' have not become inhabitants through a correspondence of the relationships between actors in the office of the foundry. Neither have they been made in the imaginations of the room. In following the argument of Deleuze and Guattari, the 'iron filings' are real; the issue is to ask in which reality.

Joe responds 'yes', and 'no' to these first questions. Kenny and Keith then ask whether Joe will want 'pretty fixings', and whether he will want an 'aesthetic finish'. Joe explains that he hasn't considered the finish yet. I note that rather than Joe singularly deciding this, others, certainly Keith and Kenny, will be involved in the process of deciding what these 'iron filings' will look like.

Keith and Kenny suggest that they send some example platelets for Joe's consideration. They pass round a sample. I note, therefore, that the platelets also become actors that will play a role as one of 'the others' in effecting the decision making in the development of the 'iron filings'. There is discussion about the utility of the 'iron filings', such as the weight they will have to carry. Joe then explains that they are also considering inviting an artist to 'work in the written word' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 14). They are planning to have text embossed on the iron filings, and are looking for an artist to work with them in further developing this.

Photo 50 Ethnography: The foundry – samples #1. JC, 2010.

Photo 51 Ethnography: The foundry – samples #1. JC, 2010.

Photo 52 Ethnography: The foundry – samples at the foundry #3. JC, 2010.

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During more discussion about manufacturing implications Keith and Kenny again suggest samples of previous work including text, explaining that they can 'cut two different types out of one tool (a wooden block) to mould the lettering'. Again they ask questions about the finish. Do you want a line? How many letters? What font? How raised will they be? As earlier, Joe says that he's not sure. So they say that they will send a book of example fonts to Joe.

Another discussion then takes place focused around the iron filings that will function as lights. Do you want a piece of glass? What is the depth? Joe responds by saying that he needs to look at a way of keeping the water out. Kenny responds to Joe, by drawing something that he sees as a solution. Joe explains that he wants an 'ergonomic, not aesthetic' finish. That he would like 'industrial unapologetic metal'. He explains that his taste in materials is in those that 'look good when dirty' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 16). There is discussion about rusting, and how this might affect the attachments. This leads Keith to say, 'it's amazing what you need to think about, isn't it!' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 17).

I think, yes, it is amazing to have the opportunity to observe the detail of this decision making process. To be able to trace the movements of the human actors, but also the role of the drawings and the prototypes and models. To see how the index of relationships between humans and non-humans has made the prototype and how the 'iron filings' then *become* agents in the scene. Everyone then discusses the pros and cons of using stainless steel ending up in a discussion about if 'they' look soiled, that is a good thing. This is a good thing, because people won't want 'to pinch them'. This discussion seemed important, as it was referring to a very strong assumption that people would want to steal the objects. I wonder about how this assumption, and others, as an actor might have agency in the rest of the story.

The meeting is brought to a close by Terry explaining that there are two phases of the build: pre and post-Christmas. Before leaving there is a short exchange that feels different to the rest of the meeting. It feels more informal, or 'off record'. Kenny asks 'what's the meaning? It's not the Da Vinci Code?!' Joe responds by saying, 'no, nothing masonic!' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 17).

Kenny's question refers to the symbolic meaning of the iron filings. He wants to know what they represent. At no point in the earlier formal part of the meeting do Joe, or Terry, refer to the iron filings as representing anything. They have only previously talked of their materiality, in terms of what they are made of and how they will be made. Talking about what they mean, is a shift in the conversation. As suggested by Gell (1998: 98) what these 'iron filings' represent is more so as ambassadors of the conversation than as 'a picture', to represent reality.

Tuesday 15th June, 2010.

At 9am, Terry and I meet Jake in Central Square. Jake is the landscape architect for the City. We are meeting to draw out the size of the 'iron filings' on the floor. Jack has some blue chalk with him, as well as some of the drawings of the iron filings that I have seen in the office. Terry measures out the iron filing shape, and draws oblong shapes in different places on the floor in the square. I ask why they are doing that. Paul says it is so that they can check that they aren't too small or too big, 'too little or too much'.

Photo 53 Ethnography: Central Square – Jake holding a plan. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

We are drawing out the actors. They are being made visible in the space. They are becoming something. People in the square watch our performance. I realise, as we draw, that the space is fractured. The shape of the iron filings is layered over the pavements and cracks. Shadows overlay these. The weather also alters the pace. I myself, as a researcher in the scene, am also captured through shadows when I document the process. When meeting sunlight, I become a silhouette in the square.

Photo 54 Ethnography: Central Square – drawing 'iron filings' (collage). JC, 2010

I attended a second meeting at the foundry with Terry, Joe and Paul, the lighting specialist. The meeting is focused on the finish of the iron filings. Keith and Kenny show samples. They explain that they can 'tumble bash it' or 'table bash it' to give them different levels of a roughened finish. Kenny then explains, however, that even if they give them a rough finish, 'in three months they will go smooth anyway: 'You will pay to rough them up. But after people have walked over them, they will be smooth. We can do as rough as a badger or smooth as silk' (Ethnography, 07.09.10, p. 209). At the end of this meeting Keith and Kenny take us on a tour of the foundry. We observe the furnace and fires at work, moulding and modelling the metals.

Photo 55 Ethnography: The foundry – inside. JC, 2010.

Photo 56 Ethnography: The foundry – holding a sample. JC, 2010

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

5.4.2 Analysis of the field

The human actors introduced in this scene are Keith and Kenny; the non-humans are: samples, drawings, plans and the 'iron filings' themselves. In better articulating the experience of the meetings in the foundry I have drawn on the Deleuze and Guattari's (1980) notion of 'becoming'; that in these scenes, the 'iron filings' become actors (Observation 7).

Observation 7: the *becoming* of the 'iron filings'
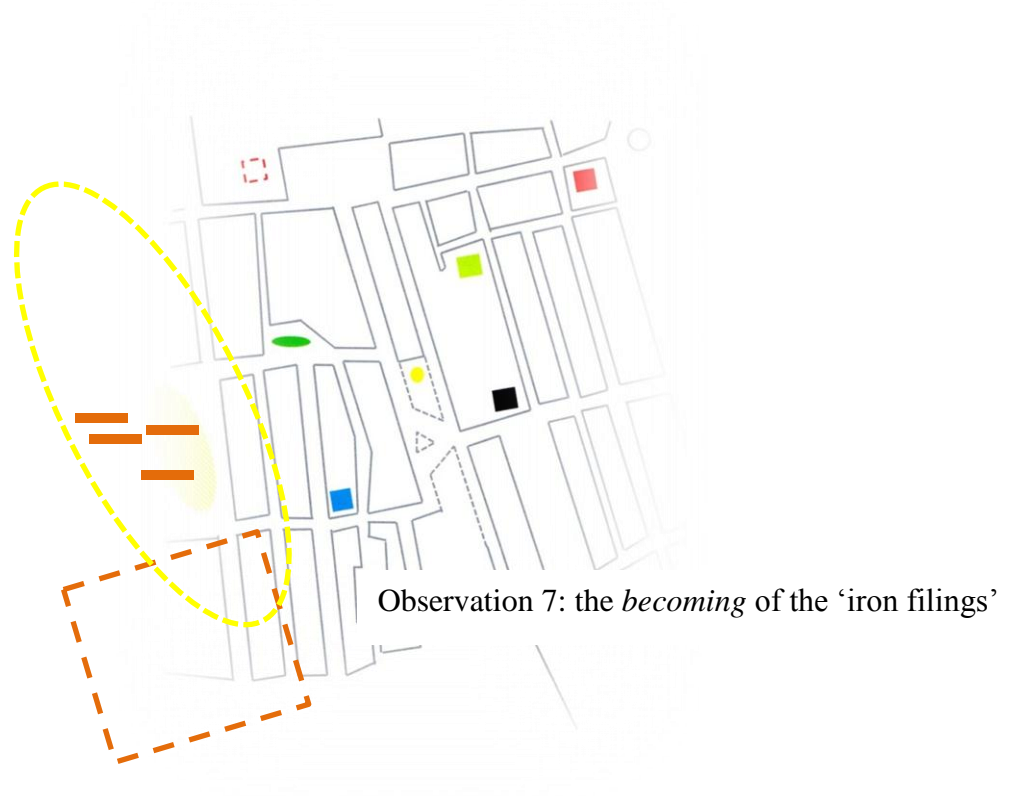
Figure 11 Ethnography: analytic observation 7. JC, 2012.

5.5 Central Square: the collective performance

5.5.1 Field description

Thursday 13th May, 2010

After the first meeting at the foundry, I attend another meeting about Central Square with Terry and Joe and two architects who are developing a 'coffee pod' to be included in the square. Jake, the city council landscape designer is also at the meeting.

Jake introduces the overall scheme for Central Square first. He states that the city is 'starved of decent civic spaces'. That this is 'an opportunity to make a focus' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 19). He continues to explain that the design is based on 'iron filings' that 'enliven the space'. The architects explain that the coffee pod is a 'revenue generator' for the land-owner, and seen as an extension to the mall. Joe says that he understands that they need to look for 'the commercial drivers'; but from a design point of view, and commercially the coffee pod needs to be in a good place. Joe states that he has a concern that 'there is no public within public realm' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 20).

During the first few days, Scott had asked about involving the residents of the tower block in the square's development. This conversation illuminated the role of the project as being in bringing together public and private spaces. Now, Jake is describing the project as being to make 'public' space; to construct an area that *is* 'public'. The architects, however, introduce a private agenda. That the landowner's agenda is in generating revenue from the coffee pod. The discussion about Central Square is not just about making a public space, but also about what public space actually *is*.

Jake suggests that it might be an opportunity to commission an artist for some new stained glass. He looks at me and says, 'that's not just for your benefit!' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 20). One of the architects suggests that this might enable 'community involvement' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 21). I note that commissioning an artist seems to be understood as a way of including 'the community'; and even though the architects are driving a commercial agenda, including 'the community' still seems to be recognised as a good thing to do. The Central Square project seems to be an opportunity to engage with 'the community'.

211

Photo 57 Ethnography: The office – plans showing the coffee pod. JC, 2010.
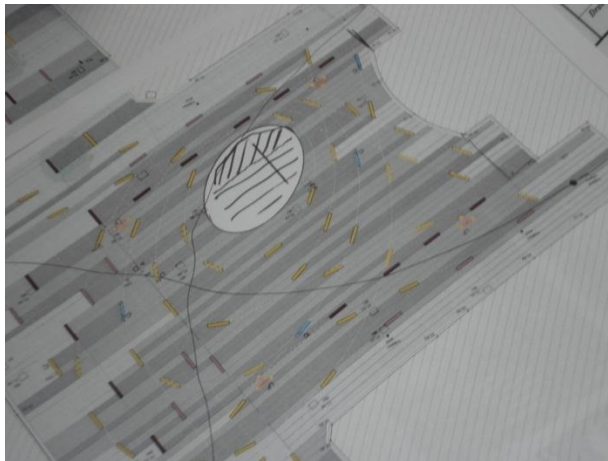
Photo 58 Ethnography: The office – plan; location of the coffee pod. JC, 2010.

Photo 59 Ethnography: The office – plans and drawings; with the architects. JC, 2010.

In the restaurant with Scott, Terry and Joe, Scott specifically refers to the project as being an opportunity to engage with the residents of the tower block. In this scene, however, who the community is, is not defined.

After the meeting with the architects, I am invited to attend a Central Square 'design team meeting'. The meeting takes place in the meeting room of the office. These meetings take place once a month. They include all the professionals involved in the re-development of Central Square: Joe, as the lead artist; Terry and Sally, from the office; Jake as the landscape architect of the Local Authority, as engineers and specialist technicians involved in the development of the square.

Before the meeting starts, Sally tells me that she will be coming to take notes. As well as Terry, Joe and Jake, others around the table are Adam, a city council highways engineer, and three lighting specialists, Gil, Tom and Graeme, who are sub-contracted by the city council.

The meeting starts with Gil talking very quickly about the technicalities for the 'iron filings' to be lights. I catch a few phrases such as 'a quick release system' and 'IP rating'. Gil then passes samples of Perspex round the table. He explains that the Perspex 'will scratch, but it won't change colour' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 24).

This Perspex, like the samples at the foundry, has a presence in the room. I note that the behaviour of the Perspex, whether it scratches or not, will affect how the iron filings develop. Tom, another lighting specialist then re-introduces 'vandalism', a notion that was also discussed at the foundry. Tom suggests that if they bond the clear and frosted stuff together (meaning different types of Perspex), it will be good 'if the vandals try' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 24). The choice of materials, are affected by the assumption of vandalism. Joe asks John if the Perspex could be 'pre-wire wooled?' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 24).

Gil says, 'yes, you could break the surface a bit' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 24)..
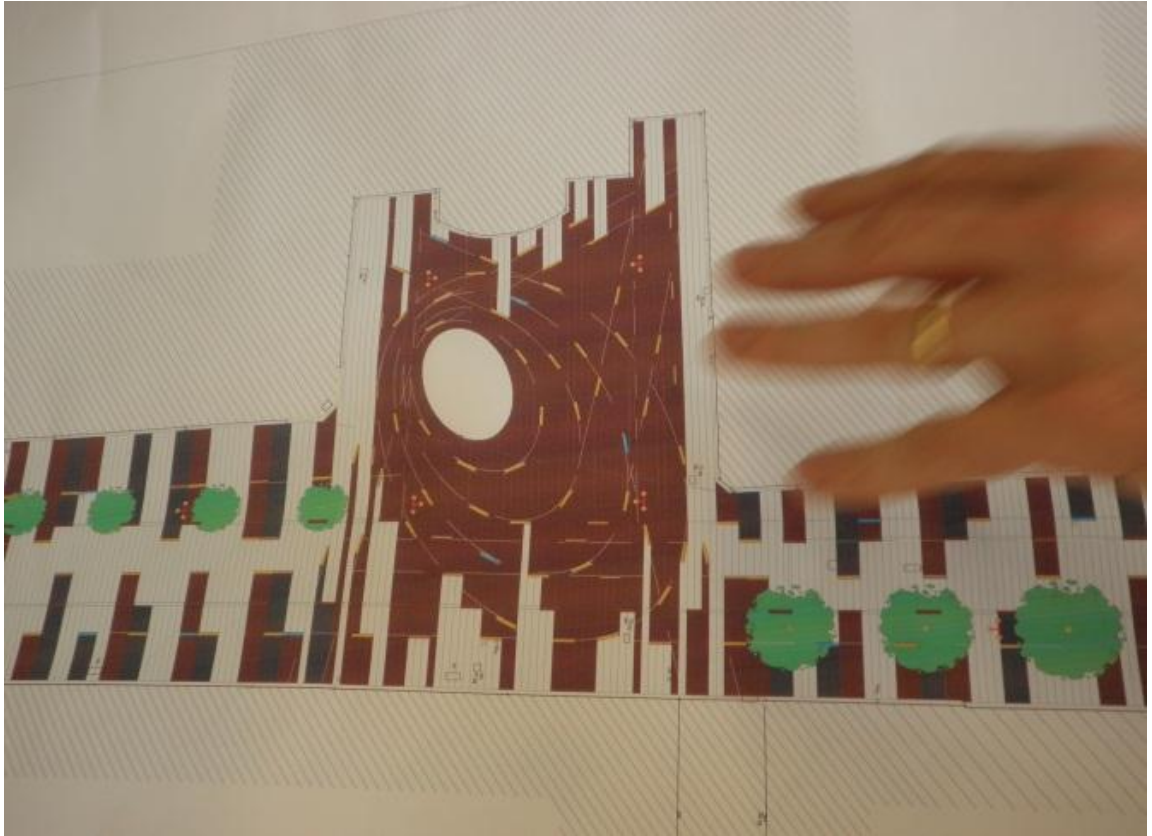
Photo 60 Ethnography: The office - plans of Central Square; design team. JC, 2010.

He says that the coffee pod might grow a bit, but not much more that it currently is. He continues by saying, 'it makes sense for us to assume the location and think about what makes sense if it doesn't go there' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 24). To be developing something when a large element of the design is unknown, or changeable, seems like a really difficult situation.

Terry's statement about being prepared for the coffee pod to change, however, seems to make room for ideas. A space created for all those around the table to contribute ideas to re-consider the square.

> Terry, 'Jake is thinking about a tree planting scheme, or a little stage!?' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 25).

> Jake, 'Or a little shelter, or a little gazebo. Although it is noted that nothing can be too permanent, as it could go' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 25).

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Terry, 'It was a real pain that the decision guy didn't come today. The original guy has moved on. Scott will do a bit of politicking with their top guy' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 25).

Photo 61 Ethnography: The office - plans of Central Square; design team. JC, 2010.

The mention of 'the decision guy' makes me think of the visibility of the politics of the project. What has been visible in the meeting, as in other meetings, is the drawings, plans and objects on the table; and the movements of the professionals, and what they say. I hadn't been aware that 'the decision guy' wasn't there; because he hadn't attended, and wasn't mentioned in the meeting. Neither had his absence been mentioned in informal dialogue.

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In discussing the 'distribution of the sensible', Rancière talks about the visibility of *the experience* of politics (2004/09: 13). Rancière states that politics, 'revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak' (2004/09: 13). I recognise that I am witnessing an experience of politics. What I can see; and what I hear from Terry, who possesses the ability to talk about it.

'The sensible' in the work of Rancière refers to facts that can be *sensed.* In the first few days, Scott talks about the 'big p' and the 'little p' of politics. In her interview, Francis.the Economic Development Officer at the local authority, had also referred to these domains. In this scene, in accordance with the domains of the 'big' and 'little' 'ps', I now wonder about the division between that which is able to be sensed visibly and audibly; and that which is invisible or mute.

The 'big p' of the policy agenda is made visible through its manifestation in policy documents. These policy documents can be picked up and held. The planned projects are also made visible through the PDF; which in turn contains the terms of policy. During the first few days, Scott states that he would rather talk to me about the business plan, than give me a document. This is because the *real* business plan is in his head. What really happens is not what is on paper; what really happens is acted out as an experience as it occurs in real time.

The *distribution* of 'the sensible', is described by Rancière (2004/09: 13) as revealing 'who can have a share in what is common to the community based on what they do and on the time and space in which this activity is performed'. Your 'occupation', therefore, plays a part in influencing your ability to 'take charge of what is common to the community; it defines what is visible or not in a common space, endowed with a common language etc.' (Rancière, 2004/09: 13). In this scene, Terry's 'occupation' has distributed a higher level of visibility than mine has afforded me.

With reference to the politicking with the 'decision guy', Joe asks Terry, what their 'leverage' is. Joe, 'What have we got in our arsenal?' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 25).

Terry responds by lowering his brow and deepening his voice. He is now speaking as Scott. He says, 'come on guys, we're putting a million pounds in. Put your hands in your pocket!' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 25).

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I am watching Terry perform *as Scott.* In Rancière's terms, Scott has a different 'occupation' to that of Terry, and therefore receives a different distribution of that which is sensible as a common space or language. Terry is well illustrating this. By acting as Scott, he is able to say 'put your hands in your pocket'; as Terry, he realises he cannot.

This experience of politics has led me to consider Rancière's concept of the 'distribution of the sensible'. As inspired by ANT, this thesis is directed by accounting for the agency of human and non-human actors in the creating of their own space. In considering the experience of politics *as performance*, I will draw on Annemarie Mol's view that politics can be understood as being an active mode of performing; to shape realities, as discussed in her notion of 'ontological politics' (1999/2005: 75).

Six months ago I had interviewed James, a Cultural Tourism officer (Chapter Four). James talked about artists being invited to be part of design teams in order to improve the level of design of the city. I am now in a design team meeting.

From James' account, I might have assumed that what I would see is 'an artist' imparting special creativity. Instead, however, of observing Joe as the artist, or an object being located as the artwork; rather I notice a process of 'mediation'. Instead of there being an artist-as-performer or artwork-as-performer, the agency distributed amongst all the actors: Terry and Joe, Jake, Sally, Adam, Gil, Tom, Graeme, sample Perspex, plans and drawings, all shape reality together.

In James' interview the role of the artist and artwork was described as being in service to social and economic policy agendas. That art and the artist can be separated from the context, and be seen to change 'it'. In tracing the performance, however, in Mol's terms, we see that 'reality does not pre-cede the mundane practices in which we interact with it, but is rather shaped within these practices' (1999/2005: 75). The 'little p', as described by the professionals, is revealed as the mundane practices of shaping and re-shaping realities. Instead of art being in service of static policy objectives; art rather re-shapes political realities.

There is now dispersed conversation around the table, about what the coffee pod space could be in the short term. Jake suggests an arts commission. Joe says he likes the idea of a stage. Jake suggests it 'could be a great little gallery space' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 26) to serve the smokers.

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Terry, however quickly states that 'it's not just for the smokers' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 26).

I reflect that this is another exchange about who the development is for. The discussion about the coffee pod becoming a gallery space, creates a space for thinking about who the coffee-pod-come-gallery is for.

Gil adds that it could be used for 'all sorts of things, if designed properly. It's quite an interesting building. It's like a pavilion. If it's multi-functional it's better for the landowner, the people of The City, for all of us' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 26). Terry then suggests a 'modified gypsy caravan' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 26) as a cheaper alternative.

Ideas come from all actors, not just Joe. It seems that talking about the square as a fiction enables talking about the 'real square'. As suggested by Rancière, that 'the real must be fictionalized in order to be thought' (2004/09: 38). They are lifted from their usual day-to-day through the fiction of writing a play or organising an exhibition, to be the square. The square itself becomes a fiction in order to become a reality. In the foundry I had noted a statement made by Joe stating that they were dealing with the 'real' micro-climate of the square. After this statement I had reflected that it seemed that instead of working in fiction, they were working in reality. Here, I note that in order for the team to develop the 'real' they work in fiction first.

Terry, 'Right, let's move on to the iron filing details' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 27). Joe introduces his drawings of the different sorts of iron filings. I haven't seen these drawings before. They are different to those at the foundry. Joe explains that the drawings show the angles of how the paving flags will be cut. Paul suggests another way to cut the angle, but Joe says that 'that wouldn't look very nice' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 27). Adam, the engineer, says that it is hard to cut them in certain ways.

After a few further exchanges, Joe finally suggests another alternative might be a 'minimum angle'. Adam, the engineer, infers that this is a pointless conversation, because they haven't taken into account 'the utility chambers' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 27). I learn that the 'utility chambers' are for services, such as electric sockets.

The drawings are on the table, the professionals refer to them, but they cannot contain or represent the conversation. The project and the city is not contained by these dimensions.

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There is more to the city than that which is made visible through the plans or audible through what is said. For example, there are utilities, beneath the ground. Adam explains by saying, 'you don't really know how it is going to be until you get on site. And it is difficult to get right, if the services are underneath' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 27). The only way to know exactly where these utility points under the ground are, is when you start digging. Joe then shows a drawing of the type of iron filing that will have the text embossed on it. Paul remarks with surprise: 'This is *massive*! We'll have to say something good!' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 28).

Terry explains that they could collaborate with an artist, but that Scott is a bit 'nervous about the text' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 28).Mike, one of the lighting specialists, asks if the community could be involved. Joe says, 'yes, but it would need to have a strong artistic concept. It can't be a joke' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 28). Jake suggests an artist from Liverpool. The artist has made artworks for a number of roundabouts across the city. They are based on themes to do with Liverpool.

One of the themes is based on names of ships that were built there. Adam, the highways engineer, quips that 'it doesn't take an artist to do that. I can think of the names of ships!' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 29).Adam's comment, which reveals his suspicion of artists-as-charlatans, ignites reflection on the ambitions of the thesis. In order to better articulate the effects of art in regeneration, the thesis is considering art and regeneration practice through the lens of experience.

Drawing on Rancière and Mol, I have discussed art and regeneration as a performance that construct new political realities. That the mundane practices of art and those of regeneration shape ontological politics, together. I have traced art as being part of regeneration. What sets art apart, however, from the mundane practices of our common living? What is the *distinct* role of art as part of regeneration?

Joe, 'there is an idea of using the empty spaces underneath the iron filings. To extend on Adam's suggestion of the channels, we are making these spaces with nothing in them. Some artists might come along and put stuff in, like buried treasure. It might be a really interesting story about urban infrastructure' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 29).

Adam, '[this could] involve the community?'(Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 29).

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Joe, 'I think that's a good idea. Rather than looking for a genius. [But not] just because we've ticked the boxes by involving the community. Rather it should be about improving the whole urban area' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 29).

Joe is clarifying that the role of the project is not to tick the boxes of the policy agenda, but to consider what the square should be. Joe continues by saying, 'But, the space underneath, I don't know if we've exhausted that?' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 29).

Terry, 'what about an office pet graveyard?!' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 29). I note that Terry uses humour quite a lot.

In discussing the lighting scheme, Joe says that lighting 'should be designed to a performance, rather than the other way round' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 30).

This last statement about the lighting ignites a further analytic reflection. I have just described the design team meeting, as a performance. An effect produced via this performance, is Joe describing what the design team are doing *as a performance*. They are designing performances; whilst acting as a performance, themselves.

There have been various suggestions about involving 'the community', through engaging them with the development of Central Square, or specifically the 'iron filings'. When I was sat in the square by the 'shiny sculpture', I reflected that I had engaged with the performance of the square, as a performer.

I have not witnessed the involvement of any other persons with the Central Square project, other than those in the design meeting. Whilst in the office, Terry does not talk about other groups involved in the project, and I have not been invited to meet with any residents of the area. What I reflect on now is that the professionals in the meeting have *become* participants. As the professionals understand the role of the project to facilitate the engagement of 'the community' of others they would not introduce themselves as participants. As actors in the performance, they are participants, however. They are changed through their involvement. The professionals have been 'switched on' by discussing the 'iron filings'. The iron filings as non-human actors have ignited reflection in the humans.

Wednesday 23rd June, 2010

The design team are looking at a sample of an 'iron filing' on the floor. It is an oblong shape. I reflect that I am looking at a very modest object placed on the carpet next to the desk in the office. It is made of concrete and metal sheeting, with a tube light fitting positioned inside it. Through the performance, as with the professionals, this object has also become a participant, as a non-human actor.

Photo 62 Ethnography: The office - an 'iron filing' on the floor. JC, 2010.

With the 'iron filing' on the floor in the corner, the conversation continues by Terry explaining that there are some issues with 'boundary detail' (Ethnography, 23.06.10, p. 94) on the designs. The central square design is physically adjacent to another project that is re-laying the paving next to Central Square. Terry points at plans on the table to locate these boundary areas. The conversation is narrated, as it happens, on three pages to follow.

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Terry to Adam, 'when we come to do our scheme the curb will come back. [I'm] just being mindful that wherever you put that in, it will be lifted back' (Ethnography, 23.06.10, p. 95).

Adam (laughing), 'Surely if you're doing that bit, he can sort that out! Just tell him!' (Ethnography, 23.06.10, p. 95).

All around the table, 'let's just do it!' (Ethnography, 23.06.10, p. 95).

Adam, 'He's getting something for nothing, isn't he! (Looking at Jake) Use your persuasive powers!' (Ethnography, 23.06.10, p. 95).

Jake, 'I'll look in to it'.

Terry, 'Why don't I go with you as well'.

Adam, 'It seems a shame to leave it unfinished'.

Terry, 'Paul won't pay for that'.

Adam, 'It will look like a dog's breakfast if it doesn't go ahead'.

I note that there are politics concerned with the boundaries of the project. Who is responsible for which project, and how negotiations are made across the lines. Terry, 'anyway, we are now being told not to include the café'. The Central Square design, therefore needs to be re-considered.

Pointing at some new drawings on the table, Joe explains that in the original design, if you move one filing, you have to move the whole row; 'so it's a real headache' (Ethnography, 23.06.10, p. 96). He has therefore designed a more geometric pattern that is flexible regarding its ability to respond to anything unforeseen on site. Joe, 'The sky's the limit; it's really easy to play with' (Ethnography, 23.06.10, p. 96).

Terry, 'The decision on what path we go for; is something I want to get to' (Ethnography, 23.06.10, p. 946.

Jake, 'I now prefer this one'.

Joe, 'Clearly this one. There's less of a headache; on consensus we go with that'.
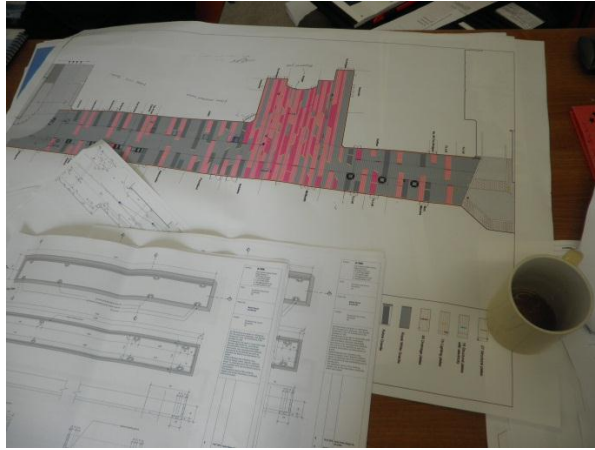
Photo 63 Ethnography: The office - a geometric design; Central Square. JC, 2010.
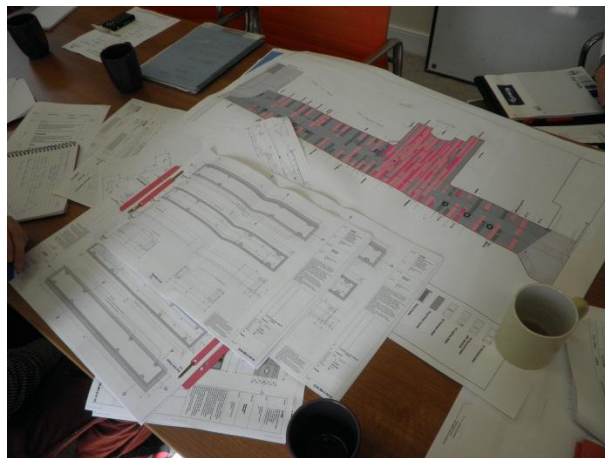
Photo 64 Ethnography: The office - plans and drawings; Central Square. JC, 2010.
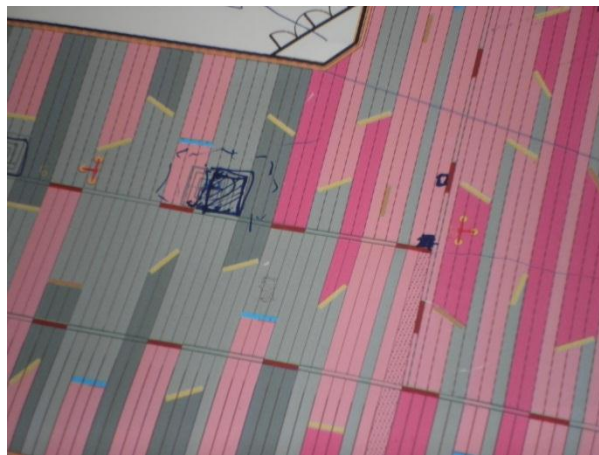
Photo 65 Ethnography: The office - geometric pattern; Central Square. JC, 2010

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After some discussion about the different granites that are proposed for use, Adam suggests that they should get information about all three types.

Adam, 'It's difficult to imagine that granite fades, isn't it?' (Ethnography, 23.06.10, p. 100).

Joe, 'I can't imagine either. It would have to be something geological' (Ethnography, 23.06.10, p. 100).

Terry, 'Should we mix it up?' (Ethnography, 23.06.10, p. 101).

Jake explains that if they use the 'poppy' coloured pink granite it will take the project over budget. The poppy colour is therefore taken out of the design. The conversation then turns to discussing the furniture that is to be designed to be able to move around the square, to enable the square to be used for different sorts of events.

Wednesday 23rd June, 2010

At another design team meeting, they are discussing the furniture in Central Square. Joe says, 'If they are moveable enough, they aren't going to be in a place long enough for the cigarettes to build up over months' (Ehnography, 23.0910, p. 104).

Jake, 'No nooks and crannies for cigarette ends. The whole city is full of nooks and crannies' (Ehnography, 23.0910, p. 104).

Phil, 'That's no different to other places…'.

Jake, 'Well that is a 'no-no' in the new regime'.

Joe, 'That is one aspect that is driving the whole of the city. The cleansing regime; it is effecting how people can sit and look at each other. That is a problem'.

Jake, 'That place got really grotty. Because that does get moved, dirt doesn't build up'.

Joe, 'Well that is my case. But anecdotally, because you don't know how long it takes to build up crisp packets'.

Phil, 'Then there's the jet washing thing. It takes out the goodness of the granite'.

Phil. 'People will ask whether it is comfortable to sit on'.

Joe, 'Well, we'll make it comfortable… we need to think about it a bit hierarchically. A language that chimes. How the design of the space response to how people respond to it' (Ethnography, 23.0910, p. 105).

Phil, drawing, 'Yes you could have a cluster on one day…'.

Monday 6th September, 2010

At the final design team meeting I attend, there is a discussion about how to fix the furniture. Joe refers to theft. He says, 'Whether they weigh 50 kilos, if someone comes with the *Oceans 11* idea, and pretends to be the guy… George Clooney and his gang! But there comes a point…' (Ethnography, 06.09.10, p. 193). Jake adds that the council turned down a Barbara Hepworth sculpture 'because it was bronze and nickable! (Ethnography, 06.09.10, p. 193). From theft, the conversation turns to terrorism. Terry says, 'I've spoken to the Central Square managers, and they're keen they have an anti-terrorist report. There is a whole defence strategy against terrorism. One is an office for Jack Bauer! They would be delighted if we put in sunken bollards' (Ethnography, 06.09.10, p. 193).

Jake, 'But we don't have to?'

Terry, 'No. But he wants [the bollards] to be the right weight, easy to remove, but anti-terrorist! […] That would be half the furniture budget on bollards!' (Ethnography, 06.09.10, p. 193).

From the bollards, the discussion turns to trees. Joe says, 'There is a political risk, that we are getting rid of trees' (Ethnography, 06.09.10, p. 199).

Jake, 'Well, they were dead'.

Terry, 'I have a budget for trees'.

Joe, 'Adam's point is that the land will freeze and heave, and it will all go horribly wrong… and we haven't thought of expansion joints!' (Ethnography, 06.09.10, p. 201).

Jake, 'I'll ask Brian'.

Terry, 'Just put them in the boarding every twenty meters. Tell Adam. No, ask him!'.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

These exchanges remind us that the day-to-day of these actors are part of the bigger global picture of both terrorism and the natural world .

Photo 66 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #10. JC, 2010

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

5.5.2 Analysis of the field

In this scene, the additional human actors joining Terry, Joe and myself are: Jake, Adam, Gil, Tom and Graeme. As non-human actors, the Perspex sample and the 'iron filings' also play a role. As a notion, the fear of vandalism also effects what is played out in the scene.

Observation 9: *performing politics* – making realities

Observation 10: professionals - *becoming participants*
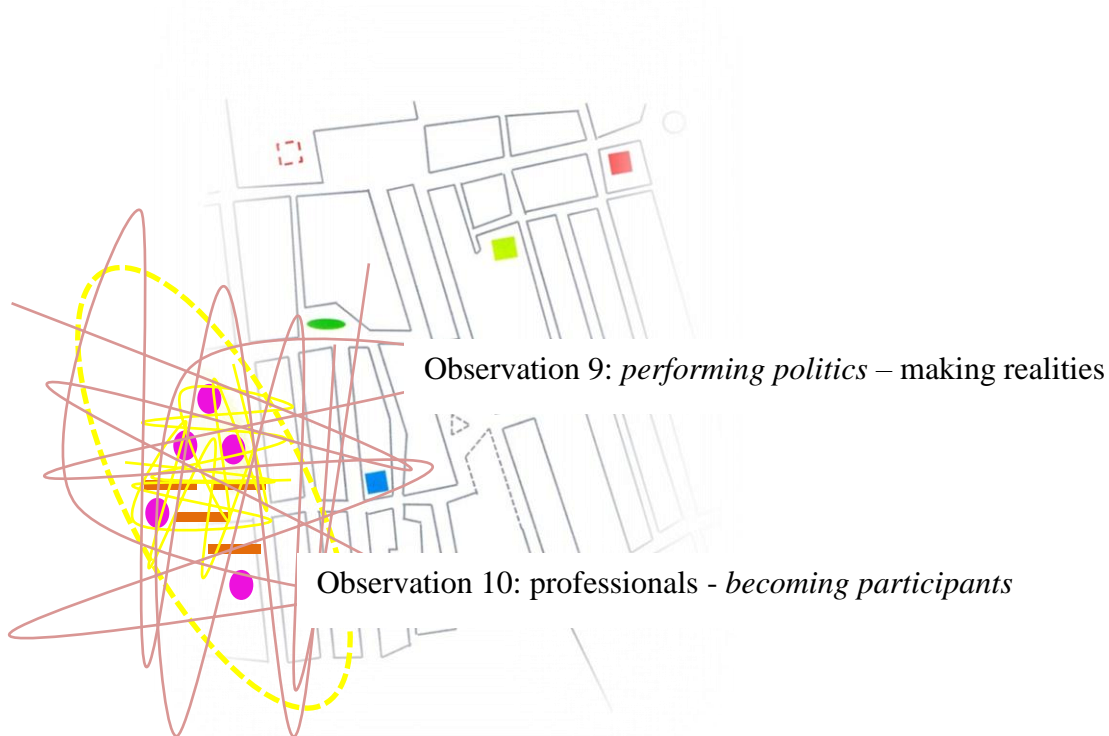
Figure 12 Ethnography: Analytic observation 10. JC, 2012.

In drawing on the work of Mol and Rancière I trace the design team meetings as that of a performance between the human and non-human actors involved (Observation 9). In performing the scene, I see that the professionals' consideration of the square and the 'iron filings' 'switches them on' as participants (Observation 10). Instead of finding 'a community' to be engaged with the making of Central Square, I rather observe that the professionals, with the iron filings have become participants.

5.6 Elizabeth Street: relationships in pictures

Monday 20 September 2010

I returned to the city for a few days to observe the final stages of the installation of the public realm programme. While at the office, I contribute to the writing of a press release that is circulated stating:

> The street is brought to life not by the individual pieces, but by their interaction with each other and their surroundings. This approach to embedding art within the public realm represents a new exemplar of collaborative dialogue in urban regeneration, where unity of purpose and diversity of medium, content and expertise are brought seamlessly together around a contextual, conversational methodology (Press Release, 2010).

Over the next few pages rather than describing what happens in text, I have presented what happens visually, in photographs. Through these images we can see the associations between people, materials and things. Guided by the camera lens, we can observe the microscopic scale, beneath the human. In these photographs we see associations between humans and non-humans. Humans move and have personalities; the objects and materials do too.

The photographs show colour: orange, blue, yellow, grey, black, green. We see lines: of paint, between pavements and railings. There are curves: shaped by people, bollards and bike racks. There are shadows. There is light and dark. Hand bags and buckets. The 'new seats' alone, and with an elderly man, sitting on them. Women walking past: blocking, and revealing, our view of him. There are cranes, trucks, computers and digital technology. The 'frigger' lights on the horizon. The 'new seats' lit up, with a red bottle top next to them. The lights shining in the dark making reflections on a damp street after rain fall.

Seagull 'footprints' from crossing a newly cemented road. A woman crossing the road. A blue cable crossing the road. People in high visibility clothing, shining in the dark. People without high visibility, still visible.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 67 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #1. JC, 2010.

Photo 68 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #2. JC, 2010.

Photo 69 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #3. JC, 2010.

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Photo 70 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #4. JC, 2010.

Photo 71 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #5. JC, 2010.

Photo 72 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #6. JC, 2010

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Photo 73 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #7. JC, 2010.

Photo 74 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #8. JC, 2010.

Photo 75 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #9. JC, 2010.

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Photo 76 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #11. JC, 2010.

Photo 77 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #12. JC, 2010.

Photo 78 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #13. JC, 2010.

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Photo 79 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #14. JC, 2010.

Photo 80 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #15. JC, 2010.

Photo 81 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #16. JC, 2010.

Photo 82 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #17. JC, 2010.

Photo 83 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #18. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 84 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #19. JC, 2010.

Photo 85 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #20. JC, 2010.
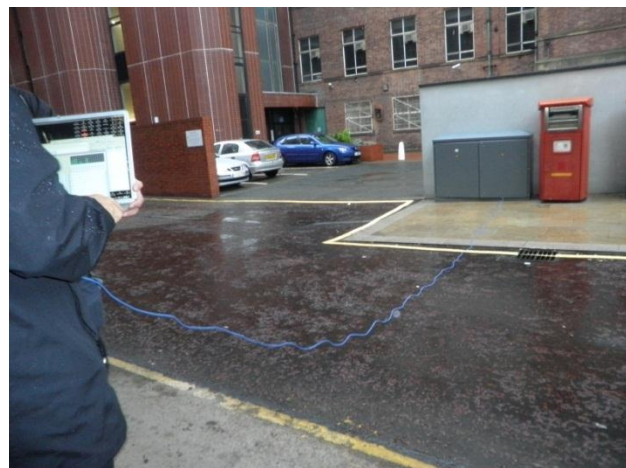
Photo 86 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #21. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Photo 87 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #22. JC, 2010.
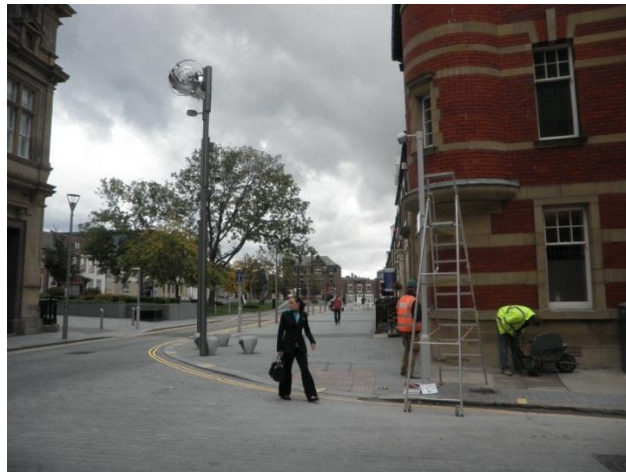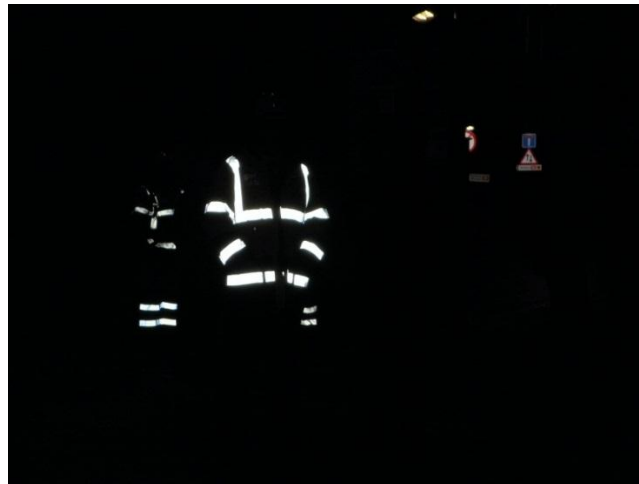

Photo 88 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #23. JC, 2010.
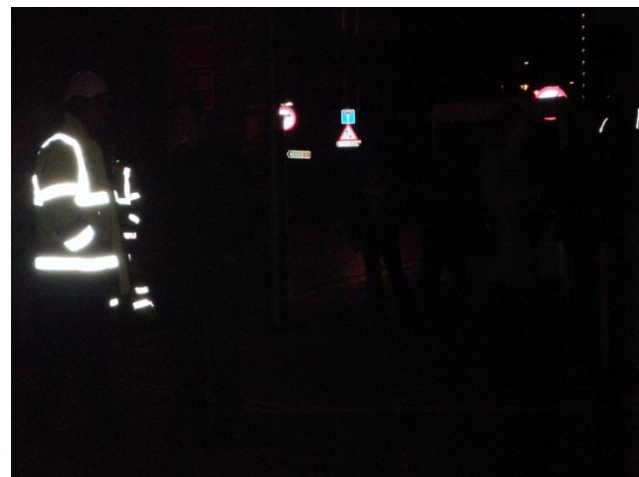
Photo 89 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #24. JC, 2010.

Photo 90 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #25. JC, 2010.
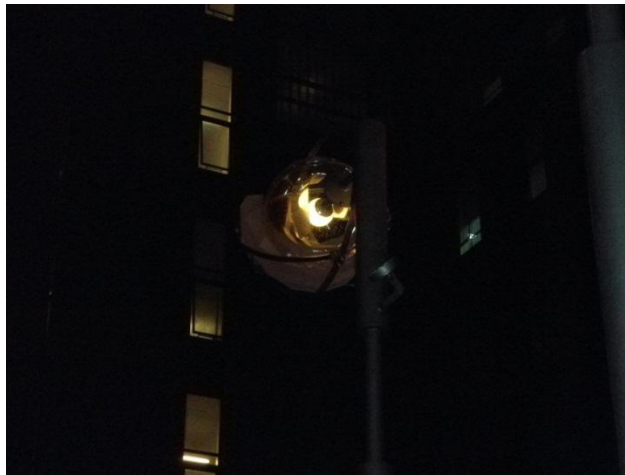
Photo 91 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #26. JC, 2010.

Photo 92 Ethnography: Elizabeth Street performance #27. JC, 2010.

5.7 What happens in practice?

On entering the case study as an ethnographer, the emergent question to be addressed as framed by the first three research positions (#1, #2, #3) was, *how?* How does art as an experience become a vehicle for understanding regeneration? How does art create a common space and language for professionals to reflect on their professional selves and context? How are these reflective experiences ignited? How can this experience be observed? How can this experience be articulated?

On entering the office of the Urban Regeneration Company, the researcher began a new walk amidst her professional environment. In order to replicate her close proximity to practice, she narrated her experience in the first person. In replicating her own introduction to the case, she firstly re-tells her experience of the first few days, as they happen. In order to explicate how the art experience ignites reflection in support of connecting us to ourselves and others in re-thinking the regeneration context anew, the ethnography re-describes scenes representing a range of career stages in the life of various artworks.

In support of the on-going analysis, reflective observations are included within the writing. In support of meta-analysis, the observations are also sketched on a map throughout the descriptions of the ethnography. The map was originally drawn to introduce the case study and includes the locations of: the office, temporary site office, Studio 87 (artists' studios), the gallery and glass studios (to be developed), The Venue (mixed use arts space developed in advance of the research period), the 'shiny sculpture', the 'pulpit sculpture' and Central Square.

Through the ethnography, as Figure 13, the practice of art and regeneration is described as a performance of multiple effects enacted via the biographical associations of all the actors involved. The movements of the city as recorded via the field notes cannot be presented as a map in two dimensions. As a drawing, the culmination of the observations produces something that is multi-layered, messy and abstract. Rather than being a static grid, it conveys movement, complexity, personality and depth
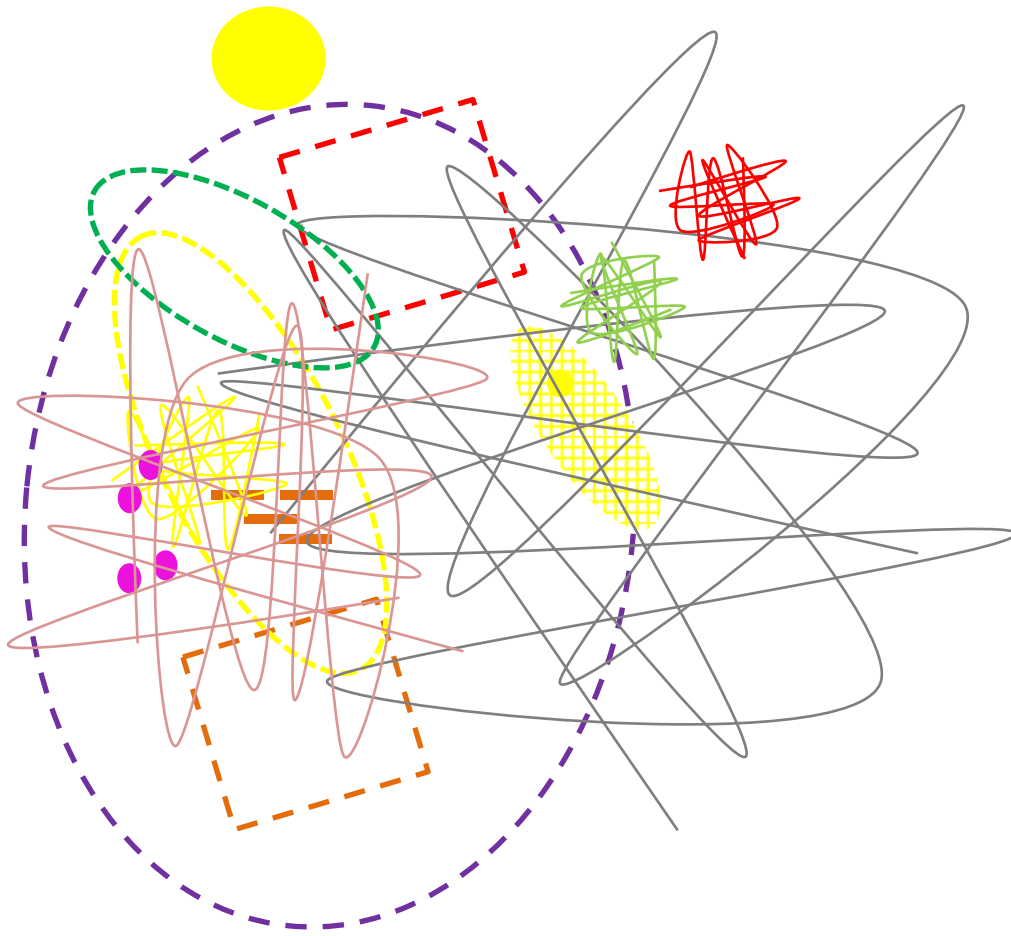
Figure 13 Research design: relational 'drawing' (collage). JC, 2012.

The artworks are included as part of the 'public realm' in support of the ambition of the URC as 'sustainable communities'. In commissioning 'public art' the URC states in the *Planning Design Framework* that it aims to: 'Integrate artists' skills, vision and creative abilities into the whole process of creating new spaces and regenerating existing ones, in order to imbue development with a unique quality and to enliven and animate the space by creating a visually stimulating environment' (URC, 2008: 44). In the first few days Scott, the Director of the office refers to the residents of the neighbouring tower block adjacent to Central Square. The development of Central Square is one of the projects that Joe is involved with, as the lead artist. At the dinner meeting, Joe talks about the 'iron filings'. The 'iron filings' a metal oblong shapes to be included as part of the paving for the square. Scott suggests that the 'iron filings' could be utilised as vehicles for engaging the community of the tower block.

The researcher is based at a desk in the office of the URC for three months and returns for key points in the programme for three months thereafter. In tracing official meetings and informal exchange, the community of the tower block or any other 'community' is not made known to the ethnographer. During the research period there is no record of this community of residents being engaged with in any way. In following art projects as part of the regeneration portfolio of the URC, the ethnography traces the participation of the professionals themselves. Instead of following the experience of 'a community' of participants, we rather follow the experiential process of the professionals themselves.

At the microscopic scale of artworks, we are introduced to the 'turtle' world and its specific language. Here communities are not made visible; however they are referred to. 'Have you considered engaging the residents of the tower block?', asks Scott, the Director of the office (Ethnography, 12.05.10, p. 11). In discussing the development of Central Square, Mike the lighting technician suggests: 'That's an opportunity to engage the community' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 28). 'I'm not just saying this because you're here', looking at the ethnographer, 'but I think this is an opportunity to engage with the community', says Jake the landscape architect (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 20). The idea of 'a community' is referenced in language but never observed in-action.

The professionals refer to a 'community'. They also refer to 'artists'. When they refer to artists, they do so with suspicion. In her interview as part of the third stage (#3), Faye the Deputy Director of the office talks about artists 'as charlatans', and refers to 'arty rubbish' (Case Study City, 10.06.10, p. 29)). In the first few days, while having dinner with Joe, Terry and Scott, Scott refers to 'arty rubbish' (Ethnography, 12.05.10, p. 11). The idea of the artist as someone special and special as the 'essentialist' view of the artist (Zolberg, 1990) as discussed in the literature review, are present in influencing suspicion in the actors of the role of artists.

As we are studying art, we might also assume that we meet 'artists'. The ethnographer meets Joe. Joe is described as the 'lead artist'. Joe previously trained as an architect. As well as practicing as an architect, Joe also however is commissioned as a public artist. This is not unusual to find artists who have an architectural background (ACE, 2007). As an artist, Joe is involved in two projects: the public realm programme of Elizabeth Street and the development of Central Square. Within the public realm programme Joe is making a sculpture, referred to in the ethnography as 'the pulpit'. He is also making bespoke lighting, referred to as 'the friggers'. Within the public realm programme Joe is also commissioned to project manage the development of the overall artwork commissions. Within the Central Square development, Joe contributes to the design team, as an artist. Within the ethnography, however, Joe does not appear particularly prominently. His contributions do not come across more loudly, or as being more special or important than the contributions of the other actors. Instead of Joe occupying the position of the artist, the ethnography describes art as a collective process between many professionals and their non-human colleagues.

In one of the design team meetings to discuss the development of central square, Adam, the highways engineer describes the 'iron filings' as being like buried treasure (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 29). As with other actors at various other points in the description of events, Adam suggests that this is a good opportunity to involve 'the community'. Joe says he thinks this is a good idea: 'rather than looking for a genius. [But not] just because we've ticked the boxes by involving the community' (Ethnography, 13.05.10, p. 29). Joe is stating, that the role of the artist is not just to deliver against the policy agenda, but to consider what the square should actually be. Joe does not have these discussions alone, instead it is all the professionals that talk about who the square is for and what it should be, collectively.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

In advance of introducing the movements of the professionals of the case, the ethnographer describes her experience of the 'shiny sculpture'. The sculpture is located in a public square. It was developed by the office of the URC as part of the regeneration of the area, in advance of the thesis research period. The effects of the sculpture, as a 'completed' artwork, are richly described. This description of the sculpture introduces us to themes for the journey to come. The sculpture is made of shiny metal. In observing the multiple reflections that mutate over the square, we have described this shiny metal as having a particularly rich agency. We know that it would have been made by various construction methods carried out by specialist workers such as metal workers and welders. As stated by Dewey (1934) we are aware that to make sculpture, materials must be used and re-formed. On paper, this sculpture is formed as-finished, and perhaps therefore not of concern to this study.

One morning, the researcher found herself sitting near the sculpture to have breakfast with Joe and Terry, the project manager of the office. Instead of her experience of the sculpture as being one of something finished and completed, her experience instead is one that exposes the continuous 'career' of the artwork. Sitting in the square, she finds herself amongst the 'neighbourhood' of the artwork. As a 'thing-in-motion' (Appadurai, 1986: 5) the sculpture ignites reflection in the researcher. She reflects on her context. In observing the water feature and other design elements in the square, the physical and social landscape merge as a 'becoming machine' (Guattari, 1994: 3). The reflective effects as enacted by the researcher are produced through her associations with the multiple actors: the sculpture, the sunlight, other people, and other objects.

In the language of Michel, the Director of the *Akademie*, the sculpture is an 'obstacle' that causes associations between 'inner' and 'outer' materials. The analysis of what professionals say in their interviews (#1, #2. #3) contributes to Dewey's notion of the career of the artwork, and biographical notions of art. As the sculpture mutates across the landscape of the square, the ethnographer experiences the effects of the career herself. These effects are purposeful. The researcher did not intend to take her seat in order to reflect on herself in this place. The effects, in her, are mobilised by the sculpture, not herself. In the scenes to come, the ethnographer traces the effects mobilised by 'obstacles' in the neighbourhood; ignited by materials, objects and artworks, in the professionals.

These professionals have distinct specialisms: project management, artist, regeneration professional, journalist, lighting technician, engineer, site management, administrator etc. Arguably the materials have their usual role in regeneration too, for example: stone, concrete and paint to be used for pavements, streets and buildings. When these human and non-human actors collect as a 'neighbourhood' of art, however instead of their standard position, we see that the actors perform outside of their 'usual'. Their new role is performed in a temporary 'index' of relationships. The relational fabric is constructed for the purposes of the art project. This relational network is made through performed associations. In the performance, as well as the professionals, there are pizza boxes, sandwich wrappers and rubbish. There are bins, pavements and yellow paint for road signs. There are plans and drawings, samples and prototypes.

The materials and part of the sculptures and specially commissioned design features are talked about in the same way as the most mundane urban artefacts; such as bins, cigarettes and fast food. They are not special or separate, but rather equal participants in the transformation of the environment. Terms such as 'fiddling about' (Ethnography, 20.05.10, p. 38) are used by Terry, the project manager. Joe is referred to as 'the artist guy' (Ethnography, 20.05.10, p. 38). In this art 'neighbourhood' the relationships are flat rather than hierarchical.

Through the associations between actors, new actors are made. The becoming of the 'iron filings', as new inhabitants, is closely traced. The 'iron filing' design features are constructed of metal and concrete. The making of them involved Joe as well as Terry, technicians at the foundry, and other specialists. Plans, materials and prototypes also performed a role. The associations between the human and non-human actors produced the 'iron filings'. The 'iron filings' become an obstacle to ignite reflection, a vehicle for thinking.

In the development of Central Square the development of fictions are traced. The professionals shout out ideas for a little stage, a pergola and a gallery. They suggest ideas for what the space underneath the iron filings could be used for: a pet graveyard, a miniature museum. They propose fantastical ideas for the development of the square. In 'the index', there is no autonomous artist, there is no autonomous artwork, there is not autonomous 'community'. Rather there is a process ignited by engaging with the micro 'fictions' that produces a vehicle for engaging with the reality. These relationships produce vehicles for thinking about Central Square.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Chapter 6: After a long walk – in conclusion

36.1 A rich description: considering the methodology

In order to produce a nuanced articulation of the role of art in regeneration, our research was guided by questions surrounding the fluid nature of urban practice. We directed our research by asking: What are the multiple effects produced by visual art in regeneration: what effects are intentional or unintentional; and how do intentions merge? How are these effects produced: what is the role of physical materials and human materials; and how do materials fuse? How best can effects be articulated to inform stakeholders of art and regeneration: how do the discourses and non-discourses meld and separate? To explore these relational textures, the research adopted four research positions. Using anthropological methods of in-depth interviews and ethnography, each position framed a different perspective on art and regeneration.

In position #1, the researcher was embedded in the practice of art at *Akademie Schloss Solitude*. In position #2, to expand her lens on practice, she distanced herself from the micro level to interview a range of practitioners working in art and regeneration outside of their immediate practice environment. After explicating the discourses at this distanced perspective, she moved back to a closer position. She based herself as a participant-observer at an Urban Regeneration Company (URC) for six-months. Here, as well as ethnography, she undertook sixteen in-depth interviews with practitioners of the URC case. To support the explication of the dense material collected from the case study, the interviews with practitioners were presented as distinct from the ethnography. In moving closer to practice, the interviews with practitioners are presented as position #3. As embedded in the practice of art and regeneration, the ethnography is presented as the final position, #4.

During the exploratory week, the researcher prepared herself in the practice of anthropology. Taking inspiration from the pragmatism of Dewey (1934) and being further guided by Actor-Network Theory, interpretive anthropology, and scholars of art, she stepped off a well-trodden path. Instead of looking for art or regeneration as 'physical' or 'social', she began her journey to trace art and regeneration through its relationships as they are produced.

244

As with Malinowski (1961) the researcher took walks through her field of study. At each empirical stage she came across professionals, such as: gallery education officers, curators, artists, planners, culture and tourism officers, culture regeneration officers, museum directors, builders, architects, project managers and engineers. She also variously noted the presence of: pencils, paper, objects, films, policy documents, schedules, maps, plans, drawings, pavements, bins, cigarettes, sculptures and rubbish. Instead of looking at people or objects squarely, or moving to listen to individuals; the research rather blurred its vision and muffled its hearing to take account of what happened in-between.

In her descriptions we do not hear of buildings or artworks, or objects, as being separate as static to be engaged with. Neither do we hear of professionals engaging with these objects, separately from other activities. That and those who are engaged with, and that and those who are engaging are mixed in-motion. People do not sit in the office or a public square, alone. Buildings or sculptures do not stand as-static on the street, in isolation. We are not presented with a blank page showing a cut-out of a professional standing with their colleague musing over what they think about a sculpture with a person on the street. The descriptions rather trace the movement of humans and non-humans associations as part of their shifting context as a dense network of relationships. We have traced the ebbs and flows of a 'micro-climate' of human and non-human relationships. Over eighteen-months, we have described the melding of what is said and what is done amongst colours, shapes, smells, feelings, actions, sounds, bricks and mortar, water and sunlight. These traces have described the complexity of the relational associations: how they shape one another; and how some shapes are observed and talked about, while some are unnoticed and left un-said. We have described how human and non-human associations of what is said, unsaid, done and un-done, produce the rich textures of the urban tapestry.

We have studied art and regeneration by experiencing practice ourselves. Our study does not explain the role of art in urban practice as fact. The contribution of our study is in closely following the associations of practice; and describing this as it happens, to the reader. Through tracing actors at the micro scale we did not observe art as 'works' but *the way* art works as a driver of regeneration. Art is not revealed as physical development or social renewal or as an object as-finished or as 'socially-engaged', or 'participatory'. What is revealed is difficult to articulate within the mode of text-as-language, because it is textual.

To support our words in conveying the movement, personality and density of the relationships of these practices, we have supported our text with photographs and by making 'drawings'. These 'drawings', as the example below, were not presented as representational as 'works', but as *ways of* working out the relationships of the study.
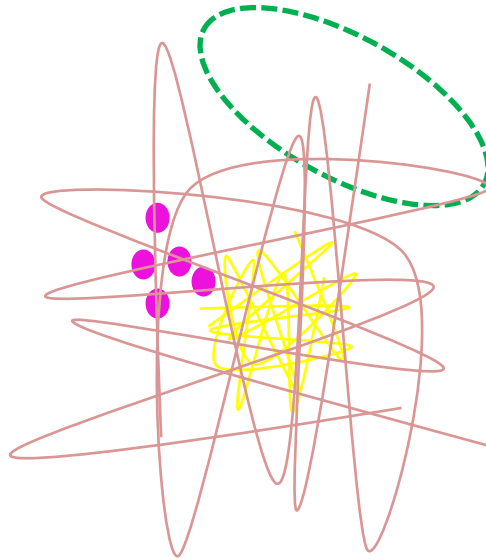

Figure 14 Ethnography: sample sketch – analytic drawing example. JC, 2010.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

6.2 Re-imagining: the way art works in regeneration?

Art is a process of re-imagining the world. Through four empirical studies, we have traced how art supports us to reflect on ourselves in our surroundings. Through an exchange between 'inner' human and 'outer' physical materials, art kindles reflection. In the urban context, art 'mediates' re-consideration *in* and *on* regeneration. Reflection takes place 'inside' urban professionals as 'switched on' by 'outside' objects, materials, natural elements, policy agendas, and concepts. Art is not the sum of physical media; it is a fluid *medium*. Art moves between relationships to support thinking and doing anew. The reflective effects are continuously enacted: inside urban practitioners; and outside, in streets and public squares.

The process of re-imagining is produced through collaboration between urban actors. Touching and altering physical materials, make changes in the way urban professionals think and act. In position #1, Nevaeh, one of the artists at the *Akademie*, described how making her drawings, made changes to her 'inner landscape'. At the Urban Regeneration Company, we traced how the professionals constantly handle prototypes and objects and draw on plans and sketch out new proposals. We watched how the professionals worked with these objects; and how the objects worked with the professionals, by igniting reflection. For example, in the ethnography of position #4, the oblong design features proposed for the development of Central Square, known as the 'iron filings', are made from concrete, Perspex and metal. A combination of physical media, they look like heavy lumps. In the urban performance, however, we trace these lumps moving. As they move as-media, they 'mediate' alterations in the minds and actions of the urban professionals. They encourage humans to ask questions about what they are doing and why they are doing it. By considering the 'iron filings', their inner thoughts are taken to the big picture.

The physical objects, such as the 'iron filings', made as part of the collaborative process are not celebrated as artworks. They are not regarded as special, but as part of the mundane urban fabric. In urban practice they are referred to in the same manner as: bins, floor paint, pavements, pizza boxes, Greggs pasty wrappers and cigarette packets. Their value is not as formed presentations, but as actors on-the-move; as co-presenters of the urban performance. As non-human actors, in-movement, they ignite action in humans.

Objects such as the 'iron filings', as well as the 'shiny sculpture', 'the pulpit' sculpture, 'the frigger' lights and the 'new seats', as described in the ethnography, all ignite reflective-action in professionals. The fluid mutations of the 'shiny sculpture' activated considerations in the researcher, on her environment. In the ethnography we heard how the researcher did not sit in the square where the sculpture was located, in order to purposefully think about her environment. It was rather the associations between the sunlight on the shiny metal, falling across the grass and on to the street, which made her leave her immediate 'inner' concerns to reflect on herself and others sitting and playing around her.

Art sparks participation. Through melding the relationships between actors, art creates a neutral platform to support participation in a collaborative working process. The urban professionals we meet have particular specialisms, professional backgrounds and levels of seniority. We meet senior practitioners such as a city council Director of Culture and Tourism and a Director of a well-regarded UK regional museum. We also meet less senior local authority officers, curators, public art consultants, artists, engineers, lighting technicians, construction workers, and a landscape designer. When 'switched-on' by their associations with non-humans, the professionals become participants of the re-imagining process. As with the experience of the researcher sitting next to the 'shiny sculpture', art supports the professionals to step outside of their usual position, to see their environment anew.

In the ethnography, in the design team meetings, we trace an engineer, project manager, landscape architect and lighting technician, and other colleagues, all make suggestions about the development of Central Square: as a theatre and gallery, and discuss a range of possible roles for the 'iron filings'. As we trace these suggestions we see the imagining of new realities for the square. The platform formed by the collective associations of the actors, enable professionals to position themselves as they choose. Instead of being contained within their professional role, their proxy position as actors in the urban performance enable them to adopt new ways of thinking, saying and doing. While outside of their usual parameters they re-think their role from a new perspective.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

Our study contributes rich descriptions of the relational practice of regeneration and art as a catalyst for reflection as part of the tapestry of urban relationships. In moving away from the social and physical perspectives of the role of art in regeneration, Sharp et al (2005: 1005) made a call for studying the processes through which public art is produced. Through following the processes of production, their ambition was to develop a better understanding of how art fosters a 'sense of inclusion'. Our guiding questions were not to look at how art supports 'inclusion' or a 'sense of inclusion'. We were rather guided by more open questions to encourage the effects of art to be played out on their own terms. Our descriptions, however, do contribute to Sharp's question about the role of public art. We can make a contribution to this literature by describing how art fosters participation. Art supports professionals to be included as part of a collaborative process. We have not recorded whether they feel included, but we have described in detail how art supports them to participate in the collective process of re-thinking regeneration.

In cultural policy literature the role of art is discussed as being either 'aesthetic' or 'functional' (Belfiore, 2012). Similarly, in art studies, art outside of the gallery is discussed in terms of 'physical' or 'social' terms. Through our experiential perspective, we see that to propose art as physical/development *or* social/engaged/renewal is negating the essence of its very being. Art translates and communicates in-between the soft and the hard. Art is a 'mediator'. It shapes things. It is not narrow or sharp, however. It is not honed for making people do something; or think something, as already said. Art transforms. It is enabling and expansive. It is playful. It is energising. It supports practitioners to imagine, think and do. But think and do on their *own* terms.

We have described how visual art as a medium of 'mediation' supports professionals to re-imagine their professional world anew. These descriptions of re-imaginings can also make a contribution to the body of work undertaken by historians such as Bishop (2012) and Meskimmon (2011); surrounding the capacity of art for re-imagining the world and our relationships in it. Through tracing the micro details of practice, our study describes how practitioners are transported out of their everyday immediate concerns to consider themselves in their environment. These reconsiderations of our world relationships take place *through* our relationships. Human and non-human associations form a platform to levitate us outside of our usual constraints, to consider our situation from a new perspective.

At our micro view of practice we do not see buildings or communities. The practice of regeneration is rather revealed as a dense matrix of material exchange amongst the urban actors. Instead of regeneration being understood as physical development or social renewal, a relational regeneration is described: as one of *forming* relationships. This relational description contributes to the literature of urban planning practice. Nadin's account of spatial practice proposes planning as the coordinator of all policy and actions (2007: 43). In our study we have described how the relational practice supports collaboration across the specialisms of professional colleagues. At the micro scale, we see that relationships are continuously forming through the associations of a range of professionals from different departments and disciplines; with objects, materials, policy agendas of the day such as 'vandalism' and 'cleanliness', and concepts such as 'sustainability' and 'social enterprise'.

The policy framework of the case study of the Urban Regeneration Company (URC) states that they are commissioning artists in support of 'sustainable communities'. As Coaffee (2009) and Lombardi et al (2011) state, regeneration can increasingly be understood as aligned with the principles of sustainability. Although the URC is commissioning artists in support of 'sustainable communities', during the six-month period of participant-observation we do not meet 'a community'. At our microscopic level, as the story of Geertz (1973), we are tracing the turtles beneath the hard surfaces of regeneration. In tracing associations we do not see 'a community' as formed, we rather see collectives of associations (re)forming continuously. From here, we do not see the world as built, but rather trace how the world is being built by: builders, architects, regeneration professionals, construction works, artists and objects, materials and ideas.

At our level there is no community. There is no individual person performing as an artist alone; and there is no object identified as an artwork, themselves. There is rather a distribution of agency across all the actors involved. It is a free for all, a place where any person can be any thing; and things can be persons too. We did not set out to observe the role of art in service to policy objectives. We set out to observe the full range of effects as are produced on their own terms. By looking outside of the framework of policy objectives, we have described art as a medium for revealing our realities anew, on their own terms.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

In regeneration processes, increasing emphasis has been put on involving the 'local community' (Mayo, 2004: 139). As well as contributing to improving the design of physical builds and contributing physical artworks, the arts are also seen to be a 'catalyst for positive community engagement' (Coaffee, 2008: 380). Indeed, when interviewing senior local authority officers, they themselves emphasise the role of the arts as being in support of physical development and community development through supporting community participation. In our study we do not observe physical development as a separate sphere; and neither do we observe 'a community'. In the case of the Urban Regeneration Company, 'the community' is referred to and discussed by the practitioners of the office, but we never meet them. Carp (2004: 242) suggests public art, as a *discipline*, makes a valuable contribution to urban transformation, in support of public participation. We have traced regeneration as a practice of forming relationships; and we have traced art as being a driver in their forming. What art does is 'mediate' reflections on what these relationships should be, and how they could be achieved. The relationships that we have traced as forming, however, are not amidst a residential 'community'; they are rather amidst the *professional* community. Our study makes a rich contribution to our understanding of how art supports professionals to step outside of their usual professional parameters to re-think their professional remit.

In contributing to the literature we do not contribute to Carp's (2004) discussion by describing how public art supports 'community' participation. Our contribution is rather by describing how art ignites participation within professionals; to consider their professional role. The process of reflecting on their professional role includes consideration of their relationship with: the physical environment, the economic and political environment, and with 'the community'. The reflective process is interdisciplinary. Art does not bring a new 'specialism' of art to the table. As an experience, rather than an artwork, art brings a conduit for *ways of* working together. In suggesting that art supports ways of working, we offer a second contribution to our understanding of the role of art in regeneration. Rather than call for 'public art' to be recognised as an important discipline within the inter-disciplinary practices of urban regeneration, as suggested by Carp's (2004); we propose art as a *conduit for* inter-disciplinary practice.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

As a neutral platform, art ignites participation across disciplinary and practice fields. It encourages inter-disciplinary working across professional stakeholders of regeneration. Carp (2004: 244) argues that 'public art' encourages participation *despite* its smaller scope and scale. We propose that it is, in part, *because of* the smaller scale of art that it is able to mobilise reflection. Through engaging professionals in small actions, they reflect on the bigger picture of regeneration itself. As an inherently inter-disciplinary process, we can make a further contribution. Nadin (2007: 53) refers to spatial practice, as a learning process. Nadin suggests that learning in spatial planning promotes 'understanding and argument in a collaborative political process' (2007: 53). As professional participants of the art process, the practitioners 'reflect-in-action' (Schön, 1991). As part of this action-learning process they adopt new positions and perspectives on their professional context.

In considering the role of the artist alongside the 'core' disciplines of planning: architecture, surveying and civil engineering (as well as more recent additions), Taylor (1997: 325) suggests that the role of the artist, more than the physical object, lies in the skills of the artists themselves. Taylor suggests that artists have skills of observation and representation that result in responses 'unfamiliar to planners' (1997: 327). Artists and their specific skills, they suggest, however, are not readily integrated within the planning profession because the 'art world' puts up barriers to discourage 'outsiders'. In our study we have taken down the barriers of the 'art world' to trace the practices of art amongst urban practice. In tracing the movements of practice we have described the 'responses' mobilised by art, as being reflective. These reflections, however, are not generated by artists themselves. They are generated by artists in collaboration with other professionals, as well as materials, objects and other non-humans.

As a medium for professional re-consideration, art re-shapes political objectives. Art ignites reflection amongst the dense relational exchange. As with the motion process of the art experience, the worlds of art and politics are not separate but performed as-one. By regarding urban practice through tracing the microscopic movements of the relational associations, we can contribute to the description of regeneration as interdisciplinary and 'holistic' (Hildreth, 2007: 227)). Regeneration practice as interdisciplinary, not because it brings together the work of different professional specialisms or disciplines; but because of *the way* these specialisms are 'mediated' to work together.

Through the three interview studies we are introduced to a disconnect between policy and practice. Policy as-fixed, has an available language of terms, such as 'community cohesion' and 'social inclusion'. Practice as-fluid, has an emergent vocabulary. The language of practice is made during the transactions of practice. Instead of being available for quick use, this language is produced through experience, slowly. Representing various proximities to art and regeneration, the interviewees describe art as an experience. What makes art distinct from the mundane practices of our everyday, is that art ignites reflection *on* our common place. Art does not reflect reality; it changes our relationship to it.

Our study presents regeneration not in terms of the domains of 'the social' or 'the physical' or department specialisms, such as engineering, landscape design, planning or project management, but as the fluid that oils their exchange. We have traced the fluid as exchanged between humans and non-humans, between their 'inner' and 'outer' materials. In making a further contribution to the regeneration literature, we can note that it is difficult to study regeneration outside of its political context because it is *part of* the political context: politics in the sense of shaping realities. Regeneration is an active mode of communication, as shaping political realities. Art, as a 'mediator', supports practitioners to both collaborate and individually reflect on the possible shapes of reality yet to come.

Art is a dot on a line: something to be considered. As such, it it is not insignificant. Without it we would keep walking in the same direction. As an 'obstacle', a dot makes professionals stop: think, reflect, and move on. The dot does not come out of nowhere. It rather emerges from the collective associations between materials, objects and professionals. These 'little dots' are already there, just somewhere else. When the 'big dot' appears, it is not for *solving* a problem; like a 'full stop'. It more so *reveals* something: as a point for consideration.

6.3 Contribution to knowledge

6.3.1 Art in Regeneration: the anthropological perspective

Inspired by Actor-Network Theory, following in the footsteps of anthropologists of art, art in regeneration is revealed as a *medium* for re-imagining professional possibilities. Through rich descriptions we reveal how professional-participants consider their circumstances anew. Art is not physical as 'public art' or 'socially-engaged' as community participation. At the microscopic scale of practice we do not see sculptures, or other artefacts, finished. We are not introduced to individuals or communities being engaged. At our micro level, our contribution to understanding the role of art in regeneration, is in tracing *the way* art works. Our descriptions refute the notion that you are *engaged with* when made of physical media; and *engaging* as human flesh and voice. We also challenge that anyone or thing inspires alone.

Inspired by art as experience, we are reminded of Dewey's understanding of communication 'being like art' (1916: 07). Through our study we have contributed rich descriptions of the communicative qualities of what and how art supports relationships. The artefact of art does not talk alone. Made of media associations between humans and non-humans, it 'mediates' links amongst actors; modifying their 'relationships of force' (Hennion and Latour, 1993: 22). Its voice and movement is produced through itself as a relational tapestry. It acts as a medium in-between: humans and non-humans, 'inner' and 'outer'; and their profesional situation now, and the possibilities of the next. In regeneration, art does not simply communicate. Art 'mediates' the *forming* of relationships as a vehicle for considering the professional's remit anew. The 'mediating' qualities of art are generated through the 'switching on' of actors, by each other. Physical 'prototypes' are made by humans; and in turn, these objects ignite action in their human makers.

Our study set out to make a specific contribution to our understanding of visual art as an art form. We did not set out, for example, to study literature or performing arts, such as: theatre or dance. Visual art, however, is not described as a *form*; but revealed as a *performance*; enacted through a dense network of relationships.

Julie Crawshaw. 2012

6.3.2 New urbanism

What does tracing visual art reveal about regeneration? At the micro level of tracing art practice amongst the practice of regeneration, we are not introduced to buildings or communities as-formed: we are introduced to a continuous practice of *forming* relationships. Rather than 'physical' or 'social', regeneration is revealed as textual. Rather than a fixed state it is a process of human and non-human relationships re-shaping the city.

In practice, regeneration is performed via the associations between a range of human and non-human actors. Instead of supporting community participation, we trace the forming of relationships amongst urban professionals and their non-humans, such as: plans, concrete, ideas and natural elements. Instead of 'soft' or 'hard' the process can be described as 'communication' or 'translation': a process of developing a new language to support collaboration across stakeholders. As an active mode of communication, regeneration is part of the political context: it shapes realities.

Art 'mediates' relationships between the professionals and non-human actors. Rather than a discrete discipline art is a neutral platform as a *conduit* in support of interdisciplinary working. Art in regeneration works in support of *professional* collaboration. The way art works is through micro fluid exchanges; between human and non-human 'inner' and 'outer' materials. These fluid exchanges, traceable by the ethnographer, ignite reflection *in* the urban professionals *on* their regeneration remit. Art supports spatial planning practice – as a learning process. Rather than bringing new observational skills to the table art supports professionals, to observe things anew, themselves.

6.3.3 Practice and policy

We have described visual art practice in regeneration. So what? What is the value of our efforts? How can our descriptions inform stakeholders of regeneration and cultural policy? The cultural policy literature reports a crisis in the art sector's ability to advocate sufficiently for its public role. Belfiore (2012) calls for a more thoughtful and philosophical approach. Directed by the experiential philosophy of Dewey (1934), this thesis contributes a nuanced articulation of the effects of visual art in regeneration, outside of the ambitions of policy. We suggest that the crisis lies in what people are able to say about practice; rather that what happens in practice. The role of visual art as a 'mediator' for new ways of seeing and doing is very relevant. We must articulate this clearly. Art supports people to understand the world and how it could be; on, and in, their *own terms*.

Our contribution to stakeholders is to say: to understand the big picture we must observe the small actions of practice, carefully. Look down from what is visible and loud; try and sense what is barely there. This is where the new begins. This is where things are made possible. This is where art is at work, amongst the textures of the deep. This study has not evaluated the role of art in regeneration. We have studied it, by tracing what it does in 'the raw'. By tracing the raw materials of art as it (ex)changes, we notice that the natural mode of art is not to do anything in particular; the way art works is in support of others to work out for themselves what they want to do. Therefore to say that art delivers against policy objectives, either 'physical' or 'social', is difficult ground. Art is not shaped narrowly for a particular purpose. Art is fashioned as textured to roll out, stretch and shrink; for the purpose of enabling emergent and yet unknown thoughts and actions to be materialised.

Through our material descriptions we can confidently say that visual art has the capacity to enable regeneration professionals to mobilise new thinking and doing. We can also say, with confidence, that the art process 'mediates' collective working across professional specialisms of urban practice. Through altering the 'inner' materials of the professionals, we propose that we can consider the art experience as professional learning. This is an emergent finding. Our study is not one of articulating the role of art in support of learning; but we can propose that our descriptions of reflecting-in-action are aligned with the field of action-based and experiential learning, such as the work of Schön (1991).

We propose that it is in enabling the unintended where the raw value of art rests; not in its ability to deliver pre-stated outcomes. It is thinking *and* doing; not just doing something as pre-thought. Through thinking and doing, the medium of visual art mediates re-imaginings to form new understandings.
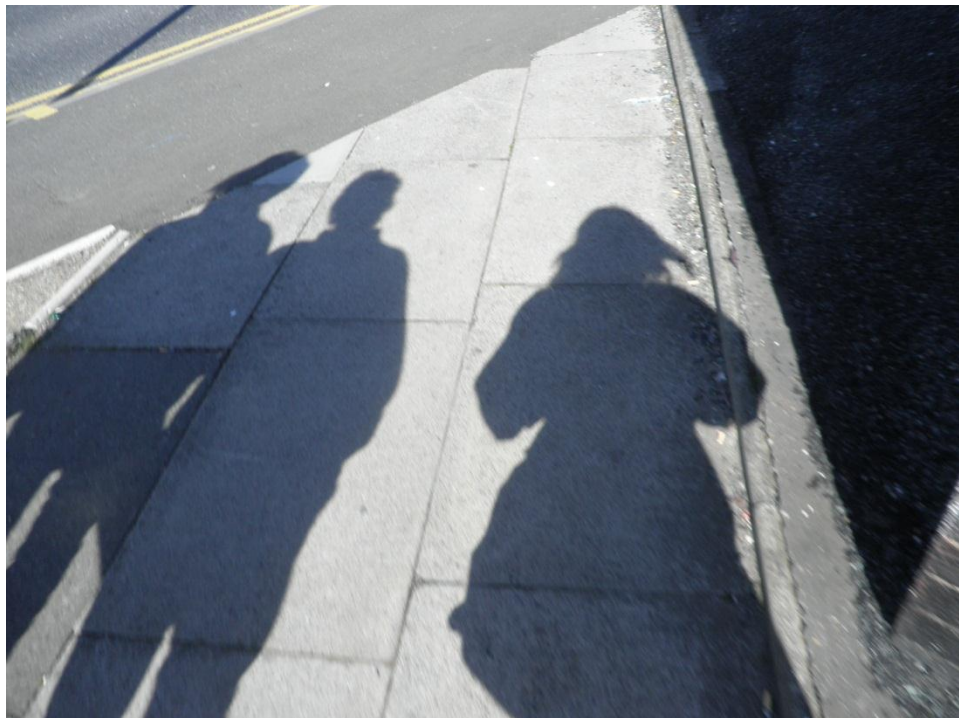

Photo 93 Ethnography: Terry, Joe and the researcher. JC, 2010.

6.4 Next steps: emergent questions for future research

Through explicating the role of art in urban practice, emergent questions have arisen in support of shaping further research. In reflecting on our research, emergent questions for further consideration of art include: Are the 'mediation' effects of visual art in urban transformation distinct from the effects of other art forms such as music, literature or theatre? How are the effects of other art forms mobilised? In considering our findings in relation to the role of visual art in support of professional collaboration: How is the experience of the professionals transferred throughout their career progression? How is their learning internalised? As a platform in support of interdisciplinary thinking and doing: How can visual art support new ways of thinking about urbanism? How can visual art support performing new urbanism?

We are in an unprecedented period of economic, social and environmental change. The world is looking for new ways of seeing and doing. Our research has explicated the role of art in regeneration. We have described the collective performance of visual art as an inherently inter-disciplinary reflective process that supports regeneration professionals to re-think and re-consider their remit. At the time of this study, regeneration could be understood as a political tool for urban transformation as directed by the policies of the time; enacted by town planners and other urban practitioners. The underlying ambition of regeneration was one of positive urban change enacted through collaboration to foster holistic and interdisciplinary approaches to urban transformation. As a tool for the policies of the time, 'regeneration' has a shelf-life. As an articulation of the role of art as a medium: 'mediating' collaboration in support of positive urban transformation, the findings of this study continue to be relevant.

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270

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