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Maeve Blackman

The Angel of the North: Public Art and Wellbeing

Abstract

Sir Antony Gormley's sculpture, the Angel of the North, has acquired iconic status but relatively little is known about its impact on wellbeing. The aim of this research is to investigate this impact by exploring what outcomes were intended, the extent to which these have been realised, and why and how these outcomes occurred. The methodology used is realistic evaluation, framing the Angel as an intervention.

The Angel has been an important part of the culture-led regeneration of the town of Gateshead, but its role also reflects the local authority's work to improve wellbeing in a non-material sense. This is conceptualised, and the empirical findings interpreted, by drawing on cultural analysis, especially the work of Raymond Williams and Pierre Bourdieu. The research combines interpretivist approaches to explore meanings and empirical approaches to measure effects, including documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews, a population survey and focus groups. The analysis identifies themes and sub-themes and patterns and associations in the data.

The findings show that there are various types of audience for the Angel, presenting a complex picture of impact varying by residents' characteristics and circumstances, and playing into people's everyday lives and life events in different ways. Local identity, home and home-coming, and pride and confidence are intrinsic to its effects, but its attributes have also given it a global status as an image and brand.

The findings make original contributions to our understanding of the little researched area of the benefits of public art, and to the role of public art in everyday cultural life and local government practice.

The Angel of the North: Public Art and Wellbeing

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

School of Applied Social Sciences

Durham University

2014

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Declaration

I declare that this is my own work and has not been submitted for the award of a higher degree anywhere else.

Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I would like to thank Anna Pepperall for her thoughtful guidance throughout this project. No one knows public art in Gateshead (and beyond!) like her. She has provided me with more support and advice than I could have ever hoped for. I am truly grateful for her encouragement, always lending an understanding ear.

Particular thanks must go to my supervisors at Durham, Professor Dave Byrne, Professor Douglas Davies and Professor Roy Boyne, who have kept pushing me to be a better researcher and sociologist. I have greatly appreciated our conversations and their guidance has been indispensable.

I would also like to thank Bishop Mark Byrant, Roger Kelly and Professor David Wilkinson, as without their initial ideas and support this project would have never happened. Tribute of course is also due to Sir Antony Gormley for creating such an inspiring artwork, and for participating in the study.

I would also like to acknowledge all the participants that took part in the research, the stakeholders (identified in the thesis) and their fascinating reflections on the Angel, the survey respondents and those who took the time to send me follow-up letters, and the focus group members, without whom this research would not have been possible. The help and information I was provided with by some participants was of more benefit than they will ever know! I would also like to give special thanks to Sophie and Joe who helped me administer the survey.

I extremely grateful to Tom, who at the most stressful of times always managed to put a smile on my face. I would also like to thank my Mum for her kindness, love and helpful and on-going encouragement.

I would have not been able to complete this PhD without the support and guidance of my Dad. For that, this thesis is dedicated to you.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

This project arises from a PhD studentship funded by Gateshead Council and Durham University to investigate the relationship between Gateshead's Angel of the North sculpture by Antony Gormley and wellbeing among Gateshead residents. The idea for the project came out of a conversation between Roger Kelly (ex-Chief Executive of Gateshead Council) and the Bishop of Jarrow, the Rt Rev Mark Bryant. Professor Roy Boyne was asked to help develop the idea as a sociological project to be based in the School of Applied Social Sciences at Durham University and supervised it until he retired, when Professor Dave Byrne took on the main supervisor role. Professor Douglas Davies also joined the supervision team and Anna Pepperall, Public Arts Officer at Gateshead Council, acted as my mentor in the local authority. I am very grateful for the opportunity they have given me to undertake this study and get 'close up' to the fascinating and continuing story of the Angel.

The brief for the project was developed jointly by Gateshead Council and Durham University. It required the successful applicant for the studentship to undertake the investigation as a multi-method case study, with the outcome being a good understanding of the wellbeing that the Angel engenders, located within the context of current understandings from the literature and including recommendations for the Council and its partners. Candidates for the studentship were invited to propose a methodological approach for an applied research study. My proposal framed the Angel as a policy 'intervention', with a potential range of public benefit outcomes both as *anticipated* by the stakeholders in its creation and as *actually experienced* by stakeholders and its public audiences. This approach to conceptualising the study as an evaluation of an intervention for public benefit led to choosing realistic evaluation as the methodological framework. Realistic evaluation is based on an 'intervention-context-outcomes' model where both the expected and actual outcomes, and the mechanisms by which these might be achieved, are subjects of enquiry. This is discussed in detail in chapter 5.

The location of the study in the School of Applied Social Sciences at Durham reflected both the applied nature of the research and its orientation to social policy as a field of inquiry. Social policy is fundamentally concerned with wellbeing. Traditionally, as social policy emerged as a subject over the years 1945-75, this concern with wellbeing has been approached in terms of inequalities in access to housing, education, income maintenance and other spheres conventionally seen as part of the 'welfare state'. There has been a concern with the adequacy of policies to address these inequalities. Later, this widened out beyond a concern with the welfare state to wellbeing perspectives across all aspects of social life, set out explicitly for example in Cahill's (1994) account of 'the new social policy', with thematic perspectives such as communicating, viewing, travelling, working and playing, and investigation of 'new' inequalities such as the digital divide. Although culture was framed as part of the welfare state from its post-war inception and the creation of the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1946, it received less attention in social policy. The relationship of cultural policy to tackling inequality has often been a fraught one given how cultural participation, conventionally defined, has been dominated by more advantaged social groups (Oakley, O'Brien and Lee, 2013). This is what makes 'public art' so important as a subject of study in social policy. It is claimed, in essence, to be a social policy for art, universalist and inclusive. Understanding public art, however, requires drawing on the resources of sociology as well as social policy, especially the sociology of culture, as discussed later in the thesis.

The thesis defines public art as art created for public audiences in everyday public places rather than the confines of a gallery, and with public purposes, such as creating community identity, encouraging participation and learning about the arts, urban regeneration or celebrating heritage. Public art has long been part of the fabric of many towns and cities. Over recent decades, and especially with the rise of culture-led regeneration, many positive claims have been made for the role of public art in revitalising areas and contributing to quality of life. Public art is often framed as a way to flatten art hierarchies and remove social barriers to art appreciation. It is, therefore, not only about aesthetics but engagement with social issues. Compared to art in a gallery, public art is often argued to be 'art for the people', enhancing popular engagement with the arts. 'Place' is also significant, since public artworks are often said to both define a location and be defined and have meaning through their siting. Thus, Hall (2004:101) writes:

‘A critical function of public art is to make visible the hidden histories and consequences of the production of space for exchange and the layering of symbolic value upon it, in doing so to play a role in the democratisation of space’ (Hall, 2004:101).

However, what this symbolic value is, who it affects and how public art comes to have its effects are very under-researched questions. This study sets out to explore these questions in relation to what has become an iconic piece of public art created for the people of Gateshead but about which relatively little is known regarding its presence and role in people’s lives. It does this by integrating realistic evaluation as a methodology for investigating the outcomes of an intervention with a conceptual analysis that uses cultural theory to *interpret* what the Angel’s public audiences say about its impact in their lives.

The Angel of the North was commissioned by Gateshead Council, a local authority with a strong reputation for investment in art in public places, and erected in 1998. As a municipal body, the Council has a responsibility for the wellbeing of its residents and has used this responsibility as a justification for public art as a way to enhance wellbeing. Wellbeing is an outcome that might be expected from public art, given the nature of its sponsorship and creation, but what the concept means in this context is open to wide interpretation, from promoting local identity to arts education. Particularly important, however, is what art contributes to how people feel. When discussing the creation of the Angel of the North, Antony Gormley (1998:14) commented:

‘I want to make something we can live with and that becomes a reservoir for feelings – feelings that perhaps we hadn’t known until this thing was there, or feelings that couldn’t arise until it was’.

The meaning of wellbeing is not just a question of what wellbeing is, but also what enhances or diminishes wellbeing, and whether this is the same for everyone, at all times and in all contexts. Understanding more about this is very important for organisations like local authorities that seek to intervene to promote wellbeing, and for considering public art as an intervention aimed at this purpose. The focus here could be on understanding art in terms of participation in it as an activity, but the focus of this study is on the impact of an artwork once installed and the actual experiences of it. This treats public art like any other type of art that is presented for appreciation, but the public art movement does not only

justify art for its creative values but also makes claims about the art in terms of serving some public purpose.

The research issue

The main issue that this study addresses is whether and how public art makes a difference to its publics, focusing on wellbeing conceived in terms of happiness and life satisfaction, and using the Angel of the North as a case study.

There are many reasons why it is important to undertake this research. The study has practical aims given the interest of Gateshead Council in learning about and from the Angel and how this kind of investment contributes to wellbeing. It is also a contribution to the research literature on public art, as there is surprisingly little work that shows whether or not public art really has an impact on people's lives and on wellbeing in particular. At a time when there is so much pressure on budgets, it is important to know what difference public art makes. The thesis is also a contribution to urban sociology and cultural studies, drawing on these fields of study to frame the research and interpret the findings. It is set firmly in a social sciences perspective, in particular making use of realistic evaluation in its methodological approach of treating public artworks as 'interventions' (Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

The thesis focuses on the Angel as an example of contemporary public art, defining the sculpture as public art according to the definition stated above on page 9, given its deliberate placing in a public space for public audiences. Although public art can take other forms, such as performance art or memorials of various kinds, sculpture is one of the most common. The part of the definition that public art is art with stated public purposes or public value applies to the Angel for reasons explored in chapter 3. However, these purposes are often ill-defined: they can be either very general or implied. As shown in chapters 6 and 7, the public purposes of the Angel are in fact multi-faceted, with meanings that are both 'official' - as stated outcomes to justify the investment - and 'unofficial' - as meanings that run deep in the local community. An important reason for using realistic evaluation is its approach of establishing (a) what outcomes were intended; (b) what outcomes are experienced; and (c) the extent and ways in which these are achieved.

The Angel is unusual in terms of the iconic status it has acquired, so this status needs to be kept in mind, especially with regard to generalising findings from a case study. It is hoped, however, that the study provides insights into the role of public art and shows how this can be investigated systematically to present new knowledge and understanding about what aspects of public art make it effective or ineffective and what contextual factors make a difference. This includes what wellbeing means for public art's audiences, with these audiences remarkably neglected in discussions of public art (Hall, 2004). In particular, there is little research on the outcomes of public art for its public audiences. Like any intervention, public art may 'work' for some more than others, and in some circumstances more than others.

The Angel's intended beneficiaries are defined in this study as the residents of Gateshead, and the key players in planning and implementing the Angel project are termed stakeholders. Many of the stakeholders were associated with Gateshead Council, and the local authority and its wider post-industrial urban context is an important backdrop. In particular, the role of public art as policy in wider culture-led regeneration strategies needs consideration in understanding how the Angel's intended outcomes are narrated by stakeholders.

In order to translate the research issue in a way that can be researched with appropriate methods, it is formulated as seven research questions as follows:

1. What do local authorities and other public bodies seek to achieve from their investment in public art?
2. What benefits do different people derive from their interactions with public art in general and the Angel of the North in particular?
3. How do public art and place interact to give meaning to each other, and what difference does geographical scale make to this?
4. To what extent is the Angel unique in terms of its impact?
5. What can Gateshead Council learn from evidence about the impact of the Angel?
6. What effects does the Angel have on different conceptions of wellbeing?

7. What methods are appropriate to assessing the value of cultural investment?

As noted, these questions are addressed through the Angel as a case study and the choice of research methods is based on them. The research methods used are discussed in chapter 5, followed by four chapters presenting the empirical findings. Prior to the methodology chapter, three chapters discuss the literature on public art and wellbeing, review public art as an object of policy, and present an account of the creation of the Angel sculpture. This background is necessary before explaining the methodological approach taken. In summary, the methodology combines both interpretivist and empirical approaches to explore meanings and patterns within the overall framework of a realistic evaluation approach, and the results are analysed conceptually by drawing on cultural theory and especially the work of Raymond Williams and Pierre Bourdieu. The empirical techniques deployed were interviews with stakeholders, a survey of Gateshead neighbourhoods, and focus groups, as well as compiling for analysis a wide range of documents on the Angel. Analysis was assisted by using the computer packages NVivo and SPSS. Nine stakeholder interviews were carried out to investigate stakeholders' 'theories of change' regarding the Angel, including the artist, commissioners, engineers and funders. The main purpose of the interviews was to grasp stakeholders' intended purposes and envisaged benefits of the Angel, as well as any unintended outcomes or consequences. Another aim was to gather background information about the process of creating and commissioning a large public artwork.

Informed by these insights, a survey was carried out in Gateshead in July 2012 of residents' attitudes towards the Angel. This was followed by five focus groups and observational work to understand these effects in more depth. The design of the focus groups related back to the survey, as they were a way of testing and examining the results in more depth.

Thesis structure

The thesis has the following format. As noted above, chapter 2 reviews the literature on public art and wellbeing. It begins by discussing the wide range of arenas in which the term wellbeing is used and then moves on to consider how wellbeing is related to art,

mainly as part of community arts practices. It finishes by examining the definition of public art and the positive claims made for it, paying particular attention to public art and engagement, public art and regeneration, public art and place making, and the 'public' in public art, before concluding by noting the lack of robust evaluations of public art.

Chapter 3 considers public art as policy, with an historical review of public art and how it has developed in the UK through arts, planning and charitable funding policies, before examining how it developed in the local context of Gateshead.

Chapter 4 is a documentary review that tells the story of the Angel, also drawing on the stakeholder interviews as sources. This chapter sets out key events and milestones, including the extent of initial hostility to the idea of the artwork, and then its success once installed, as well as the 10th and 15th anniversary activities. It finishes by examining Angel of the North as a brand.

Chapter 5 describes and discusses the methodology and the techniques deployed. It starts with a fuller discussion of realistic evaluation and why and how it has been used for this research. Ethical considerations are discussed next before explaining the role of a pilot study and re-visiting the research questions. It examines the rationale for using mixed methods before considering each data collection method in turn, noting both benefits and limitations. It concludes with a reflection on how well the design and methods worked.

Chapters 6-9 present the empirical findings. Chapters 6 and 7 report a thematic analysis of the stakeholder interviews. Chapter 6 considers stakeholders' views on art, public art and Gateshead's approach, and their expected or anticipated outcomes of the Angel. Chapter 7 considers their accounts of actual outcomes, comparing these with anticipated outcomes, and discusses their accounts of unexpected and unmaterialised outcomes, and the mechanisms and contextual factors at work.

Nine interviews were conducted with stakeholders, each having an important role in the creation of the Angel. They were: Andrew Dixon and Matthew Jarratt, at the time from Arts Council England (then Northern Arts, a funder of the Angel); Anna Pepperall, Public Arts Officer at Gateshead Council; Antony Gormley, Artist; Bill Stalley, at the time Director of Hartlepool Fabrications; Chris Jeffrey, at the time Engineer at Gateshead

Council; Mike White, at the time Arts Director at Gateshead Council; Les Elton, at the time Chief Executive Officer at Gateshead Council; and Sid Henderson, at the time Councillor and ‘Arts in Public Places’ Panel chair at Gateshead Council.

Chapters 8 and 9 investigate whether and how the stakeholders’ accounts are reflected in data from Gateshead residents about their experiences, views and reflections on the Angel. In order to explore outcome patterns at population level, a survey was first carried out and this is reported in chapter 8. The questionnaire design was informed by the stakeholder interviews and the sampling design incorporated likely contextual factors associated with residents’ characteristics and the areas in which they lived. Three hundred people participated in the survey and the chapter presents an analysis of the data by age, gender, deprivation and distance from the Angel, as well as data on wellbeing and its association with feelings towards the Angel.

Chapter 9 reports the findings from the five focus groups that were conducted with already existing groups in the Gateshead community. The focus groups related back to the survey, exploring these results in more depth. One of the main aims of the focus groups was to investigate why people of particular backgrounds gave the responses they did in the survey. The focus groups were constructed around gender, age and social deprivation, key variables used in the survey analysis. Of particular interest was the extent to which the intentions of stakeholders were reflected in people’s experiences.

Chapter 10 brings the empirical findings together in a discussion, relating back to the theoretical concepts and review of literature in chapter 3. The chapter discusses what can be learned about how the Angel ‘produced’ its outcomes, relating back to the research questions.

Chapter 11 concludes with the main findings and interpretations, as well as re-visiting the two research questions of what Gateshead can learn about the impact of the Angel and what effects the artwork has had on different conceptions of wellbeing. It reflects on the research process as a whole before offering some considerations for further research.

The study concludes that an investigation of the Angel’s outcomes reveals various types of audience for public art, presenting a complex picture of impact varying by its publics’

characteristics, beliefs and circumstances, and playing into people's everyday lives and life events in different ways. The work of Bourdieu and Williams, two of the most important sociologists of culture according to Calhoun (1990), is drawn upon to conceptualise the empirical findings and their general implications, especially how the Angel has achieved its depth and reach of impact. Bourdieu is used for his influential work on art and social class and Williams because of his important insights into identity and attachment, both key to understanding the patterned class outcomes of the Angel and the forms of identity and attachment it engenders.

Bourdieu's work spans a wide range of topics from an ethnography of peasants in Algeria to religion and society in modern France, but he is perhaps best known for his work on art and cultural tastes, and how these are structured by class and forms of capital. Many of his writings have become standard references in the field of cultural sociology (Swartz, 1997). Class is also a major theme in the work of Raymond Williams, beginning with his early work investigating the relationship between society and culture, and how this can be understood in terms of the determining character of economic conditions (Higgins, 2001). For Williams, culture is much more than artistic production; it is a whole way of life, embedded in everything that surrounds us. Above all, 'culture is ordinary', a very relevant perspective for considering public art (Williams, 1958). This is evidenced in complex ways through what he terms 'structures of feeling', or the feelings, emotions, meanings and experiences of a time and place, especially as they produce 'community' as a form of identity. As Williams (1977:132) puts it, these are 'the affective elements of consciousness and relationships ... practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and interrelating continuity'. This lived experience includes a consciousness of aspirations and possibilities, with art present in ordinary lives and with active readings by ordinary people.

Although Bourdieu is a French sociologist and Williams a Welsh cultural theorist, writing in different ways and from different backgrounds, both have been pivotal in demonstrating the centrality of culture in social life, but with a class analysis and so located within the wider frame of relationships of production and power. Both therefore consider the field of art as constituted by power and struggle, with Williams in particular emphasising the creative potential of ordinary as opposed to elite culture. Both theorists point to deeper understandings of the social impact of art than purely aesthetic perspectives. Together with the realistic evaluation methodology used in the thesis, their work is a key part of the

interpretivist approach used to understand the impact of the Angel on the experiences of those who live their daily lives in its presence.

Chapter 2: Wellbeing and Public Art

Introduction

Public art has received a lot of attention in recent decades as a way of enhancing public space and, it is claimed, improving quality of life (Sandle, 2009; Knight, 2008; Fleming, 2007; Lacy, 1995). Local authorities can justify their investments in public art as part of their general power to promote the wellbeing of residents but an important question is whether this happens. The following literature review discusses recent work on the relationship between art and wellbeing and the purposes of public art. It starts with a short review of the concept of wellbeing itself and then considers the various types of benefit to wellbeing that have been proposed for public art, ranging from community identity to regeneration.

Wellbeing

Wellbeing is an outcome that might be expected from public art, given the nature of its sponsorship and creation. However, wellbeing is a complex concept, with many possible dimensions, open to multiple interpretations, and with considerable debate about 'subjective' and 'objective' and 'individual' and 'society-wide' accounts and measures of wellbeing (Scott, 2012). The term is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as applicable to both individuals and 'communities': 'the state of being or doing well in life; happy, healthy, or prosperous condition; moral or physical welfare (of a person or community)' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2011). There is, therefore, a wide range of different arenas in which the term wellbeing is used, from medical discourse, education, and social policy to international development, religion and marketing. These different arenas can each use the term in different ways. For example, in education it is used as a term for personal development, focusing on the 'social and emotional aspects of effective learning' (Ereaut and Whiting, 2008:4). In the commercial sector it appears, for example, as a way for the food industry to promote particular foods. Camfield et al. (2009:6) summarise key perspectives on wellbeing as follows:

'Wellbeing can be used to refer to any or all of the following, all of which have different implications for research or intervention: a subjective experience or state

of being (Diener, 1984); the space where wellbeing can or should occur (Sen, 1990); or a process with wellbeing as its goal (Aristotle, 350 BC); and, after Veenhoven (2000), the “liveability” of the environment and the “life ability” of the person. While definitions of wellbeing are contested it is tempting to succumb to the authoritative pessimism of Hird that “there is no accepted definition of wellbeing” [2003:4]), there are some common understandings.’

One of the most common of these understandings is that wellbeing is about more than material standards of living. Indeed, wellbeing is often contrasted with material standards of living. Layard’s (2005) influential work, for example, indicates that wellbeing (which he defines as happiness) does not improve in line with rising income (at least above a certain level of minimum income; see also Myers and Diener, 1995).

In November 2010, Prime Minister David Cameron announced that the Government had asked the Office of National Statistics (ONS) to embark on the ‘Measuring National Wellbeing’ programme. He argued ‘we will start measuring our progress as a country not just by how our economy is growing, but by how our lives are improving; not just by our standard of living, but by our quality of life’ (Mulholland and Watt, 2010). This was presented as a democratic public debate that would inform how and what would be measured in compiling figures to reflect the wellbeing of the nation. The public was consulted twice.

Wellbeing is commonly used to refer to a person’s happiness or life satisfaction (Layard, 2005). This, however, might be seen to be quite a narrow conceptualisation and open to the criticism that people have adaptive preferences. They may adapt to poor conditions or opportunities and therefore have low expectations, resulting in measures of wellbeing obscuring underlying inequalities in material standards of living and power (Scott, 2012). It can also be argued that wellbeing has many different dimensions and is not just a question of being happy or satisfied. These dimensions include biological factors such as beauty (Diener et al., 1995) and sport and fitness (Ransford and Palisi, 1996); the environment and the opportunities offered to individuals where they live (Diener, 1995; Veenhoven and Ouweneel, 1995; Veenhoven, 2000); and social factors linked to the status of an individual in society such as age, gender (Inglehart, 1990), income (Diener et al., 1992), marital status (Lee et al., 1991) and friends or relationships (Requena, 1995). Overall, Cronin de Chavez et al. (2005:7) conclude that the wellbeing research literature is

dominated by physical and psychological aspects of wellbeing, with a relative neglect of the ‘social and cultural bases of wellbeing’.

Returning to Cameron, this thinking is reflected in his argument that, ‘wellbeing can't be measured by money or traded in markets. It's about the beauty of our surroundings, the quality of our culture and, above all, the strength of our relationships. Improving our society's sense of wellbeing is, I believe, the central political challenge of our times’ (Stratton, 2010). However, this is not a party political issue since all the main parties consider wellbeing an important outcome of policy and interventions. This is reflected in Labour-controlled Gateshead Council’s policy documents. The Council links ‘six big ideas’ to the concept of wellbeing and to ideas of how to improve wellbeing for local residents: Gateshead reaching ‘city status’; Gateshead going global; ‘creative Gateshead’; ‘sustainable Gateshead’; ‘active and healthy Gateshead’ and ‘Gateshead volunteers’ (Gateshead Council, 2010). They argue that through these six big ideas local people can ‘realise their full potential, enjoying the best quality of life in a healthy, equal, safe, prosperous and sustainable Gateshead’ (Gateshead Council, 2010:4).

The multifaceted nature of wellbeing is clear from this range of topics. A great deal of research has been undertaken over the last 10-15 years or so using large scale surveys to investigate patterns of wellbeing across populations and sub-groups (Layard, 2005). This has included exploring the factors associated with levels of wellbeing (often defined as ‘happiness’ or as measures of psychological health or mental strain). Self-reports have been found to correlate well with third party assessments by friends and family, as well as biomedical measures (Oswald, 2011).

Although in Western countries surveys show people in general as fairly happy, unsurprisingly reported levels of wellbeing change as good or bad things happen in people’s lives. There is also a lifecycle pattern, with youth and older age when most people express highest life satisfaction (Oswald and Powdthavee, 2010). In addition, in general women report higher levels of happiness than men, as do people reporting more friends and people who are married or cohabiting long term. Education is also associated with a higher level of wellbeing. Life events that depress wellbeing have been shown to be unemployment, serious illness, and divorce or separation.

Economic growth in countries that are already developed does not appear to increase wellbeing, although reducing inequality does appear to do so (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009). The link with inequality may be due to the effects of relativities, which if too wide depress happiness and may engender a variety of social problems. Habituation to increases in wealth may also explain the lack of relationship with GDP growth in countries such as the UK. This has led some to argue for more attention to non-materialistic goals, among which could be listed appreciation of art and opportunities for an 'expressive life' (Knell, 2011).

Interestingly, this has emerged from the Measuring National Wellbeing programme. With reference to the value of cultural participation, respondents felt it affected their wellbeing more than their income – 66 per cent compared to 58 per cent respectively (Evans, 2011:12). Overall, formal and informal cultural participation featured clearly in the 34,000 responses to the programme's 'What matters to you' debate. Yet subsequently, in September 2011, the ONS revealed that their measures would not include the impact of the arts and culture or other leisure activities on happiness. This was because, for the ONS at least, art and culture was seen as an optional leisure pursuit and not part of everyone's way of life. This caused an outcry, with many people arguing that the position needed to be changed (Holden, 2012). In May 2013 the ONS produced a new report revealing that questions on the arts, culture and sport were the most frequently requested additions to the wellbeing measures (Self and Randall, 2013). The programme will use figures taken from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport's 'Taking Part Survey', measuring the percentage of people who have engaged with or participated in arts or cultural activity at least three times in the past year (Arts Professional, 2013).

Participation in the arts reflects a need: for the arts as a dimension of emotional wellbeing. Access to the arts can therefore be considered in Amartya Sen's sense of capability (Sen, 1990). For Sen, wellbeing is about people having the capabilities to satisfy their needs. For example, if art is confined to galleries with social and financial barriers to access, then society is not providing the capabilities needed for the arts to be enjoyed more widely, denying the capability for an expressive life to sections of society. Alkire (2002:184) puts this in the following terms:

‘In this approach, *development* is not defined as an increase in GNP per capita, or in consumption, health, and education measures alone, but as an *expansion of capability*. Capability refers to a person’s or group’s *freedom* to promote or achieve valuable functionings ... Sen argues that the selection of capabilities on which to focus is a *value judgement* that is to be made explicitly, and in many cases by a process of public debate.’

Finnis (2011) develops this value basis of wellbeing by considering basic human values rather than basic needs or capabilities. These are conceptualised as ‘basic reasons for action’ or why people do what they do. Finnis derives from this ‘a discrete heterogeneous set of most basic and simple reasons for acting which reflect the complete range of human functionings’ (Alkire, 2002:185). Among these are knowledge and aesthetic experience: ‘Human persons can know reality and appreciate beauty and whatever intensely engages their capacities to know and to feel’ (Alkire, 2002:186). Nussbaum (2000) then takes this further by framing values as rights or constitutional guarantees. Under ‘senses, imagination, thought’ these are stated as:

‘Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing self-expressive works and events of one’s own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one’s mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious expression’ (Alkire, 2002:188).

Thus, in the literature wellbeing has come to be interpreted as everyone having opportunities and capabilities to realise their potential across the complete range of human functionings, including feelings and aesthetic experiences. This underlines the importance of asking how public art benefits wellbeing, since its placing in public places for public audiences can be seen as aiming to extend opportunities and capabilities across the full range of human experience and needs.

Evidence from community arts projects

The controversy over the ONS definitions of wellbeing reveals the strength of public feeling about the arts as part of the wellbeing mix, and their intrinsic importance to wellbeing. This contrasts with a more instrumental view of the arts as a means to achieve other benefits, such as to improve educational attainment, regenerate areas or improve health. This is an instrumentalism for which the New Labour promotion of arts and culture

became known and critiqued (Oakley, O'Brien and Lee, 2013). There is, however, surprisingly little research on how experiences of art engender wellbeing beyond a literature on participation in creating artworks, especially community arts initiatives. It is, however, worth examining this literature for possible insights into what effects public art has post-installation, given that these initiatives are quite closely related to public art and often incorporate public art in them. Studies of community arts initiatives are more common than of public art specifically. In particular, critiques of these studies point to important methodological issues. It has been important to learn from these in considering the methodological approach for this thesis, and doing so informed the choice of a realistic evaluation framework for this study.

In the late 1960s there was a surge in artists working with the local community, which was termed 'community arts' (Hamilton, Hinks and Petticrew, 2003). These community arts programmes mainly targeted excluded groups within the community focusing on social issues such as class, race, gender, the environment and housing. Community arts initiatives are usually publicly funded and involve local residents participating with an artist/s on relatively small-scale projects with an emphasis on community development (Matarasso, 1997; Hall, 2004; Dwelly, 2001). It has been claimed that art projects in the community have positive social impacts (Matarasso, 1997; Williams, 1997; Kay, 2000; Kay and Watt, 2000; Lowe, 2000).

The Arts Council England (2003) argue that participating in 'arts in the community' programmes can provide a non-threatening and alternative environment to encourage a healthier lifestyle. They also argue that arts programmes can have a larger impact on a community as a whole:

'...being involved with the arts can have a lasting and transforming effect on many aspects of people's lives. This is true not just for individuals, but also for neighbourhoods, communities, regions and entire generations, whose sense of identity and purpose can be changed through art' (2003:3).

However, the claims made by the Arts Council about the value of arts-based community programmes have been criticised for not presenting any evaluative data to support their arguments (Newman et al., 2003). This issue is returned to below.

In the UK, one of the largest studies on community arts and wellbeing was undertaken by an independent research centre, Comedia. This was the first large scale study which focused on the social impacts of arts initiatives rather than economic impacts (Myerscough, 1988). Matarasso (1997) conducted the study and a variety of methods were used in order to capture different aspects of the impact of the art programmes selected (eight programmes in the UK and two in the US). Survey data showed that after taking part in an arts programme, 52 per cent of participants felt better or healthier and 73 per cent had been happier since being involved. Evidence was also found of confidence and skills being developed. Individual benefits translated into wider community benefits, such as people working together to tackle social problems within the community, creating friendships and social cohesion, and empowering community groups to become more involved in local affairs. Other benefits were strengthening cultural life, imagination and vision, local image and identity. One of the main themes the research focused on was the impact of community arts on health and wellbeing, although it did not include arts initiatives that took place in health care settings since these were regarded as a special case (the therapeutic use of art). Overall, this research found that participation in the arts can:

‘... have a positive impact on how people feel; be an effective means of health education; contribute to a more relaxed atmosphere in health centres; help to improve the quality of life of people with poor health; provide a unique and deep source of enjoyment’ (Matarasso, 1997:64).

The research concluded that participation in the arts brings benefits to individuals as well as communities. Matarasso (1997:vi) notes that, ‘it was very clear that people derived great pleasure from being involved in arts activities, and that added greatly to their quality of life’. Matarasso (1997:78) also asks whether the benefits could have been achieved in other ways, such as sport activities, charity volunteering, craft fairs or outdoors activities, and writes:

‘The greatest social impacts of participation in the arts – and the ones which other programmes cannot achieve – arise from their ability to help people think critically about and question their experiences and those of others, not in a discussion group but with all the excitement, danger, magic, colour, symbolism, feeling, metaphor and creativity that the arts offer. It is in the act of creativity that empowerment lies, and through sharing creativity that understanding and social inclusiveness are promoted.’

Throughout this research, Matarasso emphasises evidence from the survey data that were collected, but the research methods have subsequently been questioned because a hypothesis is stated that is not then properly reflected in the research questions used for the evaluation (Belfiore 2006:26). Matarasso (1997), however, argues that each method used in the research was not satisfactory in itself but contributed to a multi-dimensional understanding of the impact of the arts programmes. Matarasso has continued to contribute to the field of evaluation since *Use or Ornament*, especially in relation to the social impact of the arts, arts and wellbeing, and community development through culture (see Matarasso 2009, 2011, 2013; Matarasso, Moriarty and Olushonde 2011).

More recently, Cameron et al. (2013) conducted a qualitative study on the 'Be Creative Be Well' project (part of a wider programme, Well London). The project consisted of a hundred different small participatory art projects across twenty of London's most deprived areas. Cameron et al. focus on the impact the artistic engagement had on the wellbeing of those participating in the project. One of the key findings is that the quality of the creative work mattered. They argue: 'Improvements in health and wellbeing and greater engagement in the arts are closely intertwined: the better the creative engagement, the more likely it is to lead to healthy outcomes' (Cameron et al., 2013:59). They also found that when members of the community participated in arts projects, as well as developing their creative sides, they learned leadership skills and took up new roles and responsibilities in the community (Cameron et al., 2013). They comment that among the reasons for these effects was the Be Creative Be Well project running for three years, a relatively long time compared to the usual short-term projects where outcomes may not be sustained.

Semenza (2003) conducted a study on the impact of art on people's health. This focused on an area in Portland, USA, which has been regenerated using public art. The goal of this community initiative was to improve the health and wellbeing of the residents of the area by creating an artistic 'public gathering place' (Semenza, 2003:1439). The data for the study were collected using mixed methods. This included a cross-sectional survey that systematically sampled residents who lived within a two-street radius of the regenerated area and a similar neighbourhood, which had not been part of a regeneration scheme. The study therefore took a comparative approach using the second neighbourhood as a quasi-control. Semenza (2003) also collected fifty written comments through convenience

sampling to try and get a more in-depth understanding about how people felt about the art installations. Semenza (2003:1439) notes that ‘dilapidated environments and urban blight tend to promote alienation and can be associated with social disorder, vandalism, crime, drug abuse, traffic violation, and littering, which in turn affects health and well-being’. Therefore, she argues that a community coming together as a collective, engaging in art and place-making, helps increase social capital, revitalise the community, expand social networks and stimulate a sense of wellbeing (Semenza, 2003). Overall, the article reports statistically significant differences between the neighbourhoods in perceptions of the area and general health, but the robustness of these results is limited by an absence of before and after measures.

In the USA, there has been a lot of attention given to how arts-based activities can improve children’s wellbeing (Fauth, Roth, and Brooks-Gunn, 2007). However, research on the impact of arts initiatives on children’s wellbeing in the UK has had different results to the positive findings of US studies when looking at sub-groups or outcome patterns.

Hampshire and Matthijsse (2010) undertook a study of the UK Government-funded SingUP programme. They focus on how an arts programme may impact on a child’s health and emotional wellbeing in relation to social capital. They conclude that for some children the SingUp programme had a positive impact on their emotional and social wellbeing but this was not the case for all the children that participated. In some cases the programme posed considerable risks to their wellbeing. The main determining factor here was the programme not paying enough attention to the culture of the local community it was becoming involved with and therefore leaving some people feeling excluded. These authors suggest that:

‘More serious investment in finding out about the creative activities that children are already doing and whether/how they see these fitting into particular “traditions” is required to ensure that arts initiatives are culturally meaningful and relevant and are therefore likely to be more successful in having social impacts’ (Hampshire and Matthijsse, 2010:714-15).

There is a substantial amount of research, then, that describes and illustrates positive outcomes for arts programmes, although what works for whom and in what circumstances can vary and less is known about this. There is also a paucity of work on how outcomes are achieved. Thus, Daykin (2007) argues that the heavy focus on outcomes and proving the success of a project often results in neglect of the actual process. Indeed, the claims made

for the positive impacts of arts programmes on wellbeing have been criticised for not having a clear set of aims in order to evaluate success (Angus, 2002; McQueen-Thompson & Ziguras, 2002; Hamilton, Hinks and Petticrew, 2003; South, 2004; Galloway, 2009). A particular criticism is no hypothesis (Baum, 2001) and, in view of the policy objectives of arts programmes such as social inclusion, clearer measures and evaluation evidence have been called for (Hamilton, Hinks and Petticrew, 2003).

However, Putland (2008) argues that this is not as easy as it may sound due to the differences in how arts-based programmes are promoting wellbeing compared to more clinical health care interventions. As a result, ‘... the literature on social impact of the arts has frequently questioned the presumption that findings about the effects of the arts, positive or negative, can be extrapolated to a wider population, and generalised claims made regarding how “all” arts will affect “all” people in “all” circumstances’ (Galloway, 2009:129). Galloway (2009) concludes that there is a lack of evidence to support claims about the impact of the arts due to the methodologies employed in the majority of studies in this area. She argues, though, that this is not a technical issue but epistemological and ontological, and writes: ‘the main issue for advancing our understanding of the effects of arts interventions is ontological; it is not research methods but the most effective “orientation” or “logic of enquiry”’ (2009:126). She continues that in order to evaluate the impact of the arts, we need to move away from a successionist model of change to theory-based evaluation and realist social research (realistic evaluation), which is based on a generative view of change. She suggests that theory-based evaluation which discusses why or why not change occurs challenges some of the more dogmatic expectations about the benefits of the arts, which are generated by target-driven management policy and expectations that have proved elusive to capture in empiricist studies.

Newman et al. (2003) bring a further dimension to the arguments surrounding evidence on the impact of arts in the community programmes. They raise the issue of ‘the extent to which creative programmes can – or should – be managed and controlled’ (Newman et al., 2003:310). For the artist involved in community arts programmes, the idea of evaluation procedures may be viewed as unreceptive to the creative process (Moriarty, 1997). However, it is clear that if positive claims are made for the impact of these programmes, which they are, then evaluation is necessary. Newman et al. (2003), therefore, suggest a new model of evaluation based on research by Lingayah et al. (1996) in which indicators

of cultural health are developed with the community and quality of life factors are chosen and reviewed over time by the community itself, therefore ‘identifying what communities want and expect from the arts, rather than subordinating community-based arts programmes to objectives formulated outside communities’ (Newman et al., 2003:319). Overall, these authors suggest that a wider range of techniques need to be used for evaluation in order to capture the depth as well as the breadth of the impact of the arts on local communities.

Public art

The focus in the above studies and arguments can be seen as understanding art as having an impact on an individual’s or a community’s wellbeing due to the participation side of the process, instead of the actual experience and appreciation of the artwork once installed. This aspect of the experience of the artwork itself, and what outcomes arise from this, brings centre stage the particular nature of public art as artworks in public spaces outside a gallery or exhibition setting. While Sandell (1998) argues that art galleries had to become agents of social inclusion under New Labour’s social inclusion policies in the late 1990s/2000s, public art is an alternative that takes art out of the gallery but also ‘on display’. Sandell (1998) argues that museums being agents of social inclusion is a complicated process, commenting that, ‘just as the causes and outcomes of social exclusion cannot be neatly compartmentalised within a particular dimension, it might also be argued that the potential solutions for inclusion cannot necessarily be provided by organisations working in a single, discrete field’ (Sandell, 1998:416).

Bourdieu’s work on art galleries (1991) and social class takes this further. Bourdieu found a significant difference in the engagement with art across class groupings, with most working class individuals not attending galleries, especially when modern art is being exhibited (Frow, 1987). He also found that visits to an art gallery or museum increased as the level of educational qualifications attained by an individual increased, and that these were ‘almost exclusively the domain of the cultivated classes’ (1991:14). Although Bourdieu found that overall it seemed that individuals who attended art galleries were better educated, he also notes that some middle class visitors displayed a higher cultural level than suggested by their actual educational qualifications (Frow, 1987). Bourdieu

differentiated the gallery attendees in terms of their level of cultural aspiration, transmitted from parents to children, and pre-disposing middle class actors to appreciate art.

Silva (2006:142) draws on Bourdieu's theory in a study that concludes that the appreciation of visual art is connected to social divisions to do with education, occupation and income, with those who displayed low cultural capital usually demonstrating a negative assessment of art. However, she also found important similarities that did not relate so much to social class but to other factors such as age, ethnicity and gender. This was similar to the findings of a study conducted by Bennett et al (2009) who concluded that other cleavages such as gender, age and ethnicity must be taken into account in order for Bourdieu's theory to be relevant in contemporary Britain.

Clearly just because public art is on display in public places does not mean that these divisions become irrelevant. Public art is art taken out into the community and public spaces, and many claims are made about the positive impact of doing this. The public art movement does not only justify art for its creative values but also makes claims about the art in terms of serving some public purpose. This public purpose may include, for example, claims to improve the environment, engage the community, attract business and tourism, or celebrate heritage. The next section of this literature review discusses some of these claims.

Public art and its purposes

The term public art is ambiguous in its meaning and diverse in its form. It can be temporary or static, anything from performance art, street furniture or graffiti to murals or sculpture. It is not usually situated in conventional art sites, such as galleries, but instead in outdoor public spaces, making it – arguably – a socially inclusive rather than exclusive art form.

Defining 'public art'

Although chapter 1 presented a definition of public art as art located in ordinary public places, for public audiences and with public purposes and value, it can take a range of forms. Public art can be temporary or static, anything from performance art, street furniture

or graffiti to murals or sculpture. It seems too simple to define public art as art for the public or art that is placed in public spaces for everybody to experience and enjoy (Knight, 2008). Thus, Raven (1989:1) argues that, 'public art isn't a hero on a horse anymore'. Instead, it is now claimed that public art 'directly engages with people who do not regularly visit galleries and museums with the sociopolitical issues that affect their communities' (Maksymowicz, 1992:148). It could be argued, then, that public art is more than 'art in public' but art for a purpose.

However, the question of who defines this purpose still remains. Some commentators still regard modernist sculpture set in an urban plaza as public art, defined by the power of government or business to sponsor it. Dismissed pejoratively as 'plop art', this is not what most writers on public art frame it as since it is little different to an outdoor gallery, lacking the engagement with community and place. Sharp et al., (2005:1004) see public art as having the goal to, 'engage with its audiences and to create spaces – whether material, virtual or imagined – within which people can identify themselves, perhaps by creating a renewed reflection on community, on the uses of public spaces or on our behaviour within them'. For them, public art is not art for art's sake, based primarily on a passive aesthetic experience, but art as engagement and change-making.

Cartiere (2010) writes that for some scholars public art goes back as far as cave paintings, but others argue that public art did not emerge until the late 1960s with the creation of government-sponsored programmes such as 'Art in Public Places' and 'Percent for Art' in the USA (Hamilton et al., 2001). In the UK, although public art commissions were undertaken by the public sector, it was not until the 1980s when Percent for Art programmes were launched by the Arts Council, with planning permission for new developments being tied to a fixed percentage of the total cost being allocated to art, that the form started to be embraced and public art began to emerge on a larger scale. By the mid-1990s, 48 per cent of all local authorities and 70 per cent of urban local authorities had adopted this policy (Policy Studies Institute, 1994:48).

Public engagement, directly or indirectly, is key to the definition of public art. Thus, Cartiere (2010:15) frames one key criterion and four alternative criteria that in combination define public art:

‘... public art is art outside of museums and galleries and must fit within at least one of the following categories: 1. In a place accessible or visible to the public: in public, 2. Concerned with or affecting the community or individuals: public interest, 3. Maintained for or used by the community or individuals: public place, 4. Paid for by the public: publicly funded’.

This first criterion is significant: public art is not in ‘art spaces’ but in ‘ordinary’ public places, but it has to be more than that. Public art is often publicly sponsored and therefore often involves a purpose. Examples of this public purpose can be to engage the community, improve the environment of public space, or celebrate heritage. This opens up public art to a range of constructions that reflect wider interests and purposes – more so than, for example, fine art. One of the most significant of these is engagement.

Public art and engagement

Engagement is argued to be a key process in public art (Lacy, 1995; Lippard, 1997; Allen, 2009). Suzanne Lacy coined the term ‘new genre public art’ in her book *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art*, which has become a major discourse within public art commentary and criticism (Lacy, 1995). New genre public art originated with the ‘Culture in Action’ project curated by Mary Jane Jacob in Chicago, in which Suzanne Lacy was heavily involved and displayed various pieces of her own art. The project as a whole was concerned less about art in public space and more about art involving the community where the artwork was placed (Lacy 1995). Public art was seen as a process not just an end product: doing public art, rather than it just being a given.

With the idea of engagement being central to new genre public art, Lacy (1995) offers a critical perspective. She developed a two-fold model, offering a different view of the artist and of the audience. The model views the artist as being in four different roles. The first is the artist as the ‘experiencing being’; the second is the artist as the reporter, in that they are gathering information to convey to others; the third is the artist as the analyst; and the final role is the artist as the activist, wanting to be a catalyst for change. Thus, here it is the artist who is the agent rather than the artist being the agent of, for instance, a regeneration scheme.

Hall and Robertson (2001) write that advocates of the importance of community involvement and engagement claim there are three benefits. The first is that public participation in an art project allows for teamwork and co-operation, increasing people's awareness and respect for one another. The second is that it creates tangible networks between people, and the third is that participation in and creation of their own environment gives people a sense of ownership and pride.

Similarly, Adams (2001) considers education programmes surrounding engagement with public art. These are to help people understand the art, the ideas that underpin it and the processes that create it; to develop people's confidence and competence as they engage in critical debate; to help people engage in public art not just as viewers but as commissioners, critics and collaborators; to help people understand new ideas and emerging cultural forms; and to promote a new awareness of public art, weaving it in as a creative strand of cultural life. Educational programmes can thus be seen as a way to enrich lives, as well as helping with the reception of artworks into the public realm, inspiring local people to become more creative themselves and encouraging critical debate.

While the above authors recover an intrinsic social purpose for public art, the art itself is in danger of becoming eclipsed by this purpose, however framed. Thus, Sharp (2007:277) argues that, 'while new genre public art emphasizes the social relationships of artistic production one cannot simply ignore the materiality of the art form as end product'. The participatory process associated with the art may be effective, but there are consequences beyond this, especially the materiality of the art having a presence in a public space and its on-going consumption by the public. This brings us to consider the artwork as itself an agent of engagement with the public, which represents the prime focus of this study's consideration of the Angel of the North.

New genre public art is an intrinsic discourse that encompasses the idea of art as engagement, with the artwork itself having a direct relationship with and impact on people's expressive lives. It is a feature of public art that it has to balance social objectives with artistic ones, something which does not have to be a concern of privately sponsored art. A key issue in this respect is being knowledgeable about the community so that connecting with it is done in an informed and appropriate way. However, Cooke and Kothari (2001) argue how participation can actually amount to tyranny, and this critique is

reflected in others' work (see Pollock and Sharp, 2012). This is especially relevant given how central and local government can use participation as a means of legitimating policy objectives, with participation relatively superficial and policy objectives such as 'social cohesion' obfuscating fundamental issues such as the causes of inequality. This critique is evident particularly in the case of regeneration projects.

Public art and regeneration

The profile of public art has grown in recent years because of its association with regeneration schemes. Pollock and Sharp (2012:3064) comment:

'The currency of public art within regeneration has its foundation in the restricted economic climate of the 1980s, where, amidst demands for accountability, partnership regeneration initiatives geared to community engagement offered an alternative funding source and clear purpose'

Public art came to occupy a key role in 'culture-led regeneration' and through that to be the subject of some ambitious claims. These include helping develop a sense of identity, a sense of place, enhancing land values, contributing to civic identity, addressing community needs, boosting cultural tourism, tackling social exclusion, education, promoting social change, creating employment, and attracting investment (Hall and Robertson, 2001). These are all instrumental claims on public art rather than about the essence of the art itself, although they go beyond regeneration as economic development to involving the community and adding to the aesthetics of an area.

Bailey et al. (2004) argue that culture-led regeneration, including public art, helps to re-define an existing local identity, not create new ones. Instead of creating a new urban identity, they argue it can tease out traditional identities and replay them in new ways that drive regeneration through transforming the arts scene in cities. This regeneration narrative has been powerful for public art but has also received critical attention. Hewitt (2011:33), for example, argues that the claims made for art's social function by New Labour governments in the 1990s/2000s cannot be deemed as public good and are in fact bureaucratic, managerial and social control mechanisms produced in 'a top-down administrative culture', with the creative industries the only true beneficiaries.

Cameron and Coaffee (2005) continue this theme with their consideration of how using artworks to regenerate an area has moved from a first wave of the ‘artist as pioneer’ to a second wave of commodification and a third wave of gentrification. They write: ‘the emphasis in the third phase, with more explicit public-policy engagement and links to regeneration, is on the public consumption of art, through public art and artistic events’ (Cameron and Coaffee 2005:46). They use the regeneration of the Newcastle-Gateshead Quayside as a case study of this new third phase and consider whether it, ‘can impact outside of the Quayside “amphitheatre of urban renaissance” on the adjacent area of Gateshead which contains some of the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the UK’ (2005:52). They acknowledge that the regeneration of the quayside had a benefit in terms of the wider city due to the positive image it portrayed and that the quayside regeneration strategy was linked to other strategies of regeneration for the surrounding areas of Gateshead. However, they argue that to date the evidence shows that the homes developed through this strategy and meant as affordable homes for local people were in fact bought by young couples and professionals from outside the area. They conclude by recognising the strength of Gateshead’s long term cultural policies, especially around the quayside, but question whether it can be used to transform declining neighbourhoods.

Cameron and Coaffee identify some grounds for optimism from Gateshead’s approach to involving local communities, and Sharp (2007) argues that community engagement has become key to urban regeneration and that public art is a way to deliver this. Public art is here being used instrumentally to engage the community in realising other objectives, such as stemming neighbourhood decline, better health or reducing crime.

Sharp et al. (2005) discuss the inclusionary/exclusionary aspects of public art when part of a wider urban regeneration scheme. They look at a selection of examples of public art and how they contribute to the social cohesion of the city, and write:

‘... key to the creation of social cohesion is the belief that public art, or the processes through which it is produced, is able to create a sense of inclusion ... public art should be able to generate a sense of ownership forging the connection between citizens, city spaces and their meaning as places through which subjectivity is constructed’ (2005:1003).

They use the case studies as a way to provide pointers to what, in public art terms, would make a city inclusive, such as avoiding the cultural domination of particular groups’

interests or views, giving expression to multiple identities and being an indicator of presence rather than absence. However, the expressive role of the art itself begins to get lost in the claims made for its wider impact.

Sandle (2009) argues that as regeneration agendas have evolved, so has the use made of public art, potentially subverting its public interest agenda. His description of public art links both art and public policy very closely: ‘a set of material and visual interventions into the public realm that include urban design, architecture, landscape architecture and visual communication, and their instrumental deployment towards economic, cultural and social improvement’ (2009:75). He argues that public art has become an instrumentalist process, with its purpose being a contribution to environmental and social regeneration as defined by policy at the time. It therefore is concerned with process as much as the end product. In other words, it is not the art itself that is the product but what the art helps to achieve by contributing to regeneration; the art is assimilated into policy agendas.

Similarly, Pollock and Sharp (2012) in their study of ‘Creative Spaces’, a participatory public art project in Raploch, Scotland, argue that public art regeneration schemes can become conflicted with the philosophy of engagement and inclusion that brought them into being. They argue that those designing participatory schemes in regeneration initiatives do not always consider the fissures that exist within communities and therefore differences of opinion and conflicts of interest. They argue that short-term initiatives often fail to address the contested processes that emerge in genuine place making:

‘Such a critical consideration of the purpose of participative art projects produced in a project-based funding climate rings a warning bell for advocates of regeneration projects formulating under the banner of the Big Society and draws attention to a potential contradiction at its heart: that regeneration is a long-term and costly endeavour requiring that continuance of expertise and the establishment of trust.’ (2012:3076)

Due to its role in delivering regeneration, Sandle (2009) argues that public art has become subject to evaluation, audit and performance review. Questions surrounding public art’s value for money and measurable impact are asked. He discusses the various views surrounding this, from the challenge of delivering evaluation of the arts on methodological grounds to the argument that the art cannot be evaluated at all due to the experience of it being subjective and unique to particular individuals and groups, making measurement and

generalisation difficult if not impossible. Sandle (2009) adds that there is also an assumed essentialism in these types of construction of public art, in which terms such as ‘place’, ‘public’, ‘identity’ and ‘space’ are not opened up to alternative interpretations or recognised as contested.

As well as public art falling within the ambit of performance measurement when pursued as part of government programmes, there is also a danger that its use to promote local economies or brand visitor destinations means that it is spectacular and media-friendly artworks that are funded, with small scale or long term work marginalised (Lippard, 1997). Lippard and other authors argue that nearly all art found in regeneration programmes are examples of ‘institutional’ or ‘top-down’ art (Lippard, 1997; Hall, 2004; Bromley, 2010). Hall (2004:111) writes: ‘they are artworks that endorse “official” views of the city, those of local authorities and commercial developers, for example, and celebrate and enhance the spaces produced by these interests’.

Public art may change how people feel but not change the material conditions of their lives (Merli, 2002). This is a criticism often made of regeneration projects, that they produce superficial change over which local people feel they have no control and receive little benefit from. However, Sandle also acknowledges that in terms of the instrumental role of public art there are not always just negative outcomes, such as gentrification, commodification, displacement and exclusion (Miles, M. 1998; 2000). He uses the work of Steven Miles (2005) to demonstrate this, who sees a positive effect of regeneration and cultural investment in the case of Newcastle-Gateshead quayside. Citing Miles (2005), Sandle (2009:83) writes that ‘... the iconic development of the Newcastle Gateshead Quays ...connects with a particular history and culture that is located within the experience and identity of its local inhabitants, and which both shapes and is embodied by the particular redevelopment’. For Sandle, public art has become more complex, it is no longer the simple ‘dressing’ of a public place but reflects the specificity of place and seeks to connect with the people living there. This brings us to consider the specific ‘place making’ role of public art.

Public art and place making

Public art is presented as part of ‘making’ places and giving them purpose and meaning (Massey and Rose, 2003). It is art taken out of the gallery and placed in public spaces. But public art as something that ‘adorns’ places has been subjected to criticism from studies of regeneration that question whether the purpose of the art is authentic when it serves the wider goals of regeneration policy, and from the perspective of new genre public art, where a case is made for public art as a type of practice with communities, often contesting processes of exclusion and marginalisation. However, throughout these debates there continues to be one central idea about public art being distinctive because it is site-specific and part of a place. Lippard (1997:274) argues that:

‘Site-specific art conforms to the topographic details of the ground on which the work rests and/or to the components of its immediate natural or built environment ... but can add a social dimension that refers to the human history and memory, land use and political agendas relevant to a specific place’.

Kwon (2002:1) comments that site specificity has been ‘embraced as an automatic signifier of “criticality” or “progressivity” by artists, architects, dealers, curators, critics, arts administrators and funding organizations’. She warns, though, that new genre public art has become a formula of putting together the artist and community groups around some social agenda that turns the art into social work and compromises its creativity and independence. Public art then becomes justified solely by its social agenda, privileging this discourse over creative discourses. Yet Kwon recognises that public art can have a radicalising purpose by recovering a sense of place for communities faced by the homogenisation of all places by capitalism. She contrasts this with what she argues was the superficial radicalisation of avant-garde art in the early twentieth century, which sought to challenge the commercialisation of both mass culture and high art, but was abstract, placeless and largely self-referential: the start of modernism.

Public art as a post-modern movement, however, similarly runs the risk according to Kwon of losing its radicalism by asserting a conservative or reactionary notion of place as about local identities and ties that may be inward and backward looking. People in the contemporary modern world are mobile and not tied to tradition, choosing their identities and lifestyles. Kwon argues that public art therefore needs to reflect democratic ideals,

especially those of the public realm, and holds up as exemplars the ‘nomadic’ art of artists such as Mark Dion and Andrea Fraser that challenge notions of identity, authority and social reality.

Kester (2004) takes Kwon to task for advocating art as a temporary intervention in social issues, which may then leave the community behind after an event or installation is removed. He argues for ‘dialogic art’ which works with communities to negotiate identities, although there is a paradox that at some stage the artist represents the community as a ‘group identity’ and this becomes fixed and potentially totalitarian as an ‘essential’ identity. Some might even argue that Antony Gormley’s *Angel of the North* borders on this, given that it is a lasting and large physical symbol that is now a North East ‘brand’.

Rendell (2008) considers a series of public artworks that explore the sites in which they are situated, noting how ‘they demonstrate that site-specific work is not necessarily a condition of “undifferentiated serialization” of “one place after another”, but that by considering the particularity of one place in relation to another, certain artwork can be understood to ‘... “unfix” places’ (2008:51). Public art can do the same for those who experience it, such as Anish Kapoor’s ‘Cloud Gate’ in Chicago’s Millennium Park, which reflects your image as you approach it, distorts it and then loses it in an infinitely reflective vortex. There is even more meaning to this: the sculpture literally reflects the bureaucratic and financial power surrounding it, dominating the individuals whose reflections disappear, but allowing the individual viewer to find themselves again and walk away.

Cloud Gate is both critical and affirmative. Such strategies of provocation and defamiliarisation, however, can be controversial. It has been argued (Mitchell, 1990) that public art can be a violent intervention. An often cited example is the *Tilted Arc* designed by Richard Serra for the Federal Plaza in New York, which Finkelpearl (2000) argues was a ‘dislocation’ of a public space, and therefore attracted a local response in the form of vandalism. Local opposition eventually led to its removal. Sharp (2007) also uses the example of the *Tilted Arc* to question whether public art that is based on notions of pure freedom and radical autonomy and then inserted into the public sphere, without any thought about the relationship it has with the community that surrounds it, is a good thing.

Hall (2004:115), taking a critical stance towards public art, argues that ‘the researcher examining questions of the meanings of public art, its roles and functions in the context of fashioning new cities, should shift the focus of their concerns from production and text towards audience’. However, who this audience is, and what constitutes the public in public art is a widely debated topic.

The public in public art

Fleming and Goldman (2005:56) note that ‘public art, unlike gallery art, must be made for the public - the public is, of necessity, its audience’. It is therefore argued that the public in public art is critical to its understanding (Lippard 1997; Phillips 2004). However, the term ‘public’ is a widely debated concept, especially in relation to public space. Lippard (1997:272) comments that the public in public art can be read two ways, passive or active, ‘as private art in public spaces or as art intended to be understood and enjoyed (or even made) by “the public”’. The former definition, art made public by being placed in a public space, is also discussed by Massey and Rose (2003). They develop a concept of public by situating it within their discussions of place and its relationship with public art. They write:

‘If place is open, practised, diverse, sometimes conflictual, in many kinds of ways, then so too must our understanding of “the public” be. This is an alternative view of public space. The “public”, here, is understood as an arena in which many diverse kinds of people can come together and engage. It is understood as an open arena, from which no-one should be excluded because they are poor, or black, or female, or foreign, for example. In a world structured simultaneously by increasing global flows of people and increasing efforts to control that flow, the “public” in this sense often functions as a goal towards which liberal societies should aim.’

‘Public’, whether it is attached to place, or art, does not simply happen. A place becomes public by the kinds of interactions that occur to create them (Massey and Rose, 2003). This view of the ‘public’ is also reflected by Deutsche (1996). She discusses the sociological process in which public art is produced and argues that public art becomes public in three ways: where it addresses a public; becoming significant in a public’s life; and through intervening in social change. Similarly, Phillips (2004) argues that the public dimension of public art is purely psychological, rather than a physical construct, and therefore the idea that artworks derive their public-ness from where they are located is not a valid concept. For the above authors, public art that does not question the social relations of the space in

which it is inserted and does not engender stronger social relations among its public needs to be critically examined (Hall, 2007).

However, Hall (2007) also argues that although the above arguments offer valuable theoretical insights, they reveal no empirical evidence about the public or the audience for public art. Considering the study 'Audientia: Public art and audiences in Birmingham', Hall discusses people's relationships with various pieces of public art situated around the City of Birmingham. The group conducting the Audientia research sought to explore public art in the context of the ordinary every day, examining the meanings attached to this realm (Hall, 2007). The research found that in most cases the intended meanings of the artworks had little impact on how the public engaged with them or the meanings and understandings they attached to them.

Selwood (1995) argued in the 1990s that public art needed more evaluation, taking into account its different constituencies, and that one of the problems with evaluation is that criteria against which the art should be evaluated are often not set out. As a result, many of the claims made for public art are unsubstantiated.

The situation has improved in recent years. The public art think tank Ixia has developed an evaluation matrix to 'capture a range of values that may need to be taken into account when considering the desirable or possible outcomes of engaging artists into the public realm' and a 'person project analysis', which is a 'tool for process delivery and aims to assess how a project's delivery is being put into practice (Ixia, 2013b:12). The matrix is to be filled out by various stakeholders during the project planning stage, as well as at the mid-point and the conclusion of a project. It accounts for the fact that each public artwork's outcomes will be different depending on the nature of the presenting organisation, site and audience - for example, artistic values, social values, environmental values and economic values. Ixia's materials do not go into detail about any concrete indicators of public art's impact and are likely to be most useful as a guide to goal setting.

Some recent evaluations have considered the lagged impact that public art can have. Examples include the 'Welcome to the North' public art evaluation by the Policy Research Institute (PRI) at Leeds Metropolitan University in association with CUDEM and RKL Consulting (2009) and Hartworth and Hartworth's (2006) 'Inspire' public art evaluation.

The former found evidence of impact on visitor numbers and the media profile of the North of England. Inspire was a public art project in Northumberland launched at the end of 2003. The evaluation used a participatory evaluation approach. Sixty people were involved (community members, councillors, stakeholders) in focus groups and semi-structured interviews. There were mainly positive outcomes, but they only interviewed people that were involved in the process and creation of the artworks. Like many others (Hall, 2004; Pollock and Sharp, 2012), they argue that time is needed to evaluate the worth or value of a piece of public art. Perceptions of public art often change over a period of years, as Pollock and Sharp (2012:3065) state:

‘Considering art only immediately after installation overemphasises its intended meaning as ‘public art’ and direct responses to it as that. Conversely, adopting a longer-term approach enhances understanding of the processes through which works are made and through which people are drawn into participation’.

Conclusion

Commentators agree that understanding the goals and purposes of public art and the arts in general is a legitimate debate and one where there are ambiguities and controversies. This is similarly the case for the discussions about ‘wellbeing’, which is also an ambiguous and controversial concept. This is illustrated by the debate about culture-led regeneration and its benefits for people living in the most deprived areas of cities: whether investment in art as part of this type of regeneration strategy is meant to produce material improvements in these areas is unclear, since it could be argued that it is about the non-material dimensions of wellbeing - cultural identity and aspects of an expressive life - in which case the evaluation question is the extent to which this is achieved across different publics. What seems important is to have clarity about what the outcomes are intended to be so that these are reflected in how, as well as why, the art is taken forward.

There have been many positive claims made for the impact of public art as a ‘public good’ with social and economic benefits. The empirical evidence for these claims is limited and there is very little research on the impact of public art - in terms of the materiality of the art form as end product - on people’s wellbeing. This makes it difficult to conclude that wellbeing is or is not served by public art. There is some evidence about public art contributing to regeneration, visitors and the enhancement and media profile of areas, but

this is not extensive and often not strong. Similarly, there is some evidence about public art encouraging engagement but this draws from the wider evidence about community arts programmes and is more about the process than the experience of art on display. There is very little discussion in the literature on the impact public art has after it has been installed, a key dimension of the present study, and a major gap compared to conventional art appreciation. There is similarly little evidence on how public art contributes to the dimension of wellbeing most relevant to it: emotional wellbeing and aspects such as contentment and self-concept (Schalock and Verdugo, 2002).

A lot of the literature focuses on what interests public art serves, so it is important to ask whose wellbeing is at issue? As Oakley, O'Brien and Lee (2013) comment, in general the benefits of participating in the arts are very skewed in terms of class and geography, so the distribution of benefits is an issue for policy-makers. In this respect the work of Pawson and Tilley (1997) on realistic evaluation is very useful in pointing attention at who the benefits of an intervention are meant to be for and whether they actually happen. Public art itself 'acts' and is not just a passive feature of the environment. It only acts, however, when people come into interaction with it in different contexts. Out of this interaction emerge outcomes, some probably fleeting and some possibly sustained.

These considerations will be returned to in chapter 5's methodological discussion, but first it is necessary to explore in more depth the policy aspects of public art and the policy context of the Angel in particular, which form the topics of the next two chapters.

Chapter 3: Public art as policy

Introduction

This chapter discusses the policy landscape for public art as it has developed in the UK and came to be reflected in the local context of Gateshead. A wide range of public and private sector agencies can be involved in delivering public art but this chapter will concentrate on local authorities, including how local planning authorities have encouraged property developers to include artworks in schemes requiring planning permission and in new regeneration initiatives. In this way, local authorities have used their regulatory, planning and regeneration powers to exchange planning permission for public as well as private benefit. The extent to which this has happened, however, has varied, with Gateshead notable for the extent to which it embraced public art and its degree of success with the Angel that surprised even some of its most committed stakeholders.

Public art in historical perspective

Historically, public art was nearly always viewed as statues and monuments with an ornamental value. In the Victorian era, art in public places was often seen as ennobling and usually took the form of monuments in tribute to national and local elites (Pollock and Paddison, 2010). This meant that in some cases it had a wider resonance with the public. For example, Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square, London, was largely paid for by public subscriptions. In this era, it was generally the case that if someone wanted to erect a statue, they would call a public meeting and open an account for subscriptions.

It was some time before public art started to acknowledge the contribution that ordinary people make to wider society. Cartiere et al. (2008:232) note that the first public artwork commemorating heroic acts dedicated to ordinary people was the Memorial to Heroic Sacrifice by George Frederick Watts. The representation of non-elites in public art reflected wider change taking place in society, with increasing democratisation culminating in universal suffrage for over 21 year olds in 1928. From the 1920s onwards the course of art in public places changed, becoming more about enhancing the public environment than commemorating political figures. This led to a celebration of design

across a whole range of sectors, from fashion to architecture, such as the public art of Henry Moore, with his first public commission, the West Wind, installed in St. James underground station in 1928 (Cartiere et al., 2008).

A need to invest in a wider diversity and broader range of types of art was recognised by the reforming post-Second World War Labour government. In 1946, the Arts Council of Great Britain was founded with John Maynard Keynes as its first Chair, who stated that its purpose was, ‘to increase the accessibility of the fine arts to the public throughout Our Realm’ (quoted in Cartiere et al., 2008:233).

The Arts Council went from strength to strength in the 1960s, establishing and funding arts organisations across the country, but by the 1970s it was being criticised as elitist in some quarters, and there was little impact in the public realm, especially with regard to urban development. Indeed, from the 1940s to the 1970s there was a utilitarian approach to planning and design from governments and local authorities, and by the 1970s there was in many parts of Britain a legacy of ‘soulless’ places with no heart or manifestation of a specific identity. The characterlessness of such places eventually led to a recognition that regeneration needed to involve a rebuilding of community and identity rather than just building mass housing. This was highlighted in 1977 when the Arts Study Group of the Labour Party produced a report entitled *The Arts and the People* (Labour Party, 1977). The report suggested that the arts could help develop a sense of community.

The early 1980s saw an expansion of art in public places across the UK (Moody, 1990). By 1984 it was estimated that there were approximately 550 public artworks across the country (Selwood, 1995). Between 1984 and 1988, 124 local authorities had commissioned approximately 333 pieces of public art (Hall and Robertson, 2001). By the late 1980s both Labour and Conservative governments subscribed to the idea that the arts could be a major contribution economically and could be ideologically and administratively grounded in ‘social realities’ (Selwood, 1995:26). This view was given considerable weight by John Myerscough’s research into *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* (1988), where he presented the arts as a major contributor to urban renewal, although the work was challenged for being methodologically flawed (Belfiore, 2002; Hansen, 1995; Selwood, 1995). These were the kind of arguments that led to the idea that arts and culture in

general, and public art specifically, could contribute to the vitality of cities through regeneration schemes.

As well as there being a surge in public artworks, various public art agencies and forums sprang up. In 1988 the Action for Cities initiative in England was launched to tackle inner city decay. It ambitiously identified the arts as addressing ‘... problems of unemployment and alienation in the country’s inner cities, as well as contributing to the creation of a classless and tolerant society’ (Department of National Heritage, 1993, cited in Policy Studies Institute, 1994:38). This policy built on an existing growing interest among local authorities in public art. In 1988 the Arts Council launched its ‘Percent for Art’ campaign, attempting to link public art more directly to public sector intervention. It has been argued that the Percent for Art initiative was the catalyst for many local authorities to adopt public art policies (Pollock and Paddison, 2010). Belfiore (2002:96) notes that it was around this time that local authorities’ involvement in arts funding increased, commenting that ‘local authorities’ spending on the arts exceeded that of central government for the first time in 1988-1989, and has done so ever since’.

The idea of culture and the arts as drivers for regenerating cities gained further prominence in 1989 with the Arts Council producing its report *An Urban Renaissance: The Role of Arts in Urban Regeneration* and the British and American Arts Association publishing its *Arts and the changing city: an agenda for urban regeneration* in the same year. Both reports called for new thinking on the role of the arts in urban and social planning. The number of local authorities commissioning public art continued to rise during the early 1990s. By 1994, 21 per cent employed a dedicated public arts officer (Hall and Robertson, 2001).

Percent for Art: public art becomes mainstreamed

The Percent for Art initiative was based on the idea that a percentage of the cost of new development (usually ranging from 0.5 to 2 per cent) should be devoted to the provision of public art. Today, most western countries have some kind of Percent for Art policy on either a mandatory or voluntary basis. The idea began in France in 1936, although legislation enacting the concept was not passed until 1951. Hamilton et al. (201:288) comment that, ‘since the second world war, countries across Europe have recognised the

value of public art through the “Percent for Art” scheme, with Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden allocating 1 per cent on all public projects (subject to regional variations) and Germany and Italy allocating 2 per cent’ (Hamilton et al., 2001). It is a similar case for the USA, where the first Percent for Art initiative can be traced back to the 1930s, and in 2001 Hamilton et al. noted that over eighty city or state authorities had a mandatory Percent for Art initiative and 20 had a voluntary one (ranging from 0.2 to 2 per cent).

In the UK, the adoption of Percent for Art was hesitant (Hamilton et al., 2001). As noted above, it was not until 1988 that the Arts Council England launched its Percent for Art initiative. It was aimed at local authorities to promote awareness of public art and to recommend and encourage their adoption of a Percent for Art policy on a voluntary basis (Roberts and Marsh, 1995). The Arts Council set up a Percent for Art principle steering group with other regional arts associations, and in 1990 it made ten further recommendations for the initiative, one of which though was legal advice that the Percent for Art policy could not be made mandatory under English planning law (Roberts and Marsh, 1995). However, it had a direct implication for Section 106 planning gain agreements. These were established in 1990 and acted as the main instrument for placing public obligations on developers in exchange for planning permission, often requiring them to carry out tasks which would provide community benefits, such as public art provision in new developments (Cartiere et al, 2008). This became a way of financing public art (Public Art Online, 2008a). The Arts Council also made a number of positive recommendations, such as urging public bodies to include Percent for Art in their own development schemes, asking local authorities to adopt policies to encourage public art in their development plans, and a suggestion that incentive schemes be provided to prompt developers to include public art.

This approach by the Arts Council seemed to be successful, and by the mid-1990s 48 per cent of all local authorities had adopted the policy (Policy Studies Institute, 1994). Roberts and Marsh (1995) in their study of public art, planning and policies found that an overwhelming majority of local authorities in England and Wales were aware of the Percent for Art initiative and that 70 per cent had adopted policies that promoted public art, most of which were contained in their development plans. However, they note that two-thirds of local authorities had chosen not to adopt the exact wording of the policy but had

decided to interpret it more flexibly, using phrases such as ‘encourage public art’ rather than ‘percent for art’ (Roberts and Marsh, 1995:196). In addition, they found that the public provision of public art was far higher than private provision (a 3:1 ratio).

Direct funding for public art was boosted in 1993 when the National Lottery was established, producing a major arts funding stream. However, Hamilton et al. (2001) note that the principal obstacles to public art remained funding and motivation. Local authorities experiencing financial pressures to deliver their statutory responsibilities for health, education and social services tended to relegate discretionary spending on the arts to a lower priority. They comment, ‘in a climate that does not stress the relationship between wealth creation and the quality of property development, most local authorities are reluctant to impose a Percent for Art on private developers’ (Hamilton et al., 2001:289).

This began to change towards the end of the 1990s when Labour won the 1997 general election. Tackling social inclusion was strongly promoted by the new government. The idea that the arts could have a positive contribution to social inclusion was enthusiastically endorsed by the government via the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) (Belfiore, 2002). Belfiore (2002) argues that the DCMS’ formal commitment to social inclusion was reflected in the funding agreement with the Arts Council (covering the period 2000-2002). The DCMS declared that in order to fulfil its aims of making high quality arts available ‘to the many and not just the few’ it would work to ‘promote the role of the Department’s sectors in urban and rural regeneration, in pursuing sustainability and in combating social exclusion’ (quoted in Belfiore, 2002:93). Similarly, one of its ‘ten goals for the arts’ was ‘to develop and enhance the contribution the arts make to combating social exclusion and promoting regeneration’ (quoted in Belfiore, 2002:93).

Vickery (2012) argues that ‘culture-led regeneration’ was a project based phenomenon. Through the Millennium Commission, whereby the Lottery funded projects celebrating the new millennium in 2000, many projects were commissioned over the period 1998 to 2000 to create the most expansive framework yet for the development of public art. By 2004, culture was promoted as ‘at the heart of regeneration’ (Department of Culture, Media and Sport publication, 2004), and this was met by a radically expanded public art sector (Vickery, 2012).

By 2006, most major cities in Britain possessed a public art strategy. This has not been without criticism, however, especially regarding the instrumental use of cultural policy where ‘public spending on the arts is justified in terms of an “investment”, which will bring about positive social change’ (Belfiore, 2002:93-4). Belfiore also points to a lack of clear evidence about the effectiveness of the arts in contributing to social cohesion and neighbourhood regeneration. Much in policy documents and strategies took the form of assertion, with little evaluation of any public benefit achieved.

The development of policy for public art

It is over thirty years since the Arts Council launched its Percent for Art campaign, which was the catalyst for many local authorities to adopt some kind of public art policy or strategy (Pollock and Paddison, 2010). This took the form, for many local authorities, of including public art provision to a much greater extent in planning documents, centring on the ideas of revitalisation and regeneration to bolster local areas (Pollock and Paddison, 2010). Vickery (2012:6) comments that, ‘the principle frame for arts and cultural investment was “the city”: cultural policy became a coherent force within city planning’.

Thus, planning policy came to play a pivotal role in public art in England (Ixia, 2011). However, while England, Scotland and Wales all have had national policies for planning and development it is rare that public art is actually mentioned in these documents, although there is usually an emphasis on achieving design quality in the built environment (Public Art Online, 2008b). Instead, public art policies and strategies are usually set out at the more local level in various policy documents (by Unitary Authorities and County, Borough and District Councils). Within planning, appropriate policy on public art can be included in a council’s adopted Local or Unitary Development Plan and Local Development Frameworks, now known as Local Plans. The adoption of Local Plans is being strongly encouraged by the Conservative-led coalition government (in power at the time of writing) as part of a new planning system aimed at streamlining the formulation of planning policies through the National Planning Policy Framework, new guidance and giving primacy to the Local Plan in the local determination of planning applications. The Local Plan is based on the provisions of the 2004 Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act and involves the production of a portfolio of focused policy documents ‘intended to

produce better policies for development that are proactive, and responsive to local needs and circumstance’ (Public Art Online, 2008b).

Local Plans should contain all the policies, strategies and plans that local authorities use to promote and assess development projects (Ixia, 2011). These include Infrastructure Delivery Plans that describe the community infrastructure projects that are needed to support social, economic and environmental improvements (Ixia, 2011). Public art policies can also be further developed in a Community Plan and in Supplementary Planning Guidance such as planning briefs for individual sites (Public Art Online, 2009). However, with regard to Supplementary Planning Documents, Pollock and Paddison (2010:343) note that their ‘formulation provides the enabling framework through which art should be, not necessarily will be, produced’. In general Public Art Online (2008b) argues that it should be seen as good practice to include public art within planning documents, noting: ‘it is important to have a public art strategy, which places public art within the planning and development process and which is complementary to good urban and building design and which clearly identifies how artists can engage with the environment’.

However, Pollock and Paddison (2010:338) note from their study on the inclusion of public art in planning policies that, ‘although the perception might be that the adoption of public art has become part of a new orthodoxy, its spread has been uneven’. They point out that how local authorities have sought to include public art within planning practice ‘further emphasises this unevenness’ (Pollock and Paddison, 2010:338). They argue that the perception that public art has become commonplace is more apparent than real and observe, ‘its endorsement can vary from little more than lip-service support in planning documents and the piecemeal support of it within specific regeneration projects, to more substantive recognition of its perceived significance supported by a strategic vision of its potential and how this might be achieved’ (Pollock and Paddison, 2010:338-339). In other words, public art’s endorsement by local authorities varied from the tokenistic to the committed. Pollock and Paddison (2010) describe two different levels of policy adoption which they describe as ‘supportive’ - local authorities that have encouraged the commissioning and installation of public art on an ad hoc basis - and the ‘committed’ - local authorities that have adopted a purposeful and strategic approach.

The contemporary scene and emergence of ‘cultural wellbeing’

When reporting the results from their 2012 public art survey, Ixia comment that ‘funding for public art via the planning system and capital projects undertaken by local authorities fell from £33 million during 2011 to £22 million during 2012’ (2013a:5). The fall in investment in public art is due to an overall fall in development and construction projects during this time with the wider economic downturn. However, they continue to note that the main driver for spending on public art is private sector money, although as part of public sector policy. They comment that 90 per cent of the funding for public art was linked to the policies of local authorities and the regeneration, health and education sectors. Seventy-one per cent of local authorities that took part in the survey had a public art policy and/or a public art strategy. Of these, 43 per cent had a Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) for public art. They also note that a third of local authorities with public art policies and/or strategies reported that they were updating their public art documents to conform to the new National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) introduced in March 2012. However, only 10 per cent of the officers within local authorities with public art policies and/or strategies said that they were planning to use the new Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL) to commission and fund public art.

As mentioned earlier, there has been none or very little attention paid to public art in national planning documents. However, in December 2011, the House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee commented that there was a ‘compelling case’ for including ‘a cultural dimension as part of the social pillar of the definition of sustainable development’ under ‘cultural wellbeing’ within the emerging National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) (Patten, 2012). The inclusion of the term ‘cultural wellbeing’ in the NPPF document was a direct result of organisations such as Ixia (a national advisory board on public art) lobbying the government, and many have argued that this is an invitation to frame public art in terms of cultural wellbeing (Patten, 2013). Dove (2012) argues that it provides a clear statement from government about how public art should be treated in local planning policy (Dove, 2012).

The term ‘cultural wellbeing’ is embedded in the NPPF in various ways. To begin with, it is featured in the ‘social role’ of the planning system, with a statement that the planning system needs to support ‘strong, vibrant and healthy communities, by providing the supply

of housing required to meet the needs of present and future generations; and by creating a high quality built environment, with accessible local services that reflect the community's needs and support its health, social and cultural well-being' (DCLG, 2012:2). It is then mentioned again as part of the twelve core planning principles that underpin plan-making and decision-making. Here, the NPPF states that planning should 'take account of and support local strategies to improve health, social and cultural well-being for all, and deliver sufficient community and cultural facilities and services to meet local needs' (DCLG, 2012:6). It is mentioned at various other places throughout the document. There is also specific attention paid to the preparation of Local Plans (Dove, 2012), with the NPPF stating that local authorities are required to set out strategic priorities for the areas covered by their local plan, including the provision of 'cultural infrastructure'. Dove (2012:5) notes that here 'in both the development control process and also in forward plan making, the need to address the cultural requirements of the community is now firmly embedded in national planning policy and the NPPF'. There is also an emphasis on promoting healthy communities, and the NPPF states that when local authorities are delivering social, recreational and cultural facilities and services they are required to plan positively for a community's need including those related to 'cultural buildings' (DCLG, 2012:17).

However, although the inclusion of 'cultural wellbeing' in the NPPF might be seen as a positive step for public art policy, argued by some as a 'landmark' in relation to the development of the planning system, there is ambiguity around the definition of the term 'cultural wellbeing' as well as 'cultural infrastructure' and 'cultural buildings' (Dove, 2012). None of these terms are defined in the NPPF. Therefore, how they should be approached and interpreted has come into question. Dove (2012:6) notes that previously this would have been a matter for the local planning authority but a recent decision in the Supreme Court has clarified that 'matters concerning the meaning of planning policy are in reality questions of law'. Dove goes on to note that although this decision relates specifically to local policy there is no reason why it would not be used for national policy as well. Therefore, quoting the Supreme Court judgment, Dove argues that the definitions of what constitutes 'cultural well-being', 'cultural buildings' and 'cultural infrastructure' will be a question of law, determined case by case if challenged, and determined 'objectively in accordance with the language used, read as always in its proper context' (Reed quoted in Dove 2012:6).

Whilst it might be obvious what counts as a cultural building - for example, art galleries, museums and theatres - cultural wellbeing is more difficult to define. Unlike some other cultural commentators, Dove (2012:7) argues that the lack of definition around what constitutes 'cultural wellbeing' is helpful: 'it means that there is scope for flexibility in the application of the terms and in particular scope for the term to have local flavour', noting of course that legal challenge remains a possibility. In his concluding remarks, Dove (2012:17) notes that:

'New references to cultural well-being in the Framework provide for the first time an explicit national planning policy context for the provision of public art in the forward planning and development control process ... The breadth and local dimension of cultural well-being should find expression in the forward planning process through the development of long-term cultural strategies ...'.

However, public art is not only just part of commercial or flagship urban developments, it has also featured prominently in community projects, on public transport, and in small local schemes (Miles, 1989). In 2009, the Department for Communities and Local Government published *The Credit Crunch and Regeneration: Impact and Implications* (Parkinson et al., 2009). The report comments that the economic crisis is impacting on the financial model used in regeneration schemes and that this is likely to get worse before it gets better. Therefore, on the whole there are going to be less regeneration schemes, meaning fewer opportunities for public art (Ixia, 2013c). Nevertheless, Ixia argues that it is key regeneration agencies that will become the drivers for the public art sector as the Government encourages them to stimulate the economy by releasing the funding and the land they hold. On their website they comment that 'the two immediate challenges which therefore remain for the sector are: demonstrating that public art can deliver outcomes that are relevant, and of value to, a wide range of stakeholders; and that the necessary plans and policies are in place to ensure that public art is clearly embedded in the processes that determine regeneration initiatives' (Ixia, 2013c).

Colquhoun (2009) is not hopeful and argues that on a broad scale the commissioning and development of public art, linked as it has been to new commercial and residential development, will be affected as new developments slow down or come to a stop completely. She comments that it is unlikely that projects such as the Bristol Broadmead public art programme will happen again in the near future (a public art initiative that was part of a commercial development complex where the commissioning budget alone was £2

million). She notes that it is not only commercial and private residential developments that will and have been affected but also publicly funded new developments that will be hit as local authorities' capital funding decreases.

Overall, these new planning documents along with the most recent policy guidance on design points to the need for new construction to maintain and enhance the quality of the built environment including public space. Yet little is said about how public art will be funded or the priority that should be given to it within the Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL). The Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL) is a new planning charge, which was introduced by the Planning Act 2008. It came into force in April 2010 and it allows for local authorities in England and Wales to raise funds from developers undertaking new building projects in their area (RTPI, 2013). The funds can be used to support community infrastructure projects (Ixia, 2011). Given the pressures on the budgets of many local authorities it will be interesting to see if the need for infrastructure improvements in terms of roads and basic services crowds out the provision of public art. However, Elson (2012:3) argues that the Planning Act (2008) introduced a wide definition of infrastructure for the purposes of the CIL, 'so that contributions towards a very broad range of facilities can potentially be secured. Cultural facilities are seen as within the definition of relevant infrastructure'.

Ixia (2011:3) comments that 'public art projects can be funded by CIL if they are an integral part of community infrastructure projects, for example, transport schemes, parks, schools, health centres, cultural facilities etc.' However, in order for this to be achieved a local authority needs a public art policy and strategy within the Core Strategy of its Local Development Framework (now Local Plan) along with evidence bases. Ixia (2011:3) note that:

'For all public art policies and strategies within approved Core Strategies the evidence-bases have included built environment and cultural studies which identify the social, economic and environmental impact of public art projects; and existing public art policies, strategies and supplementary planning guidance and documents and the public art projects that these have generated'.

With the introduction of CIL, Section 106 agreements have been scaled back and can now only be used for the mitigation of on-site impacts, for example a new library, theatre or redevelopment of a shopping centre (Elson, 2012:4). Although the inclusion of public art

provision is generally regarded as being a successful way to deliver public art, Pollock and Paddison (2010:349) note that:

‘Being embedded within a department like planning has advantages of being able to liaise with related agencies and it creates a culture of working whereby public art is seen as a natural part of the planning process. Underlying this, however, is a sense that the material, concrete nature of planning outweighs the social agenda on which many public art policies are founded’.

Public art professionalises

As noted above, there was a rise of public art agencies and consultants in the late 1980s, which occurred with the ‘professionalisation’ of public art in general (Miles, 2009). Lovell (1998:11) argues that in the 1980s there was a clear need for public art agencies ‘to meet the demand for independent professional management of public art’. This, she argues, was engendered largely as a result of the Arts Council 1976 Art in Public Places scheme. Public art agencies’ main purpose was to work on the curation and delivery of public art projects for a range of public and private sector clients. Miles (2009:2) notes that ‘the expansion and professionalisation of public art followed this agenda: when cities needed new identities and images, they were in part to be provided by new art projects and commissions which were at least highly visible. This was informed by the move, too, begun in the Thatcher years, from arts administration implying public benefit to arts management on a business model. It was on this model that public art agencies such as the Public Art Development Trust (PADT) were set up by the Arts Council.

Miles (2009) observes that agencies that started to work competitively on a business model did improve the quality of public art commissions. He argues that this was largely due to the reliability of the commissioning process, ‘so that clients could be more confident in dealing with artists’ (Miles, 2009:3). He also notes that they were able to increase the level of commissioning budgets by drawing on a wide range of public and private sector resources. Artists of international recognition were also drawn into the process. At this time there was also a rise in independent, freelance consultants. Miles (2009:3) notes that this was due to the establishment of the Lottery as an arts funding source (far larger than any that had existed before) with more arts consultants beginning to emerge ‘building up a client base whose lottery bids they wrote’.

Although PADT had been set up by the Arts Council to pursue regional commissions, in the 1990s PADT and other agencies such as the Public Arts Commissions Agency (PACA) began to compete against each other, including for international projects (Miles, 2009). PACA was set up in Birmingham in 1987 (although it also had offices in London) and organised public art projects across the UK as well as some international projects. It also drafted public art strategies for local authorities and companies and promoted public art through seminars, events and publications. There were exceptions to these rivalries, such as the Arts Agency in Sunderland (now Helix Arts in Newcastle), which retained a regional base (Miles, 2009). However, PACA closed in 1999 followed by PADT in 2003. Miles (2009) notes that the reasons for these agencies closing seemed to be a direct result of them moving towards a more corporate way of operating which detached and separated them from their public sector roots. Local authorities' interest in public art was rising and in-house public arts officers were being appointed, therefore reducing the need to employ agencies to advise on public art projects.

Today, though, many public art agencies still exist such as Artpoints, Ixia (formally Public Art Forum), Art in Partnership, Modus Operandi, RKL consultancy agency based at Leeds Metropolitan University, Free Form Arts Trust, Ginkgo Projects and Artangel, to name a few. But how these agencies operate can be viewed differently to that of PACA and PADT. For example, the Artangel Trust in London takes 'an avant-gardist approach' (Miles, 2008:67). It has independent funding and is able to facilitate experimental or politically charged projects (in gallery and non-gallery sites) that can be controversial, such as Les Levine's billboards on religion and conflict in Northern Ireland. There are also various specialist public art agencies and consultants who are able to advise on and manage all aspects of the commissioning and delivery of public art. On the other hand, RKL consulting advises on the evaluation of public art projects. Interestingly, when I interviewed Antony Gormley, he commented that 'the role of public agencies in art is problematic but necessary. The Public Art Development Agency was historically critical in opening debate and making new possibilities happen but it is private agencies like Artangel that have been most successful in providing opportunities for public engagements'. It will be interesting to see if this continues to be the case in the economic downturn.

As local authorities' interest in public art provision increased, the need for public art officers who possessed knowledge about public art and its delivery increased. Pollock and

Paddison (2010:348) note that out of the local authorities that responded to their survey on public art provision, thirty had a public arts officer who, ‘more often than not, was on a fixed-term, part-time contract or in a grant-funded post that was of limited tenure’. They continue to note that embedding public art policy is difficult without a skilled, dedicated public art officer, something they deem as difficult to come by due to how demanding and multifaceted the job is (Pollock and Paddison, 2010). They argue that ‘as the case for public art rests on advocacy rather than evidence, arts officers have to work to embed public art within council practice’ (Pollock and Paddison, 2010:348). However, as noted above, precisely where public art is located within a local authority’s policy portfolio varies, with development plans and frameworks resting with planning and the production of public art strategies and the responsibility for the delivery of projects resting with arts/leisure departments (Pollock and Paddison, 2010).

Introducing Gateshead’s public art

On Pollock and Paddison’s (2010) scale of local authorities that are either ‘supportive’ in their approach to public art or ‘committed’, Gateshead is at the committed end of the scale and has what is now a long-standing reputation for its investment in public art. Although the Council does not have an exclusive public art strategy in its own right, the provision of public art weaves through their planning and cultural strategies. They also have a dedicated public art officer.

In 1980, Northern Arts along with Tyne and Wear County Council (abolished in 1986) commissioned large mosaics by Keith Grant for the Gateshead Metro Station. Leading on from this, Gateshead Council commissioned its first sculpture: *Bottle Bank* by Richard Harris, a large work in stone and steel intended to complement the greening of the banks of the River Tyne (Shaw, 1990). It was at this time that Patrick Conway (Chief Librarian at Gateshead Council) suggested that if the Council was going to continue commissioning public artworks then it should establish a mechanism for selecting artists and overseeing the projects (Shaw, 1990).

This led to Gateshead’s Art in Public Places panel being set up. This comprised the Chair of the Arts and Libraries Committee, Chairs of Planning and of Economic Development, a Member from the opposition group on the Council and the Visual Arts officer from

Northern Arts. The intention of the panel was to create a ‘forum for discussion, and a selection procedure that allows for as wide a debate as possible, where members of the council can come to a well reasoned response to the needs and opportunities that arise’ (quoted in Shaw, 1990:6). The main aim of the panel was to ensure that works of public art were accepted and supported by the public. In 1986, Gateshead’s formal Public Art Programme was launched (Gateshead Council, 2006) and a further five pieces of public art were commissioned: *Sports Day* by Mike Winstone; a relief sculpture in stoneware ceramic blocks by Neil Talbot; *Windy Nook* by Richard Cole; a steam locomotive in lacquered plywood by Andy Frost; and *Window* by Colin Rose. All of these pieces were in some way connected to environmental improvement schemes.

By 1987 Gateshead knew that it had won its bid for the National Garden Festival, which took place in 1990. The Garden Festivals happened in many towns and cities across the United Kingdom from 1984 to 1992 and were funded by the Department of Environment (under the then Conservative government). Selwood (1995:27) commented that the festivals were ‘characterised by the reclamation of derelict land – the removal and camouflaging of waste land and industrial debris – to secure long-term redevelopment, provide a focus for regional promotion and celebrate urban renewal’. In Gateshead, a large area of derelict land (200 acres) that had previously been the site of a coal depot, gasworks and coking plant was reclaimed with various attractions, such as public art displays, sporting events, music, theatre and a road train (Theokas, 2004). The festival lasted for 157 days and afterwards the majority of the site was allocated for housing. For Gateshead, the success of the garden festival was a pivotal point in the development of their public art programme. This was reflected extensively in my interviews conducted with the stakeholders involved in the creation and delivery of the Angel of the North. For example, Anna Pepperall, public arts officer, commented:

‘The Garden Festival brought with it not just restoration of previously used land or remediation but art, and public art, i.e. sculpture. I think people then began to see sculpture much more in a context. Up until that point there had been a lot of press antagonism about art and why the Council was being involved with it. They did see us as spending money on art, which we weren’t doing. We were often in receipt of grants or sponsorship. But, the Garden Festival, made sculpture acceptable to some degree’.

Today, Gateshead has installed over eighty pieces of public art by leading artists such as Antony Gormley, Andy Goldsworthy and Lulu Quinn. Purba (2010:28) comments that Gateshead's enthusiasm for public art makes it, 'one of the world's most innovative boroughs in not only recognising the importance of public art, but investing in it wholeheartedly'.

The reflection of public art in Gateshead Council policy documents

Gateshead Council does not have an exclusive public art strategy. Instead, public art provision is woven through their redevelopment, planning, regeneration and cultural policy documents. For the Council, public art is considered as part of many functions and services. From education and recreation to regeneration and tourism, it is part of much that they do, with a commitment 'to demonstrate that we are still at the forefront of public art' (Gateshead Council, 2003:5). There are examples of public art being integrated at every scale, even including features such as artist designed railings. The Council states that, 'Public Art has become an integral part of the development and regeneration of Gateshead, encouraging investment and creating a strong identity' (Gateshead Council, 2012a:73). However, they see public art as not only aesthetically enhancing an area undergoing redevelopment, but also in terms of the economic benefits it brings to the area and the personal benefits for local people, with improving the quality of space seen as a route to improving quality of life. This reflects Rapley's (2003:212) comment that 'quality of life' can be a paradigm for delivering public services that reaches beyond a basic needs or welfarist framework for local government (that uses indicators such as the index of multiple deprivation to target projects and services) to one concerning *liveability for all*:

'(T)he concept of quality of life ... may offer not so much a formalised, psychometric, conceptual framework for understanding quality of life as a human universal. Rather quality of life may offer us a sensitizing concept for thinking through the purpose and methods of delivery of human services, or ways to enhance the "liveability" of our particular communities in a democratic, inclusive and emancipatory way.'

Examining Gateshead Council's policy and strategy documents to see where public art emerged reveals some interesting insights into how the Council frames public art. For the Council, 'public space is a key component in the town's revival and its aspiration to become a successful, distinctive and vibrant town' (Gateshead Council, 2009:4). Council

documents present a narrative that it has promoted public art for a long time and that public art has become part of the town's civic identity. This then establishes Gateshead as a special place, expressing a civic identity through public art. As a result, an important element in many of the pieces of public art they commission is the town's history. They state about the town's public art in general that: 'each artwork has been individually designed for its specific site, and most incorporate references to the local history and the culture of Gateshead' (Gateshead Council, 2006a:3). However, they are cautious about the style that heritage artwork should take, commenting in one case:

'The retention and restoration of historic areas within Gateshead Quays (the Coal Drops, Gateshead Visitor Centre – formerly St. Mary's Church) offers the opportunity to commission heritage art features or the use of text based work, artist executed lighting schemes or temporary art interventions. The location implies that the work may be traditional, but great care must be taken to avoid pastiche or clichéd decorative additions such as pseudo-Victoriana. In fact, it may be that an understated, contemporary artwork would enhance and add intrigue to the environment without devaluing or undermining the integrity of the site' (Gateshead Council, 2003:6).

A prime example of this is The Angel of North, which was placed on a former colliery pithead baths and is a symbolic reflection of the industrial heritage of Gateshead through the material used - steel - which resonates with engineering, shipbuilding and mining that are a part of Gateshead's past.

As well as public art representing the history and heritage of the site in which it is situated, it has also been pursued in Gateshead as a type of 'place making', giving a particular identity to the town as one where the art objects are a focus for things to happen in particular places. Public art is deployed in a way that emphasises the uniqueness of the community. It becomes a piece of distinctive local iconography or a physical symbol which encapsulates community feelings towards a place that initially may have been thought of as 'ordinary' (Duxbury, 2004:3). A reading of Gateshead Council's documents clearly suggests that the Council would be careful not to introduce artworks that would discourage people or alienate them, since the aim is to engage the public and support the use of public space.

Location is also a key aspect in the commissioning, development and creation of Gateshead's public art, and has a strong inclusion angle. In Council documents, it is

noticeable that public art is not to be enclosed or shut away from ordinary life, but that it should be easily accessible, at all times (for example, Gateshead Council, 2007:13).

The town has also been promoted as a venue that not only attracts tourists but which attracts artists to express their creativity, enabling a more 'sophisticated sense of space and place' (Balfe and Wyszomirski 1986:19). The aim is that the town is a destination in which place and space are valued through artworks that encapsulate the local history, extol creativity and bring people together.

There are various references in the Council's policy documents to breaking down barriers between people and places through the use of public art. The purpose appears to be to use public art as a way of encouraging interaction and social mixing, contrasting with traditional art in gallery settings that may be experienced as exclusionary for people who do not see galleries as for them. Gateshead Council is seeking to create a town where people are mobile, barriers are broken down, and behaviours are sustainable. The Council also pays a lot of attention to temporary installations creating community involvement and a sense of 'venue':

'Temporary installations and performances enable artists to engage directly with the community and these events encourage and enhance the recreational function of new spaces. Residencies and placements also provide direct links, offering members of the community opportunities to respond to change in a creative, proactive and positive way' (Gateshead Council, 2003:5).

The Council's public art policies recognise that places bring people together and are a way of engaging with its public. Thus, public art is part of a wider cultural strategy that Griffiths (1995:253) describes as 'a new mode of urban intervention'. This involves the use of cultural strategy to support the growth of cultural industries, promote the city for business and visitors, and make cities distinctive. Griffiths (1995:254) comments that:

'A key feature of this reassessment has been a renewed appreciation of the way cities, and the intense "public life" which their spaces foster, are uniquely capable of stimulating communication, creativity and similar culture related values'.

Whether this is experienced by local residents as estrangement or involvement depends on local political choices about how public art is linked into actions to improve local quality of life. Duxbury (2004:3) argues that an important way to use public art is to deploy it in a

way that emphasises the uniqueness of the community. Hall and Robertson (2001:12) note that ‘public art is cited with the ability to replace a quality that has vanished from a place or has been ignored’.

Public art is often used specifically to act as an environmental improver, to add to the quality of physical space, making this better for individuals to experience. It is often placed on derelict or unused land to give it a purpose or a function. When referring to public art as about environmental improvement, the Council notes that, ‘public art may manifest in the creation of a “thing”, but at its core is the establishment of principles that enable and utilise the arts to create an improved environment, be it through workshops with local people or via the “grand statement”’ (Gateshead Council, 2008a:35). Improving the environment is therefore seen as a mixture of two things: the statement the artwork makes itself by being present in the environment, and the workshops that surround the artwork that educate local people on the principles the artwork expresses.

It is often claimed that public art can ‘humanise’ areas by improving the space of public culture and social interaction, increase sense of security and reduce fear of public space (Hall and Smith, 2005). Gateshead Council has also used public art to discourage vandalism and anti-social behaviour. In their Riverside Strategy they state: ‘There is anecdotal evidence that the presence of qualitative art “objects” encourages a sense of ownership and discourages vandalism/graffiti’ (Gateshead Council, 2007:17). Similarly, it is stated elsewhere that public art ‘reflects and creates a valued environment’ (Gateshead Council, 2008a:35).

Alongside the pieces of public art in Gateshead that incorporate local communities’ histories, the Council has invited the public to participate in events surrounding the artworks, such as an annual sculpture day. There were also over thirty schools involved in educational programmes connected with the Angel of the North. The Council views education as important to ensure that visitors and local people can learn about and be inspired by the artworks. The artworks are not meant to be objects that intrude on people’s lives but which include the individual in the creative process. This is most clearly seen with the Lead Artist Programme: ‘a programme of artists’ residencies and educational initiatives, linking professional artists with the community’ (Gateshead Council, 2008a:34). Having an education scheme surrounding a piece of artwork is also key to

introducing local people to art; in one document, for example, it is stated that ‘Workshops by Kate Maestri at the Sage Gateshead, Christine Constant at the Metrocentre, Lulu Quinn throughout Gateshead, and the annual Family Sculpture Day in Saltwell Park have all introduced local people to art’ (Gateshead Council, 2008:34). Education programmes about public art have been a continuous process; one document describes the comprehensive approach:

‘It is proposed in the first instance to produce a leaflet about new sculptures and activate new interest in past historical works of art. This would also be developed by organising walks, debates, new animations around older works of art and a specific education programme aimed at schools. There would be an opportunity to involve the Lead Artist as well as other artists to engage with us and reanimate overlooked public spaces’ (Gateshead Council, 2003:2).

There are also many information packs available about public art on Gateshead Council’s website. One of these is an ‘Art Map’ which guides the individual to where to find the town’s public art. It includes images and information educating the novice about the artworks as well as a map which locates the works, creating routes throughout the town based on visiting the pieces, and enabling a ‘sense of progression between spaces; a sense of flow and continuity’ (Gateshead Council, 2003:6). The artworks therefore transform into ‘focal points’ or ‘punctuation features creating an urban sculpture trail, emphasising (processional) routes and gateways, and making connections to other locations’ (Gateshead Council, 2003:6). Public Art for Gateshead Council appears in its documents as a way of opening up the town and encouraging mobility rather than a feeling of segregated zones.

As discussed previously, public art is often presented as a key factor in regenerating an area. This is certainly the case for Gateshead, with one document stating: ‘the role of art is increasingly recognised nationally and internationally in major regeneration projects and it has specifically contributed to the winning of major new buildings on the Gateshead Quays’ (Gateshead Council, undated:3). Focusing more on the role of regeneration and public art in Gateshead, the Council argues that, ‘public art has become an integral part of the development and regeneration of Gateshead, encouraging investment and creating a strong identity and a sense of pride throughout the region’ (Gateshead Council, 2006a:3).

There are many different aspects of regeneration; sometimes it is dominated by economic or commercial considerations, but in these documents physical regeneration is about

changing an area with the aim of making it more inclusive. Public art is presented as integral to this. The regeneration of Gateshead does not only focus on improving the quality of life in specific places with new housing and the creation of amenities such as the Baltic Art Gallery and the Sage concert halls, but also pays close attention to the regeneration of spaces between developments and how public art can be used to bring coherence across places:

‘The ongoing regeneration of Gateshead Quays and the proposed redevelopment of Gateshead Town Centre have enabled public art to be integrated into new buildings and the surrounding environment. This has created an emphasis on social spaces between developments whilst also providing links between two major cultural facilities on Gateshead Quays; BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art and The Sage Gateshead a world class venue for worldwide music’ (Gateshead Council, 2012a:73).

Gateshead Council’s documents present regeneration as a means to an end: improving the quality of life is a recurring theme and it often refers to the quality of space and what can happen in those spaces. Gateshead’s cultural vision is to ‘work through culture to improve the quality of life for local people and to ensure that Gateshead is one of the best places in Europe to live, work in and to visit’ (Gateshead Council, 2005:9). Culture is therefore seen as one of the main drivers in improving people’s quality of life. However, the Council also states that it is important to ‘ensure that cultural provision is based on local need’ (Gateshead Council, 2005:3). Public art is to be appreciated at a community level, rather than for an elitist audience.

At present, it is a time of transition in local councils regarding planning policy, especially regarding the requirement on local authorities to produce a new set of planning documents for their Local Plan. For Gateshead Council, the Local Plan is part of ‘*Vision 2030*’: *Gateshead’s Sustainable Community Strategy*, encompassing the aim of: ‘local people realising their full potential, enjoying the best quality of life in a healthy, equal, safe, prosperous and sustainable Gateshead’ (Gateshead Council, 2013a).

The Council states that at present the most important planning policy document they use is the Unitary Development Plan (UDP) Saved Policies. The UDP was adopted in 2007. Under the 2004 Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004, all policies in the UDP were saved until September 2007. In 2010, under the same Act, it was directed that the time

which the UDP policies were saved for should be extended to July 2010, and this resulted in 153 of the policies being saved. At present, the 153 policies saved are to be ‘read in context’ until replaced by the Local Plan policies, which, they comment, provides ‘a framework for how Gateshead will develop over the next few years by setting out policies governing new development’ (Gateshead Council, 2013b).

In November 2012, the Council released its saved policies from the UDP and replaced them as required by the NPPF. There is direct reference to the provision of public art under PO1 Facilities and Infrastructure. However, the Council notes that, ‘in accordance with para. 173 of the National Planning Policy Framework, this policy should not be applied without taking due account of viability’ (Gateshead Council, 2012b:8). It then continues, ‘such contribution may include, but will not be limited to, the following infrastructure, services and amenities: the provision of public art works’ (2012b:8).

Various areas of Gateshead are undergoing redevelopment, including the town centre, with the creation of a new Tesco store, 45 new retail units for high street chains, a new town square and student accommodation. The delivery strategy for this is set out in the Council’s *Fit for a City: Gateshead Centre Regeneration Delivery Strategy* as well as the *Gateshead Town Centre Planning Strategy*. The inclusion and provision of public art is mentioned in both documents. In the *Delivery Strategy* it is stated that the town centre ‘will be independent and enterprising ... providing space for independent and creative enterprise in the use and design of the buildings, public spaces and public art’ (2008b:42). Public art is mentioned again in the document when talking about the mix of uses for the new city centre: ‘here, new contemporary retail, public squares, events and public art installations will attract cultural activity in the heart of Gateshead centre’ (2008b:49). There will also be a ‘cultural ribbon’ (2008b:49) which will link together all the core cultural areas of Gateshead (and Newcastle) including public art (2008b:52).

Public art is also integrated into the document in the discussion surrounding a ‘Green Gateshead’: ‘the spaces will respond to the varying character of the buildings and uses around them, incorporating appropriate public art and design, where possible, to continue the success of the Council’s existing public art initiative’ (2008b:52). It is mentioned again with reference to a sustainable Gateshead, stating, ‘new technology will influence public art, making features of recycling, rainwater harvesting, solar panels and wind power’

(2008b:54). With the regeneration of the city centre underway (work started in 2011 and is due to be finished by 2013/2014), Gateshead Council is still putting culture at the heart of regeneration with the inclusion of public art playing a continuing prominent role. In the *Town Centre Planning Strategy* it is stated that it will, ‘acknowledge the importance of high quality public art within the town centre, especially where development or highway proposals have implications for existing pieces’ (2008b:11).

Gateshead Council is working on becoming a CIL charging authority in conjunction with Newcastle Council. At the time of writing it is not known when the Local Plan will be adopted or when CIL charges will come into effect in Gateshead as they are still in the last consultation stages. However, although it was reported in 2012 that the Council will be reducing its financial support to the Baltic and Sage by 20 per cent, their commitment to public art does not seem to be diminishing. The plans for the new pieces of public art to be commissioned for the town centre redevelopment were revealed in May 2013: a halo, stretching 27ft in a loop which by night will be lit up in colour-changing LED lights (Hodgson, 2013). Designed by artist Stephen Newby, it is said to be the largest structure of its kind in the world (Hodgson, 2013). The piece has been commissioned by the Trinity Square developers and will be at the centre of the 150 million redevelopment of the town centre. Hodgson (2013) notes that, ‘for a town which already boasts Antony Gormley’s world-famous artwork Angel of the North, it is a fitting new addition, being a nod to local roots in the early steel industry and a symbol of renewal as Gateshead celebrates what’s believed to be Britain’s biggest current town centre regeneration outside London’.

It can be seen from the account in this chapter that while national policy developments were necessary in creating the possibilities for the Angel, they were not sufficient. A conducive local context was needed for such a bold commitment to a piece of public art. The chapter shows how the Angel ‘emerged’ from the particular political, economic and policy conditions of Gateshead, and how those conditions were themselves shaped and enabled by wider national developments in the arts, planning policy and charitable funding. The next chapter moves on to discuss the distinctiveness of Gateshead, and sets out the story of the development and creation of the Angel of the North in its local context.

Chapter 4: The Angel of the North story

Introduction

The Angel of the North has been voted year after year in national newspapers and polls as one of the top UK landmarks making it, arguably, one of the most recognised pieces of public art in the UK. However, the Angel needs to be put into context as it was the outcome of a long-standing public art commissioning programme at Gateshead Council and its triumph has not come easily. This chapter will begin by explaining in more detail how the arts in general became an integral part of how Gateshead Council worked as a local authority, before moving on to consider the Angel specifically and the commissioning process behind its development and creation, where information has been drawn from the stakeholder interviews as well as other sources. The chapter will conclude by looking at how the Angel has become a ‘brand’, used by local businesses in Gateshead and the North East region as a whole, as well as an advertising image in local and national media.

Gateshead Council and the Angel

As discussed in the last chapter, Gateshead Council has been involved with the commissioning of art in public spaces since the 1980s, with the stated aims of improving the environment, reclaiming derelict land and enhancing the surroundings. However, another important strand in understanding the genesis of the Angel is the Council’s pursuit of flagship projects. The first of these was the Gateshead International Stadium, which was designed to give the borough a ‘confidence lift’ by hosting international sporting events (Gateshead Council, 2006c). This continued with the creation of the Metrocentre retail development, which was part of another major land reclamation scheme. This brought a lot of new employment into the borough. In 1990 came the National Garden Festival, a large-scale £30m land reclamation and regeneration project which contained numerous public art projects and, as noted in the last chapter, gave sculpture a particular prominence.

Gateshead Council saw the popularity and success of the Garden Festival as pointing a way forward for the town:

‘The achievements from the National Garden Festival demonstrated the Council’s approach of concentrating its efforts on a “Public Art and Space” strategy which, having shown its success, has been continued ever since ... It reinforced the political ideology of the Council that art and culture was for all and open access would be encouraged at all times’ (Gateshead Council, 2006c:2).

This way of thinking was elaborated on by Anna Pepperall in her interview, commenting on the role in particular of one of the Council’s senior officers:

‘The Council was very focused towards what the public was getting out of something, which is of course their role, but as a young and new arts officer I hadn’t understood that. I was very much concerned about what the artist was doing, so it took me a few years to really match the two together. Patrick Conway, the Director of Libraries & Arts at the time emphasized the message on a daily basis that “the arts were about participation” ... he set the standard and we all worked in that way – we were a very strong team’.

This is still the attitude the Council takes today:

‘When it comes to the role of art in Gateshead, the Council is very clear that it must engage with the people. The public comes first and the artist’s role is one of facilitation – this view has tempered as Gateshead’s reputation for international contemporary art has grown but accessibility still lies at the principled heart of the authority’ (Gateshead Council, 2006c:8).

However, although in the early 1990s Gateshead Council was beginning to move forward with this thinking, in 1992 Northern Arts (now the Arts Council) expressed its concern about the low level of attendance in the arts arena in the region. The problem seemed to be that there was a lack of places for the public to engage with the arts. To address this, in 1995 a strategy was drawn up to lobby for a change and appeal for investment. The document was titled *Case for Capital – for the arts in the Northern Region*, and put forward an argument for investing in the arts in the North of England. It described the ways in which artists and arts organisations could best make use of National Lottery funds, as well as demonstrating how the region had partnerships in place between artists, public agencies and the private sector that could attract lottery funding and which ‘would provide the necessary creative and management skills to make best use of the new investment’ (Gateshead Council 2006c:5).

The document also makes clear statements about how to boost the engagement of different audiences with the arts. Gateshead Council used this strategy to reinforce the direction that

the Council had already been taking. Ideas surrounding the creation of a large landmark artwork had begun to circulate and the *Case for Capital* strategy gave it the confidence to go forward with the Angel of the North project (Gateshead Council, 2006c). In addition, due to the National Garden Festival and Gateshead winning a string of awards for the contribution of public art, Council Members began to appreciate the potential of such a project, understanding ‘the wider impact these arts projects would have on economic and social issues such as “quality of life”’ (Gateshead Council, 2006c:3). The political will was growing with each successful example of art and cultural investment and, with funding becoming available from other sources, the Council would not need to divert funds from other services.

The following year after the strategy was released and the Angel project had been given the go ahead, the enthusiasm for making art and culture available to all was further reinforced with the 1996 Year of Visual Arts (Visual Arts UK had been launched alongside *The Case for Capital* in 1995 by Tony Blair, then Opposition Labour Party leader). Northern Arts was looking for councils to get involved with the *Case for Capital* project and because Gateshead already had a reputation for being involved with the arts it was seen as a committed partner that understood arts-based projects well. The 1996 Year of Visual Arts saw the Council commit to the Angel, taking a major step forward with regard to commissioning public art on such a scale that, ‘on the one hand acknowledged the lingering social problems, dereliction and industrial decline, yet on the other, wanted to shout out to the rest of the world that Gateshead was changing’ (Gateshead Council, 2006c:7).

However, the commissioning of the Angel was not easy. It was in fact a huge risk for the Council and there were many hurdles to overcome along the way with regard to a media outcry and the public’s hesitant reception.

A site in search of an artwork

‘We did not know we were getting an Angel for the first two years of our search’.
(Mike White, 1998:21)

The story of the creation and development of the Angel needs to start with its location. A panoramic hilltop site in Low Eighton had undergone a number of changes in previous years. Formally the site of the Teams colliery pit-head baths, it had been a derelict wasteland since the mine closed. With the remodelling of the A1/A167 highway interchange (providing a priority route to the Newcastle western bypass and a new River Tyne crossing) the abandoned and derelict buildings remaining on the site were demolished. The site was then cleared and landscaped with the creation of an elongated earth mound. With its easy accessibility and clear visibility (it can be seen from the A1 road and the East Coast railway line) it was decided that the site was a perfect location for a new large landmark artwork (Gateshead Council, 2003). The site became paramount to what the artwork was going to be and the search began for the artist.

In the early 1980s, Gateshead Council established an Art in Public Places panel made up of councillors and officers and chaired by Cllr Sid Henderson, who had a very forward thinking attitude to public art:

‘We're short of galleries, so the idea of public art was thrust upon us ... One of the key issues is broadening minds, making people think. If I go to the high street in Bognor Regis or Gateshead it's the same symbols, like McDonald's ... We need to break that up’ (quoted in Beckett, 1996).

The Arts in Public Places panel created a structure for deciding how works of art were commissioned. It was elected members on this panel that really started to push the project forward which, at that point, was to begin by considering potential artists for ‘a landmark, an emblem of the character of the region’ (White, 1998:21). The request and eventual brief was for the commission to be of ‘international importance’, a landmark sculpture and Gateshead’s ‘big’ project (Anna Pepperall, 2008). The Council’s arts officers, Mike White and Anna Pepperall, were called upon to start putting together a shortlist of international artists. They whittled down a long list to approximately seven or eight artists and the Arts in Public Places Panel selected two to be invited to Gateshead to see the site and present their ideas. These two artists were Antony Gormley and Anthony Caro, a distinguished abstract sculptor. In her interview, Anna Pepperall reflected on this process, commenting:

‘My contribution, I think, was to put Antony Gormley on the list in the first place because a lot of people not associated with the Arts did not know about him ... My research took me to a number of places, such as the Yorkshire Sculpture Park ... I also visited the Tate in London and talked to one of the directors there at the time.

We felt we knew what the Council wanted but we needed to test that through talking to these major galleries or specialists in sculpture and public art. When it came down to it; we had a long list of artists. We narrowed it down and then had to present the list to the Art in Public Places Panel and describe the work of fairly difficult and in some cases abstract artists ... There were a couple of people who had quite a prominent view on the pieces we were showing them, and, I think, Antony's images were very effective in capturing their imagination'.

When Antony Gormley was initially approached he had commented, 'I don't do roundabout art', and he touched on this in his interview, saying:

'I wasn't keen on the idea of making motorway art but I was engaged by the local council to look at it and persuaded to look at the site and it was the mound itself and its position in the valley that convinced me that this was something worth pursuing'.

Both Antony Gormley and Anthony Caro travelled to Gateshead and visited the Teams Colliery site. There was a lot of debate and discussion around the two artists' work. The Council wanted to ensure that it did not seem like a competition between the two artists. Anna Pepperall reflected on this in her interview:

'There was a real sensitivity around this because those two artists did not want to be in competition with each other. So, we invited them for a walkabout, to meet the Mayor, and to meet with people from the council to see what their responses were ... Antony said "I'll make an Angel". I think that really made a massive impression. You have to look at the vocabulary of the artists and how they operate. Anthony Caro's obviously very abstract or non-figurative - his work was going to be around the cranes or shipping, past history of the shipyards. And he, in front of us all, made a torn up paper model which was really interesting, he said "it'll be something like this, I can't tell you what it'll be, but it'll be something like this". Whereas Antony Gormley had the statement "I'll make an Angel, I'll make an industrial Angel".'

The Art in Public Places Panel met and discussed the two artists. They asked the officers to see slides and images of Antony Gormley's 'A Case for an Angel' gallery work on several occasions (a series of six foot sculptures made from lead and fiberglass). The panel finally went to a vote. Sid Henderson commented in his interview: 'We only had three there ... One voted for Antony Gormley and one voted for Anthony Caro, and I was in the centre and voted, of course, for Antony Gormley'. In 1995, the planning application was approved, stating: 'to install a landmark sculpture commissioned from Antony Gormley measuring approximately 20 metres high with a span of up to 52 metres, fabrication in

steel' (Whetstone, 2009:26). The decision was made and the trajectory of the creation of the Angel began.

The design and creation process

Chris Jeffrey was lead engineer at Gateshead Council and was in overall charge of commissioning the actual construction of the sculpture. At an early stage in the development of the project it was realised that the Council was going to have to employ specialist engineers to advise and help oversee the project. Ove Arup engineers were recruited and along with Chris Jeffrey took the design of the Angel 'from a sketch on the back of an envelope from Antony Gormley, and with him, developed it into a form and then designed how it actually could be constructed' (Chris Jeffrey interview). John Thornton, from Ove Arup's London office, had worked with Antony Gormley on an earlier project and he was instructed to start researching along with Chris Jeffrey if Antony Gormley's dimensions - the scale and the proportions of the design - could be made to work. Chris Jeffrey noted in his interview that:

'We actually talked to shipbuilders, people like Hawthorn and Lesley, because initially it was just going to be built out of one inch thick steel and we were going to have to bend these steel plates to the body shape. So, we went to talk to shipbuilders, obviously, because they had some experience of that, and it was through discussions with them that we realised we were going to have to take a different approach. This was when the idea of having a skeleton inside came up, with the ribs as a structure and then a thinner skin'.

The main reasoning behind this was the issue of how the sculpture was going to withstand the forces of nature, namely the wind. The technical issue was how to minimise the forces around the ankles. Antony Gormley wanted to use the visible parts of the structure to carry this load, and wanted the internal space to be left empty (Ove Arup & Partners, 1998). Chris Jeffrey suggested that this was also to reflect the local industrial heritage, commenting:

'He wanted all the welds and everything to be seen. He wanted it to be organic. He wanted people to feel part of it. Those making it. And he wanted people who were viewing the Angel to view it as part of that site, reflecting the heritage of the site'.

It was therefore decided that visible vertical ribs would help the sculpture resist the wind and horizontal plates at various intervals across the body would help stabilise the skin and

ribs (Ove Arup & Partners, 1998). It was decided that ‘Cor-ton weathering’ steel would be used. After initial slight rusting the steel is protected by a surface patina. This would mean that the Angel would not need to be painted.

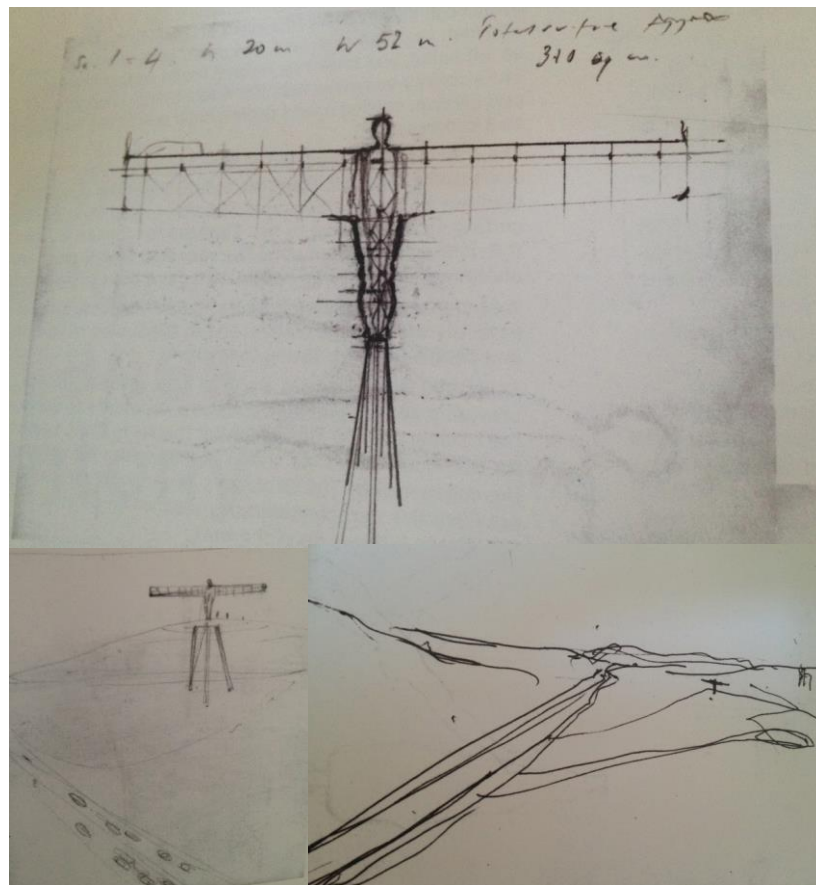
However, there was still an issue with the wings and what the Angel would stand on. At an early stage in the process, Ove Arup’s wind specialist was brought in to investigate how the wings could withstand the wind. The same idea of the external ribs was used, although they were placed horizontally. It was decided that the wings should be brought in at a slight angle (forward by 3.5 degrees), giving a sense of embrace (Gormley, 1998). The feet of the Angel had to be held down to stop the structure from falling over. It also needed 20 metre concrete foundations in order to take its weight. This was going to be extremely costly due the site of the Angel being an old pit-head colliery and the old mine workings needing to be filled in. The mound on which the Angel was to be placed was also removed temporarily for the foundations to be built (Ove Arup & Partners, 1998).

The design process continued to develop over a few years from Antony Gormley’s early sketches (see figure 4.1). Antony Gormley made a series of models at different scales to establish and refine the form and give the desired effect. In the end the final design was created by Ove Arup’s Newcastle office. The overall funding had been set in place and the process of choosing the fabricator and the construction company for the foundations could begin. Both Gateshead Council and Antony Gormley himself were keen that the Angel should be constructed locally. It was to be a competitive tendering process with over sixty local companies initially being approached. This was narrowed down to four who were then asked to quote a price for the work. Hartlepool Steel Fabrications was the lowest tenderer and they won the contract in 1997. Bill Stalley, chair and director of the company at the time, reflected on this process in his interview, worth quoting at length as it also reveals the technical innovation behind the Angel:

‘The Angel was actually erected in February 1998. I think it was probably around four or five years before that when Ove Arup came round and asked us to give our ideas on how it was going to be built. That happened a couple of times over the next, probably, two years. Then, they came out with some engineering drawings and we gave them an estimate. I think it was probably a year after that they actually came out with what they said were the final drawings. They were originally not going to fabricate the Angel and from the sort of the base to the chest level was supposedly going to be cast. Now, the problem with cast is there were only two companies in the UK that were actually big enough to cast the Angel in one piece

and they wouldn't give a fixed price, they would only give an estimate and that estimate was probably 25 per cent more than the total budget for the Angel. So, I think they actually cut down the amount of companies that were going to tender for it. There was two from Teesside and two from Newcastle. Now at that particular time there was a border if you like, Teesside companies didn't like coming into the Newcastle area to do work and Newcastle companies didn't like coming down to Teesside to do the work. So, at that particular time we were just making the number up to be honest, we didn't think we'd have any chance at all of being the successful contractor. However, what we did do was come up with an idea of building, or fabricating the Angel where it didn't have to be cast and we were also able to get the price within the budget. We did this by constructing a series of cones in the core of the Angel which gave it its structural strength. We got in touch with Ove Arup and gave them the idea so they could check out the actual structural strength of the Angel and what the Angel would be. And then they came back to us and said yes that can be done'.

Figure 4.1: Sketches of Angel idea by Antony Gormley. Images courtesy of *Making An Angel*



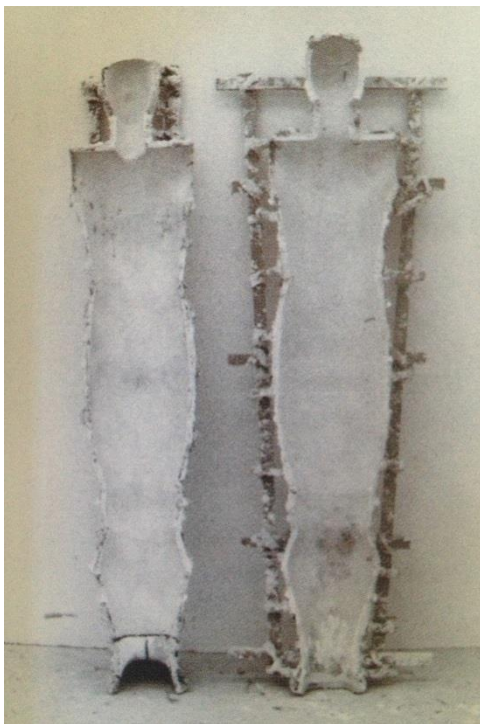
It was this new design as commented on by Bill Stalley that was a revolutionary approach to the manufacturing process of the Angel. The actual process of building the Angel began with the original body casting by Antony Gormley being scanned into a computer using stereophotography by the Geomatics Department at Newcastle University (see figure 4.2). The precise coordinates were plotted to create an electronic, three-dimensional virtual

Angel. The data from this were then converted into a three-dimensional CAD model by Grafton Software. This enabled the computerised machines used by Teesside Profilers to cut the main body into ribs following the exact curves of the original body castings. The ribs were then supplied to Hartlepool Steel Fabrications for construction. The computerised model also enabled the engineers to determine the best combination of cones to form the inner core as well as define the geometry of the cones for bending.

Overall, the Angel was constructed in three parts: the two wings and the body. These were constructed of up to five elements, which included: the ribs, the external skeleton cut from 50mm thick steel; the skin, from 6mm sheet steel that was bent and then welded to the ribs; the sacrificial ribs, laid beneath the skin plates to help shape them; the diaphragms, made of six 50mm thick horizontal plates that look like ribs on the surface and go right through the body up to six metres by three metres and weighing almost five tonnes; and lastly the core, the unseen skeleton that runs from the feet of the Angel to the chest to give extra support to the structure - a hollow steel tube that is made up of a series of cylinders and cones, which then mirrors the shape of the body. From the feet to the knees of the sculpture the core is made from 30mm plate steel and, from the knees above, 15mm plate steel.

The fabricators worked on the building of the Angel for 22,000 hours with twenty men working full time for six months. The process started with the wings, which were fabricated first. The wings were followed by the feet, which started with the inner core to which the vertical ribs were fitted (Ove Arup & Partners, 1998). The fabrication of the body then continued upwards to the chest. The head was created separately. Antony Gormley visited the yard of Hartlepool Fabrications on a weekly basis at this time and, as might be expected with a contract-pressured fabrication business coming into contact with an exacting sculptor, arguments sometimes flared. However, Mike White commented on this, noting that, in the end, if the arguments had not been there, neither would the high quality finish of the fabrication, something Hartlepool Fabrications 'rightly became proud of' (White, 1998:22).

Figure 4.2: Antony Gormley body casting and the first Angel maquettes. Images courtesy of Gateshead Council and *Making an Angel*.



The contract for the foundations was won by Cumbrian firm Thomas Armstrong (Construction) Ltd. The process started by temporarily removing the hill where the Angel was to be situated. Holes were then drilled 33m through the soil and rock to inject a

cement mixture into the old mine workings below the surface. Next eight piles, each of them three-quarters of a metre in size, were created by drilling holes 20m down into the rock and filling them with 150 tonnes of reinforced concrete. A concrete slab one and a half meters thick and covering an area 13 metres by 8 metres was then laid on top of the piles, with a plinth 5.3 metres high on which the Angel stands. This contained 52 bolts, each embedded 3m into the concrete, needed to hold the Angel down in high winds. Figure 4.3 illustrates the Angel's installation.

Figure 4.3: The Angel in construction. Images courtesy of Alan Ford



The controversy

Mike White (1998:21) comments that in the initial stages of the Angel project 'controversial was the most common adjective, but inspirational is heard more now'. There was a level of hostility towards the Angel from a number of different avenues: political, public and the media.

At the time of the creation of the Angel, Gateshead Council was Labour controlled (51 council seats) with the Liberal Democrats in opposition (15 council seats). There were no Conservative councillors. The Liberal Democrats were extremely vocal in opposing the Angel, although Anna Pepperall commented in her interview that sometimes it seemed that things were said for the sake of being the opposition party:

‘Interestingly because it’s political, on a personal level, one or two of them did like the concept of the Angel, but then were virtually instructed to see this as a good opportunity to make negative comments against their fellow councillors’.

This was the view of many of the stakeholders interviewed, who saw the political opposition against the Angel as a way of trying to win votes. These negative comments were often picked up by the press. An article in *The Independent* newspaper in 1996 described Liberal Democrat Councillor Kathy King’s ‘hatred’ for Councillor Sid Henderson’s determination to make Gateshead a town full of public art, stating:

‘For as long as Henderson has been putting up sculptures, an opposition Liberal Councillor called Kathy King has been trying to have them torn down ... “Have you seen the fat man next to Iceland? People ask, 'Eh? What's that?' People gaze at it in total disbelief.” She smiles - a grandmother in RayBan's - and speeds on: "We're not going to combat the pigeon-whippet image if we're thought of as putting things up just to change that image. It's like drinking your tea with your little finger out.”’ (Beckett, 1996).

In January 1995, the Opposition councillors created a ‘Stop the Statue’ campaign. Jonathan Wallace, one of the leaders of the campaign, was quoted as saying that the Angel was being forced on people (Beckett, 1996). The planning permission for the Angel was voted through during the run up to a local election. Sid Henderson in his interview commented that not all Labour councillors were fond of the Angel at the time:

‘At the Angel 10th Anniversary the Mayor said, “I wasn’t convinced by Sid’s argument about the Angel, but I’ve come to love it”. The thing is, it was not unanimous by any means in the Labour group, and there were people who were against it who are now very fond of it’.

Les Elton, Chief Executive of Gateshead Council at the time, added in his interview:

‘They were very good, the Labour group, at making decisions and sticking to them. Because they’d learnt that if you don’t stick to them you’ll end up with a lot of problems. They decided to have it [the Angel], and even if some of them later changed their minds, they stuck to it. The Opposition did what Oppositions do; they

created as much fuss as they could on the not unreasonable premise that it might win them a vote. Of course, in the end that didn't work because people like the Angel and they got stuck with being against something which I suspect a lot of them liked'.

However, at the time, there also seemed to be tension in the Council as a whole. Mike White remembered having to move the maquette of the Angel around the Civic Centre through the back doors because 'this object, it was so kind of, live in its controversy, you kind of had to do it discreetly to move it around'.

Either way, a lot of the stakeholders commented in their interviews that whether or not they truly were against the Angel, their views had definitely changed to the more positive by the time the Angel was erected. In her interview, Anna Pepperall commented:

'But certainly the Liberal Democratic Councillors, once the Angel was in place and they saw the reaction from the public, they came out and said themselves, "well actually we were wrong, we can see what's happened"'.

Yet, on the 10th Anniversary, various Liberal Democrats were interviewed by the media to see if ten years on their views had changed. Martin Callanan, a Conservative MEP who had also been vocally negative about the Angel, was also interviewed. His views had not changed, and interestingly neither had Kathy King's, who commented:

'There are accidents on the bypass. It is a distraction and this is what causes some of the accidents and congestion. Residents are not overenthusiastic about the Angel. Over 5,000 people said they were against it in 1998. The situation hasn't got better for local residents' (BBC, 2008).

Although it can be said that there was to a certain extent political opposition towards the Angel, a lot of it appeared to be generated and exaggerated through the press.

The local press played a major part in showcasing the Angel. However, they also initiated a lot of the controversy surrounding the sculpture and reported negatively on it in its first stages of development. The national press was slightly less against the sculpture and generally took the view that the Angel was a good thing for the North East of England.

It was 1994 when early images of the Angel first appeared in the press and according to Mike White, 'hostility never sounded louder' (White, 1998:21; see figure 4.4). Following

the images, reports began to appear in abundance stating that the Angel would interfere with television signals, affect radio waves, create crashes on the A1 road, destroy the greenbelt area which surrounded its location, disrupt aircraft navigation, get stolen for scrap metal and be a target for lightning bolts. As absurd as some of these sounded, the Council had to investigate all these matters before planning permission could be granted. This was done in 1995 and the media swept into a flurry of negativity. The *Newcastle Chronicle* newspaper held a phone-in poll about the sculpture, in which ten to one were against (White, 1998:21). Following this, the *Gateshead Post* ran a front page story displaying pictures of Antony Gormley's 'A Case for an Angel' alongside Albert Speer's Icarus statue at Doberitz with the headline 'Nazi...but nice?'. The *Northern Echo* also published a piece with the headline, 'Heavenly body or Hell's angel?' in which they quoted Opposition councillor Martin Callaghan who had called it 'ugly' and commented on the Council voting in favour of the sculpture: 'if anybody else other than this authority had been involved it would have been thrown out' (Northern Echo, 1995).

It was due to these negative headlines that Gateshead Council along with Northern Arts decided to launch a concerted press campaign which challenged the negative views on the sculpture. This seemed to have an effect and although a minority of the negative headlines had begun to take hold, the media were beginning to see the possibilities the positive impacts the Angel may have. An article was published with the headline, 'We'll have an Eiffel', stating:

'We will just have to get used to it. And who knows, within a few years the people of Gateshead may come to love a monument which could become to their town what the Tyne Bridge is to Newcastle – a prized symbol of the town's identity' (The Chronicle, 1997).

At the time the Angel was being developed, public opinion towards it was also divided. Numerous letters were published in newspapers from local residents displaying their distaste or love for the sculpture; some even took a comical stance with one letter published in the *Gateshead Journal* from a local resident stating: 'has not the time arrived to supply this forthcoming marvel with a name? ... To those in favour I suggest Gorgeous Gussie from Gateshead' (Gateshead Journal, 1997).

Figure 4.4: Collage of various news clippings. Images courtesy of Gateshead Council and Making an Angel.



Politically, the Angel had been slammed for being forced on people with no public consultations and the Council taking a 'you're getting it whether you like it or not' attitude. However, from the beginning of the project a major education and consultation programme was rolled out, with Antony Gormley engaging with the public on a number of occasions. The Council had to tackle key questions such as what is democratic art? How do you consult people about it? Can you balance present against future taste? Will culture help revive an area where the traditional economy has faded? How do you create a 'good' a piece of public art? (Beckett, 1996). The education and outreach programme led by the Council's arts team introduced local schools and community groups to the processes of making a sculpture. It also engaged the regional public, including students in North East colleges and universities, as well as nationally and internationally by promoting the design and development of the Angel through events in the Year of Visual Art 1996.

The education and consultation programme began in 1995 by Antony Gormley giving an introductory slide talk to head teachers and heads of art from secondary schools in Gateshead, followed by a practical drawing workshop at Breckenbeds Junior School. He gave a talk to 'A' Level art students from Gateshead schools and colleges in the same year. For the schools education programme, thirty local schools took part with 1400 children involved. A variety of workshops took place in spring 1996 with local sculptors Julie Livesey, William Pym, Lisa de Larny and Felicity Watts following a consultation with Antony Gormley (Gateshead Council, 2006c:37). The purpose of the workshops was to explain concepts and ideas used in fine art drawing and design as well as about sculpture, technical drawing and construction techniques and debates, with a focus on the Angel (Gateshead Council, 2006c:37). The workshops that took place in the schools placed sculptures in the school grounds and encouraged students to question and challenge the site, enabling them to engage with locations and create art that was site specific. They also learnt body casting techniques, used by Antony Gormley for the creation of the Angel, as well as exploring the development of figurative sculpture from concept to installation (White, 1998:22). The workshops were deemed successful with a lot of high quality art produced.

The educational programme continued right up to the installation of the Angel. There were poetry workshops led by Ellen Pheathean on the subject of 'angels' with local schools and community groups. Gateshead's 12th Annual Family Sculpture Day in Saltwell Park had an

‘Angels and Devils’ theme. A year-long residency by Northumbrian pipe player Kathryn Tickell with Gateshead Youth Orchestra and three primary schools resulted in a performance and CD composed on the Angel theme. Local school children and the public also contributed memorabilia to a capsule that was to be buried underneath the Angel. This was organised by Gateshead Council, and artists Simon Jones and Nicky Taylor held a series of workshops where suggestions were made for what should go into the capsule to signify life in the 1990s. The capsule is expected to remain buried for 150 years. For Antony Gormley the education programmes were a two way learning process, with the outcomes having an impact on the students as well as the artist and artwork itself. He commented:

‘The Angel occupies imaginative as well as physical space, and the creative way in which young people were encouraged to think and make angels provided a wonderfully fertile ground for the final work (Gormley, 1998:15).

In 1996, the region-wide festival for UK Visual Arts took place and, it is argued, improved the climate and the support for arts in the North of England, as well as for the Angel project. Four paintings of the Angel by Antony Gormley were on loan to Northern Arts for the conference room during the year. Later in the spring, again as part of the 1996 Year of Visual Arts, came Antony Gormley’s large scale ‘Field for British Isles’ exhibition, a turning point for some in the public’s opinion about the Angel, with newspapers publishing articles and letters from the public and people writing enthusiastically about what the 1996 Year of Visual Arts had done for the region, especially getting Gateshead in the national media for its investment in contemporary art (White, 1998:22). The exhibition was made up of over 40,000 terracotta figures made by community groups and displayed for the first time in a non-gallery setting at the former Greenesfield British Rail works. It was viewed as highly successful with 25,000 visitors in ten weeks, and prompted many people to view Antony Gormley in a new light (Whetstone, 2009). The *Newcastle Journal* stated:

‘Field for the British Isles is the product of an expansive imagination, an artwork which can’t fail to make an impact. It argues well for the Angel. Perhaps we should go for 40,000 of them’ (Whetstone, 1996:19).

The Council welcomed this change in attitude, with Anna Pepperall (2006c:13) commenting:

‘Local people became less hostile to the Angel prior to its installation, again because more information became available to them during the Visual Arts Year 1996. When the facts about the scale of the project, its complex engineering, increased interest in the region – which could ultimately lead to improved employment prospects - an increase in local pride began to emerge, a real sea-change in attitudes occurred. The Field for British Isles exhibition was the watershed. Feedback from this exhibition suggested that they were actually receptive to the Angel despite the largely negative local press’.

Various other exhibitions continued to take place after the 1996 Year of Visual Arts to try and keep the public engaged with what was happening. Angel maquettes were shown at Swan Hunter Shipyard in an ‘Engineering Art’ exhibition, including school visits. Another exhibition of new Angel maquettes took place in 1997 at Designworks in Gateshead organised by Ove Arup and Partners, along with engineering drawings. Later in 1997, the maquettes were shown again along with a scale model of the Angel’s knees at the Greenesfield British Rail works. This was to introduce the public to the scale, design and concept of the sculpture (Pepperall, 2006c:12). This coincided with the ‘Beneath the Skin’ exhibition at Gateshead Central Library and DesignWorks in Felling which featured the work of eight schools in Gateshead who teamed up with artists to create their own artworks inspired by the Angel. In October 1997, Antony Gormley gave a special paper on ‘The Angel’ at an ‘Art and the Spiritual’ conference held at Durham Cathedral. A bronze maquette of the Angel was shown in the Shipley Art Gallery; comments in the visitors book were against it three to one, better than the earlier ten to one, again suggesting that the public’s attitude towards the sculpture was beginning to change.

The public engagement events led up to a major celebration day at the Angel in June 1998 where there were various on-site performances, workshops and live music as well as a book signing by Antony Gormley. Anna Pepperall commented in her interview that when the Angel was installed there was an overnight change in public opinion towards it with thousands of local residents’ flocking to see the Angel erected.

Opinion changes

In February 1998, a trial fitting of the Angel’s wings took place and a school coach visit saw the final work before it was loaded, wings and body, onto three 48 wheeler trucks. Overnight on the 14th February the sculpture was transported at a maximum speed of 15

mph with a police escort from Hartlepool and headed north up a closed A1 to Gateshead. It has been commented that nobody who saw the Angel erected will ever forget it (Whetstone, 2009). At dawn on the 15th February, the 100 tonne body of the Angel was raised by a crane onto the foundations. Watched eagerly by Antony Gormley and Gateshead Council officers and a huge public crowd, at 11am the first wing was bolted onto the body, followed by the second at 4pm. The operation was completed within 48 hours and welders finished the job over the next three days by welding on the final skin plates. Although the installation of the Angel was not promoted as a public event, several thousand local people turned up to watch as did over twenty television crews, making it a world news story (White, 1998).

The large public crowds at the installation of the Angel shocked those who were involved in the commissioning of it, prompting a belief that public and media attitudes towards the Angel had changed for the good. Anna Pepperall touched on this in her interview, commenting:

‘When the Angel was actually installed in February 1998 there were people camped out overnight who came along to see it, and then when the media turned up to cover the story and see it, I think the effect was instant at that point. The press from that time were completely amazed. I can’t remember any real negative press at that time. I always remember within the day of the Angel going up, two cartoons appeared in the national press, I think the minute somebody starts making a cartoon of a public piece, a monument, you’re into acceptance, and when there is humour introduced into a work of art, suddenly people have taken it on. So, the effect of the Angel began. The ball started rolling during the exhibitions, the 1996 Year of Visual Arts, with the “Field” and then Antony’s maquettes. Then finally when The Angel was on site that was it, almost an instant glorification’.

Two days after the Angel was installed, on the 16th February 1998, the *Northern Echo* published a piece in which it stated that the funds used to pay for the Angel were already earmarked for an arts project and therefore could not be used as other public spending. It also made the case for the Angel, stating:

‘Gateshead Council, Northern Arts, Antony Gormley and others deserve praise for bringing Britain’s biggest sculpture to the North East. It would have been easy to let the opportunity pass and allow lottery money to go outside the region. The national and international media coverage that the Angel will generate over the next few days, weeks and years will be worth every penny of the £800,000 outlay’.

This change in the media's opinion towards the sculpture continued with the very newspaper that had conducted the poll in 1995, declaring its love for the Angel in 1998 by putting a silhouette of the sculpture at the top of its leader page. There was also coverage in the national press with *The Observer* reporting in 1998 that the BBC had hailed the Angel as the fourth best piece of art produced in Britain in the twentieth century (*The Observer*, 1998).

Public affection for the Angel also continued to be demonstrated. In May 1998, Kevin Waugh and nine of his friends climbed up the sculpture and draped a Newcastle United football team '9' Alan Shearer shirt on the sculpture. It made local and national news and many people argue that this was the moment that it became clear that the Angel has won the hearts and minds of the local public (Whetstone, 2009).

The Angel has been and still is so widely used as an image in the media it is hard to keep a record. Examples of its use range from it being a University Challenge question and featured in footage of the Eurovision Song Contest in 1998 to a version of it that was made for the Chelsea Flower Show and aired on television. It was also a regular sight as the indent for BBC television news Look North, as well as making regular appearances on Match of the Day.

On the 1st of January 2000, an image of people seeing in the new millennium at the Angel appeared on the front cover of the *Sunday Times* with the headline: 'Millennium is greeted by global wave of hope', suggesting the Angel as an emblem of confidence and optimism for the years to come, and grounding it in the public consciousness as a forward looking symbol (see figure 4.5). It was after this that everywhere in the UK seemed to want its own Angel of the North, and reports began to be published of news that commissions had opened, artists were wanted, sites were needed for 'our version of the Angel'. News came of an 'Angel of the South', with the *Times Online* (Mostrous, 2008) reporting:

'Giant horse could be new "Angel of the South". The North-South divide widened a little today as design for a sculpture twice as high as the Angel of the North were unveiled in Kent'.

There was also a version in Wales:

‘The search for Wales’ answer to the Angel of the North has begun. Yesterday, 15 designs by artists and architects from around the world were unveiled, including a giant dragon’s egg and an installation of 300 floating figures’ (Wales Online, 2007).

Figure 4.5: The Angel on the front page of Sunday Times, 1st January 2000



The Angel continued to be voted in polls as a UK icon being compared to Stonehenge or a cup of tea. In 2008, a scale model of the Angel (1.9m high) sold at Sotheby’s for £2.28m, nearly three times the amount the original cost to make. A model maquette that belongs to Gateshead Council was later valued at £1m on the BBC television Antiques Road Show.

The continuing legacy

A decade after the Angel had been erected, its 10th year anniversary was celebrated by the Council with a number of events organised to last for one year. Gateshead Council wanted a large celebration to mark ten years of the Angel but without reigniting any of the old controversy. They set out to do this by generating local, national and international media

coverage and getting local people and businesses involved in the celebration. Local people were at the very centre of the campaign which was themed around the phrase 'It's my Angel'. A dedicated website was set up where people could sign up for text and email alerts notifying them of events happening throughout the year. There was an extensive programme of events alongside media calls and launches to keep the campaign in the news and at the front of people's minds. These included a 10th birthday celebration for children born on the same day of the Angel, a large party at the Angel itself celebrating ten years with music and arts and craft markets, overnight illumination of the sculpture for the first (and last) time, a chance for a competition winner to renew their vows under the Angel with the Bishop of Jarrow, short films made by the public premiered at the Tyne theatre, floral angels across Gateshead streets, the launch of a celebratory 'Angel' beer by a leading local brewery, the Angel proms with a local choir and musicians at the Sage, and a range of limited edition products on sale dedicated to the 10th birthday. All this was combined with an extensive schools diary for the Angel on Tour, school workshops, competitions and a major public engagement scheme with workshops, seminars and Angel themed events.

Alongside the celebratory events, the Council commissioned a report that demonstrated the economic effects of the Angel. This argued that there was little doubt that the sculpture had paved the way for Gateshead to make further successful funding bids (examples are redevelopment of Saltwell Park at £9.6m, the Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art at £46m, The Sage Gateshead at £70m, and the Gateshead millennium bridge at £22m). The report suggested that if the Angel had not gone ahead then the 6,000 jobs that were created and the £1bn that was invested on Gateshead Quays would have taken a lot longer to generate, and even may not have happened at all (Whetstone, 2009). The report concluded that Gateshead Council had gained confidence, demonstrated that it could be trusted to deliver on promises, showed that it was ambitious, competent and entrepreneurial, and had become more of an equal partner with Newcastle across the river.

The overall campaign to celebrate the 10th anniversary was deemed a huge success in showcasing what the Angel had achieved for the region and placing it firmly in the national consciousness (Gateshead Council, 2008c). More than 2000 local people turned up to the free Angel party and 360 people registered for the e-updates on the campaign, with 127,799 hits on the Council's information page about the Angel compared to just

36,594 the previous year (Gateshead Council, 2008c). In the media more than 1400 articles were generated and 28 TV appearances, with more than 90 per cent of the coverage being positive and delivering the Council's key messages (Gateshead Council, 2008c). The campaign also generated international coverage as far afield as Brazil, Japan, Korea and the USA.

More recently in 2013 the Angel celebrated its 15th birthday. Again, a large event took place at the sculpture with art workshops and a temporary art installation *GreenField* by well-known Northumbrian artist Julia Barton, which consisted of dozens of flowers and plants made from recycled materials being placed around the Angel.

The Angel 15 events coincided with the Festival of the North East, which was running across the region. Gateshead Council held a series of public art events, some specifically on the Angel such as a celebration day, as well as a 'Draw your Angel on the floor' events and an exhibition at St Mary's Heritage Centre in Gateshead called Angel 15, which featured work by local artists including paintings, drawings and photography as well as a large scale floral Angel. The Shipley Art Gallery displayed an unseen early wood and plaster maquette of the Angel which had been restored by the Tyne and Wear Archives and Museum. The Council also held a number of public art workshops and sculpture visits to other pieces of public art around the borough.

The branding of the Angel of the North

It is a rarity that public art gets used in the media as much as the Angel has. In the literature on public art, there is very little attention paid to media exposure, suggesting that it is more uncommon than common (Usherwood, 2001). It can in fact be argued that the Angel has been used as a 'brand' to promote Gateshead and the North East region, as well as local businesses, clubs, societies and groups.

Usherwood (2001:35) argues due to the world today being dominated by advertising, 'that if works of public sculpture are to have any hope of arousing and retaining public interest they are obliged to adopt its forms and modes of address'. However for Usherwood the reason behind the media success of the Angel is difficult to explain, especially when compared to the region's other large scale pieces of public art such as Claes Oldenburg's

Bottle of Notes (1993) in Middlesbrough or David Mach's *Train* (1997) in Darlington, which were also subject to large promotion schemes in their early days but have not become a symbol or emblem for the place they are situated or the North East as a whole. Usherwood does not see the Angel as becoming a brand being due to its connection with the past industries of Gateshead. He argues that being fabricated in Hartlepool contradicts this and that there is no reference to the coal mine that was located underneath the Angel or to the mining industry in general.

However, as mentioned previously, the fact that the foundations of the sculpture go fifty foot down into the old mine shaft is, for some, a connection to the site's past. In Bill Stalley's interview he reflected on how, for him, the Angel has made its own connection to the previous mining industry of the region by how people have been interacting with it:

‘I mean I’ll tell you something. Children have made an art form of the Angel. If you go back a 100 years to the miners, to the construction people, they all used to go to work with hobnail boots on. They all had shiny toe caps. If you look at the Angel where the kids have slid down the feet, what does it look like? Shiny toe caps! I think it was probably two years after it was built, I went to see it, and that was the first thing that I saw, the shiny toes, and that’s the first thing that came into my head, the North East, miners, hobnail boots, shiny toes!’

While this quote illustrates how people derive their own meanings from the sculpture, Usherwood (2001) argues that it is attributes other than local resonances that have given the Angel its power as a branding device. Firstly, it has a clear cut, easily apprehended and essentially flat shape: ‘the sculpture registers as a simple, dramatic shape framed by the landscape’ (Usherwood, 2001:42). Secondly, it is instantly recognisable, ‘unlike most recent public sculpture, it has the appearance of something that has assumed the condition of a sign whose status depends not on the opinion of those whose role it is to validate art but on the extent to which it is noticed at all’ (Usherwood, 2001:42). Thirdly, it ‘appears to flaunt its own materiality at one level while repressing it at another’.

Usherwood (2001) also claims that too much attention is paid to the engineering aspect of the Angel and not enough to the why the mine closed and why the sculpture was commissioned. He also argues that professional images of the Angel present it in a ‘strikingly odd manner’ (2001:43) or only depict part of it because they are projecting the Angel as ‘intrinsically surrealist’ (2001:43), by which he means ‘something seemingly

open – vulnerable even – to all manner of interpretations, unlike, say, a classical sculpture’ (2001:43). In Usherwood’s view this reveals the Angel as in fact very similar to a branding device, so it is used as one. The image of the Angel has indeed been adopted by numerous local businesses around the North East (and beyond) as well as used to advertise the region on the front of travel guides and maps (see figure 4.6).

Matthew Jarratt of Northern Arts commented on this in his interview:

‘I think it has been a useful thing for people who want to promote their business for the region or the fact that they’re from this region. You know, just putting a picture of the Angel on an accountancy firm or something. They want to be associated with this crazy artwork from a place that you wouldn’t normally expect. Happy to put an artwork as a logo - that is quite phenomenal’.

The demand for Angel products is there and organisations such as the Baltic have met this demand by creating Angel memorabilia for the public to buy. The story is slightly different for Gateshead Council, as due to Antony Gormley not wanting the Angel to be commercialised, an agreement was set up restricting how the Council could use the Angel image in advertising and promotion. Local artists have been able to make pieces based on the Angel but the demand to promote something through the Angel has been difficult for the Council to do itself. Anna Pepperall commented in her interview:

‘I’m wearing a piece of jewellery today that a local artist has been inspired to make based on the Angel (Angel necklace). People want to buy products, so there is a marketing side to the Angel which I don’t feel that we in the Council have been able to exploit. Places like the Baltic and other businesses, galleries or individuals have. There is also a large promotional sense both locally and nationally about the Angel. It is like the 2012 Olympics, PR representatives celebrated the Olympics by, having the torch relay running past it. Every time there is a major event or a big charity drive people want to pin something on the Angel or put something round the Angels neck (which we don’t allow)’.

There is no denying that the Angel becoming a ‘brand’ shows how successful it has been as an image and a way of promoting Gateshead.

Over the years, the Angel has also won a string of awards, ranging from the National Art Collection Fund Award for outstanding contribution to the visual arts in 1995 to the Civic Trust award for best example of architecture, regeneration and heritage in 2000. It is not just arts and regeneration based awards that the Angel has won, it has also collected a

number of engineering awards – the Steel Design Award in 1998 and a high commendation in the British Construction Industry Awards.

Figure 4.6: Examples of the Angel image used as a brand



Conclusion

The document *Case for Capital – for the arts in the Northern Region* made a clear statement about how arts organisations and other bodies could make best use of National Lottery funds for the arts. The document gave Gateshead Council the will to go forward with the Angel project and demonstrate to funders ‘that Gateshead has the ambition and ability to make bold cultural ideas work’ (Gateshead Council, 2006c:10). They were successful and managed to secure £584,000 of Lottery money towards the total cost of the Angel, which was £800,000. £150,000 then came from the European Regional Development Fund, £45,000 from Northern Arts and the rest came from sponsorship from

local firms Express Engineering, Silverscreen and Ove Arup, who funded the schools education programme.

The Angel was a collaborative effort by a number of people and organisations. Antony Gormley stated that:

‘Many hands and minds worked on this sculpture: this inspires and humbles me. It means that even at this restless and fragmented time we can work together to make things that are not simply functional but feed our spirits: things done for the challenge of doing them’ (1998:14).

This view was picked up on a lot in the stakeholder interviews with everyone acknowledging that it was a huge team effort. However, it was also the wilfulness of the people involved at the Council that got the Angel created, as Les Elton at the end of his interview commented:

‘It was never just one person, it was too important, it was a lot of people and that’s why it worked. And, not many Councils could have done this, they would have become frightened of it or their officers would have. Our finance director was as important as the engineer, because he had to keep - and I made him - making a judgment that we would cover the costs. It’s not a perfect world. But it was worth doing and it works. So to finish, I just think the Angel is a wonderful thing’.

It is argued that Gateshead ‘stands as one of the clearest examples in Europe, and perhaps the world, of urban regeneration led by arts and cultural investment’ (Bailey et al., 2007:51). However, the meanings and attachments that people give to the Angel can impact on people’s lives in other ways, some subtle and some overt, some instantly and some over a long period of time. Mike White conveyed this in his interview, stating:

‘At the time we thought this was a kind of new age buoyancy. It was the first Labour term, there was optimism. We know what the consequence of that is now in terms of that optimism having bolted. So, it was of that time, but I think that the Angel will always pose this interesting question about where are we going to find our prosperity in the future because it is made of materials and skills that have passed. But, in terms of the relationship to the information age then the Angel as messenger also had a kind of ambiguity to it. I think that’s going to give it some staying power in terms of meanings and significances that can be attributed to it - that it is kind of ahead of us in some ways in the questions that it is raising’.

This chapter has discussed how Gateshead’s commitment to public art and then to the ‘landmark’ project of the Angel came about, as well as documenting the process of

creating the sculpture, including the controversy that initially surrounded this and then the success that followed after its installation. The next chapter describes the methodology and methods used to investigate the Angel's impact. It begins by discussing realistic evaluation and why this was used for the research, before considering each method and their advantages and disadvantages in turn.

Chapter 5: Methodology

Using realistic evaluation and mixed methods

Methodology is key to understanding the social world. We cannot research a social phenomenon without applying a method, and methodology governs our choice of what methods we decide to use. In this chapter I will start off by discussing the methodological underpinnings of the approach used in this thesis and then move on to review the actual methods of investigation deployed. The chapter will finish with a reflective account of the research process, paying attention to the impact of the researcher on the research process.

The theoretical position of the research is that public art itself ‘acts’ and is not just a passive feature of the environment. This can be conceptualised in terms of public art being a *policy intervention* intended to produce outcomes that are beneficial and have public value. Public art as an intervention, however, only applies when people come into interaction with it in different contexts. Outcomes come from this interaction, some possibly fleeting and some possibly sustained. As discussed earlier, however, the outcomes are often not very clearly articulated in policy and the mechanisms by which these outcomes are expected to occur even less so. Realistic evaluation is a methodological approach for clarifying these issues, understanding outcomes and the ‘theory of change’ that produces them as matters that need investigation and are not necessarily obvious. While some outcomes may be measurable and amenable to empirical investigation (measuring effects across whole population groups for example), others – especially mechanisms - may be less apparent at the empirical level and need interpretivist approaches (understanding meanings and theorising processes). This thesis adopts both approaches.

Realistic evaluation takes from Karl Popper’s argument that policy interventions should be tested in a ‘trial and error’ mode, with hypotheses that can be submitted to practical tests (Popper, 1945). Donald Campbell developed this thinking further with his ‘reforms as experiments’ approach (Campbell and Russo, 1999). Both Popper and Campbell were major influences on Pawson and Tilley, the architects of realistic evaluation methodology

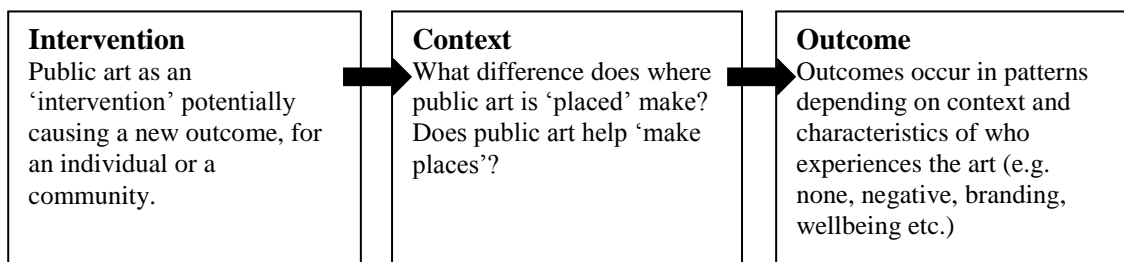
(Pawson and Tilley, 1997). However, Pawson and Tilley's work takes issue with evaluation research that regards the experimental design of the randomised controlled trial as the 'gold standard' for evidence. This is for two main reasons. Firstly, this technique takes insufficient account of the effects on outcomes of the different contexts in which interventions are delivered and the ways that context shape what happens and how. Secondly, purely empirical and quantitative techniques such as RCTs do not bring into the frame underlying mechanisms that explain change but may not be directly observable. Their existence is explained theoretically and based on alignment with empirical evidence – practical effects - rather than direct empirical accessibility. Pawson and Tilley (1997) set out a methodology for addressing both these issues based on producing types of explanation that are 'context-mechanism-outcome configurations'. Mechanisms are the interventions and the effects expected of them; contexts are the circumstances in which interventions play out; and outcomes are the patterning of actual effects across people and contexts.

A conceptual framework for the research was informed by the literature review in chapter 2, mainly drawing from work in urban sociology, social policy and cultural analysis, which identified important key themes: the impacts of public art and its assessment; engagement; regeneration; place making (at its various scales, particularly from neighbourhood to region); wellbeing; and cultural strategies and policies. All of these concepts need to be considered in terms of for whom and in what context? This way of configuring these concepts reflects the approach of realistic evaluation and its recognition of context and the patterned nature of outcomes (Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

Realistic evaluation treats interventions, such as a cultural investment, as mechanisms delivered in different contexts with a pattern of outcomes. In this sense, public art might be regarded as a mechanism designed to engender aesthetic, spiritual, wellbeing or economic outcomes. A further reason for using realistic evaluation is its commitment to building 'theories of change' with research participants, so that the researcher co-produces their understanding of outcomes along with stakeholders such as the sponsors of public art and those who engage with it. However, using a realistic evaluation framework does not imply that one particular method has to be used in order to investigate the research topic.

Connell and Kubisch (1998:1) note that the following questions need to be considered when conducting research using the theory of change approach: ‘what is the treatment or intervention? What are its intended and measurable outcomes? And, how are the data to be collected and analysed such that the causal links between treatments and outcomes are described in the most compelling way?’. Figure 5.1 below illustrates how a realistic evaluation framework can be used when assessing the impact of public art.

Figure 5.1: A realistic evaluation approach to public art



Bryman (1984) makes a distinction between the technical elements of a method and the epistemological position that a method implies, pointing out that these are often confused. He uses the term methodology to describe an epistemological position and the term method or technique to describe a way of gathering data. Considered as a technical issue, choice of method depends on the research question. For example, if the question is about the extent of a phenomenon or its causation, then a quantitative method may be more appropriate in order to generalise and demonstrate statistical associations. If the research question is about what a phenomenon means to individuals, such as the meaning of art in people’s lives, then qualitative methods may be more appropriate because they can explore these meanings in depth – allowing time to deliberate and reflect for example - and without the possible preconceptions entailed with structured questionnaires.

However, both quantitative and qualitative methods involve epistemological assumptions. Quantitative methods imply maintaining a distance from research participants, with the assumption that an objective reality is being accessed according to criteria such as validity, reliability and generalisability. A survey question, for instance, is expected to be understood by people in the same way and answered assuming that it would not be answered differently on another day. Qualitative methods on the other hand imply close involvement with participants in which what is valid, reliable or generalisable may vary

depending on context and interaction, including the interaction with the researcher. Qualitative methods are underpinned by ideas from phenomenology, verstehen and symbolic interactionism. All these ideas 'take the actor's perspective as the empirical point of departure' (Bryman, 1984:78). Quantitative methods on the other hand are associated with positivist ideas, which impose categories and measurements upon social reality, isolating what may be only a few variables from the whole of a social reality.

An important issue is whether quantitative and qualitative research imply mutually incompatible ontologies and epistemologies. The mixed method approach denies this, seeking to use a variety of different methods, usually both quantitative and qualitative, to investigate social phenomena as things that are 'there' to be understood from the different angles of different methods. There are distinctive epistemological and ontological considerations attached to research methods but it can be argued that these are not as fixed and ineluctable as they are sometimes made out to be (May, 2001; Henn et al., 2006; Bryman 2004). When using mixed methods to investigate a social phenomenon, quantitative methods can be used to reveal the social patterns and relationships at work, and qualitative methods to explain and show the deeper processes behind these patterns, and how these patterns may impact on people's lives.

For this research a combination of methods has been used. It is argued that this can give us the best understanding of social phenomena. In fact, mixed methods approaches have become very popular in recent years and with reference to this Morse (2003:189) notes that:

'While specific research methods enable us to describe, understand and explain the complexity of living by providing us with various perspectives, different methods are best designed for, and used to answer, particular types of questions. They provide us with different perspectives that enable us to answer individual questions. By combining and increasing the number of research strategies used within a particular project, we are able to broaden the dimensions and hence the scope of our project'.

Using mixed methods to investigate a social phenomenon is also known as 'triangulation methodology'. This means using different methods to help reduce 'inappropriate certainty', by which is meant the possibly misleading certainty from using just one method when another method may challenge the results (Robson, 2002:370). This seems

particularly important in researching an issue that is about perceptions, interpretations and impact. Therefore, by using mixed methods the validity of the research findings will hopefully be increased. As Denzin (1970:302) argues, ‘the flaws of one method are often the strengths of another; by combining methods, observers can achieve the best of each while overcoming their unique deficiencies’. Using mixed methods can also help the research in other ways, for example, using different methods for alternative tasks (Robson, 2002). With there being more than one research question for this research, this is another reason why a mixed method research strategy was chosen, with methods being used to address different but complementary questions within the study.

The Angel of the North Case Study

As the research is concentrating on the Angel of the North as a specific case, some attention needs to be paid to case-based research. The term ‘case’ usually refers to a single individual, community or organisation. Bryman (2008:53) notes that in a case study, ‘the emphasis tends to be upon an intensive examination of the setting’. Some researchers have doubts about case studies, raising concerns about external validity and generalisability - for example, how can a case study be representative so that its findings can be applied more generally to other cases? For my research, and for most case study research, this is not possible in a statistical sense, noting also that statistical realities are anyway often contested as representations of the social world (Hughes and Sharrock, 1997). But it is still possible to learn from case studies and apply those lessons in appropriate contexts. The aim of my case study is to illuminate what impact the Angel has on wellbeing. This is about a piece of public art of a particular type and a community of a particular type, the town of Gateshead. This is of general interest in terms of both policy and art criticism, as well as social theory, but my empirical findings relate to Gateshead and their wider generalisability is a matter for corroboration, comparison and debate with other work (Bryman, 2008).

The research questions

Seven research questions were developed with reference to the overall issue that the research addresses, which is to explore the impact of public art on wellbeing using a case study of the Angel of the North. The research questions are as follows:

1. What do local authorities and other public bodies seek to achieve from their investment in public art?
2. What benefits do different people derive from their interactions with public art in general and the Angel of the North in particular?
3. How do public art and place interact to give meaning to each other, and what difference does geographical scale make to this?
4. To what extent is the Angel unique in terms of its impact?
5. What can Gateshead Council learn from evidence about the impact of the Angel?
6. What effects does the Angel have on different conceptions of wellbeing?
7. What methods are appropriate to assessing the value of cultural investment?

These questions inform the choice of methods, and the chapter now moves on to discuss these. The data collection process was split into stages. The first stage was to conduct semi-structured interviews with the stakeholders involved in the creation of the Angel of the North so as to elicit their perceptions of anticipated and actual outcomes and their theories of change (informed by reviewing a wide range of Gateshead Council documents). The second stage was to conduct a survey with a sample of local residents of Gateshead, in part to test these outcomes and theories of change. The third stage was to conduct focus groups in the local community of Gateshead in order to explore the survey results in more detail and aspects not 'reachable' through the survey.

Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations are important in all social research, and can arise at any stage of the research process (Bryman, 2001: 505). It is important that researchers ‘have a clear understanding of the ways in which ethical dilemmas can arise when carrying out their research’ (Henn et al., 2006: 68). This project was therefore submitted successfully for ethical review using the forms and guidance supplied by the School of Applied Social Sciences at Durham University.

The stakeholder interviews described below required informed consent. The British Educational Research Association (BERA) takes informed consent ‘to be the condition in which participants understand and agree to their participation without any duress, prior to the research getting underway’ (BERA, 2004:6). Prior to the interview all stakeholder interviewees were sent an information sheet containing details about the research (see appendix 1). At the interviews, they signed a consent form that included allowing use of quotes and their attribution (see appendix 2).

Two assistants were employed to help administer the neighbourhood questionnaire survey discussed below. They were trained in how to use the questionnaire, briefed on safety issues, and were given background information on the topic. Safety was considered carefully, including a risk assessment completed using the University’s guidance and form. This consisted of identifying and highlighting any risks or hazards and ensuring that appropriate measures were taken to keep these to a minimum. Examples of measures taken included researchers reporting back to one another at regular intervals, personal alarms and training in violence control techniques, as well as no interviewing after 7pm. Gateshead Council was informed of when the interviewers would be in a neighbourhood and letters were also sent to all ward councillors where the interviewing would be taking place. The ethics form and risk assessment were also reviewed by the two survey assistants so that they were aware of any dangers and were equipped with the necessary information should anything go wrong during the door-to-door surveying.

The Pilot Study

Pilot studies are useful ‘dress rehearsals’ for research projects, enabling approaches and methods to be tested. An opportunity to conduct a pilot study arose with a suggestion by the Council’s public arts officer that I undertake an evaluation of the High Lanes ‘Water Wheel’ sculpture at the High Lanes estate in Heworth, Gateshead. This would enable me to test the proposed methods and potentially provide the Council with a useful evaluation.

As part of a sustainability scheme, Gateshead Housing Company commissioned the artist Jim Roberts to create a piece of artwork as a marker to the entrance of the High Lanes Estate. The *Water Wheel* sculpture was installed in February 2010. The evaluation included stakeholder interviews, a community questionnaire and two focus groups. This allowed for all the empirical methods to be used in the main study to be piloted.

The pilot study was carried out in October/November 2011 and was successful in highlighting some of the potential problems with the main study research approach. Firstly, it allowed for a trial of the ‘theory of change’ interview technique. This was useful for learning how questions should be worded and how a stakeholder’s ‘theories of change’ should be probed and investigated further (for example, they may not realise that something they have said is actually a ‘theory of change’, and eliciting this may involve returning to something mentioned and passed over earlier in an interview). Secondly, it allowed for the community survey to be tested.

Initially the questionnaire that was designed for the pilot study was to be amended slightly and then used for the main study survey, as they were both investigating the same type of issue. The piloting of the survey revealed a number of problems however. Firstly, the questionnaire was too long. In some instances it had taken between twenty and thirty minutes to complete with a respondent, which was too demanding for the doorstep interviews decided on as the best technique to ensure a reasonable response rate (see below). Secondly, the wording of the questions was too complicated and people were finding them difficult to understand. Therefore, for the main study the survey was shortened and questions were phrased in a simpler and more concise way.

The pilot study also raised safety and time scale issues, and it was realised that it would not be possible to conduct the community survey for the main study as a single researcher with no help. Although the pilot study was conducted following approved ethical procedures, at times, being a young female researcher, I felt uneasy door knocking and conducting face-to-face interviews on my own. It also took a lot longer than originally anticipated completing the process single-handedly. It was therefore decided that two helpers would be employed to help administer the main study survey for safety and time efficiency reasons, using the research allowance available as part of the studentship.

A report was completed in November 2011, presenting the findings of the pilot study.¹

Stage 1: The stakeholder interviews

The data collection process started with stakeholder interviews, which were carried out over the period January to March 2012. The interviews explored what ‘theory of change’ was in the minds of the people and organisations who brought the idea of the Angel to fruition. These informants are defined as ‘stakeholders’. As already noted, the interview technique was based on a realist evaluation approach (Pawson and Tilley 1997). This was chosen over more traditional evaluation methods as it is able to investigate why something does (or does not) ‘work’, and for whom and in what circumstances.

The main aim of the interview was to grasp the stakeholder’s intended purposes and envisaged benefits of the Angel as well as any unintended outcomes or consequences. Another aim was to gather background information about the process of creating and commissioning a large public artwork as a whole: for example, how the artist was chosen and why, the public art strategies that existed at the time, and the local economy at the time. The results from the interviews will also relate to the first research question about what local authority and other funding bodies seek to achieve from their investment in public art.

The interviews were transcribed and then analysed using the computer package NVivo, a qualitative analysis program. This allowed for the documents to be coded into themes. The analytical strategy was staged, coding in sweeps until the pattern of codes settled into clear

¹ The pilot study was written up as a report for Gateshead Council and is available on request.

themes and subthemes. After deliberation, the outcomes took shape conceptually. The outcomes that emerged from the stakeholder interviews were then used to help create the community survey for the second stage of the research.

Using interviews in social research

Interviews are a form of communication which aims to glean information from individuals or groups (Byrne, 2003). Referred to as ‘conversations with a purpose’ (Webb and Webb quoted in Burgess, 2004:164), interviews are argued to be one of the most popular methods used in collecting qualitative data (Bryman, 2008), with some of the main advantages being that they are flexible and that they allow researchers to ‘get large amounts of data quickly’ (Marshall and Rossman, 1999:108).

Broadly speaking, interviews can be categorised into three different types: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. The structured interview is used largely by quantitative researchers for conducting surveys, although both closed (pre-coded responses) and open-ended (post-coded responses) questions can be used. The questions are in a fixed format in an attempt to maximise reliability and validity of measurement, with the researcher having a clear focus and idea of the information they want rather than exploring a topic in a more open-ended way (Bryman, 2008). Interviewers favouring an unstructured method use ‘at most, an aide-memoire as a brief list of prompts’ (Bryman, 2008:438). By their very nature, unstructured interviews are open-ended and the direction of the interview depends largely on the respondent and how their account unfolds.

In the case of this research, in order to gather data that accurately reflected the perceptions of the stakeholders, but within a framework that was informed by the literature, a semi-structured technique for interviewing was chosen. Semi-structured interviews usually have a list of pre-specified questions or points (an interview guide) that are to be covered in the interview. However, the interviewer can adapt the structure of the interview as it develops depending on the interviewee’s responses, and questions may not always follow exactly how they are outlined in the interview schedule (see appendix 3 for the stakeholder interview guide). The interviews were therefore guided by Bryman (2008:438): ‘the emphasis must be on how the interviewee frames and understands issues and events – that is, what the interviewee views as important in explaining and understanding events,

patterns and forms of behaviour'. Thus, when the interviews were conducted, room was allowed to pursue topics of particular interest to the stakeholders, probing as necessary for further depth and clarity (Fielding and Thomas, 2001:128).

Like all methods there are some limitations with using interviews in social research. Two of the most common drawbacks are the difference in respondents' interpretations of the interview process and the possibility of interviewer bias or reactivity, with the risk of the interviewer influencing what the respondent says (Henn et al., 2006). Respondents may also have different opinions towards the research; some may be pleased to contribute, whereas others may be annoyed or irritated by aspects of the interview. Therefore, the interviewer not only has to prepare appropriate topics and questions for discussion, but must also ensure that the context of the interview is appropriate for each interviewee, including that they are informed about the study in advance and consent on an informed basis to the interview. Furthermore, in order to ensure that the researcher's understanding is the same of that of the respondent, gaining trust and good rapport with the participant is important. The conversational style of an interview helps to establish this mutual understanding.

Interviewer bias or the 'interviewer effect' (Fielding and Thomas, 2001) is also an issue. If respondents are questioned from a particular 'angle' about an issue, 'they will become savvy to the researcher's particular interests and opinions' (Fielding and Thomas, 2001:138). There is also the matter of respondents that may not have given prior thought to the issues being raised or they might only be starting to frame their views on the issues. In this case, the researcher may actually be instilling their own position in respondents' answers. Some researchers may undertake interviews from a value standpoint, deliberately empathising with the interviewee, an approach often found in feminist research (Bryman, 2008). Jones (2004) argues that it is crucial that when an interview is taking place the researcher is aware of their actions and ensures that their own values and beliefs do not get in the way of understanding those of the respondent.

Interviews are also sometimes criticised for lacking replicability and reliability, with Henn et al., (2006:177) noting that these criticisms may be made about qualitative methods generally 'for lacking structure and system, and for an inability of researchers using this approach to generalize beyond a small number of cases'. However, Jones (2004) argues

that interviews are a unique insight into an individual's experiences and perceptions and therefore do not need to be replicated. She argues that 'an interview is a complicated, shifting, social process occurring between two human beings, which can never be exactly replicated' (2004:259).

For this research, prior to the interview each stakeholder was sent an information sheet about the research. Then, at the beginning of each interview the interviewee was given an overview of the research and a consent sheet to sign. They were then told the purpose of the interview and informed of the structure of the interview (that questions would be moving from the more general to the more specific).

Interview process

The interviews were informed by reviewing a large number of Council documents (see bibliography for a list of Council minutes reviewed and Gateshead Council documentation), the book *Making the Angel* (Gormley, Gateshead Council, 1998), which lists all those involved with the creation of the Angel and meetings with Anna Pepperall (Public Arts Officer at Gateshead Council). Reviewing previous literature on the Angel was important in order to get an understanding of the ideas and processes (anticipated outcomes) that led up to and enabled its creation. Reviewing Council literature also enabled me (along with insight from Anna Pepperall) to identify who should be interviewed for the research. It was important to interview a mix of stakeholders in order to explore the different perspectives of people who have been involved with the Angel in different ways (for example, the engineer compared to the artist).

Overall, nine stakeholders were identified as important to the sponsorship and creation of the Angel and interviewed. The interviews were conducted over two months (November and December 2011) in a variety of locations including Gateshead Civic Centre, Durham University and interviewees' homes. All the interviews were audio-recorded with the interviewee's consent apart from Antony Gormley's, which was undertaken through email. Audio-recording an interview allows the researcher to devote their full attention to listening to the interviewee and probing in depth rather than having to take full notes (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). If consent had not been granted for the recording of the interview then more extensive notes would have been taken. All interviews lasted for at

least one hour and a few lasted two hours. All were transcribed as soon as possible after the interview had taken place. There were various reasons for this: the interviews were still fresh in my mind and although notes were also taken, I could think back to the tone an individual used when answering a question as well as their non-verbal communication (such as how they reacted physically to a question). Early transcription also allowed for an informal development of themes.

The transcription of the interviews was a long and time-consuming process. However, there was not an option to out-source the transcription process. At this stage I knew that I would need to employ helpers to administer the community survey and it would be too costly to have both. It was also a wasted opportunity not to familiarise myself with the data by undertaking the transcribing. Olsen (2012:35), for example, notes that ‘the interview transcript allows insight into mechanisms, processes, reasons for actions and social structures as well as many other phenomena’, and being close to the data no doubt helps with obtaining these insights.

Analysing the interview data

The analysis of the stakeholder interviews took place in January/February 2012. A grounded theory approach was taken to the data analysis. This involves developing themes from the data and building theory from the bottom up inductively (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Theory emerges from the data by rigorous and structured analysis, and analysis of the data continues until relationships and categories are ‘saturated’. Grounded theory also involves the method of constant comparison. This is used to refine theoretical concepts and their properties (Seale, 2004). There are four stages to this method: coding the data into categories, integrating the categories and their properties, reaching theoretical saturation and then writing up the theory (Seale, 2004). ‘Theory’ for my purposes was the intended outcomes of the Angel of the North and how they emerged: the theories of change.

Grounded theory is well suited to computer based programs such as NVivo and I used the computer programs NVivo 9 (and later NVivo 10 when it was launched) to assist with my data analysis. NVivo provided an organised single location for all the stakeholder interview transcripts.

Bazeley (2007) describes five ways in which NVivo can be used in a research project: managing data, organising and keeping track; managing ideas; querying the data; making graphical models; and creating reports from the data. It helps to speed up analysis across a large number of documents, and retain an 'audit trail' of how the data have been coded and analysed. A key term in NVivo is the 'node', which represents codes that can be organised hierarchically.

Coding the data was the initial part of the analytical process. Coding refers to the general conceptualising of data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) and is the pivotal link between the data that has been collected and the theory that emerges to help explain the data. To start the data analysis in NVivo, I imported all the interview transcripts. I then sorted the transcripts into sets (a feature available in NVivo) - for example, a councillors set, an arts officers set, a funders set, an engineers set and so on. Charmaz (2006) describes two main phases in a grounded theory approach to coding data: an initial phase and a more focused phase. In the initial stage coding categories must 'stick closely to the data' (Charmaz, 2006:47). I therefore began the coding process by reading through each document (line by line) and highlighting and coding (as a child node) any text that emerged as interesting in the parent nodes of: 'background information', 'process', 'theories of change', 'unintended consequences', 'unmaterialised outcomes' and, lastly, 'wellbeing'. The tool 'parsing' in NVivo was also used here. Parsing gives a count of each word that is used. A record of the most frequently used words (other than definite and indefinite articles etc.) was kept for reference.

This initial stage was a long process as it was necessary to go over each document more than once. Once I felt that I had reached saturation, I printed off a report showing all the child nodes that had been created from the coding process in order to move to the second stage of more focused coding. Focused coding enables identification of the most significant and the most frequent themes to be recognised and grouped (Charmaz, 2006). Olsen (2012:47) refers to this as 'axial coding', which 'brings together, in either an explanatory or process-related structure, a theory that relates to the data'.

The outcomes took shape by considering how the codes could be grouped conceptually. I went back into NVivo and transformed both the 'child' and 'parent' nodes. This is done in a hierarchical-like structure, with an outcome at the top, then a main theme and then a sub

theme (the original free node). The 'parent' nodes were transformed to: 'art', 'public art', 'Gateshead' and 'the Angel' with the main themes of 'anticipated outcomes', 'actual outcomes', 'context' and 'mechanisms'. I then created models to show how themes were grouped for each transcript (see chapters 6 and 7 for examples of models). Analysing the text to uncover themes can then cast light on how meanings are attached to what is stated. A more detailed account of this process can be found in chapter 6.

It is worth noting that other approaches can be taken when analysing interview data. One example is the 'Framework' approach (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003). This is based on a prior determination of themes and concepts, and is often used in policy research. The outcome of the thematic framework is usually an explanation or an interpretation of a policy or practice, with policy recommendations. Grounded theory, on the other hand, is inductive and starts with no presuppositions. Since my study is exploratory and was attempting to understand stakeholders' perspectives 'bottom up', I decided that Framework was not the appropriate approach as this would impose too much structure at the start of the data analysis.

Stage 2: The survey

A survey was carried out in Gateshead in July 2012 of public attitudes towards the Angel. The aim of the survey was to gain an understanding of how people living in Gateshead feel about the arts generally, the Angel of the North sculpture specifically, and their own wellbeing.

A survey collects the same information about all cases and this information takes the form of 'variables', or characteristics that vary across the cases. De Vaus (1990:5) notes that: 'survey research seeks an understanding of what causes some phenomenon by looking at variation in that variable across cases, and looking for other characteristics which are systematically linked with it'. Bateson (1984) argues that individuals possess knowledge about the world around them and that the survey allows researchers to access this knowledge, although at arm's length and in a way that structures this knowledge for quantitative analysis.

Planning the survey took approximately six months, including a pilot survey (see above). The aim of the survey was to achieve a picture of Gateshead residents' views and perceptions of the Angel, compare these with the stakeholders' theories of change, and investigate possible deeper effects of the Angel on the wellbeing of the local community and how this varies according to residents' characteristics. The following sections discuss how the sample for the survey was achieved, how the survey was designed, and lastly how the survey was conducted.

Sampling

The aim of the survey was to gather views on the Angel from Gateshead residents. Firstly, the sample frame for the survey needed to be decided. This is the set of people that have the chance to be selected to participate in the survey, given the sampling approach used (Fowler, 2009). Initially, the survey was going to take place using the local authority's 'neighbourhood areas' as the sampling frame. However, after investigation it was decided that these would be too large for efficient sampling given the resource limitations of a doctoral research study, which meant that it would be better to group addresses to be sampled in smaller geographical areas. Therefore, it was decided to first sample Super Output Areas (Lower Layer) that would then be used with a quota sampling design. Super Output Areas are a set of geographical areas designed by the UK Office of National Statistics to improve the collecting, aggregating and reporting of small area statistics. There are two layers: Middle (MSOAs) and Lower (LSOAs). These are both created from aggregating Census Output Areas. LSOAs nest within MSOAs.

There are 126 LSOAs in Gateshead, each with a population of approximately 1,000 people. LSOAs can be defined by deprivation, and this was another reason it was decided to use them as it allowed for the analysis to look at differences in answers by deprivation level. The Department for Communities and Local Government released the latest Indices of Deprivation in 2010. The most well-known index is the Index of Multiple Deprivation, which measures multiple deprivation for each local authority as well as for smaller LSOAs.

The Angel of the North is dominant in the landscape and can be seen from many different locations around Gateshead and surrounding boroughs. There are a number of housing

estates near the sculpture. Proximity of residents to the sculpture may affect experiences of it, so one aspect of the survey design was to sample nearby and distant residential areas separately to investigate any differences arising from this geography.

It was decided that overall six LSOAs would be manageable for the survey; the three nearest the Angel of the North and the three furthest were selected. Each group of three was selected to include low, middle and high deprivation (see appendix 4 for a map showing the distribution of deprivation across Gateshead). These were chosen by using data from the Gateshead genie web pages which displayed deprivation levels for all LSOAs in all wards in Gateshead. For each level of deprivation an LSOA was chosen at random from areas near and distant from the Angel. Table 5.1 shows the selected LSOAs and their Index of Multiple Deprivation scores (the higher the score, the higher the deprivation).

Table 5.1: Survey LSOAs and their level of deprivation

	<i>LSOAs near the Angel</i>			<i>LSOAs distant from the Angel</i>		
	<i>LSOA name</i>	<i>Ward</i>	<i>Deprivation score</i>	<i>LSOA name</i>	<i>Ward</i>	<i>Deprivation score</i>
<i>High Deprivation</i>	Elisabethville	Lamesley	54.43	Old Fold	Felling	71.05
<i>Middle deprivation</i>	North Side/ Eighton Banks	Lamesley	26.79	Chopwell S/ Blackhall Mill	Chopwell & Rowlands Gill	25.93
<i>Low deprivation</i>	Chowdene	Chowdene	9.55	Crawcrook and Clara Vale	Crawcrook and Greenside	6.87

Once it was decided where the survey would take place, quotas were developed for the type of respondents who would need to be surveyed in each area based on key characteristics representative of residents of Gateshead. Sampling is important in social research as a way of creating sets of cases that are representative of the population as it is usually impractical to survey everyone. The type of sampling used was quota sampling. This is a type of non-random but representative sampling which ‘depends upon taking some decisions about the types of respondents that are wanted, making a grid of basic

characteristics and distributing the desired sample size among them, and then going out to a specific area and finding people or other cases of the desired types' (Olsen, 2012:26).

In order to achieve acceptable confidence intervals it was decided to aim at an achieved sample of 300 which gives, assuming a 'worst case' scenario of 50%/50% answers, a confidence interval of +/- 5 per cent at a 95 per cent confidence level (the higher the percentage, the narrower the confidence intervals because the chances of error are less likely). Based on the pilot study, a response rate of 25 per cent was expected. Therefore, the target sample size was 1,200. This was the number of addresses that needed an initial postcard delivered to them informing residents about the survey, with contact details if they did not wish to take part. The sample was apportioned across the six LSOAs based on the total number of addresses in each SOA. Quotas were then decided for males and females and age groups using data from the ONS (2001 Census) for Gateshead in order for the sample to be representative on these criteria. Table 5.2 shows the targeted and achieved samples for each area as well as the quotas.

Table 5.2: Quota samples across the six survey areas

Area	Deprivation and distance from the Angel	Targeted sample (addresses)	Quotas				Achieved sample
			Gender	Age group		Total	
				16-64	65+		
Elisabethville	High deprivation near	231	M	21	6	27	58
			F	24	7	31	
North Side/Eighton Banks	Middle deprivation near	205	M	16	7	23	51
			F	21	7	28	
Chowdene	Low deprivation near	182	M	16	6	22	45
			F	16	7	23	
Old Fold	High deprivation distant	182	M	17	4	21	45
			F	20	4	24	
Chopwell South/Blackhall Mill	Middle deprivation distant	241	M	19	9	28	60
			F	21	11	32	
Crawcrook/Clara Vale	Low deprivation distant	159	M	17	3	20	41
			F	18	3	21	
<i>Total</i>		<i>1200</i>		<i>226</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>300</i>	<i>300</i>

Table 5.3 compares the areas using data from the sample, the 2001 census and the 2011 census. Comparing the sample with the 2001 census, it appears representative for gender and age. Tenure was not used as a quota variable (deprivation was used instead) and there appears to be a tendency to over-represent owner-occupiers in the achieved sample. The 2011 census data were not available at the time the sampling was done but are included now for comparison, as the results are closer in time to the survey. The achieved sample is still broadly representative on the selected variables. The 2011 owner-occupier figures are generally higher, at least partly explaining the 2001 difference compared to the achieved sample.

The survey was informed by the nine interviews with people who brought the idea of the Angel to fruition (the stakeholders). It was also informed by the pilot survey, which was successful in highlighting that questions should be structured in a simple but informative way (see appendix 5 for questionnaire). The questionnaire largely had a fixed design. There were very few open-ended questions (the choice of 'other' regarding employment status and housing tenure). It was pre-coded, except for questions 40 and 41 on how long a respondent had lived in the area and the North East.

The merits of open and pre-coded questions have been the subject of debate in a great deal of research in the social sciences. Open ended questions allow the respondent freedom in how to formulate the aspect, detail and length of their answer (Seale, 2004). In pre-coded questionnaires the respondent is given a choice of answers or the question is asked as an open question and the interviewer allocates the answer to an appropriate category. Open-ended questions may allow for more detailed answers but they are resource-intensive to process. Coding the answers accurately is based on how the interviewer has interpreted the respondents' answers. Difficulties can also arise at the time of data input with compressing the respondents' answers into coded categories, Buckingham and Saunders (2004:139) note, 'different people may devise different sets of categories from reading the same interview transcripts, and when this happens, there is no objective set of criteria which can be applied to resolve the disagreement'.

Table 5.3: Area profiles for achieved sample, 2001 census and 2011 census

	<i>Elisabethville</i>			<i>N Side/Eighton Banks</i>			<i>Chowdene</i>			<i>Old Fold</i>			<i>Chopwell S/B'hall Mill</i>			<i>Crawcrook/Clara Vale</i>		
	<i>Sample</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2011</i>
<i>Total adults</i>	58	1576	1782	51	1552	1852	45	1455	1390	45	1391	1680	60	1699	1674	41	1356	1336
<i>Males %</i>	46.6	47.2	46.8	45.1	46.3	48.5	48.9	48.6	48.9	46.7	46.7	45.7	46.7	47.2	48	48.8	48.7	48.5
<i>Females %</i>	53.4	52.7	53.1	54.9	53.6	51.4	51.1	51.3	51	53.3	53.2	54.2	53.3	52.7	51.9	51.2	51.2	51.4
<i>16-64 %</i>	77.6	77.6	81.7	72.5	72.0	72.0	71.1	71.6	72.9	82.2	79.5	81.1	66.7	66.0	71.5	85.4	85.1	80.7
<i>65+ %</i>	22.4	22.4	18.3	27.5	28.0	28.0	28.9	28.4	27.1	17.8	20.5	18.9	33.3	34.0	28.5	14.6	14.9	19.3
<i>% Owner occupier²</i>	39.7	28.3	32.8	74.5	65.3	69.7	95.6	90.5	89.7	11.1	10.9	16.4	80.0	52.4	55.6	92.7	94.7	90.5
<i>% Rent</i>	60.3	70.26	66.5	25.5	33.2	29	4.4	8.6	9.5	88.9	89.1	83.1	20.0	44.9	42.3	7.4	4.1	9.4

² Census figures for tenure do not necessarily total 100 per cent due to 'other'.

Survey design

Good surveys need to meet criteria of reliability and validity (Bryman, 2004). An issue in this respect is if concepts are fluid or ambiguous. Researchers who use surveys as a method:

‘... strive towards gathering precisely measured data which is uncontaminated by external factors, such as linguistic ambiguities of open responses. This, they would argue, adds reliability to the data since they are able to use the data to report the observed “facts”’ (Henn et al., 2006:188).

In the case of this survey, it was decided to use a pre-coded questionnaire for efficiency at the time the interview was being conducted and for data input into SPSS. As Seale (2004:83) notes, ‘recording and coding of answers in one operation simplifies the whole procedure’. The pre-coded questions had more than one choice for answers. For the questions about opinions, a neutral choice of ‘neither agree or disagree’ or ‘don’t know’ was available.

For the questions focusing on wellbeing scales were used. There are several reasons why it is desirable to use scales in surveys. Robson (2002) argues that scales work well as they engage the respondents. When the questions on a respondents’ wellbeing were asked, they were shown the scale. This type of visual aid can help the respondent estimate an answer, look at the scale and then specify a point that corresponds to how they feel (Oishi, 2003). De Vaus (2002) argues that scales are reliable ways to measure a concept, increasing validity, and they have often been tested and confirmed for reliability and validity.

Questionnaire structure

The questionnaire was structured around four main criteria: participant demographic information, views on the arts and public art in general, views on the Angel of the North sculpture, and views on how happy and satisfied participants were with their lives. The structure of the survey was very important in making sure that the respondent understood what was being asked. Therefore, it flowed from the more general to the more specific, finishing with more personal questions.

Interviewing was based on door knocking the addresses left earlier with a postcard explaining the research (discussed further below). The questionnaire had an introductory section where the respondent was informed what the questionnaire was about (the interviewer also held up one of the postcards that were delivered to addresses a week previously). In order to check with the quota sampling, the first question was to ask the respondent which age bracket they fitted into (16-64 or 65 plus). Each interviewer had a table with their quotas and if, for example, they had already achieved their 16-64 year old quota they would be only trying to interview people aged over 65+. It was important that this question was asked first in order for the interviewer to clarify this and end the interview if the respondent did not fit their quota. The interviewee also had to make an observation on the respondents' sex. Again, this was based on quotas. If the interviewer was looking for a specific sex (for example, male) and a female answered the door, they would first of all ask if a male was present in the house to fulfil their quota before moving on to the next house.

If the respondent did fit the quota they were then guided through the questionnaire sections with a set of transition statements introducing and separating the sections (Oishi, 2003). Firstly, they were asked about the arts in general to gauge an idea of whether a person was interested in the arts and participated in them on a regular basis, for example, asking the participant how many times a year they went to an art gallery and whether they thought the arts were for them. The survey included questions about the arts relating to the area where a participant lived and whether they thought there were opportunities to be involved in the arts. The survey also asked the participant if they were aware of any of the other pieces of public art in Gateshead.

The questionnaire then moved on to ask the respondent specific questions about their feelings towards the Angel of the North. First of all they were read a list of 15 statements about the Angel and asked whether they agreed, disagreed or neither agreed nor disagreed with each statement. This was followed with more in-depth questions about their feelings towards the sculpture. The next section of the questions focused on wellbeing and demographic attributes of the participant. They were informed that all their answers were completely confidential and were only going to be used to look for general patterns in what people said.

As discussed in chapter 2, the term wellbeing has a nebulous nature and people can bring different meanings to it. For the survey, wellbeing as a concept needed to be made measurable. Therefore, wellbeing needed to be clarified and indicators of wellbeing needed to be developed and evaluated, especially regarding their reliability and validity (De Vaus, 1990). Using the example of the World Value Survey analysed by sociologists Haller and Hadler (2004), wellbeing was operationalised by defining it in terms of two variables: happiness and life satisfaction. Happiness and life satisfaction are terms that are widely understood by the general population, more so than wellbeing (Layard, 2005). The questionnaire asked the participant to rate how satisfied they were with their life on a scale of 0 to 10 (where '0' is not at all and '10' is completely). The survey then asked the participant to rate on the same scale how happy they felt yesterday.

The survey finished by asking a number of questions about respondents' characteristics to look for general patterns in what people said. The type of demographic information requested was based on the quota sample criteria as well as other interesting attributes; these were age, sex, employment, education, religion, housing tenure, and time lived in neighbourhood and North East England.

The survey also included a definition list in case any respondent did not understand any of the terminology used in the questionnaire.

The survey process

Due to the chosen sampling strategy the best way to collect data for the survey was to conduct face-to-face interviews by door-knocking at people's houses in the chosen LSOAs until the achieved sample was reached. Initially, the data were going to be collected by telephone but after investigation it was decided that there were too many disadvantages with using this method, such as people being ex-directory or finding it easier to refuse to take part in the survey. Face-to-face interviews are the most effective method in achieving a high response rate (De Vaus, 2002). Due to the survey being conducted under tight time constraints this was another main consideration for choosing to conduct the interviews in this way.

Overall, the survey took three weeks to complete. The first week was spent delivering postcards to 200 houses in each LSOA ($200 \times 6 = 1200$ – the targeted sample for all areas). The postcards informed residents that a survey was going to be conducted in their area on their feelings and attitudes towards the Angel of the North. There was a number to call to leave a message if the resident wanted to opt out of the survey. The postcard also notified the resident that if they participated in the survey they would be entered into a raffle to win a £50 gift voucher. The postcard was signed by the Chief Executive of Gateshead Council, which it was thought would add legitimacy to the research. There were two postcards, both displayed the same text but the images were different (see appendix 6). The delivering of the postcards was done in rounds with the three LSOAs nearest to the Angel being done first and the three furthest LSOAs from the Angel being delivered to second. The interviewing for the questionnaire would then follow this to ensure that people had enough time to opt out of the survey if they wanted to. Where the postcards had been delivered was marked on a map to ensure that houses did not get door-knocked that had not received a postcard.

The postcards proved to be very successful. Only thirty people opted out of the survey by telephone. A large number of residents that were door-knocked for the survey had the postcard on display in their homes (on fridges, fireplaces, notice boards etc.) and were expecting us to call. Some seemed surprised that they had been selected and others had lifted out information to give us, such as newspaper clippings and photographs, and one lady showed an interviewer a video of her Zumba class performing at the Angel of the North. Information like this cannot be recorded in the survey due to its fixed design. There are also disadvantages with using a fixed survey design with the participant not being able to expand or elaborate on the answers they are giving. In order to overcome this issue, respondents were offered a pre-paid envelope, which included an A4 sheet of paper enabling them to send more information about their views on the sculpture. Ten respondents opted for this and the letters are reviewed in chapter 8.

The actual conducting of the survey took two weeks (Monday to Saturday – no door-knocking was conducted on a Saturday afternoon or all day Sunday). A timetable was created showing which areas would be door-knocked on which day and at what time. Areas were door-knocked in 3-hour rounds. In the end, the timetable was used more as a guide than prescriptively as on some days in some areas there were large gaps when no one

answered their doors. If this happened it was then decided to move on to a different area. This was noted as it was desirable to make sure that all areas were door-knocked at similar times, and this ranged from 10am to 7pm (see appendix 7 for a copy of the timetable).

All quotas were achieved in all areas. However, an extra 50 postcards were delivered to each area due to people opting out or being unavailable at the call back. The targeted sample therefore changed to 1500, giving a response rate of 20 per cent. This is an adequate response rate for this type of survey (Seale, 2004). However, the implications are discussed further in chapter 11.

Survey data analysis

The survey data were analysed using the computer software program SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). SPSS is the most widely used package of computer software for the analysis of quantitative data by social scientists (Bryman, 2008). Before the data analysis began, variables were created in SPSS based on the questions asked in the survey. The variables were named, labelled and defined using the coding frame. After the survey had taken place all the data were entered into SPSS. The survey was pre-coded making this a reasonably easy and straightforward task. The data were inputted into SPSS by the two assistants who helped administer the questionnaire and myself. I then checked that all the inputted data were correct. The analysis started by exploring frequencies and then moved on to look at bivariate relationships using a mixture of cross-tabulations. A cluster analysis technique was also used, which enables respondents to be grouped into different 'clusters' depending on their responses and characteristics.

Survey limitations

There are disadvantages with using a fixed research design such as a survey. It does not easily allow for participant interpretation, or for a participant to expand or elaborate on what they are saying. They are confined to the operationalised measures created by the researcher or survey designer, either as pre-coded questions or by post-coding open-ended responses. A way to tackle this issue was to give each survey respondent the chance to say more about their experiences of the Angel sculpture by using the pre-paid letter. Surveys can also be compromised by observer error (random errors) or participant error (mistakes,

memory loss, or just not wanting to tell the truth). The use of focus groups with a topic guide designed after the survey allowed the results to be explored in more detail.

Stage 3: The focus groups

After the survey had been conducted and analysed, a series of focus groups were conducted to investigate the survey results in more depth, paying particular attention to why particular types of people gave the answers they did. A focus group is an interview with several people on a specific topic or issue (Bryman, 2008). Although used extensively in market research (Bryman, 2008), the use of focus groups in social research has only become popular over the last two decades (Richie and Lewis, 2003). Focus groups allow for multiple views to be discussed, and allow the researcher to gather a large amount of information in a small amount of time (Gibbs, 1997). Focus groups also allow for the researcher to follow up the reasons behind respondents' views, as well as the respondents to reconsider their initial views in interaction with other participants.

While one approach would have been to recruit focus group participants from the survey respondents, the practicalities of doing this and organising individual respondents to attend venues at specific times was considered beyond the resources available with too much risk in finding venues, organising access and securing attendance in the time available. Instead, it was decided to identify pre-existing groups representing key population characteristics of interest. Bloor et al. (2001:19) comment that 'as focus groups are not selected by means of systematic random sampling and the success of the group depends, at least in part, on the dynamics between individuals within the group, there is a range of issues that the researcher has to consider in order to compose and conduct a successful group'. For this research it was decided that the focus groups would take place with already existing groups within the Gateshead community both for practical reasons and because the group dynamics would likely be better than bringing together groups of strangers. There are arguments for and against using pre-existing groups compared to purposely-constructed groups. The interaction of participants is a key feature of focus groups, therefore group composition is important. Bloor et al., (2001:22) note that 'research participants who belong to pre-existing social groups may bring to the interaction comments about shared experiences and events and may challenge any discrepancies between expressed beliefs and actual behaviour and generally promote discussion and debate'. The dynamics of a

pre-existing group may also flow better, with people being more open and honest with what they say due to being in a familiar, comfortable and relaxed setting. Kitzinger and Barbour (1999:8-9) comment that pre-existing groups 'are after all, the networks in which people might normally discuss (or evade) the sorts of issue likely to be raised'. Due to the research focusing on local perceptions on the Angel, being in a 'natural occurring' setting was important.

However, it could be argued that in focus groups consisting of strangers, individuals are more likely to speak openly and freely without fear of repercussion after the focus group has ended (Richie and Lewis, 2003). Due to this, purpose-constructed focus groups may be used more commonly when discussing a sensitive issue, which was not likely to be the case with this research. Although arguments can be made both ways, the determining factor in choosing pre-existing groups for the research was a practical one. Recruitment effort is drastically reduced when the group already exists as usually only one member of the group needs to be contacted (the secretary, chair etc.) instead of each individual member. It is also argued that pre-existing groups may result in reduced attrition rates (Bloor et al., 2001) as the group is known and there may be a shared obligation to attend.

Focus group process

The focus groups had to relate to the survey as they were a way of exploring the results from the survey in more depth. One of the main aims of the focus groups was to investigate why particular people gave the responses they did in the survey. The focus groups needed to be constructed around gender, age and social deprivation status, key variables used in the survey analysis. Over 150 emails were sent out to different groups around Gateshead to achieve representation of these different categories. These ranged from knit and natter groups to toddler and parent groups.

The majority of societies or groups that exist in the Gateshead community can be found on the Council's website (the societies and organisations directory). There is usually a blurb about the group and contact details. In the email, a brief overview of the research was given, highlighting the survey research and the need to explore the results in more detail. It was requested that I would like to come along to one of their meetings and do this. It was

clarified in the email that there would need to be at least six members present, but no more than ten (see appendix 8 for copy of email).

The size of a focus group can become a concern. If the group is large (above say eight participants) not everyone may be able to speak and have their say and it can become difficult to moderate (Richie and Lewis, 2003). Although the size of the group may depend on the research issue at hand (for example, studies of sensitive behaviours may work best with smaller groups of participants), ideally for this research groups of around six to eight were favoured, as less input would be needed by the facilitator and researcher, and more attention could be paid to what the participants were saying and how they were relating to one another.

Selecting and recruiting the focus groups took a lot longer than anticipated and after the initial sweep of 150 emails to Gateshead societies, I received ten replies. Three of these were groups refusing to participate but I managed to successfully recruit three groups of varying type. In a further push, I decided that the research needed to be legitimised by Gateshead Council in order for people to respond to the emails and take them seriously. With help from the Arts Development team at Gateshead Council, out of a further ten emails sent, two further groups responded.

Originally, eight focus groups were to be conducted but due to time constraints five was decided as more manageable. They were all conducted with groups that already existed within the community. The only group that was not contacted from the Council directory (other than the schools) was the women's group at St. Chads community project in Bensham, Gateshead. This group was recommended by the Bishop of Jarrow after a conversation about the research when concerns about getting access to groups from high deprivation areas were raised. The Bishop had previously visited the group at the community project and suggested I contact the project worker, mentioning his name. This proved to be successful.

The focus groups were audio-recorded (along with note taking) with the consent of all the participants present. If audio-recording the focus group was not possible, extensive notes would have been taken. A helper was employed to assist me with the note-taking for the focus groups, but was to have no input as a facilitator. Their job was to write down the

main points being discussed, but more importantly to take note of the participants' non-verbal communication: their body language and physical response to questions or what was being said by other participants. The focus groups were originally supposed to last for 30-40 minutes but in reality they lasted 60-90 minutes.

At the beginning of each focus group, I introduced myself and the study (with aid of a poster which displayed information about the research). I also informed the group why I was there and what issues we would be discussing. I had a set of pre-specified questions which were used as prompts (see appendix 9). In most cases, the discussion was allowed to flow quite freely, with the respondents taking the majority of control of the conversation with my steering. My role as a facilitator was more to prompt and probe for further or more detailed answers rather than lead or dictate the direction of the discussion.

Focus group data analysis

In a similar process to the stakeholder interviews, the focus groups were transcribed as soon as possible after they had taken place. NVivo 10 was used to code and analyse them. A thematic approach was taken to the analysis, noting key themes and how they related to each other, including similarities and differences across the groups. Thematic analysis has an emphasis on what is said rather than on how it is said (Bryman, 2008). The thematic analysis of the focus group data was loosely based on a 'Framework' strategy because, in contrast to the stakeholder interviews which were 'bottom up' explorations where the analysis used was a grounded theory approach, for this analysis I was investigating in more depth themes from the survey and stakeholder interviews (Ritchie et al., 2003).

The Framework approach is based on a prior determination of themes and concepts, and is often used in policy research. Ritchie et al. (2003:219) describe it as a 'matrix based method for ordering and synthesizing data'. When using a Framework strategy, initially an index of central themes and subthemes is constructed and represented in a matrix. The researcher immerses themselves in the data and the themes and subthemes are essentially recurring motifs in the text. This thematic framework is then applied to the data and can be used to filter and classify them (Bryman, 2008).

Reflections on the research process

The above sections have sought to reflectively and critically discuss the empirical research process for this research. It is important in social research to take into account and be aware of the social identity and background of the individual researcher and how this may have an impact on the research. Ahern (1999:408) notes that ‘the ability to put aside personal feelings and preconceptions is more a function of how reflexive one is rather than how objective one is’. This section considers the impact of the researcher on the research process.

There can be various limitations with being ‘the researcher’, or ‘an outsider’ trying to investigate a phenomenon, which is taking place in an unknown environment. Robson (2002:540) notes that ‘if you are an outsider, you will need to find out a substantial amount about the client’s needs and expectations, and to be aware of the setting and context in which the study will take place’. This was the case for this research with Gateshead Council, a governance body, funding half of the project bursary. Previous to the research, I had never worked in a local authority setting. Also, although I live near Gateshead, I do not live there. I spent a lot of time during my Masters degree familiarising myself with Gateshead Council (their policies, strategies etc.) as well as with the area of the town. In the first year of the PhD research I also shadowed Anna Pepperall (Public Arts Officer at Gateshead Council) to try and get a deeper understanding of how the Council works, especially with regard to public art practices.

A second limitation in reflectively considering the research process is that of researcher inexperience in the field. Although previous to this research I had conducted various empirical research studies (both for my undergraduate and Masters degree), there was still an air of doubt that I would be able to achieve the empirical tasks planned, especially with regard to the community survey. The pilot study was very helpful in managing these risks. It not only raised issues and problems that would need to be taken into account for the main study, but enabled me to hone and refine my skills as a researcher. I had never conducted a ‘theory of change’ interview prior to the pilot study and trialling the process allowed me to practise the way in which questions needed to be worded. This was similar for the community survey. Prior to the research I had only conducted on-site surveys. The notion of door-knocking strangers and the possible invasion of people’s privacy was

daunting to say the least. The pilot study worked well in providing me with more confidence as well as determining that helpers would be needed to make the process safer as well as more enjoyable.

Thirdly, issues to do with appearance are worth noting. Throughout the research process, I had an intangible yet distinct impression that because of how young I appear respondents would decide that both the research and I were not of importance. Robson (2002:540) notes that when considering the research process it is important to remember that 'you are likely to be judged on your communication and interaction skills'. Therefore, what is important is how you 'present' yourself when interacting with the client and participants (Robson, 2002). This is also an issue with disseminating the findings of the research. With this in mind, I dressed smartly for all the stakeholder interviews and for the focus groups. I also made sure that I had read up about each stakeholder so as to appear knowledgeable but also to make the conversation and interview flow easier. I also found that offering tea and making the environment as relaxed as possible worked well. However, after saying this, I had no problems with people not wanting to tell me about their involvement with the Angel and in nearly all cases the stakeholders seemed to enjoy talking about it. This was similar with the focus groups.

I took the opposite approach with how I dressed for the community survey and for observation. The two helpers employed to assist with the administration of the survey were also young. I decided that we needed to look as approachable as possible and therefore should dress casually (jeans, t-shirt and trainers). Lanyards were worn which displayed the Durham University logo and our names. The helpers were told to hold this up when introducing themselves, along with the postcard, to smile, and always be polite. For this part of the research, the fact that we came across as young students conducting a project (instead of refined market researchers dressed in suits) helped significantly as it was obvious that people found it harder to turn us away from the doorstep, with an almost seemingly obligation to help.

Lastly, as Robson (2002:539) notes, 'the main concern of the study is practical: it seeks to provide answers relevant to that specific context. Does the study help to solve the problem or throw light on the issue presented?' (Robson, 2002:539). Silverman (2005:211) suggests that researchers must give special consideration to how they can 'convince themselves

(and their audience) that their “findings” are generally based on critical investigation of all their data and do not depend on a few well-chosen “examples”.’ Robson (2002:176) comments that researchers need to concern themselves seriously with the reliability of their methods and research practices and that this ‘involves not only being thorough, careful and honest in carrying out the research, but also being able to show others that you have been’. It is therefore necessary to consider any weaknesses in the findings in the hope of increasing their legitimacy, and thus minimising the concerns that both Silverman and Robson raise. Any one method gives a particular view of the research issue. The use of different methods for this one study enables these to be triangulated, increasing the validity of the findings. The findings, to be presented in the following chapters, are presented in such a way that allows the reader to judge for themselves the validity of the arguments made, but in chapter 11 the thesis returns to consider the strengths and weaknesses of the work and its methodological approach.

The next four chapters present the results of the range of methods used, starting with the stakeholder interviews. This considers in detail the narratives of several key stakeholders in the creation of the Angel, with the aim of identifying their accounts of what outcomes they expected and what outcomes were achieved by the Angel as an art object in the Gateshead landscape.

Chapter 6: Stakeholder perspectives I

Introduction

Nine interviews were conducted with stakeholders, each having an important role in the creation of the Angel. These were: Andrew Dixon and Matthew Jarratt, at Arts Council England (then Northern Arts, a funder of the Angel); Anna Pepperall, Public Arts Officer at Gateshead Council; Antony Gormley, Artist; Bill Stalley, Director of Hartlepool Fabrications; Chris Jeffrey, Engineer at Gateshead Council; Mike White, at the time Arts Director at Gateshead Council; Les Elton, at the time Chief Executive Officer at Gateshead Council; and Sid Henderson, Councillor and ‘Arts in Public Places’ Panel chair at Gateshead Council³. The main aim of the interviews was to explore the stakeholders’ ‘theories of change’: what they expected the Angel to achieve and how. All interviewees were provided with an information sheet detailing that their comments would be attributed to them on an identifiable basis unless they specified otherwise. A consent form was signed by all the stakeholders confirming that they acknowledged this.

The interviews were recorded, transcribed and then analysed using the computer program NVivo. A theory of change approach was taken with the interview schedule design and the interpretation and analysis of the interviews, looking for patterns of context, mechanisms and outcomes.

The topics that were discussed in the interviews went from the more general to the more specific, starting with the stakeholders’ views on art generally, Gateshead and public art in general, before moving on to discuss the Angel in detail. The stakeholders were asked about outcomes they *anticipated* from the Angel, outcomes they saw as *actually occurring*, outcomes that were *unexpected*, outcomes that had *not materialised*, aspects of the *context* and factors (*mechanisms*) they saw as producing the outcomes that occurred. This chapter concentrates on the contextual aspects of the Angel, examining the stakeholders’ ideas on art, public art, Gateshead and the anticipated outcomes of the Angel in order to frame the thinking that led up to the Angel and its expected impact. The next chapter will investigate

³ The job titles are the interviewee’s role at the time the Angel of the North was created.

how the stakeholders' anticipated outcomes were reflected in their perception of actual outcomes.

Using NVivo, all the narratives were categorised using topics. A node was created for each topic covered in the interview (at a very general level to begin with, these were: art; Gateshead; public art; and the Angel - anticipated outcomes, actual outcomes, context, mechanisms). A series of coding sweeps were then carried out, highlighting text and using 'the code into existing node' function in NVivo to place them into the correct topic (coding child nodes into parent nodes). If, at this stage of the analysis, there was not a general topic node for the text to be placed into, the text reference was coded using the 'code a current node' function to re-visit at a later stage.

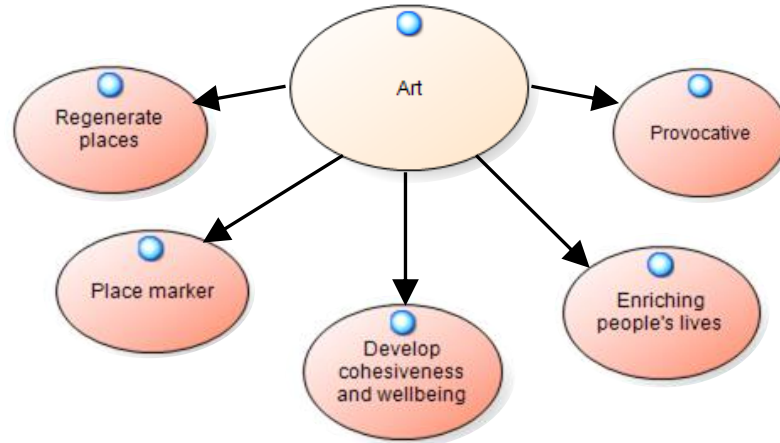
A process of re-visiting each child node was undertaken, making notes of possible sub-themes into which the child nodes could be grouped conceptually. After deliberation, these sub-themes were created as new child nodes and then the now 'grandchildren' nodes were moved into each sub-theme until all of them were grouped under one or other theme and no new themes needed to be created. This created a hierarchical structure of parent node (topic), children node (themes), grand-children node (sub-theme) and great grand-children (direct text reference). In some cases, there were not as many variations of nodes depending on how complex the analyses were (for example, in some cases there were no sub-themes). This is discussed in more detail below. Having a structured format like this meant that all the text references were still attached to the nodes, making it possible to go back into the documents and look at the context in which the node was located (this was used, for example, to find quotes to illustrate the thematic accounts below).

The stakeholders' views on art

The interviews began by asking the stakeholders what they considered to be the role of art in society. This relates back to chapter 2's discussion about defining public art and the importance of public purposes and value, but the ambiguity often surrounding these purposes. Therefore, the interviews sought to elicit stakeholders' views about the role of art in society generally and then public art specifically. The model (figure 6.1) below shows how their responses were categorised into themes. The roles were: to regenerate

places; to be a place marker; to develop cohesiveness and wellbeing; to enrich people's lives; and to be provocative.

Figure 6.1: Art model created in NVivo



The themes of regenerating places and being a place marker might be regarded as surprising for such a general question as the role of art in society, but reflect the nature of the study, which interviewees were informed about. They were likely, therefore, to frame their answers in the context of my study and their own roles, which related closely to these purposes for art. The other themes are less surprising: developing cohesiveness and wellbeing (or ‘belonging’), enriching lives and provoking audiences.

However, it is interesting to note how the stakeholders’ views and comments varied. Indeed, some were quite taken back by the question, with Bill Stalley (Director of Hartlepool Fabrications, who manufactured the sculpture) commenting that the role of art in society was for the artist to determine:

‘The role of art in society? I think it’s best expressed as the expression of the artist who actually puts the thing together and for the public to enjoy ... That’s the easiest explanation I can give.’

In contrast the artist himself, Antony Gormley, saw the artist as defining the role of art indirectly rather than directly, so that art enabled participation and debate among its audiences, who are not passive consumers of the art but actively engage with perspectives the art introduces into their lives. He commented:

‘Art is perhaps becoming an important place in which human futures can be evoked, transmitted, experienced and debated. I think we have evolved out of the commercialisation of Modernism in which the artist’s work is treated as a trophy of individual freedom and sold for a high price, putting the buyer in the position of a dumb consumer’.

Other stakeholders commented that art is about re-introducing creativity, aesthetic pleasures and distinctiveness into the standardised world of mass consumer society. Sid Henderson, Gateshead politician, remarked:

‘My general attitude is this: as a society we are becoming more and more standardised and everywhere, if you go to the high street, looks the same, you see the same shops. So, everybody is eating things, wearing things and so on which are standardised, more so than when we had to create things in the past. There was a lot of creativity that just disappeared.

He continued:

‘How many youngsters now just take their time to pause and look? ... My attitude has always been that the creativities is the one thing that modern society is denying many people, and it is something that we have to revive in education as well as elsewhere. If only people could get the pleasure out of music, the pleasure out of the leisure that you get by having an interest in the creativity generally, how much that would enhance their lives’.

Mike White, ex-Arts Director at Gateshead Council, commented that art is about social cohesion:

‘The role of arts in society is to develop cohesiveness by helping to shape people’s world view and their value structures and to reflect on their and others’ experiences, and to have experiences which enhance their wellbeing, that open them up to other possibilities, and create neighbourliness’.

However, he added:

‘But art, of course, art also needs to be provocative and, on occasion, to disturb’.

This was a similar stance taken by Matthew Jarratt (Arts Council sponsor) who commented that art should both ‘challenge and inspire’.

The stakeholders, then, were not wholly in agreement about the role of art, but they all proposed outcomes that they saw art could *cause*, whether enjoyment, imagining futures,

creativity, distinctiveness, social cohesion or challenge. There is an important sense in these narratives of art *acting* in people's lives, and of art being an antidote to the 'sameness' of post-industrial mass consumer culture.

The stakeholders' views on public art

Is public art distinct from art in general? Matthew Jarratt commented that:

'The work of public art should reflect what's in the gallery, they shouldn't be two different worlds, and it has started to get a bit like that'.

Initial discussion focused around this, using terms such as free, accessible and enjoyment. Public art is not different art, but art in a different place. The idea of public art being free was best expressed as a 'gift to the public', especially to those who do not directly engage with art in a gallery setting, so taking art to where people are, rather than people coming to where the art is. Mike White commented:

'I believe very strongly that the best art is a gift, it is not a commodity, it is not made to be bought and sold in an art market. The great gift of public art is that it is for everyone'.

However, all the stakeholders talked of public art going beyond this. Anna Pepperall, Gateshead Public Arts Officer, said:

'Art in a public place is accessible to everyone, because that certainly is the definition of public art, and then the role would be a number of things'.

These further functions or roles that public art was claimed to have moved it away from being viewed as a public monument or a statue. Mike White commented:

'Thank god we've moved away from the older view of public art as being largely just commemorative, mainly of people in uniform on horses'.

To begin with in the stakeholder interviews there was a lot of emphasis on 'staging' art: using public space as an open gallery, encouraging artists and *public engagement* with art. But later on their accounts talked of public art instilling a feeling of being part of a place and engendering pleasure through something that projected that idea. Anna Pepperall commented:

‘There are a lot of knock-on effects with having an artist in your society and in your community. I think people like being part of something. It is almost a trigger that gives a community or a society a sense of ownership of their location and also, hopefully, an enjoyment and love and pleasure for that work’.

Anna Pepperall also distinguished between ‘commercial’ and ‘local’ public art, especially regarding the importance of *placing*, commenting:

‘I would make a distinction between what I would call the corporate ‘easily’ ‘commissioned works of art, in commercial settings, where the art probably doesn’t have a local community. There are the office workers or the people walking past, but in a way, it doesn’t matter so much in the way it is placed, it doesn’t matter so much if people like it or dislike it, although obviously people have opinions. But, it is not the same as placing something in a very local area where people live. Corporate public art does have a different function and value, you can often see that because of the money that has been spent on a massive work and it is very exuberant’.

She continued:

‘The positioning of any sculpture in any environment is really important ... whether we’re talking small scale or large scale, it’s to give a sense of ownership to that particular location.’

Here, it can be argued that what distinguishes public art is ‘the way it is placed’. This idea of public art as ‘placed’ was important to the role it was expected to play, including being ‘owned’ by the public. This ownership was about identification with something that mattered to people who lived where the art was placed. Anna Pepperall talked about public art’s regeneration role in this way: ‘it says to people that “your area matters”’. So the ownership is of an idea that matters in some way to the art’s public, especially that they identify with.

Mike White commented that the role of public art is to ‘embody the aspirations of a community’ while Andrew Dixon said, ‘Public art is about identifying places, celebrating the places that people live and work and creating identity for local people’. ‘Placing’, therefore, was about what and whom the art was for.

There was also a lot emphasis on community consultation and involvement, but this could be a contentious issue, as Mike White commented:

‘Once you start getting public art that is entirely determined by public opinion when it is still at gestation stage, then you are going to get good schemes crushed and you are going to get mediocre ones passing through’.

Anna Pepperall emphasised a need to engage the public and obtain their support to a public art project:

‘It would be wrong to say we were placing anything somewhere without any community contact, but always - and if not more so than ever - ensuring that there is community ‘buy-in’ to any project that we are about to embark on’.

Les Elton, ex-Chief Executive with Gateshead Council, took this further, believing that public art had to respond to public opinion about its merits:

‘I’m a great believer of the saying: “you can fool some of the people all the time, all the people some of the time, but you can’t fool all of the people all of the time”. And I think, generally, you should respect people’s opinions’.

In the interviews all the stakeholders viewed the aesthetic quality of a piece of public art as important, but this was fundamentally about depth so that the art was not superficial.

Matthew Jarratt commented:

‘Communities shouldn’t have all these little bits of cheap public art ... Poor quality public art has a more limited time scale and is time limited. Public art, yes it’s good engagement with the community, but in the end we’ve got these bits all over the place which, they’re not art, they’re not really, well at the best they are interesting signage...’

Les Elton also commented on this, observing that there is a real issue with the quality of a piece of public art and that it was often overlooked when people created the art for the ‘wrong reasons’. Similarly, Matthew Jarratt commented that even ‘quality’ public art was not really quality if its purpose was to compensate for something of a low standard:

‘It just started to become this sort of thing where you can build a pretty crap building as long as you’ve got an interesting artwork there and you can focus on that. The quality of architecture was getting worse as the opportunities for public art increased’.

This reflects back to Anna Pepperall’s comments about the different types of public art in different settings, corporate public art compared to ‘local’ public art. The stakeholders saw

public art as needing to enhance a place but it also had to have meaning as something its public could identify with.

There was a lot of emphasis on public art as being an improver, with comments such as ‘to add interest, to improve’ (Anna Pepperall) and ‘the improvement of spaces’ (Matthew Jarratt). Les Elton commented that as a governance body, ‘you should always be looking to improve things, seeking the new’ and that public art is a way to this objective.

However, while a piece of corporate public art might aim to improve a bland office building, this democratic idea of improvement was about potential. Seeing public art as an improver was not only linked to physical improvement of the environment in which it was situated, but also the people and community who surrounded it or those who come to visit it. Mike White commented:

‘As an identifier it can be very strong and it can say something about quality of life and aspiration of the place where it is located’.

In talking about public art as a community participation process, he continued:

‘At a deeper level the public seem to get that there is a connection between creativity, participation and wellbeing’.

Other stakeholders saw the improvement of quality of life as linked to the regeneration role that public art can have, with Sid Henderson commenting, ‘it’s this business of image, changing image’, with making people feel better about themselves and where they live.

The stakeholders also viewed public art as ‘reflecting the character of a place’. Mike White commented that public art ‘is a very powerful way now for a community or a town to present itself to the rest of the world’. Anna Pepperall said:

‘You’re making it in quite a low-key area or normal place, something a bit more extraordinary or different. It says to people that “your area matters”’.

Interestingly, as with the discussion on art in general, the conversation surrounding public art also focused on the idea of challenging the public. Nearly all the stakeholders commented on the need for public art to create debate and challenge audiences with new

ideas, with phrases such as ‘introduce an element of surprise, imagination’ (Anna Pepperall) and ‘public art, it creates debate, it creates interest’ (Sid Henderson).

All the stakeholders viewed public art as important to creating and enhancing places and making people feel better about the area where they lived and, in turn, improving quality of life. However, with regard to the priority public art had for spending there was a defensive view. Chris Jeffrey, Gateshead Council Engineer, remarked:

‘At times when you see cuts for the basic sort of things it seems like a bit of an extravagance to have public art ... you know when they’re closing old people’s homes, cutting child benefit, I can’t imagine people wanting to give much priority to art’.

Mike White commented that public art is an ‘easy target’:

‘Public art is always an easy target for internal politics within a Council because it raises immediate questions about spend ... They [the public] have this problem with the perception of whether public money is well used, which calls into question that there should be more hospital beds and fewer sculptures around’.

However, Anna Pepperall emphasised how public art was largely not paid for by public spending but by planning requirements on developers:

‘Largely public art spend is nothing to do with the Council’s budget, it is to do with a private development, which could be a housing area, a shopping centre, a hotel or attracting grants’.

If public art, then, is about improvement – from improvement as physical enhancement to an aspiration for a community – its priority in public spending and its dependence on private sector development are problematic issues. Does this reflect a different reality to some of the optimistic language used to talk about public art, or just that there are other ways of funding something that actually is important and fundamental? To explore this, the chapter now turns to consider the particular situation of Gateshead as a post-industrial town ‘reinventing’ itself.

Gateshead

For a piece of public art on the scale of the Angel, the context is the town, even the region, that hosts it. There were five main themes about public art in Gateshead that came out of the stakeholder interviews, all reflecting the town's need after years of industrial decline to find a post-industrial role: regeneration, cultural investment, changing image, art-led, and the future.

There were a lot of important factors leading up to the Angel's creation. The regeneration of the town was extremely important, with Matthew Jarratt commenting, 'there was a fluid approach to ripping up the landscape and putting another one down ... You know, one industry there that is taken away and you can put another industry there'. This led to a lot of cultural investment in Gateshead to help stimulate a cultural sector. Chris Jeffrey commented:

'All of these [cultural] projects brought in huge employment, professional expertise, and cultural expertise ... You know, the Sage [concert halls] is another example, you know the amount of investment in the borough through art and culture has been absolutely phenomenal'.

Overall, the stakeholders viewed this as a positive and remarkable change. Matthew Jarratt again:

'It [Gateshead] is fundamentally associated with culture and innovation and things like that ... the fact that twice the amount of people went to see the Turner Prize when it was in Gateshead than when it was last in London is, you know, pretty odd'.

How Gateshead had started to change its image was also commented on, with particular attention paid to the creation of the National Lottery and the funding available from it. Matthew Jarratt continued:

'There was a point, in the early to mid-2000s, where ten per cent of the Arts Lottery was spent in Gateshead, which is amazing given that Gateshead was a pretty unknown borough in the early 90s'.

The regeneration of Gateshead, then, was arts-led, with the stakeholders commenting that the town adopted a strategy that was about artists and culture. Sid Henderson explained:

‘There was a sort of sympathetic resonance of Gateshead’s ideas about the arts and the role was to try and get people to realise that different things were good, different things were bad. So, you got this involvement of public art around Gateshead’.

This was also to do with planning and the creation of new buildings. In his interview, Matthew Jarratt reflected that it was the senior councillors and developers who began thinking, ‘to make this building work, we need an artwork’.

The ideas about changing the image of Gateshead were also discussed with Matthew Jarratt, who recounted: ‘Gateshead has pretty much reinvented itself. It was on that journey in the late 80s, but the Angel was the tipping point’. Mike White commented that ‘Tarantantara’ by Anish Kapoor that was displayed in the new Baltic gallery (in 1999 before it opened in 2002) made another huge impact on how Gateshead was recognised as a national leader in the arts.

Things were changing, though, at the time of the interviews, with public spending cuts and stalling economic growth. When talking about the future for Gateshead, there were mixed views about the role of the arts and specifically public art in the borough. Spending cuts were hitting the arts sector hard and there was a view that the next step would be something less dramatic, with Matthew Jarratt giving this example:

‘The housing company that are dealing with Gateshead’s social housing for the next 20 years want to develop more artists’ spaces and studios, so more money on culture, but not spent on public art so much’.

The Angel was made possible by new waves of funding during a period of growing public and Lottery funding, but these opportunities were framed and then magnified by Gateshead’s particular policy stance towards arts-led regeneration. What, then, was this fix on the arts meant to do? The next section focuses on the stakeholders’ views of the Angel as a specific example, considering the outcomes they *anticipated* for the sculpture.

Stakeholders' anticipated outcomes from the Angel

Figure 6.2 shows a model created in NVivo summarising the themes that emerged from the interviews. These were:

- creating a landmark;
- a gateway making Gateshead distinctive;
- getting Gateshead noticed;
- attracting visitors;
- a positive image for Gateshead
- making a place;
- celebrating local heritage and character;
- instilling pride in place;
- creating an iconic image;
- creating a visual aesthetic;
- raising the profile of the arts;
- engendering wellbeing;
- 'open ended' (no particular anticipated outcomes).

The anticipated outcomes, therefore, were multifaceted and each will be discussed in turn.

The theme *creating a landmark* had varied meanings attached to it. Although the word 'landmark' was used by nearly all the stakeholders, how they defined this in relation to the Angel differed. For example, Anna Pepperall and Les Elton talked about 'creating a landmark', with Anna Pepperall paying particular attention to adding a distinctive element to the site, commenting: 'it was a desire to do something substantial on that site. To create an impact, a shock, something different in that landscape'. However, creating a landmark was expressed differently, and symbolically, by Antony Gormley, who commented: 'I was trying to make a way marker for our time in space'. Overall, the 'creating a landmark' theme encapsulates the stakeholders' aspirations for a large, identifiable and meaningful landmark.

The next theme that emerged from the interviews was *a gateway making Gateshead distinctive*. Similar to the 'creating a landmark' theme, the stakeholders anticipated the Angel as making Gateshead distinctive but also a welcoming gateway to the borough. Chris Jeffrey commented: 'It was to be a huge welcome to Gateshead', similarly Les Elton remarked, 'it was to be a symbol of "you are entering Gateshead"'. Other stakeholders

elaborated on this, with Mike White noting that an aim was to identify the town as distinctive from Newcastle across the river. Matthew Jarratt commented:

‘What we expected it to achieve was to create a gateway and a welcome to Gateshead, and to geographically position Gateshead as people arrived into the borough’.

Leading on from this is the next anticipated outcome: *getting Gateshead noticed*. This theme encapsulates the sheer scale of ambition of the project. The phrase ‘to put Gateshead on the map’ was, again, used by the majority of the stakeholders during the interviews. When Anna Pepperall was describing the approach the Council had at the time of the project, she said:

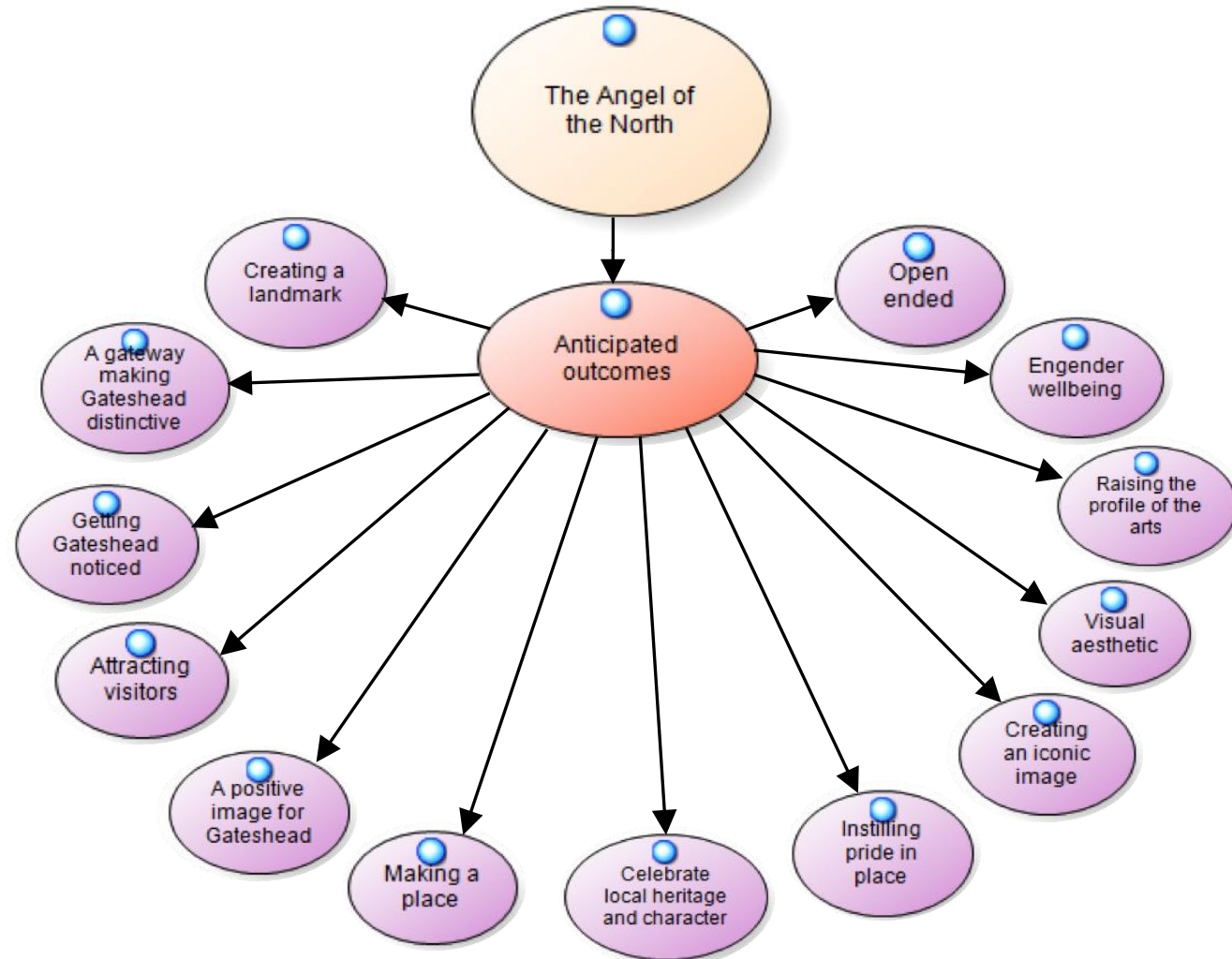
‘Do an amazing big project to put Gateshead on the map. A “we’re Gateshead, we’re going to show you something we’ve done, we’re going to put Gateshead on the map, this is the sculpture and this is how we are going to do it” attitude’.

The Council wanted Gateshead to be noticed in a big way, and using a distinctive landmark sculpture was viewed as the way to do it.

Indeed, the next theme that emerged from the interviews was *attracting visitors*. Again, this was a theme that was mentioned by most stakeholders, with phrases such as ‘economic regeneration’, ‘tourism’ and ‘an impact on visitors and tourism’ all used as anticipated outcomes. The theme of bringing visitors into the area was also linked to bringing spend into the region. Anna Pepperall commented:

‘It was hoped to economically re-charge the region - bring with it the effect of economic improvement and regeneration through visitors to the North East. People who would simply pass by the Angel but also those who would specifically come to see it. It was about Gateshead being recognised and to get a lot more visitors to come to our area’.

Figure 6.2: The Angel of the North Anticipated Outcomes Model



The Angel was also to be *a positive image of Gateshead*, with many of the stakeholders commenting that the sculpture was a deliberate way to change the borough and how people viewed it. It was a way to enhance the town, which in the past had been termed ‘the dirty back alley to Newcastle’, as well as distinguish it from Newcastle. The stakeholders wanted to move forward from Gateshead’s industrial past, but not forget it (although Anna Pepperall commented, ‘we did think that things would never be the same again’). To achieve this, the stakeholders wanted to *make a place*, to ‘launch the area’ (Sid Henderson) but also make the Angel a destination where local people could walk their dog, go for picnic and take friends, family and visitors.

So there was a widespread view that the sculpture should ‘put Gateshead on the map’ and help bring visitors to its cultural attractions, but there also needed to be a deep and meaningful connection with the place where it was to be situated: it needed to *celebrate the history and character* of ‘a place’. Antony Gormley saw this process as being partly delivered by the materials and techniques used to create the Angel, he commented:

‘It [the Angel] is founded on the historic relationship between coal, iron and engineering. It used the traditional shipbuilding techniques that, at the time of its making, were like the skills of coal mining, deemed useless and without value’.

This sense of value was a recurring idea: the value of skills, a place and above all people, in a context where the town and its residents had been abandoned by past industries. Chris Jeffrey commented: ‘It was to reflect the heritage of that particular area. To reflect the character of the people there’.

It was also important to instil *pride in place*, for people to be proud of where they lived. This again was an important factor for most of the stakeholders. They wanted to create an artwork that people would identify themselves with and ‘own’. The Angel was to be local as well as global. Matthew Jarratt commented: ‘Pride in the local people that this was happening there and it was for them. It was about doing something for the pride and for the place’.

Creating an iconic image was also remarked upon, although not by all the stakeholders. Anna Pepperall said, ‘the ambition, again, was largely to make something that would

become as famous as the Tyne Bridge’. A number of the stakeholders commented on the visual impact the sculpture had to have in order to make it noticeable. But there was more to it than this; it also had to be good to look at, have a *visual aesthetic*, as Anna Pepperall continued: ‘it’s not just about there being something large in the landscape. It’s about the Angel being a striking visual image or quality piece of art’.

It was also about education, specifically arts education and *raising the profile of the arts* in the area. This was a view that was strongly held by Sid Henderson, who said: ‘It was education - the number one thing was to create some debate about arts’. Other stakeholders also viewed it as a way to create interest in other art around Gateshead and in what was to come later. Andrew Dixon (Arts Council) commented:

‘It was also expected to achieve some profile and recognition for the other visual arts and public arts commissions in Gateshead. It would engage particularly young people in education and an understanding of the arts to help build an audience for what was getting planned later with the Baltic’.

Another anticipated outcome was for the Angel to *engender wellbeing*. Sid Henderson reflected that health and arts was a large part of the project, and Chris Jeffrey commented: ‘it was to make people happy, to make people think about things’ (an interesting association).

When the anticipated outcomes of the Angel were being discussed in the stakeholder interviews, it was apparent that for a number of the stakeholders the actual outcomes and impact of the Angel were not that clear cut. This is reflected in the ‘open ended’ theme. This was especially the case for Antony Gormley:

‘I did not expect any outcomes; I was trying to make a waymarker for our time in space. I have little regard for instrumentalism when it comes to art – you cannot predict how it will be understood or engaged with, and I think it is very dangerous to try. Artists are not performing a service’.

However, other stakeholders saw the open-ended nature of outcomes as a risk. Mike White commented:

‘I think everybody thought that it was a risky venture. Because, a work on that scale, you can’t really determine what it is going to look like exactly and what kind of effect it will have’.

Similarly, Chris Jeffrey remarked:

‘I had doubts about whether it would be embraced, but really, I think I was convinced the day we put it up from the sheer amount of people there to see the Angel go up’.

For others, the outcomes were not a huge concern. The sculpture was a job and it was employing people. For example, Bill Stalley said:

‘From our point of view, that’s myself and the people who worked for me at the time, it was a contract. It was a manufacturing contract that was employing my men’.

Conclusion

All the stakeholders viewed art as having purposes within society, and in the context of Gateshead the purposes to which art was put by the local authority and its partners were very much about regeneration that recognised the continuing value of people and places. There was a lot of emphasis on art as something the people identify and interact with, that created distinctiveness and led to improvement, especially through a sense of potential. The stakeholders saw the special nature of public art as about taking art to where people lived, rather than people going to the art, and engendering ownership of it through how it is placed. For the stakeholders, public art was no longer a statue or a monument passively viewed, but art with a purpose for its public. Not only should it be accessible to everyone, but it should also have a particular role (or roles) to fulfil. For the stakeholders, what these roles are depend on where the art is located and the particular community it is for, as well if the art is ‘commercial’ public art or ‘local’ public art. Commercial public art has fewer roles to play and the relationship to the environment where it is located is different. ‘Local’ public art is ‘placed’ in the environment in a particular way and how it is placed affects the roles it has.

However, the Angel is more than ‘local’ public art: its scale and ambition have given it an iconic status, in large measure intended. It is both local and global, and poses questions

(‘where is the future’?) as well as answers (‘this place and people have value’). Overall, the anticipated outcomes are a mixture of defined objectives and elements of risk and the ‘unknown’. It is obvious that the Angel was expected to be a defining landmark to get Gateshead noticed, but it was also meant to be for the people of Gateshead, to instil pride, wellbeing and unlock the creative ambition of the area.

It has been important to understand the standpoints of the stakeholders in a wider perspective in order to contextualise how the Angel was created and the outcomes expected of it. The next chapter turns to what stakeholders saw as the actuality of outcomes, examining the difference between these and the anticipated outcomes.

Chapter 7: Stakeholder perspectives II

Introduction

This chapter turns to the actual outcomes of the Angel as perceived by the stakeholders in its creation. It also examines unexpected and unmaterialised outcomes observed by the stakeholders and the context and mechanisms that underlie the Angel and its effects. The chapter concludes by examining the difference between the anticipated and actual outcomes and discussing how the context and mechanisms involved in the creation of the Angel helped determine the perceived outcomes.

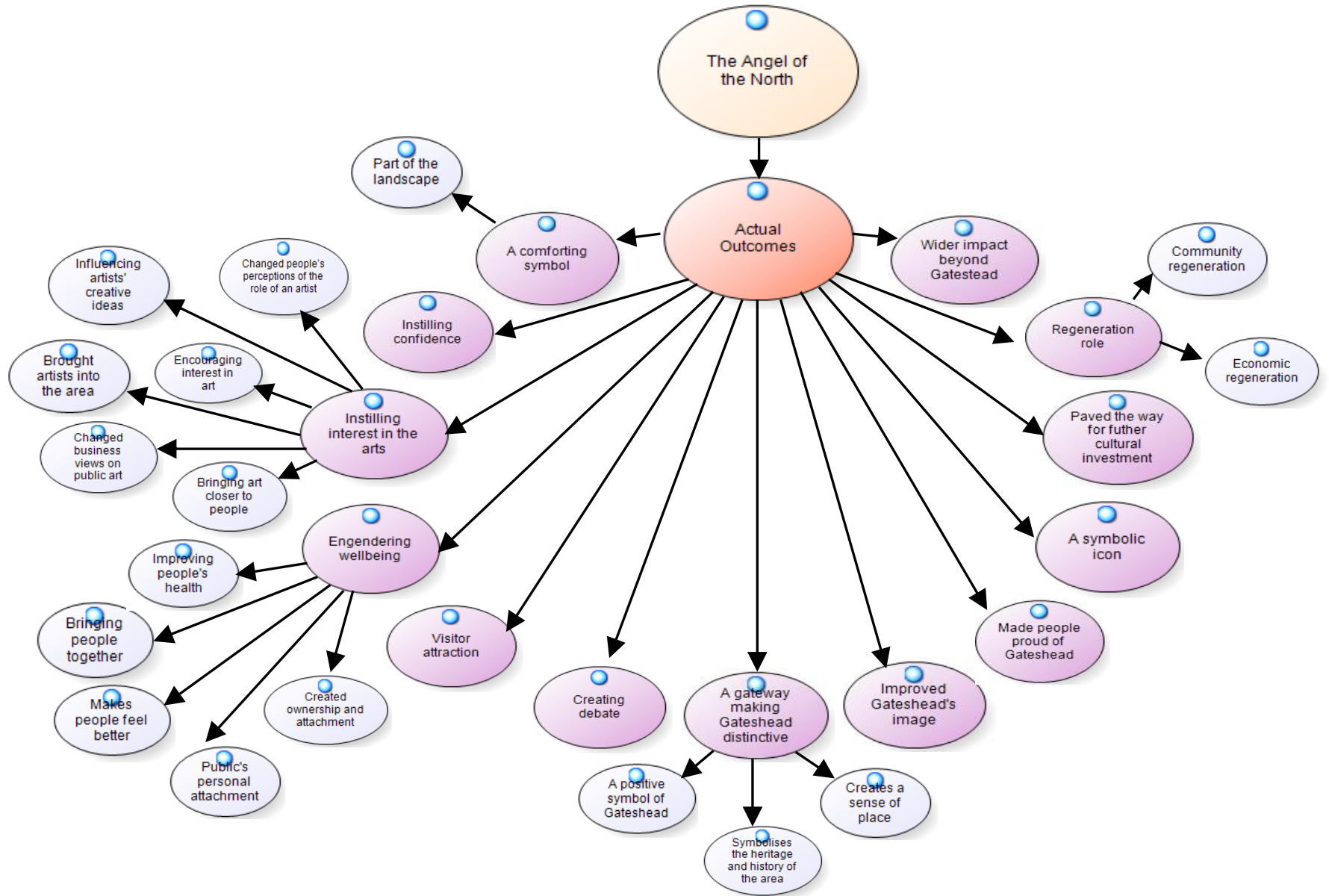
Actual outcomes of the Angel

What did the stakeholders believe the Angel actually achieved? Their narratives revealed a pattern of themes and sub-themes as represented in figure 7.1 below, which shows the model created in NVivo. The main themes were:

- a comforting symbol;
- instilling confidence;
- instilling interest in the arts;
- engendering wellbeing;
- visitor attraction;
- creating debate;
- a gateway making Gateshead distinctive;
- improved Gateshead's image;
- made people proud of Gateshead;
- a symbolic icon;
- paved the way for future cultural investment;
- regeneration role;
- wider impact beyond Gateshead.

The first theme to emerge for actual outcomes was that the Angel is a *comforting symbol*, with the sub-theme *part of the landscape*. Antony Gormley commented that, for the local community of Gateshead, the Angel, 'is their sign of homecoming when they are travelling north on the A1, their children look out for it'. Bill Stalley also commented on this, saying: 'I don't think it's so much the art, I think it's the case of you've got people that at this moment of time will look out of their lounge window and see the Angel'. For them, it is

Figure 7.1 The Angel of the North Actual Outcomes model



very much woven into the lives of the people of Gateshead through familiarity and homeliness, either by passing by or seeing it on a regular basis.

Anna Pepperall had previously suggested that an anticipated outcome of the sculpture was to add a 'shock' to the landscape. In fact, when deliberating on the actual outcomes, she said: 'for people who live here, the shock value isn't there anymore'. Similarly, Matthew Jarratt commented, 'I do think things become part of the furniture'. For the stakeholders, the Angel had become a familiar fixture in the local life of Gateshead and part of 'home'.

The next theme that emerged was that the Angel is *instilling confidence*. There were three main arenas where the stakeholders felt that this had happened: confidence in the region, the local authority and the community. Many of the stakeholders commented that it had become a symbol of confidence in the area but that it also enabled the community to feel confident in its local authority. Antony Gormley reflected: 'the Angel was a clear sign of the confidence that the community had in its future'. Interestingly, while some stakeholders saw the project at inception as a risk, with anticipated but ultimately uncertain benefits, the sculpture actually came to be viewed as a symbol of confidence because of what had been achieved.

Instilling interest in the arts was the next theme. There were several sub-themes: 'bringing art closer to the people', 'encouraging interest in art', 'brought artists into the area', 'changed people's perceptions of the role of an artist', 'changed business views on public art', and 'influencing the artist's creative ideas'.

Many of the stakeholders saw the Angel as 'bringing art closer to the people'. For example, Sid Henderson said:

'It has played an important role in creating interest in it, and creating interest in the arts and encouraging people. There are also lots of people who don't take an interest in the arts at all but think it's wonderful and that it's achieved something in itself'.

Similarly, Matthew Jarratt commented:

‘There are people who have nothing to do with arts and culture but, if they have visitors or family members coming to stay from other places, they will take them there and take their photographs and engage with it’.

Antony Gormley saw it very much as a change in how the public want to engage with art generally. He also commented on the role of the artist, arguing that artists have an obligation to benefit society, and that this is becoming a more recognised role. He said:

‘There is an increasing taste for and experience of participation in art, and the social responsibility of artists is becoming more and more recognised’.

As noted in chapter 4, during but also after the sculpture was created, some school projects in Gateshead focused on the Angel. Mike White said: ‘I think it has had a really good impact on children’s education of art in the borough’.

The Angel was also believed to have encouraged interest in the arts, as Chris Jeffrey described:

‘I think people’s attitudes to art in the area have changed tremendously and that Gateshead has been a prime leader in that. I think people’s views both of the Angel and art in general have changed over time. The Angel has heightened local views about art’.

The next sub-theme that emerged from ‘instilling interest in the arts’ was that the Angel had been successful in bringing artists into the area. Matthew Jarratt observed:

‘There have been a significant number of artists relocating to live in Gateshead, particularly around certain areas of Low Fell. So, I think generally Gateshead being very supportive for artists has helped that, but you can trace that right back to the Angel’.

The sculpture was believed not only to bring artists into Gateshead but to have influenced a lot of artists in the area. Anna Pepperall remarked, ‘the inspiration it has given to other artists in the area is phenomenal’. An example of this can be seen in the work of well-established North East artist Corinne Lewis, who created an Angel of the North necklace using microscope prints and Perspex. She has also designed a range of crockery which displays images of the Angel.

The sculpture was also believed to have changed people's perception of the role of the artist. This was touched on by Antony Gormley earlier when he commented about the participation role that art should have, and Mike White took this further:

'I think it changed the perceptions of what the role of an artist is in society, because one has to remember that most people's conception of an artist is someone who sits in a garret painting, and the awareness of what an artist is has changed'.

The sculpture was seen as having changed business views of public art. Matthew Jarratt, commenting on this in his interview, suggested that it helped developers and business people mature to think about culture in a different way. Mike White saw this on a larger scale to do with contributing to the debates about public art and its uses, and even suggested that its success as a brand meant it might no longer be art:

'I think it probably changed industry and the establishment's view about what public art is and I think it had an impact on debates around public art. Because, here was a piece of work that was suddenly the most viewed artwork in the country and it opened up all sorts of debates about whether it could even be classed as a sculpture at all or whether it was simply a landmark emblem'.

A lot of the stakeholders observed that the creation and success of the Angel had an impact on the artist himself, with a sub-theme of 'influencing the artist's creative ideas'. Mike White observed:

'I think it had an impact on Antony's own work. I think it kind of persuaded him to shift his work from always being about the body to other areas, and I think as a result that is what led to some of the more abstract work that he has produced over the last ten years'.

The next theme was *engendering wellbeing*. This theme had five sub-themes: 'improving people's health', 'bringing people together', 'created ownership and attachment', 'makes people feel better', and 'public's personal attachment'.

Mike White discussed how the Angel had engendered wellbeing by physically encouraging people do something. He commented:

'People would go up to it and hold out their arms and, of course, by doing that you open your arms, open up your chest, look up and you breathe better. This is something that is quite literally about wellbeing. It is putting people into an aspect

in their bodies which is expressing openness, receptiveness, the breathing cycle and it kind of had an in-built optimism.’

Other stakeholders saw the Angel as engendering wellbeing by how people have responded to it and by bringing people together. Sid Henderson saw this happening by people feeling something in common with others due to the Angel, but with it also being a common identification in itself. He commented:

‘Socially it has united people insofar as all people feel part of it. There is certainly this ability to make communities. Have something in a community that they can recognise’.

Chris Jeffrey saw the Angel as engendering wellbeing through the education programme with schools in Gateshead. He commented: ‘They did huge amounts of work in schools, and I think they still do, certainly for the younger generation. There has been a tremendous feeling of involvement’.

The Angel was also seen as engendering wellbeing by creating ownership and attachment, both as a meaningful sculpture but also of the arts more generally. Anna Peppercall commented:

‘If people don’t go to the site, I would hope that because of the Angel there has been a cascade of other things happening in the localities, so that people are getting their share of art, or they feel that they have some ownership of something that is other than the everyday’.

Chris Jeffrey remarked that the Angel ‘... gives people a sense of ownership’ and Matthew Jarratt reflected that, ‘it is definitely in people’s consciousness there [Gateshead]’. Les Elton and Sid Henderson saw the Angel as very much being a special type of emblem for the people, and that all people should feel that they own it. Les Elton commented: ‘there should be things in their life that matter. And the Angel, it does. All young people know it’. Similarly, Sid Henderson remarked:

‘You can go wherever and everywhere it’s the same, they’ve all lost their identity. So I think in as far as giving people an identity, even the humblest person in Gateshead has the right to own the Angel and be part of it’.

For Antony Gormley this sense of ownership arose from co-production: ‘it was a collaborative celebration made for the people, by the people ... There is no question that people identify with it and feel that it identifies them’.

The stakeholders also perceived the Angel as ‘making people feel better’. Other than general comments that the Angel ‘makes people feel happier and healthier’ (Chris Jeffrey), for most of the stakeholders this sub-theme was to do with an attachment to home and identity. Matthew Jarratt said:

‘I would say for Gateshead, people who live within 10 miles from it, it has had a really good, positive impact about how people feel about where they live and how the rest of the country feel and think about Tyneside’.

Chris Jeffrey commented:

‘I think it does make people feel better, especially people “arriving home” by train or by car. As soon as you see it, like seeing the Tyne Bridge, you know that you’re home and you feel a bit better about it’.

Similarly, Mike White remarked:

‘It’s not just the wellbeing of the community that it expresses, it’s also its welcoming and its generosity, and to feel that’s who you are, I think is a great thing’.

However, the stakeholders did not always view the Angel as engendering wellbeing in a direct way that people would be aware of. Andrew Dixon commented:

‘They [the public] may not make a direct link to the Angel of the North on these things, but indirectly I think the Angel of the North will have had some impact on the wellbeing of the population’.

The last sub-theme of the *engendering wellbeing* theme is the ‘public’s personal attachment’ to the sculpture. Matthew Jarrett commented, ‘people getting married up at the Angel or getting their wedding pictures taken there’. Anna Pepperall said:

‘There is a lot of: “I want a part of the Angel”. People write in to the Council and tell us their stories. There’s a huge amount of people wanting to be part of it, people wanting to have their say, have themselves photographed by the Angel, their arms outstretched, touching the Angel, so they have a part of it. People want to do things up there, like celebrations; so many people want to have the Angel as part of

their life, important things like anniversaries and the scattering of ashes’.

A lot of the stakeholders reflected on personal stories they had encountered. Mike White talked specifically about this in relation to health:

‘I have always been struck with how personal the meanings are that people draw from it. I think it is to do with the certain anonymity in the figure that enables you to project certain things on it and take things from it. I was very touched by one person’s story who found that an interest in the Angel took him out of his own mental ill health of depression, turned him around and got him into art school as he developed this interest in three-dimensional making. So, I think there are interesting recovery journeys of people who would credit the Angel as having some part to play in that’.

The next theme was that the Angel is a *visitor attraction*. Many of the stakeholders viewed the Angel as having achieved this status right from the outset, commenting with reference to the thousands of people and film crews that were attracted to the sculpture from all over the world on the day it was erected. Matthew Jarratt also saw it as a longer term outcome, commenting: ‘what did happen, and I think the Angel was the catalyst, was Gateshead became a top tourism destination’.

The next actual outcomes theme that emerged from the stakeholder interviews was *creating debate*. Most stakeholders commented on this. Les Elton said, ‘whether they like the art or not doesn’t matter as long as somebody has some feelings about it’. Similarly, Chris Jeffrey commented,

‘I imagine some people still don’t like it. I think the vast majority of people do though. If someone is not a keen supporter of the Angel, at least it maybe it gives them something to talk about in the pub’.

Mike White reflected on this in a deeper way, linking it to the industrial heritage of the area, commenting:

‘I think that Angel will always pose this interesting question about where are we going to find our prosperity in the future, because this is made of materials and skills that have passed’.

Although there is no denying that the Angel did create a lot of discussion in the arts and public arenas, especially with regard to the initial controversy, some stakeholders felt that

this had now passed. This can be seen in some of the other themes that emerged from the interviews, such as the Angel being a comforting symbol through familiarity, but is also reflected in Matthew Jarratt's comment that, 'I think there are less people that want to have an argument about it'.

Leading on from this is the next theme of *a gateway making Gateshead distinctive*, with the sub-themes: 'a positive symbol of Gateshead', 'symbolises the heritage and history of the area' and 'creates a sense of place'.

Taking each of these in turn, a majority of the stakeholders viewed the Angel as being 'a positive symbol of Gateshead'. Chris Jeffrey commented:

'Generally now people think the Angel is a symbol of Gateshead and in fact the North East, welcoming people to Tyneside. It has given the borough an identity it probably didn't have before. People's view of the Angel changed, most people thought it was wonderful and thought it was a great welcome to the area'.

Mike White viewed the Angel as a positive symbol of Gateshead by marking the turn of the millennium and the feelings of hope and prosperity that often come along with that:

'You know people were really intrigued by this. And they saw it as, and I suppose I did as well, as this being something that was going to mark the millennium. It was certainly there as a piece that seemed to connect one age into the next. It's placing in time as a millennial sort of hinge. I think that's going to give it some staying power in terms of meanings and significances that can be attributed to it, that it is kind of ahead of us in some ways in the questions that it is raising. It made a very credible case to people that you could do something like this and that it would have a tangible impact on how the region was regarded and what people knew elsewhere in the country about us and what Tyneside was'.

The stakeholders also viewed people's identification with the Angel as about the fact that it symbolises the heritage and history of the area. Chris Jeffrey commented that, 'people came to realise that this rugged construction of the Angel reflects the heritage really, the industry of the area, the location for example, the coal mines, shipbuilding...'. Similarly, Mike White said:

'It very quickly came to represent the engineering skills of the region, which I think was terrific and absolutely right that it was built in the North East. I think if we had had it shipped in from elsewhere we would have not had the integrity of that engineering message'.

Last of the sub-themes for a *gateway making Gateshead distinctive* was the stakeholders' view that the Angel has created a 'sense of place'. There was a transformative aspect of the Angel in which it turned an area that was not being used into a destination. This was commented on by Matthew Jarratt, who remarked: 'I think it encouraged people to take measured risks with culture, to seek culture as something that really could help you, if you get it right, can really transform a place'.

A lot of the stakeholders mentioned how people who lived in the Gateshead area began telling others where they were from by mentioning the Angel. As Matthew Jarratt continued, 'when Northerners go down south people are like "is that Angel of the North from round your way?"'. Similarly, Mike White commented: 'It did finally get Gateshead to be named as itself rather than some kind of suburb of Newcastle'. Andrew Dixon took this one step further, commenting: 'there isn't another piece of public art in the UK that has come anywhere near in terms of raising the profile of a place'.

The next actual outcome theme to arise from the stakeholder interviews was that the Angel has *improved Gateshead's image*. In his interview, Les Elton commented that the Angel 'contributed to Gateshead establishing an image when previously it didn't have one, or if it did have one, it was very negative'. Similarly, Andrew Dixon commented: 'it has certainly done something for tourism and pride and the image of Gateshead'.

Directly leading on from this is the next actual outcome theme that the Angel has *made people proud of Gateshead*. Andrew Dixon commented, 'on the day the Angel arrived, I felt something change in the whole pride and ambition of Gateshead'. Les Elton also shared this view, observing: 'instantly, the people of Gateshead began to take a lot of pride in the area'. Sid Henderson talked of pride in terms of when local football supporters draped a No.7 Shearer shirt over the sculpture. He commented:

'Generally speaking people are now proud of it, there is no doubt about it. I mean the Shearer shirt, I saw that, that was just unbelievable. And it was cleverly done! And it became "wor' Angel" with the Shearer shirt. People recognise it as being an icon and something which Gateshead has to be proud of and, after all, what have they had to be proud of in the past?! Dereliction and all the rest of it!'

For other stakeholders, it was not so much actual pride in the sculpture, but pride that it was located in Gateshead and that people from elsewhere were interested in it. Both Chris

Jeffrey and Anna Pepperall commented on this, with Chris Jeffrey saying: ‘because it is part of their area, it’s something to be proud of’. Anna Pepperall remarked, ‘I think there has been an adoption of ‘yes we come from where the Angel was built’, - the region, so I think there is a lot of pride in it’. Anna Pepperall also had the view that the Angel embodied local pride even if it was not liked, saying: ‘people’s attitudes were “ooh, not sure if I like it, but that’s *our* thing”, you sort of get a feeling of pride from having this ‘thing’ that other people seem to be interested in’. Matthew Jarratt felt that it wasn’t just local people being proud, but that it was the region, commenting: ‘it is actually more macro, the North East has done better from it, and feel proud of it’.

The stakeholders also thought that the Angel had made people proud of the Council. Sid Henderson said: ‘it was the role that it played, this political role, in as far as it encouraged people to believe in Gateshead’. Similarly, Andrew Dixon commented: ‘I think there is a lot of pride in the local politicians for what they’ve done’. This can be linked back to the uneasiness and controversy that surrounded the project at the gestation stage, and the Council’s will to keep pushing forward with the sculpture.

The next theme was that the Angel had become *a symbolic icon*. Matthew Jarratt observed:

‘I suppose it is more like an Eiffel Tower sort of thing. I think it has really left the public art arena and gone into another category, like Nelson’s Column. One of these of “national signifiers”. It’s in the landmark category rather than an artwork category. There is definitely that landmark thing’.

Les Elton also commented on this. Focusing on the ambition of making a new icon, he said:

‘There are important symbols, and there are not that many of them, and to create a new one is really quite special. White horses still make sense on a hill side, the Eiffel Tower makes sense, and the Angel makes sense. The Angel just sort of took over the world!’

Other stakeholders saw in how other people viewed the Angel a confirmation of success. For example, Andrew Dixon commented: ‘it’s an icon for Gateshead, you know, it has completely put Gateshead on the map’. Sid Henderson spoke about a survey that highlighted the Angel as a successful icon in the North East, saying: ‘there was that

amazing survey that was done that showed that the Angel had the highest level of recognition of any other building or piece of public art in the North East’.

Stakeholders also believed the Angel worked as a symbol of humanity and its future, but went no further regarding its potential spiritual or religious resonances. Sid Henderson remarked, ‘what better image for a town that it has a strong representation of the human figure in this kind of archetypal everyman gesture’. Mike White was thankful that any religious or spiritual meaning had not been taken out of hand, commenting: ‘it had those kinds of inherent spiritual connotations because of its title but thank god that they never got blown out of proportion!’. Les Elton saw it as marking the generations, saying: ‘when the current people who are currently children are all grown up and having children, you know it’s quite an amazing and quite a surprising icon’.

The next theme was how the Angel *paved the way for further cultural investment* in Gateshead. Nearly all the stakeholders commented on this in their interviews. It was a view held strongly by Les Elton, who said:

‘A small group of people in quite a small Council, or middle sized Council, we’ve produced a set of icons. We built an amazing bridge as well. But the Angel was a key to all the things that came later. It helped us enormously with the Big Lottery projects on the Tyne, the Sage, the Baltic and the Millennium Bridge because it established our reputation, which we used mercilessly as: “if we say we’ll do something, we will do it”’.

Similarly, Sid Henderson remarked:

‘The Angel was the catalyst for things. It brought about things, without a doubt. There was the Baltic and so on, and it was part of the modernisation of Gateshead at the riverside. The chairman of the Arts Council’s attitude was “Gateshead believe in the arts so we’re going to give them the money to help them get the Sage” and, of course, the bridge, all of the things that happened on the riverside. I mean it’s really attracted all of that and for Gateshead to have hotel growth – it’s delivered the Hilton, the Angel Inn and more, would have been completely unthinkable. It’s a massive economic legacy to get 700 extra hotel beds’.

This was also a view that was assumed by the funders of the Angel, with Matthew Jarratt commenting:

‘For Gateshead, I think it really paved the way for the big capital development. I think, significantly, it made the case for much bigger investments into the Sage and the Baltic and the bridge. And, I think there is an interesting question about whether those projects would have happened without the really edgy delivery of the Angel. You probably wouldn’t have a Baltic without the Angel’.

Chris Jeffrey also viewed the Angel as paving the way for both further cultural investment and infrastructure:

‘If you look at the Sage, for example, you could say on the back of the Angel, the Sage, the Millennium Bridge, we had talked for years and years, even when I was at Tyne and Wear Council, we talked about another crossing of the Tyne, something central, something like a barrage, it was only after the Angel, after the impact of the arts developments, that something like that occurred’.

Anna Pepperall commented that there had been an effect of, ‘well you can do the Angel, so we must be able to carry out the Baltic’.

The Angel’s *regeneration role* was the next theme that emerged from the stakeholder interviews, with two sub-themes: ‘community regeneration’ and ‘economic regeneration’.

Mike White paid particular attention to the Angel contributing to a regeneration of the community, although with some hesitancy in relation to the outcome. He commented:

‘It has regenerated the people. A regeneration of the community in terms of its views but I think it also raises questions in terms of what does regeneration of people through art amount to?’

A lot of the stakeholders, as already noted, viewed the Angel as economically regenerating the area. Bill Stalley saw this in terms of immediate employment, commenting that it ‘employed a lot of people for a fair period of time’. Chris Jeffrey commented that a main aim of the Angel has been, ‘bringing investment into the borough’. Others saw it as a more long term outcome, with Les Elton saying: ‘The Angel had that significance, a reputation one. In terms of the general economy, you could say it helps to build confidence’. Sid Henderson saw this as being bound up in how the Angel has helped to bring further cultural venues into the borough and how that created jobs. He remarked:

‘Future employment. The new town centre that is coming. The whole thing is all part and parcel of its development and it’s been arts led, there is no doubt about that’.

Mike White viewed this in terms of branding. He commented: ‘there has to be some sort of impact on the local economy because of the prominence of the image and the attraction of investment, and what we know is already coming to the town’.

The last theme that emerged was the Angel’s *wider impact beyond Gateshead*. A lot of the stakeholders commented on the impact it has had for the region. Matthew Jarratt remarked that, ‘there has been fantastic gains for Newcastle’.

Les Elton talked about the many attempts of people trying to create their own Angel: ‘There have been lots of attempts when people announce that they are going to build their own version; none of them ever actually work!’ Sid Henderson and Mike White commented on how the Angel had an impact internationally, with Sid Henderson noting: ‘from a tourist point of view, impacting on, not only locally, nationally, but internationally, you see the image of the Angel in all sorts of foreign airports ... Amsterdam I remember for one!’. Mike White said, ‘I’ve seen it have a considerable impact internationally, because I travel a lot for my own work and people know about it and it’s held up in many quarters as an example of arts led regeneration’.

The actual outcomes, as perceived by these stakeholders, portray a balance between, on the one hand, the Angel as a landmark, iconic image, and cultural and economic driver, and on the other hand a source of local identification, comfort and pride.

Comparing perceptions of anticipated and actual outcomes

Table 7.1 compares stakeholders’ accounts of anticipated and actual outcomes. Nearly all the expected outcomes were believed to have occurred. However, the ‘comforting symbol’ outcome was not wholly anticipated: it is a version of the expected ‘landmark’ outcome, but with more of an emphasis on ‘home’ and ‘home-coming’.

‘Raising the profile of the arts’ was seen to have happened more as ‘instilling interest in the arts’. ‘Celebrating local heritage and character’ and ‘visual aesthetic’ were expected

outcomes but the former was reframed as part of ‘made people proud of Gateshead’ (including the idea of a celebration of past local industry and skills) and visual aesthetic did not appear in the actual outcomes narratives.

‘Making a place’ as an expected outcome became reframed as ‘regeneration’ in the actual outcomes, and ‘getting Gateshead noticed’ appeared as ‘wider impact beyond Gateshead’.

Notably, ‘instilling confidence’, ‘creating debate’ and ‘paving the way for future cultural investment’ were not anticipated outcomes but emerge as actual outcomes.

Finally, whilst there was a theme in the expected outcomes narratives of ‘no particular outcomes’, the narratives on actual outcomes did not re-visit this.

Table 7.1: Stakeholders’ anticipated and actual outcomes of the Angel

<i>Anticipated</i>	<i>Actual</i>
Creating a landmark; A gateway making Gateshead distinctive; Attracting visitors; A positive image for Gateshead Raising the profile of the arts Celebrating local heritage and character; Instilling pride in place; Creating an iconic image; Make a place Engendering wellbeing; Getting Gateshead noticed; Visual aesthetic; ‘Open ended’ (no particular outcomes).	A comforting symbol; A gateway making Gateshead distinctive; Visitor attraction; Improved Gateshead’s image; Instilling interest in the arts; Paved the way for future cultural investment; A symbolic icon; Regeneration role; Engendering wellbeing; Wider impact beyond Gateshead; Instilling confidence; Made people proud of Gateshead; Creating debate.

Thus, the stakeholders believed the Angel had created a comforting symbol of home in addition to the original ‘landmark’ intentions, made Gateshead distinctive with an iconic ‘gateway’ that attracted visitors as intended, had instilled interest in the arts rather than just raised the profile of the arts, had not just celebrated local heritage and character as intended but had engendered pride in what could be achieved, and instilled confidence –

linked to how the sculpture was seen to have paved the way for future cultural investment. Engendering wellbeing was perceived as an anticipated and actual outcome.

The discussion above considers how far stakeholders' theories of change compare with what they see as the actual outcomes. However, realistic evaluation also focuses on unexpected and unmaterialised outcomes of an intervention, as well as examining why and how these outcomes occur, taking into account contextual influences. The next section turns to considering unexpected outcomes.

Unexpected outcomes of the Angel

Figure 7.2 shows the NVivo model created for the unexpected and unmaterialised outcomes identified by the stakeholders in their interviews. This section starts with the unintended outcomes identified, which were:

- created further cultural investment;
- attention received;
- awards received;
- creation of a destination;
- smooth construction process;
- widely adopted symbol.

The last theme of *widely adopted symbol* has the sub-themes: 'use in campaigns', 'reputational brand, 'drawing attention to products and services', and 'widely embraced by the public'.

The stakeholders identified the Angel as *creating further cultural investment*, which some regarded as unexpected. Anne Pepperall said:

'I don't think at the time that the intended consequence of the Angel was that it sparked off the whole change that we then saw on the Gateshead quays but, it was absolutely paramount to that'.

Chris Jeffrey also commented on this in his interview, saying: 'it has had a spin off for other investments, I think that was unintended initially'.

The artist Antony Gormley commented:

‘The work acted as a kind of rallying cry and certainly, in ways that would be impossible to reproduce elsewhere or at another time, became the first step in the renewal of the North East – soon to be followed by several other creative projects that also focused on collective participation. None of which was predicted or intended at the start’.

The *attention received* was the second unexpected outcome. Nearly all the stakeholders commented on this. The most common aspects were the overall media attention, the international success of the Angel and the interest from other councils. Bill Stalley commented: ‘the media attention was a major surprise to me’. Similarly, Anna Pepperall mentioned this in her interview, along with her surprise at the amount of international interest, and remarked:

‘I just simply don’t think we expected quite so many visitors and really any foreign visitors or foreign journalists. These sort of national and international delegations that would come and do still come to report on the Angel, to film it, to ask you for your views on it’.

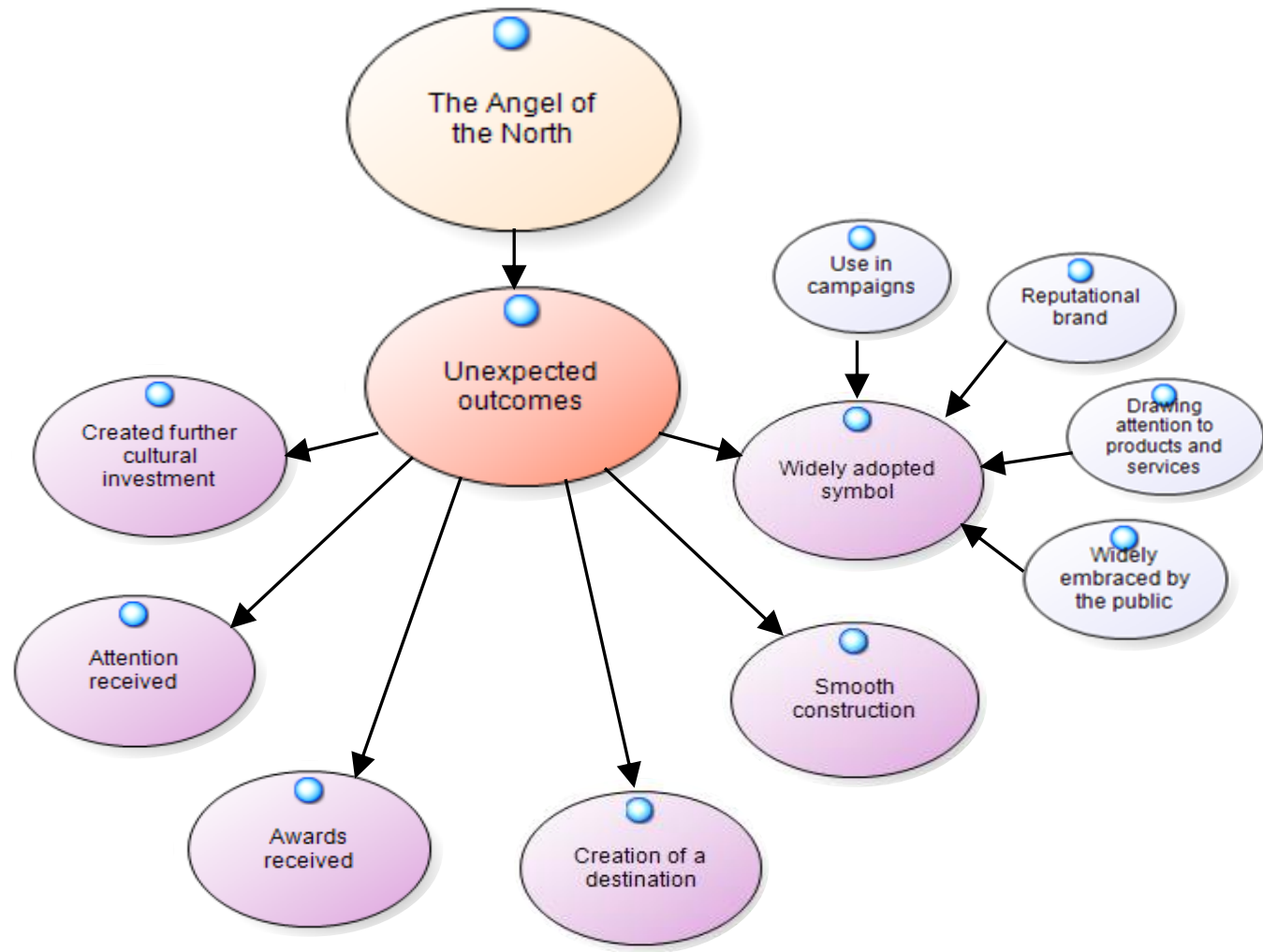
The international interest in the Angel was also commented on by Sid Henderson:

‘It’s just unbelievable how it is internationally recognised and therefore people say “where is it?”. They’ve got a maquette in the airport in Brazil, Amsterdam, and when you arrive you see it!’

Matthew Jarratt commented on this as well, noting that the international interest was not only at the beginning of the Angel being created. He said: ‘we were taking international visitors around it just a few weeks ago and its fourteen years old, so that’s been a very strange thing!’. Anna Pepperall also said she did not expect the large amount of interest from other councils:

‘Interest from other councils has been extraordinary. I don’t think I ever expected so many other people or professional bodies or other councils to be in contact and ask you how you did it, and want to know the formula’.

Figure 7.2: The Angel of the North Unexpected Outcomes Model



The next theme that emerged as an unexpected outcome was the *awards* that the Angel received. Chris Jeffrey said:

‘After the Angel, a lot of the people who were involved with the engineering side of things gave a lot of talks to other professional bodies, institutional engineers and so on, and to rotary clubs who were interested. And also from an engineering point of view, the project won the Steel Design Award for that year and that was presented by the Secretary of State at the time. We also won a high commendation in the British Construction Industry Awards’.

Sid Henderson commented on how none of the awards were expected at all and how touched he was to receive recognition:

‘I think it is worth mentioning about all the awards that the Angel has received because they weren’t expected. I received many of them on behalf of the Council. At the opening of the Angel, Antony’s mother was there and she was quite elderly and Antony said to her, “Mum, come and meet this fella, this is the godparent of the Angel” and I was chuffed to bits. I mean, I just played my role as a person who was interested in the arts and stuff and I was never bothered about any public recognition because I’m not one for all of that sort of stuff’.

The fact the Angel has become a destination in itself was also seen as an unexpected outcome. Anna Pepperall commented:

‘I hadn’t really expected, no matter what we said about visiting the site, how many people would actually come to visit the site. It was always much more in my head as something you would walk or drive past or see from the train. Not so much of a visitors’ site. So we weren’t really that prepared for that’.

Similarly, Matthew Jarratt reflected on how the Council had never built a proper car park or stopping area for the Angel until quite recently. He remarked: ‘only a few years ago they had to build a car park’.

The next unexpected outcome was the *trouble-free construction* of the Angel.

Interestingly, it was Les Elton who commented on this in his interview and not the artist or engineer. He remarked:

‘We didn’t have a crisis of construction. What if the bolts hadn’t fitted, because they were done in two places? What if the wings buckled in some way? It’s a huge thing; nothing has gone wrong with it ... yet! And I think that’s actually very important. The surprising thing is that nothing has gone wrong’.

The final unexpected outcome was how the image of the Angel became so *widely adopted*. This outcome has four sub-themes, discussed next.

Many of the stakeholders were surprised how the Angel had been so commonly ‘used in campaigns’. Anna Pepperall commented:

‘Every time there is a major event or a big charity drive people would like to pin something on the Angel or put something round its neck’.

Similarly, Mike White said:

‘It’s used so much as the backdrop in gatherings and campaigns around issues of social concern and people’s welfare’.

Les Elton discussed his surprise at the Angel becoming a ‘reputational brand’, commenting:

‘I didn’t see it as becoming a brand for the North East at the time. It’s like Coca Cola basic marketing – they associate themselves with things with a good reputation. So, lots of people chose to associate themselves because they felt the Angel had a good reputation’.

Other stakeholders were also surprised at this use of the Angel. Matthew Jarratt commented:

‘There are local businesses all over the place doing their branding based on it, for example, the “Bagel of the North”. I think it has been a useful thing for people who want to promote their business for the region or the fact that they’re from this region’.

The stakeholders also commented on the television use of the Angel. Bill Stalley remarked: ‘every time you switch the TV on, it’s on the news. I mean it’s on a lot of stuff!’.

Similarly, Sid Henderson commented, ‘they still have it on the North news and so on’, and Andrew Dixon said, ‘the way other people have used it is phenomenal. The BBC have used it in their advertising, Sky television use it in their advertising, political parties, car firms, estate agents!’ Anna Pepperall commented on how ubiquitous the image had become:

‘When you’re not seeing it in the flesh, but instead on the weather forecast, on the news, in advertising, in publications, and if you see it every day on a bus, it builds up this image’.

Anna Pepperall expressed some frustration at the brand success of the Angel not being something that the Council could exploit due to a contractual agreement with Antony Gormley:

‘It is rather frustrating seeing Baltic being able to sell merchandise with “The Angel” image on it and branded the Angel. But, Baltic is part of Gateshead so the Council support Baltic being able to exploit it. But I think really, it’s something that the Council need to re-visit. People want to buy products, so there is a marketing sense to the Angel which I don’t feel we in the Council have been able to exploit’.

The next sub-theme that emerged for the *widely adopted image* theme was the Angel being used to ‘draw attention to products and services’, with surprise at the extent of this widely commented on. Sid Henderson, for example, remarked: ‘A lot of stuff, tourist stuff about the North, has the Angel on the cover - who would have thought that people throughout the country would know about the Angel of the North!’. Similarly, Matthew Jarratt commented: ‘Gateshead to be on the front page of the *Lonely Planet Guide* with the Angel of the North would have been completely unheard of five years before the Angel’. Bill Stalley, remarked on his surprise seeing the product of his company’s engineering on international brochures: ‘I’m on an aircraft going out of Heathrow to America in the November of that year and I pick up one of the brochures on the aircraft and there is a picture of the Angel of the North on the front!’ Matthew Jarratt said: ‘It’s about seeing it in the newspaper and magazine and all sorts of other places and people just start to think “that’s that landmark”’. Les Elton commented on how the Internet had been a powerful tool in spreading the image of the Angel, as well as its popularity as a photo opportunity:

‘Its image went around the world; you can see that on the Internet. You would see constant photographs of football teams, army units, air force units, people setting up advertising agencies, they all wanted to be photographed with it’.

The last sub-theme of the *widely embraced image of the Angel* is how it has become ‘widely embraced by the public’. Most stakeholders were surprised at the extent of public warmth towards the sculpture. Les Elton commented that the ‘approval rating’ was higher than anyone had expected. Matthew Jarratt also commented on how ‘something that was once more embraced by the art world is now more embraced by the public’. Anna

Pepperall said, 'I suppose I hadn't expected the love for the Angel and the sense of everyone wanting a part of it'. Similarly, Mike White looked back to when it was erected: 'I was astonished that when it was brought up in three big pieces from Hartlepool on the loaders that people were getting up in the middle of the night and standing on the motorway'.

Matthew Jarratt reflected on how it was obvious that the Council did not know how successful the Angel was going to be, especially long term. He commented:

'I know Antony wanted it to be these natural surroundings, but that obviously can't deal with the amount of people visiting it. But I guess that just shows that no one quite realised it was going to be continuing this sort of life, otherwise they would have put a path in, with a better hill. And, that little field where everyone goes to take the photographs is completely worn away'.

He continued:

'You can never quite anticipate how something like this is actually going to work. You can estimate, you can get consultants in to do some surveys but I don't think we ever realised it would still be quite as popular'.

Mike White commented: 'its popularity with children astonishes me!'. And Sid Henderson remarked on the Angel's popularity as a wedding spot: 'Talk about people having their weddings there, I mean the number of times I've seen that happen with other pieces of public art!'.

Overall, the popularity of the Angel, both locally and internationally, and the wide - indeed global - adoption and use of the image, come over as the main unexpected consequences. This was not just unexpected but for some of the stakeholders it was a striking contrast to the risk they thought was being taken with the Angel project and whether it would be welcomed as a new feature on the Gateshead landscape.

The next section turns to those outcomes expected but that did not materialise.

Unmaterialised outcomes of the Angel

Four main themes emerged for unmaterialised outcomes. These were:

- no direct financial gain;
- no commercial gain;
- no visitor facilities on site;
- no commercial redevelopment next to site.

No local economic impact for the Angel was identified. Matthew Jarratt commented: ‘economically, I think that it is quite hard to quantify. I mean, I don’t think it has had an effect on house prices around there or anything like that’. Bill Stalley remarked: ‘whether it has helped the economy for people around the Angel, I don’t know. Maybe the re-named Angel pub does a little bit better for business!’ There were some comments on the lost opportunity to generate direct financial gain from the sculpture, although the anti-commercialism stance of Antony Gormley is crucial in this regard. Anna Pepperall reflected further on this:

‘It was a consequence that the Council had foreseen because of the contractual agreement that we had with Antony and that hasn’t been revisited, so to some degree it is a bit of a disappointment, a lost opportunity, but that was what was agreed at the time. We’ve lost out at the Council because we haven’t been able to bring in revenue from making our own merchandise. Having said that, there is a little miniature Angel that the Council have had approved by Antony that we can sell, a little model’.

Bill Stalley remarked:

‘Nobody, as far as I’m aware, is actually making any money on the Angel of the North through all this advertising. For me, that’s wrong. Gateshead, I would have thought, would have retained some sort of income from the use of the Angel, like most other people, copyright or whatever. And that could go back into the community. I would have thought that they had retained the copyright on it, I would have thought by now the Angel would have been paid for through advertising’.

Another outcome that failed to materialise was the lack of visitor facilities on site at the Angel. Again, this has been due to the contractual agreement with Antony Gormley. Some stakeholders agreed that the artist’s stance was right and maintained the artistic integrity of the sculpture, but Chris Jeffrey commented, ‘I had hoped that we would have more visitor

facilities’, and Sid Henderson said, ‘I think that there could have been a lot more made of it and the site than what has been’. Matthew Jarratt commented that he had hoped that more activities would take place at the Angel, remarking ‘there was an idea that there would be more events there’.

Lastly, the stakeholders commented on the lack of commercial development (for example, offices, restaurants, shops) next to the site. Sid Henderson commented:

‘I think maybe the one thing that I would have liked to have seen would have been some sort of commercial development near the site. Not necessarily on it because I know that Antony was totally against that, but close to it’.

Similarly, Matthew Jarratt said:

‘The housing stock around there isn’t great and we’ve seen other places where there’s been a really good cultural building - where the shops and houses are done up around it’.

Overall, the unmaterialised outcomes are largely about lack of direct local economic impact and lost commercial opportunities.

The next section turns to features of the Angel’s context that emerged as themes in the stakeholder interviews.

The Angel of the North’s context

Three contextual themes were identified:

- the site;
- public access from near and far;
- conducive economics and politics.

The stakeholders viewed the site as crucial to the impact of the Angel. All commented on this in their interviews. Andrew Dixon, for example, saw the Angel’s impact as due to where it is sited, and how particular attention was paid to how it is connected to Gateshead’s industrial past. He commented:

‘I definitely don’t think that it would have had the same impact if it had been put in other places. There is something symbolic about where it is sited, it is rooted in the coal mine and that is a symbolic statement really of Gateshead’s past’.

Other stakeholders noted how the site has allowed for a very visible impact. Anna Pepperall remarked:

‘For the Angel it has a lot with to do with where it is sited because it is an open landscape, it’s on a hill, and you can see it from major roads, railway, and the air if you fly over it on certain routes. And the positioning of a sculpture, any sculpture in any environment, it is really important that it has an open environment’.

She continued about how it was a very deliberate act to place the Angel where it is:

‘People were talking about how it would ruin the landscape but actually the landscape there is not a thing of beauty. I do think that the impact of the Angel and the location of the artwork, and it’s very deliberate that it’s there, has a lot to do with how it is read as a piece of art and as a piece generally, because it is so visible and it is so huge. The location is very much part of the commissioning of that work’.

Similarly, Mike White commented:

‘The site is everything. The fact that it can be seen physically from such a distance, on a clear day you can see it from a long, long way off’.

Other stakeholders reflected on how, if it had been sited elsewhere, it would have not been as effective. Chris Jeffrey said:

‘Ninety per cent of its impact is because of where it is sited. I think its location is paramount. Clearly, whoever within the Council, the Councillors, Libraries and Arts department, whoever decided on that site, it was a great idea. If it had been sited somewhere down at the Quayside, further down Team Valley, I don’t think it would have had the same impact’.

However, although the stakeholders comment on how the site ‘works’ due to the visibility of the Angel from afar (passers-by on the A1 road and the train), Anna Pepperall also commented on how the site works as well when you visit the location:

‘A lot of people are amazed when they visit the site because they don’t realise quite how the Angel looks until they visit. The impact of it as an artwork or as a piece is gathered much more when you go to the location’.

Les Elton and Matthew Jarratt approached the location of the Angel from a slightly different view - more about how the site can be viewed as a 'non-site', or an unusual site, and that this is in fact why it works so well. Les Elton commented:

'If you were to pick a national icon, you wouldn't put it there, but it's there for Gateshead's reasons and I think that's interesting, that it can still achieve that status. It's in a place that doesn't affect it and I think that's actually quite clever'.

Matthew Jarratt remarked:

'The site is very unusual. It is a bit of a non-site, near a motorway, bit of a hill. It was brave to choose that site rather than some town centre, civic space'.

The second contextual theme that came into play is 'public access from near and far'. This was discussed in relation to the prominent location of the Angel creating two different public audiences: fairly distant passers-by and people who make a deliberate effort to visit the Angel. What the Angel does not do is intervene in an everyday neighbourhood or workplace context, as it would if located on a housing estate or business park. This reflects stakeholders wanting to make a statement about Gateshead. Chris Jeffrey commented:

'It's the number of people that can see it, it has easy access for people to visit it, and it's free. With it being immediately adjacent to the A1 with ninety thousand vehicles a day on that road, next to the main east coast line, a lot of people can see it!'

Similarly, Andrew Dixon commented:

'I definitely think the success has something to do with its impact, the number of people that pass it on the A1 means that it has a significant, guaranteed number of viewings a day'.

All the stakeholders commented on its prominence, especially relating the success to the A1 road and the mainline railway that passes it. Matthew Jarratt commented how 'not many artworks have got that volume of people slowly going past' and Sid Henderson commented, 'you can see it for miles!'. Les Elton, also acknowledging these factors, remarked on the impact for the local community of Gateshead:

'It is seen by so many people on the A1, they're very important to it. And it's very easily accessible to the people who live in Gateshead. If they want to see it, they can see it'.

The last contextual theme identified is ‘conducive economics and politics’ (conducive to the Angel being funded and supported). Anna Pepperall commented extensively on this in her interview, and is worth quoting at length:

‘The economics ... I certainly felt during the lead up process that was hard work and the funding was really, really difficult for all sorts of reasons. But, during the many years build up the period changed from being one of slog to one of optimism. The introduction of the National Lottery had a big part to play, because suddenly there was huge amounts of money that could be bid for to do big, big scale projects and the arts hadn’t seen that. It was about a confidence and I think again we were lucky with the way the economy changed during the course of the Angel, because it started off as what I can just remember as the grim early 1990s and everything was very hard work, and in the early days of wanting to do a major landmark sculpture, I think some of us were questioning: “is this going to work?”. But, there were a number of factors that happened during the course of the Angel and one of them was the fact that the government introduced the Lottery, so in terms of funding, suddenly the economics of the arts were going to change because the Lottery was going to be able to fund art galleries, build new buildings and contribute to public art. We hadn’t known that when the idea to make a landmark sculpture originated but certainly the economics and the politics of the era changed. During the late 90’s there was just so much optimism about everything, whatever political colour you were I think’

The Angel: its mechanisms of change

Some factors in a context may trigger mechanisms that have an effect or outcome. Other contexts may mean that no such effect or outcome is triggered. In other words, with real-world interventions there is always an interaction between context and mechanism, and that interaction is what creates the outcome. The final section of this chapter focuses on what is it about the Angel, as an intervention, that leads, according to stakeholders’ accounts, to its outcomes.

Four mechanisms were identified from their narratives:

- political will;
- located very prominently;
- engaging figure;
- public engagement.

These are discussed in turn below.

The *political will* of Gateshead Council was discussed in detail by many of the stakeholders as being a major factor in the creation of the Angel. A lot of the stakeholders' comments focused on how the Council stuck with the project, despite criticism. Sid Henderson commented:

'The Lib Dems were just trashing it. What's happening now is that we are finding out what the Lib Dems are like! I always used to say: "look if people don't agree with what we are doing they can throw me out at the election and get rid of me. They can stop it quite easily". And, before it was ever built we had at least a couple of elections. That's the way I used to attack it. Politically it was horrible for me because I was at the coal face so to speak with regard to it'.

A lot of the stakeholders commented on the strength of the Council as being a major part of the process. Matthew Jarratt said:

'The project was a statement that Gateshead was doing something, they've said they're doing something and they are going to do it ... They've created a profile as a forward-looking authority'.

Les Elton also discussed this extensively in his interview:

'The Council was absolutely clear, politically, that it wanted to build it ... The opposition, they don't matter because we didn't decide not to do it. The people that matter were the ones involved in doing it. You see, it changed from being an arts idea to, in the end, a big Council project. You know it started off as their idea (Mike White's etc.) but it sort of crossed my consciousness when I was dealing with much bigger things and I thought very hard about how to carry it forward, but I didn't carry it forward, Roger Kelly (Deputy Chief Executive) did. At the time, a lot of big Lottery projects were failing because people couldn't carry them forward. It was hugely advantageous to us that we were a local authority, not an independent trust. And, we were the same people politically and managerially who were in charge, the leader and I both did twenty years. Continuity gives confidence. It was very special that Gateshead, politically, stuck to the idea. It's much easier to cancel it, you know, blame the costs. But they never wanted to get out of it; they wanted a way of making it happen. They decided to have it (the Labour Group) and even if some of them later changed their minds, they stuck to it'.

Andrew Dixon commented on a major factor being how the Council was run:

'There was a sort of confidence and risk taking ambition of Gateshead as a local authority that ultimately enabled them to go on to develop the Sage, the Baltic, the bridge, the college, the town centre, the conference centre. I think the division and

management of projects by Gateshead Council is the key factor in the success of the Angel. I think there is a lot of pride in the local politicians for what they've done, for what the previous leaders have delivered. You have to think that this is a local authority with a population of under 300,000 that has delivered all of this'.

The next mechanism identified was the Angel being *located very prominently*, already discussed as a contextual feature, but very much a deliberate part of the sculpture as an intervention. Bill Stalley commented: 'the piece is there, it's there for all to see, ninety thousand cars pass it a day!' Similarly, Andrew Dixon remarked: 'the number of people that pass it on the A1, you know, that means that it has a significant, guaranteed number of viewings a day'. Sid Henderson remarked: 'it's something that is focused on like the Tyne Bridge'.

The stakeholders also talked of the *engaging figure* of the Angel as crucial to how it has been interpreted and perceived. Mike White considered the anonymity of the figure as being important: 'it is to do with the certain anonymity in the figure that enables you to project certain things on it and take things from it'. Les Elton commented: 'it is also interesting that the Angel is actually Antony, that's very interesting'. However, he also noted the fact the figure is an Angel:

'I think there was this thing about Angels. Antony has his view of an Angel, and I think the fact that it is an Angel is actually quite important when you start to think about what we believe Angels are, you know, messengers, and they arrive and they disappear'.

Similarly, Sid Henderson commented:

'You know, and Angel imagery of the past, the only ones that could fly had bird wings and that sort of thing. So, I think there is something with these aeroplane wings on the Angel...'

The wings were also remarked upon by Les Elton:

'The wings, the wings work. They looked odd in some of the original drawings, but in the end they work. The steel, the type of steel works, because it sort of weathers it into one. Those ribs are important to it. If it was smooth it wouldn't have the same effect. It's textured'.

Matthew Jarratt commented on 'the way it is made, it doesn't really deteriorate'. The fact that it is a figure also led some stakeholders to talk about how it had been embraced by the

community. Mike White commented: ‘I guess everybody talks about the football shirt that was on it in the May of ’98, that was an iconic moment of the acceptance of it into the region’s subculture’. Also, recently, there has been the 50 foot scarf wrapped around the Angel’s neck by well-known felt worker Lucy Sparrow (2013).

The last mechanism that emerged from the stakeholder interviews was *public engagement*. This had been a long process, starting before the Angel was created and still going on today - for example, as part of art education in local schools or celebration events happening at the Angel (such as the 10th and 15th birthday celebrations). Anna Peperall commented on this in her interview, stating:

‘The other process during it was an educational one. To inform the public, the communities, the schools, the voluntary groups, all sorts of people, to inspire them really, about the Angel. So there was a lot of information giving and education and process-led workshops’.

Chris Jeffrey viewed the education and participation programmes as being crucial, arguing that without them there could have been very different outcomes. He said: ‘without the involvement in the schools I think there could have been very different outcomes’.

Conclusion

In part 1 of the stakeholder interview analysis it was important to understand the viewpoints of the stakeholders in a wider perspective to inform the themes that emerged in this chapter. The stakeholders’ views on art and public art represent the frame in which, in their different ways, they took forward the Angel as a project: especially its role in improving places and people’s lives by art engaging with meaningful aspects of these places and lives. There was, however, a broader canvas – the need to reinvent post-industrial Gateshead and regenerate the town as distinctive and creative.

The stakeholders’ views on the arts in general and public art in particular were predominantly reflected in their anticipated and actual outcomes of the Angel. Nearly all of the expected outcomes were believed to have happened, although noteworthy is the extent to which the Angel was seen to have become a symbol of home and homecoming, which was not fully anticipated. Interestingly, ‘instilling confidence’, ‘creating debate’ and

‘paving the way for future cultural investment’ were not anticipated outcomes but emerge as actual outcomes for the stakeholders, with the Angel having far more significance than expected as a symbol of what Gateshead could do.

The embracing of the Angel by its ‘home’ and by a global range of external users of the image, stimulated by its celebration by the media, awards and other councils, mark it out as a ‘glocal’ phenomenon as discussed in chapter 10, not least because the contemporary world is so much one of ‘branding’, and a successful brand will travel. The site, the public access from near and far, and conducive economic and political factors appear to be essential to *how* this happened. *Why* this happened, however, was seen by the stakeholders to be a function of political will, the prominent location, the engaging figure, and the ways the public themselves engaged with, and took ownership of, the sculpture.

There is a realistic evaluation model beginning to emerge here that combines the attributes of the intervention (deliberate and unintended) and its context to understand how outcomes are realised. However, the Angel’s audience of Gateshead residents is not yet part of this picture, and are an essential part of establishing what outcomes have occurred. This includes an aspect mostly underplayed in the stakeholders’ narratives: whether there are differences among the Angel’s local audience in how (and if) the Angel impacts on them, given who they are and their social and economic contexts.

Chapters 6 and 7 have presented evidence about what the Angel’s stakeholders sought to achieve - analysed thematically as anticipated and actual outcomes, mechanisms and context. The next two chapters investigate how the artwork was thought about and experienced by the Gateshead public, presenting the results of a quantitative investigation using a residents survey to explore this ‘extensively’ in chapter 8 and then a qualitative investigation using focus groups to explore this ‘intensively’ in chapter 9 (Sayer, 1992). This exploration of public perceptions seeks to establish the extent to which stakeholders’ accounts are reflected in residents’ accounts, since they are the intended beneficiaries. The results are discussed in detail in chapter 10.

Chapter 8: The Angel's impact on a population

Introduction

A neighbourhood survey was undertaken across Gateshead to gather residents' views of the Angel and their responses to it, as well as how these vary by different factors. The questionnaire was informed by the stakeholder interviews discussed in the previous two chapters. These interviews were divided into an oral history of process (the practical, logistical and political considerations that enabled the Angel to be created) and the stakeholders' 'theories of change': what they expected the Angel to achieve and a contemporary view of what they saw the Angel having achieved. Their perceptions of what the Angel had achieved informed the questionnaire design for the survey, thus exploring whether these claims were reflected in local residents' responses. This was further investigated qualitatively as reported in chapter 9. Respondents who took part in the survey were also offered pre-paid envelopes in which they could send more information by letter about their views on the sculpture. Ten respondents opted for this. Some of the quotations from these letters are reported in this chapter's concluding remarks.

Chapter 5 describes the quota sampling method used. The aim was to achieve a sample of 300 responses, which was met. Additional effort was needed to take account of people opting out or being unavailable on call back, including hand delivering an extra 50 postcards over and above those planned. This changed the target sample to 1500, giving a response rate of 20 per cent. Although quite low, this is adequate for this type of survey (Seale, 2004). However, there are some implications with the response rate and these are discussed later in the chapter. Once the survey was completed, the data were inputted and analysed using the SPSS computer program. The questionnaire was pre-coded making this process quick and efficient. The analysis presented considers frequencies, associations between variables and how variables cluster to identify types of respondent.

The general characteristics of all the people interviewed are shown in table 8.1 below. In line with the target quota sample, almost equal numbers of males and females were achieved. The majority of participants were aged between 16-64 (75 per cent). Most lived in a property owned by its occupiers (65 per cent). Sixty-seven per cent had completed

further or higher education. The majority (60 per cent) had high life satisfaction (between 7 and 10 on a 10 point scale - although this is lower than for the Tyne & Wear conurbation as a whole, with the Office of National Statistics 2012 release of data from the national wellbeing survey showing an equivalent figure for the county of 74.8 per cent; Office of National Statistics, 2012). Ten per cent of respondents were unemployed or ‘other’ (generally unable to work due to sickness).

Table 8.1: General characteristics of survey participants (n=300)

<i>Gender %</i>		<i>Age group %</i>					<i>Tenure %</i>		<i>Further/ Higher ed %</i>		<i>Life Satisfaction %</i>	
M	F	16-24	25-40	41-60	61-74	75+	Own	Rent	Y	N	Low/Mod	High
47	53	13	21	31	27	9	65	35	67	33	20	60

The arts in general

In order to place views about the Angel of the North in context, some general questions were first asked about people’s views towards the arts and public art. Overall, out of all the participants interviewed, 47 per cent said that they had visited art galleries once or twice over the last year. Fifty-four per cent said that they had participated in other arts activities in the last year. A large majority (73 per cent) said that the arts were ‘for people like them’. Fifty-seven per cent said that the arts ‘make a difference’ to where they live. Sixty-four per cent said that they were familiar with other pieces of public art in Gateshead other than the Angel of the North.

In summary, visiting galleries and participating in other arts activities was quite common and most people saw the arts as relevant to their lives.

Overall feelings on the Angel of the North

The majority of the people interviewed (72 per cent) reported that the Angel of the North

makes them ‘feel good when they see it’. Sixty per cent also viewed the sculpture as a ‘comforting symbol’. A large percentage (71 per cent) said that it was visually appealing and 54 per cent said that they had grown to like it more over time. Eighty-nine per cent agreed that it makes Gateshead a ‘distinct place’ compared to other places. Seventy-seven per cent agreed that it has improved Gateshead’s image and 67 per cent that it was a symbol of confidence. Half of the respondents agreed that the sculpture made them feel part of a community with others. A large majority, 84 per cent, agreed that it created debate and discussion. Less, just over half (51 per cent), agreed that it was a positive symbol of the history and heritage of Gateshead.

Twenty-eight per cent reported that they had celebrated something important at the sculpture. Just over half (51 per cent) agreed that they would promote a cause or publicise something important at the Angel or by using an image of it. Forty-six per cent reported going to the Angel to take exercise. Sixty-five per cent saw it as a symbol of what Gateshead can achieve.

Overall, views were very positive about the sculpture and had often grown more positive over time. Many people felt that the Angel made Gateshead distinctive and that it was a discussion point.

The next section looks at the results broken down by age, gender, distance, deprivation and religion. Examples of the detailed data tables are included in appendices 10-14.

The effects of age group

Respondents aged 16-40 are significantly more likely to visit art galleries (66 per cent) than the 41-60 age group (41 per cent) and the 61 plus age group (52 per cent; χ^2 11.6912 df 2 $p < 0.01$). This skew to the younger age groups is also true of participation in other arts activities (84 per cent, 67 per cent and 71 per cent respectively; χ^2 8.361 df 2 $p < 0.05$).

There are no significant differences by age group for the question ‘the arts are not really for people like me’, with large majorities in all age groups disagreeing with this statement

(ranging from 71 per cent for the under 25s to 84 per cent for the 25 to 40 age group). There is, however, a significant difference by age group for whether respondents were familiar with other pieces of public art in Gateshead (χ^2 16.548 df = 4 p < 0.01). The main difference is the high proportion of young people (aged 16-24) who were not familiar with other pieces of public art around Gateshead (63 per cent compared to 26-39 per cent for other age groups).

Turning to the Angel specifically, older age groups (61 plus) were more likely than the younger age groups to agree that the Angel of the North is a symbol of confidence in the area (79 per cent compared to 62 per cent: χ^2 7.490 df = 1 p < 0.01). This was also the case for the question that the Angel 'is a symbol of what Gateshead can achieve' (χ^2 7.439 df = 1 p < 0.01). There were no significant differences by age for the question whether the Angel is 'appealing to look at'.

There is a significant difference by age for the statement that the Angel creates debate and discussion (χ^2 15.060 df = 4 p < 0.01). The 16-24 age group was least likely to agree (66 per cent compared to 92 per cent of 41-60 year olds and 86 per cent of 61-74 year olds). There is no significant difference by age group for whether respondents say that the Angel makes them proud of Gateshead or symbolises positively the history and heritage of the town.

There is a significant difference by age group for whether the Angel is somewhere respondents like to go (χ^2 12.836 df = 4 p < 0.05). The age group most likely to report the Angel as somewhere they like to go were 25-40 year olds (64 per cent compared to 40 per cent aged 41-60 and 35 per cent of 75 plus year olds). There is also a significant difference by age group, split between under 61 and 61 plus, and agreeing that the Angel makes them 'feel part of a community with others' (χ^2 5.105 df = 1 p < 0.05). Respondents aged between 61-74 were most likely to say this (63 per cent compared to 42 per cent of 16-24 years, the group least likely to agree with the statement).

Large majorities in all age groups *disagreed* with the statement 'the Angel of North is a waste of money', with no significant differences by age. There is a significant difference by age group, split between 61 and 61 plus, for whether or not they would feel deprived if

the Angel of the North was removed (χ^2 4.620 df = 1 p < 0.05). Sixty-nine per cent of respondents aged 61 plus said they would feel this way, compared to 56 per cent of respondents aged under 61 years.

Around a third of all age groups except 75 plus (8 per cent) said that they would mark or celebrate an occasion at the Angel (χ^2 9.576 df = 4 p < 0.05). Around a half of all age groups except 75 plus (23 per cent) would promote a cause or celebrate something important at the Angel (χ^2 9.576 df = 4 p < 0.05). There is a significant difference by age group for being likely to take exercise at the Angel, with the group most likely to do so aged 16-40 years (61 per cent; χ^2 10.808 df = 4 p < 0.05).

Overall, from the results above we can see that younger age groups were most likely to visit galleries and participate in other arts activities. Most of the youngest age group were unfamiliar with Gateshead's public art. Regarding the Angel specifically, all age groups were generally positive about the sculpture, but older age groups were most positive.

The effects of gender

Gender had no effects on views towards the arts in general or the Angel specifically. There were, however, some statistically significant effects for gender with other variables. Females were more likely to have high life satisfaction compared to men (86 per cent compared to 74 per cent; χ^2 6.477 df = 1 p < 0.05), less likely to be unemployed (6 per cent compared to 15 per cent; χ^2 5.971 df = 1 p < 0.05), and more likely to be religious (45 per cent compared to 28 per cent; χ^2 9.957 df = 1 p < 0.01).

The effects of distance

The distance that respondents lived from the Angel did not appear to have a large effect on views on the arts in general or on the Angel in particular. However, people living near the Angel were more likely to participate in other arts activities (81 per cent compared to 67 per cent distant from the sculpture; χ^2 7.750 df = 1 p < 0.01) and were more familiar with other pieces of public art around Gateshead than respondents who lived distant from the Angel (71 per cent compared to 56 per cent; χ^2 7.579 df = 1 p < 0.01).

Respondents who lived near the sculpture were more likely to agree that it makes Gateshead a more distinct place compared to those living distant from it (94 per cent compared to 84 per cent of respondents living distant from it; χ^2 6.564 df = 1 p < 0.05). They were also more likely to view the Angel as having personal and significant meanings for them (41 per cent compared to 26 per cent of respondents who lived furthest from the sculpture; χ^2 7.432 df = 1 p < 0.01).

Respondents who lived near the Angel were more likely to view it as somewhere that they liked to go (64 per cent compared to 37 per cent who lived distant from the sculpture; χ^2 22.351 df = 1 p < 0.01). Those who lived near the Angel were also more likely to take exercise there than those who lived distant from it (66 per cent compared to 32 per cent; χ^2 34.821 df = 1 p < 0.01). Respondents who lived near the Angel were more likely to consider using the sculpture to promote a cause or publicise something important (58 per cent compared to 43 per cent of respondents living furthest from the Angel; χ^2 7.012 df = 1 p < 0.01).

The effects of deprivation

Respondents who lived in the low and moderate deprivation areas were more likely to have high life satisfaction (87 per cent compared to 66 per cent in a high deprivation area; χ^2 19.161 df = 2 p < 0.01). Those who lived in low deprivation areas were also more likely to have further or higher education qualifications (83 per cent compared to 72 per cent in a moderate deprivation areas and 48 per cent in high deprivation areas; χ^2 28.1312 df = 2 p < 0.01). They were also least likely to be unemployed (2 per cent, compared to 5 per cent in a moderate deprivation area and 22 per cent in a high deprivation area; χ^2 24.860 df = 2 p < 0.01). Almost all respondents who lived in low deprivation areas were in accommodation owned by its occupants, just over three-quarters in moderate deprivation areas and just over a quarter in high deprivation areas (94 per cent, compared to 78 per cent and 27 per cent respectively; χ^2 104.541 df = 2 p < 0.01). Those who lived in a moderate deprivation area were most likely to be religious (45 per cent), followed by respondents who lived in a high deprivation area (36 per cent) and those who lived in a low deprivation area (28 per cent; χ^2 6.184 df = 2 p < 0.05).

Responses about the arts in general showed that respondents who lived in a low deprivation area were most likely to visit art galleries (63 per cent compared to 48 per cent of respondents who lived in a moderate deprivation area and 32 per cent who lived in a high deprivation area; χ^2 17.891 df = 2 p < 0.01). They were also most likely to participate in other arts activities (90 per cent compared to 72 per cent in a moderate deprivation area and 64 per cent in a high deprivation area; χ^2 16.392 df = 2 p < 0.01).

Respondents who lived in low deprivation areas were more likely to agree with the statement, 'the arts make a difference to where I live' (67 per cent) than others (χ^2 8.531 df = 1 p < 0.05). However, over half of respondents who lived in high deprivation areas also agreed (58 per cent) as well as nearly half who lived in moderate deprivation areas (47 per cent).

A large majority of respondents overall disagreed with the statement, 'the arts are not really for people like me', but people who lived in high deprivation areas were less likely to do so (70 per cent compared to 79 per cent in moderate deprivation areas and 86 per cent in low deprivation areas; χ^2 7.286 df = 2 p < 0.05).

There is a similar pattern in responses about people's feelings towards the Angel by deprivation area. Respondents who lived in a low deprivation area were most likely to agree that the Angel has improved Gateshead's image (88 per cent, compared to 76 per cent of people in a moderate deprivation area and 68 per cent in a high deprivation area; χ^2 11.012 df = 2 p < 0.01). They were most likely to report that they feel good when they see the Angel (80 per cent, compared to 75 per cent in a moderate deprivation area and 61 per cent in a high deprivation area; χ^2 9.230 df = 2 p < 0.01). They are also most likely to agree that the sculpture makes them proud of Gateshead (73 per cent, compared to 63 per cent of respondents who lived in a moderate deprivation area and 56 per cent who lived in a high deprivation area; χ^2 5.845 df = 2, although p marginally significant at 0.054).

A large majority overall viewed the Angel as creating debate and discussion, with those who lived in moderate and low deprivation areas more likely to agree (90 and 89 per cent respectively). Respondents who lived in a high deprivation area were least likely to agree (74 per cent; χ^2 12.179 df = 2 p < 0.01).

A large majority of respondents overall *disagreed* that the Angel of the North is intrusive and unattractive, with those who lived in a low deprivation area most likely to disagree (91 per cent, compared to 87 per cent who lived in a moderate deprivation area and 78 per cent who lived in a high deprivation area; $\chi^2 7.026$ df = 2 p < 0.05). Similarly, those who lived in a low deprivation area were most likely to disagree that they would be pleased if the Angel was removed (98 per cent, compared to 91 per cent of people who lived in a moderate deprivation area and 85 per cent who lived in a high deprivation area; $\chi^2 8.570$ df = 2 p < 0.05).

Over time, people who lived in a low deprivation area had grown to like the Angel more (71 per cent) compared to 60 per cent of those who lived in a moderate deprivation area and 35 per cent who lived in a high deprivation area ($\chi^2 26.317$ df = 2 p < 0.01).

Respondents who lived in a low deprivation area were also more likely to feel sad if the Angel was removed (74 per cent, compared to 61 per cent in a moderate deprivation area and 57 in a high deprivation area; $\chi^2 6.391$ df = 2 p < 0.05). This was also the case for feeling deprived (69 per cent, compared to 67 and 48 per cent in moderate and low deprivation areas respectively; $\chi^2 11.346$ df = 2 p < 0.01).

A large majority overall agreed that the Angel makes Gateshead distinct compared to other areas, with respondents who lived in low or moderate deprivation areas most likely to agree (93 per cent and 94 per cent respectively, compared to 81 per cent who lived in a high deprivation area; $\chi^2 11.374$ df = 2 p < 0.01). Respondents who lived in a moderate deprivation area were most likely to find the sculpture appealing to look at (77 per cent, compared to 74 per cent in low deprivation areas and 61 in high deprivation areas; $\chi^2 6.940$ df = 2 p < 0.05).

Overall, we can see that there is a gradient effect with people who live in low deprivation areas generally being more satisfied with life and most positive about both the arts in general and the Angel.

The effects of religious belief

Overall, 37 per cent of respondents said they would describe themselves as a religious person. This was much more likely among the older age groups of 61-74 (50 per cent) and 75 plus (81 per cent; χ^2 39.387 df 4 p < 0.01).

There is no significant difference by religion for visiting art galleries and participating in other arts activities. There are, however, significant differences for responses to the Angel, most markedly for having personal significance and meaning (47 per cent of religious respondents compared to 26 per cent of non-religious; χ^2 13.705 df 1 p < 0.01) and feeling good when they see the Angel (82 per cent and 66 per cent respectively; χ^2 9.233 df 1 p < 0.01). Thirty-six per cent of religious respondents would commemorate something important at the Angel compared to 23 per cent of non-religious respondents (χ^2 6.167 df 1 p < 0.05).

Other significant differences by religion are that the Angel is appealing to look at (78 per cent compared to 67 per cent; χ^2 3.943 df 1 p < 0.05); somewhere I like to go (60 per cent compared to 46 per cent; χ^2 5.045 df 1 p < 0.05); a symbol of what Gateshead can achieve (74 per cent compared to 60 per cent; χ^2 5.674 df 1 p < 0.05); makes me feel proud of Gateshead (76 per cent compared to 57 per cent; χ^2 10.984 df 1 p < 0.05); makes Gateshead distinctive (94 per cent compared to 86 per cent; χ^2 3.965 df 1 p < 0.05); improved Gateshead's image (84 per cent compared to 73 per cent; χ^2 4.989 df 1 p < 0.05); and would feel deprived if removed (69 per cent compared to 58 per cent; χ^2 4.494 df 1 p < 0.05).

Summary of general findings

Nationally in 2012, 51 per cent of adults had visited a museum or gallery in the past year (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2012). Broadly in line with these national figures, 47 per cent of respondents in this survey had visited an art gallery on a fairly regular basis, but this varied from 32 per cent in high deprivation areas to 63 per cent in low deprivation areas. There is less variation by deprivation for the question whether the arts are not really for people like me (ranging from 14 per cent in low deprivation areas to

30 per cent in high deprivation areas) but respondents in high deprivation areas were much less likely to consider that the arts made a difference to where they lived. In terms of awareness of Gateshead's large amount of public art, with over 80 installations throughout the borough, 64 per cent of respondents overall were familiar with other pieces of public art in the area. There is no significant variation by deprivation but significant variation by age, with only 37 per cent of the younger 16-24 age group familiar with other public art in the town.

Overall, 72 per cent of respondents said the Angel of the North made them feel good when they saw it. Sixty-seven per cent agreed that it was a symbol of confidence in the area, but this varied by age with older age groups more likely to agree. Age was also a distinguishing feature in how different age groups used the Angel, with younger respondents being more likely to undertake activities there than older age groups. Younger age groups were also more likely to participate in the arts in general. There was also some evidence that older age groups have a stronger attachment to the Angel than younger. Interestingly, gender appeared to have very little bearing on views about the Angel, with most respondents, regardless of their gender, having a positive attitude towards it.

Distance living from the Angel had some effect. Compared to those living distant from the sculpture those living near to it were significantly more likely to be familiar with other public art in Gateshead, to participate in other arts activities, to agree that it made Gateshead a more distinct place, to view the Angel as having personal and significant meanings for them and to be somewhere they liked to go and to take exercise.

The deprivation level of where a respondent lived appeared to influence attitudes towards the sculpture. In general, the higher the level of deprivation the more equivocal or negative their attitudes towards the Angel became. So whilst most respondents said they felt good when they saw the Angel, this varied from 61 per cent in a high deprivation area to 80 per cent in a low deprivation area. The same general trend was to be found in questions about how the Angel adds to the distinctiveness of Gateshead (the Angel improves Gateshead's image; makes me feel proud of Gateshead; is appealing to look at; and have liked more over time).

Most respondents found the Angel to be a talking point, with 73 per cent agreeing that it evoked discussion and debate. Most also said they would be sad if the Angel was removed, although this was more likely to be the case among respondents in less deprived areas and who were older.

Being a religious person had significant effects on views and responses to the Angel. These were more positive than for non-religious respondents, especially for the question about whether the Angel had personal significance and meaning. This is unsurprising and, although the Angel was not intended as a religious symbol as such, we can note Antony Gormley's aspiration for the sculpture as a 'reservoir for feeling' (see p. 8 above).

The next section turns to the Angel's relationship to feelings of wellbeing.

Does the Angel of the North improve people's wellbeing?

Seventy-two per cent of respondents agreed with the statement that the Angel of the North makes them 'feel good when they see it', with respondents in low deprivation areas significantly more likely to report this to be the case (80 per cent) than respondents in moderate deprivation areas (75 per cent) and high deprivation areas (61 per cent; χ^2 9.230 df = 2 p < 0.05). As noted above, respondents who viewed themselves as religious were also more likely to report that they felt good when they see the Angel (82 per cent compared to 66 per cent among non-religious respondents; χ^2 9.233 df = 1 p < 0.01). There are no statistical differences for this variable by gender, age or distance from the Angel.

Overall, 60 per cent of respondents agreed with the statement, 'the Angel of the North is a comforting symbol'. There are no statistical differences for this variable by age, gender, deprivation, religion or distance from the sculpture.

Deprivation has a marked effect on life satisfaction as shown in table 8.2 (χ^2 19.162 df = 2 p < 0.01). However, this is due to the effect of high deprivation, with life satisfaction among respondents in both moderate and low deprivation areas at the same level.

Table 8.2: Life satisfaction by deprivation (n=300)

		Deprivation		
		Low	Moderate	High
Life satisfaction	Low/moderate	13%	13%	34%
	High	87%	87%	66%

To investigate whether there is an interaction between feeling good when they see the Angel, deprivation and life satisfaction, a three-way cross-tabulation was undertaken to explore the possible effect on life satisfaction, controlling for deprivation, of feeling good when they see the Angel. Table 8.3 below shows that among respondents living in high deprivation areas, 70 per cent of those who reported feeling good when they see the Angel, had high life satisfaction compared to 60 per cent of those who disagreed that they feel good when they see the Angel. This is not statistically significant (χ^2 2.238 df = 1 p 0.13) but an intriguing difference worth further investigation as to whether the Angel has some effect on life satisfaction after taking into account the large effect of deprivation. Interestingly, among respondents in moderate to low deprivation areas, reporting feeling good when they see the Angel has a very small effect on life satisfaction, with a difference of only 1 per cent (88 compared to 87 per cent).

Table 8.3: Life satisfaction by deprivation and ‘Feel good when see Angel’

'Feel good when see Angel of the North' %			Life satisfaction %		Total %
			High	Moderate to low	
Agree	Deprivation:	Low to moderate	88	12	100
		High	70	30	100
Disagree	Deprivation:	Low to moderate	87	13	100
		High	60	40	100
Total	Deprivation:	Low to moderate	87	13	100
		High	66	34	100

There are signs here of a small and incremental effect of the Angel of the North on a person’s life satisfaction. However, it is important to note that association does not necessarily reflect causation. A three-way cross tabulation is one way to model how causation might work by controlling for confounding variables – in this case, the large effect of deprivation. There is a similar, although also not statistically significant, difference for the Angel as a comforting symbol. Among respondents living in high

deprivation areas, 70 per cent of those who agreed that the Angel is a comforting symbol reported high life satisfaction compared to 62 per cent of those who disagreed with the statement that it is a comforting symbol.

The next section investigates how responses cluster together to identify *types* of respondent. The cluster analysis technique in SPSS was used to do this.

How do respondents' characteristics cluster together in relation to their attitudes towards the Angel of the North?

A cluster analysis is an exploratory data analysis tool for organising data into meaningful taxonomies or groups based on the similarity of cases. Cluster analysis works by classifying cases into groups that are relatively homogeneous within themselves and heterogeneous between each other on the basis of a defined set of variables. The groups created are called clusters. There are various different types of cluster analysis. The main two are hierarchal clustering (Ward's method) and K-means clustering. Hierarchical clustering is used when there is no prior knowledge about how many clusters may be created. K-means clustering is a faster and more reliable method of clustering and allows specification of the number of clusters to be created.

The approach taken is to investigate how cases cluster together regarding 'objective data' - age and gender, employment status and tenure - and 'subjective' data, such as perceptions and attitudes towards public art. The process of bifurcation on which cluster analysis is based is neither a simple linear cause-effect model nor a random process. Cluster analysis is about relationships between cases rather than variables. Thus, it is interesting to explore how case characteristics, such as employment status and tenure, cluster with public art as a source of happiness in respondents' lives.

The technique of cluster analysis can be represented visually by a dendrogram, a hierarchal tree diagram. Its branching-like nature allows for tracing backward and forward to any individual cluster or case at any level. It also gives an idea of how great the distance is between cases or groups that are clustered in a particular step, using a 0 to 25 scale along the top of the graph. Moving from left to right on the graph, the distance between the

clusters becomes more apparent. The longer the distance before two clusters join, the larger the differences are between these clusters.

The cluster analysis was conducted in a number of stages. Firstly, the hierarchical clustering technique was used in order to get some sense from the dendrogram of the possible number of clusters and the way they merge (two visible clusters could be seen from the dendrogram: see appendix 14). The cluster analysis was then re-run using K-means clustering, initially with two clusters and then with six to explore any more fine-grained differences. The cluster types are discussed below.

Description of clusters

Based on inspection of the dendrogram, two clusters were identified from the cluster analysis. Table 8.4 below gives an overview of each cluster. Cluster 1 is made up of 97 cases and cluster 2 is made up of 203 cases. Respondents in cluster 2 are less likely to be unemployed (17 per cent compared to 7 per cent; χ^2 5.874 df = 1 < 0.05); more likely to live in low or moderately deprived areas (73 per cent compared to 50 per cent in cluster 1; χ^2 16.414 df = 1 < 0.01); more likely to own rather than rent their homes (71 per cent compared to 52 per cent; χ^2 11.405 df = 1 < 0.01); and more likely to be religious than those in cluster 1 (41 per cent compared to 29 per cent; χ^2 4.069 df = 1 < 0.05).

Table 8.4: General characteristics of two clusters (n=300)

<i>Cluster 1 (n=97)</i>	<i>Cluster 2 (n=203)</i>
More deprived	Less deprived
Many rent their homes	Most own their homes
Higher unemployment	Very low unemployment
Less religious	More religious
More distant from the Angel of the North	Near Angel of the North

How the two clusters relate to the arts in a general and the Angel of the North specifically are discussed next.

Cluster 1

This is the smaller, most deprived and least religious of the two clusters (n = 97) and is characterised by being less engaged with the arts. Twenty-six per cent have visited art galleries in the last year, although a larger percentage (55 per cent) have participated in other arts activities. Less than half, 47 per cent, are familiar with other pieces of public art around Gateshead. Less than a third, thirty-two per cent, think the arts make a difference to where they live and only 20 per cent think that there are a lot of opportunities to get involved in the arts where they live. Nevertheless, 60 per cent of respondents in cluster 1 disagree with the statement ‘the arts are not really for people like me’.

Only 31 per cent of respondents in cluster 1 see the Angel as a symbol of confidence for Gateshead. Similarly, only 36 per cent view the sculpture as a symbol of what Gateshead can achieve. Thirty-four per cent find it appealing to look at. A slightly higher percentage (46 per cent) agree that the Angel has improved Gateshead’s image and 75 per cent think that it makes Gateshead distinct compared to other areas.

Only 16 per cent of respondents in this cluster think that the Angel symbolises positively the heritage and history of the area. A very small minority sees the Angel as having any personal significance or attachment for them or that it makes them feel part of a community (3 per cent and 6 per cent respectively). Respondents in cluster 1 have liked the Angel *less* over time (79 per cent) and do not view it as somewhere they like to go (91 per cent). Only 29 per cent of respondents in cluster 1 feel good when they see the Angel of the North and only 21 per cent view it as a comforting symbol.

Fifty-two per cent of respondents in cluster 1 see the Angel as a waste of money. Despite this, 59 per cent *disagree* that it is intrusive and unattractive. Respondents in cluster 1 are extremely unlikely to celebrate an occasion (2 per cent), promote a cause (20 per cent), or take exercise (26 per cent) at the Angel. No respondents in cluster 1 would go to the sculpture to commemorate something important. Only 16 per cent would feel deprived and 20 per cent sad if the Angel was removed.

Despite these findings, the majority of respondents in this cluster (72 per cent) would *not* be pleased if the sculpture was removed.

Cluster 2

This is the larger cluster, and more engaged with the arts (n = 203). There is a higher proportion of respondents in cluster 2 than in cluster 1 that visit art galleries (57 per cent compared to 26 per cent; χ^2 25.143 df = 1 < 0.01); participate in other arts activities (84 per cent compared to 55 per cent; χ^2 29.142 df = 1 < 0.01); and are familiar with other pieces of public art around Gateshead (72 per cent compared to 47 per cent; χ^2 17.098 df = 1 < 0.01). Respondents in cluster 2 are more likely to agree with the following statements: ‘the arts make a difference to where I live’ (69 per cent compared to 32 per cent; χ^2 35.638 df = 1 < 0.01) and ‘there are a lot of opportunities to get involved in the arts where I live’ (59 per cent compared to 20 per cent; χ^2 40.259 df = 1 < 0.01). They are also more likely to *disagree* with the statement: ‘the arts are not really for people like me’ (87 per cent compared to 60 per cent; χ^2 27.690 df = 1 < 0.01).

Respondents in cluster 2 are more likely to see the Angel as a symbol of confidence (85 per cent compared to 31 per cent; χ^2 86.377 df = 1 < 0.01), find it appealing to look at (88 per cent compared to 34 per cent; χ^2 92.870 df = 1 < 0.01), a symbol of what Gateshead can achieve (79 per cent compared to 36 per cent; χ^2 54.154 df = 1 < 0.01), agree that it has improved Gateshead’s image (91 per cent compared to 46 per cent; χ^2 73.448 df = 1 < 0.01) and makes Gateshead distinct (96 per cent compared to 75 per cent; χ^2 27.652 df = 1 < 0.01), as well as see it as a positive symbol of the heritage and history of the area (69 per cent compared to 16 per cent; χ^2 73.827 df = 1 < 0.01).

Again, respondents in cluster 2 are more likely to feel that the Angel has personal significance for them (48 per cent compared to 3 per cent; χ^2 60.002 df = 1 < 0.01) and makes them feel part of a community with others (70 per cent compared to 21 per cent; χ^2 108.412 df = 1 < 0.01). They also have come to like the Angel of the North more over time and view it as somewhere they like to go (70 per cent compared to 21 per cent and 71 per cent compared to 9 per cent respectively; χ^2 65.671 df = 1 < 0.01 and 99.851 df = 1 p < 0.01). A large percentage of respondents in cluster 2 feel good when they see the Angel (92 per cent compared to 29 per cent; χ^2 129.325 df = 1 < 0.01) as well as view it as a comforting symbol (79 per cent compared to 21 per cent; χ^2 92.225 df = 1 < 0.01).

Ninety-eight per cent of respondents in cluster 2 disagree that the Angel is a waste of money compared to 49 per cent in cluster 1 (χ^2 105.616 df = 1 < 0.01) and the same proportion, 98 per cent, disagreed that it is intrusive and unattractive compared to 59 per cent in cluster 1 (χ^2 77.396 df = 1 < 0.01). They are more likely to promote a cause or publicise something at the Angel (66 per cent compared to 20 per cent; χ^2 56.602 df = 1 < 0.01) and take exercise there (60 per cent compared to 26 per cent; χ^2 30.946 df = 1 < 0.01). They are also more likely to agree with the following statements: 'if the Angel of the North was removed I would feel deprived' (82 per cent compared to 16 per cent; χ^2 122.748 df = 1 < 0.01) and 'if the Angel of the North was removed I would feel sad' (85 per cent compared to 28 per cent; χ^2 120.405 df = 1 < 0.01). None of the respondents in cluster 2 would be pleased if the Angel was removed compared to 28 per cent in cluster 1 (χ^2 62.094 df = 1 < 0.01).

The next section looks at the two clusters in relation to life satisfaction to see if there is a relationship with these findings.

The clusters and life satisfaction

Overall, we can see that cluster 2 can be viewed as a more socially advantaged cluster with respondents more likely to live in a house that is owned by its occupiers and in a low deprivation area. Their views towards the Angel and the arts in general are more positive than respondents in cluster 1.

A cross-tabulation of the two clusters with life satisfaction reveals that cluster 2 has a higher life satisfaction than cluster 1 (85 per cent compared to 70 per cent; χ^2 8.776 df = 1 < 0.01). So cluster 2 is a relatively advantaged and satisfied group, where attitudes towards the Angel of the North reflect a generally more positive disposition across a range of variables.

Although two clusters was the most stable configuration in the dendrogram, the next most stable was six clusters. This more fine grained analysis is reported next.

Six cluster analysis

Table 8.5 below gives an overview of the six clusters. The clusters vary significantly by deprivation (χ^2 39.737 df = 5 < 0.01), tenure (χ^2 35.026 df = 5 < 0.01), education achievement (χ^2 28.012 df = 5 < 0.01), age group (χ^2 158.301 df = 20 < 0.01), religious belief (χ^2 77.919 df = 5 < 0.01), and distance from the Angel (χ^2 24.832 df = 5 < 0.01).

Clusters 5 and 6 have the highest deprivation levels, with 69 per cent and 57 per cent of respondents in high deprivation areas respectively. Cluster 5 has the highest proportion of young respondents (44 per cent aged 16-24) and cluster 6 has the lowest proportion of residents who are religious (none) and without further or higher education qualifications (46 per cent compared to 53 per cent in cluster 1; 69 per cent in cluster 2; 88 per cent in cluster 3; 71 per cent in cluster 4; and 67 per cent in cluster 5). Cluster 2 has the lowest deprivation levels, with 87 per cent of respondents living in low to moderate deprivation areas. Respondents in clusters 5 and 6 are the most likely to rent their properties (69 per cent and 57 per cent respectively) while respondents in clusters 1 and 2 are most likely to own their homes (74 per cent and 82 per cent, respectively). Cluster 1 is made up predominantly of older residents (72 per cent aged 61 plus) and along with cluster 4 are the most likely to be religious (65 per cent and 83 per cent respectively). The majority of respondents in clusters 3 and 4 also own their homes (65 per cent and 67 per cent). Clusters 2 and 4 are the most distant from the Angel and 1 and 3 are the closest.

There are noticeable differences regarding art gallery attendance (χ^2 28.817 df = 5 < 0.01), with higher deprivation clusters 5 and 6 the least likely to visit galleries (28 per cent and 11 per cent respectively, compared to 40-50 per cent for the other clusters). These two clusters are also the least likely to be familiar with other pieces of public art around Gateshead (41 per cent and 37 per cent respectively). However, this changes with whether or not respondents participate in other arts activities, with the majority of people in all the clusters apart from cluster 6 (34 per cent) being involved in other arts activities, although with significant variation across clusters (χ^2 47.541 df = 5 < 0.01). Cluster 6, with high deprivation and the lowest proportion of respondents with further or higher education qualifications, is by far the least likely to agree that the arts make a difference to where they live (3 per cent, compared to 70 per cent of respondents in cluster 1; 48 per cent in

cluster 2; 75 per cent in cluster 3; 42 per cent in cluster 4; and 75 per cent in cluster 5; χ^2 64.898 df = 5 < 0.01). Although in no cluster is there a majority who agreed that 'the arts are not really for people like me', respondents in cluster 6 were most likely to *agree* with this statement (46 per cent compared to 88 per cent of respondents in both clusters 1 and 3; 81 per cent in cluster 2; 71 per cent in cluster 4; and 69 per cent in cluster 5; (χ^2 32.163 df = 5 < 0.01).

Looking at the clusters in relation to views about the Angel of the North, again there are some quite clear distinctions between them. The fact that cluster 6 is the least likely to be involved in the arts in general is reflected in their views about the Angel, with only 11 per cent viewing the sculpture a comforting symbol. This is also the case for cluster 4 with only 4 per cent of respondents finding the Angel a comforting symbol (compared to 91 per cent of respondents in cluster 1; 54 per cent in cluster 2; 84 per cent in cluster 3; and 45 per cent in cluster 5; (χ^2 113.812 df = 5 < 0.01).

Again, clusters 6 and 4 are least likely to feel good when they see the Angel (14 per cent and 17 per cent respectively, compared to 97 per cent of respondents in cluster 1; 88 per cent in cluster 2; 91 per cent in cluster 3; and 41 per cent in cluster 5; χ^2 153.247 df = 5 < 0.01).

The pattern continues for most of the other statements about the Angel until 'the Angel of the North makes me proud of Gateshead'. Here, clusters 4, 5 and 6 are most likely to disagree with the statement (13 per cent, 37 per cent and 3 per cent respectively, compared to 96 per cent of respondents in cluster 1, 63 per cent in cluster 2, and 91 per cent in cluster 3; χ^2 148.190 df = 5 < 0.01). These clusters are also most likely to disagree with the statement that if the Angel of the North was removed they would feel sad or deprived (χ^2 162.917 df = 5 < 0.01; χ^2 139.241 df = 5 < 0.01), and most likely to have liked the Angel of the North less over time (χ^2 100.497 df = 5 < 0.01). Cluster 6 is the only cluster with a majority that would be pleased if the Angel of the North was removed; χ^2 144.319 df = 5 < 0.01). Respondents in cluster one are most likely to have a personal or significant attachment to the Angel (75 per cent compared to 15 per cent of respondents in cluster 2; 43 per cent in cluster 3, 4 per cent in cluster 4, 13 per cent in cluster 5, and 3 per cent in cluster 6; χ^2 102.119 df = 5 < 0.01).

Table 8.5: General characteristics of six clusters (n=300)

<i>Cluster 1 (n = 74)</i>	<i>Cluster 2 (n = 67)</i>
<p>Moderate deprivation, mostly owner occupiers Mostly over 60, mostly religious Mostly with HE or FE qualifications Mostly near the Angel Mostly agree arts make a difference to area Almost all see the Angel as comforting, feel good when see it and feel proud of Gateshead Almost all feel deprived if Angel removed Most feel Angel has personal meaning Angel makes almost all feel part of community</p>	<p>Low deprivation, mostly owner occupiers Mostly over 40, mostly not religious Mostly with HE or FE qualifications Mostly distant from the Angel Almost all feel good when they see the Angel Most would feel deprived if Angel removed</p>
<i>Cluster 3 (n = 68)</i>	<i>Cluster 4 (n = 24)</i>
<p>Moderate deprivation, mostly owner occupiers Mostly under 40, mostly not religious Mostly with HE or FE qualifications Mostly near the Angel Mostly agree arts make a difference to area Almost all see the Angel as comforting, feel good when they see it and feel proud of Gateshead Almost all feel deprived if Angel removed Angel makes most feel part of community</p>	<p>Moderate deprivation, mostly owner occupiers Mostly over 60, mostly religious Mostly with HE or FE qualifications Mostly distant from the Angel Very few see the Angel as comforting Few feel good when they see the Angel Very few feel proud of Gateshead Few feel deprived if Angel removed</p>
<i>Cluster 5 (n = 32)</i>	<i>Cluster 6 (n = 35)</i>
<p>High deprivation, mostly tenants Mostly under 40, mostly not religious Mostly with HE or FE qualifications Mostly distant from the Angel Least likely to visit art galleries Least likely to be familiar with public art Mostly agree arts make a difference to area Divided on Angel as comforting, feeling good when see it and feeling proud of Gateshead Few would feel deprived if Angel removed</p>	<p>High deprivation, mostly tenants Mostly under 60, all not religious Mostly without HE or FE qualifications Evenly split by distance from the Angel Least likely to visit galleries Least likely to be familiar with public art Least likely to participate in other arts Almost all disagree arts make a difference Most likely to agree arts not for them Few see the Angel as comforting Very few feel good when they see the Angel Almost all do not feel proud of Gateshead Mostly pleased if Angel removed</p>

Clusters 1 and 3 are most likely to agree with the statement that the Angel of the North makes them feel part of a community with others (88 per cent and 71 per cent respectively, compared to 39 per cent of respondents in cluster 2, 4 per cent in cluster 4, and 28 per cent in cluster 5; χ^2 118.550 df = 5 < 0.01). None of the respondents in cluster 6 viewed the Angel as making them feel part of a community. All clusters include majorities agreeing with the statement that the Angel of the North creates debate and discussion.

Table 8.6 below shows the six clusters cross-tabulated with life satisfaction. We can see that although the majority of respondents in all clusters report high life satisfaction, cluster 6 has the lowest (60 per cent compared to 85 per cent of respondents in cluster 1, 82 per cent in cluster 2, 84 per cent in cluster 3, 83 per cent in cluster 4, and 75 per cent in cluster 5; χ^2 11.440 df = 5 < 0.05).

Table 8.6: Six clusters by life satisfaction

		<i>Cluster</i>					
		<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Life satisfaction %</i>	<i>Low to moderate</i>	15	18	16	17	25	40
	<i>High</i>	85	82	84	83	75	60
<i>Total</i>		100	100	100	100	100	100

Overall, we can see that respondents in cluster 1 are most likely to have positive feelings and responses about the Angel and the arts in general; they are older, mostly religious, mostly well educated and mostly live near the Angel. They also have the highest life satisfaction. There is an interesting contrast between this cluster and cluster 4, which shares many social characteristics but is mostly negative about the Angel and mostly lives distant from it.

Respondents in cluster 6 are by far most likely to have negative feelings towards the Angel and the arts in general. The majority in cluster 6 are aged between 25 and 60, and live in a high deprivation area distant from the Angel. No respondents in cluster 6 are religious.

Although cluster 5 is a high deprivation cluster with a higher proportion of respondents with low gallery attendance and less familiarity with other pieces of public art, they have mostly positive feelings towards the Angel. It is interesting to note that the main difference

compared to cluster 6, also with high deprivation but with very negative feelings about the Angel, is the higher level of education among cluster 5.

Concluding remarks

Overall, the survey results show that the majority of respondents saw the arts as for people like them and had positive attitudes towards the Angel, and that these had often grown more positive over time. Most respondents said that they feel good when they see it and agreed that it has improved Gateshead's image. Older respondents (61 plus) are more likely to see it as a symbol of confidence, feel it makes them part of a community and say they would feel deprived if it was removed. The youngest age group, 16-24, was least likely to see the Angel as creating debate and discussion. Respondents living nearest to the sculpture were more likely to attach personal significance and meaning to it and to like to go there. Being religious has significant effects, especially on personal significance and meaning, although this factor accentuates rather than fundamentally alters generally positive views and responses towards the Angel.

These overall generally positive dispositions towards the Angel were reflected graphically in the letters received from respondents, with comments ranging from, 'it gave me hope for the future', 'a magnificent milestone for us, signalling the end of our journey' and 'we laugh at how shiny the feet are', to 'we feel that "our Angel" has replaced the Tyne Bridge as the number one iconic landmark'.

The majority of respondents found the Angel appealing to look at - 71 per cent - and 51 per cent viewed it as somewhere they like to go. This is also reflected in a letter from a Gateshead resident who wrote:

'We have visited the Angel on many occasions. I remember when a giant no. 9 Newcastle shirt was put on it by local supporters! It is always a pleasure to see and all of our visitors make a trip to see it and take photographs. A lovely landmark!'

Another respondent wrote, 'even now we visit the site at least once a fortnight'.

Sixty per cent of respondents regarded the Angel as a comforting symbol and although only 34 per cent reported having a significant and personal attachment with it, the letters

from residents revealed that in some cases the Angel had had a profound impact on them and their lives. Perhaps one of the most moving responses was a letter from a Gateshead resident detailing their personal and significant attachment to the Angel:

‘I was diagnosed with Hodgkin’s disease in 1992 ... At my lowest ebb I could see the Angel from my lounge window and felt it was watching over me, it gave me hope for the future. I have survived with the illness in remission for nearly twenty years and I am still overlooked by the Angel’.

The survey data, however, reveals important patterns in how respondents viewed the Angel. For deprivation a fairly stepped pattern emerged, with people who lived in a high deprivation area being least likely to have positive attitudes towards the Angel and people who lived in low deprivation areas being most positive about the sculpture. Living in high deprivation areas is associated with less visits to galleries, lower participation in the arts generally and less believing the arts make a difference to where they live. But 70 per cent of respondents living in high deprivation areas still said that the arts were for people like them. Sixty-one per cent agreed that they feel good when they see the Angel, but over half – 52 per cent – would not feel deprived if it was removed. Some inconclusive evidence was found that feeling good about the Angel raised life satisfaction among respondents living in high deprivation areas.

A clear picture emerges from the cluster analyses of people living in more affluent areas with higher levels of life satisfaction and a general appreciation of the arts having more positive views about the Angel, its importance to Gateshead and their personal attachment to it.

The findings also demonstrate that those living in more deprived areas, with a weaker connection to the arts generally, whilst having some positive views about the Angel and its impact on Gateshead generally, have lower levels of personal attachment to it and are less likely to be agree that it is a comforting symbol than other respondents. The six cluster analysis illustrated in more detail how the Angel ‘works’ for most but not all residents, with the high deprivation cluster 6 generally negative about the sculpture and the moderate deprivation, mostly religious cluster 4 also with few positive respondents.

The next chapter develops much more the kind of qualitative evidence represented by the letters, using data from focus groups organised by types of local resident.

Chapter 9: Experiences and meanings

Introduction to the focus groups

This chapter discusses the outcomes of the analysis of five focus groups that were conducted with already existing community groups in Gateshead. The focus groups were conducted over a period of six months in 2013. They were recorded, transcribed and then analysed using the computer package NVivo to identify themes and quotes associated with them.

The aim of the focus groups was to explore the results from the survey in more depth. They were run using a semi-structured format, as there was a list of questions to explore from the survey results, but the intention was not to be too structured so that a flowing conversation could be achieved. The same set of questions was used for all the groups apart from those with younger children, where a slightly different approach was used. This is discussed in more detail below.

The survey showed that residents' relationships with the Angel varied based on their characteristics, and two of the most marked differences in this respect were by social deprivation and age. This was taken into account in selecting the groups.

The chapter starts by looking at the nature/composition of each of the five groups and moves on to present the main themes to emerge from the analyses, illustrating these with selected quotes from the transcripts. It concludes by discussing the focus group results along with the survey and stakeholder interviews, exploring the extent to which stakeholders' theories of change were reflected in the survey and focus group data.

Focus group 1: St Chad's Women's Group

The first focus group that took place was with the St Chad's Women's Group, based at the St Chad's Community Project in Bensham. The group meets on a weekly basis and the women have the opportunity to carry out various activities such as cooking sessions and keep fit classes. There is also a crèche provided by the community project for women with

children. There were nine women present at the focus group, ranging between the ages of 25 and 45. Nearly all the women were stay at home parents, with a few working part-time. Most of the women lived in high deprivation areas in Gateshead (within 20 per cent of the most deprived areas) with one living in a high deprivation area of Newcastle. This group was chosen in order to explore in more depth the views of younger women, especially those with children, and if this played any part in how they viewed and interacted with the Angel. It was also chosen as a high deprivation group, to investigate the deprivation-related results from the survey in more detail.

Focus group 2: Knit and natter group, Little Theatre, Gateshead

The second focus group was with the Knit and Natter group that meets at the Little Theatre in Gateshead. There were six members of the group present when the focus group took place, ranging from the ages of 55 to 75 plus. There were five women and one man. The participants all lived in low deprivation areas in either Gateshead or Newcastle and all but one owned their homes (one member rented). All members of the group were retired apart from one who was employed part time. This group was chosen in order to explore older people's views on the Angel, and who were engaged with the arts and from low deprivation areas, in order to explore the results from the survey in more detail in these respects.

Focus group 3: Gateshead Historical Society

The third focus group to take place was with the Gateshead Historical Society. The society meets at Gateshead library monthly. There were five members of the group present at the focus group. Their age range varied between 41 and 75 and they were all retired apart from one who was employed part time. All the participants lived in low deprivation areas and all owned their homes. Although all the participants were interested in the arts to some degree, they did not see themselves as actively engaging in them, unlike the Little Theatre Group. Therefore, this group was chosen in order again to explore the survey results in relation to older people who lived in low deprivation areas, but it was also to explore the meanings people attach to the Angel from a perspective that is not arts orientated.

Focus group 4: Young Women's Group, Felling

The Young Women's Group meets twice a week at Branding Hall Community Centre. The group is for 'women to meet together, develop their confidence and learn new skills ... the group offers women from the local community friendship and support as well as a range of informal learning opportunities' (GVOC, 2013). When the focus group took place, the women had recently been focusing on the term 'wellbeing', which made it an interesting group to work with for this study. The focus group took place in Branding Hall Community Centre on an evening. Nine girls were present, ranging between the ages of 11 to 15. Thus, it is a younger demographic than the survey, adding this new dimension, and it is notable that all the young women who took part were born after the Angel was created.

The focus groups that were conducted with the young people were undertaken slightly differently to those with older people. For example, it was decided not to ask the girls as many personal questions such as their postcode and whether or not they were religious. Instead, it was asked where they lived, their age and if they all attended a school in the area (which they did). All the girls lived in the Felling area and the majority of them lived in rented accommodation, although some did not know the answer to this question. The area of Felling is made up of seven Lower Layer Super Output Areas: North Felling, Old Fold, Sunderland Road, Falla Park, Central Felling, High Felling and Highfield Estate. The Index of Multiple Deprivation indicates that that in terms of overall deprivation all of these areas are within the 10 per cent most deprived areas in England, apart from Central Felling which falls within the 20 per cent most deprived. Therefore, Felling can be classed as a high deprivation area.

Although the same questions were used for all the focus groups, the way in which they were asked in the focus groups with younger children was different. A more ad hoc and flexible approach was taken, trying to be as interactive as possible, for example getting the participants to shout out the first word that came into their head when I said art, public art, the Angel and so on. With the Young Women's Group, after the questions were completed they all decided to interview me with a barrage of questions about the Angel and my research. Although two of the girls had done a project on the Angel though their art class in school, and had also visited the Baltic with their school, the majority of the younger girls did not know anything about the Angel and had never visited the Baltic or the Sage. It was

decided that a trip would be organised through The Young Women's Group with the youth workers to both the Baltic and the Sage.

Focus Group 5: Gateshead Youth Theatre

The last focus group to be conducted was with another group formed of young people. Therefore, the format of the focus group was similar to the group above. However, the composition of the group was different. There were five members present, mixed gender and all aged between 14 and 16. The deprivation status of the group was mixed, with one participant living in a high deprivation area and the rest in middle and low deprivation areas. This group was actively engaged in the arts and had just performed a 'flash mob' at the Angel on its 15th birthday. The Flash Mob was about young people's perceptions of the North East, and they felt that it was crucial that the Angel was involved. When they had performed the flash mob elsewhere, they had created their own large Angel for a backdrop to the performance.

Exploring the survey results

The survey results suggested that older people were more likely to engage with the arts in a gallery setting and younger people were more likely to participate in other arts activities. People who lived in low deprivation areas were twice as likely to visit art galleries than those who lived in high deprivation areas. With regard to the Angel, the survey demonstrated that overall the majority of people responded well to it, with 72 per cent of respondents agreeing that it made them feel good when they saw it. In order to explore this in more detail in the focus groups, questions were asked with an emphasis on why and how: for example, if someone responded that the Angel did make them feel good, then they were asked to explain how it made them feel good. Timescale was also explored. For example, questions were asked about whether the Angel made participants feel instantly happy when they saw it or whether there was a longer life satisfaction effect, such as being proud of where they live.

Three main themes emerged from the focus groups. The first was how the participants experienced the Angel. The second was how the participants attached meaning to the Angel and what these meanings were. Wellbeing was discussed here and whether or not

participants felt the Angel had a short-term ‘instant happiness’ effect or a longer term ‘life satisfaction’ effect. The last theme that emerged was centred around the notion of the Angel as a piece of art and comparing and contrasting it to other pieces of public art.

Experiencing the Angel

All except one participant had visited the Angel; everyone had seen it and, to a greater or less extent, it was a familiar part of everyone’s lives. Comments in the St Chad’s Women’s Group were that they went to ‘look around’, while the Young Women’s Group ‘went for a walk’, ‘walked the dog’ or went for ‘something to do’. Taking visitors was mentioned, more often by middle class participants, and sometimes special events were the reason to visit: ‘Of course, when the Olympic torch came we went then’.

The two women’s groups said there should be more amenities at the site such as a café and play area, especially for children:

‘They might put more stuff there and then we’d all probably go a lot more. Like a shop and café or a play park.’

‘I can’t really see how it attracts people into the area ... there is nothing else there’⁴.

There was caution, however, from a member of the St Chad’s group: ‘This whole idea about putting more stuff there, it’s like a double-edged sword, because if they do it’ll end up with an entry charge and all sorts and it won’t be what it is anymore’.

All but a very few participants liked the sculpture, although some had not to begin with. A Knit and Natter Group participant recounted:

‘I’ve been living in Australia. I’d heard from family about the Angel ... I came back home to live and one of the first things I did was to go and see the Angel ... when I first looked at it I thought “I’m not struck by that one bit”. My family said “just you wait and see, it will grow on you” and nine years later I just love it!’

Another commented that:

⁴ Antony Gormley required that no amenities were provided at the sculpture, something noted by a participant in The Historical Society focus group.

‘When I first saw images of it I just thought it looked so odd ... But then I just changed. I don’t know what it was, whether when I had gone to see it and the ribbing around it, it’s just beautiful’.

The Knit and Natter Group talked of coming to appreciate the Angel as art, with one participant recounting:

‘When it was installed I was going to totally avoid it, I thought it was a monstrosity, and then when it went up I’d have to say I just changed my mind! ... It was a beautiful piece of artwork ... and a beautiful piece of engineering built in the North East by the lads down at Hartlepool. And then I thought, what a good use for a mine shaft!’

A Historical Society participant also commented about appreciating the sculpture as art:

‘I don't think I've felt that I'm participating in the arts but there have been other times when I've gone there and I've just stood in front of it and just taken in the sheer size and scale of it, and I've thought about it as art and the creation of it and what it means to me.’

One Youth Theatre Group member said:

‘It makes me feel happy and I think it’s because it makes me feel like I’m part of a piece of artwork.’

One of the St Chad’s Women’s Group participants said, ‘you can’t not like it. It’s artwork isn’t it!’ This brought the comment from another participant in this group that, ‘it’s a bit of a statement though isn’t it, it’s really trying to say something: *the Angel of the North*’.

Another said, ‘Other regions have got jealous of it’ and had sculptures they said were ‘their Angel’.

Some of the young women’s group had learned about the Angel in school but others did not know the Angel was created by an artist and did not see it as art:

‘I didn’t even know it was art. I just thought it was there, it’s always been there, and I couldn’t really imagine it not being there.’

‘Yes, it’s always been there since I can remember and I’ve always just thought it was the Angel. I didn’t realise that an artist has made it.’

For the young women’s group the Angel was not ‘art’ but a feature that was ‘big’, ‘funny’, about ‘home’ and ‘ours’. One said, ‘it needs to be painted black and white!’⁵

One participant in the St Chad’s Women’s Group felt that ‘kids climbing on the feet and stuff like that’ detracted from the Angel as art, but others felt that selling ‘postcards and pictures actually at the Angel like they do at the Baltic’ would make it seem more like artwork. A point was made that there should be more spectacle at the site: ‘it would look really cool if it was lit up in different colours’ and ‘they had fireworks there one year which was amazing’. One of the Young Women’s Group said, ‘They should paint it and make it stand out more, like paint it crazy colours’. Comments from the Knit and Natter Group were that ‘it’s part of the landscape’; ‘it’s more like a monument’; and ‘you can go right up to it, you can touch it’. Two Youth Theatre Group participants commented that:

‘It’s more like a monument really. I wouldn’t view it as art. I mean, I know that’s what it is but I don’t see it like that.’

‘It’s always there. It’s part of the landscape.’

Contrary to the St Chad’s group comment about kids climbing, a participant in the Young Women’s Group said, ‘I like that you can climb up it and sit on it and there’s no-one there telling you to get off’.

The meaning of the Angel

The parallel made above with monuments brought this comment from the Knit and Natter Group:

‘The fact that it is a figure does make a difference ... if it was the Penshaw Monument there instead I don’t think it would have any meaning for me. I’d notice it but that’s it’.

⁵ The colours of Newcastle United football team.

Another member of the Knit and Natter Group talked of how the Angel's figurative design engendered identification with it:

‘Because it is a figure we do identify with it ... if it had been a column or something it just would not have been the same ... once just his head was in cloud with the fog, it was brilliant! It has an effect on your day when you see what state he's in!’

This brought the comment:

‘It does feel part of the community’.

Pride was a dominant theme in all the groups. Participants repeatedly remarked upon how the sculpture engendered pride as ‘ours’ and as a prominent, unique and positive symbol of Gateshead:

‘You see so many people taking photos of it, that makes me feel quite proud ...’

‘Makes me proud of the area and that we did it’.

‘When I think about it, it makes me feel proud that we have it here.’

The Youth Theatre Group had selected the Angel as a background for one of their performances:

‘We worked with a prop designer and a writer and it ended up being about challenging the stereotypes of young people in Gateshead. We had this huge nine feet fabric of the Angel of the North in the background ... When everyone in the group was asked what made them feel proud of the North East nearly everyone put down the Angel!’

Although not everyone agreed:

‘I wouldn't say I have any particular feelings that I would associate with the Angel ... I was really opposed to it at first but now I guess I'm kind of used to it. It's just there and it doesn't really bother me.’

All the groups talked of the Angel making almost everyone feel happy, including a longer lasting sense of wellbeing from the pride it instilled:

‘You do feel proud of where you live because of the Angel, because you feel it’s ours, and that’s a longer lasting feeling’.

‘You definitely get that instant happiness from it, especially when you visit it, but then when you see its image on things, like on adverts or an article, you get that longer term feeling of being satisfied with where you live and it making you feel good that you live here and that the Angel is here.’

But for some it was not just pride that created these feelings of positive wellbeing but a sense of wellbeing from its presence:

‘I just like it being there.’

‘I think it looks like it’s coming down to hug you.’

‘The Angel makes you smile’.

‘I get the bus quite regularly ... and if something has caught my attention I think “Oh damn I’ve missed him!”’

Not everyone agreed that these feelings were lasting: ‘I think it’s more related to when you actually see it; I don’t think there’s any long-term effect’. This caused some debate in the Knit and Natter Group, with the comment that there was a longer lasting effect on wellbeing because of associations, especially with home, homecoming and relationships:

‘Whether it’s “I’m on my way home” or “Oh look it’s over there and we live there! ... Even if you don’t actually see the Angel, just a picture of it, it’s in your head – the things that you do here, the people that you know. All that feeling goes with it. It’s come to symbolise those things as well. And yes you don’t think about that everyday but it is there, it is inside you all the time’.

For some this could be very special:

‘I sprinkled my mum’s ashes at the Angel ... she absolutely loved the Angel’

Or more everyday:

‘I often walk my dog there with my dad. I love doing that. I like looking at it up close.’

‘It definitely makes the kids happy, if you’re driving up the A1, and they’re like “there it is!”’.

‘Every time my granddaughter comes over to visit I take her there and we say “Good morning Mr Angel and how are you today?”’

The notion of a ‘guardian angel’⁶ was commented on in the Knit and Natter Group:

‘I think a lot of people when they go past him they think of him as looking over them ... “I’m feeling wretched today can you intervene?”’

A member of the Youth Theatre group commented:

‘For me it protects Gateshead. When you’re coming into Gateshead it’s there and when you’re leaving it’s waving bye. But if you turn around it’s still facing you as if it’s, like, “I’ll still be here when you’re back!”’

No participants talked of the Angel as a religious experience for them, although many talked of it as having meaning and significance for their lives. One Christian participant regarded it as ungodly. Two Youth Theatre Group participants summed up most comments about this:

‘It has some religious feelings to it as well I suppose because it is an Angel but I wouldn’t say that comes out a lot’.

‘It sort of suits everyone’s needs.’

Homecoming was also a very strong theme in all the groups:

‘When you come home and you see the Tyne Bridge and you’re like “I’m home”, it’s the same for the Angel’.

‘It really has become an iconic symbol, it’s become like the Tyne Bridge reminding people of back home.’

‘It does to me because I know I’m home!’

‘You can see it way across the valley and I think “oh there’s the Angel” and if we’re travelling in a car and coming home it’s the same’.

⁶ Antony Gormley has commented that the Angel was a creation of how he visualised his own Guardian Angel.

‘I always think that when I’ve been on a long journey and then I’m coming home that it’s there. So it always reminds me that I’m nearly home.’

The parallel with the Tyne Bridge was made occasionally but clearly the Angel meant far more for most participants, as this member of the Youth Theatre Group said:

‘The Angel has way more meaning behind it than if it was just a bridge ... It has roots in everything, the history of here, pride, safety, home, what people do there, what they associate with it. It’s rare that you would do all that with a bridge!’

One said that, ‘It belongs to the Geordie and not to anybody else’ although another comment was that, ‘the Angel has become more of a national icon than just of the North East or Gateshead ... it’s used a lot to promote the UK’. But the most common view was that it had put Gateshead on the map:

‘I say I’m from Gateshead and everyone knows it now!’

However, some participants were neutral about the Angel and some disliked it. Comments from the Historical Society group were:

‘I just feel there’s something not right about it. It’s the wings I think, they don’t go with the body ... My husband says it looks like an airplane nose diving into the ground! I really don’t like it much. I even signed the petition to try and stop it.’

‘I went with my church group and we actually prayed that God would knock it down.’

‘I don’t like it. I see it as a feat of engineering and that is about it.’

These comments received a response from another participant that:

‘I see it as a statement of commitment ... a statement by the Council that when they say they are going to do something, they do it.’

The Young Women’s Group were least strongly attached to the Angel and also knew least about its history. But they recognised it as ‘a symbol of where we’re from’ and most liked

going past and seeing it. They would not want it to be removed: ‘They’d have to make sure it was alright with us and I don’t think it would be!’.

Talking of how even people who had not liked it had changed their minds, a St Chad’s Women’s Group participant commented that, ‘there were a lot of conflicting views but I was really proud of Gateshead Council for having the balls to do it, I was really impressed with the vision they had’. Another commented, ‘Yeah years ago they put the Shearer shirt on it’ (something also noted by a participant in the Historical Society group as ‘just brilliant’), adding that more of that kind of thing should be done: ‘Why not put a Santa hat on it and make people smile or some Easter bunny ears at Easter?’ This comment brought a reaction that, ‘It’s a serious bit of art!’, getting the response: ‘I’m being deadly serious, make it into an interactive bit of art! ... They paid all that money and it just seems that that hasn’t been followed up with anything’.

The St Chad’s group agreed that there was not enough at the site: no amenities as already noted above, but also nothing about Antony Gormley. One commented, ‘don’t the foundations go into a colliery?’ causing surprise among others in the group who did not know about the site or its history. No one knew either that the Angel’s shape was cast from Antony Gormley’s body.

The Knit and Natter and Historical Society groups were more informed about the Angel. One participant noted its positive symbolism:

‘Where the car park is now that’s actually where the baths were, and you know that Welsh lad that sings that song, “the pit head baths are a supermarket now”, whenever I go past the Angel I sing to myself “the pit heads baths are the Gateshead Angel now”. The pits were ugly and horrid.’

These two groups also identified the Angel as about positive place-making and projection:

‘It can be viewed as a piece of architecture almost that is a resurrection of the North’.

‘The North East gets ignored to a certain extent by the central government. And the Angel makes this loud and proud gesture: “we’re still here!”’

‘The Angel of the North to the people of Gateshead is like the Eiffel Tower is to the people of Paris.’

‘It’s a great emblem of the North East’.

‘It gives a much better impression of the North East than the Bigg Market and people drunk everywhere’.

‘The fact that it is made of metal just makes it so much more symbolic to the North East’.

A lot of these comments relate back to the stakeholder interviewees’ theories of change, where phrases such as ‘an emblem’, ‘changing the image’ and ‘incorporating the heritage and the history of the area’ were used.

The Angel as art

The Angel’s nature as public art was perceived in terms of being both ‘ours’ and very prominent visibly. A member of the Youth Theatre Group said:

‘If you’re visiting an art gallery, it’s like you look at a painting, have a think about it and move on. With the Angel just being there, in the open, and you see it whether you like it or not, makes me think about it differently than if I was in an art gallery’.

A member of the Knit and Natter Group said:

‘It’s like it has just always been there. You can’t imagine that skyline without it’.

But the Angel was not talked about as representative of public art; it was something unique. A Youth Theatre Group participant commented:

‘It’s the Angel, not a piece of art!’

Contrasts were drawn with other public art in Gateshead. Sports Day was a particular target for criticism in all the groups⁷. Comments in the Knit and Natter Group were ‘terrible’, ‘horrible’ and ‘dreadful’; in the Historical Society group ‘horrific’; and in the young women’s group, ‘I don’t think anyone likes it’ and ‘it looks like a fat burnt tortoise’.

⁷ A sculpture in Gateshead High Street.

The St Chad's group had more mixed feelings. Lulu Quinn's 'Threshold' on the other hand was 'brilliant' for how the door creaked as you walked through it.

Very few felt the money could have been better spent. One participant said there had already been an economic return greater than its cost. One of the Youth Theatre participants said that if the money had been spent on something else:

'I don't think people would appreciate it and then we would have lost the Angel so no-one would gain anything'.

In response to the notion of selling the sculpture, an eloquent response by a member of the Knit and Natter Group was:

'Art enhances our lives. It provokes thought, whether good or bad it doesn't really matter. It makes you think ... To suggest that a piece of art like that, a monumental piece of art like that – it signifies something to all of us – to suggest that we should sell it, it would be transient'.

A Historical Society group participant said:

'It's ours and it wouldn't be fair to take it away as it belongs to us. It belongs to the people of Gateshead and we will own it until it falls down, which won't be for hundreds of years!'

A comparison was made by the Knit and Natter Group with Saltwell Park – 'it's for the people'. The St Chad's Women's Group made the same comparison, but of the park as somewhere where there was more to do.

Conclusion

The dominant and consistent message from the focus groups was how the Angel engendered pride that it was 'ours' and projected a positive image of Gateshead. As with the survey, this was strongest among the groups with older and more middle class participants. Although the Angel was a presence in all participants' lives, not least because of its visibility and the reproductions of its image, there was large variation in how much they knew about the sculpture. This was especially striking among the working class young women's group, who mostly thought of the Angel as a 'monument' that had always been there, and not a relatively recently created artwork. However, attitudes in general were

ambivalent about the Angel as a work of art, and it was not seen at all as representative of public art, about which there were mixed and often negative reactions. Although the figurative design of the Angel was a reason why many identified with it, its status ranged from being seen as just an impressive piece of engineering (like the Tyne Bridge) to 'more than art'. Overall, it was seen as unique, and that was an important reason for there being strong ownership of it: 'our Angel'.

The identification of the sculpture with home and homecoming was strong in all the groups, often very strong. It was a landmark in this sense, and one with which many participants had a sense of communion. This was often heightened by associations such as thinking of grandchildren, children or parents, who had shared the experience of having the Angel as a landmark, and its historical and local resonances.

It was also striking that the Angel engendered happy feelings, mostly because of an emotional connection with its presence but also from an aesthetic appreciation of it, especially close up. It was often said this was long-lasting, especially in terms of satisfaction, which was linked again with pride in the Angel as a positive symbol of Gateshead and the region. However, this was very qualified in some groups. The women's groups wanted more amenities at the site, especially for children, while recognising that it was good that anyone could climb over the Angel's feet and run about. However, more amenities would not be popular with some, who feared commercialisation, and Antony Gormley himself did not want the experience of the Angel distracted in this way. This was commented on in the stakeholder interviews where Chris Jeffrey, the engineer, had commented that he had hoped more facilities would have been available on the site. Sid Henderson also touched on this in his interview, although suggesting that more facilities should have been built nearby and not directly on the site of the Angel itself.

The young women's group were least positive about the Angel, although far from being negative, and in the focus group were keen to find out more. Their lives were on the whole not ones where the Angel had been discussed or argued about, and they saw it as something in the landscape that had always been there, with which they were familiar and which they quite liked.

Overall, the uniqueness of the Angel as special and ‘ours’ shines through the focus groups. While not seen as an exemplar or advertisement for public art, attitudes to it very much accorded with public art philosophies of art for all and art as a common public experience in everyday life.

In general, findings from the focus groups resonate with those from the survey but give more insight into people’s actual experiences of the Angel and what it means to them. The stakeholders took forward the Angel project as a way to improve place and enrich people’s lives by art engaging with meaningful aspects of place and life in Gateshead. This appears to have been successful on the basis of results from the survey and focus groups, with stakeholders’ expected outcomes broadly realised and their perceptions of actual outcomes reflected in residents’ narratives. However, there are two exceptions of particular note.

Firstly, the survey revealed a patterning to how the Angel is experienced and thought about, especially by deprivation and age. This was not reflected significantly in stakeholders’ accounts, which tended to homogenise the Angel’s audiences except for some references to how children interpret and interact with it differently to adults and people who are poorer being less supportive of the money spent on it. In the two-cluster analysis, Cluster 1, although the smaller of the two, does not present a ringing endorsement of stakeholders’ views about successful outcomes of the Angel. This cluster groups residents who are less engaged with the arts. Most did not think that the arts make a difference to where they live, did not see the Angel as a symbol of confidence, did not feel good when they saw the Angel, and did not view it as a comforting symbol. A majority thought the Angel a waste of money. However cluster 2, the larger cluster, did endorse the stakeholders’ claims, with majority views very positive about what the Angel had achieved and its benefits for them and Gateshead. This was a cluster that was positively oriented to the arts in general.

Cluster 1 included people who were more likely to be unemployed, tenants, have fewer qualifications, live in a high deprivation area and not be religious. Cluster 2 has lower levels of deprivation, more home ownership, a higher level of education and a higher likelihood of being religious. We can therefore see effects in terms of Bourdieu’s types of economic, social and cultural capital (within which Bourdieu includes religious capital). These were not anticipated in stakeholders’ accounts or evident in Council policy

documents, where the Angel's audiences are constructed as 'the public' rather than differentiated publics.

Nevertheless, there was some evidence from the survey that if residents living in more deprived circumstances, which had a very marked negative effect on their life satisfaction, felt good when they saw the Angel or found it to be a comforting symbol, then their life satisfaction was somewhat better than it would have been otherwise. This is a very tentative finding from three-way cross-tabulations, but suggests that even among the clusters not so well disposed towards the Angel, positive effects may be occurring. Indeed, in both the two cluster and six cluster analyses, even clusters with more negative inclinations included significant minorities with positive views. Only cluster 6 in the six cluster analysis, a very small minority, was overwhelmingly negative.

Some negative views came out of the focus groups as well, but generally these narratives were dominated by the positive, despite substantial differences in the nature of the groups' compositions. Major recurring themes associated with the Angel were pride, homecoming and comforting. However, in contrast to the stakeholders' narratives that located the Angel within a broader public art philosophy, it was clear from the focus groups that the Angel was not regarded as typical of public art, which was often seen negatively, but as a unique object for which parallels given were the Tyne Bridge and the Eiffel Tower.

The second exception to the general continuity between stakeholder and resident accounts is the role of the Angel in regeneration, including the extent to which stakeholders were surprised at the 'glocalist' status, reach and triggering of further cultural investment it was seen to have achieved. To an extent these were reflected in the survey and focus groups in terms of positive effects on the image of Gateshead, place improvement and the feelings of pride engendered by the sculpture being in and of Gateshead. But there was little in residents' perspectives that saw the Angel as an intervention to help regenerate the town. If anything, it was because the Angel was 'of' Gateshead as a place and had so many resonances for its publics, from its steel construction to its human form, that it was so widely appreciated and indeed owned by residents. Even the prominent location, identified by stakeholders as a key mechanism for achieving its outcomes, was rarely touched on in the focus groups. The sculpture was not seen as in any way dominating just as it being an 'angel' was not interpreted in any religious sense: its prominent location and angel form

instead brought forth feelings of homecoming, comforting and protection: not the new but a vindication of the place and its people.

This concludes presenting the empirical results from the study, and starting to reflect on what they mean. Further discussion, however, needs to address the research questions that the study set out to address, to which the next chapter returns.

Chapter 10: Discussion

Introduction

This study is an innovative evaluation of the impact of an established iconic sculptural intervention in Gateshead, the Angel of the North. Its innovation arises from a focus on the *outcomes of the intervention* when other evaluations of public art have largely been about process, short-term impact shortly after installation, or driven by policy objectives other than appreciation of the art itself. The emphasis on how the Angel contributes to wellbeing among Gateshead residents might at first sight be open to Holden's (2004) criticism that under New Labour measuring the 'ancillary benefits' of the arts became more important than the cultural activity itself. Indeed the study was framed for a local authority interested in the contribution of the Angel to its wellbeing role. Although the arts can discomfort or challenge their audiences, their positive effects on wellbeing can surely be regarded as an intrinsic part of their appreciation, especially if intended by their artists and sponsors. However, my findings lead to a questioning of the framing of the Angel as a policy intervention designed to effect change in a set of conditions deemed problematic. Rather, evidence from the focus groups is especially important in revealing that the Angel is often perceived not as an intervention but as *resonating with pre-existing cultural conditions* or a 'structure of feeling'. It essentially validates the existing cultural lives of many Gateshead residents. Drawing on the work of Raymond Williams in particular, this is discussed in detail later in this and the next chapter.

The study, therefore, has been about the 'cultural value' of the Angel: its historical, social, symbolic, aesthetic and spiritual value. The use of realistic evaluation enabled this to be explored in terms of both context and the nature of the Angel's different public audiences. As Holden (2004, p. 36) comments, 'Cultural value is generated and exists in context: the space in which objects or performances appear, their critical reception and the climate of public and political opinion all affect cultural value'. The Angel also represents 'public value': the value added by government and the public sector in pursuit of public purposes. Holden (2004) emphasises the importance of professional judgement beyond evidence-based decision-making in this respect, and in the case of the Angel it was both professional and political judgement that meant the project was pursued as public value. There was little 'evidence' initially that the Angel would be valued by its publics.

Holden comments that ‘the exercise of professional judgement may not sit easily with short-term public preferences’ (Holden, 2004, p. 48). What this study does is respond to Holden’s (2004, p. 52) call for organisations to ‘... adopt ways of discovering from those who are affected by their decisions what value has in fact and in perception been created. The calculation of Cultural Value represents a profound shift in underlying thinking, with far-reaching and by no means predictable consequences’. The cultural and public value of the Angel was anticipated by its stakeholders, at least in part, but would have been hard to find from ‘evidence’ among its publics before it became part of their lives.

Critical of Holden’s ‘arts advocacy’ approach, Belfiore and Bennett (2008) argue that the arts are a contested sphere. They criticise attempts to measure the impact of the arts using predetermined indicators and question the standing of studies that are often commissioned or conducted ‘in the spirit of advocacy by agencies with an interest in the promotion or advancement of the arts’ (p. 6). This study, however, set out to answer a series of research questions from an academic standpoint, although with a practical and applied focus. A key contribution lies in using a methodology, realistic evaluation, that does not start with preconceived ideas but explores stakeholders’ anticipated and actual outcomes of the Angel. This was then investigated further by asking what outcomes have occurred for people living in Gateshead.

This chapter draws this evidence together and discusses what can be learned about how the Angel ‘produced’ its outcomes, relating back to the research questions set out in chapter 5 and drawing on both the empirical findings and concepts and ideas from the literature. Two of these questions, what Gateshead Council can learn about the impact of the Angel and what effects the artwork has on different conceptions of wellbeing, are considered in chapter 11.

Whilst the thesis makes an important and original empirical contribution, it also makes an important conceptual contribution in exploring the Angel as part of a structure of feeling in which its cultural value arises from a validation of the cultural lives of Gateshead residents. These insights draw on Raymond Williams’ cultural sociology but are tempered by Bourdieu’s insights into how arts appreciation is structured in class terms, a patterning that was evident from the empirical findings and the cluster analyses in particular.

What do local authorities and other public bodies seek to achieve from their investment in public art?

Public art as policy for local councils emerged from the parallel trends of the Arts Council aiming to further democratise the arts as socially inclusive and the need to regenerate post-industrial urban areas, where cultural investment appeared to offer a way of improving urban environments scarred by deindustrialisation and a new driver of economic growth and jobs. Important enabling vehicles were Percent for Art, the planning system and the National Lottery, but local authorities responded with varying degrees of commitment.

As discussed in chapter 2, the extent to which culture-led regeneration has benefited materially the most deprived areas of post-industrial towns and cities has been questioned. But it can be argued that this has not been the prime purpose of the use of public art, which has been about non-material aspects of wellbeing and enabling ‘expressive lives’ (Jones, 2009). The issue then becomes the extent to which this outcome, in its various forms, is achieved across public art’s intended publics. Chapter 2’s review of the literature showed that the outcomes intended for public art are often not articulated clearly, making evaluation difficult, which is why the approach taken in this study has been to identify these from interviews with the Angel’s stakeholders.

The success of the Angel reflects the contingent situation of a local authority committed to public art as an important and systematic practice, which was reinforced by the momentum created by the early success of the Garden Festival, then the Angel, and then the further major cultural investments that achieving that project paved the way for. However, the main reason for its success is a remarkable combining in an artwork of non-local attributes relating to its form, which enabled it to acquire an iconic ‘brand’ status used well beyond its local affiliation, with local attributes that generated strong local identification and ownership. Bailey, Miles and Stark (2004:55) write that the Angel represents:

‘A sense of identity and a willingness to get things done that could transform the arts scene and perhaps even the region itself. The particularities of the local and regional identity were key factors in ensuring the success of what would emerge as an internationally significant example of culture-led regeneration; the point being here that far from taking away from it, the regeneration fed on and into that sense of identity’.

How this happened was a result of the decision to commission a ‘landmark’ sculpture, and the Angel’s genesis is also a reflection of this local authority’s strategy of creating landmark investments to distinguish itself from other areas, especially its Newcastle neighbour, attracting attention and investment in its own right. However, although as Vickery (2012) considers public art is rooted in public monuments and commemorative sculpture, it is no longer a ‘hero on a horse’ (Raven, 1989). Instead, public art today is art with purpose, aiming to ‘engage with its audiences and to create spaces – whether material, virtual or imagined – within which people can identify themselves’ (Sharp et al., 2005:1004).

This was a risk, as engagement with an artwork was perhaps less predictable than other landmark investments such as the Metrocentre mall or Gateshead International Stadium. Public art is contested, ‘not only in its visual nature, but also in perception of its purpose, production, implementation and value’ (Pollock and Sharp, 2012:3064). An important consideration, therefore, is who ‘chooses’ public art?:

‘... we might ask what it is for art to be public art. In part, this is to ask about the relation between public art and the tastes of the public: should the selection of public art be driven by public taste, or does it rather represent an opportunity to educate and shape public taste?’ (Neill and Ridley, 2002:427).

The Angel’s stakeholders were broadly in agreement about the role of art in society, and overall they believed that art could engender outcomes such as enjoyment, creativity, social cohesion and challenge. There was also an emphasis in their narratives on art creating distinctiveness: an antidote to the ‘sameness’ of mass consumer culture.

The Angel was commissioned and progressed in the face of political opposition and initial hostility from much of the public and the local press. It was not chosen or even selected by the people of Gateshead. However, for all the stakeholders the Angel’s legitimacy as public art was its sponsorship by an elected local authority. It would be regarded to have failed if it did not become something ‘owned’ and identified with by its public. Some stakeholders saw the Council has taking a significant risk in this respect.

Art has always been argued as having a number of functions, and what these are depends substantially on the context. From a sociological perspective, no object has fundamental artistic qualities because these are socially constructed. Instead, 'art' is labelled as 'art' by social groups whose interests are served by an object being labelled as such. Wolff (1981), for example, argues that a social group always stands to gain in some way or another by a particular object being labelled as art, or another object being denied that label. Inglis and Hughson (2005:2) broaden this out and add that art gives us 'insights into many aspects of the way we live', stretching 'far beyond the specific world in which the arts are located, for they reveal important things about other aspects of society, such as politics and education'.

Just the siting of public art outside a gallery or a curated exhibition makes a social and political statement about art being for people in their everyday lives: art going to people rather than people going to the art. The Angel's stakeholders held this view strongly, with Matthew Jarratt making the point that public art should be no different to other art in terms of its quality.

Who judges art as good or bad is a subject that has been recently visited by Grayson Perry in his series of Reith Lectures, the first of which was titled 'Democracy Has Bad Taste' (BBC, 2013). Perry argues that often the last to have a say on the quality of an artwork are the public, and that it is curators who have the ultimate power: art arrives and is placed in a gallery when enough of the right people think that it is good enough to be there. Perry adds that if art displayed in galleries becomes 'popular', it is then often looked down on in the art world. This esoteric, elitist framing of art does suggest that public art is different beyond just its context: it is art commissioned and made *for* the public and, in its more participative form, can be art with and by the public. This points to the defining feature of public art being the reasons why it is done, its public purpose. While as chapter 3 discussed, even new genre public art has become professionalised with the appointment of roles such as public art curators, public purpose is a key differentiator between public and other art.

In the stakeholder interviews, there was also a lot of emphasis on this purpose being 'improvement', with comments such as 'to add interest, to improve' (Anna Pepperall). Les Elton commented that the Council as a government body, 'should always be looking to

improve things' and that public art is a way to do this. There is a parallel here with the nineteenth century public parks movement, with parks being about improving the urban realm, and also becoming sources of civic pride (Jordan, 1994). In fact, local authorities have, since the Local Government Act 2000, been given a role to develop and advance the social, economic and environmental wellbeing of their areas (Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, 2000). In their policy documents, Gateshead Council set out 'six big ideas' about how to improve the wellbeing of local residents (see chapter 3). One of these is 'creative Gateshead', creating a clear policy framing for its sponsorship of public art in terms of wellbeing.

As discussed in chapter 3, Gateshead Council does not have a single public art strategy as such, but pursues public art opportunities through redevelopment, planning, regeneration and cultural policies and practices. In these documents, quality of life is a recurring theme and is often about the quality of space and what happens in those spaces. Gateshead's cultural vision has been to 'work through culture to improve the quality of life for local people and to ensure that Gateshead is one of the best places in Europe to live, work in and to visit' (Gateshead Council, 2005:9). Cultural provision is seen as one of the main drivers in improving people's quality of life, with public art presented as for the community, and the role of the artist is to facilitate the aspiration of the community and not dominate or impose.

It is not surprising that a council which is arts-driven would seek to create a 'landmark' sculpture. However, as discussed above, this landmark piece of public art needed to have a public purpose, and while that was fundamentally to 'improve' Gateshead, it also - just like the public parks - became for the stakeholders and much of its public a focus for civic pride. There is no denying that the Angel was meant to be for the people of Gateshead, but the extent to which it became 'owned' locally surprised many.

The reason for this may lie with the argument that culture is in fact not an 'intervention' somehow injected to improve people and places, but is already in people's lives. Thus, a large majority of respondents in the survey agreed that the arts were 'for people like them'. What the Angel did was give this focus and expression, reflected in another large majority of survey respondents who said that the Angel made them 'feel good when they see it'.

Williams (1983) is highly relevant here, with his argument that culture is ordinary not elite, part of a way of life and a common experience. What artworks do is symbolise (Longhurst et al., 2008). When talking about culture as a way of life, these symbols distinguish ‘people, a period or a group, or humanity in general’ (Williams, 1983:90). Again, large majorities of survey respondents said that the Angel makes Gateshead distinctive but in a way that many felt they ‘owned’ and were proud about, meanings that emerged strongly from the focus groups, even though there was a variety of other meanings attached to the sculpture. As Longhurst et al. (2008:2) write, ‘a symbol defines what something means, although a single symbol may have many meanings’ (Longhurst et al., 2008:2).

Here there may be a clue as to why the Angel resonated so much with people’s lives in Gateshead. Williams (1958:77) writes:

‘... a culture is a whole way of life, and the arts are part of a social organisation which economic change clearly radically affects’.

As chapters 3 and 4 discuss, as well as the stakeholder interviews, it was economic change that sparked the idea of public art as a way of Gateshead reinventing its geographical spaces, often literally adding public art to spaces abandoned by industry. This gathered momentum as a cultural regeneration strategy, with the success of the Angel a major spur to this. So the Angel came out of economic change, but not as something unattached to Gateshead. Its attributes resonated strongly with people’s current lives. Even among the cluster that was most unimpressed by the Angel and was most likely to regard it as a waste of money (cluster 6), 72 per cent said they would not be pleased it was removed. For some of young women in focus group 4, who had no conception of the Angel being ‘art’, it was part of the Gateshead landscape and always would be: ‘I didn’t even know it was art, I just thought it was there, it’s always been there, and I couldn’t really imagine it not being there.’

People participate in the arts all the time, and are ready to express opinions with no deference to art world tastes, as was heard in the focus group discussions about the relative merits of different piece of public art in Gateshead (there was a particular emphasis on art needing to be engaging, preferably interactive). What should be problematised is not so much how can art placed in people’s everyday lives ‘work’, but that it is very likely to

work if it is part of the cultural life of a place. Far more problematic is how art is removed from everyday culture, enclosed in galleries and given its value by the art world and its aesthetic judgement.

Couldry (2000:24) argues that Williams' perspective on culture enables us to ask a set of questions that are not available through aesthetic theory, such as 'how does the work relate to the shared living conditions of its time? What meaning does it have when absorbed into the lives of its audiences?'. This leads to the next research question posed at the start of the study, the benefits that different people derive from their interaction with public art in general and the Angel of the North in particular.

What benefits do different people derive from their interactions with public art in general and the Angel of the North in particular?

The methodology adopted for this study is realistic evaluation. This follows Pawson and Tilley's (1997) framework of finding out the outcomes of an intervention (the Angel artwork) and investigating how these are produced and in what circumstances. Chapter 7 drew on stakeholders' accounts to identify outcomes and the mechanisms and contextual conditions that engendered them, although the previous section started to question whether 'intervention' is the right term for an artwork, even though it was driven by public policy. Nevertheless, the methodology provides a useful framework for thinking about artworks as objects that have efficacy, with this efficacy depending on particular attributes of the artwork and its context.

Attributes of the context include those of the people meant to benefit as well as the circumstances of intervention. Interventions have an 'outcome pattern', illustrated well by the range of outcomes identified by stakeholders, survey respondents and focus group participants. These occurred at three levels: macro-level outcomes included the national and international reach of the Angel image as a 'brand' and its triggering effect on further cultural investment; meso-level outcomes included the comforting and pride engendered among local residents; and micro-level outcomes are illustrated by the example of the woman surviving Hodgkin's disease feeling watched over by the Angel for twenty years.

At the meso-level, Anna Pepperall talked about how public art is something that helps a community develop a sense of ownership of their location. This was explained as about identification with an object that mattered to people who lived where the art was placed. The stakeholders also talked about public art as giving people an identity through embodying the aspiration of a community.

At the macro-level, the stakeholders saw the Angel as a driver of regeneration, building the confidence that led on to funding for Saltwell Park, the Baltic, the Sage and the Millennium Bridge. The key mechanism here was image changing, both in showing that Gateshead could deliver but also in realising an image of Gateshead as renewing, to stimulate economic activity (especially cultural industries), tourism, visitors and new incomers.

This idea of art being used to change the image of an area directly relates to the work of Sharon Zukin on the 'symbolic economy'. Zukin writes:

'The growth of cultural consumption (of art, food, fashion, music, tourism) and the industries that cater to it fuels the city's symbolic economy, its visible ability to produce both symbols and space' (Zukin, 1995:2).

Within the national and global market this symbolic economy speaks for and represents the city. This new symbolic economy is made up of a professional service sector, including the 'creative class' (Florida, 2002), who use marketing to create and promote particular images of the city (similar to creating brands and logos for corporations), and medium/low skilled service workers who staff the cultural venues in the city as well as restaurants, shops and hotels.

Florida (2002) and Clark (2004) argue that when cities are successful in achieving a reputation for cultural innovation, they also attract a creative class of young, skilled, creative workers. As well as creative workers, art and cultural institutions are key to the image making process as a space for the exchange of ideas and for bringing business people and the creative classes together. Gateshead Quayside can be viewed as a direct example of this with both the Baltic and Sage cultural institutions contributing to a remaking of place. Miles et al. (2000:3) comment:

‘Cultural reception (but not always production) tends to figure centrally in symbolic economies, as cities compete for investment and tourism revenues by representing themselves as vibrant cultural centres’.

For the stakeholders the Angel was a landmark: a marker of place, but also a marker of time and of change. The Angel was regarded as having created an iconic image for Gateshead, with a resonance and impact going far wider than just Gateshead itself. In fact, the extent of this outcome generally surprised its stakeholders, as did the extent to which it helped bring further cultural investment to the quayside area. They did not anticipate the Angel ‘instilling confidence’ and ‘paving the way for future cultural investment’. They also talked of the way in which the Angel and its image came to brand the North East region. More parochially, they thought it had helped Gateshead transform itself, making it a distinct place to live and work, distinguishing it from its nearby Newcastle competitor.

Bourdieu’s (1977) ideas about ‘symbolic capital’ are also relevant here. Bourdieu argues that a transition to a world of symbolic capital was brought about through the accumulation of surplus value in developed economies, where survival needs had been met so demand needs to be manufactured for symbolic consumption. Therefore, economies are now aligned to the production and consumption of symbolic values beyond the materiality of everyday life. Miles et al. (2000:99) write about how public art can be viewed as symbolic capital:

‘The reinvention of city centre spaces since the 1980s has largely involved a pursuit of external sources of investment – jobs, companies, tourists and wealthy residents for example. For this to be successful cities have had to accumulate reserves of symbolic capital, for example, blue chip architecture, loft living spaces, public art, aesthetised heritage litter and other gilded spaces, to help create the appropriate “aura” of distinction with which the providers of these sources of investment wish to attach themselves’

For Bourdieu, symbolic capital is: ‘the collection of luxury goods attesting the taste and distinction of the owner’ (1977:188). However, in contemporary post-industrial societies, symbolic capital is no longer associated just with personal relations between individuals but with impersonal relations between objective positions within the social space. Therefore, objects as abstract representations of their environments also possess symbolic capital. This may be embedded in the built environment or urban form of a city as a

symbolic representation of value. Cuthbert (2006) writes that, ‘the entire display of relations so generated is what Debord referred to as “the society of the spectacle”’.

This is part of Zukin’s ‘symbolic economy’, which involves the ways in which cities use culture to create ‘unique’ spaces and spectacle that can potentially give them a creative edge as they compete with other cities to attract businesses and residents. For Zukin, a key realisation during the last decades in the twentieth century was that, although cities have always had a cultural function, the evolution of a global, service-orientated economy has placed culture at the very centre of urban development, and has shifted the traditional notion of culture to that of an economic asset, a commodity with market value and, as such, a means of revalorising city spaces. Zukin argues that there are a number of ways that culture is used in a city’s symbolic economy:

‘Culture is also a powerful means of controlling cities. As a source of images and memories, it symbolizes “who belongs” in specific places. As a set of architectural themes, it plays a leading role in urban development strategies based on historic preservation or local “heritage”. With the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities – the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive edge’ (Zukin, 1995:1-2).

For the stakeholders, the Angel was a powerful symbol that has led to Gateshead having a competitive and creative edge as a cultural centre. However, as argued in the previous section, this symbolism ‘worked’ in a contrasting way as well, as something that had meaning in the everyday lives of people living in Gateshead, and became ‘owned’ as part of contemporary existence rather than some celebration of the past or symbolic look to the future. Indeed, while a rationale for public art can be to celebrate heritage, this had little resonance with the focus group participants. One comment, for example, was how the beauty of the Angel contrasted with the pithead baths that were once on the site, which were ‘ugly and horrid’. Above all, there was a strong current in the survey and focus group results of the Angel being associated with home and homecoming, a reference to where people are from, like the Tyne Bridge, often regarded as the defining symbol of Tyneside.

Yet - and this is where the Angel cannot be subsumed into the symbolic capital arguments of just being a new form of capital accumulation - the Angel was different to the Tyne Bridge, captured in this comment from one of the focus groups:

‘The Angel has way more meaning behind it than if it was just a bridge ... It has roots in everything, the history of here, pride, safety, home, what people do there, what they associate with it. It’s rare that you would do all that with a bridge!’.

Despite being built by and for private enterprise, the Tyne Bridge has been adopted by the Tyneside public as an icon, to which they bring their own meanings and attachments, especially home. The Angel may even be able to claim greater iconic status, with parallels made with the Eiffel Tower as a ‘national signifier’. However, the focus groups suggested that it is not the iconic status or ‘spectacle’ with which people identify, but its nature as ‘of a place’ where they live, a symboliser of that place as having value, not economic value but cultural value in Williams’ terms of the value of a way of life and ‘of the North’.

In fact, other strands in the stakeholder narratives recognised that the Angel was not about being ‘safe’ with a traditional celebration of industrial community, but would create debate. Les Elton remarked that debate around the Angel opened people up to new ideas, and for him it did not matter whether people liked it or not, as long as they had some feelings about it. Sid Henderson saw it as a blow against the sameness of contemporary towns and cities, something distinctive that brought risks about whether people would like it, but which ‘even the humblest person in Gateshead has the right to own ... and be part of’.

While the Angel may initially have been a prominent new feature on the Gateshead landscape, a ‘shock’ as Anna Pepperall put it, the sculpture became a familiar object in the lives of Gateshead residents. The survey and focus groups reveal it as a source of ‘ontological security’, what Giddens (1990) describes as the confidence that people have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of their environments. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981:16) argue that objects can contribute to ontological security in a fundamental way through their ability to ‘create order in consciousness’, which perhaps explains some of the Angel’s effects as a vindication of

place and people. Paris and Mercer (2002:403) comment that, ‘something in the object ... sparks memories, self-discoveries and prior experiences that are personally meaningful’.

While these comments capture some of the generality of the Angel’s impact, the survey results give an insight into an outcome pattern across the Angel’s public audience in Gateshead. This is apparent in the two clusters generated by the cluster analysis and, at a finer scale, the six clusters. If the Angel was a commercial product, then these clusters would be its market segments, and it would do better in some than others. In realistic evaluation terms, cluster 2 in the two-cluster solution is a very receptive context for the Angel: less deprived, home-owning, better educated and more religious. Cluster 1 is less so: more deprived, less educated, renting and less religious. In the six cluster analysis this becomes more differentiated: we see the effects of lower deprivation, higher education levels and being religious on more positive dispositions towards the Angel, but also positive responses among the high deprivation cluster 5 and negative responses among the mostly religious cluster 4.

These clusters represent different combinations and orders of cultural capital, resulting in the Angel having an outcome pattern rather than a uniform outcome across its publics. An interesting aspect of this was how some members of cluster 1 talked of taking children there and how it was a great source of fun and engagement, especially as they could climb over the feet, but also commented that there needed to be more to do, with a café and play area. In contrast, members of cluster 2 agreed that there should be no other facilities at the site, as this would risk commercialisation and detract from appreciating the artwork.

In practical terms, the cluster analysis has implications for how and where the local authority might focus future public art projects, as discussed in the next chapter. However, in general, the empirical results endorse the stakeholders’ claimed outcomes. Eighty-nine per cent of survey respondents said that the Angel made Gateshead a ‘distinct place’. Seventy-two per cent said the sculpture made them feel good when they saw it, and 84 per cent that it created debate and discussion. Sixty per cent said that they found the Angel a ‘comforting symbol’, 64 per cent that it makes them proud of Gateshead, and 65 per cent that it was ‘a symbol of what Gateshead could achieve’. The main difference between the survey feedback and the stakeholders’ perceptions was that whilst the stakeholders talked

of an anticipated outcome being a 'landmark', they revised this to 'comforting symbol' when asked about actual outcomes, and this was strongly endorsed from the survey.

A consistent message from the focus groups was how the Angel engendered pride that it was 'ours' as well as projecting a positive image of Gateshead. Relating back to the stakeholders' perceived outcome of the Angel being 'visually appealing', there were comments in the focus groups about appreciating the scale and 'beauty' of the artwork and how the figurative design enabled identification with it. Interestingly, a comparison was made with the Penshaw Monument⁸, commenting that if the Angel was that instead, you would notice it but nothing else. The human figure was important: one participant referring to the weather commented: 'it has an effect on your day when you see what state he's in!'.

The wider impact beyond Gateshead that the Angel has had was also picked up on in the focus groups. Many of the participants commented that the Angel has put Gateshead on the map. There were stories about how whenever you told people where you were from you could say Gateshead as everyone knew it now due to the Angel. The Angel as a source of debate also appeared in the focus group discussion (not only the participants debating about the Angel themselves in the focus groups) but one participant directly reflected Les Elton's earlier comments about the provoking purpose of art, commenting: 'whether good or bad it doesn't really matter. It makes you think'.

The uniqueness of the Angel as special and 'ours' was a predominant view throughout the focus groups. Attitudes towards to it very much accorded with public art philosophies of art for all and art as a common public experience in everyday life. Interestingly, relating back to the earlier comments on the public parks movement, one focus group participant compared the Angel to Saltwell Park in Gateshead, commenting that it is 'for the people'.

There was little evidence from the survey or focus groups of the Angel instilling greater interest in the arts, or references to the regeneration role of the Angel, stakeholder outcomes that were therefore not reflected in the residents' narratives. Interestingly, these are perhaps among the most 'professionalised' outcomes for public art projects, but had little resonance among the Angel's public. This was perhaps less true for regeneration,

⁸ A memorial built on Penshaw Hill in County Durham.

which was talked about in the focus groups as changing Gateshead's image rather than 'regeneration', with no awareness of the relationship between the Angel and how it helped pave the way to Gateshead Quayside's cultural developments.

How do public art and place interact to give meaning to each other and what difference does geographical scale make to this?

Gottdiener (1994) argues that physical space is integral to all social activities: what we do and how we live affects space, but space also affects what we do and how we live. Places are symbolic and not just physical. They have meanings for us, affecting how we think about them. Kwon (2002) recognises that public art can have a radicalising purpose by recovering a sense of place for communities faced by the homogenisation of all places by capitalism, something reflected strongly in some of the stakeholder narratives. But an important question here is what do we mean and understand by the concept of place?

For the French theorist Michel de Certeau (1988:14), a place is:

'The order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence ... A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability'.

For de Certeau (1984:29), a place implies an 'emotional interpretation and attachment, socially produced and experienced'. Similarly, Tuan (1975:172) states that place is 'a centre of meaning constructed by experience'. In terms of function, Massey and Rose (2001:3) note that place can:

'Provide a sense of community; it can offer a sense of security and anchorage through emphasising long-established familiarity; it holds out a notion of "tradition" which is unchanging and thereby reliable (save as inevitably being under constant threat of loss)'.

They continue:

'These characteristics are not unimportant, and people's desire for those kinds of security and sense of belonging need to be recognised and addressed'.

It can be argued, then, that artworks placed in public spaces are part of making those spaces, ‘not just by the configuration of the material things, but by our social relations to them and to each other’ (Massey and Rose, 2001:6).

The geography of the Angel is very important. The stakeholders talked of how the site was both the context, a disused mine, in which the Angel was situated as well as a mechanism for achieving particular outcomes from its prominence and visual impact. To begin with, it was a site in search of an artwork rather than an artwork in search of a site. The Angel, therefore, was ‘place-specific’ (Cartiere, 2010), and was conceived as an object that would have relationships with its geography. Being ‘rooted in a coal mine’ was as much a necessity if the Angel was to withstand Gateshead gales as symbolic. The open landscape, on a hill where it can be seen from far distances, next to busy transport routes but also easily accessible to walk to or stop at, were mechanisms that gave the Angel its impact.

However, Cox (2012:45) argues that ‘public art doesn’t necessarily have to be a response to the cultural or historic values of a site, which Cartiere labels “place-specific” work, nor does it necessarily have to address the site’s topography, “site-specific” work, but the art has been placed *somewhere*, for *some reason*’. An interesting feature of the Angel is that people’s spatial relationship with it appears to matter.

The residents survey took the placing of the Angel into consideration in its design. The areas that the survey was conducted in were selected by their distance from the Angel as well as their social deprivation. Although there was not a large effect of distance, some interesting patterns emerged. Respondents who lived near the Angel were more likely to agree that it makes Gateshead a more distinct place compared to other areas. They were also more likely to view the Angel as having personal and significant meanings for them, to view it as somewhere they like to go, to take exercise there, and to consider using the sculpture to promote a cause or publicise something important.

The nature of the Angel’s immediate setting also shaped how people engaged with and used it. The reasons people went to visit the Angel varied from going for a walk (usually with a dog), taking the children, taking visitors, or to look around and appreciate the artwork. The history of the site was also discussed in the focus groups, with one participant

noting what good use the Angel was for a mine shaft. Interestingly, a recent piece of public art has been created in Northumberland, 'Northumberlandia' by Charles Jencks, which is a large land sculpture of a reclining female figure. It is made from the by-product of an open cast mine near the sculpture, raising interesting questions about how far public art can go in reclaiming and 'reframing' spaces.

There is little evidence, though, that the Angel is seen by its public as just putting a derelict site or industrial waste to use as art. It is far more than that. Massey and Rose (2001:8) consider how public art can 'capture the "identity" of a particular space'. The focus group participants regarded the Angel as 'a symbol of where we're from' and a gesture of 'we're still here!'. A lot of the discussion centred around the Angel belonging to the 'geordies' and how it was symbolic of the North, and therefore encapsulated an identity which could not be recreated anywhere else. This was particularly linked to the material the Angel is made from, with a comment: 'The fact that it is made of metal makes it so much more symbolic to the North East'. Massey and Rose (2001:9) continue with this comment on public art:

'We can, for instance, argue that: it will not just be an insertion *into* a space/place; it will help produce that space, and it may do this both as a material object (if it is such) and as a set of practices. It will also be some kind of intervention into the negotiation of difference which is place, and it is likely to interpolate some "differences" (some elements of the constituent diversity) more than others. Finally, a piece of public art may provoke or bring out into the open new lines of differentiation'.

This was recognised in particular by a focus group participant who stated, 'It can be viewed as a piece of architecture almost that is a resurrection of the North'. These forms of identification with the Angel and its site can be related to Williams' concept of 'structures of feeling'. Williams elaborates on this concept at different points in his writings, most notably in *Marxism and Literature* (1977). He uses the concept in order to relate reflexive experience with institutional structures, writing that a 'structure of feeling' is:

'... a particular sense of life, a particular community of experience hardly needing expression, through which the characteristics of our way of life ... are in some way passed, giving them a particular and characteristic colour ... a particular and native style ... it is as firm as "structure" suggests, yet it operates in the most delicate and

least tangible parts of our activity. In one sense this structure of feeling is the culture of a period ... and it is in this respect that the arts of a period ... are of major importance' (Williams, 1961:64).

Thus, structures of feeling are a common set of perceptions and values shared by a particular generation. Williams argues that this is most clearly articulated in artistic forms and conventions. Art and literature are open to critical analysis and can be a site where a specific responsiveness to the conditions of the time can be encountered. Structures of feeling may also lead to social change, challenging the 'official consciousnesses' of the time: what Williams calls 'practical consciousness'. Here we can see how the Angel has become part of a structure of feeling: its material, industrial scale, human form, spirituality, embrace and look ahead.

Kirk (1999) argues that structures of feeling can be best understood as a critique of the post-structuralist understanding of experience. In post-structuralism, experience is ideological. Williams does not completely reject the claims that experience is bound up in ideological or structural forms, but he also links it to 'presence', to the life process, involving the *making* of culture (Kirk, 1999). For Williams, experience is not individualised, it is not the mediating space between subject and object, and it is not humanistic or structuralist (Grossberg, 2010). It is bounded by the known and the knowable, structure and experience, history and living. So on the one hand, a structure of feeling represents a particular social experience, a structure of actual feeling, historically distinct, tied to a particular generation, and on the other hand it is the 'hypothesis of a mode of social formation, explicit and recognisable in specific kinds of art, which is distinguishable from other social and semantic formations by its articulation of presence' (Williams, 1977:135).

Williams argues for the importance of identifying meanings and values that are actually lived and the relation between these and formal systematic beliefs (Williams, 1977). He comments that this is:

'... especially evident at those specific and historically definable moments when new work produces a sudden shock of recognition. What must be happening on those occasions is that an experience which is really very wide suddenly finds a semantic figure which articulates it' (Williams, 1979:162).

The Angel can be seen to be such a semantic figure: a development of the challenge to art as elitist rather than universal that began after the Second World War. Filmer (2003:205) defines semantic figures as:

‘... explicitly noted forms and conventions of art and literature ... They are the terms of which generations know, through their language, the differentiated particularity of the life of their own common culture from that of their predecessors’.

Public art has often sought to embody and reflect these particularities, and often relates strongly to both place and the times, as discussed above. It can be seen as a communicative form, in which subjective and social experience are articulated: ‘they become reflexive agents of a totalizing process which structures personal experience into social formations by historicising it’ (Filmer, 2003:209).

Overall, as discussed above, public art can be argued to represent social and practical consciousness; it signifies what is actually being lived but can also prefigure change. Art provides ‘evidence of forms and conventions [semantic figures] which can be related to the emergence of a new structure of feeling’ (Williams, 1977:127). A public artist may engage with wider historical structures or events but may also signpost change, good or bad. The Angel embodies the identity of the North, its past, as well as its future, something that was also reported by Tusa (2008), who argues that the Angel is an example of the notion that a symbol of a place becomes part of its identity, both summing it up and driving it forward.

This also enables people to identify with the Angel as a symbol of home, and of home coming. It relates to feelings of security and familiarity (ontological security) and belongs, as one focus group participant stated, ‘to the people of Gateshead, and we will own it until it falls down, which won’t be for hundreds of years!’.

However, as already discussed, there is a danger of homogenising the Angel’s public, and both the survey and focus groups showed its differentiation. This is a public more differentiated and socially divided than when Williams was writing. Empirical evidence about the public or the audience for public art is few and far between (Hall, 2007). Massey and Rose (2001:19) argue that:

‘It has long been a truism in academic cultural studies that audiences make their own meanings from cultural objects of all kinds. However, when exploring the notion of public art specifically, that truism needs qualifying. It isn’t enough simply to acknowledge the diversity of audiences’.

Even though public art is regarded as a democratic art form, when the results from the survey and focus groups are broken down by class, age and gender, the findings suggest that there are social distinctions at play.

With regard to age and views in general about art and public art, younger age groups were least likely to visit galleries but more likely to participate in other arts activities. The youngest age group (16-24) was generally not familiar with other pieces of public art around Gateshead. Respondents aged 41-60 were most likely to visit galleries and the age group that was most familiar with other pieces of public art around Gateshead was 61-74 year olds. It was older people who had the strongest attachments to the Angel and who were more likely to view it as a symbol of what Gateshead can achieve, for it to make them proud of Gateshead, symbolise positively the history and heritage of Gateshead and make them feel part of a community with others. Younger respondents, however, were more likely to celebrate an occasion at the Angel and take exercise there. This perhaps shows the different orientations to art across generations, with older people seeing it as something to be observed and appreciated (or not) and younger people seeing it as more dynamic and interactive.

Interestingly, gender had no effects on views towards to the arts in general or the Angel in particular, but deprivation did. Not surprisingly, this was also linked to life satisfaction with there being a gradient effect of people who lived in low deprivation areas being generally more satisfied with life than those who lived in high deprivation areas. This gradient was also apparent in views on the arts and on the Angel, with residents who lived in a high deprivation area being least likely to have positive attitudes about the arts and the Angel. The social deprivation aspect reflects Bourdieu’s work on how class and art interact through types of capital.

Bourdieu uses the of idea culture as a form of capital (or as an asset) to understand the creation of class relationships (Bennett et al., 2009). He argues that, ‘the conditionings

associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures' (Bourdieu, 1990:53). Habitus can then be seen as a set of inclinations and behaviours embodied in individual personalities, but reproducing class distinctions and inequalities at a societal level. Appreciation of art can be regarded as a *field* where class distinctions are made, reinforced and possibly challenged. Elites will regard themselves as specially equipped by their education and class advantages to appreciate the 'real' meaning of art (Bourdieu's 'pure gaze'), bringing status and prestige that justify their economic privilege and power.

Bourdieu (1991) uses and develops these concepts in his study of art galleries and the socio-cultural relationships that occur between them and their visitors (Grenfell and Hardy, 2007). He found a significant difference in the engagement with art across class groupings, with most working class individuals not attending galleries, especially when modern art is being exhibited (Frow, 1987). He also found that visits to an art gallery or museum increased as the level of education increased, and that these were 'almost exclusively the domain of the cultivated classes' (Bourdieu, 1991:14). Although Bourdieu found that overall it seemed that individuals who attended art galleries were better educated, he also notes that some middle class visitors displayed a higher cultural level than suggested by their actual educational qualifications (Frow, 1987). They were differentiated in terms of their level of cultural aspiration, transmitted from parents to children, and pre-disposing middle class actors to appreciate art. Interestingly, taste being a perception of social class was also commented on by artist Grayson Perry (2013), who argued that taste 'is inextricably woven into our system of social class. I think that – more than any other factor, more than age, race, religion or sexuality – one's social class determines one's taste'.

Interestingly, while it was possible to 'see' the effects of deprivation on views of art and the Angel from the survey data, this was apparent but much less strong in the focus groups. This is also true of religious belief, where an effect is evident from the survey data but the topic had little profile in the focus groups. The narrative that wove through the focus groups was about the Angel being unique and 'ours', a symbol of home for everyone, regardless of class or religious belief. Where deprivation did start to come into play was

around discussions on the Angel being appreciated as a piece of art and not to be commercialised, where it was the more affluent participants that tended to want the Angel to remain on its own as an artwork, while less affluent participants tended to want more to do there and especially to occupy children with, even if this meant some commercialisation.

To what extent is the Angel unique in terms of its impact?

This discussion of an empirical investigation of the Angel's impact enables some further refining of the definition of public art discussed in earlier chapters. Public purposes are central to defining public art but they are often ambiguous or implicit in 'official' framings such as policy documents. Yet, when asked, we find that stakeholders present some clear accounts of intended outcomes. Particularly important to a definition of public art is that for stakeholders the 'placing' of the art is important so as to produce an *improvement*, whether to the environment or for the image of an area or self-image of a community. For its publics, this is elaborated in terms of the importance of *identification* and *ownership*. We can develop a definition of public art in this respect: public art is art with the intended purpose of improving conditions for its publics in ways with which they identify and experience ownership. Public art is fundamentally about public wellbeing in the symbolic or expressive arena rather than the arena of material wellbeing.

As discussed above, Zukin (1995) in her examinations of place and the city argues that the symbolic economy offers two parallel production systems that are crucial to a place's material life. The first is the production of space with capital investment and cultural meaning and the second in the production of symbols, which 'constructs both a currency of commercial exchange and a language of social identity' (Zukin, 1995:354). Zukin's argument frames public art as representing an abstraction of economic and social power, characterising a city's image. It can also be used to 're-image'. As McCarthy (2006:245) comments, public art:

'... can contribute to the promotion of city image, including 're-imaging', where this is perceived as necessary to attract visitors and investment, and public art may therefore form part of wider promotional elements of city activity that has become necessary as a result of competition between cities globally for investment ... It can

also signal and promote the desire of local authorities and other agents to regenerate defined areas, enhance vitality and vibrancy, and be transformative in pointing the way for new and innovative directions for the area’.

In Gateshead, public art has been used to add an element of ‘surprise, imagination’, to make a low-key or ‘normal’ area ‘extraordinary or different’ (Anna Pepperall). The Council has purposefully used public art and new cultural institutions (the Baltic gallery and the Sage concert venue) to change the image of Gateshead. On the whole, cultural regeneration is about cities finding new economic roles in service sectors after losing manufacturing industries to international competition. However, local authorities have also needed to respond to the derelict buildings and vacant land that industrial decline left behind by improving the environment. Although Gateshead’s cultural regeneration has been focused on the quayside area with the Angel a few miles from there, the success of the Angel project was recounted by the stakeholders as important in paving the way for this investment because it demonstrated to funding bodies that the Council could see an ambitious cultural project through from beginning to end. Gateshead Council was determined to show that the town had a post-industrial future, and the Angel was seen by the stakeholders as symbolic of this future potential.

As part of cultural regeneration, the Angel was not unique for as Griffiths (2006: 415) comments, ‘the use of culture as an instrument for achieving wider social and economic goals is nowhere more apparent than in cities’. There is example after example of towns and cities that have employed culture to reinvent themselves - Bilbao, Barcelona and Glasgow to name but a few. There is much debate about the extent to which this has worked, especially for the most deprived sections of urban populations, and very little evidence of the specific contribution or impact of public art (see chapter 2). What public art through the Angel has achieved in Gateshead, however, is to engender non-material aspects of wellbeing such as home, pride in place and distinctiveness, which might be summed up as social identity. While this could well be unique in terms of the particular scale of impact of the Angel, it reflects a broader political culture of the area. Bailey et al. (2004:47) in their ten year longitudinal research on the cultural regeneration of Newcastle/Gateshead argue that, ‘successful cultural regeneration is not about a trickle-down effect at all, but rather represents a counter-balance to broader processes of cultural

globalisation through its potential to assert or reassert local identities'. Similarly, Miles (2005:921) comments:

‘Investment in culture is not simply about regenerating the local economy, but can actually serve to revitalise the identities of the people of a city and even of a region ... it can provide new ways for those people to look into themselves and out of themselves. In other words, it can reinvigorate the relationship between culture, place and personal identity and offer a permanent legacy’.

Through this reassertion of identity, the Angel has become a symbolic icon. Although a majority of the stakeholders anticipated it becoming a landmark and a positive and iconic image for Gateshead, how far this has extended was not expected, especially in becoming a ‘glocal’ phenomenon (Robertson, 1995). Identity formation is inextricably tied up with locale, and the Angel is physically and symbolically rooted in local space, but it also has global attributes arising from the angel imagery, its creation by an internationally recognised artist, and its striking ‘simple, dramatic shape’ reproduced in a variety of ‘placeless’ media (Usherwood, 2001:42). More research on this aspect of the Angel as a branding, campaign and marketing tool would be very interesting: while a walk along Gateshead or Low Fell high street or a drive around Team Valley in Gateshead will bombard you with local businesses using the Angel title or image in their branding, it also appears in multinationals’ promotional material and national and international media unconnected to its place.

Finally, while some stakeholders saw the project at inception as a risk, with anticipated but ultimately uncertain benefits, the sculpture came to be viewed as a symbol of confidence because of its achievement. The risk was necessary to demonstrate that the possible could be done. Given its timing, therefore, the Angel was also a significant ‘millennium’ project. As Mike White commented in his interview:

‘It was certainly there as a piece that seemed to connect one age into the next. It’s placing in time as a millennial sort of hinge. I think that’s going to give it some staying power in terms of meanings and significances ... it is kind of ahead of us in some ways in the questions that it is raising. It made a very credible case to people that you could do something like this and that it would have a tangible impact on how the region was regarded and what people knew elsewhere in the country about us and what Tyneside was’.

This captures the Angel's uniqueness, not only through reassertions of identity but also as a positive image to brand a place. The political will of the Council was a key factor, but the Angel was a major collaborative effort including the engineers, the artist, the councillors, the public arts officers and others, working to a common purpose with the outcomes they wanted determined with purpose from the outset and realised as hoped, but also in some surprising ways. The Angel was purposefully chosen for a site where it would be a welcome and farewell. Its figurative design and material enables people to identify and engage with it in appreciation, reflection, play and even conversation, with attachments and meanings individual to them, whether hope, reminders of children and grandchildren, or coming home. The educational programme that accompanied the Angel and is still used in schools today allows future generations to know its story.

Chapter 11: Conclusion

Introduction

The concept of 'fine arts' only emerged from the 1740s, with the enlightenment reframing of what had been different and often unconnected activities as something called 'art' that brought about aesthetic pleasure and enjoyment for its own sake. Beautiful paintings were 'obviously' art, but this came to be challenged with developments such as Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain*, a porcelain urinal submitted but rejected for exhibiting by the Society of Independent Artists in 1919, and more recently works such as Tracey Emin's unmade bed, exhibited at the Tate Gallery in 1999 and shortlisted for the Turner Prize. As Grayson Perry argued in his 2013 BBC Reith lectures, art became what was displayed in art galleries, what the art world recognised as art, especially by buying and selling (BBC, 2013). Public art, however, challenges the notion that art is the objects that are placed in galleries, because it is art taken to where people live and work. It is still, though, defined in terms of a relationship to the art world and a set of practices that are about 'making art' as something to be appreciated for particular qualities.

Antony Gormley was resistant to the idea that the outcomes of his art could be anticipated or intended, although he did speak about purposes as open-ended and contingent. As Hartlepool Fabrications Director Bill Stalley suggested, art is what the artist says is art, although he added that it was for the public to enjoy. Yet, as Matravers (2007) argues in considering the 'definitional problem' in art, it is reasonable to expect there to be *reasons* why an object is to be regarded as art other than just the word of the artist or the art world generally. These reasons may be contested but they should be stated to distinguish art from other material objects. Matravers goes further to argue that these reasons should be about communicating to people why the art is worthwhile and why they should spend time engaging with it, also enabling informed debate about the relative merits of different artworks on the basis of the reasons why they are claimed to be art.

This study has been centrally concerned with the reasons for the Angel of the North and how those reasons provide a basis for evaluating its merits. The research has conceptualised these reasons as 'anticipated outcomes' and then investigated to what

extent both anticipated and unintended outcomes occurred, how and why. I take Matravers' arguments further, elaborating them in the framework of realistic evaluation, conceptualising the artwork as an intervention, situated in a context, and with an outcome pattern that emerges from its attributes, audiences' meanings and experiences, and context interacting. The notion of acting is important: the artwork itself *acts*. In terms of actor network theory, this means interpreting 'objects as participants or actors in creating, sustaining, and extending social ties' and not interpreting society 'as being constituted exclusively of human interactions' (Zell, 2013:1). In contrast to the constructionist approach of actor network theory, however, realistic evaluation is informed by a realist theoretical underpinning which argues that phenomena have a 'real' existence in depth rather than only a socially constructed and always contingent existence at a level of perceptions (Byrne, 2011).

Taking a realist position does not mean that there are no issues about how to interpret social reality, or ambiguity and controversy about what social experiences and practices mean or should mean. Ambiguities and controversies surround both the purposes of public art and the concept of wellbeing. In the policy context of local government in post-industrial urban Britain, both public art and wellbeing were shown to sit in a wider frame of the rise of culturally-led regeneration, itself controversial in the literature with debates about whether this strategy has brought material improvements for people living in the most deprived areas of cities. However, I have argued that culturally-led regeneration, and public art in particular, are also about non-material dimensions of wellbeing: cultural identity and aspects of an expressive life of feelings. When the purposes of public art are explored in more depth - specifically in the case of this study in relation to a local authority's policies and practices - this 'quality of life' purpose is very evident in documents and stakeholder narratives.

In common with public art in general, when we look for evidence about whether this purpose is actually realised through public art there is very little available. This is especially true when looking at the impact of public art in terms of the materiality of the art form as end product, rather than the process of planning and producing the art. An important reason for this is that the outcomes intended for public art are often not clearly articulated. This is why, in taking forward a study of the Angel of the North, it was decided to adopt a realistic evaluation approach that starts with clarifying what outcomes are

intended before going on to investigate how mechanisms and context produce an outcome pattern.

The success of the Angel has been about its resonance with a ‘structure of feeling’ among its publics, reflecting deep local identities of place, home and belief. Its contribution to wellbeing is to be found in the social and cultural bases of wellbeing, aspects that Cronin de Chavez et al. (2005) found are neglected in a wellbeing literature dominated by physical and psychological perspectives. Williams’ work helps explain this as well as other aspects of the Angel’s popularity, and this leads to some questioning of the realistic evaluation approach. The Angel is arguably not a cultural ‘intervention’ designed to ‘improve’, but a representation and focus for an *already existing* culture and appreciation of art in people’s everyday lives. Arguments that cultural participation is dominated by advantaged social groups make an assumption about culture that excludes the daily lived culture of those less advantaged economically: cultural participation is everywhere. The Angel gives expression to this existing structure of feeling. However, there is danger of over-generalising based on theory alone: empirical investigation has revealed some differentiation by social class in the *extent* of this resonance, although not its presence – it is present to a greater or lesser degree for almost everyone. The Angel reflects back on local people’s lived experiences in a place, and gives a range of meanings to them. They often feel good when they see it and more satisfied about life. Its cultural public value is significant. Much of the evidence in this thesis points to Gateshead residents’ lives being the poorer if the sculpture was not part of the landscape of their town.

The contribution of Williams’ cultural analysis leads on to the first of the two original research questions for the study reserved for this concluding chapter.

What methods are appropriate to assessing the value of cultural investment?

Firstly, it is important to note this research is not an economic assessment but instead explores the wider wellbeing impact of public art. This has often been neglected given the imperative of demonstrating economic value to funders, something recognised by the recent launch of the Arts & Humanities Research Council’s ‘Cultural Value Project’, with its website stating:

‘The Project will take as its starting point the different forms of cultural experience, such as, for instance, the aesthetic and cognitive dimensions of our cultural encounters. This might be seen as analysing the phenomenology of cultural experiences in order to understand better the benefits uniquely associated with cultural activity.’ (AHRC, 2013).

Public art practice has been criticised for a lack of thorough evaluation of benefits and instead relying on anecdotal evidence of being a ‘good thing’. This is not unique to public art. Sharp et al. (2005:1013/1014) argue that ‘the general lack of evaluative measures in community programmes means that it is difficult to outline measures of “good practice”, make affirmations of what constitutes a “successful” intervention or add credence to the claims made about public art’s social impact’. Similarly, Hall (2004) argues that evaluations of public art are incomplete for a number of reasons, including not paying attention to those members of the public not reached and engaged by public art projects, failing to demonstrate the positive short term outcomes and how these have been sustained into medium and long term outcomes, and failing to focus on the wider impact of public art projects, especially in deprived neighbourhoods. He adds that evaluation when it is undertaken must critically reflect on the quality of the evidence collected.

This research has sought to rise to this challenge and has shown that there is a lot that can be learned from an in-depth investigation into how people experience and relate to a piece of public art, and how it has an effect on their wellbeing. The realistic evaluation approach established a clear basis for clarifying outcomes and investigating whether they were achieved. The use of in-depth interviews with stakeholders was a successful approach, even though there is no practical guidance literature on a ‘theory of change’ interview as a technique (something I established from a literature search as well as email correspondence with Professor Ray Pawson). The interviews allowed the stakeholders to develop narratives on the past and the present and reflect on the context and mechanisms that were involved in the process of creating the Angel. They represent oral histories of the story of the Angel from different standpoints, rather than ‘official’ statements of policy objectives, and the interview design enabled thematic analysis appropriate for systematic enquiry and informing the design of the survey and focus groups. This addressed many of the weaknesses identified in other public art evaluations (Selwood, 1995).

Using a realistic evaluation approach is not a new idea when it comes to public art. In 2009, a large scale evaluation took place on the 'Welcome to the North' public art programme, which was a £4.5 million public art scheme that was implemented from 2006-2009 in various Northern towns and cities. The evaluation created logic models as the foundation of the research, based on the programme objectives, and drew upon theory of change techniques to explore how the programme or projects worked (Policy Studies Institute, 2009). Similar to this research, through various interviews the stakeholders involved in the projects articulated outcomes (short, medium and long-term) that were co-produced with the researchers.

In my study, however, the approach includes identifying stakeholders' accounts of both anticipated and actual outcomes to reflect on the success of their own initial theories of change, exploring as well unexpected and unmaterialised outcomes, mechanisms and context. These framings created narratives that could be explored thematically to understand both the 'why' and 'how' of the Angel's impact. This revealed, for example, how this impact changed over time, such as dissipation of the initial controversy and the dying away of the Angel's initial 'shock' value as people became familiar with and accustomed to it. This need for time to allow for an impact of a public art intervention to take its course has been highlighted by the Policy Studies Institute, commenting that 'impacts arising from public art projects would only be identifiable in a longer term timescale (ten years or more)' (2009:94).

Realistic evaluation approaches also consider 'context' as an important aspect in explaining the outcome of an intervention, because interventions interact with features of their context to produce outcome patterns. For the Angel of the North, three contextual themes were identified: 'location', 'public' and 'conducive economics and politics'. It is important to note here that location plays in as both mechanism and context. It was a very deliberate choice to place the Angel where it is to give the sculpture prominence and meaning (welcome/farewell). But the spatial context also created important interactions with other mechanisms, such as the way the dramatic setting sent the image around the world as a striking emblem, whether of the turn of the millennium or in the promotional material of an airline. This use of context is something social policy programmes could learn from, as context is considered very carefully in public art practice.

Realistic evaluation is rooted in an ontological position that there are deep, real phenomena but their causes are not directly observable and may only happen in certain circumstances. It is important, therefore, to apply the method by working back from an object of study, once defined, identifying its effects or outcomes, and tracing these to the factors that both the object's producers and those who experience or are intended to benefit from it 'theorise' as causes. This then needs to be considered further theoretically, drawing on wider insights from fields such as cultural analysis, to construct an argument about why and how the object of study has its effects. This has required a mixed methods approach because the patterns and meanings involved can only be accessed with appropriate techniques. Thus, the patterned outcomes across a population needed 'extensive' enquiry using the survey, while meanings and interpretations needed in-depth exploration in interviews and focus groups. What results is an account of the Angel from different but complementary methodological perspectives.

The survey design aimed to access Gateshead residents' views and opinions on the Angel from different standpoints of deprivation level, distance, age, gender and so on. It was important to conduct a survey of the Gateshead public as they were the intended beneficiaries of the sculpture, which was meant to be 'theirs', but also to reach those who do not actively engage in the arts or view themselves as knowledgeable about the arts. The use of a fixed design for the questionnaire enabled a structured, systematic and comparative analysis using SPSS to explore patterns of similarity and difference and, using cross-tabulation, to postulate some causal effects at a level of association of variables.

The survey process worked well, although with a lot of effort. It benefited from the lessons of a pilot study, but a key factor in its success was use of the postcards with their image of the Angel on one side and on the other side information about the research, that a survey was to be conducted in the area, and a contact number for queries or to opt out. Delivery of the postcards meant that before the survey was conducted, the majority of participants were aware of the research. Also, the employment of two helpers meant that the survey ran on time and within budget, as well as helping to address safety issues. In hindsight, further effort could have been put into planning more time and raising extra funds to run the survey across a longer time period and increase the sample size, which limited the analysis that was possible and the statistical significance of some of the results.

The focus groups all worked well and provided some very rich data, especially with regard to how people associate meanings with the Angel and their general attachment (or detachment) towards the sculpture. However, the focus groups were conducted with already existing groups in the community and this raised a few problems. Firstly, the process of recruiting the groups took a lot longer than was initially anticipated due to them already having their events planned for the year or working towards a project (for example, a play). Secondly, legitimacy issues were raised due to me approaching the groups myself (as an outside researcher) even though the research was being conducted in conjunction with the Council. An email did get circulated around the Council and this did succeed in recruitment of some of the focus groups. Lastly, it was difficult to control the number of participants present at the focus groups. I had specified for 6-8 members to be present but because the groups already existed and people attended them for other reasons than this research, it was difficult to tell the leaders of the groups that the number had to be restricted.

SPSS was used for the analysis of the survey data and NVivo for the stakeholder interviews and focus group data (although the different techniques of grounded theory and the Framework approach were used for the interviews and focus groups respectively, given that the focus groups were designed in the main to explore themes from the survey). Using computer packages assisted with structuring the data to allow for identification and exploration of patterns. In the qualitative analysis, this included being able to link quotes to themes so that the presentation of quotes could be organised to illustrate in participants' own words what the themes represented.

Interaction with an artwork is inherently subjective and often private, personal and different for different people at different times of their lives. Using a variety of methods allows the researcher to approach understanding the impact of the art from different angles, helping to capture meanings and interpretations that may not be explicit. However, theory has a central role to play. It 'sets up' the research by creating a conceptual framing that guides where to look in empirical investigations and what to make of what is found in interpreting the data. Thus, a key concept such as Williams' 'structures of feeling' cannot be demonstrated empirically as such because, in realist theory, it is not at an 'actual' but at a 'real' level of society. To follow Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer (2002), the 'real' are objects, structures or natures that have causal powers and liabilities but only become

‘actual’ in certain conditions that activate change. The ‘actual’ is observed using empirical methods that access the actual experiences of actors. A structure of feeling is real, but the significance of the Angel - and other aspects of local material culture such as the Tyne Bridge - is to give it an actuality in how it frames and focuses what people say about ‘... a particular sense of life, a particular community of experience’ (Williams, 1977:64).

What can Gateshead Council learn from evidence about the impact of the Angel?

The majority of stakeholders’ anticipated outcomes for the Angel *were* reflected in the perceived actual outcomes of the sculpture and its reception among Gateshead’s public. ‘Visual aesthetic’ was an anticipated outcome but did not appear as an actual outcome and ‘instilling confidence’, ‘creating debate’ and ‘paving the way for new cultural investment’ were not anticipated outcomes but emerged as actual outcomes. Overall, the stakeholders’ viewed the Angel as a comforting symbol of home and home-coming, framing this differently from the original ‘landmark’ intentions. They did, however, regard the Angel as providing an ‘iconic’ gateway, making Gateshead distinctive compared to other places, which attracted visitors as intended. They also viewed it as instilling interest in the arts rather than just raising the profile of the arts, and celebrating the local heritage and history of the area as well as engendering pride and confidence, which was linked to how the sculpture was seen to have paved the way for further cultural investment. Engendering wellbeing was seen as both an anticipated and actual outcome.

The most significant general finding from the survey was that overall 72 per cent of people interviewed said that the Angel made them feel good when they saw it. Seventy-one per cent found the Angel appealing to look at and 60 per cent regarded it as a comforting symbol. The letters that some respondents sent back after being interviewed expressed these feelings in more detail as well as in the focus groups, where in general the findings resonated with the survey. However, the focus group findings give more insight into people’s actual experiences of the Angel and what it means to them. Interestingly, compared to the stakeholders’ perceptions, there was little evidence of the Angel instilling interest in the arts more generally, or of it being especially significant as a celebration of local heritage and history.

In the focus groups, major recurring themes associated with the Angel were pride, homecoming and comforting. However, in contrast to the stakeholders' narratives that located the Angel within a broader public art philosophy, it was clear from the focus groups that the Angel was not regarded as typical of public art, which was often seen negatively, but as a unique object for which parallels given were the Tyne Bridge and the Eiffel Tower. This also raised issues about the 'special' status of the Angel and the implications for this research in making generalisations about the impact of public art as a whole. With reference to this and the Angel of the North in particular, Owen (2011:1) argues that public art needs to have critical and constructive capacities and writes that due to iconic pieces of public art, such as the Angel, being used as a 'prime' examples, this is not happening as much as it should. She argues that 'public art emblems' have an ineffective idealism attached to them.

Whilst the Angel is emblematic and an exceptional piece of public art, it is unreasonable to claim it represents ineffective idealism, unless the accounts of not only its stakeholders but its public are discounted. It is true, though, that it is possible to generalise too widely about its capacities. The survey analysis and especially the cluster analysis reveal how the reception of the Angel does vary according to important characteristics of its public audience. This audience could be regarded as 'segmented', bringing different priorities and dispositions to their appreciation of public art, especially in terms of the effects of deprivation in their lives, but also a broader cultural capital that varies across the community.

This has implications for how a local authority engages with its publics to create interaction with public art, with interactivity itself being an important attribute of artworks for many participants in the research. Local councils may need to work harder to reach less arts-oriented sections of the public, recognising that there will be easier-to-reach and harder-to-reach groups. They may also need to strike a balance between the artwork itself and accompanying amenities, with the focus groups for example showing how some groups, especially mothers with children in more deprived areas, wanted 'things to do' at the Angel site, which for others risked an inappropriate commercialisation.

What effects does the Angel have on different conceptions of wellbeing?

The stakeholders viewed the Angel as engendering wellbeing, with this both an anticipated and actual outcome in their accounts, expressed in various ways but especially as local identity and pride in place, part of the ‘social and cultural bases of wellbeing’ (Cronin de Chavez et al., 2005, p. 77) and a dimension of wellbeing reflecting the contentment and self-concept attributes of emotional wellbeing identified by Schalock and Verdugo (2002). There was some evidence from the survey that if residents living in more deprived circumstances, which had a very marked negative effect on their life satisfaction, felt good when they saw the Angel or found it to be a comforting symbol, then their life satisfaction was somewhat better than it would have been otherwise. This is a very tentative finding from three-way cross-tabulations and further investigation could help determine the reason behind it.

The issue of wellbeing in the focus groups was reflected more through the pride the sculpture created and it being seen as a positive symbol of home and homecoming. However, there was also discussion about the happy feelings the Angel engendered, either from its presence as a visually appealing figurative sculpture or through the association of pride the sculpture evoked, which were commented on as having a longer term effect on life satisfaction.

The way wellbeing is connected with the Angel and the feelings it evokes can again be related back to Williams’ ideas on structures of feeling. Community is a key element in Williams’ work generally - as where the relationship between self and other are formed. Structures of feeling suggest the way this relationship comes to be lived (Kirk, 1999). Williams argues that the concept of structures of feeling ‘lies deeply embedded in our lives; it cannot be merely extracted and summarized; it is perhaps only in art – and this is the importance of art – that it can be realized, and communicated, as a whole experience’ (Williams and Orrom, 1954:40).

Insofar as public art relates to communities who live by it, experience it and may be involved in its creation, it becomes part of a structure of feeling that includes these communities. Whether this is the actual experience of the art, however, is rarely evaluated.

How publics experience public art may itself offer insights into the structure of feelings of the time and place through associations with pride, place, heritage, family and home.

This research has sought to provide an insight into how public art can embody and impact on the wellbeing of a community. It has also sought to show the future impact this can have on how people make associations with place and how culture is a key part of this. The Angel as an iconic artwork, however, has not only impacted on the community of Gateshead, it has helped in significant ways to change the image of Gateshead from an industrial town to a cultural centre; a culture that Williams would of course recognise as always having been there.

Suggestions for further research

There are a number of important avenues for further research. Public art evaluations have been criticised for not producing robust, empirical data that shows the impact (or not) of the art. They have also been criticised for not deploying appropriate methodology for examining public art, although it is worth noting here again Ixia's Evaluation Toolkit. Perhaps most critically, public art evaluation has also been criticised for not determining who is the 'public' in public art, and for not approaching these audiences as diverse and elusive (Hall, 2004).

This research has aimed to address these criticisms but has restricted its framing of the issue to create a researchable topic for a PhD project. It has not sought to undertake an economic appraisal or any kind of 'cost benefit' analysis, instead being a sociological inquiry into public art, using the Angel as its case study. It has not investigated the views and experiences of visitors or tourists, but rather residents who experience the Angel in their day-to-day lives. Further research on the Angel as a visitor attraction would be valuable and interesting, as well as generally how Gateshead is viewed as a cultural destination.

One of the key findings from this research is that individuals' characteristics influence how they perceive and interpret public art, such as their age, gender, social class (operationalised as deprivation level, education level and tenure) and religion. Due to the nature of how this research was designed, little data were gathered about how young

people experience the Angel, and this is a further interesting dimension for future work, such as how young people make attachments with the Angel and grow up with it as part of their cultural landscape. The influence of religion could also be investigated further: although the Angel's positive impact extends well beyond just those who define themselves as religious, doing so clearly accentuated positive responses, with a perhaps unsurprising effect on personal significance and meaning. However, the effect of religious belief is not straightforward, as illustrated by cluster 4 in the six cluster analysis. Not all people of faith may see the Angel as having special significance, and may in fact object to its apparent use of religious imagery.

The Angel is an iconic piece and in many respects not typical of public art. A comparative analysis with another high profile piece of public art, such as Anish Kapoor's Cloud Gate in Chicago, could inform in important ways our understanding of how iconic status is produced, including the mechanisms at work and the effects of context. More generally, a larger comparative study would enable more investigation into why and how people identify with public art or not, and how and why some pieces are more successful than others.

Finally, it is worth noting here that public art evaluations, whilst crucial for understanding the impact on communities and their outcomes for future funding purposes, need to be approached with caution and with appropriate resources and a sound methodological basis. Evaluations are time-consuming and should only be done for clear reasons. Evaluations that are carried out for purely administrative purposes, restricted to process evaluations or basic questionnaires, lose an opportunity to collect in depth material that can better facilitate our understanding of how people benefit from public art and indeed art generally. There is also often a lag effect with regard to the impact that public art has, and evaluations should take this into consideration when planning, timing and implementing the different stages of the research. As Scott (2012, p. 166-7) comments:

'... (W)hilst policymakers are increasingly interested in qualitative research, such accounts struggle for legitimacy within the policy world where positivist paradigms of "objective" quantitative evidence and data still hold sway. However, the importance of understanding everyday practices, norms and practical knowledge is important for developing effective policies. These things cannot always be translated into indicators'

Appendices

Appendix 1: Research information sheet for stakeholders



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

THE ANGEL OF THE NORTH: PUBLIC ART AND COMMUNITY WELLBEING

You are invited to take part in the above study. Before you decide to participate, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The purpose of the research is to understand how public art has an impact on community wellbeing, focusing on a case study of The Angel of the North in Gateshead. The research is developing ways of evaluating how public art may promote wellbeing, from feelings of happiness that encounters with art may engender to longer term life satisfaction that association with iconic art such as The Angel may bring. Very little research has been undertaken on this topic.

WHY HAVE I BEEN CHOSEN?

A selection of individuals who brought the idea of the Angel to fruition have been chosen in order to investigate the intended aims and benefits of the sculpture from their perspective.

WHAT WILL THE RESEARCH INVOLVE FOR ME IF I TAKE PART?

If you agree to take part, you will be interviewed for approximately an hour in January-March 2012. The interview will be semi-structured, meaning that the interviewer will use a topic guide, and it will be recorded with your permission. Because it is important for the study to understand and report on different perspectives, you will be identified in the study and statements will be attributed to you unless you request that particular statements are confidential or that the interview is anonymised. The purpose of the interview is to understand what the intended benefits of the artwork were by those who were involved with its creation. There will also be room within the interview to explore areas you might want to raise yourself.

WHO IS ORGANISING/FUNDING THE RESEARCH?

This research is funded by Durham University and Gateshead Council and the findings will be written up for a doctoral thesis and submitted for publication in academic and professional journals.

CONTACT DETAILS

Maeve Blackman, Postgraduate researcher, School of Applied Social Sciences, Durham University, 32 Old Elvet, Durham, DH1 3HN. Email: f.m.blackman@durham.ac.uk. Telephone: 0191 384 7075 or 07917683651

You will be given a copy of the information sheet and consent form to keep. Finally, thank you for considering to take part in this study and for taking the time to read this information.

Appendix 2: Stakeholder consent form



Participant identification number:

CONSENT FORM

Title of project: The Angel of the North: Public art and community wellbeing

Name of researcher: Maeve Blackman

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and had these answered satisfactorily.

Please tick box

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time.

Please tick box

3. I agree to take part in the study.

Please tick box

Name of Participant Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature

Appendix 3: Stakeholder Interview Guide

The Angel of the North – stakeholder interview schedule

In this interview we'll have a conversation about The Angel of the North sculpture. I am particularly interested in exploring how you think the artwork has had an impact on the community. The sequence of questions goes from more general to more specific. The purpose of this interview is to get the themes from practitioners on change associated with the Angel of the North.

The arts in general

- **To begin with – just to give me a bit of background, could you give me a brief sketch of your career?**
- **Please explain your current job role**
- **Generally, in a few sentences, what do you see is the role of art in society?**
- **What do you see is the role of public art in society, by which I mean art in a public place, accessible to everyone?**
- **In your opinion, how important is public art compared to other spending priorities? Both public and private corporate spending priorities]**
- **Bearing in mind the current financial climate and Government cuts, do you see this priority changing?**
- **Do you see the role that public art plays in society changing?**
- **In future, do you see a growing role for private funding in public art, and with what consequences?**

Case study: The Angel of the North

- **Would you explain your particular role in creating/delivering the Angel of the North?**

The next set of questions focus on your 'theory of change' in relation to the Angel of the North. By this I mean, what impact (can be more than one) did you expect the Angel of the North to achieve.

- **What, in your view, was the Angel of the North expected to achieve? [Unprompted]**
- **Are there any other impacts or benefits that you think are relevant? [Prompted]**

[Prompts: impact on place (heritage) – regenerating the area, part of a wider regeneration scheme – Sage/Baltic, impact on neighbourhood, benefits for local residents, contributing to Gateshead Council's reputation, giving people a sense of identity, branding Gateshead, impact on community well-being, health, pride, local community engagement, international recognition, landmark)

- **How do see these impacts actually happening, by which I mean, how is the Angel actually changing things?**
- **Have these outcomes actually happened, or have some not materialised?**

[Prompt: If not materialised, why?]

- **Do you see these outcomes being different for different people?**

[Prompt: Different outcomes for different people/groups. For example, would this happen for me, women, children, tourists, local community?]

- **And what about time, are some of these short term or long term outcomes?**
- **Thinking back to what you've said so far, do you think other people I might ask about the Angel might take a different view to any of your answers?**

Context

- **How far are these impacts to do with where the Angel is actually sited?**
- **How important do you see economic factors being to the significance of the Angel?**

[Prompt: What was happening in the wider economy? What was happening specifically in the economy of the North East?]

- **And the community in Gateshead, how does that affect the impacts of the Angel?**
- **And what about political context, I know that initially there was political opposition to the Angel and that this shifted, why do you think that was? And what difference has that made? – What about long-term political context?**

[Prompt: Local – was it Gateshead being distinctive – separated from Newcastle? Or national political drive – statement about the North – neglected under John Major and Margret Thatcher?]

Unintended consequences

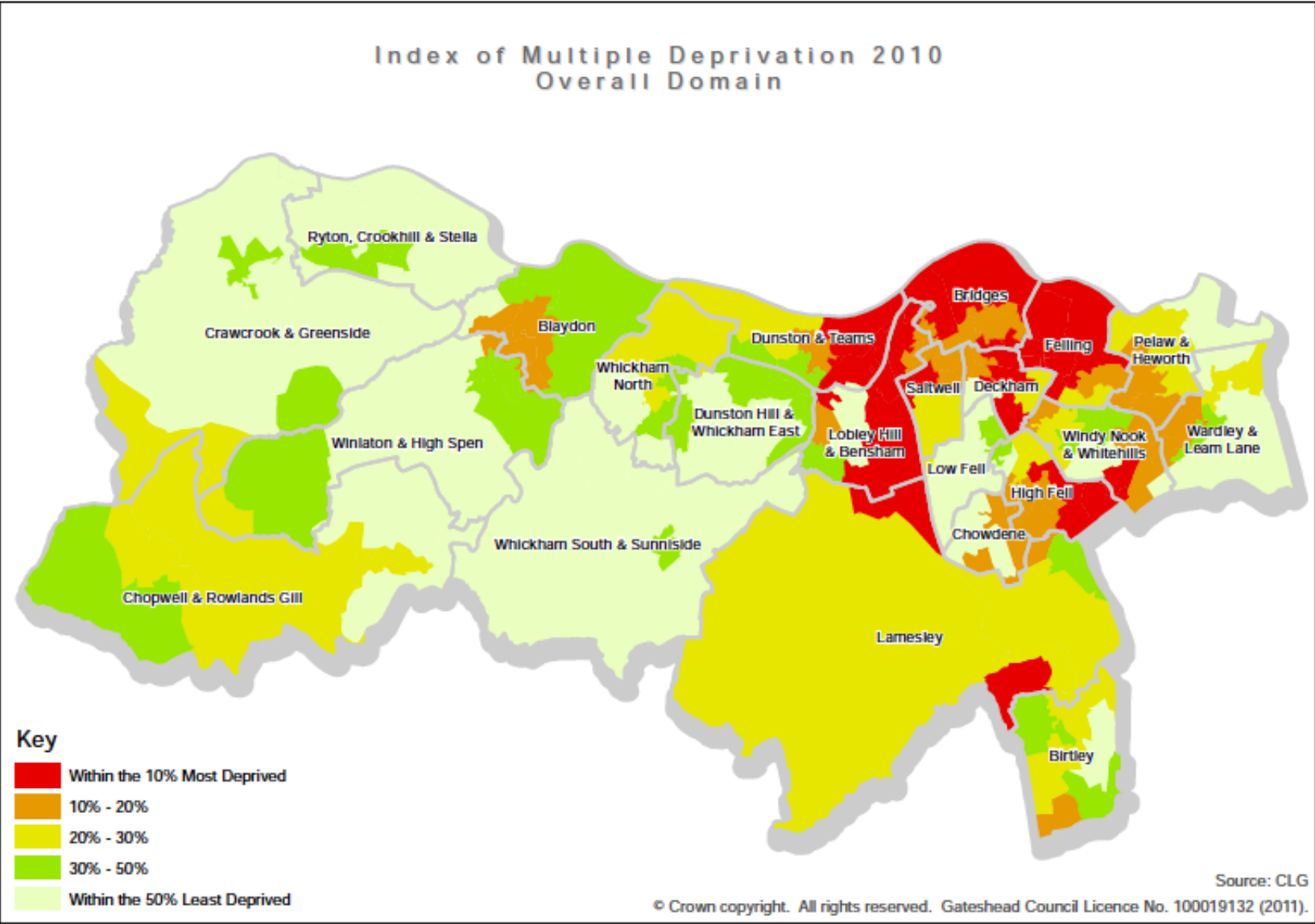
- **We have outlined the expected outcomes of the Angel of the North, but do you think there are any unintended consequences?**

Wellbeing

- **I'm also interested in exploring the effect of the Angel on community wellbeing. What do you understand by this term?**
- **And what impact do you feel the Angel has on community wellbeing?**
- **Is there anything we haven't considered in the interview that you would like to comment on?**

Thank you for your time.

Appendix 4: Map illustrating deprivation across Gateshead



Appendix 5: Questionnaire

1. Area
1 2 3 4 5 6

ANGEL OF THE NORTH QUESTIONNAIRE

2. This questionnaire is about your views of the Angel of the North sculpture. First of all, I'd just like to ask you which of these two age brackets you fit into?

16-64	1	65+	2
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3. Observation

Male	1	Female	2
------	---	--------	---

I'd now like to ask you some questions about the arts in general.

4. How often in the last year have you visited art galleries?

<i>Not at all</i>	1	<i>Once or twice</i>	2	<i>Three or more times</i>	3
-------------------	---	----------------------	---	----------------------------	---

5. And what about other arts activities, such as going to the theatre, cinema or a concert. How often in the in the last year have you done any of these?

<i>Not at all</i>	1	<i>Once or twice</i>	2	<i>Three or more times</i>	3
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Here are some options about the arts, please select if you agree or disagree.

	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neither agree or disagree</i>
6. The arts make a difference to where I live	1	2	3
7. The arts are not really for people like me	1	2	3
8. There are a lot of opportunities to get involved in the arts where I live	1	2	3

I'd now like to move on to ask you specifically about the Angel of the North.

Thinking of the Angel of the North, do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

24. Over time would you say you have grown to like the Angel of the North...

The Angel of the North...	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neither agree or disagree</i>
9. Is a symbol of confidence in the area	1	2	3
10. Makes Gateshead a distinct place compared to other areas	1	2	3
11. Is a symbol of what Gateshead can achieve	1	2	3
12. Has improved Gateshead's image	1	2	3
13. Is a waste of money	1	2	3
14. Is appealing to look at	1	2	3
15. Is a comforting symbol	1	2	3
16. Creates debate and discussion	1	2	3
17. Makes me proud of Gateshead	1	2	3
18. Is intrusive and unattractive	1	2	3
19. Symbolises positively the heritage and history of the area	1	2	3
20. Has personal significance and meaning for me	1	2	3
21. Is somewhere I like to go	1	2	3
22. Makes me feel good when I see it	1	2	3
23. Makes me feel part of a community with others	1	2	3

If the Angel of the North was removed and no longer there, would you feel:

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
25. Deprived	1	2	3

26. Sad	1	2	3
27. Bereaved	1	2	3
28. Pleased	1	2	3

Would you do any of the following at the Angel of the North?

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Have done this</i>
29. Celebrate or mark an occasion	1	2	3
30. Commemorate something important to you	1	2	3
31. Promote a cause or publicise something important	1	2	3
32. Take exercise	1	2	3

33. The Angel of the North is a well-known piece of public art. Are you familiar with any other public art in Gateshead?

<i>Yes</i>	1	<i>No</i>	2
------------	---	-----------	---

I'm now going to ask a few questions about you. Just to remind you, your answers will be confidential and I am going to use them to look for general patterns in what people say.

34. Overall, how satisfied are you with your life nowadays (Where 0 is 'not at all' and 10 is 'completely')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

35. Overall, how happy did you feel yesterday? (Where 0 is 'not at all' and 10 is 'completely')

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

36. Which of these describe you?

Employed	1
Unemployed	2
Student	3
Retired	4
Stay at home parent	5
Other	6

37. Have you undertaken any further or higher education since leaving school?

<i>Yes</i>	1	<i>No</i>	2
------------	---	-----------	---

38. Would you describe yourself as a religious person?

<i>Yes</i>	1	<i>No</i>	2
------------	---	-----------	---

39. Is this house owned or rented by its occupiers?

<i>Owned</i>	1	<i>Rented</i>	2	<i>Other</i>	3	
--------------	---	---------------	---	--------------	---	--

40. Which age band do you fit into?

<i>16-24</i>	1	<i>25-40</i>	2	<i>41-60</i>	3	<i>61-74</i>	4	<i>75+</i>	5
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DEFINITIONS

The arts	Creativity (independent provision and grant aided) and cultural industries (galleries, museums, theatres)
Higher and further education	Anything past GCSE's (post 16)
Deprived	Suffering a lack of a specified benefit
Bereaved	Suffering a loss of something loved
Neighbourhood	This street and the streets around it

CODES OF AREAS

1. Elisabethville estate
2. North Side/Eighton Banks
3. Chowdene
4. Old Fold
5. Chopwell South/Blackhall Mill
6. Crawcrook/Clara Vale

Appendix 6: Postcards delivered to all targeted sample for questionnaire



Dear resident,

Your street has been selected for a study of the Angel of the North sculpture. Research students from Durham University are working with Gateshead Council to collect residents' views of the sculpture and what types of benefit it brings to the area.

We are keen to interview a range of local people about their views, perceptions and experiences of the Angel of the North.

The research students will be calling at addresses in this street in the near future. Not all addresses will be visited.

There will be an opportunity for a short face-to-face interview when they call or a time can be booked for a short telephone interview if that is more convenient.

To recognise your help with the survey, all people interviewed will be entered into a prize raffle to win £50 of Amazon vouchers.

If you would prefer not to be contacted, there is a number to ring to leave a message with your address so that you will not be disturbed: 01913341540

Best wishes

Jane Robinson
Chief Executive
Gateshead Council

Appendix 7: Survey timetable

TIMETABLE (approx.)

	10-1	1.30-3.30	3.45-6.45
Monday 16th	1	1	
Tuesday 17th		1	2
Wednesday 18th	2	3	
Thursday 19th	4	4	
Friday 20th		5	5
Saturday 21st	3	2	
Monday 23rd		6	5
Tuesday 24th		6	6
Wednesday 25th		1	2
Thursday 26th		4	3
Friday 27th	5		
Saturday 28th	6		

Timetable shows hours out door knocking.

Area codes

1. Elisabethville estate
2. North Side/Eighton Banks
3. Chowdene
4. Old Ford
5. Chopwell South/Blackhall Mill
6. Crawcrook/Clara Vale

Appendix 8: Email sent for recruitment of focus groups

Dear _____

I am a researcher at Durham University undertaking a study of the Angel of the North. The research is supported by Gateshead Council.

I have recently carried out a large survey in Gateshead of public attitudes towards the Angel. A number of findings emerged that I would now like to collect more detailed information on.

Anna Pepperall, public arts officer at Gateshead Council has suggested I contact you. I am therefore writing to see if you and another 6 or 7 of your members of _____ would consider joining a discussion group for half an hour or so. I could attend a normal session of your group to do this so I would not be asking you for extra time.

The sorts of issues we would be discussing at the group are what affects how people feel about the Angel of the North and what experiences they associate with it.

I would be extremely grateful for your help. Please contact me by email or telephone so I can arrange to talk about this further with you.

Look forward to hearing from you.

Maeve Blackman

Appendix 9: Focus group questions

Firstly, I want to ask you about visiting the Angel, has anyone visited it? What did you do there? Why did you go? How did you feel about it?

[Prompts: Celebrated or marked an occasion there? Commemorated something important? Taken exercise?].

When you visited the Angel, did you feel like you were participating in the arts (as if you were visiting an art gallery?)

What feelings do you associate with the Angel? Have any of those feeling changed over time? If so, how? Why?

You may have seen in the Newspaper or on the television about a Banksy piece of street art that was removed to be sold in auction in America – how would you feel if the Angel of the North was removed and put up for auction?

[Prompts: What about if the money from the sale went towards cuts elsewhere in the community?]

Who do you feel the Angel of the North belongs to? The Council? The local community? Gateshead? The North East? Britain?

I am especially interested in the effect the Angel has on wellbeing and quality of life – quality of life is often talked about in the short term as happiness and then in the longer term as life satisfaction:

So if we take short term happiness first – when you think about the Angel does it make you happy?

And moving on to longer term life satisfaction – when you think about the Angel does it make you think of thoughts that can be related to longer life satisfaction (such as being proud of where you live?).

Appendix 10: Cross-tabulations for age by art gallery visits, Angel having personal significance and meaning, and feel good when see the Angel

Cross tabulation of art gallery visits in past year by age group

			Age group					Total
			16 to 24	25 to 40	41 to 60	61 to 74	75 plus	
Art gallery visits in past year	None	Count	26	41	38	40	15	160
		% within Age group	68.4%	64.1%	41.3%	50.0%	57.7%	53.3%
		% of Total	8.7%	13.7%	12.7%	13.3%	5.0%	53.3%
	Once or twice	Count	12	23	54	40	11	140
		% within Age group	31.6%	35.9%	58.7%	50.0%	42.3%	46.7%
		% of Total	4.0%	7.7%	18.0%	13.3%	3.7%	46.7%
Total	Count	38	64	92	80	26	300	
	% within Age group	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	12.7%	21.3%	30.7%	26.7%	8.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.340 ^a	4	.015
Likelihood Ratio	12.493	4	.014
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.515	1	.061
N of Valid Cases	300		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.13.

Cross tabulation of Angel having personal significance and meaning by age group

			Age group					Total
			16 to 24	25 to 40	41 to 60	61 to 74	75 plus	
Personal significance and meaning	Agree	Count	8	21	32	32	8	101
		% within Age group	21.1%	32.8%	34.8%	40.0%	30.8%	33.7%
		% of Total	2.7%	7.0%	10.7%	10.7%	2.7%	33.7%
	Disagree	Count	30	43	60	48	18	199
		% within Age group	78.9%	67.2%	65.2%	60.0%	69.2%	66.3%
		% of Total	10.0%	14.3%	20.0%	16.0%	6.0%	66.3%
Total	Count	38	64	92	80	26	300	
	% within Age group	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	12.7%	21.3%	30.7%	26.7%	8.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.314 ^a	4	.365
Likelihood Ratio	4.503	4	.342
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.093	1	.148
N of Valid Cases	300		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.75.

Cross tabulation of feel good when I see the Angel by age group

			Age group					Total
			16 to 24	25 to 40	41 to 60	61 to 74	75 plus	
Feel good when I see it	Agree	Count	23	47	66	60	19	215
		% within Age group	60.5%	73.4%	71.7%	75.0%	73.1%	71.7%
		% of Total	7.7%	15.7%	22.0%	20.0%	6.3%	71.7%
	Disagree	Count	15	17	26	20	7	85
		% within Age group	39.5%	26.6%	28.3%	25.0%	26.9%	28.3%
		% of Total	5.0%	5.7%	8.7%	6.7%	2.3%	28.3%
Total	Count	38	64	92	80	26	300	
	% within Age group	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	12.7%	21.3%	30.7%	26.7%	8.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.885 ^a	4	.577
Likelihood Ratio	2.751	4	.600
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.414	1	.234
N of Valid Cases	300		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.37.

Appendix 11: Cross-tabulations for gender by art gallery visits, Angel having personal significance and meaning, and feel good when see the Angel

Cross tabulation of art gallery visits by gender

			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Art gallery visits in past year	None	Count	69	91	160
		% within Gender	48.9%	57.2%	53.3%
		% of Total	23.0%	30.3%	53.3%
	Once or twice	Count	72	68	140
		% within Gender	51.1%	42.8%	46.7%
		% of Total	24.0%	22.7%	46.7%
Total	Count	141	159	300	
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	47.0%	53.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.067 ^a	1	.151		
Continuity Correction ^b	1.747	1	.186		
Likelihood Ratio	2.068	1	.150		
Fisher's Exact Test				.165	.093
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.060	1	.151		
N of Valid Cases	300				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 65.80.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Cross tabulation of Angel having personal significance and meaning by gender

			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Personal significance and meaning	Agree	Count	45	56	101
		% within Gender	31.9%	35.2%	33.7%
		% of Total	15.0%	18.7%	33.7%
	Disagree	Count	96	103	199
		% within Gender	68.1%	64.8%	66.3%
		% of Total	32.0%	34.3%	66.3%
Total	Count	141	159	300	
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	47.0%	53.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.366 ^a	1	.545		
Continuity Correction ^b	.233	1	.630		
Likelihood Ratio	.366	1	.545		
Fisher's Exact Test				.625	.315
Linear-by-Linear Association	.364	1	.546		
N of Valid Cases	300				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 47.47.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Cross tabulation of feel good when see Angel by gender

			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Feel good when I see it	Agree	Count	97	118	215
		% within Gender	68.8%	74.2%	71.7%
		% of Total	32.3%	39.3%	71.7%
	Disagree	Count	44	41	85
		% within Gender	31.2%	25.8%	28.3%
		% of Total	14.7%	13.7%	28.3%
Total	Count	141	159	300	
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	47.0%	53.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.081 ^a	1	.298		
Continuity Correction ^b	.831	1	.362		
Likelihood Ratio	1.080	1	.299		
Fisher's Exact Test				.308	.181
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.077	1	.299		
N of Valid Cases	300				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 39.95.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Appendix 12: Cross-tabulations for distance a respondent lives from the sculpture by gallery visits, Angel have personal significance and meaning, and feel good when see the Angel

Cross tabulation of art gallery visits by distance lived from the Angel

			Distance from the Angel		Total
			Near	Distant	
Art gallery visits in past year	None	Count	84	76	160
		% within Distance from the Angel	54.5%	52.1%	53.3%
		% of Total	28.0%	25.3%	53.3%
	Once or twice	Count	70	70	140
		% within Distance from the Angel	45.5%	47.9%	46.7%
		% of Total	23.3%	23.3%	46.7%
Total	Count	154	146	300	
	% within Distance from the Angel	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	51.3%	48.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.187 ^a	1	.666		
Continuity Correction ^b	.100	1	.752		
Likelihood Ratio	.187	1	.666		
Fisher's Exact Test				.729	.376
Linear-by-Linear Association	.186	1	.666		
N of Valid Cases	300				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 68.13.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Cross tabulation of Angel having personal or significance meaning by distance lived from Angel

			Distance from the Angel		Total
			Near	Distant	
Personal significance and meaning	Agree	Count	63	38	101
		% within Distance from the Angel	40.9%	26.0%	33.7%
		% of Total	21.0%	12.7%	33.7%
	Disagree	Count	91	108	199
		% within Distance from the Angel	59.1%	74.0%	66.3%
		% of Total	30.3%	36.0%	66.3%
Total	Count	154	146	300	
	% within Distance from the Angel	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	51.3%	48.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.432 ^a	1	.006		
Continuity Correction ^b	6.781	1	.009		
Likelihood Ratio	7.494	1	.006		
Fisher's Exact Test				.007	.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.408	1	.006		
N of Valid Cases	300				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 49.15.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Cross tabulation of feel good when see Angel by distance lived from Angel

			Distance from the Angel		Total
			Near	Distant	
Feel good when I see it	Agree	Count	111	104	215
		% within Distance from the Angel	72.1%	71.2%	71.7%
		% of Total	37.0%	34.7%	71.7%
	Disagree	Count	43	42	85
		% within Distance from the Angel	27.9%	28.8%	28.3%
		% of Total	14.3%	14.0%	28.3%
Total	Count	154	146	300	
	% within Distance from the Angel	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	51.3%	48.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.026 ^a	1	.871		
Continuity Correction ^b	.001	1	.973		
Likelihood Ratio	.026	1	.871		
Fisher's Exact Test				.899	.486
Linear-by-Linear Association	.026	1	.871		
N of Valid Cases	300				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 41.37.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Appendix 13: Cross-tabulation for deprivation level of where a respondent lives by gallery visits, Angel having personal significance and meaning, and feel good when see the Angel

Cross tabulation of gallery visits by deprivation level of where respondent lives

			Deprivation			Total
			High	Moderate	Low	
Art gallery visits in past year	None	Count	70	58	32	160
		% within Deprivation	68.0%	52.3%	37.2%	53.3%
		% of Total	23.3%	19.3%	10.7%	53.3%
	Once or twice	Count	33	53	54	140
		% within Deprivation	32.0%	47.7%	62.8%	46.7%
		% of Total	11.0%	17.7%	18.0%	46.7%
Total	Count	103	111	86	300	
	% within Deprivation	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	34.3%	37.0%	28.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.891 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	18.175	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	17.828	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	300		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 40.13.

Cross tabulation of Angel having personal significance and meaning by deprivation level of where respondent lives

			Deprivation			Total
			High	Moderate	Low	
Personal significance and meaning	Agree	Count	27	44	30	101
		% within Deprivation	26.2%	39.6%	34.9%	33.7%
		% of Total	9.0%	14.7%	10.0%	33.7%
	Disagree	Count	76	67	56	199
		% within Deprivation	73.8%	60.4%	65.1%	66.3%
		% of Total	25.3%	22.3%	18.7%	66.3%
Total	Count	103	111	86	300	
	% within Deprivation	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	34.3%	37.0%	28.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.392 ^a	2	.111
Likelihood Ratio	4.458	2	.108
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.806	1	.179
N of Valid Cases	300		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 28.95.

Cross tabulation of feel good when see Angel by deprivation level of where respondent lives

			Deprivation			Total
			High	Moderate	Low	
Feel good when I see it	Agree	Count	63	83	69	215
		% within Deprivation	61.2%	74.8%	80.2%	71.7%
		% of Total	21.0%	27.7%	23.0%	71.7%
	Disagree	Count	40	28	17	85
		% within Deprivation	38.8%	25.2%	19.8%	28.3%
		% of Total	13.3%	9.3%	5.7%	28.3%
Total	Count	103	111	86	300	
	% within Deprivation	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	34.3%	37.0%	28.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.230 ^a	2	.010
Likelihood Ratio	9.139	2	.010
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.631	1	.003
N of Valid Cases	300		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 24.37.

Appendix 14: Cross tabulations of religion by gallery visits, Angel having personal significance and meaning, and feel good when see Angel

Cross tabulation of gallery visits by religious person

			Religious person		Total
			Yes	No	
Art gallery visits in past year	None	Count	52	108	160
		% within Religious person	46.8%	57.1%	53.3%
		% of Total	17.3%	36.0%	53.3%
	Once or twice	Count	59	81	140
		% within Religious person	53.2%	42.9%	46.7%
		% of Total	19.7%	27.0%	46.7%
Total	Count	111	189	300	
	% within Religious person	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	37.0%	63.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.978 ^a	1	.084		
Continuity Correction ^b	2.579	1	.108		
Likelihood Ratio	2.978	1	.084		
Fisher's Exact Test				.094	.054
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.969	1	.085		
N of Valid Cases	300				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 51.80.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Cross tabulation of Angel having personal significance and meaning by religious person

			Religious person		Total
			Yes	No	
Personal significance and meaning	Agree	Count	52	49	101
		% within Religious person	46.8%	25.9%	33.7%
		% of Total	17.3%	16.3%	33.7%
	Disagree	Count	59	140	199
		% within Religious person	53.2%	74.1%	66.3%
		% of Total	19.7%	46.7%	66.3%
Total	Count	111	189	300	
	% within Religious person	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	37.0%	63.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.705 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	12.785	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	13.521	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.660	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	300				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 37.37.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Cross tabulation of feel good when see Angel by religious person

			Religious person		Total
			Yes	No	
Feel good when I see it	Agree	Count	91	124	215
		% within Religious person	82.0%	65.6%	71.7%
		% of Total	30.3%	41.3%	71.7%
	Disagree	Count	20	65	85
		% within Religious person	18.0%	34.4%	28.3%
		% of Total	6.7%	21.7%	28.3%
Total	Count	111	189	300	
	% within Religious person	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	37.0%	63.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.233 ^a	1	.002		
Continuity Correction ^b	8.444	1	.004		
Likelihood Ratio	9.654	1	.002		
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.202	1	.002		
N of Valid Cases	300				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 31.45.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

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