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**The art in the environment experience: Reactions to public
murals in England**

Isreal, Toby Francis, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1988

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THE ART IN THE ENVIRONMENT EXPERIENCE: REACTIONS
TO PUBLIC MURALS IN ENGLAND

by

TOBY FRANCES ISRAEL

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Psychology in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
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University of New York.

1988

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 26, 1988
Date

Leanne H. Rortin
Chair of Examining Committee

April 26, 1988
Date

Herbert D. Foltzstein
Executive Officer

Professor Maxine Wolfe
Professor Marlene Park
Professor David Chapin
Dr. Nora Rubinstein
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

THE ART IN THE ENVIRONMENT EXPERIENCE: REACTIONS TO
PUBLIC MURALS IN ENGLAND

by

Toby Isreal

Adviser: Professor Leanne Rivlin

Given the heated debate surrounding art in public places, the conflicting claims about what people think and feel about such works, the purpose of this study was to build on previous research involving art, public, and place to explore the social and psychological experience of art in the environment.

In Part I, the Comparative Site Study, four murals in the Newcastle Upon Tyne region of Northern England were studied. The individual mural settings selected were either residential or commercial locales. The artworks, themselves, differed in terms of how they were created, involving either community participation or no community participation. Interviewing and observing were carried out at all four sites and data were obtained that could be analyzed on a comparative basis.

Part II of this research was a case study that included an in-depth analysis of the impact of the creation of a participatory art work, a mural in a residential place. Work on this mural included the researcher's own involvement as facilitator of this participatory project.

The results of this study indicated that almost a third of those passing by the murals reported being aware of them. Although all of the murals were positively rated, those that did not involve any community participation received the highest ratings. This was particularly true where the work was done by a local artist, depicting local scenes with personal meaning. Some participant's sense of their creativity was increased through involvement with the mural project. Despite these findings, people had differing feelings about whether or not murals had a positive impact on places. People's opinions of the murals did not affect their opinions of either the setting or neighborhood containing the artwork. Passerby's experience of the murals did not measurably differ in residential versus commercial locales. Participation in a mural project did not increase participants' or residents' sense of belonging, community, or commitment to place. Overall, however, results indicated that the overwhelming majority of those interviewed were in favor of more murals in the public domain.

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INTRODUCTION

I have wanted to conduct research on people's responses to art in public places ever since the early 1970s. My reasons were both professional and personal. On a professional level, I had administered New Jersey's Arts Inclusion (art in public places) program from 1980-1982. While in that position I had helped purchase and commission thousands of dollars worth of sculpture, murals, and prints for public facilities. After such artworks were installed, though, I was never able to say with certainty what impact these works were having on people and places. This seemed particularly unfortunate given the increasingly controversial nature of putting art in the public domain: Members of the public, art administrators, art critics, and politicians around the country had begun to raise questions about the role of public art in American society. Questions they posed included, for example:

- 1) Should we have art in public places?
- 2) If we should, what form should that art take?
- 3) Who should create such works?
- 4) Who should select them?
- 5) Where should they be placed or created?

Answers to these questions were often contradictory and the controversy surrounding art in public places practices was eventually dubbed the "Public Art Debate" by the mass media.

Those in favor of public art expressed the view that society was more humane for its existence. Practical benefits were also cited; lobbyists for such public subsidies for the arts insisted, for example, that art in public places provided a progressive image as a symbol of a city's values, played a substantive role in tourism and urban development, re-circulated money into the economy through a kind of "ripple" effect (Linker, 1981, p.68), provided a new venue and source of income for artists and, in some cases, played a functional role as well. Works of art served as landmarks, play and resting places. Given the importance of art in public places, some art critics objected to what they saw as the pressure to create homogenized images which would please America's pluralistic society.

Other members of the public at large, however, objected to art in public places which they felt had been imposed upon them by an elite art establishment. Works which were considered too esoteric to be meaningful or which seemed downright ugly, were dubbed by some critics as the "Turd in the Plaza" or "Plop Sculpture" -- pieces placed in their settings without real thought or consideration for their context. Vandalism to public works of art was sometimes interpreted as a sign of rejection by a public "distinguishing between projects done to them and projects done with them" (Crockcroft, Weber, and Crockcroft, 1977, p.81). Speaking in "The Public Interest" some went as far as to insist that "the

harms caused by public contemporary sculpture are akin in structure, though perhaps not in degree, to the harms caused by public display of pornography" (Stalker and Glymour, 1982, p.17).

The debate came to a head in 1985 when Richard Serra's "Tilted Arc", commissioned in 1979 by the General Services Administration, was ordered removed after a much publicized outcry by workers at the Jacob K. Javits Federal Building in New York City. Workers there had complained that the building's plaza had been bisected by what they described as this "huge, rusted, metal barrier" (New York Times, March 7, 1985).

Given the opposing and impassioned arguments on either side of the now long standing art in public places debate, the many conflicting claims and the large amount of public money involved, one would imagine that considerable time and effort would have been spent formally assessing the impact of such programs in economic, aesthetic and social terms. Few such evaluations exist. There is a distinct lack of critical insight, and an analytical framework for examining and attempting to resolve aspects of the public art debate. Few attempts have been made, in fact, to determine how people respond to such varied works of art in their environment. The absence of theory, critical assessment and empirical research led me to conduct the present research.

On a personal level, my own background in the arts

and social sciences made me particularly aware of the aesthetic and social issues inherent in art and public places projects. I had become involved in the world of public art precisely because it encompassed issues in both fields. As I had been introduced to them, however, these fields made strange bedfellows. Where art was concerned, I had been taught in the traditional art historical mode to believe that there was one notion of beauty, of artistic greatness, which could be analyzed in terms of the elements of artistic design. As a social scientist, however, I was trained to challenge one-dimensional notions of reality (a single concept of beauty, for example) and to examine further the psychological, cultural and political factors which affect our sense of what was real or true.

As a member of the 60s generation I was influenced by those challenging elite conceptions of the world, yet this meant that I had to reformulate my own notions of reality, of beauty, of art. Certainly, where art in public places was concerned, I felt that most of the proposals submitted to the Arts Inclusion competitions were conceived of as works of "Fine Art" in the elite tradition. Few really seemed to consider the social or environmental demands placed on public art.

In order to come to terms with these professional and personal dilemmas I felt that I needed to re-examine my own definition of art in public places, to review the types of public artworks to which I had been exposed in my

lifetime and to explore alternative public art practices. Such examination and review caused me to look again at the history of post-war art in public places in America. Such exploration led me to investigate art in the environment practices in Great Britain.

American Perspectives

Since the 1950s American approaches to art in the environment have fluctuated between emphasis on an artistic product and emphasis on the artistic process. In the post-war period focus was on the artistic product, the work of art created by a single artist to be consumed by a mass audience. During this time America was experiencing an economic boom which meant "commensurate growth in art's status value" (Linker, 1981, p.65). It was a new era of private corporate patronage, with big businesses purchasing or commissioning artworks for the increasing number of corporate plazas. Newly created large scale abstract steel sculptures blended with glass and steel skyscrapers which together were intended to symbolize a progressive, modern attitude. As more and more of such artworks began to dot American cities, they became recognizable as art in public places, works which emphasized physical accessibility of the public to art deliberately placed in a particular setting.

By the end of the 1960s, however, public art, art made or appreciated by a non-expert audience, became popular and represented a new emphasis on the process

approach to art. By this time many Americans were no longer willing to consume the corporate vision of Utopia. Many considered the art in public places of the 1950s to late 1960s merely superficial adornment -- "sculptural jewelry." Rather than humanizing towering new buildings, such "Sculpture in the Plaza" came to symbolize the harsh, cold and overwhelming nature of the corporate establishment.

Sparked by the Civil Rights Movement and later the Anti-War Movement, "a mass of people who were anti-bureaucratic, anti-big, anti-elite, pro-participation and improvement and anti-corruption and waste" (Riessman, 1979, p.73) began a 60s Revolution. This Woodstock generation reasserted the power of the person to express a more human and individual identity. Art was no longer something to be simply observed but rather to be experienced. Political demonstration became performance art. Houses built by occupants were popular and were decorated in new, bold and colorful psychedelia of the "expanding consciousness." Body Art was fashionable.

Many artists working in this new context turned their attention from the corporate monolith to the creation of murals in the urban landscape. These murals:

. . . challenged the prevailing images of power often giving explicit expression to the social and political dissatisfaction of minority groups, especially . . . [this] inner city mural phenomenon, was not by a

single artist but by groups of artists, and not just by artists, but by an entire class, one that is usually far removed from privilege . . . Its search was not for an audience, but for an arena to display the values of its audience (Crockcroft, Weber, Crockcroft, 1977, p.xxiii).

As more and more of these murals proliferated during the late 1960s, what became known as America's "Community Mural Movement" was born. Community mural groups such as the Chicago Mural Group, the Public Art Workshop, (also in Chicago) and Cityarts in New York City exemplified the process approach to public art. Such groups were described as having:

. . . a rationale of working for the local audience . . . around issues that concerned the immediate community using art as a medium of, for and with the local audience. They involved artists with community issues, community organizing and community response to their artwork. They were usually painted in neighborhoods of working class and oppressed groups. Frequently they were done by non-white artists indigenous to the neighborhood. Often in a figurative or expressionistic style, they almost always involved some form of local support. (Crockcroft et al., 1977, p.30).

By the mid 1970s, however, there appeared to be divergent philosophies about ways to achieve change and the role of the artist in this struggle. The mural movement, for example, branched off in two distinct directions including both the "community based approach" described above and the "urban environmentalist approach" (Crockcroft et al., 1977).

The "urban environmentalist approach" tended to adopt more of the product approach inherent in the art in public places of the 1950s - mid 1960s. It:

. . . emphasized making art available to the general public, improving the looks of the city, and supporting artists. Usually painted by white artists, urban environmentalist murals were normally commissioned. Their style was frequently abstract or decorative. Their content purported to be non-ideological. (Crockcroft et al., pp. 29-30).

Government art policies also reflected this fluctuation in emphasis. The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) was created in 1965 as America's main government organization responsible for public patronage. In 1972, they created their Inner City Mural Program to support grassroots people's murals projects. Likewise in the 70s the NEA developed a comprehensive Artist-in-Schools program which placed not only visual artists but poets, musicians and architects in classrooms across the

country.

Public funding of such programs removed their political bite and it is certainly possible to argue that the radical artists of the 60s and early 70s lured into the system were bought off in this way. On the other hand such funding provided an important new source of patronage for artists and made the arts accessible to a larger number of people than might otherwise have been possible. Regardless of individual philosophies, such programs did represent an overall philosophy which placed emphasis on the PROCESS of creation, not simply the consumption of a product.

By 1973, however, its Inner City Mural Program had been dropped as a special category by the NEA and re-absorbed into its Works of Art in Public Places Program. Thus, according to Crockcroft et al., the "community based approach to public art was replaced by the 'urban environmentalist' approach" (p.37). Artists no longer sought collective involvement but instead were professionals commissioned by varying combinations of Federal or State bureaucrats, art administrators, architects, art "experts" and the "user representatives" (usually the chief administrator responsible for the new public facility which was to contain art).

On the national level, other Federal agencies including the General Services Administration, the U.S. Veterans Administration and the Departments of Transportation and Housing and Urban Development also had

initiated art in public places programs modelled along similar lines. Throughout the 1970s, a number of city and state governments followed suit, passing "Percent for Art" legislation which mandated that a portion of monies used for government building projects be appropriated for works of art at those sites.

Commissioned works included, but also went beyond, the "Sculpture in the Plaza" prototypes of art in public places which had become so familiar during the 1950s and 1960s. New policies, for example, encompassed environmental art, art formed of or in the existing environment (i.e. Earth Art), as well as experimental artist and architect collaborations and more murals. Although many of these works were innovative, they were no longer revolutionary in the social or political sense. By the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s most U.S. art in public places no longer carried the overt political messages or incorporated the community participation inherent in the public art of the previous decade.

By the mid 1980s, however, the Tilted Arc controversy added new impetus to the public art debate and helped create another "about face" in American art in public places policy. In 1984, for example, Insights on Sites, published by the National Endowment for the Arts, suddenly placed new emphasis on the social dimensions of art in public places projects. Although the book called for a "contextual approach" (p.24), it provided few examples of any new working methods. Instead most of the

projects described seemed experimental ventures which were still basically of the traditional art in public places mode.

British Perspectives

In 1982 I travelled to Great Britain in order to find out more about alternative approaches to art in the environment. Of course Great Britain and other European and non-European countries have a long tradition of art in the environment (a broad term describing art placed in the natural or built world or art as the natural or built world). Prehistoric cave paintings, medieval churches and monasteries, and many of the great civic buildings built before the twentieth century exemplified the blending of art and the environment. My primary interest, however, was in exploring practices and trends that existed in my own life-time and I was particularly intrigued by Britain's ongoing concern with the social, economic and political aspects of art.

The history of post-war public art in Great Britain in many ways parallels America's product/process vacillation. In 1948, the first "Open Air Exhibition of Sculpture" was organized by the London County Council. It included the works of artists such as Moore and Hepworth whose outdoor sculpture came to symbolize the best aspirations of modern culture.

By 1956 the London County Council had decided to spend "£20,000 per year on permanently sited sculpture in

the hopes of 'humanizing' the impact of stark new mass produced housing and public building." (Biggs from Davies and Knipe, 1984, p.25). However such works were not welcomed with open arms. Often they became a focus for people's dissatisfaction with their new urban "functionalist and brutalist" (Davies and Knipe, p.26) surroundings.

This dissatisfaction continued until the events of the late 1960s encouraged a re-evaluation of the art-public-place relationship in Britain. At that point, as in the U.S., people had become fed up with politicians' and planners' conceptions of their environment. The Vietnam war protest had raised social consciousness in the U.S. as well as abroad. But while American protests concentrated primarily on the injustices of war and racial inequality, British concerns focused on dissatisfaction with the still rigid class structure. Issues of British racial prejudice remained in the background.

Community became the O.K. word of the 70s

. . . Behind the label . . . there grew a new way of working which seemed to offer real potential for social change. Activists and radicals were involved in community projects. "Community" for them was openly political concerned with the working class (South Tyneside Community Arts, 1980, p.15).

Artists sought new ways to involve people in community arts projects. In the late 1960s, David Harding

was appointed as the first "Town Artist" in Glenrothes, Fife by the New Town Corporation there. In this pioneering position he worked alongside town planners and architects as:

- 1) the artist as planner - injecting creativity into planning,
- 2) the artist working with architects and designers . . . creating objects; giving the environment identity
- 3) the artist as community artist - [creating opportunities for the town's people] to express themselves and create their own environment (Braden, 1978, p. 42).

His successes encouraged the funding of other town artists' posts between 1974-1976 at Milton Keynes, Peterlee, Washington, Telford and other locales. Most important, such working relationships began to "challenge the notion of the artist as a 'special person'" (Braden, 1978, p.61) and attempted to forge a new connection between artists and people. "By the early 1970s the first community arts groups were being formed with, in a few cases, members of the community taking equal initiating roles alongside professional artists" (Braden, 1978, p.5).

The "Freeform" group in London, for example, became best known for their murals as well as their environmental work. This community arts group:

- . . . collaborate[d] with the community art group at every stage of an artistic project.
- Through this engagement it was . . . hoped

that a greater sense of community between people would be developed, which in turn would self-generate further artistic contributions to the common good. The art therefore was as much in the success of the collaboration as the object collaborated upon. (McEwen from Townsend, 1984, p.73).

The methods employed by them were in direct contrast ". . . with the Art Labs of the late 1960s and early 1970s, which tended to be collectives of artists combining to make work that was angled at the community, though rarely seeking its creative participation." (McEwen from Townsend, 1984, p.73).

Instead, for example, Greenwich Mural Workshop, another Community Arts group, established a different working process:

We meet with the community group and get to know them. We find out generally what they need, and they see who we are and how we work . . . We organize meetings together with the community and discuss the mural's location, its theme and how it should be funded.

From these themes which are verbally stated we, the artists, visualize sketch designs. We try to prepare at least eight designs, and these are taken to the next meeting, where, through discussion, the theme gets

clarified and we are enabled to do further drawing. So the process continues until the image is firmly agreed and becomes a contract between us. (Kenna, 1985).

By 1977 there were over 60 outdoor sites in Great Britain containing murals (Barnet, 1984). Two years later, Tower Hamlets alone had that many murals, with others completed across Britain -- in Plymouth, Brighton, Luton, Swindon, Liverpool, Manchester, Bury, Oldham, Heywood and many other places. Community arts in general had expanded to such an extent that by 1977 there were five hundred members of the Association of Community Artists.

Just as the American art in public places scene was the subject of debate, similarly, the U.K. mural and community arts movement was widely criticized. As early as 1977, the well-known British art critic Richard Cork had warned:

The mere fact that a mural is 50 feet high and next door to a pub does not offer grounds for supposing that it will engage either the attention or the loyalty of the local population. People have an understandable ability to remain impervious to anything which seems too removed from their concerns; and should a mural protest its presence in too domineering a way, their apathy can be replaced by resentment or even

outright vandalism . . . On the whole mural painters still have much to learn about the equalitarianism they profess to practice. If artists want to operate in the most public of contexts and produce work which everyone can view on his street corner, they must ensure that the murals, themselves, honour the demands at once of the locations and the spectators concerned. (Cork, 1977, p.398).

Almost ten years later, in discussing "radical" murals, Owen Kelly levelled similar criticisms:

Such murals do not provide a focal point for a group, nor an emblem for a community; they simply oppress people . . . they demand attention from the passerby in a way which brooks no argument and they shout their messages at a volume which makes reception compulsory to all but the blind, and acts as a form of ideological conscription . . . (Kelly, 1984 p.115).

Despite potential pitfalls, other community-based art schemes were also developed in the U.K. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, one of the major British charities concerned with art and community issues, assumed a leadership role by creating and/or supporting a number of programs and projects which sought to involve artists directly with the community. In 1973, for example, they

set up an Artist in Schools Program which placed artists in residence in secondary and primary schools. They also funded Artist in Industry schemes and other programs which placed artists in hospital settings. Artists in each of these situations were called upon to respond to their environmental as well as social contexts.

All such groups and schemes varied in relation to their political commitment. For some:

. . . the community arts movement offered a wide range of techniques to radicals and community activists suitable for spreading their message . . . [but for others] . . . Community arts was more concerned with creativity and expression for its own sake. "Community" in [this] sense developed from the idea of reaching and working with a wider audience, not specifically the working class. (South Tyneside Community Arts, 1980, p.15, p.18).

This divergence also was reflected in British Government policy toward such activities. In 1975-76 for example, the Arts Council of Great Britain (A.C.G.B), (the U.K. counterpart of the National Endowment for the Arts) set up its own Community Arts Committee. "The State recognized the use that the community self help approach might have in dealing with what were euphemistically termed 'disadvantaged groups'" (South Tyneside Community

Arts, 1980, p.18). Regional Arts Associations, partially funded by the A.C.G.B., likewise continued to develop community arts policies and practices.

More recently, however, the art in the environment trend has come full circle as the A.C.G.B., Regional Art's Associations and other British groups (i.e. the Gulbenkian Foundation) have begun to fund more traditional art in public places practices along with community-oriented approaches. Now, once again, such organizations are encouraging artists to work alongside architects, planners and other environmental professionals to create richer, more humane environments. Many of these agencies now provide grant aid for two-dimensional and three-dimensional works placed in urban and rural environments.

This shift in emphasis may reflect disillusionment with more radical approaches since the waning of the "60s Revolution." Lack of public activism has refocussed attention on the place aspect of art in the environment rather than the public aspect. Then too, the British have been influenced by international trends in art in public places in recent years. Many of the art in the environment conferences held in Britain since 1982 have featured, for instance, "successful" American attempts to place art in public setting during the past twenty years.

Looking back, as David Harding has explained:

The sad thing is that where a number of community artists have created the head of steam for art in the street, in public

places -- when it comes down to the crunch now and money is given out, it is usually given to named artists who have enlarged studio work for the street . . . [As in America] . . . there is a very strong distinction between art in public places and mural art. The distinction I make is that mural work in Britain is collaborative, participatory and community based. Art in public places is still "parachute art" -- not contextualized either physically or socially. Many artists are beginning to make token efforts to relate context but not in a big way . . . I think [the future direction in mural art/art in public places] must be toward context. (Harding, 1985).

Given such convincing critiques and my own disillusionment with many of the Arts Inclusion proposals, I had to agree with those emphasizing the importance of context in relation to art in the environment. By the mid 1980s, however, most of those involved in putting art in public places seemed to have joined the "context" bandwagon. In order for such a concept to be really meaningful, it was necessary to explore and understand the nature of relationships which could be established between the artistic, social and environmental dimensions of these projects. This meant looking beyond the often superficial and perhaps sensationalized picture of art in public

places and public reaction to it as presented in the press. In developing plans for of the present study, for example, I wanted to know what research, if any, had previously been conducted regarding people's responses to such artworks.

Relevant Background Literature

Before undertaking the present research, it was necessary to carry out an extensive review of the literature relating to art in the environment. Unfortunately, there is only a small amount of material dealing explicitly with post-war art in public places. Certainly there are relevant works that look at aspects of such phenomena during other periods. Numerous art history books for instance discuss prehistoric cave paintings and European art and architecture during the Medieval and Renaissance periods. Particularly relevant also are descriptions and discussions of the Works Progress Administration's Federal art programs (WPA/FAP) which existed during the New Deal era of the 1930s (O'Connor 1971; Park and Markowitz, 1977). During this Depression period, such government patronage programs provided jobs for unemployed artists, many of whom created works of art for public places. An extensive review of this literature is not possible within the scope of the present study. Moreover, none of these works attempt to document viewer response to specific pieces of art in public places.

What current research and theory there are regarding Post-War art in the environment generally falls into three categories

- 1) Descriptions/discussions of experimental approaches of the mid 1950s - mid 1970s.

The work of Popper (1975) chronicles the growing link between artistic concern, community expression and

political statement. Crockcroft et al (1977) similarly provides a strong case for the importance of participatory approaches in the realm of public art. Others, including Kapprow (1966) and Halprin (1975), explore the artistic experience in relation to the environment as an essential part of the human expressive process.

Gyorgy Kepes (1956) went further to propose a "New Landscape" in which "artists need not confine themselves to patterns . . . reached . . . abstractly but should compose freely about a theme suggested by nature" (Kepes, 1956, p.274). For him, patterns in nature even on the microscopic level -- their "symmetry, balance and rhythmic sequence" (Kepes, 1956, p.24) were seen as important in connecting "our physical, psychological, physiological and symbolic worlds" (Kepes, 1956, p.252). Still, most of the work by these authors remains in the theoretical realm; none based their ideas on systematic research into the social or psychological impact of art in the environment on people.

3) Case Study, "How to" examples of approaches in the 1970s and 1980s

Case studies have been published primarily by those involved in government programs during this period. In the U.S., Green and Rash (1976), Harney (1981) and Thalacker (1980). describe the "ins" and "outs" of the funding and commissioning processes while also providing insiders' views of the controversy surrounding some of the

works. Similar books documenting art in public places practices appeared in Great Britain a number of years later (Townsend, 1984; Petherbridge, 1987). While the U.K. publications give an insightful view of British public art efforts, most of these American and British publications are meant only to document, inform, and/or act as public relations material rather than discuss the deeper theoretical issues involving art in public places.

3) Critiques of art in public places in the 1980s.

Critiques have appeared in numerous American and British national and local art, architecture and planning periodicals over the past few years (Douglas, 1983). As previously discussed, most focus on the elite versus populist debate (taking one side or another) while others evaluate specific works in traditional art historical or aesthetic terms.

Fleming and Von Tschanner (1981) go further to suggest a model design for "Public Art that Tells You Where You Are." But their plan for artisans and artists to translate a carefully developed environmental profile, "a sort of map of the physical, sociological, and cultural terrain of a place" (p.113) assembled by a multidisciplinary team of experts, by their own admission, has failed. Such failure suggests the fruitlessness of attempts to bypass more genuine forms of participation.

One researcher, Robinette (1976), carried out a

study of "subjective response" from "casual observers of a given work or works of outdoor sculpture" (p.92). She interviewed people in fifteen specific locations in eight cities in the United States. Her interview questionnaire included twenty close-ended questions. Overall 375 people were surveyed with demographic information collected on age, sex, education, and occupation collected also. According to Robinette, the results of her study indicated:

Response to contemporary works is relatively favorable; that public opinion strongly favors using artists, architects and other creative professionals in the selection and placement of sculpture; that public funding of such programs is generally favored; and that outdoor sculpture is recognized as an important, positive element in our urban environment (p.94).

Analysis of demographic data also yielded interesting results. Robinette found that:

The educational level of the respondent appeared to have little bearing on awareness [of works] . . . There seemed to be some indication [also] that age, which determines to some extent the individual's awareness and attitudes, is a factor influencing response to sculpture in the outdoor environment . . . The highest responses came

from those under 18, the lowest from those over 55 (p.92).

But Robinette regarded her research as simply "a pilot study or pre-study to provide guidelines for the development and implementation of further research in this area" (p.92). The closed-ended nature of her questions excluded, in fact, the potential for richer responses, especially regarding the meaning or feeling conveyed by individual works. In addition, her questionnaires elicited opinions about such artwork rather than examining behavior in relation to them.

In another study recently completed, Degnore (1987) attempted to expand on Robinette's work. Her research, conducted in New York City, included both interviewing and behavioral mapping of passersby in nine different locations containing art. Rather than simply focussing on outdoor sculpture, Degnore also included two-dimensional outdoor murals as part of her analysis. She also identified two types of sculptures -- abstract and representational ones as important for study. Degnore analyzed responses to these types of artworks under three different sets of conditions: high and low density settings, business and residential settings, and settings containing seating and no seating.

As a result of her research, Degnore concluded that "people in general evaluated public artworks positively" (p.213). Interestingly, however, she found that passersby often explored and/or attended to works they said they

disliked while ignoring or not noticing works they said they liked. In this regard, ". . . Abstract works elicited more of the negative evaluations than did Representational works or Murals." (p.216). Similarly, in relation to place, low density conditions were more related to positive evaluations of the artworks than were high density conditions. In terms of demographics, those between 41 and 55 years of age "were more likely to say the artworks should remain in their places" (p.218). Those educated below a high school level "evaluated the physical attributes of the works positively. For occupation, those in service occupations were also more likely to say positive things about the physical features of works . . ." (p.218). Overall, Degnore found, "that the unique combination of factors of the artwork, the people, and of the settings together work in ways particular to each case to produce a total composite experience" (p.223).

Beyond these two studies no reports of empirical research could be found. Instead research into art-public-place dynamics have been confined to the analysis of separate strands of this interplay in the realms of:

- 1) Experimental Aesthetics - where emphasis has been on viewer's reactions to art as perceived objects in terms of color, shape, form, etc. (Berlyne, 1974). Much of this research has been conducted in laboratory settings with little consideration of the

environmental context.

2) Environmental Analysis - has become increasingly prevalent since the advent of Environmental Psychology, yet in this field, researchers have been more interested in analyzing the impact of noise, crowding, environmental perception, or special settings than venturing into the amorphous and subjective realm of aesthetics.

3) Environmental Aesthetics - especially studies of the environment as a source of affect (Wohlwill 1976) have begun, to combine the previously separate strands of research into aesthetics and environment. (Iltus, 1983).

However, apart from Robinette and Degnore, none of this work yet includes specific studies of art in the environment.

Thus, in order to gain insight into the inter-relationship between "art", "public", and "place," it is necessary to turn to literature which deals with each one of these phenomena independently. It is important to know what is meant by art, what is meant by public and what is meant by place when talking about art in the environment. This seems particularly true as the very terms 'art in public places', 'public art', 'mural art', and 'community art' are often used interchangeably with little acknowledgement of the different shades of meaning each

term might imply. Similarly, each art in the environment project is unique and represents a specific combination of aesthetics, audience, and physical environment. Only by acknowledging these potential combinations can a contextual approach to art and the environment truly be developed.

Theories of ART

Certainly one cannot hope to formulate the quintessential definition of art. Since Plato's time questions of aesthetics -- of the good, the true, the beautiful, of taste and style have been formulated and re-formulated. Yet certain schools of thought can be identified in terms of their particular analysis of what "art" is, including:

1) Art as an object. This conception of "art for art's sake" sees art as an end in and of itself. Social, historical, economic, psychological and certainly environmental contexts are not considered to be important. Rather art can be analyzed in terms of basic principles of shape, color, texture, balance, rhythm, etc. This notion of works of art as unique objects separate from their time and place, forms the basis of traditional art history, theory and criticism.

In Great Britain:

. . . methods of patronage accept the view of art historians such as Ruskin and Wölfflin that there exists an "essence of

art" which bears no relationship to any other type of experience and which cannot be judged except by specialist criteria. The result of this is that art has become a "self-contained" entity - the pursuit of beauty (Braden, 1978 p.10).

In the United States, most artists and art experts have been educated within this tradition. It is this tradition that characterized my own training as well.

Using this approach, Berlyne's studies (1974) of direct sensory stimuli enabled him to identify "collative" properties of those stimuli. This allowed him to make a distinction between two methods of exploring visual images . . . "specific" exploration (aimed at reduction of arousal due to conflict or uncertainty) and "diversive" exploration (activity directed at an increase in arousal level). Such findings can be helpful in explaining public perception and behavior in relation to art in public places -- attraction even when the viewer is reportedly "repelled" by a particular art object (Degnore, 1987), or vandalism to particular works in order to increase their aesthetic appeal. (Allen & Greenberger, 1979).

However, this perspective has limitations: art objects and the environments that contain them cannot simply be reduced to the basic elements of shape, pattern, etc. The whole is more than the sum of its parts.

The failure of artists working in the public domain to recognise and come to grips with a comprehensive notion

of art may have contributed to the creation of "Plop Sculptures", "Parachute Art" -- the non-contextualized art which has been so highly criticized as part of the public art debate. More sensitive public art practitioners have recognized wider definitions of art.

2) Art as personal expression.

Another perspective views an artwork's properties as combined in some special way to communicate expression or meaning (Panofsky, 1955). On one level an individual artist can be seen as simply trying to communicate a feeling or idea. But, on a deeper level, theorists have come to question the source of such individual choices. Freud, for example, saw the artist as a psychotic type using art as a path from fantasy back again to reality . . . elaborating daydreams so they lose their personal note. (Read, 1963, p.83). Read (1963), however, modifies Freud's conception, believing instead that "the technique of the artist is in some ways a means of breaking down the barriers between individual egos, uniting them all in some collective ego such as we found typical of the undifferentiated life of primitive people" (Read, 1963, p.88). For him a work of art:

. . . corresponds with each region of the mind. It derives its energy, its irrationality and its mysterious power from the id which is to be regarded as the source of what we usually call inspiration. It is

given formal synthesis and unity by the ego;
 and finally it may be assimilated to those
 ideologies or spiritual aspirations which
 are the peculiar creation of the superego .
 . . thus . . . all art is one across time
 and culture and diversity of expression.
 (Read, 1963, p.92).

Jung's theories (1964) seem to support this latter
 assumption. For him the symbols man creates are
 "archetypes," echoes of trends represented in dreams,
 iconography of all people from all times.

If Read and Jung are correct, why the art in public
 places debate? Why do preferences seem so polarized?
 Many of the monolithic steel sculptures placed in public
 settings in the 1950s and 1960s seemed to lack the type of
 imagery and symbolism that could offer primal universal
 appeal.

Maslow's theories (1968, 1972), on the other hand,
 emphasize differences in individual experience. For him,
 "It is only in the evolved and mature human being, in the
 self-actualizing, fully functioning person that truth,
 goodness, and beauty are so highly correlated that for all
 practical purposes they may be said to fuse into a unity."
 (Maslow, 1968, p.64). Such "transcenders", according to
 Maslow:

. . . are more responsive to beauty. This
 may turn out to be rather a tendency to
 beautify all things . . . or to see the

beautiful more easily than others do, or to have aesthetic responses more easily than other people do, or to consider beauty most important, or to see as beautiful what is not officially or conventionally beautiful. (p.287).

While such theories are more inclusive than the art as object approach, art as personal expression does not account for the environmental context -- the effect that social, cultural, or political influences may have on the individual.

3) Art as social/cultural expression Proponents of this school of thought look beyond the art object and the individual artist to consider the socio-cultural context within which works are created and appreciated. Gans (1974), for example, analyzes and evaluates taste in the United States in relation to "Popular Culture and High Culture." For him:

. . . the most important reason for the existence of a taste structure . . . is the nature of the larger society, particularly its socio- economic hierarchy. All taste publics and cultures participate in and are affected by this hierarchy and the taste structure itself is hierarchical . . . Only occasionally does a specific cultural product or performer . . . appeal to several

publics at once and thus become extraordinarily successful . . . Once in a while a product is accepted by all cultures because it conforms to aesthetic standards that are shared by all of them, but this is rare because there is so little agreement about what is beautiful or entertaining (Gans, 1974, pp.108-111).

Gans is able to identify five "publics" and "cultures" in the U.S. including:

1) High Culture - which is dominated by creators and critics. They emphasize the construction of the cultural product and consider themselves the providers of the proper culture for the entire society.

2) Upper Middle Culture - is comprised mostly of the U.S. upper middle class including professionals, executives and managers. Not trained as creators or critics they are not concerned with the form of the cultural product. They are a "midcult" which sometimes borrows from and alters high culture.

3) Lower Middle Culture - seen as America's dominant taste culture and public, including the middle and lower class in low status professions. They are not particularly interested in "culture". They dislike abstract art or harsh naturalism, preferring instead romantic and representational styles which reflect traditional values and "wholesomeness".

4) Low Culture - includes older, lower middle class

skilled and semi-skilled factory workers who had non-academic high school educations. They are understood to reject and possibly be hostile to "culture" seeing it as dull, effeminate, immoral, and sacrilegious. They prefer, instead, ornateness, traditional almost rococo forms often described as "Hollywood Modern."

5) Quasi-Folk Low Culture - includes poor people, unskilled blue collar workers with grade school educations. Emphasis for them is on melodrama, action, comedies, and morality plays in content. Not catered to by mass media, theirs is a "folk culture" recreated at church, street festivals, etc.

These generalized, though nevertheless recognizable cultures, can certainly be identified as representing some of the beliefs and trends that have helped mold the American art in public places tradition. Rejection or hostility towards art typified by the "low culture" is certainly reminiscent of the Puritan anti-art attitude. The purported "Lower Middle Class Culture" penchant for representational styles may have influenced the way many New Deal administrators and artists believed the "American scene" should be depicted. "Upper Middle Culture" executives who commissioned and purchased abstract corporate sculpture, were certainly affected by the "High Culture" pronouncements of the day. "High Culture" art experts routinely were placed on "Percent for Art", art selection committees. Only rarely were "lower middle," "low culture" or "quasi-folk low culture" representatives

included on such committees. The more marginal cultures, the youth and black cultures, found their avenues of expression in the community mural movement.

British thinkers also have emphasized the influence of society and culture on notions of art. In The Social History of Art (1951), for example, Hauser examines the social context of artists and art beginning in Pre-historic times through the Film Age:

It has become commonplace, documented by others since Hauser, to point out that the artist is a relatively modern figure. It is certainly true that the conception of the artist as a unique and gifted individual is an historically specific one, and that it dates from the rise of the merchant classes in Italy and France, and from the rise of humanist ideas in philosophy and religious thought. (Wolff, 1981, p.26-27).

In fact, the existence of class structure in Europe played a vital role in the commissioning of art through the eighteenth century. Unlike America's class structure, however, European social strata have been carefully demarcated as part of an aristocratic tradition. Hauser clearly recognizes the dominance of kings and popes, of aristocracy, and later of high finance in the commissioning process during this period. Only in the nineteenth century was this monopolization of the art market challenged as a result of the industrial revolution

and the consequent mass production of art available to a rising middle class.

In The Social Production of Art (1981), Wolff likewise "argues against the romantic and mystical notion of art as the creation of 'genius', transcending existence, society and time, and argues that it is rather the complex construction of a number of real historical factors" (p.1).

Specifically, she believes three factors affect the production of art including:

1. Technology - the existence of "particular instruments" (p.35) needed to carry through the artistic process (i.e. the invention of the printing press, electronic means of communication, etc.).
2. Social Institutions - which determine "who becomes an artist, how they become an artist and how they are able to practice their art, and how they can ensure that their work is produced, performed and made available to a public" (p.40).
3. Economic Factors - which operate -- "through control of cultural institutions through policy-making about the arts, or even at the level of box office considerations by cultural producers." (p.48).

Thus for Wolff, ". . . art always encodes values and ideology, and . . . art criticism itself, is never innocent of the political and ideological processes in which that discourse has been constituted" (p.143).

In the light of the sociological perspectives of

Gans, Hauser and Wolff, the notion of putting "great" works of art in public places seems specious. According to these authors, great art is a relative concept defined by social and cultural circumstances. This notion of art as a form of social and cultural expression lends support to critics who complain about the imposition of "great" art (as determined by an elite art establishment) upon other members of the public whose values and tastes may differ from that of the elite.

4) Art as political expression - In recent years English scholarship, particularly, has emphasized not only the social aspects of art but its economic and political aspects as well. For them art and environment are considered interactive, part of a dialectic: not only do people create art but art creates people. Socialist Marxist philosophers see art as a tool of liberation for the working class. For these theorists it is an essential part of the "consciousness raising" process which precedes revolutionary activity. According to Marxist aesthetics, the artist has an obligation to articulate and express the interest of the ascending class. Realism corresponds most adequately to social relationships and thus is the "correct" art form.

But controversy exists in relation to this stance too. While some of these theorists (Mao Tse Tung, Lenin) saw art as necessarily explicitly expressing political ideology in both form (usually representational) and content, others like Marcuse looked more to the liberation

encompassed in the freedom of expression found in the artistic impression. Thus the issue of subject matter has not been resolved by these thinkers. There remains a thin line between propaganda and "collective expression."

Such arguments are certainly identical to the debates surrounding the form and content of the New Deal art in public places of the 1930s. Mexican muralist, Diego Rivera, whose work had helped inspire the creation of the WPA/FAP artist's patronage programs of this era declared, "Every strong artist has been a propagandist . . . I want to be a propagandist of Communism . . . I want to use my art as a weapon" (Park & Markowitz, 1977, p.30). While Thomas Craven, a U.S. artist of the day, disagreed, saying, "true art, which is the discovery of a specific world, a personalized world of the artist's own making, must penetrate beyond the facts into the emotional beliefs and habits of the environment" (Park & Markowitz, 1977, p.30).

Moreover, Williams' (1980) view that "the true crisis in cultural theory is between view of art as object and view of art as practice" (p.47) has certainly influenced those who view the community arts movement in England as having essentially political goals. They too believe that one "must break from the procedure of isolating the object and then discovering its components . . . and recognize instead the importance of . . . discovering the nature of practice and then its conditions" (Williams, 1980, p.47).

In summary, then, the art aspect of art in public places, public art, mural art, or community art may connote any one of a wide range of definitions of art. In general the art in public places of the 1950s to mid 1960s, for example, tended to be of the art as object mode. The American mural art of the late 1960s to early 1970s represented more of a social, cultural and/or political expression.

It also must be recognized that a work of art exists and can be analyzed on a number of different levels. A community arts mosaic with an explicit political message, for example can also rely on traditional fine art techniques and personal symbolism to convey its point. Any meaningful discussion or assessment of art in the environment must accept this possible variety of intentions where art is concerned.

Theories of PUBLIC

Just as those discussing art in the environment tend to generalize about the art aspects of such works, so too are notions of the public dimension of art in public places and public art left ill-defined. The community, the public viewing a work of art in the environment is not simply an amorphous, characterless whole. People viewing these artworks may differ in terms of class, culture, level of education, age, gender, interest and experience in art and personality type. Those who wish to develop art in the environment projects within a social context

need to identify the composition of the audiences to be exposed to such works. Certain types of "publics" may be especially identifiable, for instance, when artworks are placed in institutional settings -- schools, hospitals or prisons, for example.

Individual differences may account for people's differing responses to art in the environment. Robinette's findings (1976) previously discussed here for example, suggested that age was one factor to consider, with those under 18 years of age indicating the highest response to art in public places. Similarly, Degnore's study (1987) revealed that level of education played a part in public response to such artworks; those educated below high school level tended to be less critical of an artwork's physical attributes. Gans' work, previously discussed, provides a useful explanation of the public and its taste cultures in terms of class.

Numerous psychological theories describing individual differences may also account for varying aesthetic responses. Jung's analysis of psychological types (1964) includes the identification of the "sensing - feeling" personality type described as someone who may tend to have an "artistic sensibility". Other theorists, such as Gardner (1973), Lowenfeld (1947), and Torrance (1976), share this notion that certain individuals in society, regardless of class, may be more predisposed to appreciate and/or create art than others.

For Schachtel (1959) the main motivation at the

root of creative experience is people's need to relate to the world around them. The richness with which one perceives that world depends partially on "the depth and richness with which he can perceive each single object" (p.221), -- one's "allocentric vision." According to Schachtel:

The allocentric perception in its most complete form is characterized by the absence of primary autocentric sensations, but rather depends upon . . . an inexhaustible and ineffable quality, by the profoundest interest in the object and by its enriching, refreshing, vitalizing effect which the act of perception has on the perceiver. The perception especially of nature, people, and great works of art always breaks through and transcends the confines of the labelled, the familiar, and establishes a relationship in which a direct encounter with the object, itself, instead of with one or more of its labelled and familiar aspects takes place (p.177-178).

Schachtel believes that this experience, this transcending of the conventional schemata of culture occurs for relatively few adults except for artists who still retain this ability.

Similarly, Cobb (1977) believes that children's latency period (ages 6-12):

. . . contains as a latent power and purpose, the seeds of the writer's art, the painter's vision, and the explorer's passion . . . during this period . . . the child . . . is poised . . . between inner and outerworlds . . . 3-D and 4-D realities possess the child's imagination and carry him into a deepening world image . . . He is, in fact, in love with the universe. That is to say he wants to possess the whole world as his theatre of perception (pp. 53-56,81).

Cobb believes that geniuses have intuitive awareness of this aspect of childhood.

If theories identifying a unique "type" of individual with special "artistic sensibilities" are well founded, they can be used to support more traditional conceptions of the artist as an elite member of society speaking to an elite audience. If this is so, the more esoteric works of art in public places created by individual artists, and purchased or commissioned on the advice of "high culture" committee members may be well-chosen.

However, such a perspective fails to encompass the theories of the developmental and perceptual psychologists who believe that creative potential can be developed. In the light of this stance there exists a strong case for art education, to include the type of participation offered by the U.S. Community Mural Movement, the Artists-

In-Schools Programs, and England's Community Arts approaches. These approaches seek to encourage the development and extension of the creative vision which we all experience in childhood.

It is not enough, however, to say that members of the public can be reached through public, community art practices. The types of approaches that these programs and practices incorporate must also be clarified since they differ widely in the degree to which they represent and involve people. Such practices for example, include the idea of community participation in the artistic process, but there is a lack of clarity as to what is meant by participation.

The word "participation" has certainly been a catch phrase, especially during the 1960s and 1970s. "But it is difficult to consider the idea of participation new or radical, for participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy ..." (Arnstein, 1979, p. 216). A community, a group of people sharing some common goal or interest, has always been conceived of as a group of individuals who take part together, under such a system. As such, "the idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you." (Arnstein, 1979, p. 216).

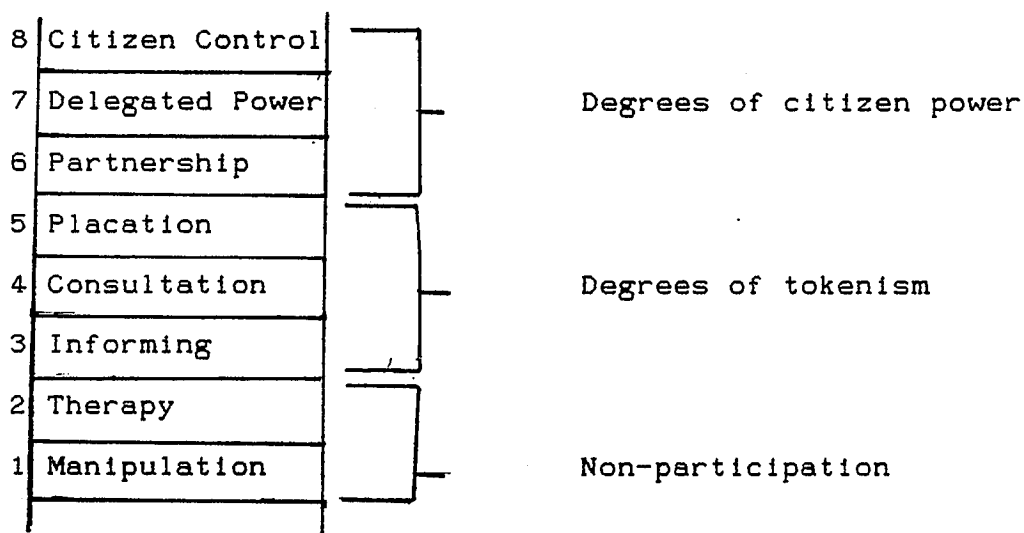
However, theory and practice are often two different things; Arnstein (1979) sees the deeper meaning of citizen participation as . . . a categorical term for

citizen power:

. . . It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future . . . it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society. (p. 216).

Arnstein describes types of "participation" and "non-participation" by presenting a typology of:

"Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation":



According to this typology the lowest steps on the ladder, 1) Manipulation, and 2) Therapy, are often disguised as genuine forms of participation. On these levels powerholders seek to "cure" or "educate" people rather than to allow them to plan or conduct programs. Beyond these levels of non-participation are degrees of tokenism

whereby citizens may be 3) Informed, 4) Consulted or 5) Placated, they may "hear and be heard" (p.217). Under these circumstances, however, people lack the leverage to ensure that their needs are met. They remain essentially powerless. Decision-making power increases further up the participation ladder. At rung 6) Partnership, citizens can "negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional powerholders" (p.217). Full citizen power exists at the highest levels, 7) Delegated Power and 8) Citizen Control, when participants have complete decision making authority.

This typology was developed with U.S. federal social programs in mind. It has become, however, an important model for people in other countries concerned with participatory issues (Ward & Fyson, 1973). Its concerns are echoed in the writings of other researchers involved in participation in planning and design (Francis, 1978, Hester, 1975).

Certainly the typology also is relevant in relation to art in public places issues. Corporations commissioning or purchasing such works make no pretensions about involving the public. Decisions about the choice of works are made within the corporate structure, often by top executives following the advice of "expert" art consultants.

Government agencies on the other hand have increasingly recognized the importance of involving the public in such decisions. But are their attempts at participation merely tokenism? Too often as a kind of

manipulation such agencies involve "community representatives" without voting power on committees as part of a public relations activity. When such members of selection committees do object to artwork which they believe may offend people, art experts may take a condescending attitude, offering as a kind of "therapy" to initiate "art philistines" into the nuances of "high art." Other city and state agencies may take the step of "informing" the public about their activities through attractive looking brochures and publications (Harney, 1981, Thalacker, 1980) but such efforts are not aimed toward increasing genuine participation. In fact, few government art in public places programs in the U.S. or U.K. have community representatives involved in the decision-making process from the onset of individual projects. Thus, even when such representatives are given a vote, preliminary selections may already have been made. Complaints by the community about subsequent choices are placated by the response that representatives of their group voted for the artwork.

In an attempt at partnership, in the U.S. and U.K., many of the National Endowment for the Arts and Arts Council of Great Britain art in public places programs require 50% matching grants by the communities requesting art. The N.E.A. for example, requires that proposals for funding include descriptions of plans for public participation as part of such projects. Unfortunately, those seeking such funds often lack the time, expertise,

and money to develop extensive participatory schemes.

However, especially in Great Britain, community artists working on a grassroots level to establish a partnership with the public over time have been more successful (Braden, 1978). Yet there too "the personal character and commitment of the artist and the depth of political and social analysis is ultimately a most crucial factor" (Braden, 1978, p.61).

When it comes to examples of "citizen control" and/or "delegated power" few examples of these practices can be found on either side of the Atlantic. Most participatory projects are still initiated by an outside facilitator working with participants to achieve eventual citizen power. Arnstein's model describes ideal levels of participation but it does not explain how to identify participants and actively involve them. Similarly, Hester's work on "Neighborhood Space" (1975) describes specific techniques for working with people as part of a participatory process, including use of the neighborhood forum, panel discussion, brainstorming, buzz session, synectics, role playing, and gaming, but it does not explain how to get people involved initially with such activities. Lack of initiation or involvement by the community, may be a result of feelings from past experiences that (1) such ideas are futile -- that they won't be followed through by political powers, (2) people's lack of time or money, (3) personal feelings of inadequacy, or (4) lack of knowledge about or experience

in conducting such projects (Childhood City Newsletter, 1980). Then too, where art in public places is concerned, many people simply may be disinterested. They may be too involved in their private worlds to be concerned about art in the public domain. But when do these private and public worlds meet?

As Bachelard (1964) explains, private places and spaces and the objects they contain have unique expressive meaning for us. The house becomes a nest sheltering us and allowing us to withdraw from the outer ("public") world and dream in peace; drawers, chests, wardrobes become hiding places for our inner secrets, the containers of our psychological life; doors reveal "a cosmos half open" (p.22) -- we can choose to remain inside or move outside into the more public realm.

Once in that realm, however, as Sommer (1969) explains, we retain a sense of "personal space", an invisible zone around ourselves beyond which outsiders may not enter. We create such boundaries between our public and private worlds both in accordance with our personality type and needs and in relation to our culture -- the time and place in which we live.

According to Sennett (1977), public behavior as well as the very notion of "Public Man" has changed over time:

The first recorded uses of the word "public" in English identify the public with the common good of society . . . Some seventy

years later, there was added a sense of public as that which is manifest and open to general observation . . . [where] . . . "private" was . . . used to mean privileged, at a high government level. By the end of the 17th Century, the opposition of public and private was shaded more like the way the terms are now used. Public meant open to the scrutiny of anyone, private meant a sheltered region of life defined by ones family and friends. (pp.16-18).

For Sennett, public man has "fallen." He contends, for example, that the 60s generation's call to share in "the experience" was counterproductive; such interpersonal intellectual and emotional soul searching clouded genuine experience and eroded the necessity to maintain healthy boundaries between the self and others -- between public and private worlds.

When art in public places crosses the boundary between public and private, previously uninvolved members of the public may suddenly become alarmed. For example, art as personal expression placed in public contexts in some cases may violate public need for decorum. A piece of art that works well in a private home or museum may prove a failure in the public environment at large. Then, too, what is acceptable in one era may be anathema in another. Statues of naked heroes were the norm in classical Greece, while in the modern Western world,

clothed versions of these military/political "heroes on a pedestal" were considered more appropriate in public parks and squares. In this sense, the notion of art in the environment implies an important connection between public and place -- a connection which must also be carefully explored when analyzing such artworks.

Theories of PLACE

In fact, no two places containing works of art in the environment are ever quite alike in either a subjective or an objective sense. Similarly, our experience of a work of art is influenced by our experience of that environment -- its symbolic meanings and physical characteristics. Likewise our perception and cognition of art, the environment, and of both together continues to be influenced by class, culture, and value factors.

Artist Gyorgy Kepes (1956), for example, identified an association between particular reactions to our environment and personal psychological structure. Later work by Cooper (1976) offers one explanation for individual differences regarding the environment by referring to Jung's theories. For her, the individual's identification with and interpretation of the environment is related to psychological type and personal experiences. Wohlwill's work on environmental aesthetics (1976) explores the issue of environmental preference further, suggesting that general principles exist in our affective

responses to physical environments that may be closely related to those that apply in the domain of art as explicated by Berlyne (1974). In his study, Wohlwill (1976) concludes that complexity is generally uncorrelated with ratings of pleasingness or beauty in the environment. On the other hand, incongruences or the juxtaposition of dissimilar elements may attract attention and curiosity.

In terms of art in public places, then, the existence of artworks in environments in which they seem incongruous -- Oldenburg's giant Batcolumn in the center of Chicago or his Clothespin in downtown Philadelphia, for example, may be especially intriguing. However, individual and group reactions remain varied: Cristo's proposal to "wrap" a Florida island in pink met substantial opposition.

Above all, people's perceptions, behaviors and preferences in relation to environments and the artwork which they contain may differ as a function of the objective nature of such places, themselves. It remains particularly important, for instance, to distinguish between transient, urban places and neighborhood settings with a more stable community of users. Environmental theorists and researchers have recognized that people's experience of their neighborhoods may differ substantially from the experience of their larger surroundings.

In analyzing the urban experience, Ittelson (1973), for example, offered the view that such environments often included more information than could adequately be

handled. "Density -- the volume of people in a given space, which tends to make details of the environment less salient" (Ittelson, from Degnore, 1984, p.13), proved one important mitigating factor.

In discussing "The Experience of Living in Cities", Milgram (1976) suggests that:

Perception of a city is also affected by whether the observer is a tourist, a newcomer, or a longer term resident . . . a prerequisite for adapting to continuing life in a given city seems to be filtering out of many observations that the newcomer or tourist finds particularly arresting . . . [thus] . . . this period of fresh perception should receive special attention is the study of city atmosphere. For, in a few days, details which are initially arresting become less easy to specify. They are assimilated into an increasingly familiar background atmosphere which, though important in setting the tone of things, is difficult to analyze. (p.503).

Furthermore, according to Milgram, the anonymity that a city offers may have its advantages and disadvantages. Referring to Zimbardo's study (1969) he suggests, that the social anonymity and impersonality of the big city may encourage greater vandalism than do small towns. On the other hand, "The impersonality of city life

breeds its own tolerance for the private lives of the inhabitants. Individuality and even eccentricity, we may assume, can flourish more readily in the metropolis than in small towns" (p.500).

Such insights seem directly relevant to the art in public places experience. It is possible, for example, that people attend less to art in urban places than they do to a city's more imposing environmental elements such as buildings, or that the specific nature or details of art works are less important than their overall contribution to the atmosphere of that place. Similarly, the novelty and intensity of the art in public places experience may be different for the tourist or newcomer than it is for the longer term resident of the city. Then too, it may be more appropriate to site controversial artworks in central city locales which can accommodate non-conformity rather than in more personal neighborhood settings. (Petherbridge from Townsend, 1984).

On the other hand, artwork placed in the anonymous city context may be susceptible to vandalism, though, many of those working in the field of public art believe that the possibility of vandalism can be lessened if artworks are created through community participation. Such practitioners believe that involvement in public art process can help create a sense of personal attachment to what are otherwise impersonal urban environments. Still, people vandalize for many different reasons (Ward, 1973).

Above all, where city centers are concerned, it may

be difficult, if not impossible to identify any existing community of potential participants. As Cheetham and Hill (1973) have suggested:

Neatly defined communities are unlikely to be found in an urban environment, though this is not to say that one will not find patterns of neighborliness and patterns of inter-dependence of a complex kind. Any attempt to build into such a complex structure a more simple kind of community structure . . . can be predicted to come to grief when confronted by the hard facts of modern urban life.

Similarly O'Brien (1974) believes:

The critical point, which neighborhood organization theoreticians tend to overlook, is that the sheer size of the urban neighborhood, which usually numbers in tens of thousands, precludes the possibility of successful sustained interest-group organization based on purely voluntary participation . . . Unfortunately, community development writers and planners have failed to recognize the importance of this size factor and the need to adjust their organizing techniques to it.

People's experience of neighborhood settings may differ substantially from their experience of larger

surroundings. In neighborhoods, perception, behavior, and preferences often are influenced by personal experiences and symbolic meanings (Cooper, 1976; Ittelson, 1975; Tuan, 1974). Work by Gans (1962) and Konttinen (1983) for example, underscores the importance of personal experience in relation to environmental preferences; urban renewal accompanied by neighborhood relocation may improve people's material circumstances but such changes do not necessarily provide the sense of security and satisfaction derived from living in old, stable, familiar neighborhoods. Jacobs (1961) and Alexander, Silverstein and Ishikawa, (1977), have emphasized the importance of the community life of streets and sidewalks providing a kind of neighborhood watch. Bright modern homogenous streets which lack the personal and interesting mixes of residential as well as commercial life can become spaces people wish to avoid.

But what exactly constitutes a neighborhood space as opposed to a more transient place? Size is only one of many distinctions that can be made between these two types of settings. According to Hester (1975), "physical planners, designers, and geographers have concentrated on the physical dimensions of neighborhood, describing it in terms of boundaries and areas . . . whereas social planners and sociologists have stressed with equal singularity the social dimensions of neighborhood" (pp. 7-11). Neither approach seems inclusive enough to Hester who calls for a practical definition that includes the

social, spatial and political aspects of a neighborhood. To this end, Hester turns to the theories of Milton Kotler who suggests instead:

As people become more determined that a good environment begins at home, the sense of neighborhood increases, which makes local relationships correspondingly more important. In this way a neighborhood is defined by the residents, not the planners, and is expressed in the political actions taken by the residents. This suggests acceptance of what has been called a "collective responsibility", which is not dictated from a higher authority but arises from the people of an area because of shared values, use patterns, and common problems. This suggests that the planned neighborhood should be small enough to encourage participation of all families in common neighborhood concerns (p.13).

As with Arnstein's definition of citizen participation previously discussed, Kotler's model of community participation in the creation of a good neighborhood may be more hypothetical than it is real. Few neighborhoods have been planned with participation in mind. Furthermore, Kotler's ideal of the participating neighborhood may be a largely middle-class conception. As Cheetham and Hill (1973) explain, ". . . If one looks for

examples of successful community participation one must look primarily at middle-class institutions and activities. There is a great deal of evidence that middle-class rates of voluntary association and particularly organizational leadership in local areas are much higher than working-class rates" (p.166).

When, in fact, can a neighborhood be considered a community? Just as it is difficult to identify communities in city center settings, so too are neighborhood communities difficult to define. The very concept of community may have numerous connotations. "One sociologist (G. Hillery) discovered ninety-four different definitions of 'community'. . ." (Cheetham and Hill, p.165). One interesting discussion by Clarke (1973) describes the sense of community in psychological and social terms. He identifies two essential elements of community including a sense of solidarity and a sense of significance. He describes solidarity as a kind of 'we-feeling', "a social unity, togetherness, social cohesion or a sense of belonging" (p.34). A sense of significance, on the other hand, includes a 'role-feeling', a sense that each person has a function to fulfill, a role to play. Above all, Clarke believes, "it is how participants view the situation that counts" (p.36). It is not enough for outsiders to label a neighborhood as a community, residents, themselves, must experience it as such.

Overall then, theories regarding the differences between city center and neighborhood locales have

important implications for art in the environment practitioners. Schemes involving community participation may be easier to develop in neighborhood settings than in larger scale urban environments. Nevertheless it is by no means certain that such participatory projects alone can build a sense of neighborhood. Geographical, political and social factors all contribute to people's conceptions of neighborhood and community. All such factors need to be considered by those involved in public art schemes in city center or neighborhood settings. Art in public places which relies on symbolism or expressive forms to communicate a sense of solidarity (art as social/cultural expression), for example, may help develop a sense of community. Nevertheless community artists, architects, planners and other art and environmental professionals who are committed to developing a sense of place through public art projects often represent the perspectives of outside facilitators. Thus any assessment of art in the environment intended to engender "community" feeling must consider residents' own perception of place.

In summary, all the "art", "public", and "place" theories and research cited here are as complex as they are intriguing. The hypotheses and issues they explore seem of direct importance to the understanding of the art in public place dynamics. Using this information, then, the essential question that remains is how these "art", "public", and "place" factors are being combined and what

impact such combinations are having on people who are experiencing art in public places?

Statement of the Problem

With this question in mind my goal was to design and carry out a study which would build on previous research involving art, public and place, to explore further social and psychological impacts of art in the environment. The specific areas considered were (1) factors related to the artworks, themselves, (2) factors related to the environment in which works were placed, and (3) factors concerning the process by which they were created. Information gathered also had to be considered in relation to the demographic characteristics of people involved in the study in order to further explicate the art-public-place dynamic.

Given the reality that all art in the environment projects are different, however, it was necessary to narrow down exactly what types of artworks I wanted to study and in what contexts I wished to study them. In terms of the social dimension of such artworks, the post-war swings from emphasis on creation of an artistic product to emphasis on the aesthetic process formed an interesting basis for comparing public response to artworks representing different degrees of citizen participation. Thus, where the PUBLIC dimension of art in the environment was concerned, I chose to study reactions to artworks created through community participation and to compare them with reactions to those created by a single professional artist.

Where the physical context, the PLACE dimension, of

art in the environment was concerned I wanted to know if such artworks had more of an effect on people's experience of residential settings compared to their experience of commercial settings. Thus both residential and commercial public places containing art were selected for study.

Finally, although much of the controversy surrounding the public art debate has focussed on sculpture in the environment, I chose to analyze public reaction to mural art in public places. I made the decision to select murals because few examples of sculpture made through community participation could be identified. Murals, on the other hand, were traditionally made both through a process of community participation and by professional artists working without community input.

Once having made these choices, I hoped that the results of my research would help answer the basic personal and professional questions I initially had raised in relation to art in the environment.

In terms of ART these overall issues included (1) Should we have art in the environment? and (2) If yes, what form should such artwork take? Addressing these issues meant answering the specific questions:

- . Do people notice that public artworks exist?
- . What do passersby think about the style and content of such works?
- . What meanings or feelings do people say the artworks hold for them?
- . Are people's reactions to public artworks related to

individual or group differences?

In terms of PLACE, the essential question to be confronted was : Do works of art in the environment really make a contribution to people's sense of place? Specific questions I wanted to answer in this realm included:

- . Do people feel that the murals had a positive impact on their locale?
- . Do people's perceptions, behaviors or preferences in relation to these artworks differ in residential as compared with commercial places?
- . Are reactions related to individual or group differences?

In terms of the PUBLIC dimension of such artwork, the basic issue was: who should create art in the environment? Addressing this dilemma meant posing the questions:

- . Are people aware of the fact that a mural has been created through community participation?
- . Do people understand the messages of participatory artworks more than the messages of non-participatory ones?
- . Do people reacting to participatory artworks like them more than people reacting to non-participatory artworks?
- . Do people want to participate in mural projects?

Many of those who fund, support or carry out participatory art schemes have claimed that such participation increases people's sense of belonging, community and commitment to a

place, and helps prevent vandalism. Before doing this study, I had felt that people's sense of their own creativity had been increased as a result of taking part in such public art projects. It was the purpose of this study to examine all these questions and hypotheses.

Methods

Research Design

In an attempt to answer these questions, the study was designed to assess the overall reactions of passersby to specific works of art in the environment. In particular it examined people's perception, behavior and preferences in relation to the artworks. Beyond this, it focussed on people's art in the environment experiences in relation to two sets of factors:

- (1) the nature of the site in which the work was placed, including both residential and commercial places.
- (2) the nature of the process by which the artwork was created, including works which involved participation of local citizens and works in which there was no participation.

The study had two parts. In Part I data were gathered by examining varying aspects of people's art in environment experiences in relation to selected artworks in different settings. Part II of this research was a case study which included an in-depth analysis of the impact of the creation of a participatory artwork (a mural in a residential place.) Work on this mural included my own involvement as facilitator of this participatory project which was based at a local school.

Part I - Comparative Site Study

In this portion of the research focus was on comparison of passersby's perception, behavior and

preferences regarding artworks made in different locations by different processes. After a careful examination of possible sites, four works of art in public places were chosen for study to fit specific art, public, and place criteria. Interviewing and observing were carried out at all the locales and data were obtained that could be analyzed on a comparative basis.

Sites and their selection

People's art in the environment experiences were studied in relation to four murals in four settings in the greater Newcastle Upon Tyne region in Northern England. This area (with an approximate population of 250,000 persons) was chosen for three reasons. First, there are a number of examples of murals created both by non-expert participants and by professional artists in this region. In addition, I was familiar with this area. Finally, I also had been involved in a number of art in the environment projects in Newcastle, especially ones that included community participation.

The individual settings chosen for study were either residential or commercial. The artworks, themselves, differed in terms of how they were created, involving either participation or non-participation (see Table 1).

Table 1

Place and Process Conditions for each Site
Containing Artwork

	Residential	Commercial
Participation	Site 1	Site 2
Non-Participation	Site 3	Site 4

In order to identify four sites which most clearly fit the residential/commercial, participation/non-participation dimensions required, an initial survey of existing murals was carried out in the Newcastle Upon Tyne area. A preliminary list of 25 murals was compiled, based on suggestions from local architects, artists, the regional art in public places administrator, as well as murals with which I was familiar. All of the murals were analyzed in terms of a number of factors including: media, style, years on site, quality of neighborhood, function of site and the participation and location criteria. Potential sites were visited and photographed. Artists and art administrators involved in the creation of murals which seemed most appropriate for this study were informally interviewed regarding the history of the murals.

Further efforts were made to ensure internal validity in relation to the art and place dimensions. All artworks chosen for study were representational in style

and embodied some form of social or cultural expression. All, for example, depicted a person or scene showing some aspect of local or national culture. Representational murals were selected because the majority of murals created through community participation were done in that style. Likewise, non-participatory representational murals could also be identified. Murals containing social or cultural imagery or themes were chosen because of the predominance of this type of mural art in the Newcastle area.

Residential places (sites 1 and 3) which were as similar as possible to each other also were sought. Similar commercial places (Site 2 and 4) were likewise identified. Controls in terms of class of user population were also seen as an important factor here. Only residential and commercial sites with large working class populations were considered. However, it must be remembered that the study was carried out in the field rather than in situations where all variables could be strictly controlled. It might be ideal, for example, to choose participatory artworks here which involved the maximum degree of participation possible as described in Arnstein's (1969) ladder. In reality, though, such ideal models did not exist.

Similarly, as previously discussed, the nature of participation in the creation of art in public places in a residential place may differ from that in a commercial place. In a residential place where the resident

community of users tends to be more stable, opportunities exist for more grassroots participation in all stages of the project by neighborhood children and a variety of adults. In a commercial place, stable residents may include only local shopkeepers or service, maintenance, or business people who may wish only to participate in the decision-making aspects of the project and who do not represent the transient users of the particular setting. In such instances, participants for other stages of the project may have to be identified and contacted from the community or city at large. Thus, an attempt was made to choose participatory artworks involving the maximum participation possible in Arnstein's terms. Nevertheless it was understood that the type and degree of participation in the creation of these works differed.

Taking all of this into consideration, pilot interviews and observations were carried out at all potential sites until four sites were finally chosen. The sites included:

1. The Football Mural (Residential, Participatory) (see Figure 1 and Figure 2).

This mural was chosen both as the case study site and as a site for interview because of my role as facilitator in the creation of the mural during 1983-1984. The mural was painted on the gable end of a building in the courtyard of a council estate (public housing project) in the West City ward of Newcastle. The area had become known as a transitional neighborhood with mostly rented

and often overcrowded houses as well as the highest unemployment rate in the city. Although the brick houses surrounding the mural site were in a good state of external repair, other physical features of the immediate environment were rather bleak: Graffiti was scrawled on the blank wall scheduled to have the mural. Barbed wire partially covered the roof of the carpet warehouse jutting out into this backyard space. Many of the local shops and houses just around the corner had been boarded up.

As such, this working class neighborhood with a large multi-cultural population had been targeted for environmental improvement. The courtyard space, itself, was to be landscaped and fencing was to be erected to create private backyards for each household. As part of these improvements, the mural was meant to brighten up the courtyard space.

Once painted, at a scale of approximately 33 feet by 20 feet, the artwork could be seen by many residents from their kitchen windows. Others walking through the courtyard space could also see it, though it was not readily noticeable to those passing by on the main streets in the front of the houses. Overall, it formed an integral part of the neighborhood environment, and could thus qualify as an artwork in a residential setting.

The mural had been created by children from a local community school as a community-based project in which I acted as facilitator. It was a participatory work. The mural contained local images created by the children

including those of the Tyne Bridge and Newcastle's football team and castle. Such images were meant to be symbols of the neighborhood (i.e., the football grounds were around the corner) that would reinforce neighborhood identity.

The mural was painted in bright reds, blues, greys and white by local children, volunteers, this researcher and a professional painter. The total cost of the project was £2,583 including materials, facilitator's fee and painter's fees.

2. The Leather Center Mural (Commercial, Participatory)
(see Figure 3 and Figure 4)

Located in the middle of the shopping and commercial district of Newcastle City Center, this mural also had been created as part of an overall redevelopment scheme in 1983. It was painted onto the gable end of a local leather shop, next to a car park, facing numerous small shops, warehouses and other commercial and industrial brick buildings. Although visible to the many pedestrians passing down this long narrow back lane, this mural was also set back from a main road which was located a few hundred yards from the leather shop. As such it was a busy but more secluded and less vibrant street than the main streets in the city center. The mural was added to this locale to help enliven it.

At a scale of approximately 393 square feet, the artwork was done under the direction of Outline Arts Trust, a local community arts group. One of the group's

artists determined the theme of the mural - scenes of the leather industry as it had previously existed in the area, in consultation with the leather shop's owner who also owned the wall on which the mural was painted. The images of everyday labourers at work were deliberately chosen by the artist to depict a historical scene of the indigenous working class community. These images were painted onto the wall in bright reds, beiges, greens, etc. by the artist and volunteers from a community center where the artist previously had worked. Thus, it was defined as a participatory work. The total cost of the mural was approximately £2,000 including materials and artist's fee.

3 The Shakespeare Mural (Residential, Non-participatory)
(see Figure 5.1, 5.2, and 6)

This mural was created in the Sandyford ward of Newcastle in a residential area a few miles from the city center. Unlike the others of this group, however, it was built in about 1980 as part of the brickwork on the gable end of a house after the rest of a row of terrace housing there had been demolished. Such demolition and the creation of the mural were part of an overall redevelopment scheme for the area. As of 1981, Sandyford still contained a large percentage of households without a bath and/or inside toilet. Thus, most of Sandyford's older brick terrace properties were scheduled for housing improvement. Although the district contained a higher percentage of white collar workers than the West City ward, unemployment in this traditionally working class

community was still high (17% unemployment as of 1981).

At a scale of about 40 feet by 60 feet, the mural, itself, overlooked a grassy landscaped slope behind this neighborhood of houses. Thus it too was set back from the main road in a relatively secluded and quiet locale. Despite this placement, the mural was particularly visible from the newly built school a few hundred yards away and could also be seen by passengers on commuter trains which passed by regularly over a raised bridge at the bottom of the sloping bank in front of the mural.

The image of Shakespeare was chosen for the mural by a local housing official who was also an artist because the street names in the area all related to Shakespeare in some way. This particular likeness of Shakespeare was extracted from the face on Shakespeare's first folio edition. The image then had been reduced to the three colors of brick to be used. No consultation with the community was carried out (non-participation). It was not possible to determine the cost of the mural as work was subsumed in overall building costs.

4. The Boat Mural (Commercial, Non-Participatory) (see Figure 7 and Figure 8).

This mural, painted in 1984, also was part of an overall redevelopment scheme for the central shopping district of Blyth, a town with a population of approximately 76,000, about 15 miles from Newcastle.

Unemployment was also extremely high in Blyth. Many of the area's coal mines had closed in the last few

years, leaving almost one in five people out of work as of 1985. Despite this bleak situation, the town center still appeared busy. The shops and houses presented a generally neat and tidy appearance.

The mural, itself, was visible from one of the main streets leading to the newly pedestrianized commercial area that had also been created as part of a redevelopment scheme. Set back in a small shopping square, the mural had been installed above a recently constructed landscaped seating area across from a supermarket and around the corner from a series of local shops. Unfortunately the seating area included an overhead trellis which obscured the mural from full view when seen at a distance. Despite such placement, the mural could still be viewed by the many people passing through the square and by those sitting on the benches in front of the mural.

This artwork was painted by Richard Flynn, a local artist, chosen by the local Arts Council and Planning Department. The mural depicted the scene of a Blyth boatyard, including the image of a local fisherman who posed for the portrait. The artist chose this scene because he "thought it would be acceptable to the local community" (R. Flynn, personal communication, 1985). Emphasis for him was on "feeling" which he saw as the most important aspect of a mural. "If you have 100% involvement, feeling will come out, then the person who sees it will get that feeling from it," Flynn explained.

The artist painted the mural in shades of blue on

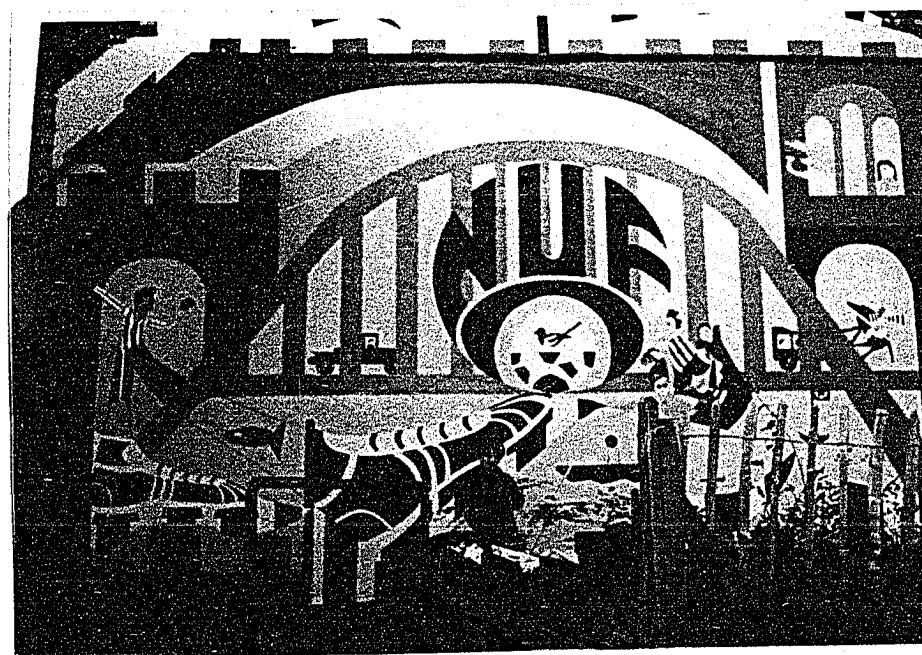


Figure 1. SITE 1 The Football Mural (Residential Participatory)

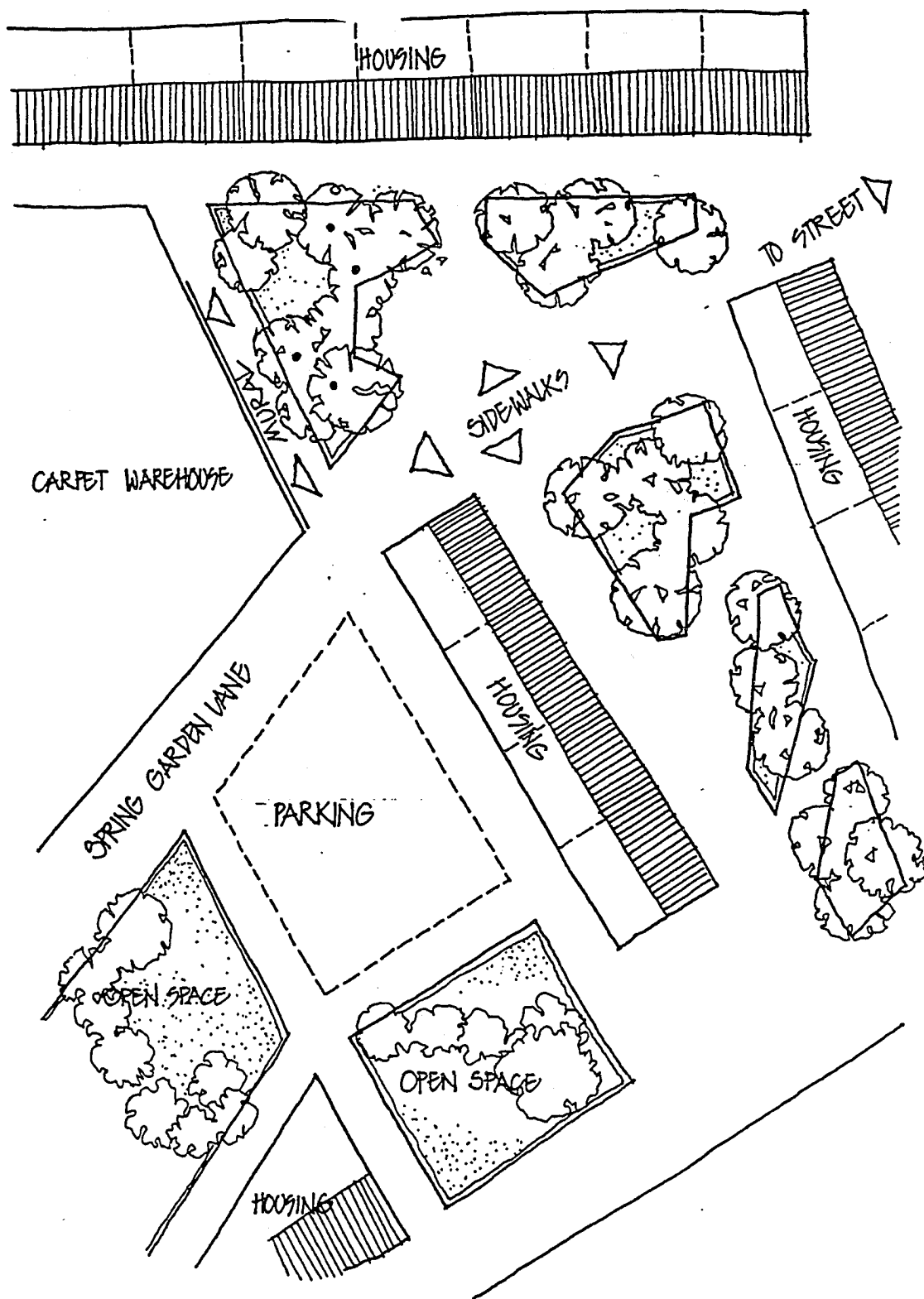


Figure 2. Plan of SITE 1 - The Football Mural (Not to scale)

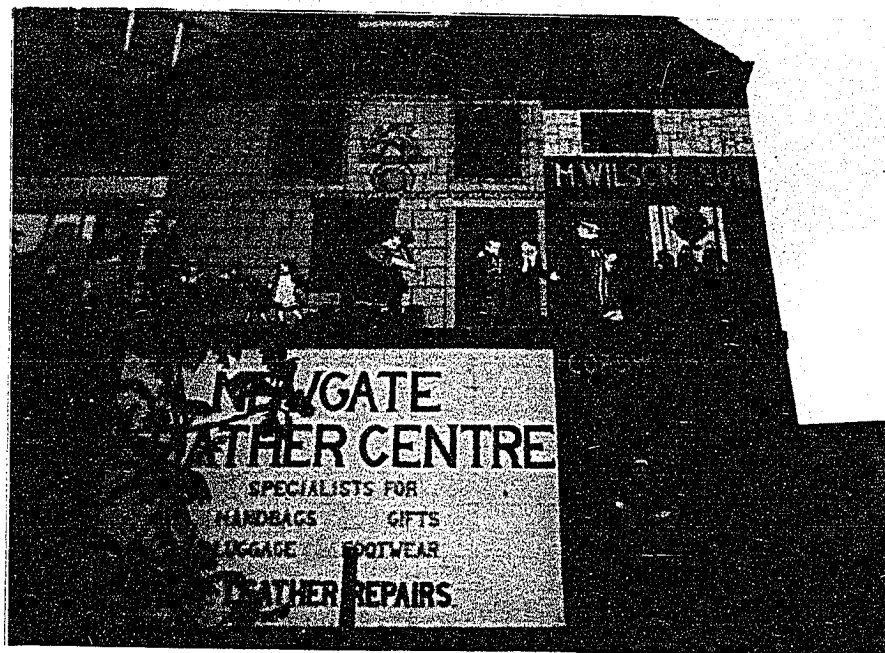
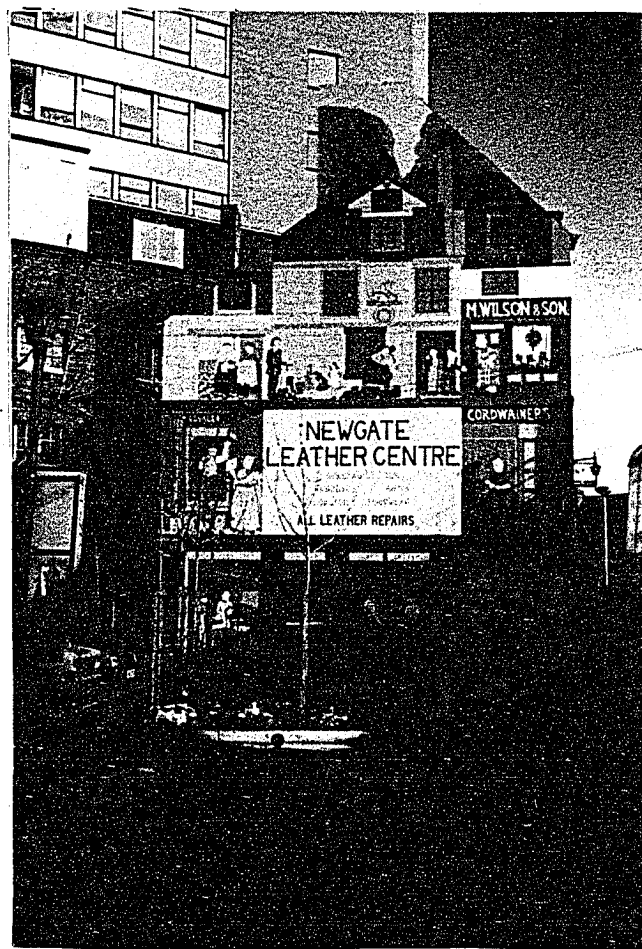


Figure 3. SITE 2 The Leather Center Mural (Commercial Participatory)

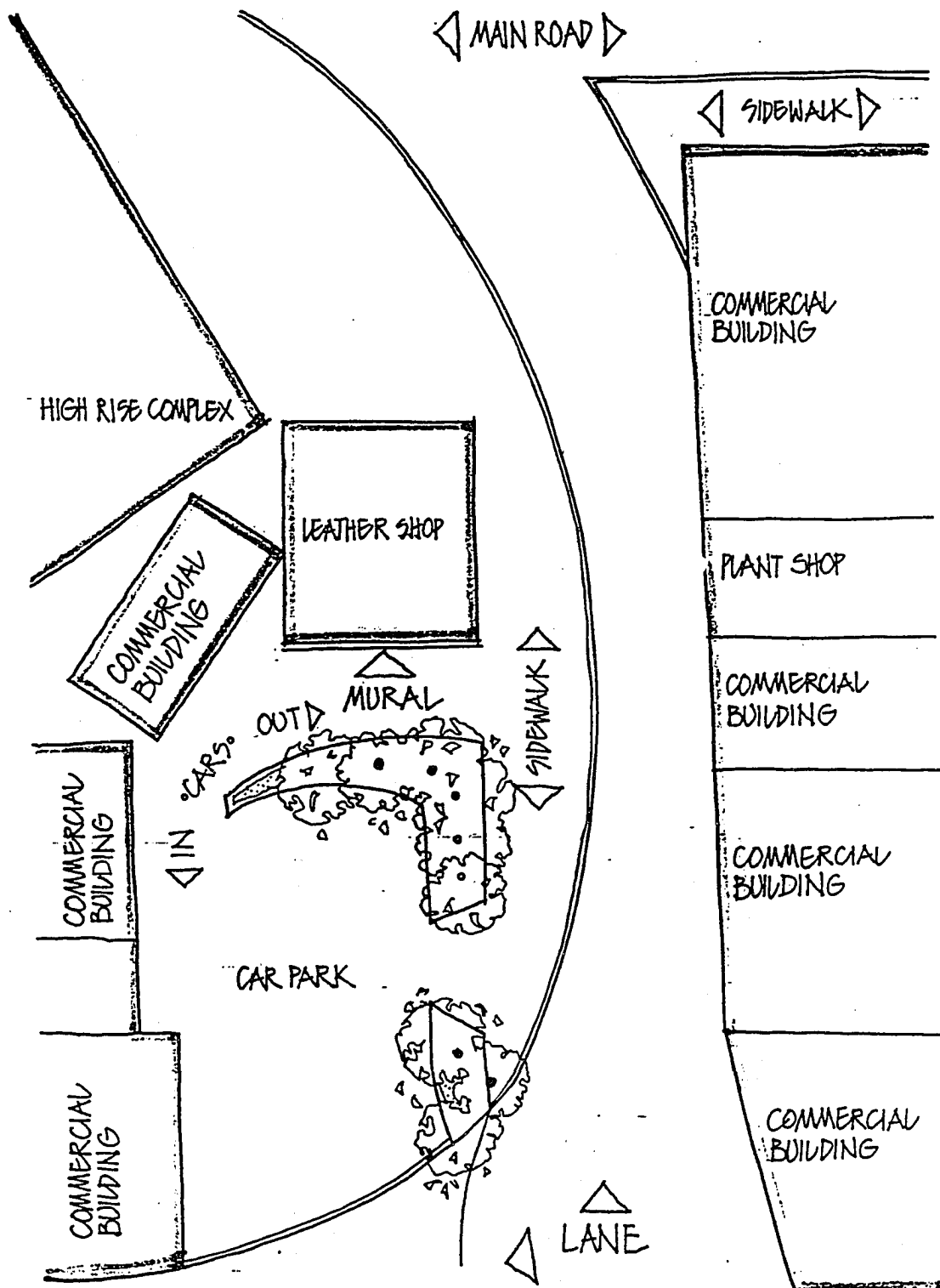


Figure 4. Plan of SITE 2 - The Leather Center Mural. (Not to scale)

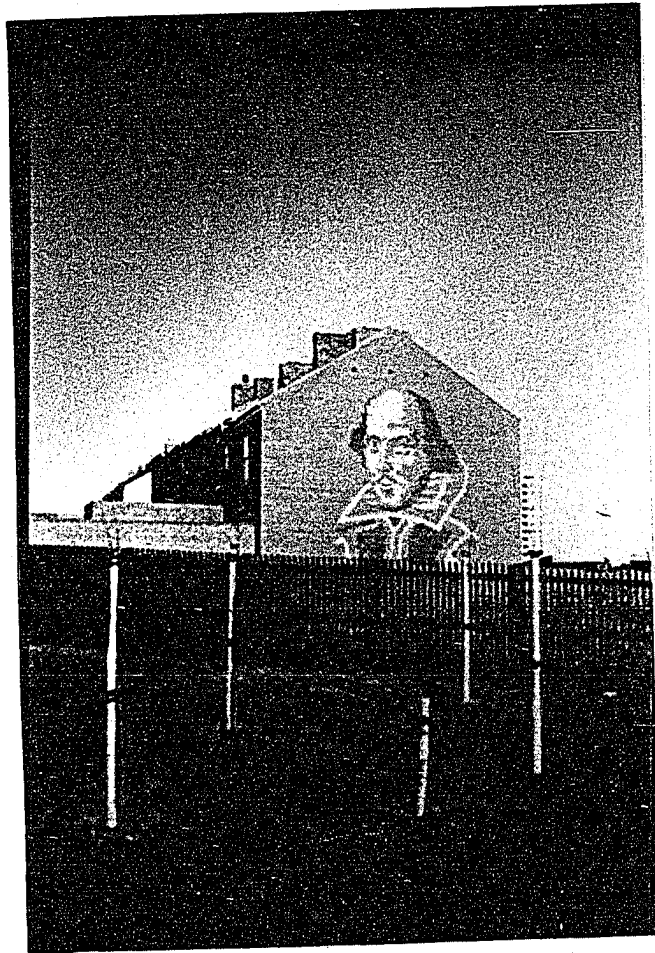


Figure 5.1. SITE 3 The Shakespeare Mural

(Residential, Non-Participatory).



Figure 5.2. SITE 3 The Shakespeare Mural

(Residential, Non-Participatory).

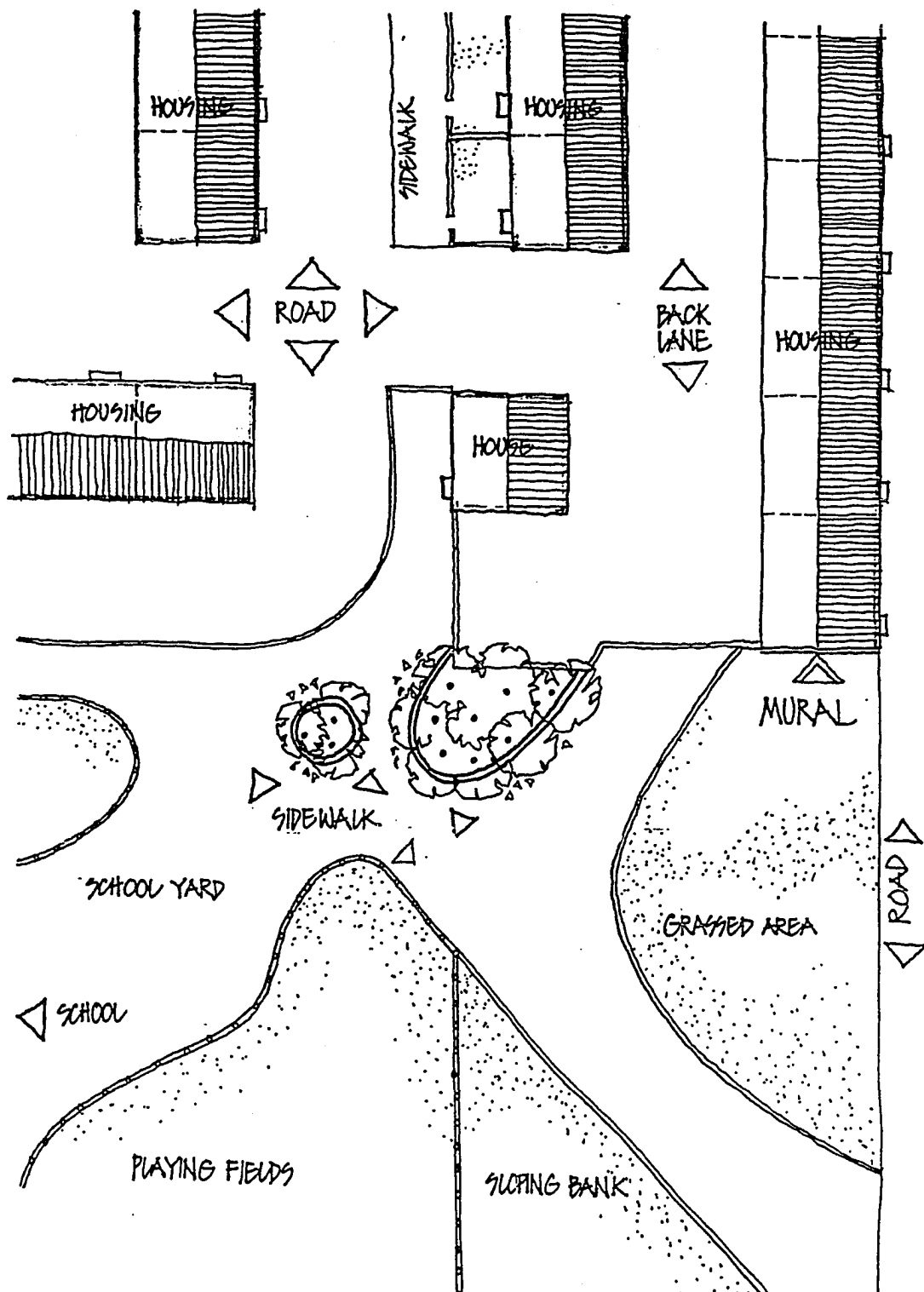


Figure 6. Plan of SITE 3 - The Shakespeare Mural (Not to scale).

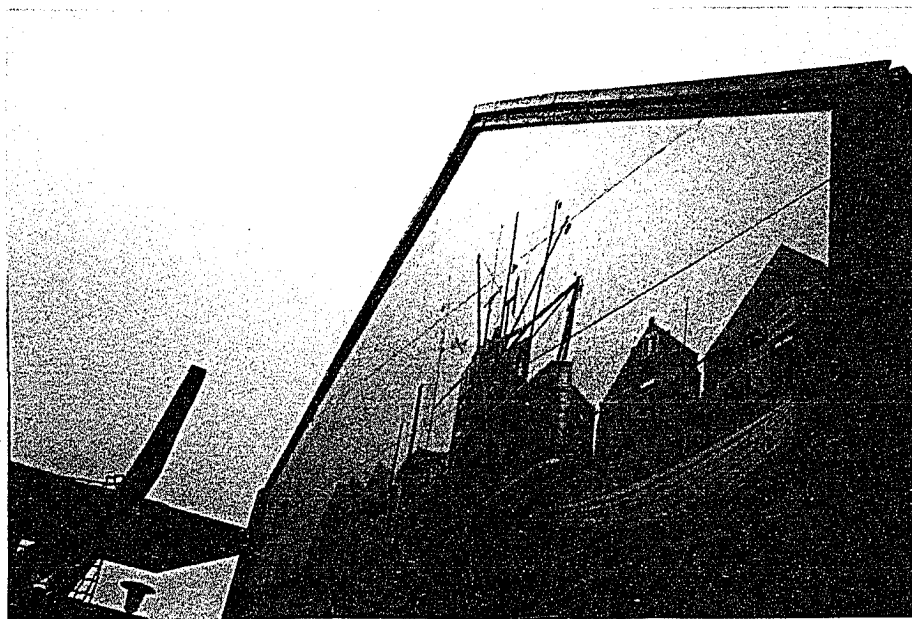


Figure 7 SITE 4 The Boat Mural (Commercial, Non-participatory)

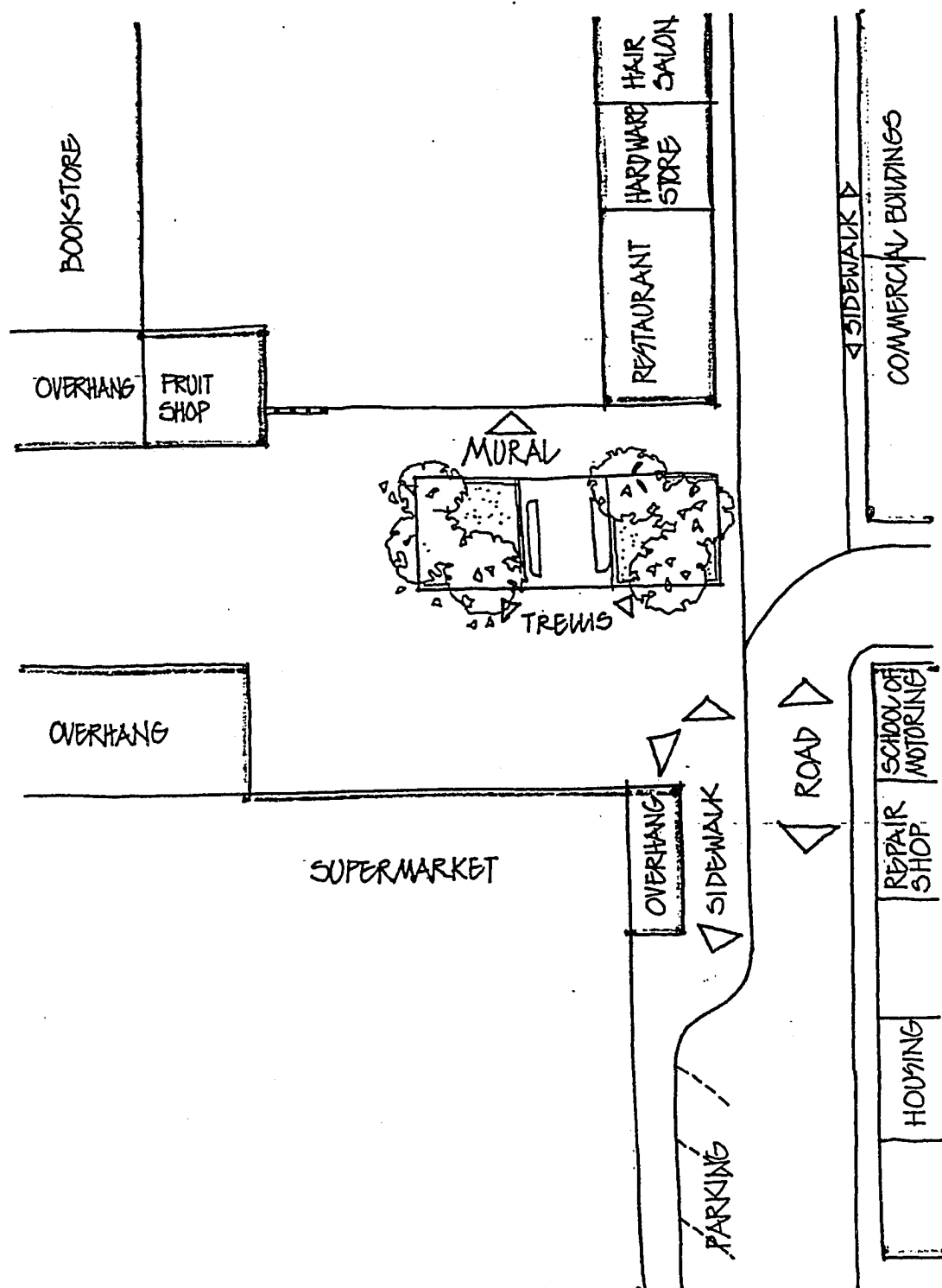


Figure 8. Plan of SITE 4 - The Boat Mural (Not to scale)

eight foot by four foot boards which were then affixed to the gable end wall. No community consultation or involvement was carried out.

Techniques, Sample and Procedures

Building on the work of Robinette (1976) and Degnore (1987) two research techniques were used to assess people's experiences of art in the environment. These included interviewing and observational techniques.

1. Interviews

A. Instrument

Interviews conducted at all four sites included 36 closed and open-ended questions. The questions addressed people's perception, behaviors and preferences in relation to the art, place, and public aspects of the murals in front of them. Where the aesthetic aspects of the murals were concerned, for example, passersby were asked (1) their opinions of the mural overall and its style and subject matter, (2) their perception of the message and feeling the mural was trying to convey and (3) their support (or lack of support) for the inclusion of murals in other places. In relation to the environment containing the mural, interviewees were asked (1) their opinions about the spot and neighborhood containing the mural (2) their opinions about what effect (if any) the mural had on its setting or neighborhood (3) their own behavior in relation to the setting -- when and why they came there. Passersby were also questioned about the

participatory aspects of the mural including (1) if they knew how the mural had been created (2) who they thought should participate in such projects and (3) in what stages of a mural project, if any, they might choose to be involved. The questionnaire also had an optional section included to determine people's opinions of representational political murals and non-political abstract murals. In that section passersby were shown photographs of three political murals -- an anti-racism mural (Figure 9), a Peace mural (Figure 10) and an anti-Fascism mural (Figure 11) as well as photographs of three abstract murals (Figures 12, 13 and 14). Interviewees were asked, "Given a chance to place another artwork here, what number [1-7 with 7 being the highest] would best describe the way you feel about each of [these murals]?" Demographic information also was collected as part of the interview. Interview forms were pilot tested and revised as necessary to determine the final interview format. (See Appendix B for copy of the form.)

B. Sample

Forty people were interviewed at each site with a total of 160 people interviewed, overall, 80 each in participatory and non-participatory sites, 80 each in

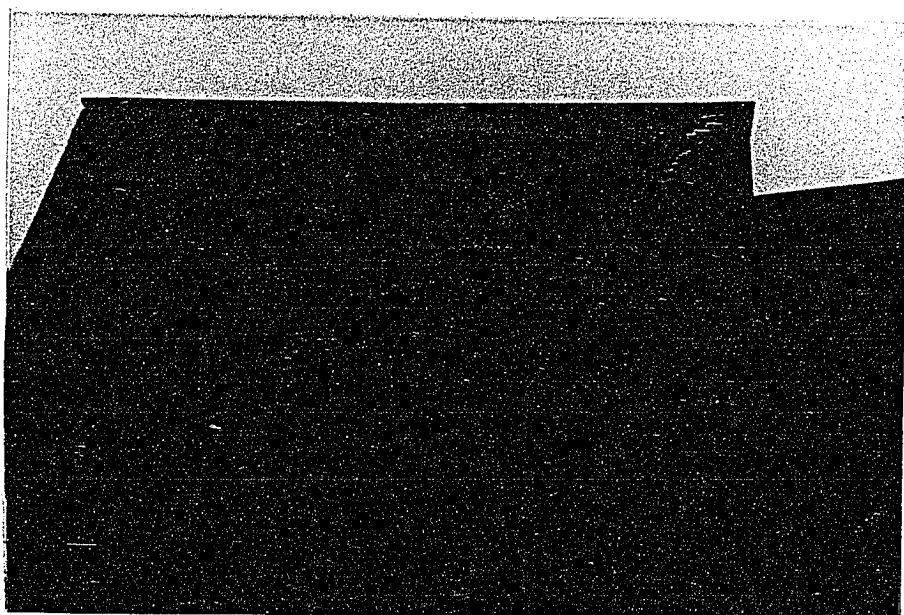


Figure 9. Photograph of Political Mural Shown to Passerby,
The Greenwich Anti-Racism Mural

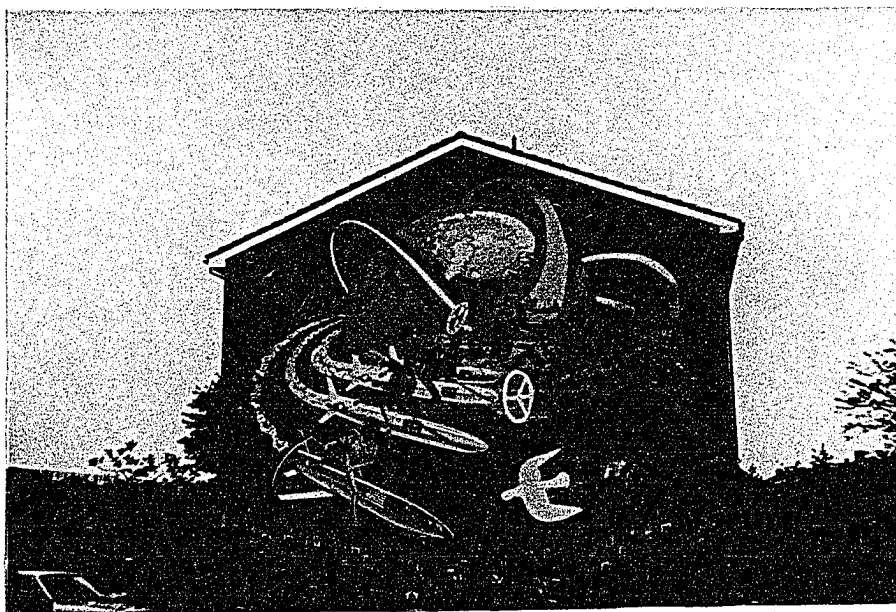


Figure 10. Photograph of Political Mural Shown to Passerby,
The Peace Mural



Figure 11. Photograph of Political Mural Shown to Passerby,
The Cable Street Mural



Figure 12. Photograph of Abstract Mural Shown to Passerby.
The Jesmond Mural

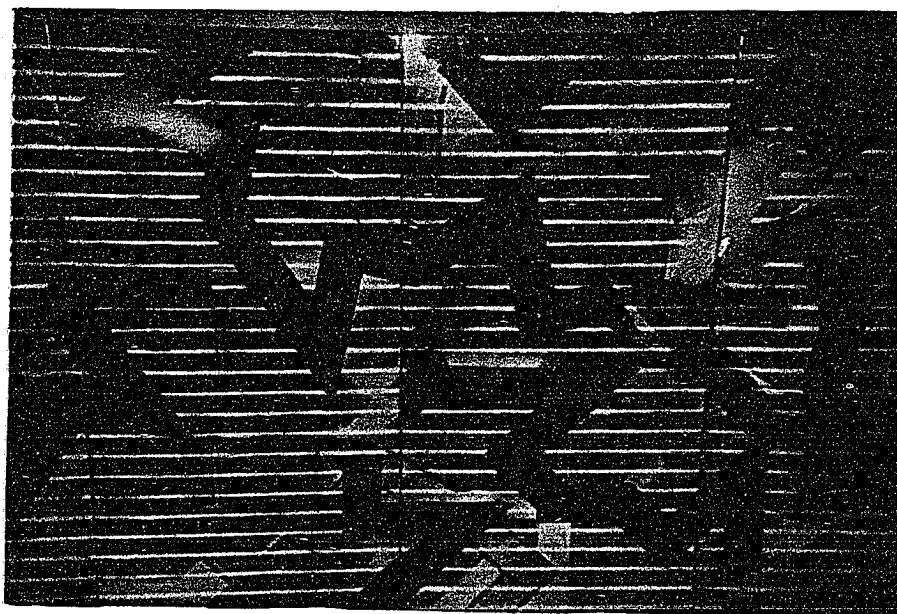


Figure 13. Photograph of Abstract Mural Shown to Passerby,
The Central Station Mural

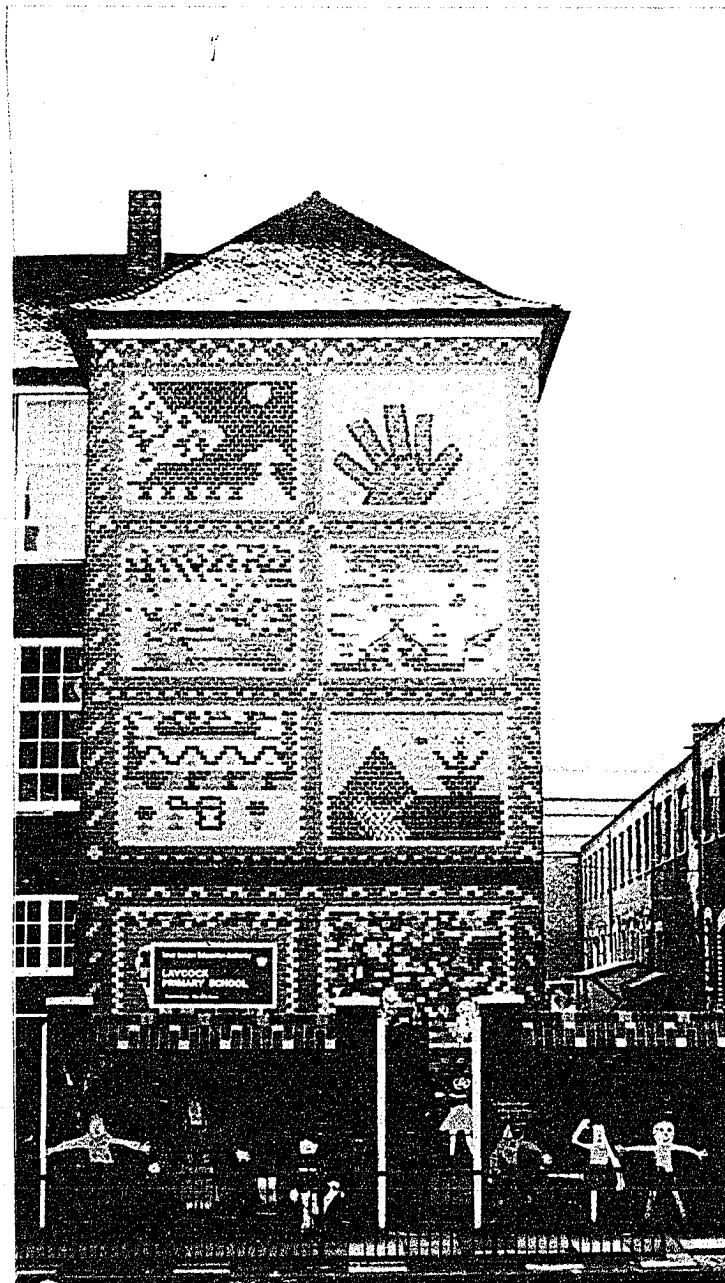


Figure 14 Photograph of Abstract Mural Shown to Passerby,
The Laycock School Mural

residential and commercial sites. (See Table 2.)

Table 2

Numbers of People Interviewed under Place and
Process Conditions for the Four Sites Studied

	Residential	Commercial	Totals
Participation	40	40	80
Non-Participation	40	40	80
Totals	80	80	160

An attempt was made to obtain a sample equally divided along the following lines :

- GENDER - including both males and females
- AGE - including ages 13 to 17 (Teenage), 18 to 39 (Young Adult) 40 to 60 (Middle Aged) and 61 and over (Older Adult)
- CLASS - including working class people only in the residential situations and both working class and middle class people in the commercial situations.
- LENGTH OF RESIDENCE - including both long term and short term residents of the residential places and frequent passersby and residents compared to infrequent passersby in commercial places.

Obviously it was not possible to determine the exact age, class or length of residence simply by visually selecting passersby. Instead demographic information was included in the interview in order to try to achieve the

sample groupings required.

In the final sample, 20 males and 20 females were interviewed at both the Moorside and Blyth sites, with 21 males and 19 females each interviewed at the Shakespeare and Leather sites. Overall, 41 persons from age 10 to 17 years of age were interviewed, 40 in the 18 to 39 group, 39 ages 40 to 60 and 39 persons ages 61 and over. One person's age could not be determined. The majority of those interviewed had not received any formal education beyond secondary school (65%), were working class (62%), and were residents of the area (83.5%). Those interviewed at the Football and Shakespeare murals (the residential locales) had the largest percentage of working class respondents not educated beyond secondary school.

C. Procedure

Over a four month period from June to September 1985, one interviewer went to each site during morning (10 to 12.30 A.M.) and afternoon (2 to 4.30 P.M.) sessions to conduct interviews. The interviewer randomly approached every person entering a pre-designated point as they walked by the mural. Different pre-designated points were chosen for each session to include the variety of vantage points from which each mural could be seen. The interviewer explained to each passersby she approached that she was a researcher doing a study of public places in Newcastle and asked "I wonder if you would mind taking a few minutes to answer some questions?" Those who did

not wish to take part or who did not complete the entire interview were counted as refusals. An average refusal rate of approximately 25% was recorded at all four sites.

When a passerby did agree to be interviewed, an attempt was made to conduct interviews with respondents clearly facing the murals. In the case of the Boat mural, however, it was necessary to conduct the majority of interviews from the street rather than the courtyard area due to the limited number and variety of people passing through the courtyard space. Thus, the Boat mural was seen at a greater distance than other murals and details of that mural were therefore less visible.

2. Observational Techniques

A. Instruments and Procedures

The two observational techniques used in the study were tracking and scanning. Instruments utilized for both of these techniques included simplified plans of each area containing the artwork with accompanying forms on which people and activity codes were recorded to designate the persons and behaviors occurring at each site. (See Appendix C). While the maps used for tracking and scanning were identical, the forms for each of these techniques were used in accordance with the different procedures involved.

Tracking consisted of visually following individuals passing by a predetermined point as they walked TOWARDS the mural (and thus into the observer's

field of vision as the observer randomly looked up after the previous person was tracked.) Those tracked included passersby who reacted to the mural as well as who did not react to it.

Only one trained observer carried out the tracking at each site while positioned in one or more vantage points during a session to allow for maximum visibility of those WALKING TOWARDS the particular mural. The observer recorded the estimated age, the gender and race of all those tracked in order to obtain overall demographic data about those who did and did not react to the mural. Also recorded were the activities of those tracked, whether they were walking purposefully (p), in a leisurely manner (l) or as if confused (c) and whether or not the person was alone or with others.. The observer also delineated the path they followed in moving through the areas. The type of reaction they displayed to the mural, if any, was also recorded.

Scanning, on the other hand, allowed for less detailed information about each passerby and more information about the total number of people passing through the site and looking at the mural. Scanning consisted of observing the faces of all people walking towards and past the mural. In addition, the type of reaction they displayed and activities engaged in while passing or stopping in the vicinity of the mural (e.g. talking, sitting) were also recorded. Reactions generally included such things as looking at the mural while walking

past it and/or while standing near it. "Looked in general direction" referred to those people who seemed to glance in the direction of the mural but who could not definitely be said to have reacted to it.

Another trained observer, was responsible for counting the overall number of people passing both towards and away from the mural within a predetermined area specified on the scanning map in order to determine the overall density of the site. This second observer recorded the apparent age, gender and race of those passing by so that the demographic composition of the population passing the mural could be obtained. A third observer was also used to ensure inter-rater reliability. Ninety-seven percent inter-rater agreement was achieved.

All observation forms were pilot tested and revised, as necessary, to determine the final observation formats.

B. Sample

Tracking sessions were conducted at all four sites on four weekdays in September 1985. Sessions included two 1-hour periods. Sessions at the Football and Shakespeare residential sites occurred during midday and early afternoon periods. These high density times were chosen to insure that there would be enough people passing through these usually low density sites during tracking sessions. At the commercial Leather Center and Boat sites, both high and low density periods were chosen for

observation. At the Leather Center site tracking sessions were conducted during the midday and during an early morning/late afternoon combined period. At the Boat mural, tracking occurred during the morning and midday.

In terms of the residential locations, 72 people were tracked at the Football site, 50 people were tracked at the Shakespeare locale. More people were tracked at the higher density commercial locales including 218 people at the Leather Center site and 227 at the Boat site. A total of 567 were tracked at all four sites.

Scanning occurred at the two higher density, commercial sites only. The purpose of scanning was not to observe individual reactions to the murals (as in tracking) but to determine the number of people who noticed the mural within a given population density. As no more than three people at a time generally were observed passing through the residential mural sites, density was not an issue at those locales. Thus scanning occurred only at the Leather Center and Boat sites which had a high density of passersby.

Scanning sessions were conducted at the commercial sites from 12.30 to 1.30 P.M. and from 3.00 to 4.00 P.M. on two weekdays in September 1985. These times were chosen as high and low density times respectively. Unfortunately, data gathered at the Boat site later revealed similar densities during both time sessions.

At the Leather Center, those working in city center businesses were on lunch hour from 12.30 to 1.30 (thus

increasing the outside density), and back inside later in the afternoon (decreasing the density). At the Boat mural, on the other hand, city center businesses were closer to residences, enabling people to stay at home or return home for lunch at midday (decreasing or at least not increasing density during the midday hours). Thus the high/low density dimension could only be examined at the Leather Center site. Data from both sessions at the Boat mural were collapsed to form one set of data.

Overall, 699 persons were observed passing through the Leather Center site with 81 of those passersby recorded as noticing the mural by the scanner. Four hundred and sixty eight people were observed passing through the Boat site with 19 recorded as noticing the mural by the scanner. Thus overall 1,167 people passed by the two commercial sites during the scanning sessions, with 100 passersby recorded as noticing the mural during those sessions.

No attempt was made to observe samples equally divided in terms of gender, age, or race during tracking and scanning sessions.

C. Mitigating Factors

In the end, all of the conclusions drawn from data gathered through tracking and scanning must be viewed with caution as a result of a number of mitigating factors. As previously mentioned, for example, comparison of reactions to the mural during high and low density periods at the

Boat mural locale proved invalid since no difference in density during these scanning sessions was determined. Also, heavy rain fell during the high density scanning sessions at the Leather Center site. This meant that many passersby were carrying umbrellas and rushing along thereby eliminating the full opportunity to see the mural there. Rainy conditions are certainly common in Northern England. Thus observations during these sessions may represent behavior during typical weather conditions. However, the fact that low density observations were not also made during rainy sessions may mean that the high and low density observations were not directly comparable.

The existence of a number of obstructions and distractions during observation sessions must also be considered. At the Leather Center site, trucks, vans and cars often were parked in a temporary parking space directly in front of the mural. This could have influenced the extent to which passersby could see the mural. At Blyth, besides the obstruction caused by the overhead trellis, it was difficult for the observers to position themselves discreetly so as not to be noticed. Passersby there often looked directly at the observers and this might have affected level of attention to the mural.

Despite such drawbacks, remarkably similar trends were reported independently during tracking and scanning sessions which indicated that more people noticed the participatory murals compared to the non-participatory murals. (See Appendix A, Tables 5 and 6.) Such

similarity of results suggests that the data gathered during tracking and scanning are valid, overall.

Finally, although observation data are included, any conclusions drawn must be considered in the light of the mitigating factors previously described.

Data Analysis

Using the methods described in Part I, it was possible to gather data about perception, behavior, and preferences in relation to each of the artworks. By analyzing data for each of the conditions involving place and process it was possible to compare and draw conclusions about art in public places in residential compared with commercial settings created through participatory compared with non-participatory processes. Analysis of demographic information identified trends in the art in the environment experience in reference to gender, age, class and length of residence.

In order to analyze data from open-ended questions it was first necessary to code all open-ended responses. In order to accomplish this, responses to each open-ended question were compiled. Answers were then content analyzed and coding groups were established. Instances where two or less replies were similar were considered as belonging in an "other" category of reply. Where appropriate, categories describing the positive, neutral or negative quality of the responses were also established.

Once final coding groups were determined (see

Appendix D), answers to all open-ended questions on 25% of questionnaires were again content analyzed and coded by one coder. To ensure reliability those open-ended answers on the same 25% of questionnaires were coded by a second rater. Coding sheets were compared and a satisfactory level of agreement was achieved as measured according to the formula:

$$\frac{\text{Number of consistencies}}{\text{Number of consistencies and number of inconsistencies}}$$

Ninety-eight percent of all coding was in agreement.

Once remaining responses had been coded, data could be analyzed to allow for conclusions about, people's art, public and place experiences. In terms of the artwork, data regarding people's perception, behavior and preferences in relation to the murals at each site and their opinions about the political and abstract mural photographs were analyzed and compared.

Data obtained from each of the conditions illustrated in Table 1 allowed for comparison of perception, behavior and preference as a function of type of process (see Table 3).

Table 3

Comparison Used to Determine the Effect of
Process on Passerby Response to Artworks

<u>Residential</u>	<u>Commercial</u>
<u>Participation Compared to</u> <u>Non-Participation</u>	<u>Participation Compared to</u> <u>Non-Participation</u>
<u>Site 1 Compared to Site 3</u>	<u>Site 2 Compared to Site 4</u>

Comparisons of perception, behavior, and preference as a function of type of place were also carried out. Although there were inherent differences in the nature of participation in residential versus commercial places as previously discussed, comparisons between participatory sites 1 and 2 were conducted keeping such differences clearly in mind. Comparisons could also be made between residential and commercial sites under non-participatory conditions (see Table 4)

Table 4

Comparison Used to Determine the Effect of Place on Passersby Response to Artworks

<u>Participation</u>	<u>Non-Participation</u>
<u>Residential Compared to Commercial</u>	<u>Residential Compared to Commercial</u>
<u>Site 1 Compared to Site 2</u>	<u>Site 3 Compared to Site 4</u>

Demographic data collected through interview and observation were further analyzed to allow for secondary analysis and conclusions regarding art in public places in terms of gender, age, class, and length of residence

The data obtained were analyzed in four different ways:

- 1) Frequency distributions were determined to reveal demographic and scanning and tracking trends. Such distributions were also used to analyze responses to open-ended questions which could not be numerically quantified and compared. Thus, for example, answers indicating people's reasons for holding particular opinions (about the mural's style, subject matter, neighborhood, spot,

etc.) were analyzed in this way.

2) T-test - were performed on data from all questions which yielded numerical 1-7 rating answers (i.e. "On a scale of 1 to 7 with 1 being the most negative and 7 being the most positive, what number would best describe the way you feel about the mural?") to allow for comparison of mean ratings. Results were considered significant where $p < .05$.

3) Chi-square analyses were carried out to allow for comparison of data from all remaining close-ended answers. Results were considered significant where $p < .05$.

4) Correlation analyses were performed to determine the possible degree of association between (1) people's opinions of the neighborhood containing the mural, the spot containing the mural and the mural, itself, as well as any associations between people's opinions of the mural's style, its content, and the mural overall.

Part II - Case Study

Part II of this research was a case study which included an in-depth analysis of the impact of the creation of a participatory artwork (a mural) in a residential place (Site 1 of Part I). Work on this mural included my own involvement as a facilitator of this participatory art project which was based at a local school.

This research approach was important in elucidating and illustrating more subtle aspects of the art in the

environment experience -- specifically of the artistic process, the complex nature of which could not necessarily be assessed through the approaches used in Part I.

My involvement in the project spanned a two year period from the Spring of 1983 to the Spring of 1985. I initially had become involved in the mural scheme as an employee of a community architecture and environmental education group in Newcastle. At first I only had been included in the planning and negotiating phases of the project. By October 1983, however, I was hired directly by the local community council to assume total responsibility for facilitating this community arts scheme. The mural was painted in the summer of 1984 but my own connection with the project as facilitator, evaluator, and advisor continued until the following Spring.

Techniques and Procedures

A. Participant observation

My role as a participant observer began formally during the "active" phase of the project in the Spring of 1984. It was at that time that I made contact with the local primary school which was to be involved in creating the mural.

Through informal discussion and interaction, I was able to get to know those involved in the project including politicians, administrators, parents, teachers, and pupils. These experiences allowed me to fully

understand the project's impact on participants and on the neighborhood, community and school of which they were a part. All discussions and interactions were compiled as part of a log in which I recorded and analyzed participants' changes of perception, behavior and preferences over time (over approximately one year including follow-up and related activities after the mural's completion).

B. Archival data

Archival data helped me balance and temper what must always be considered to be the subjective view of the participant observer. The data included:

1. published materials - including newspaper articles and reports about the project or material on related issues, groups, agencies or organisations.
2. official records - including meeting minutes, correspondence, agreements, contracts, and demographic data relating to economic and social conditions in the Newcastle area.
3. personal records - including project related:
 - a. informal material - miscellaneous lists, notes, calendar entries etc. detailing purchases, tasks to be accomplished and meeting dates and times.
 - b. formal material - my correspondence with parents, teachers and politicians, as well as

leaflets, agreements, contracts, estimates, lesson plans, lecture notes, children's written work.

c. visual aids - photographs, slides, and my drawings and sketches of the site.

4. photographic documentation - in the form of slides and photos of the artwork and any changes occurring to it or the site including unobtrusive measures such as graffiti.

C. Formal interviewing

The case study also involved formal interviewing of those most closely associated with the project. Three groups of people were interviewed:

1. Adults involved in the project including (a) the Priority Area Team Leader (Funding Source), (b) the Head of the school involved in the project, and (c) the teacher directly involved in the project. The Deputy Head of the school was also to be interviewed but had resigned her post and moved out of the area by the time interviews were conducted. (I was able, however, to carry out an informal telephone conversation with her.) Formal interviews with all adults except the former Deputy Head were conducted by a trained interviewer having no previous connection with the mural. Questions were both closed and open-ended and focussed on the experience of being part

of an art in the environment process. (See Appendix C for interview format.)

2. Children involved in the project included eight classroom pupils from the class working on the mural scheme. Children chosen were those double rated by the teacher and myself as highly, moderately and only slightly involved. All interviews were conducted by a trained interviewer with no previous connection with the project. The interview format, of necessity, was more informal consisting of guidelines for a taped discussion. Questions focussed on the experience of being involved in the mural scheme. Demographic information also was obtained relating to gender, age and class where appropriate. Interviews were pilot tested. (See Appendix C for interview format.)
3. Residents living in the courtyard area overlooking the mural also were interviewed by a trained interviewer with no previous connection to the project. Fifteen of the 54 households in the area directly faced the mural. The interviewer knocked at each of these 15 houses and interviewed all those who answered their door and agreed to be interviewed. Thus nine people were interviewed overall with three refusals and three no answers to the interviewer's knock. Questionnaires were similar to the passerby interviews used in Part

I of this research, although specific questions about householder's involvement with the mural were also added. Demographic information was also obtained. Questions were both closed and open-ended. All interviews were pilot tested. (See Appendix C for format.)

Data Analysis

Using the information gathered from all these methods in Part II, it was possible to compile information about the experience of being involved in a participatory process in the creation of a work of art in a residential place. This information was used to form the basis of a descriptive analysis of the project -- the case study. The analysis was divided into eight parts including:

- I. Setting the scene - Project background and history.
- II. Defining the project - goals and aims.
- III. Developing participation.
- IV. Creating and finalizing the design.
- V. Executing the design.
- VI. Evaluating.
- VII. Summarizing and celebrating.
- VIII. Continuing links.

The dynamics described in the case study and the conclusions drawn are intended to illuminate the results described in Part I of this study and provide generalizable

conclusions which may be useful to others who are working in similar situations.

Footnotes

¹Class was determined by using the British Registrar General's social class classification devised for census purposes. Social classes II and III (skilled non-manual) below were considered middle class. Classes III (skilled manual), IV, and V were considered working class. No class I passersby were interviewed.

Classifications were as follows:

Social class	Descriptive definition	Examples of occupations included
I	Professional etc.	Accountant, architect, chemist, clergyman, doctor, lawyer, surveyor, university teacher
II	Intermediate	Aircraft pilot or engineer, chiropodist, farmer, manager, Member of Parliament, nurse, police or fire-brigade officer, schoolteacher
III	Skilled non-manual	Clerical worker, draughtsman, sales representative, secretary, shop assistant, telephone supervisor, waiter
III	Skilled manual	Bus driver, butcher, bricklayer, carpenter, cook, electrician, miner (underground), railway guard, upholsterer
IV	Partly skilled	Agricultural worker, barman, bus conductor, fisherman, machine sewer, packer, postman, telephone operator
V	Unskilled	Kitchen hand, labourer, lorry driver's mate, messenger, office cleaner, railway porter, stevedore, window cleaner

Results

Data gathered from the interviews, behavioral mapping and the case study yielded a number of results regarding people's perception, behavior and preferences in relation to art in the environment. Main findings of the comparative study included:

- .Thirty percent of those passing by the murals reported being aware of the artworks.
- .Opinions about the mural's style were strongly related to people's overall opinions of the murals.
- .Overall passersby rated all of the murals above the middle point on a 1-7 scale. Those murals that did not involve any community participation received the highest ratings.
- .Fifteen percent of those commenting on the political mural failed to understand the murals' messages. Thirty-three percent of those commenting understood the murals' messages but did not like them.
- .Gender, level of education and class of passersby did not significantly affect people's overall opinion about the murals.

.People's opinions of the murals did not affect their opinions of either the setting or neighborhood containing the artwork.

.People had differing feelings about whether or not murals had a positive impact on places. Middle class passersby were more positive about the mural's impact on its setting than were working class respondents.

.People's experiences of the murals did not measurably differ in neighborhood versus city commercial locales.

.The majority of passersby were not aware of the fact that the participatory murals were created through a process of community involvement.

.Although not everyone wanted to be directly involved in mural projects, the majority wanted to vote on their final design.

.81% of those interviewed were in favor of more murals.

Main findings of the case study included:

.Some participants' sense of their creativity was increased through involvement with the mural project described in the case study.

.Overall, participation in a mural project did not increase participants' or residents' sense of belonging, community or commitment to that place.

.Community participation in the mural project studied did not prevent the mural from being graffitied.

Beyond these main findings, further results highlighted underlying trends in people's experience of art in public settings. Taken separately as discussed in the following pages, each of these findings helps to further explicate aspects of the art-public-place dynamic.

Part I Results

The ART in Public Place Experience

1. Who noticed the murals and under what conditions?

Tracking results indicated that only 12% of all persons observed passing by the four murals studied demonstrated any observable reaction to them, (i.e. looking at the mural while walking, looking in the mural's general direction). Of that number, the largest percentage of reactions (27%) were recorded at the Leather Center (Commercial participatory) site under low density conditions, (see Table 5). Scanning data suggested that an even smaller percentage of passersby reacted to the murals (9%) with only slightly more reactions recorded in the low density (13%) versus high density (10%) conditions (see Table 6). Although they do not react to the murals in an overt way, passersby may still be aware of the existence of these artworks. When asked to describe the place where they were standing or to give an opinion about that particular spot or neighborhood, 30% of those interviewed mentioned the mural in front of them. Younger respondents, particularly those aged 10 to 17 years (37.5%) and 18 to 39 years (31%) mentioned the mural significantly more often than older age groups. (40 to 60 yrs = 23%, 61 yrs and over = 8%), ($\chi^2 [3, N = 159] = 10.44, p < .05$), (see Appendix, Table A-1).

In terms of specific behavior, results of tracking and scanning shown in Table 7 indicate that people reacted

Table 5

Percent of Passersby Showing No Reaction to Murals Compared to Percent Reacting During Tracking

Site	Residential		Commercial			Overall totals	
Process ^a	Part	Non-Part	Part		Non-Part		
Density ^b	-	-	High	Low	Total		
% of people showing no reaction	92% (66)	78% (39)	89% (104)	73% (74)	82% (178)	94% (231)	88% (496)
% of people showing reaction	8% (6)	22% (11)	11% (13)	27% (27)	18% (40)	6% (14)	12% (71)
Total number of people tracked	100% (72)	100% (50)	100% (117)	100% (101)	100% (218)	100% (227)	100% (567)

^aPart = Participatory, Non-Part = Non-Participatory

^bReactions during high and low density conditions were compared at the commercial participatory site only.

Table 6

Percent of Passersby in Commercial Settings Showing No Reaction to Murals Compared to Percent Reacting During Scanning

Site	Leather Center			Boat		Overall Totals
	Participatory			Non-Participatory		
Density ^a	High	Low	Total	-		
% of people showing no reaction	90% (357)	87 (261)	88 (618)	96% (449)		91% (1067)
% of people showing reaction	10% (42)	13 (39)	12 (81)	4 (19)		9% (100)
Total number of people scanned	100% (399)	100% (300)	100% (699)	100% (468)		100% (1167)

^a Reactions during high and low density conditions were compared at the Leather Center site only.

Table 7

Percent of Passersby Reacting to Murals During Tracking and Scanning

	Tracking a	Scanning a	Total
Look, walking	72%(51)	70%(75)	71%(126)
Look, standing	.03% (2)	8% (9)	6% (11)
Look in general direction	27%(19)	19%(20)	22% (39)
Looked riding/sitting	0	1% (1)	.01% (1)
Pointed out	.04% (3)	0	.02% (3)
Discussed	.04% (3)	14%(15)	10% (18)
Total # of reactions ^b	78	127	205
Total # of people reacting	71	107	178
Total # of people observed	567	1167	1734
Average # of reactions per person	1.1	1.2	1.15
Total percent reacted	12% ^c	9% ^c	10.5%

^a Percents based on total number of reactions in each category divided by total reactions.

^b Some passersby displayed more than one reaction.

^c Percents based on total reacted divided by total observed.

to the mural in a variety of ways, with the largest percentage of reactions during all sessions consisting of people looking at the murals while they were walking (72%) during tracking, 70% during scanning), (see Table 7).

Only 9% of passersby said they ever came that way just to look at the murals. One 14 year old girl at Blyth explained "I mainly come by to see the picture on the way to school. It reminds me of the beach." A man in the 61 and over category said he came by the Boat mural intentionally, "Because it's something that enlivens the atmosphere up everyday when I come by."

Data about people's perception and behavior in relation to these murals do not necessarily reveal what passersby thought and felt about them. To determine any deeper level of response, answers to further questions needed to be analyzed.

2. What feelings did the murals elicit in people - what meaning did they hold for them, if any?

When asked "What feeling does the mural give you?", significantly more people questioned (67%) indicated that the murals conveyed no particular feeling to them compared to those who said the murals did elicit feelings from them (32%). Those most likely to indicate that the mural gave them no feeling were those in the 10 to 17 age bracket (17%), while passersby 61 and over were most likely to report emotional reaction to the artworks (51%), ($\chi^2 [3, N=157] = 12.30, p < .01$), (see Table A-2). The higher percentage of reaction by those in the older age category

may reflect the particular appeal of some of the murals to older passersby. Twenty-six percent of respondents who were 40 or more years of age mentioned feelings of "nostalgia" with 18% also mentioning feelings of "cheerfulness" when viewing the murals. These feelings were most often reported at the Boat and Leather Center sites (see Table 8) with the Leather Center mural particularly depicting a scene of days gone by.

Although only about one-third of passersby were able to describe feelings elicited by the murals, a majority of respondents were able to understand the murals' messages. When asked what they thought the mural's message was, 51% of those interviewed accurately interpreted the mural's meaning. Only at the Shakespeare site did a large and significant number of people ($\chi^2 [3, N=160] = 8.89, p < .05$) fail to understand the artwork's message (see Table A-3). Many there did not recognize the image of Shakespeare, guessing it to be historic figures such as Oliver Cromwell or Sir Walter Raleigh. As a result, they were unable to make the association between Shakespeare and the names of the adjoining streets as the artist had intended.

3. What opinions did people have of the murals' subject matter?

In fact, those passing by the Shakespeare mural gave

Table 8

Percent of Passersby at Each Site Describing Type of
Emotional Reaction to Murals

Site	Football	Shakespeare	Leather	Boat	Total
No react- ion described	80% (32)	75% (30)	62.5% (25)	45% (18)	66% (105)
Cheerful- ness	2.5% (1)	2.5% (1)	7.5% (3)	10% (4)	6% (9)
Nostalgia	0	0	25% (10)	10% (4)	9% (14)
Appreciation for workman- ship	0	5% (2)	0	2.5% (1)	2% (3)
Recognition of familiar scheme	15% (6)	5% (2)	0	22% (9)	11% (17)
Other	2.5% (1)	12.5% (5)	5% (2)	10% (4)	6% (14)
Total responses	25% (40)	25% (40)	25% (40)	25% (40)	100% (160)

it the lowest evaluation ($\chi^2 [6, N=157]=14.50, p<.05$) in terms of subject matter, with 22.5% negative responses compared to the 15%, 5%, and 2.5% negative evaluations given by those passing by the murals at the other three sites (See Table A-4). As one respondent explained, "I was surprised they chose him [Shakespeare]. I thought they'd choose someone from Newcastle."

Although 54% of passersby did not give specific reasons for their subject matter evaluations, others did provide explanations for their opinions (see Table 9). At the Football and the Leather Center sites, for instance, people specifically mentioned that they liked the mural's images (22.5% and 12.5% respectively). Local and historical scenes seemed particularly popular. At the Football mural, one person commented that the subject matter was "Great! Couldn't be a better area for it with the football grounds being there." At the Boat mural one passerby remarked, "I know the place - by the quayside. I have a laddie goes to that place and fishes."

At the Leather Center the historical nature of the mural seemed particularly meaningful for people. Sixty-nine percent of those who felt that the historical subject matter was meaningful were older people (44% of 40 to 60 year olds, 25% of those 61 and over). One person explained it was important to "show you the way things were," especially in areas of the city like this one where "revitalization" had occurred. As another respondent put it, "It's nice. It shows the way the shops used to be

Table 9

Percent of Passersby at Each Site Explaining Reason For
their Opinion of the Mural's Subject Matter

Site	Football	Shakespeare	Leather	Boat	Total
No reason given	57.5% (23)	60% (24)	37.5% (15)	60% (24)	54% (86)
Appropriate for area	12.5% (5)	5% (2)	2.5% (1)	22.5% (9)	11% (17)
Historical	0	0	35% (14)	5% (2)	10% (16)
Like images	22.5% (9)	2.5% (1)	12.5% (5)	5% (2)	11% (17)
Dislike images	2.5% (1)	2.5% (1)	2.5% (1)	2.5% (1)	2.5% (4)
Appropriate	0	17.5% (7)	0	0	4% (7)
Mentioned something besides subject matter	2.5% (1)	10% (4)	0	5% (2)	4% (7)
Other	2.5% (1)	2.5% (1)	10% (4)	0	4% (6)
Total # of respondents	25% (40)	25% (40)	25% (40)	25% (40)	100% (160)

before they knocked it down and messed it up." Others commented: "It lets people know how the area's changed. It's historical." "In a modern city there's still time for the history of the past."

Not surprisingly the murals with the most controversial subject matter were the photographs of the political murals shown to the passersby (See Figures 9,10,11,12, 13 and 14 in Methods section). Thirty-three percent of those commenting on the photographs indicated that they disagreed with the message of one or more of the murals. The photograph of the Greenwich Mural Workshop's anti-racism mural, for example, (see Figure 9) elicited a number of comments, in some cases bringing people's racism to the fore. As one passerby commented:

I don't like the words [of the mural]. I like to try and forget this. We have to try to live with them. The only reason for racism in Newcastle is, why do you have a Pakistani shop where you live where it's more expensive to buy things - always two, three, four pence more? They have no qualms about that . . . They all have cars. The majority buy a foreign car . . ."

Some other people simply objected to the overt political imagery:

"I'm against racism but don't want to throw it out at people."

"I don't believe in stirring up racial trouble."

"It would get vandalized with that subject matter." (The

mural was graffitied, in fact, and had to be repainted with the same graphics.)

"I like the picture, not the words. It makes me more like that [racist]."

"You're encouraging racism when you put it up. Like T.V. - brainwashing."

One person insightfully criticized the mural's imagery:

I approve of the idea of these but not how they're carried out. The [blacks] look like savages here. The shovels look like spears. You don't want to give that impression to white people. You want something constructive.

The imagery of the Cable Street anti-facism mural (see Figure 10) may also have detracted from its overall message. Reactions to it focussed on the mural's style and/or imagery rather than its message, suggesting, perhaps, that its political content may have been lost to viewers. Comments included: "There's too much in it. I don't understand it." "It's a bit complicated."

When asked whether each mural would fit into the site at which they were interviewed, some residents at the Shakespeare residential site rejected the Cable Street mural as too violent for that locale, "It's got too much violence for kids at the school [which was right nearby]. It's a good design." "It shows too much strife. It should be at the Civic Center."

Of course, the Cable Street mural, itself, was originally placed in the neighborhood where the anti-

facist demonstration it depicted had occurred, something that was not recognized by the respondents in the study. Thus people there might have understood the mural's content more readily and might have considered it appropriate and meaningful for that locale. In this sense, showing people a photograph of a mural out of its context may have its drawbacks. Also, the reaction of area residents may differ from those of outsiders.

Interestingly, however, besides not understanding the meaning of many of the murals, 15% of those interviewed completely misread the messages of the peace and anti-racism murals. One person, for example, rated the peace mural the highest rating of seven explaining, "I think we should retain the bomb. We have to do something to stop them" (see Figure 9). Others asked for an explanation of the slogan, "Greenwich People Against Racism" - did that mean that people were for or against prejudice? One person, for example, rated the anti-racism mural a low two number explaining, "I'm not racially prejudiced."

Overall then, passersby preferred the representational murals which showed local or historical scenes. The photographs of the political murals elicited the greatest amount of controversy. A third of those commenting on the political murals understood the murals' messages but disagreed with those messages. Some failed to understand those messages completely.

4) What opinions did people have about the mural's style?

Those interviewed at each mural site made fewer specific comments about the mural's style than they had made about its subject matter (85% gave no reason for their opinions of style). Interestingly though, analysis of data revealed that ratings of the mural's style were strongly related to people's overall ratings of the murals, (see Table A-5). Passersby rated all of the mural's styles above the middle point on a 1-7 scale overall. However, those murals that did not involve any community people in their creation got higher ratings (see Table A-6). Specific opinions often given for liking particular murals were that people liked the colors in them. As some explained: "Yes, with lots of concrete and glass being used [murals] brighten things up." "Yes murals brighten, make it look pleasant and get graffiti off walls." Many lauded the use of bricks to create the Shakespeare mural which was, "very well done . . . and not painted on."

In the photograph ratings, the abstract murals (see Figures 12, 13 and 14) received the lowest ratings compared to the political representational murals ($t(120, N=119)=7.45, p<.001$; see Table A-7). Comments suggested a dislike of imagery that wasn't "readable": "What's it supposed to be?" "Ordinary people can't understand it." Thus style played an important role in determining people's overall opinions of the murals.

Table 10.1

Mean Rating of Degree of Liking/Disliking Murals by Passersby at Each Site

Site	Football	Shakespeare	Leather	Boat	Total
n	40	40	40	40	160
<u>M</u>	4.5	5.47	4.85	5.75	5.35

Note. Ratings based on a 1-7 scale with 1 being the most negative response and 7 being the most positive response.

Table 10.2

Comparison of Mean Rating of Degree of Liking/Disliking Murals by Passersby at Each Site

Site	Football	Shakespeare	Total
n	40	40	80
<u>M</u>	4.5	5.47	4.98
t (74, <u>N</u> = 80) = 2.25, p<.05			

Site	Football	Leather	Total
n	40	40	80
<u>M</u>	4.5	4.85	4.67
t = (74, <u>N</u> = 80) = .70, p>.05 (not significant)			

Site	Football	Boat	Total
n	40	40	80
<u>M</u>	4.5	5.75	5.12
t = (74, <u>N</u> = 80) = 2.29, p<.05			

Site	Shakespeare	Leather	Total
n	40	40	80
<u>M</u>	5.47	4.85	5.16
t = (74, <u>N</u> = 80) = 1.77, p<.05			

Site	Shakespeare	Boat	Total
n	40	40	80
<u>M</u>	5.47	5.75	5.61
t = (74, <u>N</u> = 80) = .03, p>.05 (not significant)			

Site	Leather	Boat	Total
n	40	40	80
<u>M</u>	4.85	5.75	5.3
t = (74, <u>N</u> = 80) = 1.79, p<.05			

5) What type of murals did people like best?

As shown in Table 10, the Boat and Shakespeare (non-participatory) murals received the most positive ratings, but for different reasons. The overall message was most often understood by those passing by the Boat mural compared to any of the other sites studied (see Table A-3). The Shakespeare mural's message and subject matter were the least appreciated, compared to any of the other sites, yet its style was particularly well received, (see Tables A-3, A-4 and A-6). Such differences in preferences may be explained by the type of professional artist executing the work. At the Boat mural site the artist was a local resident who knew the local haunts, whereas the Shakespeare artist did not come from that particular area. Thus, the Boat mural proved a winning combination in that it used a professional artist able to combine a professional painting style with knowledge of the community and subject matter to which locals could relate. At the Shakespeare site, although the choice of subject matter was not successful, the style and particularly the use of brickwork to create the image proved extremely appealing to people. As style was the factor most influencing people's overall opinion of the murals studied here (Table A-5), the Shakespeare mural was well received overall.

6) Were reactions to the artwork related to individual or group differences?

Interestingly, gender, class and education were not

found to be significant factors determining any aspect of people's preferences in relation to the murals. In terms of race, the overwhelming majority of those passing by the murals were white (95%). Thus, analysis on the basis of race had to be eliminated. Similarly, the numbers of people passing by the mural for the first time were so low (2.5%) that comparison between newcomers and non-newcomers also had to be eliminated. Interestingly, however, all four of these respondents passing by the murals for the first time noticed the artworks.

In summary, then, findings related to perception, behavior and preferences of the artworks in public places revealed that:

1. 30% of those passing by the murals noticed them, with more noticing during low density, compared to high density conditions.
2. young people tended to notice the artworks the most.
3. 15% of those commenting on the photographs of the political murals failed to understand the mural's messages. Thirty-three percent of those commenting understood the murals' messages but didn't like those messages.
4. reaction to the mural's style was a major factor in determining people's overall opinion of the murals.
5. murals done without the involvement of community people were the most well-received, particularly when the subject matter reflected the artist's knowledge of the local area.

6. gender, level of education, and class of passerby did not significantly affect people's responses to the murals.

The PLACE in Art in Public Experience

1. Did the inclusion of murals at particular sites affect people's sense of that place?

Overall as shown in Table 11, when asked to describe the particular neighborhood or spot (site) or give directions to the place [which contained the mural], 30% of those interviewed at all sites included mention of the mural there. Thus, the murals were part of the perception of place for almost one-third of passersby (see Table 9).

Closer examination, however, indicates that more people mentioned the mural when referring to the place (25%) or spot (11%) compared to the neighborhood (1%) (see Table 11). Such findings suggest that the murals had more of an impact on their immediate sites than on their neighborhoods. One person interviewed at the Moorside mural, for example, summed up these perceptions succinctly, "A painting doesn't change a neighborhood does it?" Although the murals seemed to have more of an impact on their site than neighborhood, the data revealed a significant relationship between people's overall opinion of the mural, and their opinions of that neighborhood containing the mural (see Table 12). Overall, however, responses to open-ended questioning revealed no significant relationship between people's overall opinions of the mural, their opinions of the spot containing the mural and their opinions of that neighborhood (see Table 12).

Table 11

Percent of Passersby Who Mentioned the Mural Compared to
those Who Did Not Mention it at All Sites

	Not Mentioned	Mentioned	Total
In Place Description	75%(120)	25%(40)	100%(160)
In Spot Description	89%(143)	11%(16)	100%(159)
In Neighborhood Description	99%(158)	1% (2)	100%(160)
Total Responses ^a	88%(421)	12%(58)	100%(479)
Total Respondents ^b	70%(112)	30%(48)	100%(160)

^a Percents based on total number of instances of not mentioning or mentioning in each category divided by total opportunity to mention in place, spot and neighborhood description.

^b Percents based on total number of people not mentioning or mentioning the mural in either place, spot or neighborhood description divided by total interviewed.

Table 12

Correlation Between Passersby Opinions of the Murals, the Neighborhood Containing Them, and the Site Containing Them.

	Neighborhood	Site	Mural
Neighborhood	-	.15*	.20**
Site		-	.13***
Mural			-

Based on Open Ended Positive, Negative, or Neutral Rating

	Neighborhood	Site	Mural
Neighborhood	-	.12****	.11*****
Site		-	.12*****
Mural			-

N = 160

Note. Ratings based on a 1-7 scale with 1 being the most negative and 7 being the most positive response.

*p>.05. **p<.01. ***p>.05. ****p>.05.
*****p>.05. *****p>.05.

Instead, the murals only made a difference to particular sites. Only at Shakespeare and Boat locales, for instance, did a number of people mention the mural as the reason for liking those spots. It should be noted that these two murals by professional artists were the best liked and most noticed. Thus it is possible to speculate that murals done by professional artists have the most impact on a particular spot.

However, so many other factors also played a part including the mural's placement - the Shakespeare mural was visible at a distance, the Football mural was secluded in a courtyard space, scale - in this case the murals were relatively the same size and, juxtaposition in relation to other environmental factors - trucks parked in front of the Leather mural, for example, often obscured the view of it, while the trellis at the Boat mural obstructed the view of that artwork. Despite such considerations, results here suggest that murals had more of an impact on their setting than their neighborhood.

2. Did people feel that the murals had a positive impact on their locale?

Respondents who mentioned the mural were those who rated the spot most positively ($\chi^2 [2, N=158]=12.44, p<.01$) (see Table A-8). For these interviewees, at least, the murals had a positive impact. When asked if the mural made any difference to the spot, positive comments included:

"Yes, I always look at it when I pass it."

"I think it's an attraction straight away. I've seen people stop and take a look at it." (Football mural)

"It makes it look nicer, gives it character."

"If you talk about it to people in the area, most people know about it." (Shakespeare mural)

"Yes, it's the only place in Blyth with a picture. It's unusual. It's the first time it's been done."

"Yes, it does. Lots of people just come and look at it. Sit down and pass comments." (Boat mural)

Others had negative comments to make:

"The mural is the most atrocious thing I've ever seen. It clashes and spoils the harmony of the trees." (Football mural)

"The only ones who come and see it aren't from here." (Shakespeare mural)

". . . People just go by and don't look. They're too busy doing shopping." (Boat mural)

For some the artworks were seen as reinforcing city values or neighborhood identity:

"A lot more people take notice of this area now with that there." (Shakespeare mural)

"People notice it when they come by. They come here more often." (Boat mural)

"It probably makes people feel a bit happier 'cause they know they have one of the bright things in Newcastle."
(Football mural)

Others interviewed expressed concern that the murals might invite graffiti rather than help eradicate it, causing places to look worse, not better in the end. Overall then, people had differing feelings about whether or not the murals had a positive impact on places.

3. Do people's perceptions, behaviors and preferences in relation to these artworks differ in residential versus commercial places?

Tracking results indicated that only slightly more people reacted to the residential murals (14%) compared to the commercial murals (12%). Tracking results however revealed that more people reacted to the city center mural (Leather center) during low density times (27%) than high density periods (11%) ($X^2 [1, N=218] = 8.83, p < .05$) (see Table A-9). A similar finding appeared during scanning sessions with slightly more people reacting to the mural during low density times than high density periods. However, differences were also much less dramatic. (13% versus 10% respectively) and not significantly different. (See Table 6). Thus the data suggests that there is some tendency to notice murals more in low density situations.

Beyond these differences, few other significant differences emerged between people's experience of art in residential as compared with commercial places. However, individual comments provided a rich source of information

about what people thought of murals in one type of place as compared with another. At the Football mural, for example, some commented on the artwork saying:

"It's horrible. It's a housing area not a place to describe something . . . It's in an awkward place. It should be kept in town . . . It has more to do with town."

"I'm not against art. I think it's the wrong place for it. It shouldn't be in places where people have to look at it everyday when they look out their window whether they like it or not."

Yet another resident commented, "[I look at it] when doing the dishes . . . it's better than a blank wall . . . brightens up life." Of all the murals studied, the Football mural was the most visible from residents' houses. The fact that it did violate some people's sense of what was appropriate in this relatively private locale suggests that murals may be the most acceptable in places that are more public. Overall however, people's experience of the murals did not measurably differ in residential versus commercial locales.

4. Were reactions concerning the artworks' effect on the place related to individual or group differences?

When asked, "What do you think of the mural?", both residents and non-residents were extremely positive though non-residents gave somewhat more positive replies (88.5%) than residents (71.5%). Interestingly, residents gave

Table 13

Percent of Working Class Passersby Compared to Middle Class Passersby Descriptions of Reasons Why Mural Made a Difference to Spot

Class	N.D.	Working	Middle	Total
Cheers place up	25% (8)	16% (16)	41% (12)	22.5% (36)
Interesting	6% (2)	10% (10)	10% (3)	9% (15)
Colorful	0	0	10% (3)	2% (3)
Stands Out	3% (1)	7% (7)	0	5% (8)
Something to look at	3% (1)	5% (5)	0	4% (6)
Better than blank wall	3% (1)	3% (3)	3% (3)	3% (5)
Makes it nicer	16% (5)	4% (4)	3% (1)	6% (10)
Not noticed	6% (2)	12% (12)	3% (1)	9% (15)
Other	16% (5)	6% (6)	7% (2)	8% (13)
No answer	22% (7)	36% (36)	21% (6)	31% (49)
Total Responses	20% (32)	62% (99)	18% (29)	100% (160)

Note. N.D. = Class not determined.

many more positive responses about the spot containing the mural than non-residents (51% versus 16% respectively) ($\chi^2 [2, N=158]=14.47, p<.001$), (see Table A-10).

Similarly, analysis of responses by class revealed that 76% of middle class respondents felt the mural made a difference to its particular spot compared to 52% of working class respondents who felt that way. In fact, 40% of working class people interviewed felt that the mural made no difference to the mural site, compared to 20% of middle class people who felt it made no difference (see Table A-11). More middle class passersby commented that the mural "cheered the place up" (41%) compared to only 16% of working class people who mentioned that effect (see table 13). Instead, 12% of the working class respondents in these predominantly working class areas thought the mural was "not noticed" compared to only 3% of middle class passersby who held that opinion. All such findings suggest that murals are artworks that middle class outsiders perceive of as "uplifting" to working class areas, areas with which the working class residents, themselves, are satisfied.

In summary then, findings related to perception, behavior and preferences of the place aspect of art in the environment experience revealed that:

1. Murals tended to have more of an impact on a specific site than on a neighborhood. Overall, though, opinions about the mural did not affect people's opinion of either site or neighborhood.

2. those interviewed had mixed feelings about whether or not the murals had a positive impact on places.

3. results of behavioral mapping and interviews indicated that people tended to notice murals more in low density situations than high density situations. Overall though, people's experience of art in the environment did not measurably differ in residential versus commercial locales.

4. people who were middle class and not residents of the area were more positive about the mural's beneficial affect on place than were working class residents.

The PUBLIC in the Art in Public Places Experience

Findings concerning the art and place aspects of art in public places provided interesting information about people's perception, behavior and preferences in relation to the visible art "product" and its effects on built and (to some extent) natural environments. There remains, however, a more subtle aspect of the art in public places experience, the effect of the artwork as a "process", a process which may involve the public, the community, in the creation of a mural. Even if not involved, passersby who notice murals will still be viewing artworks made with or without the participation of the public:

1) Are people aware of the fact that a mural has been created through community participation?

On average very few people (18%) knew how the murals had come to be there. Yet these percentages varied considerably from site to site ($\chi^2 [3, N=160] = 13.27, p < .01$). No one knew how the participatory mural at the commercial site (Leather) had come to be there, yet 30% at the non-participatory, commercial site (Boat) knew of the mural's origins, (see Table A-12). Almost equal numbers of passersby at the residential participation and non-participation sites knew of the murals origins (20% and 22.5%). Overall slightly more people at the residential sites (21%) than at the commercial sites (15%) knew about the process of the mural's creation.

We can ask why there was a higher level of knowledge at the commercial Boat mural locale. This may have been due partly to the publicity given the mural. A few of those interviewed at the Boat mural mentioned reading about the artwork and the artist who had created it in the newspaper. However, a closer examination of the definition of the Boat site as a commercial locale may hold the rest of the answer. In retrospect it is clear that Blyth was more of a "town" center than a "city" center. Forty percent of those at the Leather site indicated that they lived over five miles from that site compared to only 12.% of passersby at Blyth living at that distance ($\chi^2 [12, N=160] = 81.57, p < .001$), (see Table A-13). Blyth's population was also considerably smaller. In this sense those passing through this town center may have had greater opportunities to become aware of events there. It

is possible that the closer the site to residential areas, the more people may be aware of community participation.

2. Do people prefer participatory over non-participatory murals?

While not consciously aware of the mural's origins, passersby may still be affected by a work of art's participatory or non-participatory mode of creation. Although results of behavioral mapping indicated that the large majority of those passing by a mural did not react to it in any way, reactions that did exist differed at participatory versus non-participatory locales. Scanning results indicated that a higher percentage of people (12%) reacted to the participatory mural than the non-participatory mural (4%), with similar trends occurring during tracking ($X^2 [1, N=567]=6.06, p<.05$), (see Table A-14). It must be recognized, however, that the placement of the Leather Center mural at the end of a long narrow lane helped focus passersby attention to it, while portions of the Boat mural were obscured.

In any event, in terms of preference, non-participatory murals were the most positively rated (see Table A-15). Results previously discussed build a case for the use of professional local artists who are able to translate local imagery into meaningful subject matter for maximum relevance and feeling. Certainly the content of the non-participatory murals was more often understood when there was a local artist involved.

3. Does the public want to participate in mural projects?

When asked, "How would you like such artworks done?", 34% answered, "by people who live here", 32% preferred them to be done by "professional artist(s) working with people who live here." Only 14% mentioned using professional artists exclusively. (See Table 14). As one passerby stated, "professionals go over our head sometimes. Too abstract." While another stated, "For goodness sake don't let amateurs dabble. Amateur work looks amateur." Yet another stated, "By professional artists working with people who live here. It gives them an understanding of the artist. I know because I helped paint a mural [for our Boy's Club]. We won a competition with that mural."

When explaining who was actually willing to take part in such a project, those aged 10 to 17 indicated significantly more of a desire than any other age group to help design $X^2 [3, N = 153] = 16.04, p < .01$ a mural or create it $X^2 [3, N = 152] = 40.05, p < .001$ (see Tables A-16, A-17). Such reactions were not surprising. As the "Childhood City Newsletter" Participation issue (1980) suggests, the lack of desire to participate does not necessarily mean lack of interest. During interviews, of the oldest age group indicated that their age prevented them from being more actively involved. Many of those interviewed said they didn't want to design or paint it because they felt they weren't good at art (see Table 15). Thirty-one of the 35 parents interviewed in

Table 14

Percent Answers by Passersby to Question: "How Would You Like to See Such Artworks Done ?"

By people who live here	34%	(54)
By professional artists	14%	(23)
By professionals and locals	32%	(51)
Doesn't matter	11%	(17)
Other	4%	(6)
No Answer	6%	(9)
Total Respondents	100%	(160)

Table 15

Percent of Passersby Reasons for Wanting to be Involved or Not Involved in a Mural Project Presented by Age

Age	N.D.	0-17	18-39	40-60	61-Over	Total
Like art	0	22% (9)	10% (4)	10% (4)	10% (4)	14% (22)
Don't like art	100% (1)	15% (6)	35% (14)	33% (13)	15% (6)	24% (39)
Like being	0	7% (3)	5% (2)	3% (1)	8% (3)	6% (9)
For fun	0	10% (4)	2.5% (1)	3% (1)	0	4% (6)
Too busy	0	7% (3)	10% (4)	3% (1)	5% (2)	6% (10)
Not	0	0	5% (2)	8% (3)	3% (1)	4% (6)
Too old	0	0	0	3% (1)	26% (10)	7% (11)
Other	0	27% (11)	12% (5)	10% (4)	8% (3)	14% (23)
No answer	0	12% (5)	12% (5)	28% (11)	26% (10)	21% (34)
Total	.6% (1)	26% (41)	25% (40)	24% (39)	24% (39)	100% (160)

Note. N.D. = Age could not be determined.

another study (Caldwell and Sisterson, 1985) at the local community school involved in the creation of the Football mural gave "lack of time" as the reason for their non-involvement. Despite such restrictions, 67% of passersby interviewed at all sites did want to vote on the final mural design. As one explained, "If I didn't like it, I would want to be able to say so."

In summary, findings related to perception behavior and preferences regarding the public's role in the art in public places experience revealed that:

1. the large majority of those interviewed passing by the murals did not know the origins of the murals done either through community participation or by a single artist.
2. although most people said they felt murals should be done by local people alone or a combination of professional artists and residents, murals done without community involvement received the highest ratings from passersby interviewed.
3. young people between the ages of 10 to 17 were the most willing of all those interviewed to help design and create murals.
4. even though not everyone interviewed wanted to be directly involved in mural projects, the majority still wanted to be able to vote on the final design.

Overall, despite the positive and negative opinions of passersby in Part I regarding art, place, and public factors, 81% of those interviewed were in favor of more murals compared to 14% who were opposed to more murals. For the majority of passersby then, any shortcomings of such artworks did not prevent them from wanting more murals.

Part II - Case Study Results

Introduction

While the approaches in Part I of this research have yielded relevant information about people's experience of art in the environment, particularly in terms of their perception, behavior, and preferences, the procedures do not provide information about involvement in the process of creating these works. Participation by non-art experts has been specifically identified as one important dimension to be analyzed in this study. As such, an in-depth look at those who participated or were in some way involved in the process of creating a work and examination of that participation seems essential.

Specific questions that must be addressed, for example, include :

1. Do those participating come to understand and appreciate art and artists more as a result of such participation?
2. Is their sense of their own creativity increased as a result of taking part in such art in the environment projects?
3. Does participation in a community mural project increase people's sense of belonging, community and/or commitment to that area?
4. Does participation affect the incidence of vandalism to art in the environment?

In an attempt to answer these questions a case

study was undertaken which involved an in-depth analysis of the creation of the Football mural (Site 1, Part I of this research), an example of a mural in a residential setting created through participation.

This mural was chosen for case study analysis because of this researcher's role as facilitator in the creation of the mural during 1983-1984. My close involvement with the project enabled me to compile a retrospective log describing the process of creating this work of art in a public place and to keep an updated log of events relevant to the creation of the mural since its completion. Such close involvement with the project afforded me a close and ongoing view into the dynamics surrounding the creation of this work. This necessarily subjective vantage point was tempered by interviews with area and school officials, pupils and residents involved with the project -- interviews conducted by a trained interviewer having no previous connection with the mural.

What follows, then is a composite narrative which relies on information gathered through these different methods that recounts the various stages of the project including :

- 1) setting the scene-Project background and history
- 2) defining the project-Goals and aims
- 3) developing participation
- 4) creating and finalizing the design
- 5) executing the design

- 6) summarizing and celebrating
- 7) continuing links
- 8) evaluating

The discussion at each stage is directed toward contributing to the overall analysis of the issues raised by such a participatory project. The project is typical of similar mural schemes conducted throughout Great Britain and elsewhere. As in many other cases, its conception was part of an overall redevelopment plan for a particular neighborhood. There was intervention by one facilitator and children were the main source of design ideas and execution. However, it must be recognized that while such art in the environment endeavors do have similarities, each one is different. The individuals and groups involved in a participatory process are never the same; processes, themselves, differ, final mural designs are unique and, of course, every physical site and neighborhood setting offers a different set of circumstances and challenges. Nevertheless, the dynamics described here and the conclusions drawn from them will help to clarify the results described in Part 1 of this study and will provide generalizable ideas useful to others working on similar schemes.

Setting the Scene -- Project Background and History

A. The Setting

As is the case with many neighborhood murals, the Football mural was to be painted in a working class

area -- in this case, in the middle of a council estate (public housing project) in the West City ward of Newcastle Upon Tyne. A 1981 census described conditions in this ward, stating :

A large number of people live in "overcrowded" households [with] very few owner-occupied dwellings . . . Unemployment rates in the ward are the highest in the city and about double the city level. About three out of every ten men and women are unemployed. Only about 57% of men of working age who are not students have a job, the lowest "employment participation" rate in the city. . . The ward has a higher percentage of children (particularly under fives) and of young adults 16-24, than in the city as a whole. Just one in seven of the children live in households with only one adult, the highest proportion in the city . . . (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1981, p.86).

Likewise, a social worker with clients living near this multi-racial area scheduled to contain the mural described the neighborhood as "transitional" - a place where the council often housed "problem" families.

Speaking of the specific rows of houses surrounding the proposed mural locale, one local government official explained to me :

The housing stock, itself, I suppose is basically

sound . . . [but] . . . more specifically I suppose the problem with that area is its location on the fringes of the commuter/industrial part of the city . . . It is very close to Leazes Park and St. James Park but you do have to cross very busy main roads to get there and they are relatively isolated : an island of houses surrounded by mainly traffic routes.

Interestingly, when questioned many of the residents of this neighborhood, themselves, seemed to paint a much more positive picture. When asked, "On a scale of 1-7 with 1 being the most negative and 7 being the most positive, what number would best describe the way you feel about this neighborhood?", the nine residents questioned rated the neighborhood 5.8 on average with three respondents giving a rating of 7. The area's "nearness to town" was particularly mentioned by three of those interviewed as a major advantage.

As early as 1982, £110,000 had been appropriated by the local council for the landscaping and redevelopment of the courtyard area behind this "island of houses." Improvements were to include sectioning off and fencing of individual backyards for each house, the building and landscaping of brick planters, the addition of metal barriers across accesses out to main roads -- as a means of preventing young children from venturing beyond enclosed space. A play store (play equipment storage building) was also to be provided. In December 1982, the Housing Action

Officer wrote to residents seeking their opinion on such a store which was "to house toys provided by the Recreation Department to be made regularly available for children there to play with." The scheme met opposition as residents were worried about the potential noise and disruption near their homes. As the local government official responsible for developing the area explained, "A local resident organized a petition against the play area which was successful and the idea of the play area was dropped from the overall scheme . . . [I think] to its detriment."

B. Environmental improvement and the mural: Agencies and organizations

Although the proposal for the construction of a play store was defeated, local council officials still hoped that the courtyard space could be developed in a manner that would be appealing to children, if not of immediate practical use to them. Rather than have residents suggest alternatives to the play store, local officials put forward the idea of having a mural painted on one large wall facing into the courtyard space. The wall was a rather dull grey cement/rendered surface that had been graffitied over time (see Figure 15). As one of these government officials explained, ". . . [We were left] with this virtual eyesore in a corner of the site . . . so it would seem a fairly natural thing to do. It would tidy up the gable end, itself, and also be integrated with the overall scheme."

The impetus behind the mural scheme, then, came not from the local residents, themselves, but from the local

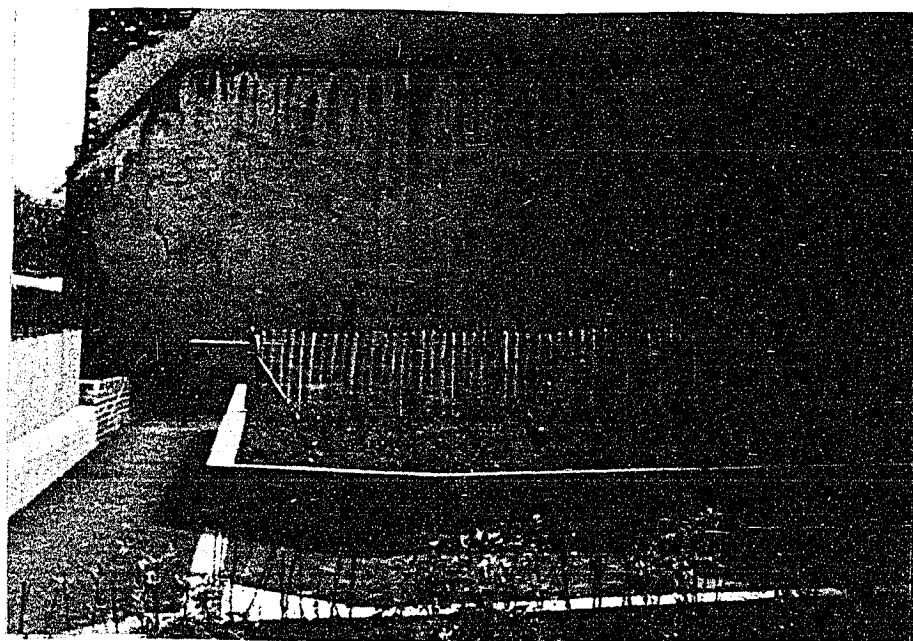


Figure 15. Courtyard Area Before Painting of Moorside Mural

council and agencies that acted as a liaison with a number of organizations and individuals to help them make the mural a reality. Of particular initial importance, for instance, was the West City Priority Area Team (P.A.T.). As with the other thirteen PAT's in Newcastle, the main aim of West City PAT was to:

. . . give extra help, both financial and organisational, to the most deprived areas of the City. . . identifying particular needs in their ward, conceiving plans to meet local needs. . . involving the local community in these processes and building on their experience, together with that of ward councillors and area officers (Newcastle Upon Tyne Priority Areas Project, 1983.).

It was Tom P., the West City PAT Team Leader, who laid the initial groundwork for the creation of the mural as an integral part of the overall improvement of the courtyard. After the defeat of the play store proposal, he contacted Newcastle Architecture Workshop Ltd., a community architecture and environmental education group active in Newcastle, about the possibility of their completing a mural for the courtyard area. Appropriately, many of the Workshop's projects included environmental improvement schemes consisting of the design and painting of murals. Likewise, their overall aims were "to encourage architectural support, service for all ages and sections of the community" and "participate in Inner City/Priority Area

Projects or in other design/build activities" (Israel, 1983, p.41).

In October 1982, Tom P. met with the supervising architect of Architecture Workshop at the proposed mural site to discuss the project. Examining the wall, the architect confirmed that it was possible to paint a mural on to the surface and he agreed that Architecture Workshop would take on the project. At this juncture, the Workshop had committed itself to completing three murals :

1. this one in the West City/Moorside area
2. a mural in the Rye Hill section of the West City Ward. This one already had been started by the Workshop. Staff had worked with children at the local school, designs had been chosen and the wall undercoated. Then, due to staff turnover, the project had been stalled and consequently the undercoated wall had been completely graffitied.
3. a mural for Lemington School Nursery. Architecture Workshop staff had been working with children at this site to develop a design.

By February 1983, Ed D., a young architect assigned by the Workshop to these mural projects was able to write to Tom P. on the progress of the first two murals, saying of this (Football) mural :

Since the last PAT meeting we have had four more evening sessions with the children at Prudoe Street Mission [a local Christian Mission] Junior

Youth Club. As a result, three children have been formed into a group to work up a detailed design for the wall, their ages ranging from 8-10.

In reference to the Rye Hill mural he continued :

The designs by the children of St. Paul's School are now in our office where our graphic artist will draw out a detailed design incorporating several of the childrens' ideas . . . When final designs have been drawn out, we should be in a position to supply a detailed budget for both murals.

By the Spring of 1983, however, a combination of staff turnover and emphasis on other projects at Architecture Workshop meant that all three of these mural projects had been placed on "hold" until new staff could be hired to complete them.

C. My involvement

I arrived back in the U.K. at about this time after returning to the U.S. for a number of weeks. Before my trip to America, I had been working for Architecture Workshop for seven months as an environmental consultant evaluating their environmental education and community architecture components as well as providing information on similar U.S. ventures and helping them to develop their overall program.

Now back in Newcastle, I hoped to continue to work with them. After initial discussions, the School's Supervisor at Architecture Workshop, Jane K., suggested that

I take charge of these three mural projects that were waiting in the wings. With this agreed, I saw my role very much as a liaison between the various individuals and groups that had been involved in the projects: Architecture Workshop's architects and teachers, residents (especially children who had participated), local schools, the PAT and the City Architects. Although I was responsible for drawing up the scheme for each of the projects, those drawings were to be based on the children's own original designs. I stressed that I did not consider myself an artist and it was agreed that a newly hired graphic-artist was to work with me as well on the visual input. My role was the Coordinator of Architecture Workshop's mural projects and I saw my main value as a facilitator, someone who would see that the projects were completed on schedule rather than just left hanging.

It was agreed that I would concentrate on the Rye Hill mural scheme first, then Lemington and last Moorside. Over the spring, designs for both the Rye Hill and Lemington sites were completed and approved. By the summer, Architecture Workshop's Youth Opportunities Workers (YOPs - school leavers between 16-18 years old on a government-financed employment scheme) had begun to paint on the Rye Hill site. By the end of August, after about six weeks of work, the mural, which incorporated the designs of local children, was completed.

Work originally had been scheduled to begin immediately on the Lemington School mural, but the project

had again become stalled: Architecture Workshop's director had resigned. Jane K. became the new director. The decision was made to eliminate the Workshop's YOP scheme (thereby eliminating the mural painting squad). The City Architects were to take responsibility for completing the Lemington School mural. The commitment to the Moorside mural was simply dropped.

Personally, this meant the end of my work with Architecture Workshop. Professionally it meant that expectations within the community had been raised (in terms of the children who had contributed designs) only to repeat the pattern of delay and disappointment. As Team Leader, Tom P. was particularly anxious that the Moorside mural should not just simply die. Funds were still available from the PAT to finish it, but what about people to see it through?

I mentioned the project to Adam C., an unemployed artist living in the West City area not far from the mural. I knew Adam to be a talented artist and it seemed appropriate to have a local resident continue to work with local residents. Adam seemed interested but unsure of the bureaucratic ropes necessary to move the project along. We discussed the idea of completing the mural scheme in partnership together.

By early October, the Rye Hill mural had been graffitied. This proved extremely demoralizing after all the work that had gone into it. Yet, it raised a number of interesting issues about why it had been graffitied. Had

the community participation aspect of it been too limited? Had Architecture Workshop's false starts undermined its credibility? Had the imagery been too uninspiring to prevent graffiti? Or, on the other hand, would anything have been graffitied in that derelict spot regardless of process or product?

It would be a challenge to try to do another mural project with a more comprehensive community participation component completed on a more consistent basis to see if the results could be more successfully received. Still I had mixed feelings - was it all a waste of time and money? Tom P. understood my concerns but seemed willing to take the chance, feeling that it was important to see the mural through.

Defining the Project - Goals and Aims

I began to wonder if the project was just about getting a job done. To a certain extent, it seemed to have been just that. Considering the recent history of mural false starts in the West City ward, the goals of continuity and completion seemed essential. Since Adam and I had to submit a formal proposal for funding to the PAT, it was necessary to explain why we thought it was important to paint a mural there in the first place. We needed to know exactly what were our goals and aims. As with any art in the environment project this meant confronting again what we meant by art, what we meant by public and what we meant by place in this particular context.

A. Place:

Certainly from the beginning, the place dimension had been the main impetus behind the mural. Had it not been for the environmental improvements already underway in the courtyard, this gable end would never have been identified as a site for a mural. Thus, from the onset the mural was conceived of as valuable, not as a work of art itself, but in terms of its visual impact in relation to the other physical changes occurring within its particular surrounds. This is not to say that art and place were considered integral and developed side by side (as has more recently become the trend in the U.S., for example). They were not. The idea of the mural was quite simply an after-thought -- an idea considered sensible and worthy by officials already involved in the re-development scheme.

What were the overall goals of the re-development upon which the mural was seemingly riding piggy-back? They were to make this "island surrounded by traffic" more of an oasis, to make this residential place more of a neighborhood by improving the courtyard space which was the shared physical link between each house. It was important to ensure the needed privacy so characteristic of the British psyche by sectioning off individual backyards. Providing for children's needs also seemed uppermost in official minds as evidenced by inclusion of barriers in the plan and the doomed proposal for a play store.

Given this agenda it was appropriate that the mural rely on imagery to which residents could relate, imagery

which would emphasize or encourage some common bond without being intrusive. (Many would be able to see the mural on a daily basis from their back windows.) That children should also find it appealing - perhaps even that it should incorporate some type of game(s) also seemed important.

In terms of the more objective reality of the courtyard, the new qualities of the natural and built environment that were being created there had to be taken into consideration as well. For example, there was a question as to whether added planters, bushes, and trees would affect people's line of sight in relation to the mural, what colors, shapes, textures were to predominate in terms of the surrounding building fabric and how their overall effect could be enhanced by the mural, given its placement and scale.

B. Art:

Such issues eliminated the luxury of approaching the mural project from the "Art for Art's Sake" perspective. The artwork's location in this specific physical context with its own particular requirements meant it had to be more than simply an object of beauty. Nor could it simply be a personal expression on the part of an individual artist, given the explicit emphasis on community and neighborhood. Perhaps there could have been an argument for art as political expression given the depressing economic circumstances of the majority of local inhabitants. However, a mural intended to make an overt political

statement in what was essentially a residential enclosed and private space seemed inappropriate.

Instead, a work of art as a socio-cultural expression appeared more in keeping with this neighborhood character. This meant reliance on common imagery -- a language shared as much as possible by the residents, themselves. Newcastle already had a proud and long established identity symbolized by imagery related to the river and sea, its bridges, the now dying coal industry and its highly rated football [soccer] team whose grounds were located down the street from the mural site.

Yet there is a question as to how the common can also be unique, how the shared expression also can have individual meaning. Can a mural, a work of public art aiming at such pluralistic appeal avoid being simply a reworking of often trite, hackneyed images? Can artwork conceived in such a way retain its own identity and high quality? This has always been the dilemma of art as social/cultural expression. It has always had to walk this thin line with these potential pitfalls ever-present. Choosing this route meant being aware of these pitfalls.

It also meant being aware of the more immediate socio-cultural context in which the mural would be created: A British working class neighborhood with a high rate of unemployment where residents had achieved on average a low level of education and, presumably, a limited exposure to high art -- backgrounds and educations which were a real contrast to my own American, middle class, art-educated

background. Such differences could not be ignored, if in my role as facilitator, I was to come to terms with this gap and attempt to resolve it.

C. Public

Specifically though, I wanted to ensure that this mural really reflected people's own socio-cultural expression rather than my own. Community participation seemed to be the answer. The idea that local people would be involved in all stages of this mural scheme had been the rationale for pushing on with the project. Community participation here was meant to be much more inclusive than it had been at the Rye Hill site.

Yet in Arnstein's (1969) terms, it is difficult to assess at just what rung of the participation ladder the project was initially conceptualized. Certainly it was not a case of total citizen control. There was no grassroots outcry from people demanding a mural in their neighborhood. It might be considered delegated power in the sense that Tom P. as the PAT team leader and the PAT, itself, were supposedly the representatives of this community. In their role as representatives, they had pushed for, approved, and funded the project. Yet their well-intentioned actions were all part of roles they played within the confines of a bureaucratic organization. In reality it is doubtful that any of those living near the proposed mural site knew anything about the proposal until they were "informed" or "consulted" about it months after its inception. Certainly

they were not canvassed about it as systematically as they had been about the play store.

Perhaps there existed a degree of tokenism about the project from the start. Whether or not this was a fatal flaw remained to be seen. Adam and I discussed this possibility before submitting our proposal and Adam, especially, expressed concern about murals as a superficial gesture in an area with much larger concerns. On the other hand, I preferred to believe that participation in such a community arts project, even as it was conceptualized, could represent people's attempts to improve their environment and circumstances in some communal way.

With such questions still in the back of our minds, Adam and I submitted a "Proposed Programme of Work" to Tom P. and the PAT on October 14, 1983. We described the project as having three parts including :

PHASE I:	initiate and carry out community participation in mural design development - 3 days a week for 5 weeks	£495
PHASE II:	- Finalization of mural design - Presentation of design - Revision of design (if necessary) - Costing and ordering of paint and equipment - Scheduling of work to be carried out 4 days a week for 4 weeks	£528
PHASE III:	- Painting and supervision of completion	

of mural

5 days a week for 6 weeks £990

The PAT approved the project but not without raising some initial questions about what they considered to be its high cost. The Committee suggested eliminating Phase I, the community participation aspect entirely to cut down on some of the expense. I strongly opposed this move, since this phase seemed crucial to the whole purpose of the project. I stated that I would not go ahead with it unless the participation phase was retained. Tom P. backed me up on this and he presented my letter to the PAT in which I explained :

This initial few weeks allows for neighborhood input regarding the placement, theme and imagery involved in the mural. A painting on a gable end, particularly in such a visible locale, is not meant simply to 'appear' one day. Instead, it is hoped that the mural can express community interest and renew local spirit: that it can be something the public can take pride in, relate to and hopefully defend against the potential vandalism often perpetrated against artwork which people feel they had no part in creating. (T. Israel, personal communication, February 8, 1984.)

Developing Participation

A. The Role of the Facilitator

In order for such sentiments to be more than just

"lip service", it was essential that community participation in the project be carefully developed. It appeared on the surface that groundwork for the project had already been laid through the Architecture Workshop connection. After the defeat of the play store idea, Ed D. and Lynne A. had gone door-to-door to residents to discuss the mural proposal with them, get their reactions to the idea and encourage their participation. Some residents didn't seem to care while others were supportive of the idea. Children from many of these households formed the nucleus of the group who met at Prudoe Street Mission to work with Ed and Lynne on the initial designs for the mural. Shortly after the completion of the designs, however, Ed left and, repeating the by now familiar pattern. The Workshop lost the children's designs which he had left with them. Now we were faced with the problem of having to re-establish the scheme's credibility before I had even begun!

We received formal approval for the project on March 1, 1984 with work scheduled to begin in June. By March, however, a second setback occurred. Adam C. had decided to set up his own crafts business and had to pull out of the mural project.

With the responsibility as facilitator now clearly on my shoulders, I felt keenly the gaps in my own experience and ability. I was not an artist and had been counting on Adam to act in this capacity. Although well versed in participation theory and experienced in projects involving children's participation, I had never developed a community

arts project as such. Given these uncertainties, with Adam now out of the project, I resolved to find a new partner who could contribute to the scheme the talents I felt I lacked.

To this end I began to contact people and groups in the Newcastle area who I knew to be experienced in community arts. Outline Arts Trust was one such group and Karen H. its leader, although not able to work with me, was able to suggest other contacts. Likewise, in meeting with me, she was able to provide insight into her own working method as facilitator.

She talked about the importance of going around door-to-door or holding a residents' meeting to let people know about and have a say in the project. She discussed achieving a balance between dictating to a community group regarding style and content and letting them explore without any structure. Theoretically at least her understanding of the process as a major factor seemed admirable. She suggested I talk to another local community artist, Nancy S., who had played a major part in creating the most recent mural by Outline.

Nancy S. seemed less reflective and more interested in the pragmatics of getting projects done. This was not to say that she considered participation unimportant, simply that the reality wasn't always as easy as the theory.

She described the process of completing the Leather Center mural. There was no readily available community to draw on there as it was in the center of a commercial district. Instead, as facilitator, she did most of the

research regarding the history of the area (the theme of the mural). She used the combination of printed information and photos to come up with the original design scheme. The actual painting was done by people Outline had come to know through other projects.

The technique used was a kind of paint by numbers method. The design had been grided up with different colors sectioned off. Helpers simply had to fill in the colors as shown on the section.

It sounded as though she had a lot of practical skills that would be helpful to me. She was interested in becoming involved in our mural project but had recently gotten a new job.

My search continued. In mid April I contacted Debbie G., a community artist working with a community arts group that had been in existence for a number of years, only a few blocks from the mural site. I was particularly drawn to this group since I felt they must have built up a network of links with the community over the years: I did not want to mysteriously arrive on residents' doorsteps one day and depart leaving no continuity or connection once the mural was finished.

Debbie G. was friendly and welcoming. Her work as a community artist, however, was more concerned with short projects and seemed to revolve more around temporary arts experiences (drama, puppetry, etc.) rather than permanent works such as murals. She did offer to help me make initial contacts.

As starting time for the mural scheme approached it became more and more clear that I would have to tackle it myself or abandon the project altogether. Even after talking to the few community artists whom I had already contacted, I felt that I learned a lot about the role of the facilitator, most of all, that there was no one ideal or perfect model. Each person seemed to approach community arts schemes differently depending upon their own personality, experience, and the situation. Adam C. had agreed to help and advise me informally as much as possible about the visual aspect of the project. Still, the notion of taking on all aspects of the scheme seemed daunting.

B. Moorside School

In mid-April I made contact with Moorside Community School. I previously had heard about this school with its unique identity as a community school. Its commitment to a community education approach included:

An emphasis on a community based provision of educational services, whether formal or informal, a participative management structure . . . and an integration of youth and community services and adult education so that the needs of communities can be more effectively met. (Report of the Youth and Leisure Services Working Group, 1983, p.2)

I met with Maya D., the school's Deputy Head, about the proposed mural project and discussed the possibility of community involvement through the school, itself. Maya was

very responsive and enthusiastic and seemed to understand not only the practical and aesthetic nature of the project but the importance of its participatory aspects as well. She described other project and programs that the school was trying to develop in terms of community participation. The school had just opened that year and so all efforts were still new and tentative.

Maya D. seemed anxious to have the mural project based at the school (only a few blocks from the mural site) and offered assistance in terms of meeting rooms, some supplies and above all, help in making contacts with children, teachers, parents and residents who might be interested in working on the mural.

She introduced me first to Pam S. who taught a third grade class at the school. I discussed the mural project with Pam and she seemed interested in collaborating with me. She felt that she, did not have a strong background in art, but might be interested in having her class approach the project as part of an overall look at the environment and community.

The openness of those at Moorside School to the project was certainly encouraging - perhaps the most encouraging response I had received from any of the people or groups I had approached. Yet, in some ways, working on the project through the school seemed an easy way out. Children are always a very available and definable population to work with in a particular neighborhood - accessed easily through the institution of the school. But

was the institutional route necessarily the best route? Institutions, themselves, have a certain connotation. On the one hand they provide a kind of familiar legitimacy to a project, on the other hand it is just that kind of official status that can be interpreted as alien or offensive to those who have not fit neatly into the system. Perhaps, Moorside as a community school provided a different kind of forum, one which would make it easier to network directly with local residents. As explained in the Youth and Leisure Services Report, 1983, p.2, for example:

The potential of central and local government to impact on the lives of people in the community is considerable. Only a few feel able to participate in the process. The majority are bewildered and passive or react aggressively, for instance by vandalism, at the impersonal bureaucracy they see around them. Within the education service a community education approach would be a significant means of redressing the situation by giving local people a larger say in the planning and running of services.

Also, my own familiarity with school settings and experience working with children made the prospect of working within this educational context feel more comfortable. Likewise, working with the children in Pam's classroom (some of whom lived near the mural site) appeared logical as the project was specifically meant to appeal to children.

C. Involving Adults

However, I did not want the project to be simply a child-centred scheme and hoped to get adults involved as well. Maya had mentioned the existence of an Ethnic Arts group composed of community residents who met weekly at the school. She suggested that I sit in and talk to members of that group about the mural and the possibility of forming a separate adult group to work on it.

At the beginning of June, I did go to one of their morning sessions. Two of the five women there expressed an interest in the project. Maya had also introduced me to two mothers who she also thought might want to get involved. Later that afternoon I met with 3 of these women to show them slides of other murals (many of them American) and discuss the Moorside mural more specifically. They seemed interested and we set a date for a series of mural workshops to begin on June 14.

In the meantime, I tried to expand the adult network. I printed a few hundred leaflets describing the workshops and distributed them to homes surrounding the mural site and put them up in local community centers and shops. Through word of mouth I also contacted a handful of other local residents who I had been told might want to take part.

Meanwhile, during that week, Debbie G. (from the local community arts workshop) and I again went knocking door to door in the mural neighborhood. We introduced ourselves, mentioned the mural project, and asked if they had any feelings about the mural being painted there. Most

people said it was o.k. or they didn't care. The whole exercise seemed a bit meaningless and superficial as there was little real dialogue between the residents and ourselves.

Unfortunately, only one person showed up the day of the first mural workshop. Of course, this did not necessarily mean that people were opposed to the project, rather that either they were not interested in participating in its development, did not have the time or really did not believe a mural would make any difference to their neighborhood or lives.

I mentioned the disappointing turnout to the staff at Moorside. They did not seem at all surprised since they, too, had found community involvement at the school to be low. A preliminary study carried out at the school (Caldwell, personal communication, 1984) revealed that 24 of 46 parents were involved in no activities there. Reasons why parents stated they were not involved with the school included:

Lack of time	31
Lack of interest	3
Lack of publicity	1

As one teacher explained:

Some people just patently aren't interested in coming to the school - it is very difficult to get them in. Some of them just express "oh you just get on with it and we're quite satisfied with what's going on." Some would like to come in but

can't, either because they are working or have some other commitment. Others want to come in and do.

Speaking specifically of the mural project, when interviewed as part of this study, the school Head gave a more reflective explanation:

We are looking at an ideal really. Ideally it would be nice if everyone had come out of their houses and said, "Great, give me a paint brush, I'll do some," but it takes time to achieve that sort of thing . . . I think we are going into an area with a new concept - a concept of participating - people are not used to it. A lot of people expect things to just be done for them. They expect their repairs to their houses to be done. They expect their gardens to be kept tidy. It really means that you have got to look at the basis of attitudes that people have towards participating in community life.

Likewise when interviewed as part of this case study, Pam S. concluded, "People perhaps do not get consulted that often and when they are consulted do not feel their views are incorporated into the results." Whatever the reasons, the workshop idea did not seem to work. Instead I became resolved to the fact that the major emphasis of the project would be on the children.

Creating and Finalizing the Design

A. The Concept

Before beginning to work with the children at Moorside, I met again with the classroom teachers to discuss what the underlying concepts of the project would be. I conceived of the program of work as part of an overall environmental education scheme, wherein the aim would not be simply to create a mural but to help pupils:

1. see the built world around them.
2. help make them sensitive to the meaning of their environments.
3. help them develop values about their environments.

Accomplishment of such aims would necessarily involve practice in exploring, analyzing, making decisions, and making changes in relation to the environment.

Specific consideration had to be given to the end product -- the fact that we would be creating a work of art in a public place. As such, the mural project curriculum would involve posing a series of questions to pupils over the next six weeks and helping them to answer those questions. They included:

1. What do we mean by art? in this case
by a mural?
2. What do we mean by place and environment?
3. What do we mean by public and community?
4. How can we combine what we know about art,
public, place to create a successful art
in public places project - a community

mural?

Even more specifically, I hoped to stress that at the very least the final mural design had to fulfil five basic requirements:

1. It must be a design that people in the neighborhood would want and like.
2. It must fit in with the wall and other parts of the environment around it.
3. It must try to solve not create more problems in the neighborhood (i.e. graffiti).
4. It must be of good artistic quality.
5. It must be simple enough to be painted in six weeks.

Pam S. seemed to support these basic aims and the curriculum as I envisioned it. We also discussed the possibility of integrating all of the sessions as much as possible with ongoing classroom work. Integration with math exercises seemed particularly appealing. We agreed that such integration required careful discussion and anticipated holding weekly planning sessions before each lesson.

B. Classroom Work

My first classroom sessions began the week of May 21, 1984 and dealt first with the issue of what was meant by art and murals. I had put together a slide show of murals that had been done in the U.S. as well as the Rye Hill and Lemington ones. We discussed what murals were and I briefly

described the mural project on which we would be working. The children discussed which of the murals I had shown they liked best, which they liked least and why.

The next week I met with Pam S.'s class again. We talked about the idea of a community and what we meant by:

1. a community Priority Area Team.
2. a community artist.
3. a community mural.
4. a community school.

Not surprisingly the emphasis during this session was on the concept of community. We did a written exercise about different members of the community and their interests and goals.

By the next week I felt that it was important for the children to begin to translate the ideas we were discussing into drawings. We reviewed the concept of the community and different members of the public. We talked about the symbols that might be used to represent that public's interests and goals and about personal symbols that could be used to describe the pupils' own interests and goals. The children then drew their own symmetrical patterns (they were studying symmetry in math) composed of personal symbols.

The drawings were to be saved and elaborated upon during the next few weeks as the individual building blocks which would help form the basis of the overall mural design. The process seemed to be particularly interesting to Pam S. who commented later:

I had a clear sense of what the aims were but I

learned a lot from watching Toby teach the children: How to build up the idea of design in the children's head. When they first came to me in the September of that year . . . we were talking about logos and ideas about design having something about people's personality or the character of the school or something to do with whatever it was about, and [it was] really a non-starter: they just did not catch onto that at all . . . what I saw happen [with the mural project] was to begin from very simple beginnings, geometrical shapes and being able to develop from that.

By the third week we had discussed the concepts of art and community -- now it was time to begin to explore the environment. I scheduled a day to take Pam S.'s class to the mural site.

In the session before we visited the mural site, I explained to the class that we would be divided into three teams: 1) an interview team, 2) an environment team 3) a wall team. The interview team was to knock on residents' doors and ask them more specific questions about their mural opinions. The environment team was to describe the nature of the area surrounding the mural. The wall team was to measure the dimension of the wall and describe it.

In preparation for this outing we did a number of warm up exercises. The interview group role played mock interviews with residents. We did observation exercises and

games involving shape, color, texture, size and symmetry.

When we finally went to visit the site, itself, I worked with the interview team and Pam supervised the other teams. Overall, residents were very welcoming to the children who knocked on their doors and seemed much more willing to talk to them than to Debbie and myself (two unknown adults) (see Figure 16). After returning to the school, we summarized the residents' responses to our interview questions.

The following week we discussed the information and responses the class had gotten as a result of the site visit and how it all could be used to help us develop design ideas for the mural. The children spent one session doing abstract designs using different shapes, colors and textures they thought might work well in relation to the wall and mural environment. During the next session they did designs that looked more real (representational designs) based on different themes the residents had suggested. The children also elaborated on their own symbol drawings which they had done in the previous class sessions.

By now the children had completed enough drawings for us to think about putting all of their pictures together into a final design idea. As our sixth week together approached, I began to bring in sample mural designs that I had sketched based on some of the children's drawings. I described exactly why I had chosen individual symbols and explained how the arrangement related to the overall mural requirements (art, public, place). Then I showed them how I

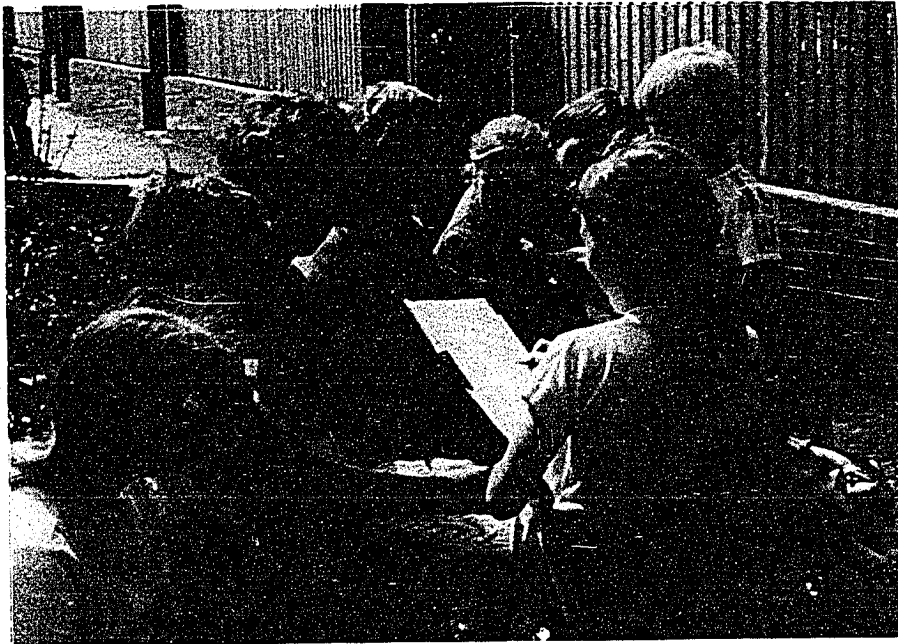
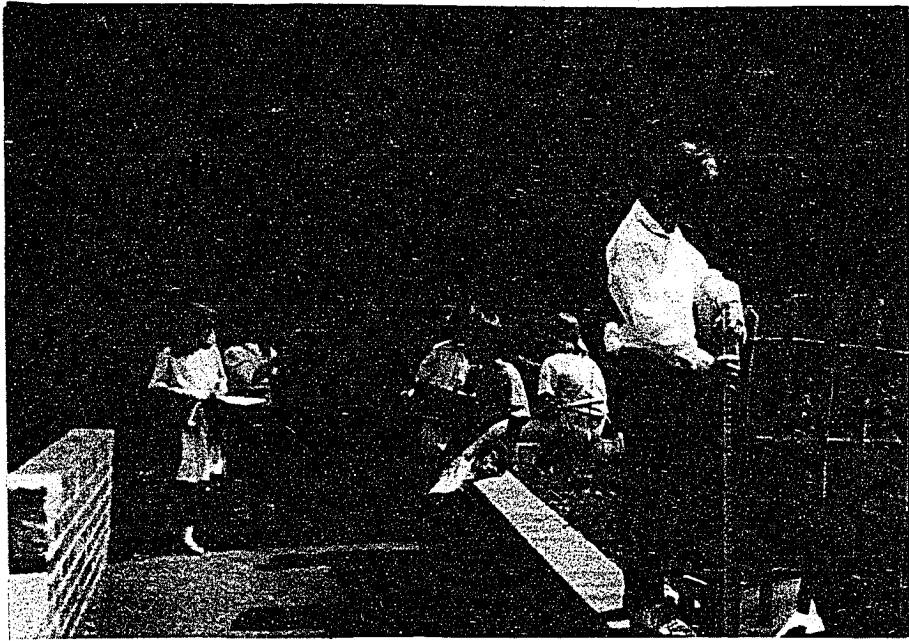


Figure 16. Class Visit to Moorside Mural Site

had xeroxed their designs and put them together like a jigsaw puzzle to produce one design that was a combination of everyone's. After showing this to them, I gave each of them the various xeroxed bits to try to create their own combined drawings. The results weren't as imaginative as I had hoped. The children had relied too heavily on the xeroxed images but at least it helped them understand the process of doing a collaborative design.

With this process clarified, my six week session with them had now drawn to a close. It was now up to me to gather together all the designs they had done during the previous weeks to come up with a final mural concept. I explained to the children that I would be back at regular intervals during the next three weeks to show them how I was combining and developing their drawings and to get their suggestions on how it was progressing.

Overall, the class had worked well, with some children more involved in the project than others. John M., for example, had worked hard and produced some excellent drawings. When asked what aspects of the project he enjoyed the most, he commented:

I think designing it and using my ideas - drawing it . . . I drew a castle and I did a sword through the castle, like the hilt on one end and the point sticking out the other and cracks so the castle was cracking and then I did just the same with the helmet, just sort of fallen on to this turret which was outside and a shield lying on a cart and

all these bits of wood sticking out. And I just thought - "oh, a knight!" and I drew a little knight.

Pam S. had been very supportive of the project and seemed committed to making sure the work was carried through. Likewise, she appeared pleased to have the experience of working with another adult in the classroom and particularly of seeing how an art project could be worked through with her class. She commented, "I appreciate a sort of logical progression that can be clearly seen by children and I think [the project] was that."

C. Final Design Development and Approval

With the children's drawings in front of me the development of the design was slow going. I felt the pressure of having to produce a design before the end of the school year and in time for it to be painted in August.

I tried to use the children's images as the starting point and to pick out themes running through them that might be relevant to that neighborhood. Sports symbols, landscape scenes, and local imagery (i.e. the Tyne Bridge) appeared quite often. In addition I tried to select what seemed to be the best drawings from a visual standpoint regardless of the theme or subject matter. Combining these different pictures I also repeatedly referred back to the residents' wishes as expressed in our interviews and to the physical characteristics and demands of the setting itself.

During these four weeks in July, the design went

through a series of revisions both in terms of my own thinking and in relation to the periodic input from the class. I purposely presented these interim sketches to the children in the form of a paper puzzle: All of the different components of the design (elements from the children's drawings) could be removed from the basic sketch and rearranged by them:

Miss Israel . . . picked out the best things and put them on. She picked out the most popular things. It [had] lots of things on . . . it [was] dead bright with colors. [It had] lots of different things on like the Tyne Bridge and somebody going up in a balloon. It [had] a castle on and a dragon and that: loads of things in the river and it [had] flags on the bottom. (Mary H.)

The children gathered around as I explained the rationale behind the things I had chosen: basically it was a scene showing Newcastle United Football Team (thus picking up on the fact that the stadium was around the corner from the mural site) while also showing aspects of Newcastle's culture and geography (the castle, the bridge, the river, typical looking people). The class seemed really intrigued. Pam S. commented later:

I think the highest point of the children's excitement was when Toby returned with the colored design that wasn't the final one, but the one that they could see their contribution in. They could actually point out, "that bit's mine", "that

castle's mine", "that's my bird and that's my fish."

When interviewed later, one pupil, Mary H. remembered, for example, "I done like the Tyne Bridge with NUFC on it . . . and I done the canoe in the sea down the bottom . . . I done the cars over the Tyne Bridge and the fishes."

The children enthusiastically expressed their opinions about the design and talked about the things they liked or disliked. We voted on whether or not to include certain details. I promised to come back the next week with the final design.

Before coming up with a final scheme, I hoped to get more feedback on it. Adam C. looked at it informally, but he was engrossed in his own crafts work and it was hard for him to come in on the middle of the project. Artistically, I didn't think the design was outstanding. It was hard to be objective.

The class seemed to like the final design. The next step was to have the children go back to the residents living by the mural and get their opinions on it. With this in mind, the interview team went out with me again to the houses surrounding the courtyard. Again the children went door-to-door to get people's reactions to the proposed design. Most approved of it.

Last but not least, the design needed final approval from the PAT before it could be painted. I contacted Tom P. and hoped to meet with him to get feedback on the design.

He seemed just to want to get it done and didn't offer any opinions or comments on the design, itself. This was a bit of a disappointment since I would have liked to feel that he was a bit more invested in the project. In reality, though, this was probably one of many projects he was helping to get off the ground. He, himself, commented:

As far as the project went I saw my role as liaison, coordinator in the early stages. It was never my wish or my role to become involved in the detailed work involved in the design or the execution of a mural. It was left very much in the hands of Toby, who was like-minded to myself in terms of community involvement.

The project got the formal approval of the necessary councillors and painting was scheduled to begin the second week of August.

Executing the Design

A. Preparation and Support

When the design was officially approved, the practical aspects of painting the mural onto the wall needed to be sorted out. This included not only the technical aspect of preparing the wall and purchasing materials and equipment but, more importantly, finding people to help paint it.

I had been thinking ahead in both of these realms over the past few weeks. The blank mural wall needed repairing and undercoating before any painting could begin.

Working through Tom P., I already had met with an architect and workers from the city housing department and had arranged for all preliminary work to be done to the wall. Scaffolding could also be loaned to us from the local housing authority. All important insurance for injury to any of us working on the mural also was obtained through the city without problems. I chose paint colors, estimated the amount that would be needed and paint, along with the equipment I required (brushes, turpentine, pans, etc.), were easily ordered.

Finding people to help paint, however, was not simply a matter of pragmatics. I wanted to ensure as much community participation as possible. Before the school year had ended, I had sent a note home to the parents of the children in Pam's class explaining the mural project and asking for help from parents, friends, relatives, and the children, themselves, during the summer holidays in August. A number of children had signed up to help. Some parents expressed vague interest but there were no definite volunteers.

The children would certainly be able to paint the lower portions of the mural but would not be able to do the higher portions which rose over fifteen feet. As Adam had dropped out of the project I had enough money to pay one or more workers to help me with the upper parts of the mural. I tried to spread the word through teachers and parents that money was available for the project but still had no takers.

As starting time for painting approached, I became

more and more panicky about hiring someone to assist me. Although I preferred to rely on people from the neighborhood, I now felt I had no choice but to just contact people I had already worked with in painting the Rye Hill mural. Greg M. had worked as the painting supervisor to the Youth Opportunities Scheme sponsored by Architecture Workshop. Since the scheme had been eliminated, Greg had been trying to start his own painting business. I met with him and explained my need to have someone help paint the top portions. He agreed to do it for a flat fee. This was strictly a business deal.

Len A. (husband of Lynne A., the Architecture Workshop teacher who had held the design sessions at Prudoe St. Mission) had helped me paint the Rye Hill mural. He was unemployed and we agreed that I would hire him to help me paint the middle portions of the mural. Lynne's brother who had also helped at Rye Hill, likewise volunteered to come along and paint.

I was sorry (though by this time not surprised) that more local people could not be involved in the project. Hopefully, though, enough of the Moorside children would come along to help, and thus the participatory aspect of the project could be extended to some degree at least. No matter what, I felt relieved to know that there would be a definite painting crew working with me to help make the mural a reality.

A few days before we began to paint, a teenager was murdered outside the pub across the street from the mural

site by another man who lived down the road. This seemed a bad omen or, perhaps more realistically, an indication of the existence of tension and violence in what otherwise seemed like just another place.

B. Painting

We began painting the top portions of the mural during the second week in August. In the first afternoon Greg was able to paint the sections above the top ledge the background blue we had chosen. I had already grided up the entire design to scale. The following day Adam C. had agreed to come along to help me draw the upper parts of the design on to the blue background.

When we climbed the ladder the next morning to begin the drawing out, we couldn't believe how narrow the ledge was which we would have to walk along (about a foot wide and fifteen feet off the ground!) Greg had made it look so easy. This was definitely not a job for amateurs.

The next day Greg agreed that he would do the drawing out. We would be a crew of three: Len, Greg, and myself. I had hoped that parents and residents would show up also for this part of the mural painting, but none came despite the notices I had distributed.

The three of us worked well together. We began by chalking on the major vertical and horizontal grid lines which would help guide us in drawing on the rest of the design. From the ground Len and I were able to guide Greg's hand as he drew out the castle turrets, the plane, the bird,

etc. Working from the top down, then, we continued this process over the next few days: painting the background color, waiting for it to dry, chalking on the outline of the design, painting it in.

By now the kids in the neighborhood had started to notice that we were there and kept coming around asking if they could help. I explained that next week would be the time for them to join in to paint the lower portions of the mural. Off and on through the next few days they watched us work, asked questions, and went off again. The whole area seemed a lot more peaceful, quieter than the Rye Hill site had been.

Two children who were now regular observers were two brothers, Don and Ben, ages about 8 and 10, who lived two houses down from the mural. Ben was mentally retarded. He seemed to really enjoy watching us and talking to us and always offered to help.

Not all residents were as receptive, though. At the end of the week, one resident whose house backed on to the mural came over to us and complained, "I didn't vote for this! I think this is terrible!" I pointed out that we had put notices through everyone's door telling them about the project, had gone door to door asking their opinions, etc. "Not me," he said and stormed off. I felt badly and all our original doubts about imposing a mural on the neighborhood came back to me.

The next week was the time for painting the lower portions of the mural. Now we were a different crew:

Greg's work was finished. Len and I were joined by Lynne A.'s brother and friend (both about sixteen). This was also the time I had scheduled for the children from Moorside to come and help us. There was a question whether anyone would turn up.

Children from the neighborhood who had been watching us work during the previous week began to show up slowly but surely, with Don and Ben the first ones on the scene. Then children from Moorside arrived including Bob and Tommy who had remained fairly involved in the project throughout.

I was very firm in setting initial ground rules regarding the painting since it was important for it not to become a free-for-all. Starting from the bottom each child was given a different turret to paint. I showed them how to paint it, not putting too much paint on your brush, following in the chalk lines, etc. They worked well.

By the next day word seemed to have gotten around the neighborhood about the mural painting. Over the next few days children came and went for varying amounts of time, some appearing every day, others showing up off and on. A maximum number of eight children painted at any one time. Their ages ranged from about four to fifteen. Some were from the surrounding houses, others were children with whom I had worked in Pam's class. About thirty children participated in the painting overall.

During this Summer holiday many children had nothing to do. There were some play schemes with a local recreation center offering activities, but many of these involved a

minimal charge and some of the children said they didn't have the money needed to pay at the door as required. Instead, especially for children who came by daily like Don and Ben, the painting seemed to offer something fun to do during their holidays. As one child remarked later, ". . . it was dead good and fun and you had a laugh, because Bob C. spilled all the paint on all of his old clothes!"

When it came time to paint the black and white flags during the middle of the week, I began holding contests: Who could do the best job of painting their flag? -- with a prize awarded to a winner every day. The children really seemed to respond well to this. Such competition raised the level of enthusiasm and motivated them to do a really good job. The prizes were just Newcastle United Football paraphernalia - badges, pins, etc. but the children acted thrilled to win one. I tried to have a different child win every day. Ben especially seemed so pleased the day he won.

By the third week we were almost done. The painting had taken half the time that we expected. We were running out of portions for the children to paint yet they kept turning up and insisting that they wanted to do more. I had the children do more drawings of sea life to add to the Tyne River and they then painted these on using a stencil. By Friday, however, Len and I had added all the finishing touches and the mural was completed.

C. Initial Impact

During that third week people in the neighborhood had

begun to come by and comment. As one of the children explained:

They thought we were making a mess of it. But when it was done [some] came up and said, "It's very beautiful now". The [man] who'd told us to get lost, came up and said his favorite color was red and most of the mural was red and we didn't know.

In fact, the man who had complained about the mural at the beginning came by to say that he really liked it now -- that he could tell that a lot of thought had gone into it. He apologized for being critical.

As the last week drew to a close, I was feeling generally good about this phase of the project: participation by the local children had been high, adults from the area seemed to be responding positively, the mural hadn't been graffitied (by the second week the Rye Hill mural had already been graffitied). Perhaps the mural did make some difference to this neighborhood.

During our final days of painting when Len and I were simply adding finishing touches some older teenagers (16 to 18 year olds) came by to watch us work. They talked to us a bit about what we were doing and seemed friendly. I asked if they wanted to help. Most of them declined and took off, though two did stay behind to paint.

The group came back later to sit on the planter walls and watch us work. While they were there a "Rag and Bones" man (junk man) came walking through the courtyard. He was

an Asian man who looked old and haggard. He walked through slowly, bent over, hauling a cart full of junk and chanting the familiar "rag and bones" (junk wanted) cry.

The teenagers watched this rather pathetic looking figure make his way dejectedly around the planters. They began to tease him, mimicking, "rag and bones" "rag and bones" as an echo after each of his chants. The old man looked up and started to curse them. The boys yelled back. The cursing and taunting got louder. The situation escalated quickly.

Before we knew it, stones started to fly. The gang of five or so youths began to chase the old man around the courtyard, up the back alley, around the building where we were painting the wall. I wanted to help the old man but didn't want to get in the middle of it. I said to Len, "Let's get out of here!" but we just laid low out of the way.

Then suddenly the group ended up near us in the courtyard. The gang of youths surrounded the old man menacingly. The man fumbled through his bag in panic. (Was he looking for a gun? I was scared.) He pulled out a large hammer, not a gun, and held it up as if to defend himself or attack.

One of the lads picked up a huge board and jumped up on the planter wall above the man, and stood poised as if ready to strike him. For a moment -- silence. No one moved or knew what would happen next.

Then . . . the old man looked down and simply put his

hammer away. Backing off, the youth dropped the board. The man quickly retrieved his cart and, looking scared and pathetic, scurried quickly away. As the youths continued their taunting "rag and bones" chant, the man and his cart disappeared out of sight . . .

Our illusions of this quiet and peaceful neighborhood certainly had been shattered by this violent scene. For three weeks we busily had been painting these charming little children's drawings with what now seemed like rather vague and naive notions that we would be improving the environment. Instead, violence, intolerance and racism felt deeply rooted here, lingering not far from the surface of everyday life. When viewed from this context, our "nice little mural" had suddenly seemed insignificant to me.

Summarizing and Celebrating

A. Evaluating Initial Reactions

We seemed to have completed the mural on a rather dreary or, at best, inconclusive note: a painted picture, a random collection of reactions, a depressing set of events. I felt the need to gain some sort of closure on the project in terms of the overall questions I had been attempting to explore. Likewise, I had always hoped that the scheme would be an integral part of overall attempts at Moorside School to encourage community involvement. To accomplish these ends, I felt the project needed to be evaluated, summarized and celebrated in some way. As such I went back to Moorside School at the end of September to explore with Pam and Maya

ways of accomplishing these ends.

Pam and I agreed that it would be a good idea to have the original interview team of children go back and ask residents what they thought about the mural. Of course these pupils had all moved on to different teachers now but we were able to reunite them to go out and carry out the interviews a few weeks later. Results of the interviews indicated that most residents liked having the mural painted near their house and thought it fit in well with the rest of the neighborhood. Less than half said it made them feel differently about their neighborhood or community, though almost all felt it was a good thing to have local people help with the mural.

Overall response to the mural seemed generally positive. It was also encouraging that almost no graffiti had appeared on the mural in the three months since its completion: Only a few signatures "Lou" appeared on the bottom portion. Lou turned out to be Lou C., one of the pupils with whom I had worked in Pam's class! I tracked him down in class and talked to him about why he had written his name on it. Did he not realize that part of the imagery on the mural were from his own drawings? Lou had always been on the periphery of the project and had been absent during a number of our sessions. He seemed surprised to learn that part of the drawings were his. He came with me down to the mural and painted out his name. Then he drew a fish to add to those already in the Tyne and painted it in. Later his teacher mentioned to me that he had been really excited

about the chance to add something of his own to the mural. Perhaps his graffiti had been a statement that he, too, wanted to take part.

B. Wider Issues in the Context of Moorside School

Meanwhile Maya and I discussed the possibility of my conducting two workshops - one for the community and one for the teachers at the school as a positive way to try to extend the project and continue links. We decided on a possible date, talked briefly about the types of people to pitch it to and decided that Maya, Pam and the children should all be part of the presentation.

Over the next few weeks the children designed and printed a flyer about the events. Maya sent these out with letters of invitation to those working in Newcastle and the West City and Moorside wards who we felt might find the project relevant. I arranged to meet with her and Pam to go over the presentation and the agenda for the workshops.

Overall it seemed like a difficult time to get things underway at the school. The National Teacher's Strike was still dragging on and strike action generally precluded attendance at in-service activities.

Beyond this, however, there seemed to be a generally negative atmosphere at the school. Staff appeared to be disgruntled and complained about the lack of direction provided by the school Head. Many felt that the community aspect of the school was remaining underdeveloped -- that Moorside was reverting back to the traditional model of a

school, that its initial high ideals were falling by the wayside. Teachers began to talk of moving on, seeking transfers.

Meanwhile, Maya, the Deputy School Head, also had become embroiled in a dispute with the Head of the school. Controversy had arisen over a school prayer that was sung at the Thanksgiving assembly. Maya had characterized the prayer as essentially racist and had asked that it be eliminated from the celebration. Her request had been ignored and the prayer included:

Remember all the people
 who live in far-off lands
 In strange or lovely cities,
 Or roam the desert sands,
 Or farm the mountain pastures,
 Or till the endless plains
 Where children wade through rice fields
 And watch the camel-trains:

Some work in sultry forests
 where apes swing to and fro,
 Some fish in mighty rivers,
 Some hunt across the snow.

Remember all God's children,
 Who yet have never heard
 The truth that comes from Jesus,
 The glory of his word.

God bless the men and women
 Who serve him oversea;
 God raise up more to help them
 To set the nations free,
 Till all the distant people
 In every foreign place
 Shall understand his Kingdom
 And come into his grace. (P. Dearmer)

Since the West City and Moorside areas contained large minority populations and since multi-cultural education had been made a priority at Moorside School, Maya mentioned the prayer's inclusion to a number of local

councillors. In response one councillor wrote to the chairman of the Education Committee:

In view of the fact that the Victorian terms in which the hymn is couched completely discount the histories and cultures of pre-imperial Africa and Asia; strongly imply that black people lacked "truth" until "set free" by the white men's occupation, deliberate atrocities, the systematic destruction of pre-colonial economic systems - such as the entire Indian textile industry - and justified from time to time by "missionary" religion; and present a thoroughly misleading picture of life in the contemporary Third World, would the Chairperson agree that this type of hymn cuts against the trend of recent statements on multi-cultural education made by both the LEA and the National Union of teachers and is therefore an inappropriate hymn to be sung in City's schools? (D. Webster, personal communication, 1984).

In answer to this challenge headteachers were "advised to be more selective in their choice of hymns." Behind closed doors however, Maya was warned not to talk to people outside the school about internal school matters and a rift between herself and the school Head was accentuated.

This whole controversy appeared particularly poignant: I remembered the incident with the rag and bones man. Racism did seem a very real issue that a local community school, especially, should address. To deal with

such issues on a superficial basis only called into further question the extent of Moorside's real commitment to social and political change. I had hoped to work with the school to develop more than a token approach to community participation. In the context of this wider issue, I began to feel that my hopes were misplaced.

C. The Workshops

After initial planning meetings with Maya, Pam and myself about the organization of the workshops and the roles we and the children would play in presenting the project, each of us had worked separately to develop our own particular portion. When we met again to pull it all together, there were still many rough edges. But, most of all, I was worried about who would be coming. We had received apologies from a number of people I hoped would be there (i.e. Tom P.) and otherwise I didn't get the sense that the school had contacted that many people locally about the session.

I was right: On the day only about six people showed up. We had hoped for at least 20. Most of those who came were contacts of mine: arts and architecture administrators from around Newcastle. I was really embarrassed, disappointed and somewhat annoyed that I had spent so much time preparing for the sessions, assuming that the school would be reaching a network of local people they knew to be interested. The poor turnout reinforced my sense that it hadn't been a community-based project at all - that now we

were a group of insular professionals speaking to professionals.

Despite these regrets, Maya introduced the project, I spoke about its aims and goals, Pam and the children talked about the activities and course of the mural's development. After the children went back to class we continued discussing the project. Discussion lasted over an hour and actually went quite well. Debate regarding the place of art in the community became quite heated with both community artists and more traditional art in public places practitioners represented.

We also talked about why more people hadn't turned up. An incomplete address for the school on the flyers was one criticism. But beyond this, the school head later commented:

I suspect we might have been able to make more of it [the mural] after it had been completed in terms of perhaps publicizing it apart from in the immediate area, but that requires time and resources and it's really possibly a reflection of the whole school being busy doing the things at the same time.

Only a few teachers (five or so) showed up at the after school session. Pam expressed her disappointment later saying:

I think it could have been celebrated a whole lot better . . . the whole school, children and staff and even community could have been involved in

celebrating it, but it wasn't and the very good presentation that Toby, largely Toby, but Toby and I and the children tried to set up, had minimum response from local community workers and even less from staff. There are reasons within school for that, I think it's to do with the fact that the priority's not on that kind of thing. That particular week, even though lots and lots and lots of warning had been given - about two months warning of a date set, there were still other things placed for meetings with staff on that week, which totally negated the likelihood of staff coming.

Despite this, we gave a similar presentation about the project to the teachers, though with more emphasis on the theoretical aspects (i.e. Arnstein's "Ladder of Citizen Participation").

The response from teachers who were there was incredibly enthusiastic. As Pam later commented, "... The reaction was fantastic. They were amazed just at how much work had gone into it - how substantial the thinking behind the whole project had been which was very saddening because so many people missed all that."

Some teachers suggested I give the presentation again at an all staff meeting or give some in-service sessions. The terms of the present teachers' strike made this impossible. Instead, many teachers looked carefully at the relevant literature I had brought for them to see and it was

agreed that the school would purchase some of those materials (for example, Childhood City, "Participation" issues.)

Continuing Links

A. My Connection

I returned to the U.S. a few weeks after the Moorside Workshops, arriving back in England in early March. I had wanted to keep in touch with the school and the community as much as possible upon my return. Before I left, Pam expressed interest in having me come work with her class again on another project. Maya had mentioned that there was a move afoot to get funding for a community artist's position; would I be interested?

Both possibilities were tempting. I still felt obliged not to simply disappear after seeing the mural project through: I still felt dissatisfied with the extent of participation that had been achieved in work on the mural. Yet, was I trying to beat a dead horse, still idealistically trying to impose my community participation agenda on people who couldn't care less?

I needed time to reflect. Including the Moorside mural as the case study portion of my dissertation seemed a good way to keep in contact with developments at Moorside while also allowing me to evaluate any possible long-term effects of the mural project, itself. I met with Pam in mid-March to discuss this decision. She seemed disappointed that I wouldn't be working directly in class with her any

more, but was most willing to help out in terms of the evaluation. Maya was also very supportive of my efforts. Meanwhile, the Community Artists's position had been advertised, a short list of candidates drawn up and interviews scheduled in two weeks. Maya invited me to the introductory session with all the candidates and suggested that I might want to work with whomever was chosen in carrying out the case study. We also talked about the possibility of my being on the management committee attached to the community artist. This seemed to be an especially desirable way to follow the progress of another person trying to encourage community participation while also sharing my own experience with him/her.

B. The Community Artist

The job description for the Community Artist post which had been submitted to the Moorside PAT for approval described the desire "to employ a full-time Community Arts Development Worker initially for a period of 12 months to work with groups, organisations and schools in the Moorside Area to develop and co-ordinate the arts and arts-related activities in the area." The description cited arts initiatives currently active in the ward (especially those involving ethnic minority groups) including a multi-cultural arts group, a Latin American project, a community relations council girls' club, a Vietnamese group, a Media Workshop Ethnic Minority project, Moorside Mobile Workshop, theatre groups, a local history group, an Art in the Metro project,

and the Moorside mural. "The Community Arts Development Worker would work with existing groups in the community in a co-ordinating and information role. Additionally, the worker would have a developmental role both to develop new projects by existing groups and helping to establish new groups where the need arises." In concluding the proposal stated:

The process thus created should be capable of a degree of self-perpetuation thus ensuring the continuation of the benefits beyond the period of employment of the worker. By helping to bring out and develop the latent talent within the community the worker should make a significant contribution to improving the quality of life in this section of the inner city.

Perhaps the most exciting aspect of this work is the possibility to improve relations between the various sections of the multi-racial society in Moorside. By encouraging joint projects and cooperation between the different groups the worker could make a significant contribution to increasing understanding of different cultures and value systems. (Moorside Priority Area Team, meeting minutes, Sept. 10, 1984).

I sat in on the morning introductory part of interviewing the six candidates who had been short listed. Maya, the PAT team leader, the Head of Westgate Hill School where the artist would be based and a local councillor all

described the position, the Moorside ward, and Newcastle overall.

Most of the candidates seemed well-qualified though it was hard to get a sense of their individual abilities without sitting in on the afternoon interviews. In the end, Adam P., a community worker from Sheffield, was hired for the job.

Three weeks later I was invited to join the management committee and attend their first meeting to welcome Adam. Those at this first session attempted to narrow down the aims and objectives they hoped the community artist would achieve. Adam, himself, realistically had stated that they could not expect to accomplish much in terms of community development in a year and that it might be better to achieve a few realistic goals and tasks. All agreed that he should first become involved in the Moorside Festival to take place in a few months and that he also should begin to develop a directory of resources in the area.

We also discussed the need to have more people on the management committee. "What about local residents?" I asked. The PAT team leader and other members seemed to feel that wasn't feasible right now - it had been professionals planning the job from the beginning - any such appointment would just be token since residents were not ready for that yet. Someone mentioned the name of one resident. A committee member commented, "The trouble with the few people like her who are involved from the community is that they

are already overcommitted." Such perspectives were interesting, particularly in relation to Arnstein's theory. Were such comments reactionary or simply realistic?

From this meeting onward, the management committee met monthly with Adam to discuss the progress of his work. Initially, practical problems came to the fore: Adam's base at the school had many limitations. He had no separate phone line and no keys to the building which meant no access for him after 4.00 or during school holidays. In addition, Adam was essentially working on his own with no direct boss (beyond the management committee) and no fellow workers with whom to relate. All of this resulted in some degree of isolation for him. Beyond this, Adam also remarked:

The other side which is equally important to bear in mind is the attitude that most adults have towards schools, and whether this may not make more difficult the work of a development project which through its physical location is too closely identified with a school.

This question is similar to the one I raised in relation to the mural project.

Despite these drawbacks, Adam continued his work in a number of realms. By July 1985, he was able to issue a three month interim report on the work he had carried out so far. In it he stated:

A good proportion of my time so far has been spent in getting the "flavour" of [the] variety of neighborhoods, and in making contact with groups

and individuals active in the area . . . This process is inevitably still continuing but I am now beginning to build up a "presence" in the area.

Beyond this he had also made a video of Moorside's Community Festival, had helped design a leaflet asking people in one particular neighborhood to suggest activities in which they would be interested in being involved, helped get together the recent issue of the local community newspaper, produced and distributed a leaflet publicizing the community art development project and joined numerous management committees.

However, as Adam explained at one management committee meeting, there were "further areas of work" which had not yet been fully developed. In Adam's mind these included, for example, a resource directory, an expanded community newspaper, training courses and activities, an oral history project, and community development in areas of Moorside particularly "cut off" from the rest of the ward. In talking about the neighborhood containing the mural, Adam identified this area as one such socially isolated section:

In Buckingham Street, due to the transient nature of the population, and the "image" the area has, there is little organised group activity and no formal means of representing local people's views. I would hope through forums such as the PAT and the West End community forum to try and initiate discussion about the best way of attempting to get

local activities launched in the area.

As the months progressed, however, fewer and fewer people were attending the management committee meetings. Adam continued to express his frustration caused by his continued isolation in the school setting and this growing lack of support from the management committee. By August he had resolved to raise the question of his job status at the September meeting: if his position was only funded for a year, he had to consider his future moves and this precluded any long term planning in relation to work in the community. His concern seemed understandable though depressing: community work seems to take so long to develop. Adam had only just begun. If he were to leave now, what had actually been accomplished in terms of the long range of goals of his post?

C. My Final Links

Although I attended all the management committee meetings, in many ways I felt more of an observer than a participant. It had been decided from the beginning that Adam would not work with me on any part of the mural evaluation, itself. Instead, I attempted to offer him any support possible -- my contacts, sources, advice, etc. -- while observing and recording his attempts to develop, on a long term basis, the sense of community that I had worked towards creating in a narrowly defined realm only.

It had been interesting to see how similar many of the issues were that we both faced: lack of an ideal base

from which to work, lack of involvement both by local residents and by professionals supposedly working in the same realms towards the same ends. There were similar reasons given for lack of involvement: lack of time or over-commitment by a few, disillusionment, the feeling that nothing would ever change by many, lack of a long term structure from which to develop a stronger base.

Meanwhile I had also tried to keep in touch with Moorside School and developments in the mural neighborhood. By April Maya had made the decision to leave Moorside since her husband had a new job in the South. A few weeks later Pam also had accepted a specialist math position at the district resource center. The school's community teacher had likewise applied for a new position. Initial enthusiasm and high ideals seemed subdued.

Towards the end of the school year the mural had again been slightly graffitied - this time with the name "Tina" written over different sections. I asked around the school and found that Tina in another third grade class, had recently gotten in trouble for graffiting a fence at the school.

I confronted Tina about the writing and she said her cousin had painted her name on the mural. Nevertheless, Tina agreed to come with me to paint over it. All the way down the street to the mural I noticed Tina T. or Tina H. written on different fences, signs, etc. around the neighborhood.

As we walked Tina said her last name was sometimes

Thompson and sometimes Haslin as her parents were divorced and she used both names at different times. She said she lived around the corner from the mural. She had moved there eight months ago but had lived in the area once before. I asked her why she hadn't come to help paint the mural the previous summer.

"I did!" she replied. I was surprised I didn't recognize her.

"And you still wrote on the mural?" She said she hadn't. Together we painted out the names.

I returned Tina to her classroom. Her teacher mentioned to me that Tina was having a lot of family problems, with a social worker involved in trying to sort things out. I suggested a psychological interpretation for the graffiti: Tina's attempt to work out her identity especially in terms of her parents' divorce.

By August school was on holiday. I came by the mural at the end of August to do some interviewing and found that it was all graffitied! Names were inked all over it: Val, Dionne, Kelly, Tony, Joe, John, Jess, Rob, Paul, Barney, Dan, Lofty, Wini, Ian - all done in the same pen as if done by one group of kids. In addition to names, drawings included erect penises, aggressive looking faces, large feet, another boat with anchor and another balloon (see Figure 17).

As I studied the mess some children came up to me and said they knew who did it - that it was all done in a day by a group of 13 year old kids who hung around with nothing to

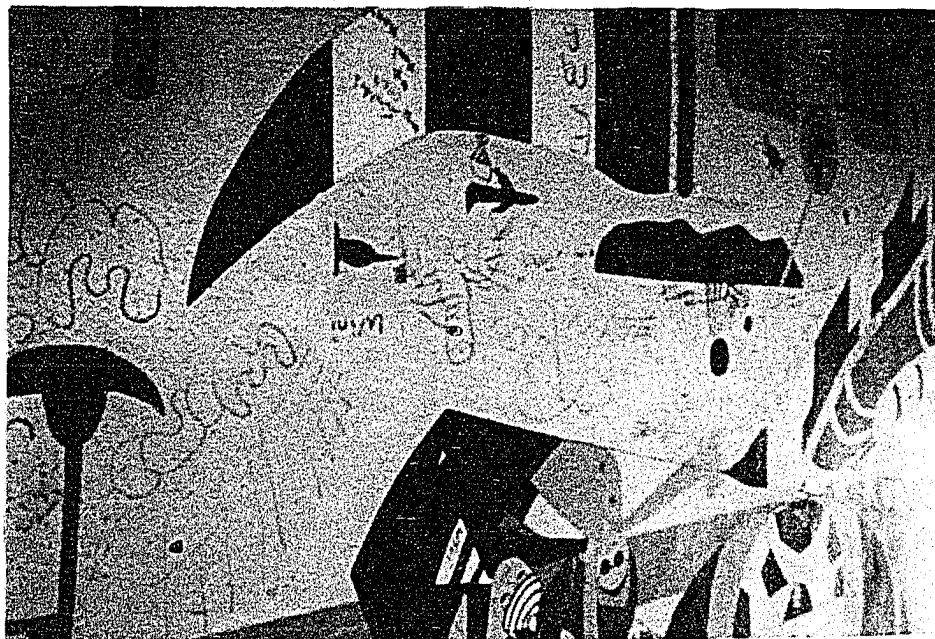


Figure 17. Graffiti Added to the Football Mural

do by the deserted building site around the corner. They gave me their names and addresses.

One of them was Val N., one of the pupils I had worked with in Pam's class. She hadn't taken much interest in the project while we were working on it. A little while later while I was standing there, Val, herself, came walking around the corner. She looked really shocked to see me standing there. I called her over and asked her about the graffiti. She said she didn't do it - that someone else had done it. I asked her how she would like to paint it out: She looked sheepish and non-committal. I said to let her friends know that I also would come and get them to paint it out.

Later, one of the older residents started talking to me about the graffiti. She said kids had also been breaking the trees behind the houses in the courtyard. She said it was 13 year old boys and girls hiding out after 9:00 PM.

"If I knew just who they were I'd go and find their mothers!" she added saying it was a shame because the place looked so neat and tidy for over a year.

It was really demoralizing to see the mural so badly graffitied after all this time. I spoke to Pam about it first saying, "I think one of the girls in your class helped do it. Guess who." She immediately replied, "Val".

It didn't seem to make sense for me to keep going back and painting it out - my involvement in the community had gradually been waning and my role as community artist had officially ended. Instead, I contacted Adam about the

possibility of his working with some of these children to restore the mural. I suggested that I thought part of the problem might be that these children had nothing to do during the summer holiday.

Adam agreed to do the re-painting with them. I returned to Moorside School at the beginning of September to make sure the paint I had left there was still in storage. It was gone. No one knew where. I phoned Tom P. to tell him about the graffiti, Adam's willingness to supervise the re-painting and the need to purchase more paint through the PAT. Tom wasn't there. I left numerous messages, phoned him often during the next few weeks yet never had any reply. Perhaps he just did not care any more or felt he couldn't commit any more funds to the project. Perhaps we just had to admit defeat.

By October, I still hadn't been able to reach Tom. By this time I had moved out of the area and the mural was left as it was.

Evaluation

A. Impact on Participants

My formal involvement with the mural project had now come to a close. Certainly this final graffiti was truly disappointing and called into question the success of the project. As such it remained important to evaluate what, if anything, had been achieved as a result of this scheme of work. Questions raised at the start of this case study could now be addressed, looking first at the issue of

vandalism.

1. Had participation affected the incidence of vandalism to art in the environment?

Obviously there was considerable graffiti that appeared on the Football mural, over time. It is interesting to look at who graffitied the mural, why they graffitied it, when it was graffitied and what the impact of that graffiti was.

Those who graffitied included both individuals and groups. The first small signatures that appeared were done at separate times by a boy and a girl, ages 10 and 11, one of whom was in the class that worked on the project, one of whom was not. Both children were described by their teachers as peripherally involved in school and with "problems in the home," with Lou, particularly, often absent during the time the mural project was carried out.

As discussed previously, Lou's surprise in finding out that part of the imagery in the mural was done by him, his positive reaction to being able to paint more imagery on to it, and the relatively small, signature-like placement of his name on to the surface, suggest that his graffiti indicated his desire to participate, take part, be included. In Tina's case, her name was bolder and had more of the quality of random placement on the mural. It was similar to other "Tina" marks that appeared around the neighborhood. The existence of this other graffiti suggests that she was not motivated by the direct desire to be included in this particular project. Instead her scribbling of Tina "T" or

Tina "H" interchangeably indicates her attempt to clarify and draw attention to her own identity, a rationale often put forward by researchers attempting to explain reasons why people graffiti (Feiner and Klein, 1982).

The more destructive graffiti that appeared overnight the summer after the mural was painted was carried out by a number of young teenagers, one of whom was also involved in the mural project while in Pam's class. It is interesting that Pam immediately identified Val as the possible culprit when she heard that someone from her group had been involved. Such a reaction indicated Pam's perception of Val as a "troublemaker." Although I experienced no problems with her during my classroom sessions, Val was not one of the pupils who was deeply involved in the project. A pilot interview with her confirms this superficial involvement. In any event, Val certainly knew of the origins of the mural. The fact that she chose to deface something related to the school may reflect her rejection of the school experience overall, of which the mural was a symbol. If so, my hesitations about making the mural a school based project appeared well founded.

On the other hand, residents who discussed the graffiti with me, indicated that there was a band of young girls and boys who were roaming about the courtyard at night destroying the newly planted trees. One young boy who lived right by the mural indicated that the kids who had done it were young people hanging out by a vacant lot with nothing to do during these summer vacation weeks. This lack of

provision for young people during the summer break was a problem with which I had already become familiar during my previous summer working in the area. The chance to participate in the mural project had provided an outlet for their energy last year. Now there were no such projects available. In any event, the sexual nature of the graffiti, the early teen years of the "vandals", boys and girls together with nothing to do during the summer - such combinations all pointed to a kind of mischief that might be typical of such adolescents anywhere. In this sense the graffitiing of the mural was the result of actions by a particular group of youths looking for a general outlet for expression, perhaps of rebellion, yet not necessarily a specific statement rejecting the mural or the school particularly.

Whatever the motivations behind the graffiti, its impact on people's perception of the mural was in no way positive. When asked what she thought of the mural, one of the Moorside children who had worked on the project commented on the graffiti:

It's horrible because it's a nice wall and we put all our ideas in and now it's just been spoiled, . . . sometimes when I go to the shops I look at it and it's horrible now because it's got all writing on and horrible. It was lovely before it had writing on." (Lisa B.)

Two out of the nine residents living beside the mural had similar reactions. When asked, "Do you think having the

(mural) here makes any difference to the courtyard?", One of the residents replied, "no because it's been vandalized." Another commented that the mural made him feel "happy" but that "the graffiti had spoiled it." Another resident suggested, "There's a hidden graffiti artist who must come at dawn 'cause you never see anyone do it!" Interestingly, when a fourth was asked if she thought having the mural there made any difference to the courtyard area, she replied, "It brightens it up and is better than graffiti", as though she hadn't noticed the graffiti. Many passersby interviewed on the main street beyond the courtyard in Part I of this research also failed to notice or remark on the graffiti. Likewise, when interviewed, PAT team leader Tom P.'s perception of how long the mural had been up (in reality one year) and the extent of graffiti was inaccurate: ". . . It's been up for the best part of two years and there are two instances that we know of minor vandalism to it. In that part of the city that is amazing because other murals have been heavily vandalized."

The fact that no major graffiti appeared on the mural for almost a year was impressive. While young people's participation in the scheme may not have prevented the artwork from getting graffitied, such participation may have delayed its appearance.

2. Does participation in a community mural project increase people's sense of belonging, community and/or commitment to the place containing that artwork?

Certainly for some of the children who participated

in the mural project (i.e. Lou and Val) such participation made little obvious difference in their sense of belonging, community and/or commitment to the area containing the artwork. Other children who worked on the project clearly expressed some attachment to the mural, itself, during interviews:

Q: Have you ever taken anyone to see [the mural]?

A: My cousin.

Q: What did your cousin think?

A: It's good.

Q: What about your family?

A: They were watching when we were painting it.

Q: What did they think?

A: They think it changed the area . . .

When you walk up to the square and see a good painting
and people think it's dead good. (Don)

Q: Have you been to see [the mural] since it was finished?

A: Yes I've been back to see it a couple of times when I
come back from the town and you peep through.

Q: And did you go to see it specially?

A: Because I had been to town and then my friend, Amanda
says, "Do you want to see the mural?" and I says, 'yes'
and I got off the bus at a different stop so that I
could go and see it. (Joan)

Q: Do you see the mural every day?

A: Yes because when I go up to school I look for . . .

there's sort of an alleyway and you can see it on the big wall.

Q: Do you think lots of people look at it?

A: Yes. People going to the football match, they look at it.

(Bob)

Simply looking at the mural and feeling some attachment to it does not necessarily mean, however, that people feel a greater sense of attachment to the area. Some of the children's comments did suggest a link between the mural and identification with the neighborhood.

Q: Which parts [of the mural] do you like best?

A: The Newcastle United bit.

Q: Why do you like that?

A: Because it's our area, it's to do with our area . . .
(Joan)

Other perceptions by the children were more qualified:

Q: Has the mural changed the place?

A: Yes, 'cos it used to be all scruffy and everything and now when that's on it's cleaner.

Q: How would you describe the area to someone?

A: Like say the mural is all nice, changed a lot but the houses aren't very nice.
(Mary)

Q: Could you explain why you painted the mural?

A: To make the place look brighter and nicer, and cover the graffiti on the wall.

Q: And do you think it does that?

A: Yes, but people just graffiti over it again.

Overall then the children who participated in the project did not express a greater sense of belonging, community and/or commitment to the area containing the mural. The community participation did not have significant impacts on residents' attachment to place.

Results of interviews with residents indicated that some did feel it made a difference to the immediate courtyard place. Comments included: "It's something bright to look at. If only the kids would leave it alone. It's something to talk about with relatives." "It's unique; better than just seeing brickwork."

The mural's wider impact on the neighborhood or community or on householders, was judged to be much more limited. Only a few mentioned its importance to those coming through to the football matches: "When the match comes out people look at it - they stand there." "Lots come through on their way to football."

Overall then it would be difficult to conclude that the children who participated in the project felt a greater sense of belonging, community and/or commitment to the area containing the mural. Likewise such community participation did not have significant impact on residents' attachment to place.

3. Is people's sense of their own creativity increased as a result of taking part in such art in the environment projects?

Many of the children who took part in the project

indicated that they enjoyed the drawing and painting involved:

Q: Which [mural] activity did you enjoy most?

A: I think designing it and using my ideas, drawing it.
(John)

Q: What did you think about painting it?

A: It was really good (Don)

For a few the experience of painting the mural did seem to increase their interest in art - their sense of their own creative potential:

Q: Have you any hobbies or special interests?

A: Riding my bike.

Q: Anything else?

A: Football.

Q: Do you paint?

A: Yes.

Q: At home?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you do that before you painted the mural?

A: No.

Q: So you only started since the mural?

A: Yes.

Q: Why did you start painting?

A: Because I thought I'd done a good job and I wanted to do some more.
(Don)

Q: Do you have any hobbies or interests?

A: I like saving badges.

Q: Anything else?

A: Drawing. But I'm not a good drawer.

Q: Have you been drawing since you worked on the mural?

A: Yes I like drawing patterns. I like patterns. I do it with a compass.

Q: Did you do that sort of thing when you were designing the mural?

A: Yes, that was my first design.

Q: Can you describe it to me?

A: I draw a design with a compass - a large circle then mark it and draw lines in it.

Q: Did you do lots of designs?

A: Yes because Miss Israel copied our designs and everybody got a different design so we cut them out and stuck them on a piece of paper to make a different design.
(Amy)

When asked what aspect of another mural project they might wish to be involved in, a number of children mentioned drawing and painting.

When interviewed, Pam, the classroom teacher, also felt the children had gained in a broad way from their experience working on the project.

Q: Which of the original aims [of the project] do you think were achieved?

A: I think the children still do have a sense of being able to have some greater influence than they had before.

Q: In what area?

A: In various areas. I think the way that we actually gave them license as it were to do things that were personal

to them and had something to do with the community and then actually carrying it through and putting it on the wall . . . I think gave them a sort of confidence to tackle teachers and adults in a different way as sort of: why don't we try such and such? or could we do so and so? or can I go and ask so and so? What about consulting somebody? You know, they wouldn't just accept things quite as much as I felt they did at first.

In terms of her own growth, when asked, "Do you now have more confidence in your ability to teach art?", "Pam commented, "Yes, I think so, in analyzing how to get from one point to another. I had no real idea of how to develop something like that." To the question, "Given the chance to be involved in a project like this again would you like to do it again?" she replied:

Yes, because it was a positive experience. It gives you the opportunity to observe as well which is quite rare - to watch the children you're working with in action and to see what they're getting from it and learn better ways of doing it yourself and then being able to put some kind of contribution in when the need arises rather than doing it all the time whether or not it's right. You can stand back and look a bit better when you're working along side somebody else, and somebody who's got specific expertise in a particular area.

4. Do those participating come to understand and appreciate art and artists more as a result of such participation?

When asked what they thought an artist was, the Moorside children's ideas varied. Some gave very basic explanations:

"It's a person who's good at drawing and painting everything." (Mary)

"A painter - like someone who paints something and gets loads of people to see it." (Don)

Other definitions were based largely on stereotypes:

"A person that paints pictures and gets angles so they can draw and do things like that. Or it's a man with paints that stands and draws things." (Lou)

"People who go in the country and draw trees and that on paper, color them in and that." (Lona)

One pupil whose parents were both actors gave quite a sophisticated definition of an artist:

A: An artist is someone that could make something. Like an actor could be an artist.

Q: Why could an actor be an artist?

A: He's artistic in what he does . . . good at it.

Q: What's artistic?

A: Well, I don't know . . . I can't explain it. It's hard to put into words.

Q: Would a teacher be an artist if they were good at what they were doing?

A: Yes, I suppose so. Well, I don't know . . . could be.

But I suppose a director's a teacher, an actor's a

teacher as well . . . so yes. It can be a teacher . . .
 I am, really, 'cause I can give a good example to younger
 children who can say, "well he's a big Fourth Year, I'll
 do what he does because he's sensible." But a lot of
 them aren't - a lot of the Fourth Year aren't.

Q: Do you think an artist sets an example?

A: Yes, I do. That's my point of view anyway. Not
 everyone's going to think that. (John)

At the start of the project when asked what they
 thought a mural actually was, none of the children knew. At
 the end of the scheme, the pupils explanations were
 generally straightforward:

"A painting on the wall that livens the place up." (Lou)

"I would say it's a mural where you paint on the wall, make
 lovely patterns and that." (Lona)

"I don't know . . . it's a decoration of somewhere that
 wasn't decorated or a painting of something." (Jack)

"I would just say it's a big painting on the wall with all
 different things on it." (Don)

Other explanations were clearly influenced by the mural we
 had done:

"A big picture on the wall trying to describe what the
 area's about." (Mary)

"A big painting with all different things on and it's good
 [and done] to brighten the place up because it was all dull
 with that wall there and it would make people enjoy the area
 and they'd like it."

Overall then although the pupils learned what a mural

was through involvement with the project, their understanding and appreciation of art and artists was not noticeably increased by such involvement.

B. Impact on Residents

What about those who were now living near and passing by the mural all the time? What was the reaction of local residents living adjacent to the courtyard area, to this art in a public place?

In order to find out, a trained researcher interviewed nine householders living near the Football mural site in September 1985, after the mural had been graffitied (see Appendix C for interview form). Those interviewed included 6 females and 3 males, ranging in ages from 7 to over 61. All of those interviewed were working class residents who had not continued their education beyond high school (except for those under sixteen at the time of the interview who were still in school). Half had lived in that area and that particular home for ten years or more; half for five years or less. All stated that they passed through the courtyard every day or a few times a week. Most said they looked at the mural every day or a few times a week. Six out of the nine interviewed gave accurate explanations of how the mural came to be there.

Results indicated generally positive responses by those interviewed to both their neighborhood and the courtyard area, giving them a mean rating of 5.8 and 5.55 respectively out of a possible 7 top score. At least five

people reacted positively to the overall improvements to the courtyard area. Compared with this, when asked, "On a scale of 1 to 7 with 1 being the most negative and 7 being the most positive what number would best describe the way you feel about the (mural)?", an average response of 5.4 was recorded. On average the mural's subject matter was rated 5.2, its style 5.7. Two respondents stated they did spend time just looking at it: "I try to pick out different meanings," one explained. Another faced opposite it daily when doing the dishes. None said they avoided seeing it, though a number of residents remarked that it was unfortunate that it had been graffitied. Reasons for liking the subject matter included its relationship to football and the area and the fact that it was cheerful. One remarked, "People come just to see it when they go to the pub." Reasons for liking the style included that it was colorful with particular positive mention of the figures in the balloon.

Only three, however, mentioned that they had any particular feeling when they went by it (including "happiness" and "admiration for the way it's painted.") Although seven residents felt the mural made a difference to the courtyard area ("Brightens it up" "Makes it unique", "Everyone looks at it."), the majority of those interviewed felt it made no difference to the neighborhood or community or to them or any other members of their household.

Case Study Discussion/Conclusion

In summary the case study results revealed that:

- . Community participation in the mural project alone did not prevent the mural from being graffitied.
- . participation in the mural project did not increase participants' or residents' sense of belonging, community or commitment to that place.
- . some participants' sense of their creativity did increase through involvement with the mural project.
- . participants' understanding and appreciation of art and artists was not noticeably increased as a result of involvement in the mural scheme.

Overall, the dynamics described in the case study underscore the complexity of developing a participatory art in the environment project. In Arnstein's (1969) terms for example I would have wanted to feel that I was operating, at the very least, in partnership with the local community. Instead at best, I was working in consultation with them. Lack of greater community involvement partly can be attributed to the project's many false starts. The fact remains, however, that most local people contacted about the mural scheme were neutral to it rather than enthusiastic. Realistically, such public art projects are not a strong focus of people's interests and community spirit. Thus, it is tempting to link such projects with community goals which engender broader support i.e. neighborhood improvement. As was shown with the Football mural, however, the goal of simply "improving" the neighborhood can be tokenistic.

Residents may perceive of their neighborhood quite positively already -- in no need of improvement.

A more acceptable goal might be to improve a specific site. Yet here too, any such site must be carefully chosen. In retrospect, for example, I would not have chosen the neighborhood courtyard as the location for the Football mural. I do think the wall on which the mural was placed was an eyesore before our involvement. But a mural was not necessarily the answer. The courtyard was too enclosed, too much a part of residents' private backyard space. They did have to look at the mural whether they liked it or not. Instead, the trees which were planted in the new brick courtyard planters could simply have been left to camouflage the ugly wall in a natural way. It seems hard to believe that officials both commissioned a mural and planted trees which would eventually obscure the painting. This practice was not atypical however; other murals in this study had trees or other obstructions placed in front of them. Such practices reinforce the notion that the art in these public places was simply an afterthought and underscores the need for artists, architects, planners and politicians to work together, from the outset, when creating changes in any environment.

In an ideal set of circumstances, community members, themselves, would express their preferences about what to have in their neighborhood. If they wanted a mural, they would identify a specific locale for such an artwork. They would participate in its creation. Unfortunately few

projects exist in an ideal set of circumstances. As others working in similar projects have discovered (see "Public" and "Place" discussions, Chapter 3), full community participation is a difficult if not impossible reality to achieve. For example, even if the West City community had approached me saying the community themselves, wanted a mural, it would still be one person (i.e. Tom P.) or one institution (i.e. Moorside School as represented by Maya) or one group (the seven children in Prudoe St. Youth Club) who might implement the plan. That individual, institution, or group may not truly represent the needs or wishes of the community at large.

Although such dilemmas should be carefully considered, they should not deter those in the field of art in the environment from thoughtfully carrying through such projects. This is particularly true since results of the case presented suggest that the process of creating the artwork was beneficial and enjoyable to many of those involved in such a project. Some participants' sense of their own creativity was increased through involvement with the Football mural scheme, though it is not necessarily true that participants came to understand and appreciate art and artists more as a result of such participation.

Results of the research in Part I indicate that children (and older people) are especially aware of the existence of art in the environment. As a whole I think the Football mural work was most successful in terms of the Moorside children's involvement with the project.

To involve young people in a public art project simply to prevent vandalism, however, is naive and shortsighted. The graffiti that appeared on the Football mural, for example, was described by some children, residents, and the P.A.T. leader as a form of vandalism. Yet there is a distinction to be made between vandalism and graffiti. Vandalism connotes a senseless act of destruction while graffiti has been described by some as a creative act of expression or a positive assertion of identity (Crockcroft, et al., 1977). The Football mural was not vandalized, in fact, but graffitied. Evidence in the case study suggests that different people graffitied the mural in different degrees for different reasons. Although the graffiti on the Football mural in no way enhanced people's positive reactions to that place, the motivations of those who graffitied the mural were not entirely negative. Some of those who graffitied were seeking a positive outlet for their expression.

As such those concerned with preventing graffiti must recognize the importance of involving young people in participatory projects on an ongoing basis. Above all, though such participation should not be seen as simply a preventative measure but as a necessary opportunity to provide young people with the means to explore their creative potential.

In the end then, the Football mural did not inspire a sudden wave of community spirit, it did not radically alter people's perception of their neighborhood, it did not help

to eradicate racism, violence and many other social ills affecting this community. As one passerby had commented, "A painting doesn't change a neighborhood does it?" and to expect more of one small mural project would be unrealistic. Instead, such a participatory project must be seen as one of many ways of involving people in helping to build a positive community environment.

Discussion

Overall the findings of this study confirm some conclusions, yet contradict others drawn from previous art in the environment research. Although Robinette found that "an overwhelming 93 per cent of the [American] people surveyed were consciously aware of the works of sculpture about which they were questioned" (1976, p.92), results here suggest that less than a third of those interviewed and observed indicated an awareness of the U.K. murals. People may be more aware of three-dimensional works of art in the environment than two-dimensional artworks in public locales. It is also possible to speculate that the English are less aware than Americans of art in the public domain.

A more likely explanation of the differences found here, however, concerns the research designs. Interviewing people about the sculpture, Robinette asked a direct and perhaps leading question, "Are you aware of it?" Findings in the present study, on the other hand, were the result of observation and indirect questioning. (see Appendix B, Behavioral Mapping Protocols and Passerby Questionnaires, Questions 4,6,11). Asking people directly if they had noticed the artworks might have produced the high level of responses in Robinette's study. The indirect methods used in the present study might not have accounted for those who had previously noticed the murals although they didn't mention them. Thus, a combination of direct and indirect questioning and observation might have yielded a higher level of response to the murals in this study.

Despite negative reactions to various aspects of art in the environment, both studies indicated people's overall positive response to the inclusion of such artworks in public places. Likewise, both revealed that level of education had little influence on people's overall experience of art in the environment. As in Robinette's study, findings here suggested that age was a factor determining people's perception and preferences in relation to these artworks, with those under 18 the most positive about them.

Interestingly, while Robinette found "that outdoor sculpture is recognized as an important, positive element in our urban environment" (p.94), results here indicated that people had mixed feelings about whether or not the murals had a positive impact on the murals' locales. Again, the art medium and environmental contexts were different in each of the studies. Most significantly, however, Robinette based her conclusions on responses to the general and leading question, "Do you feel that exterior sculpture in our urban environment is a worthwhile means of maintaining and improving our quality of life?" Conclusions in the present study were based on passersby reactions to specific artworks in particular places. While many of those interviewed were positive, in general, about the impact of art on the environment, specific evidence of that impact may be much less certain.

Results of more recent research by Degnore (1987) offer support for much of the research reported here. In

terms of public response to artworks, as in the present study, Degnore found that "the people who were interviewed in general evaluated public artworks positively" (p.135). She concluded that". . . these evaluations were not undimensionally composed only of like/dislike components but included a range of attributes about the work in physical and emotional terms, associations and how the art functions in a setting, and these patterns of evaluation were different for each work" (p.35-36). Results from the present research also indicated that opinions about murals were formed by a number of factors including style, subject matter, personal meaning, and placement.

In the present study, representational political murals were more positively rated than abstract murals. In Degnore's study, abstract sculpture also was most negatively rated compared with representational sculpture or mural works. Although such ratings seem to indicate similar preferences, Degnore's ratings were based on a comparison of abstract sculpture with representational sculpture and representational murals. This lack of internal consistency in relation to artistic medium in Degnore's research makes conclusions about comparisons on the basis of style of artworks seem less certain. The low ratings given to abstract artworks in both studies, however, suggest that people reject art objects which offer style without readable content. Interestingly though, Degnore observed people's response to abstract art in public places and concluded that people often explore and/or attend to works they say they

dislike while ignoring or failing to notice works they say they like. Results from the present study included no data on people's observed responses to abstract art. Thus, any conclusions on this issue must be more tentative.

In terms of place, as in the present study, Degnore (1987) found no strong correlation between passersby opinions of artworks and the public places containing them. Likewise, she found, that the residential or commercial nature of a particular site did not affect people's opinions of artworks there. Similarly in the present study, people's experience of art in the environment did not measurably differ in neighborhood compared to commercial locales. Degnore did find, however, that density affected evaluations of the art. She concluded that, "low density conditions increased the likelihood of positive affective responses for representational or mural works . . ." (p.179). In the present study, low density conditions were also found to have a beneficial effect, as more people tended to notice the murals in low density situations than high density situations.

In terms of demographics, Degnore (1987) found that, ". . . those whose formal training was less than high school evaluated physical attributes of works positively" (p.218). Degnore also concluded that more people in the service occupations evaluated the artworks positively with more professionals, students and artists evaluating the physical features of murals more negatively than other occupational groups. In the present study there were no significant

differences in people's reactions to the murals in terms of class or level of education. However, few professionals and no artists were interviewed. Degnore's research encompassed a greater range of occupational and class groupings, with her conclusions thus lending support to Gans' (1962) theories regarding the class based nature of people's responses to art. In both studies gender was not found to be a significant factor in terms of people's art in the environment experiences.

Finally, Degnore concluded ". . . the unique combination of factors of the artwork, the people, and of the settings together work in ways particular to each case to produce a total composite experience" (p.222-223). Such a statement is particularly interesting given the fact that Degnore included nine works of art in her research while only four artworks were studied in this research. In the present study, mural ratings were also based on a variety of factors, yet conclusions about the unique nature of each art in the environment experience must be tentative due to the small number of artworks studied. However, Degnore's findings, based on responses to a larger number of artworks provide support for the notion that although there are underlying trends, the experience of each work of art in the environment is unique.

Implications

Overall then, the results of all of this research have helped me address the personal and professional questions which I raised at the beginning of this study:

1) Should we have art in public places?

Certainly the overwhelming majority of the public interviewed in the present study and in Robinette's study felt we should have art in public places. Results here suggest that works of art in the environment do make a contribution to some people's daily experience. The fact that almost a third of passersby noticed the murals, for example, is actually quite impressive given the many other competing environmental factors at the four sites studied. Similarly, it is impressive that even 9% of those interviewed found the murals sufficiently meaningful that they returned periodically to see them. Of all those viewing the artworks, it is interesting that young people were the most responsive audience. Such findings suggest that as part of the environment, murals may provide stimulating schemata that children, particularly, actively perceive and enthusiastically incorporate into their world knowledge.

2) What form should such artworks take?

It would be misleading to conclude that any one type of art in the environment is the most successful. This is particularly true since all such artworks are so different

and people's experiences of each of them proved to be so unique.

Nevertheless, in terms of subject matter, it was the personal meaning that people attached to the four representational social/cultural murals studied, that was most often mentioned as important to them. People liked seeing places they knew or scenes that reminded them of their past experiences. In fact, of the four murals studied, the Boat mural, which received the highest rating overall, was the mural which most embodied some degree of art as personal expression. The artist there specifically said he emphasized "feeling" in creating the artwork. Thus, as previous research has suggested, (Cooper 1976, Ittleson, 1975, Tuan, 1974), people appreciated symbols of their personal experience in their environment.

In terms of political expression in relation to art in the environment, no one viewing the photographs of the political murals indicated that they felt the murals had raised their consciousness in any way. In instances where the mural's message ran counter to passersby's beliefs there was no way of discussing the mural's content with people in an attempt to challenge their views. As Kelly (1984) suggested, rather than establishing a dialogue, the artworks were experienced by some as a monologue -- one-way messages that were rejected by some and resented by others who considered those messages an imposition.

Of equal concern, was that some people failed to understand or misinterpreted the messages of some of the

murals. Previously critics had focussed on the controversial nature of political murals in the public domain (Kelly, 1984). None had suggested the possibility that their message would fail to communicate as a result of poor choice of imagery or slogan. The findings of the present study indicate that those involved in placing political art in the environment need to examine carefully the style, content, and purpose of placing such artworks in public settings.

As previously discussed, it is not possible to draw definite conclusions regarding people's experience of less conventional art forms in the environment (i.e. abstract art) since the present study did not focus on people's perception, behavior and preferences in relation to such artworks. Nevertheless Degnore's findings that people often attended to works they said they didn't like is intriguing and suggest that further research is necessary regarding public response to unconventional art forms.

3) Who should create art in the environment?

Crockcroft's (1977) assertion that people would recognize and prefer murals done by community participation proved unfounded in this study. Despite the fact that respondents said they thought murals should be created by local people and professionals, those interviewed gave the highest ratings to murals created by professional artists, though murals involving community participation were also highly rated. It can be argued that the two murals which

were analyzed as community murals in this study did not actually involve intensive participation in Arnstein's (1969) sense. Yet as was shown here, full participation in the creation of public art is a difficult if not impossible ideal to achieve.

In this sense, Fleming and Von Tschanner's (1981) suggestion that professional artists translate an "environmental profile" "assembled by a multi-disciplinary team of experts" (p.113) into a work of art for a particular environment is intriguing. However, such translation by outsiders may be an inadequate extension of the "product" approach to public art which only superficially considers social and environmental contexts. Results of the present study indicated that the mural created by a local artist whose artwork embodied social and cultural expression and personal feeling was the most successful.

Reliance on professional artists should not eliminate the possibility of including other members of the community in art in the environment projects. Children interviewed, for example, were the most ready, willing and able to take part in mural projects. Some children had a greater sense of their own creativity as a result of such participation. Whether or not there are artistic types who "are more responsive to beauty" (Maslow, 1972, p.287), more predisposed to appreciate and/or create art than others and who would be more likely to appreciate murals, and participate in their creation could not be determined in this study. Such a fundamental issue could only be

seriously addressed in a separate study focussing on individual differences in reactions to art. Children who enjoyed working on the Football mural project included both those who had previously been interested in art and those who had not. For members of both groups, the process of participation in the mural project was beneficial. In this sense, it is worth developing young people's active involvement in such schemes. However, this should not be done as a means to an end - as an attempt to create artists, prevent vandalism, etc. It should be done because many young people enjoy being involved and exposed to art projects.

4) Who should select works of art for public places?

Although not everyone wanted to be directly involved in community arts projects, the majority of those interviewed did want to vote on the final design of such artworks. People do want to be consulted about changes to their environment. This seems particularly important as the perceptions of the middle class professionals so often responsible for initiating environmental change may differ substantially from residents' perception of their surroundings. In this study, for example, working class residents were more positive about their neighborhoods than were middle-class non-residents. More middle class respondents than working class passersby felt that murals made a difference to their sites. Not everyone feels that

their environment needs improving. Not everyone feels that works of art in the environment are an improvement.

5) Where should works of art for the environment be placed or created?

The assumption by "urban environmentalists" (Crockcroft, et al, 1977) that art in the environment has a definite positive impact on people's sense of place did not prove to be conclusive in this study. Similarly, people's experience of murals did not measurably differ in residential versus commercial locales, although there was some tendency to notice murals more in low density situations compared to high density settings. Overall, it would be misleading to state that works of art are most appropriately placed in certain kinds of environment.

Nevertheless, findings did suggest that murals had more of an impact on their immediate sites than on their neighborhoods or general areas. In this sense, it is of the greatest importance that those involved in art in the environment projects carefully consider the individual characteristics of specific settings scheduled to contain art. All of the murals studied here, for example, were art as an afterthought. All were commissioned as the finishing touches to sites which had already undergone "environmental improvements." None were created from a partnership among artists, planners, architects, and residents from the outset. The obstruction of many of the murals by trees, lights, signs, a trellis and trucks was testimony to the

lack of coordination on the part of environmental professionals. Similarly, once these projects have been completed, they are often simply forgotten. Even when the community has participated in the creation of such artworks, no one is given or assumes clear responsibility for monitoring the condition of the works and maintaining them. Thus in the future, such pieces often become shabby and unappealing.

Besides consideration of the physical context, understanding of such artwork's social context remains vital. Comments in the present study, for example, indicated that the "appropriateness" of murals was important to many of those interviewed. Some were particularly concerned that public artworks not impose on their private domain. As such the degree of "publicness" of each site must be assessed and the possible intrusiveness of any artwork must be considered. Placement of artworks in situations where the public must see them whether they like it or not should be avoided. Care must be taken, to respect the boundaries between people's public and private worlds.

In the end, then, what light do these findings shed on my own questions and on the public art debate?

All of these findings and conclusions have implications for those of us involved in art in the environment policy and practice. Above all, these results warn us not to place unreal expectations upon these artworks. As this study, as well as Robinette's (1976) and Degnore's (1987) studies show, people enjoy seeing art in

the environment and are in favor of placing more of it in public view. However, such artworks will not necessarily change people's feelings about their environment, their community or their political views.

As such we must be wary of the misleading generalization projected by both the mass media and public art lobbyists which claim that such artworks are either an imposition on people or a vital part of people's daily experience. This is particularly true since each work of art possesses a unique identity -- since audiences viewing such works represent a wide variety of publics and since the places containing public art are each so different.

Finally then, only by recognizing that every combination of art-public-place presents a new and special set of circumstances can we hope to assess, understand and respect people's experience of art in the environment.

Appendix A

Tables of Significant Results of Interviews and Behavioral Mapping.

Table A-1

Percent of Passersby Who Mentioned the Murals in Place
Descriptions Compared With Percent Who Did Not Mention
the Murals Presented by Age

Age	Murals Not Mentioned	Murals Mentioned	Total
10-17 yrs.	20.5% (23)	37.5 (18)	26% (41)
18-39 yrs.	22 % (25)	31 (15)	25% (40)
40-60 yrs.	25 % (28)	23 (11)	24% (39)
61 and over	31 % (35)	8 (4)	24% (39)
No answer ^a	1 % (1)	0	1% (1)
Total respondents	70 % (112)	30% (48)	100% (160)

^a Data in "no answer" category were not included in chi square (χ^2) calculations in this table, or in any of the following tables.

χ^2 (3, $N=159$) = 10.44, $p < .05$

Table A-2

Percent Indicating Emotional Reactions to Murals Compared to
Percent Indicating No Reactions by Passersby Age

Age in Yrs.	N.D.	10-17	18-39	40-60	61-over	Total
Yes reaction	0	17% (7)	25% (10)	36% (14)	51% (20)	32% (51)
No reaction	100% (1)	83% (34)	75% (30)	59% (23)	49% (19)	67% (107)
No answer	0	0	0	5% (2)	0	1% (2)
Total responses	.6% (1)	26% (41)	25% (40)	24% (39)	24% (39)	100% (160)

Note. N.D. = Age not determined. Data in N.D. category not included in χ^2 calculations in this table or any of the following tables.

$$\chi^2 (3, N = 157) = 12.30, p < .01$$

Table A-3

Percent of Passersby Who Understood the Mural's Message
Compared to Percent Who Did Not Understand It at Each Site

Site	Football	Shakespeare	Leather	Boat	Total
Message understood	55% (22)	32.5% (13)	52.5% (21)	65% (26)	51% (82)
Message not understood	45% (18)	67.5% (27)	47.5% (19)	33.1% (14)	48.5% (78)
Total responses	25% (40)	25% (40)	25% (40)	25% (40)	100% (160)

$$\chi^2 (3, N = 160) = 8.89, p < .05$$

Table A-4

Percent of Passersby Opinions of the Mural's
Subject Matter at Each Site

	Football	Shakespeare	Leather	Boat	Total
Positive	55% (22)	40% (16)	62.5% (25)	60% (24)	55% (87)
Neutral	30% (12)	30% (12)	32.5% (13)	37.5% (15)	32.5% (52)
Negative	15% (6)	22.5% (9)	5% (2)	2.5% (1)	11% (18)
No Answer	0	7.5% (3)	0	0	2% (3)
Total Responses	25% (40)	25% (40)	25% (40)	25% (40)	100% (160)

$$\chi^2 (6, N = 157) = 14.50, p < .05$$

Table A-5

Correlation Between Passersby Opinions of the Murals, their Subject Matter and their Style

	Mural	Subject	Style
Mural	-	.48*	.57**
Subject		-	.67***
Style			-

Based on Open Ended Positive, Negative or Neutral Rating

	Mural	Subject	Style
Mural	-	.33****	.27*****
Subject		-	.20*****
Style			-

N = 160

Note. Ratings based on a 1-7 scale with 1 being the most negative response and 7 being the most positive response.

* $p < .001$. ** $p < .001$. *** $p < .001$. **** $p < .001$. ***** $p < .001$.
 ***** $p < .05$.

Table A-6

Mean Rating of Mural's Style by Passersby at Participatory
Compared to Non-Participatory Sites

Locale	Residential		Commercial	
	Part	Non-Part	Part	Non-Part
	Football	Shakespeare	Leather	Boat
n	40	40	40	40
<u>M</u>	4.97	6.125	4.975	5.875

$$t = (78, N=80) = 3.34, p < .001 \quad t = (78, N=80) = 2.47, p < .01$$

Note. Ratings based on a 1-7 scale with 1 being the most negative response and 7 being the most positive response.

Part = Participatory, Non-Part = Non-Participatory

Table A-7

Mean Rating by Passersby of Photographs of Political
Representational Murals Compared to Photographs of
Non-Political Abstract Murals

Type of Mural Photograph	Political Representational	Abstract
n	119	119
<u>M</u>	4.39	3.25

Note. Ratings based on a 1-7 scale with 1 being the most negative response and 7 being the most positive response.

M for political representational murals determined by ratings of three photographs. M for abstract murals determined by rating of two photographs.

$t = (120, N=119) = 7.45, p < .001$

Table A-8

Percent of Opinions of Spot Containing Mural by Passersby
who had Mentioned Mural Compared to those Who Had Not
Mentioned Mural

	Murals Not Mentioned	Murals Mentioned	Total
Positive	36% (40)	67% (32)	45% (72)
Neutral	26% (29)	12% (6)	22% (35)
Negative	37% (41)	21% (10)	32% (51)
No Answer	2% (2)	0	1% (2)
Total Response	70% (112)	30% (48)	100% (160)

$$\chi^2 (2, N = 158) = 12.44, p < .01$$

Table A-9

Percent of Passersby Showing Reaction to the Leather Center Mural During Tracking in High Density Compared to Low Density Conditions

Density	Higher	Lower	Total
People showing no reaction	89% (104)	73% (74)	(82%) (178)
People showing reaction	11% (13)	27% (27)	(18%) (40)
Total number of people tracked	54% (117)	46% (101)	100% (218)

$X^2 (1, N=218) = 8.83, p < .01$

Table A-10

Percent of Resident's Opinions about the Spot Containing
the Mural Compared to those of Non-Residents

	Residents	Non-Residents	Total
Positive	51% (68)	16% (4)	45% (72)
Neutral	22% (29)	23% (6)	22% (35)
Negative	26% (35)	61.5% (16)	32% (51)
No answer	1% (2)	0	1% (2)
Total responses	84% (134)	16% (26)	100% (160)

$$\chi^2 (2, N = 158) = 14.47, p < .001$$

Table A-11

Percent of Answers by Passersby of Different Classes to Question: "Do You Think Having This [Mural] Here Makes Any Difference to This Immediate Spot?"

	Working Class	Middle Class	Total
Positive	52% (51)	76% (22)	58% (73)
Neutral	6% (6)	0	4.7% (6)
Negative	40% (39)	21% (6)	33% (42)
Never Noticed	2% (2)	3% (1)	2% (3)
Total Responses	77% (98)	23% (29)	100% (127)

Note. Data where no answers were given or class could not be determined are not included in this table or calculations

$$\chi^2 (3, N = 127) = 11.63, p < .05$$

Table A-12

Percent of Passersby Who Knew How the Mural was Created
Compared to those who Did Not Know at Each Site

Process	Participatory		Non-Participatory		Total
Site	Residential (Football)	Commercial (Leather)	Residential (Shakespeare)	Commercial (Boat)	
Did Not Know	80% (32)	100% (40)	77,5% (31)	70% (28)	82% (13)
Knew	20% (8)	0	22,5% (9)	30% (12)	18% (29)
Total number of respondents	25% (40)	25% (40)	25% (40)	25% (40)	100% (160)

$$\chi^2 (3, N = 160) = 13.27, p < .01$$

Table A-13

Percent of Passersby Living Under Five Miles from the Mural Compared to those Living over Five Miles from the Site

Site	Football	Shakespeare	Leather	Boat	Total
0-5 miles	70% (28)	57.5% (23)	57.5% (23)	87.5% (35)	68% (109)
Over 5 miles	12.5% (5)	5% (2)	40% (16)	12.5% (5)	17.5% (28)
No Answer	17.5% (7)	37.5% (15)	2.5% (1)	0	14% (23)
Total Respondents	100% (40)	100% (40)	100% (40)	100% (40)	100% (160)

$$\chi^2 (12, N = 160) = 81.58, p < .001$$

Table A-14

Percent of Passersby Showing Reactions to the Murals During Tracking as a Function of Participation as Compared to Non-Participation

Sites	Football and Leather	Shakespeare and Blyth	
	Participation	Non-Participation	Total
People showing No Reaction	84% (244)	91% (252)	87.5% (496)
People showing Reaction	16% (46)	9% (25)	12.5% (71)
Total Number of responses	100% (290)	100% (277)	100% (567)

$\chi^2 (1, N = 567) = 6.06, p < .05$

Table A-15

Mean Rating by Passersby of Participatory as Compared to
Non-Participatory Murals

Process	Participatory	Non-Participatory	Total
n	40	40	80
<u>M</u>	4.84	5.76	5.3

Note. Ratings based on a 1-7 scale with 1 being the most negative and 7 being the most positive response.

$$t = (74, N=80) = 2.25, p < .05$$

Table A-16

Percent of Passersby Who Would Choose to Help Create the Mural Compared to Percent who Would Not Choose to Help Create it Presented by Age

Age in years	N.D.	10-17	18-39	40-60	61-over	Total
Would create	100% (1)	56% (23)	25% (25)	15% (6)	13% (5)	28% (45)
Would not create		41.5% (17)	72% (29)	74% (29)	85% (33)	67.5% (103)
No answer		2% (1)	2.5% (1)	10% (4)	3% (1)	4% (7)
Total	.6% (1)	26% (41)	25% (40)	24% (39)	24% (39)	100% (160)

Note. N.D. = Age could not be determined.

$\chi^2 (3, N = 152) = 40.05, p < .001$

Table A-17

Percent of Passersby Who Would Choose to Help Design a Mural Compared to Percent Who Would Not Choose to Help Presented by Age

Age in years	N.D.	10-17	18-39	40-60	61-over	Total
Would design	100% (1)	46% (19)	15% (6)	18% (7)	15% (6)	24% (39)
Would not design		49% (20)	77% (31)	82% (32)	82% (32)	72% (115)
No answer		5% (2)	7.5% (3)	0	3% (1)	4% (6)
Total respondents	.6% (1)	26% (41)	25% (40)	24% (39)	24% (39)	100% (160)

Note. N.D. = Age could not be determined

$\chi^2 (3, N = 153) = 16.04, p < .01$

Appendix B

Interview Formats

Passersby Site Interview

Introduction:

Hello, I am a researcher (from the United States) doing a study of public places in Newcastle. I wonder if you would mind taking a few minutes to answer some questions?

1. Are you a resident of this area (name area)?
_____yes _____no
2. If NO, go on to question 3.
If YES, how long have you lived here? _____Go
on to question 4 or 3b if city centre.
- 3a. What area do you come from? _____
b. What brings you to this place? _____
4. What do you think of this neighbourhood (name neighbour-
hood or - this area of the city)? (PROBE: What do you
think is positive/negative about it?)

5. Looking at this card, on a scale of 1-7 with 1 being the
most negative and 7 being the most positive, what number
would best describe the way you feel about this neigh-
bourhood (or area of the city)?
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| DONT LIKE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | LIKE IT |
| IT AT ALL | | | | | | | | VERY MUCH |
6. What do you think about this particular spot? (PROBE:
What do you think is positive/negative about it?)

7. On a scale of 1 to 7 with 1 being the most negative and
7 being the most positive, what number would best
describe the way you feel about this spot?
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| DONT LIKE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | LIKE IT |
| IT AT ALL | | | | | | | | VERY MUCH |
8. How often do you usually come thru or past this place?
____Everyday ____One or more times a week
____Less than once per week ____1st time here
9. If 1st time here, go on to 10.
IF NOT 1st time here, what do you usually do here? _____

10. You mentioned coming by here to (reason given in 3b). Are there other places you could go to or other routes you could take? Why do you choose to come this way?
-
-
-

11. If you had to describe this place to someone who had to meet you here, how would you describe this place?
-
-
-

IF ARTWORK NOT MENTIONED: You didn't mention the (mural) here. I wonder if you could look at it for a minute or two so I can ask you a few questions about it: (Go on to question 12.)

IF ARTWORK MENTIONED: You mentioned the (mural) here. I want to ask you a few questions about it:

12. Do you know anything about how it came to be here?
 _____yes _____no (If YES, probe: what do you know about how it came to be here? How did you come to know this?) _____
-
-

13. Overall, what do you think of it? (PROBE) _____
-
-

14. On a scale of 1 to 7 with 1 being the most negative and 7 being the most positive, what number would best describe the way you feel about the (mural)?

DONT LIKE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	LIKE IT
IT AT ALL								VERY MUCH

15. Do you every choose to come this way just to look at it
 _____yes _____no

16. What do you think about its subject matter?
 (PROBE: Like? Dislike?) _____
-
-

17. Looking back at your a scale, what number would best describe the way you feel about its subject matter?

DONT LIKE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	LIKE IT
IT AT ALL								VERY MUCH

18. What do you think about its style - the way its done?
(PROBE: Like? Dislike?) _____

19. On a scale of 1 to 7, what number would best describe
the way you feel about its style?
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| DONT LIKE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | LIKE IT |
| IT AT ALL | | | | | | | | VERY MUCH |
20. When you come by here or when you see this is there any
feeling that this (mural) gives you? (PROBE) _____

21. What message, if any, do you think the person or people
who did this (mural) are trying to get across? (PROBE)

- Sometimes adding new things to a place makes you feel
differently about that place, that neighbourhood, or
that area. Sometimes it doesn't make any difference.
22. Do you think having this here makes any difference to
this immediate spot? (PROBE: In what way(s)?)

23. Do you think having it here makes any difference to this
neighbourhood (or area of the city)? (PROBE: In what
way(s)?) _____

24. Given the opportunity would you :
_____ Replace it with another permanent (mural)
_____ Have different things here at different times
_____ Remove anything from there
_____ Leave it as it is
- WHY? _____
25. Would you be in favor of more (murals) in other places?
Why or why not? _____

26. There are many different ways artworks like these can be created. Sometimes they're created by the people who live here, sometimes by professional artists, and sometimes by both people who live here and professional artists working together. How would you like to see such artworks done?

____ by people who live here
 ____ by professional artists

____ by professional
 artist(s) working with
 people who live here

Why do you think this? _____

27. There are different stages of getting such work done. For example (list a-e.) Given a chance to take part in such a project, are there any of these stages you'd choose to be involved in?

- a. Getting people involved in the project ____yes ____no
 b. Helping to design the artwork ____yes ____no
 c. Voting on the final design ____yes ____no
 d. Actually taking part in creating the work ____yes ____no

e. Another aspect? _____

WHY? _____

28. Do you have any other comments you'd like to make about this mural? _____

29. Are there any other murals that you know of in the Newcastle area? What's your opinion of them?

30. OPTIONAL: If you have a bit more time, I'd like to show you some photographs and ask your opinion of them. Given a chance to place another artwork here, what number would best describe the way you feel about each of the following :

	DONT LIKE IT AT ALL				LIKE IT VERY MUCH		
1. Cable St.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Greenwich	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Peace	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Jesmond	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Central	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Laycock	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

31. In which of the following age groups would you be included?

_____13-17 _____18-39 _____40-60 _____61-over

32. Since you left school have you continued your education in any way? _____yes _____no

33. If YES, in what way? _____

34. What is your occupation, if any? (Husband's occupation if housewife; parent, if child) _____

35. Sex: _____Male _____Female

36. Race: _____Caucasian Other: _____

Interview - Priority Area Team Leader (Funding Source)

1. Could you tell me about the background of this project:
 - a. whose idea was it originally?
 - b. why was it seen as important to have mural painted there? (PROBE: Aims? Goals?)
 - c. who was involved in the project and how did they become involved?
 - d. what was the nature of their involvement?
2. What opposition, if any, did the project face?
3. How was that opposition dealt with?
4. What did you see as your role regarding the project?
5. In what way(s) if any would you have wanted that role to be different?
6. What do you think the role of the community here was regarding the project?
7. In what way(s), if any, would you have wanted their role to be different?
8. What level of community participation would you say had been achieved in terms of the mural project?
9. Do you think greater level of participation could have been achieved? (Probe)
10. Have you seen the finished mural? ___yes ___no
 If YES:
 On a scale of 1 to 7 with 1 being the most negative and 7 being the most positive, what number would best describe the way you feel about the mural?

 LOWEST 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 HIGHEST

 Why would you rate it that way?
11. What comments or feedback have you received about it?
12. What factors do you think influenced the way the project was received?
13. In what way(s), if any, do you think the project was successful?
14. In what way(s), if any, do you think the project could have been more successful?

15. What difference, if any, do you think the mural made to that place?
16. What difference, if any, do you think the mural made to that community/neighbourhood?
17. What difference, if any, do you think the mural made to individuals involved in the project?
18. What do you think are some of the overall concerns of the neighbourhood where the mural is located?
19. Do you think the mural addressed these concerns in any way(s)? Why or why not?
20. In what way(s), if any, do you think these concerns can be addressed?
21. What steps, if any, do you think you are taking in this direction?
22. Given the chance to support/fund a similar project, would you do so? Why or why not?
23. In what way(s), if any, would you approach the project differently?
24. Any other comments about the project?

Interviews - School Staff (Head, Deputy Head, Teacher)

1. How did you first come to hear about the mural project?
2. Why, if at all did you want you/your class/school to become involved with the project?
3. What did you think the overall goals and aims of the project were?
4. Which of these goals/aims, if any, do you think were achieved?
5. What did you see as your role regarding the project?
6. In what way(s), if any, would you have wanted that role to be different?
7. What role did you think the class played regarding the project?
8. In what way(s), if any, would you have wanted that role to be different?
9. What role do you think the community played regarding the project?
10. In what way(s), if any, would you have wanted that role to be different?
11. How else, if at all, do you think participation on the project could have been extended?
12. Thinking about the following project stages, in what way(s), if at all, do you think they were successful? How could they have been made more successful?
 - 1) Introduction of the project to the school
 - a. (how successful?)
 - b. (how improved?)
 - 2) Developing ideas (a & b)
 - 3) Finalizing the design (a & b)
 - 4) Getting design approval (a & b)
 - 5) Painting the mural (a & b)
 - 6) Evaluating the project (a & b)
 - 7) Summarizing and celebrating the project (a & b)
 - 8) Continuing links regarding the project (a & b)

13. What impact, if any, do you think the mural had on its setting?
 14. What impact, if any, do you think the mural project had on this neighbourhood/community?
 15. What impact, if any, do you think the mural project had on the school?
 16. What impact, if any, do you think the mural project had on any children in Miss Smith's class?
 17. What impact, if any, do you think the mural project had on you?
 18. In what way(s), if any, do you think the impact of the project could have been extended?
 19. Have you seen the finished mural? ☐yes ☐no
 20. On a scale of 1-7, with 1 being the most negative and 7 being the most positive, what number would best describe the way you feel about the mural?
- | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
| LOWEST | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | HIGHEST |
|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
- Why would you rate it that way?
21. How would you describe the mural to someone who had never seen it?
 22. What long term effects, if any, do you think the project had?
 23. What do you think the overall concerns of this school are?
 24. Do you think the mural project addressed these concerns in any way(s)? Why or why not?
 25. What do you think the overall concerns of this neighbourhood/community are?
 26. Do you think the mural project addressed these concerns in any way(s)? Why or why not?
 27. In what way(s), if any, do you think the school's concerns can be addressed? Do you think steps are being taken in this direction? Why or why not?
 28. In what way(s), if any, do you think this neighbourhood/community concerns can be addressed? Do you think steps are being taken in this direction? Why or why not?
 29. Do you feel that you have the power to implement these changes? Why or why not?

30. Given a chance to be involved in a project such as this once again, would you choose to participate? Why or why not?

Pupil Interview - Guiding Questions for Discussion

1. Do you remember the mural project you worked on in Miss Smith's class last year?
2. Have you been to see it since it was finished?
(Probe: How often? Do you live near there?)
3. Do you ever go by or through the courtyard just to look at the mural? (Probe: How often? Why?)
4. Have you ever told anyone else about it or taken anyone else to see the mural? (Probe: Your parents? Friends? What did they think of it?)
5. What do you do there if you go by or through the courtyard?
6. Which part of the mural, if any, do you think of as your part? (Probe with photo: Why that part?)
7. Do you think of the mural as a whole as something you helped to do? (Probe: Why or why not?)
8. What kind of work did you do on the mural project?
(Probe: Thinking up ideas? Drawing out ideas? Deciding on how the mural would look? Drawing the mural design on to the wall? Painting the design on the wall? Any other work?)
9. Which of those jobs, if any, did you like doing? Why?
Which one of those jobs, if any, did you NOT like doing? Why?
10. How would you describe the mural to someone whose never seen it?
11. What parts of the mural, if any, do you like the best?
Why? (Probe with photo)
12. What parts of the mural, if any, do you like the least?
Why? (Probe with photo)
13. Does the mural have any special meaning for you or give you any special feeling?
14. Overall on a scale of 1-7, with 1 being the most negative and 7 being the most positive, what number would best describe how you feel about the mural?
15. Given another chance to work on a mural project would you want to help with it? (Probe: Why or why not? What aspects?)
16. How would you describe the spot where the mural is to someone who has never been there before?

17. How would you describe what a mural is to someone who has never heard of one before?
18. How would you explain the purpose of painting the mural in your area to someone who asked about that?
19. How would you explain what an artist is?
20. How about the word "community"? What does that mean?
21. How about if you had to explain what a community school is?
22. Could you tell me how old you are?
23. What does your dad do for a living? Your mom?

Appendix C

Behavioral Mapping Protocols

Scanning Chart.

Site _____ Vantage point _____ Day/Date _____ Weather _____ Time _____

TIME	WALKING TOWARDS			WALKING AWAY			STANDING			SITTING								
	WM	WF	WC	NWM	NWF	NWC	WM	WF	WC	NWM	NWF	NWC	WM	WF	WC	NWM	NWF	NWC

Note. Descriptions of each passerby as coded below were applied to the chart under the appropriate activity column.

Gender and Race

WM = white male NWM = Non-white male
 WF = white female NWF = Non-white female
 WC = white child NWC = Non-white child

Age

1-100 years
 (age estimated
 for each passerby)

TRACKING CHART

TIME	PERSON	REACTION TO MURAL	PATH	ACTIVITY
		none look- walking	point discuss misc. ABCDEFG	WALK RUN TALK STAND SIT
		look- standing	examine point discuss misc. ABCDEFG	WALK RUN TALK STAND SIT
		close up to	to	PLC

Code:

SEX: M=male, F=female

RACE: W=white, B=black, O=oriental, A=Asian

AGE: Estimated 1-100

WALKING: P=purposefully, L=leisurely,

C= confused

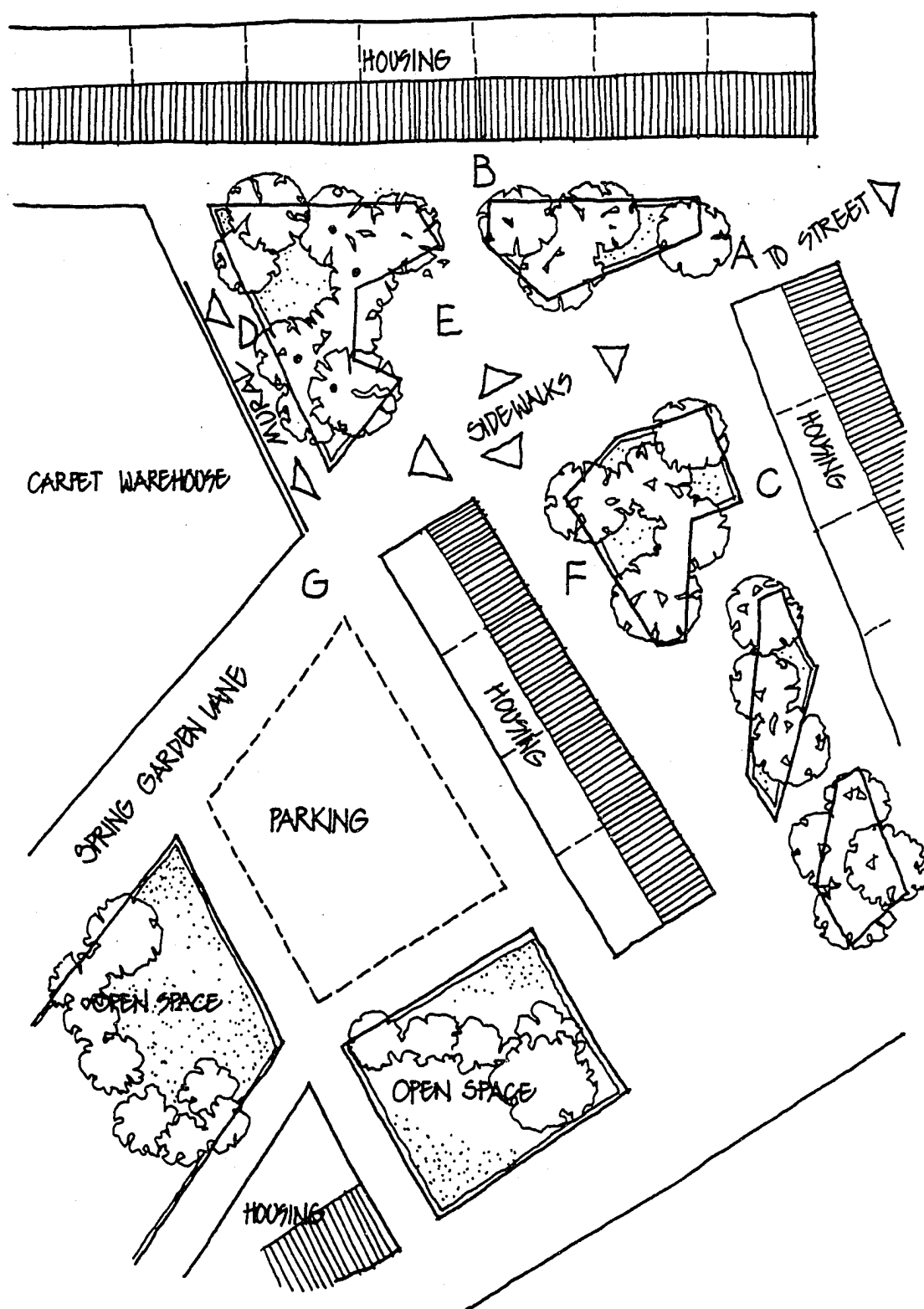


Figure 18. Plan of Site 1 Used for Behavioral Mapping,
The Football Mural

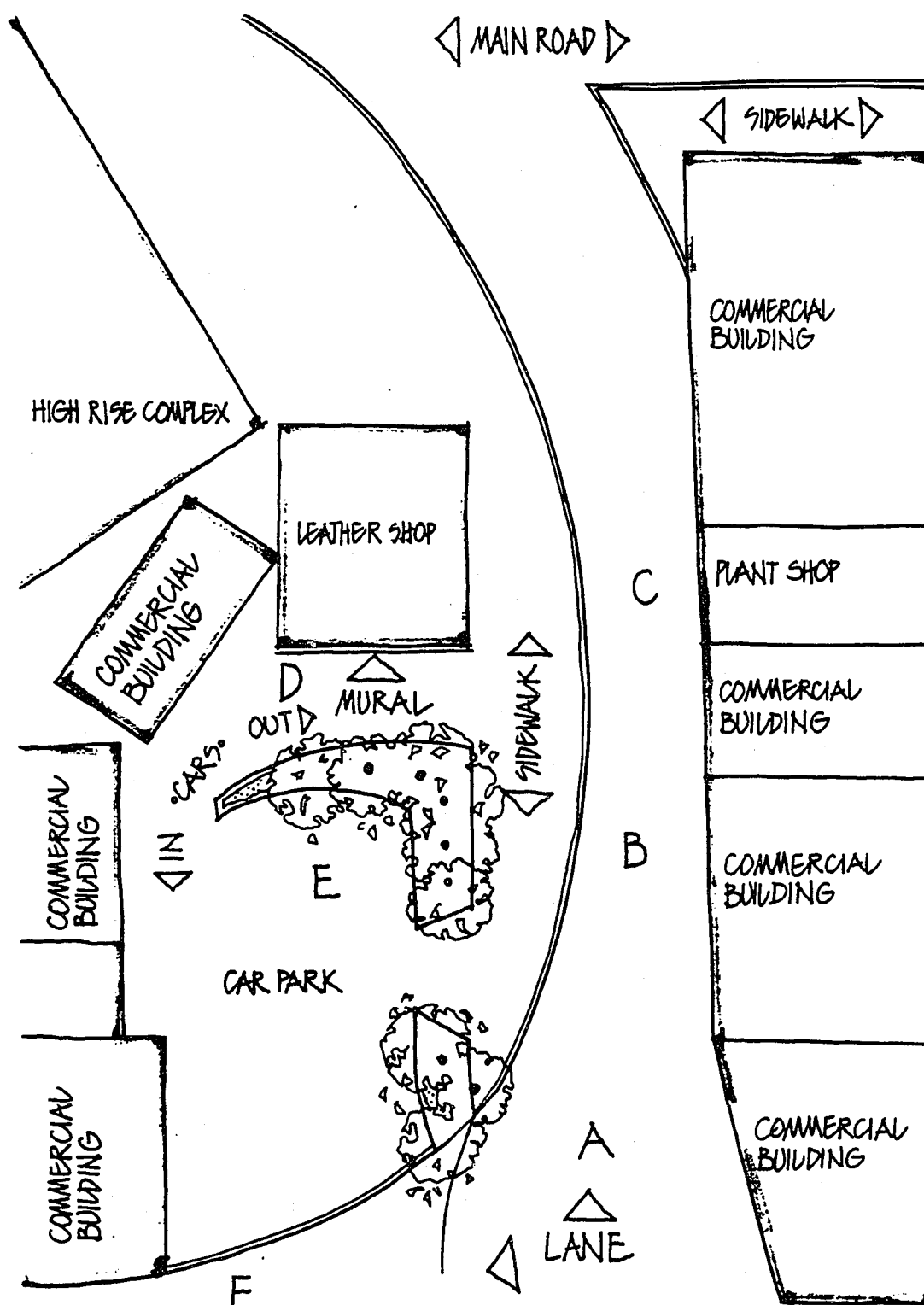


Figure 19. Plan of Site 2 Used for Behavioral Mapping,
The Leather Center Mural

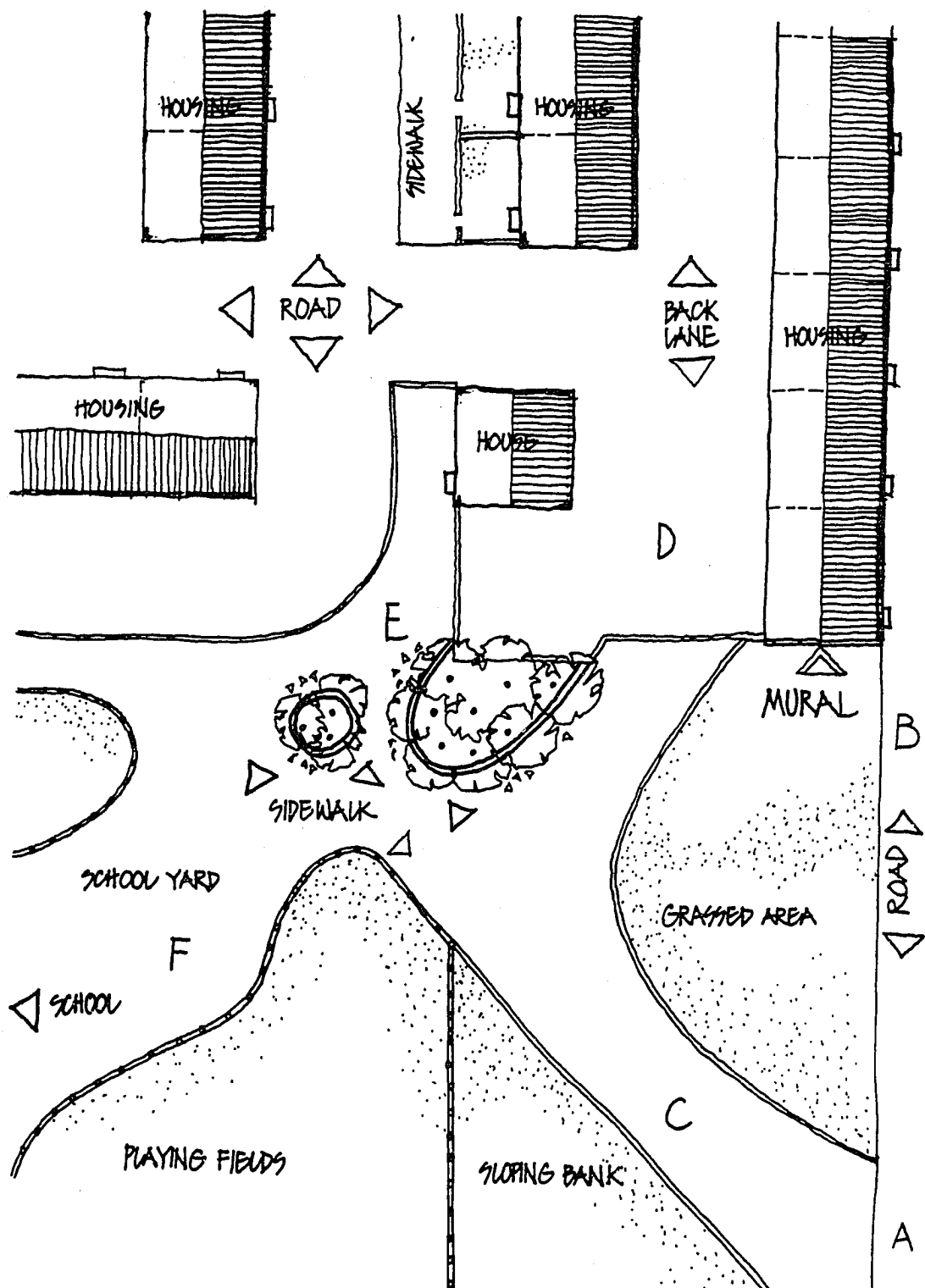


Figure 20. Plan of Site 3 Used for Behavioral Mapping,
The Shakespeare Mural

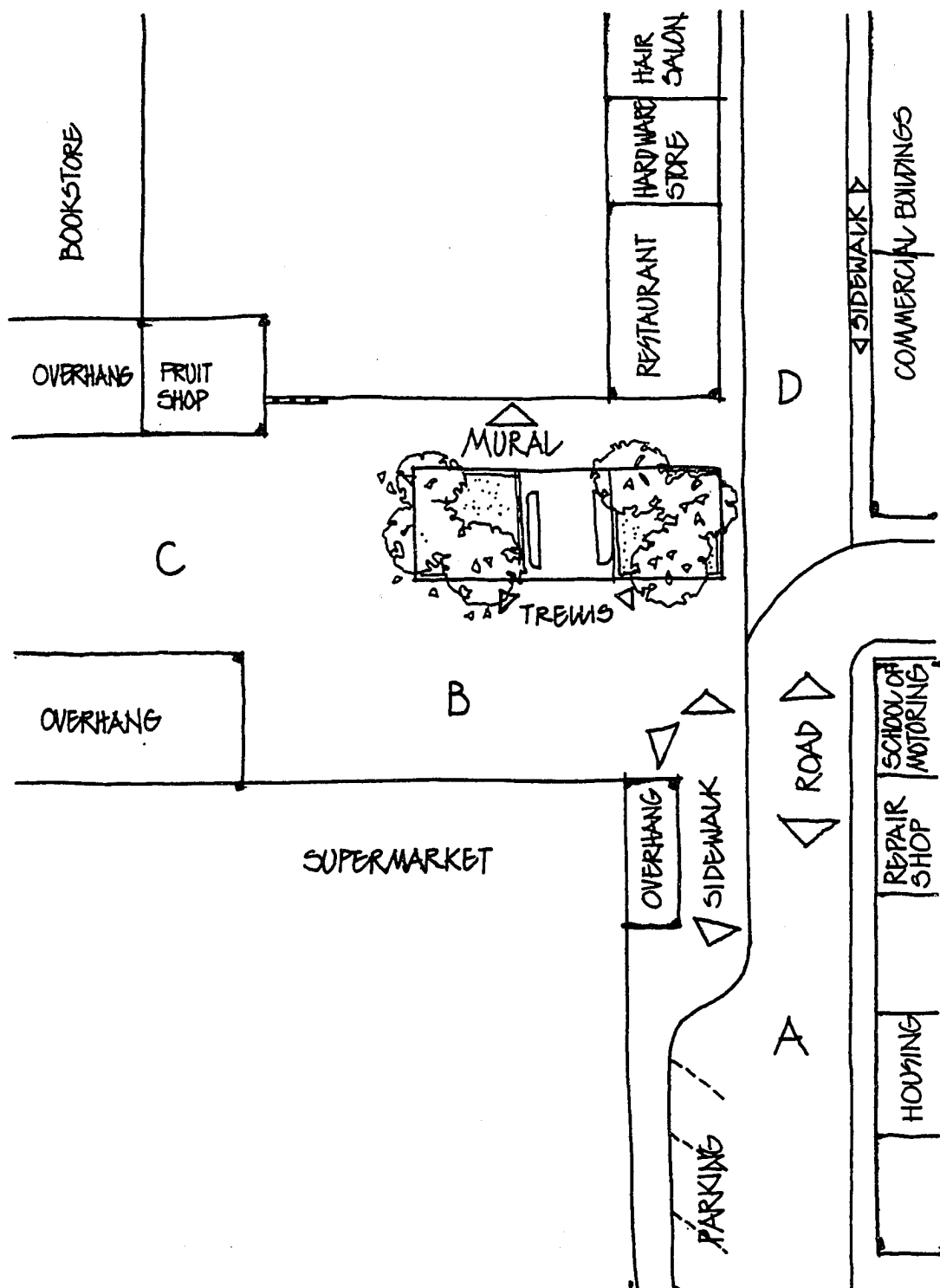


Figure 21. Plan of Site 4 Used for Behavioral Mapping,
The Boat Mural

Appendix D

Table of Coding Categories for
Passerby Site Interviews

Table D-1

Coding Categories for Open-ended Questions on Passerby Site Interviews

Q.4 What do you think of this neighborhood?

- positive, unqualified	"good", "nice", "pleasant"
- positive, qualified	"it's improving" "good - a bit untidy"
- neutral	"alright", "don't usually come this way"
- negative, qualified	"crowded and noisy but convenient"
- negative, unqualified	"terrible"

What do you think is positive/negative about it [this neighborhood]?

- positive mural	"I like the colored wall"
- negative mural	"Alright except for hoarding (billboard)"
- positive aesthetic aspect	"Looks nice"
- negative aesthetic aspect	"Needs brightening up"
- positive social/emotional aspect	"The people are nice"
- negative social/emotional aspect	"The people here aren't the same"
- positive emotional aspect (place)	"I've lived here all my life so feel attached to place"
- negative emotional aspect (place)	"I've lived here all my life and I'm sick of it"
- positive amenities/convenience	"It's central", "Nice shops"
- negative amenities/convenience	"Could do with more shops"
- positive ambience	"It's quiet", "Peaceful"
- negative ambience	"Noisy", "Crowded"

- positive old/historical aspect	"Like old fashioned feeling"
- negative old/historical aspect	"Needs modernization"
- positive landscaping/ infrastructure	"Trees are nice" "Good parking"
- negative landscaping/ infrastructure	"Don't like cobbled streets" "Needs greenery"
- positive revitalization	"Good and modern"
- negative revitalization	"Don't like changes to buildings"

Q.6 What do you think about this particular spot? What do you think is positive/negative about it?

(same categories as for neighborhood)

Q.9 If not first time here, what do you usually do here?

- purposeful	"School", "Work" "Sign on"
- meaningful	"Visiting", "Shopping"
- leisurely	"Go to park" "Walk the dog"

Q.10 Are there other places you could go or other routes you could take? Why do you choose to come this way?

- convenience	"Most direct" "Quickest" "Shortcut"
- Preference	"Nicest way" "Like this way"
- don't know any other way	
- only way to go	

Q.11 If you had to describe the place to someone who had to meet you here, how would you describe this place?

- mural	"Colored wall" "Hoarding"
- shops	"COOP", "Prestos", "Leather shop"

- streets/RR bridge, parking lot	"Bowes Street"
- landmark	"Black Friars"
- institution (church, school hospital)	"Beth Shan"
- pub/club	"Black Bull" "Mayfair"
- parks/open space	"Leazes Park", "Football grounds"
houses/flats	"St. James Court"

Q.13 Overall what do you think of it [the mural]?

- positive, unqualified	"Good", "Nice", "Pleasant"
- positive, qualified	"Good, but a bit old fashioned"
- neutral	"Alright"
- negative qualified	"Too bright but better than bare wall"
- negative, unqualified	"Terrible"

Reasons for opinion of mural:

- positive colors/brightens	"I like primary colors" "It's bright and cheerful"
- negative colors/brightens	"Don't like the colors" "Too bright"
- positive style	"It's very decorative"
- negative style	"It's too busy"
- positive subject matter	"Good, a symbol of Newcastle"
- negative subject matter	"Don't like football images"
- positive meaning	"It reminds me of the good old days"
- negative meaning	"It reminds me of the football violence"

- positive technical aspect	"It's really well done" "The brickwork is excellent"
-negative technical aspect	"I don't like the way the seams are showing"
- positive relationship to setting/neighborhood	"Appropriate for area" "Brightens place up"
- negative relationship to setting/neighborhood	"It would be better for a school playground" "Destroys the beauty of the trees"
- positive prominent/stands out	"Distinguishes place"
- negative prominent/stands out	"It's too overpowering"
- positive vandalism/tidiness	"It's better than vandalism or graffiti" "It tidies up area"
- negative vandalism/tidiness	"Encourages graffiti" "Looks messy"

Q.16 What do you think about its subject matter?

- positive, unqualified	"suits the area"
- positive, qualified	"Good for kids", not necessarily adults"
- neutral	"alright"
- negative, qualified	"Tells interesting story but not relevant"
- negative, unqualified	"Has nothing to do with today"

Indication if message received:

- message received	description/reaction to subject matter not incongruent with artist's intentions
- message not received	description/reaction to subject matter incongruent with artists intentions

Example of artist messages:

- Moorside : depicts symbols of Newcastle, particularly football. Images included Tyne Bridge, Newcastle United Football.
- Shakespeare : portrays William Shakespeare because of the connection between him and the names of local streets.
- Leather Center : shows aspects of the leather industry as it existed in old times in area.
- Blyth : depicts local scene of Blyth docks.

Reasons for opinions of subject matter:

- appropriate for area	"Tells about Blyth Docks"
- historical	"Shows craftsmen in those days"
- like images/character	"Like football, boat"
- dislike images/character	"Dislike giant boot"
- mentioned something other than subject matter	"I really like the colors"

Q.18 What do you think about its style - the way it's done?

- positive, unqualified	"Nice", "Like it"
- positive, qualified	"Just something interesting to look at"
- neutral	"It's got lots of colors"
- negative, qualified	"O.K. but not as realistic as it could be"
- negative unqualified	"too Basic", "Crude"

Reasons for opinions of style:

- positive colors "Like black and white"
- negative colors "Colors too bright"
- positive technical aspect "Well done"
- negative technical aspect "Crude"
- positive realism "Good, that's just the way it looks"
- negative realism "Not as real looking as it could be"
- positive simplicity "Nice and simple"
- negative simplicity "Too simplistic"
- positive relationship to setting "Colors fit in well with adjacent building"
- negative relationship to setting "Too bold to fit in here"
- positive modern/old fashioned aspect "Like old fashioned look"
- negative modern/old fashioned aspect "Too out of date"
- positive signage "Like leather Center sign"
- negative signage "Dislike Leather Center sign"
- mentioned something other than style "Things are all about Newcastle"

Q. 20 When you come by here or when you see this is there any feeling that this mural gives you?

- cheerfulness, happiness/pleasantness/brightness "Happy feeling" "Brightens everything up"
- nostalgia "Reminds me of the old days"
- admiration for workmanship "Nice to see something well done"
- recognition/connection to area "Reminds me of what Blyth is all about"
- improvement "The place just looks better now -- that feels good"

- acts as landmark "When I see mural, I know I'm almost home"
- waste of money/effort "There's more important things to spend money on"

Q.21 What message, if any, do you think the person who did this is trying to convey?

- dont know "Can't say"
- unable to see mural from that vantage point "Can't see it"
- no message "Don't think they were trying to get anything across"
- shows area/culture/local activities "Football", "Seaside"
- historical/educational "Shows how things used to be"
"Shows how Leather goods made"
- brightens up/improvement of site "Makes place look better"
- advertisement/describes trade "Just advertising Leather Center"
- glorify/memorialize that person "Shows Shakespeare was famous"
- connection with streets "This place named after him"

Q.22 Do you think having this here makes any difference to this spot?

- yes, unqualified "Cheers place up"
- yes, qualified "Nice but hard to see"
- neutral "Can't say"
- no, qualified "Not really, but better than blank wall"
- no, unqualified "Makes it worse"

In what way(s) [does it make a difference]?

- cheers/brightens/ liven's place	"Brightened place up"
- interesting/attractive/ educational	"Teaches young about those days"
- colorful	"Bold colors make a difference"
- stands out/distinguishes spot	"Helps identify the neighborhood"
- something to look at	"I enjoy spending time looking at it"
- part of general improvement	"All improvements to court- yard helped"
- shows people care about area	"Good that people care enough to try to improve place"
- peaceful/relaxing	(self-explanatory)
- not noticed/in bad locale	"In wrong place"
- boring/stupid/ugly	(self-explanatory)
- better than bare walls/ vandalism	(self-explanatory)
- invites vandalism	"Encourages graffiti"

Q.23 Do you think having it here makes any difference to this neighborhood?

(same categories as for spot)

Q.24 Given the opportunity would you 1) replace it with another permanent mural, 2) have different things here at different times, 3) remove anything from here, 4) leave it as it is?Reasons for opinion:

- nice/like it	self-explanatory
- cheers/brightens/liven's place	"It brightens the place up"
- colorful	"I like the bold colors"

- work put into it/cost to change it/it's there "It took a long time to do so why change it?"
- appropriate "It's nice with the Leather shop right there"
- change color/style/subject matter/detail "I don't like the boat"
- couldn't suggest anything else "Don't know what else you'd put there"
- grown accustomed to it "Used to it"
- don't like it/could be better "I'd prefer a landscape scene"
- better without any there "I prefer a brick wall"
- change is good, otherwise boring, ignored "People get too used to seeing the same thing every day"
- don't care "Doesn't make a difference one way or another"

Q.25 Would you be in favor of more murals in other places?

- yes, unqualified "Yes, brightens up area"
- yes, qualified "Yes, as long as not too many"
- neutral "Don't mind either way"
- no, qualified "Prefer buildings, but fits in"
- no, unqualified "Don't like murals"

Reasons for opinion:

- depends where/where appropriate "In city center"
- depends on standard, quality "If well done"
- depends on subject matter/style "If not too bold"
- not too many "One or two"
- brightens/cheers/livens place "Makes place livlier"

- improves/distinguishes place	"Places look nicer with murals"
- better than graffiti/tidy/neat	"Makes everything seem cleaner"
- symbolic/acts as cultural/historical symbol	"Paintings of local scenes make you feel proud"
- like murals	(self-explanatory)
- don't like murals	(self-explanatory)
- better than blank walls	"Takes away drabness of gable end"
- prefer wall/bricks	"I like regular bricks on buildings"
- not worth time/money/effort	"There are better ways to spend our money"
- could be educational	"Murals can show kids what life was like in old days"
- gets graffitied	"Murals just get vandalized"

Q.26 How would you like to see such artworks done? By 1) people who live here, 2) professional artists, 3) professionals working with people who live here?

Reasons for opinion:

- interest/involvement with area	"Proves people care about neighborhood"
- knowledge of area	"They know what local people want"
- they have to live with it	"They should do it as they want, they live here"
- gives people something to do/jobs/skills	"Gives people something to do considering all the unemployment"
- prevents vandalism	"If they help with it, they won't graffiti it"
- expertise/would do better job/creative/better ideas	"Professionals are the experts"
- one can help the other	"Locals can give ideas and professionals see that its done properly"

- shouldn't have murals at all "Don't like murals"

Q.27 Given a chance to be involved in such a project are there any stages you'd choose to be involved in? [Why or why not?]

- like art/artists/artistic "I'm artistic"
- don't like art/artists/not artistic "I'm not artistic"
- like getting involved/organizing/helping others "I like getting people together"
- for fun/something to do/interesting "Better than just sitting around"
- stupid "(self-explanatory)"
- too busy/involved in other things "(self-explanatory)"
- not interested "(self-explanatory)"
- too old/disabled "(self-explanatory)"
- pride "Would like to be able to say I did that"
- should have say/vote "I'd like to be able to say if I didn't like it"
- better left to others "Other people more interested/able"

Q.28 Any other comments you'd like to make about the mural?

- positive general reaction "Like it", "Interesting"
- negative general reaction "Dislike it"
- like imagery/subject matter "I like the boat"
- like style/color "colors are striking"
- dislike imagery/subject matter "Football too corney"
- dislike style/color "Colors too bold"
- like impact on setting "It really improves the place"

- not good in site/setting	"Would be better in more prominent place"
- like technical aspect/ workmanship	"It's really been carefully painted"
- suggested change certain aspect/detail	"Big sign in middle spoils it"
- should be more murals	(self-explanatory)

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