

**The Hepworth Wakefield and its Audience(s):
The Importance of Scale, Space and Place in Constructing Social Relations in
the Art Gallery**

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

Institutional knowledge of audiences is often framed around scaled notions of ‘local’, ‘national’, ‘international’, ‘community’ and so on. In analyses, however, the epistemological and ontological status of these terms is rarely questioned. If we are to gain a deeper understanding of knowledge production in the gallery, it is vital that the particular ways that spaces and scales are enacted and evoked by various actors in and around the organisation are explored. This thesis argues that by employing a methodological approach of situated action and relational assemblage it is possible not only to unpick such constructions of ‘local’ and ‘(inter)national’, but also to move beyond counterpositional or hierarchical thinking and practice towards more productive ways of working with and through complexity.

This exploration will be grounded in the organisational practices and social relations that form a particular art gallery, The Hepworth Wakefield. Drawing on my autoethnographic experiences as a colleague and a researcher within the organisation, the ambition of this thesis is to explore the dynamic processes of different practices, ideas, materials and affects assembling (disassembling and reassembling) at different moments to create different performances and enactions of *The Hepworth Wakefield*. Each are perspectives on reality, which can be mobilised at different times and in different ways, sometimes brought to the fore, sometimes pushed to the background. By attending closely to processes and actions in the Gallery at particular moments (situated action), this thesis will trace (re)configurations of *The Hepworth Wakefield* – as ‘local’, as ‘(inter)national, as ‘community’, as ‘artworld’, and so on – and will explore the productive possibilities of acknowledging and celebrating the multiple realities and complexities of the

Gallery, and propose ways of moving forward in these differences, rather than seeking their resolution.

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Introduction: The Hepworth Wakefield and its Audience(s)

This thesis is concerned with the scalar and spatial knowledge practices that underpin an art gallery's relations with their audience(s), yet which are frequently unproblematised in both practice and analysis. In the process of unpicking these practices this research explores three key issues. Firstly, that institutional knowledge of audiences is often framed around scaled notions of 'local', 'national', 'international' and 'community', yet in analyses, however, the epistemological and ontological status of these terms is rarely questioned. Secondly, the persistent and endemic belief that these concepts of 'local' and '(inter)national', along with associated notions of 'artistic excellence' and 'community', are essential and at odds, where committing to one will be at the detriment to the other – resulting for some in a perception of an existential challenge to be overcome: 'But it feels like we are trying to attract this art world audience and be on the map, but then to survive we also need all these local people to be using us. How do you do that?'¹ And, thirdly, the desire to fix and make stable both the institutional identity and the identity of its audience(s); to tame their complex, fluid and dynamic reality – a desire that was mirrored in my own attempts 'to know' this institutional knowing.²

This thesis argues that by employing a methodological approach of situated action and relational assemblage it is possible to unpick such scaled constructions of 'local' versus '(inter)national', and 'excellence' or 'access'. It demonstrates the

¹ Member of the Learning Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 23 October 2014.

² This initial difficulty of how to make sense of the art organisation's sense making will be explored in further detail later in this introduction.

utility of attentiveness to heterogeneous networks and their relational assembly, treating the gallery as a becoming, emergent process (or rather becomings and processes),³ and the importance of in-practice interpretation of situated knowledges, where context is key to considering what makes people do what they do.⁴ Such an approach enables us to move beyond binary, counterpositional and/or hierarchical thinking and practice towards more productive ways of working with and through complexity.⁵

This exploration will be grounded in the organisational practices and social relations that form a particular art gallery, The Hepworth Wakefield. Scale, space and place were particularly pertinent in the formation and development of the Hepworth's relationship with its audience(s), and this thesis will explore how the Hepworth's ambitions and responsibilities were bound up in notions of 'local', 'national' and 'international', as constructed and articulated by the Gallery, as well as its key funders. Drawing on my autoethnographic experiences as a colleague and a researcher within the organisation, the ambition of this thesis is to explore the dynamic processes of different practices, ideas, materials and affects assembling (disassembling and reassembling) at different moments to create different performances and enactions of *The Hepworth Wakefield*.

It is important to note the significance of material and materiality in the concept of assemblage, and thus its particular role in this thesis. There has been

³ See, Thomas Nail, 'What is an Assemblage?', *SubStance*, 46:1 (2017), 21-37; Tony Bennett and Chris Healy, 'Introduction: Assembling Culture', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 2:1-2 (2009), 3-10; Sharon Macdonald, 'Reassembling Nuremberg, Reassembling Heritage', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 2:1-2 (2009), 117-134; and Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and identity in Europe today* (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁴ See Lucy Suchman, *Plans and Situated Actions: The problem of human-machine communication* (California: Xerox; Palo Alto Research Centres, 1985).

⁵ These concepts of assemblage and situated action will be explored in further detail in Chapter 1.

increased attention to materiality which foregrounds the agency of objects, and the role of the non-human in shaping meaning and action.⁶ The material turn has its roots in Science and Technology Studies (STS), and how ‘truth’ is negotiated in the processes or relations of practice and materiality.⁷ Most significant is the development and influence of Actor-Network Theory (ANT), and its key concept of tracing the enactment of material *and* social heterogeneous relations.⁸ In this heterogeneous network of relations there can be no pre-existing givens. Essential divisions such as human/non-human, society/nature, macro/micro, and local/global are broken down. They are understood as not given in the order of things, and instead are to be taken as relationally constituted.⁹ This foregrounding of socio-materiality and spatiality is key, and my use of these concepts is in the interplay of ANT, particularly post-ANT,¹⁰ spatial and relational developments in geography,¹¹

⁶ See Eduardo De La Fuente, ‘In Defence of Theoretical and Methodological Pluralism in the Sociology of Art: A Critique of Georgina Born’s Programmatic Essay’, *Cultural Sociology*, 4:2 (2010) 217-30; Karen Cerulo, ‘Nonhumans in Social Interaction’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 35:1 (2009) 531-552; and Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

⁷ See John Law, ‘STS as Method’, *Heterogeneities Dot Net: John Law’s STS webpage*, 24 June 2015, 1-24 <<http://heterogeneities.net/papers.htm>> [accessed 2 June 2017].

⁸ See John Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy, and Heterogeneity’, *Systems Practice*, 5:4 (1992), 379-393; Michel Callon, ‘Some Elements of a Sociology Of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay’, in *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?*, ed. by John Law, (London: Routledge, 1986), pp. 196-223; Michel Callon and Bruno Latour, ‘Unscrewing the big Leviathan: how actors macro-structure reality and how sociologists help them to do so’, in *Advances in social theory and methodology: Toward an integration of micro- and macro-sociologies*, ed. by K. Knorr-Cetina and A. V. Cicourel (London: Routledge, 1981), pp. 277-303; Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: how to follow scientists and engineers through society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987); Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁹ See Callon and Latour, ‘Unscrewing the big Leviathan’; John Law, ‘After ANT: complexity, naming and topology’, *The Sociological Review*, 41:1 (1999), 1-14; Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005).

¹⁰ See Law, ‘After ANT’; John Law and Annemarie Mol, eds., *Complexities: Social Studies of Knowledge Practices* (Durham. [N.C.]; London: Duke University Press, 2002); Kevin Hetherington and John Law, ‘After Networks’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18:2 (2000), 127-132.

¹¹ See Doreen Massey, ‘A Global Sense of Place’, *Marxism Today*, 1991, 24-29; Doreen Massey, ‘Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place’, in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, ed. by John Bird *et al.* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 59-69; Massey, *For Space*; Nigel

and, how these approaches have informed the study of museums, where the focus has shifted to such notions of materiality, agency, complexity, and the multiplicity of realities and space-times. For example, the following briefly set out work in the field of museum studies which has been particularly influential for this thesis. Firstly, Kevin Hetherington's paper on museum topology is critical for this research and forms the basis of Chapter 2, 'Museum Topologies'.¹² In this paper Hetherington treats the space of the museum as one which is complex, contingent and folded around certain objects on display, asserting that objects should be understood as agents which may shape meaning and action, and thus the importance of exploring 'the relationship between materiality and spatiality' in the museum.¹³ Secondly, this thesis is situated in a clear trajectory in museum studies that considers notions of assemblage and the museum – or rather treating the museum as an assemblage (as set out above). A key proponent in this vein is Sharon Macdonald,¹⁴ and also Rodney Harrison, Sarah Byrne, and Anne Clarke's work unpacking and reassembling the collection has been important for this project's thinking through 'assemblage' and assemblage perspectives in the museum.¹⁵ Finally, work unpicking and problematising the concepts of place and scale in heritage has been vital for

Thrift, *Spatial Formations* (London: Sage, 1996); Nigel Thrift, *Non-representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect* (London: Routledge, 2008); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Andrew Herod and Melissa W. Wright, 'Placing Scale: An Introduction', in *Geographies of Power: Placing Scale*, ed. by Andrew Herod and Melissa W. Wright (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 1-14; Stuart Elden and Jeremy Crampton, eds., *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

¹² Kevin Hetherington, 'Museum Topology and the Will to Connect', *Journal of Material Culture*, 2:2 (1997), 199-218.

¹³ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', abstract.

¹⁴ See, Macdonald, 'Reassembling Nuremberg, Reassembling Heritage', and, *Memorylands: Heritage and identity in Europe today*.

¹⁵ Rodney Harrison, Sarah Byrne, and Anne Clarke, *Reassembling the collection: ethnographic museums and indigenous agency* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2013), and, *Unpacking the collection: networks of material and social agency in the museum* (New York, NY: Springer, c2011 (printing 2012)).

considering The Hepworth Wakefield and its practices; such as Rhiannon Mason, Christopher Whitehead and Helen Graham's exploration of the interrelation and complexity of place and the art gallery,¹⁶ and David C. Harvey's appeal to interrogate the work that scale does in heritage.¹⁷ Indeed, Sharon Macdonald's call to move beyond the national museum raised some particularly useful questions,¹⁸ and Rhiannon Mason's excellent response to Macdonald's paper is important for unpicking scaled categorisations of museums' as 'local', 'national', 'transnational', 'universal' and so on.¹⁹ In sum, my research draws on such theories that trouble and refute traditional binaries such as local/(inter)national, and which instead advocate for ontological flatness and attention to complex topological spaces and the tracing of connections, relations and contingences between people, places, times and spaces, as will be explored in the first chapter of this thesis.

Situated in certain moments, the thesis will explore different performances and enactions of *The Hepworth Wakefield*. By attending closely to processes and actions in the Gallery at particular moments (situated action), this thesis will demonstrate the 'shuffle of agency' which allows for (re)configurations of *The Hepworth Wakefield* – as 'local', as '(inter)national', as 'community', as 'artworld', and so on.²⁰ This is about the performance and enacting of reality, and that within

¹⁶ Rhiannon Mason, Christopher Whitehead and Helen Graham, 'The Place of Art in the Public Art Gallery: A Visual Sense of Place', in *Making Sense of Place: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. by Peter Davis, Gerard Corsane and Ian Convery (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012) pp.133-144; and see also Rhiannon Mason, Christopher Whitehead, and Helen Graham, 'One Voice to Many Voices? Displaying Polyvocality in an Art Gallery', in *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration* ed. by Viv Golding and Wayne Modest (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 163-177.

¹⁷ David C. Harvey, 'Heritage and scale: settings, boundaries and relations', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 21:6 (2015), 577-573.

¹⁸ Sharon Macdonald, 'Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities', *Museum and Society* 1:1 (2003), 1-16.

¹⁹ Rhiannon Mason, 'National Museums, Globalization, and Postnationalism: Imagining a Cosmopolitan Museology', *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research*, 1:1 (2013), 40-64.

²⁰ Bennett and Healy, 'Introduction: Assembling Culture', p. 3.

worldmaking practices, there exist multiple perspectives on the same object/idea/body/world (multiple realities, ontologies); but some perspectives are judged to be better or worse, right or wrong. Each performance forms a perspective on reality, which can be mobilised at different times and in different ways, sometimes brought to the fore, sometimes pushed to the background. As such, worldmaking is political. Other possibilities exist and may be enacted. Thus, we must explore the process of enactions, the practice of reality, the who, how, when and why (political ontologies).²¹ The enactment of reality is socio-material, hence the approach of this thesis to explore the socio-materiality of the Gallery, to explore the enactment/performance of certain realities of *The Hepworth Wakefield*, and the productive possibilities of acknowledging and celebrating multiple realities and complexities of the Gallery, and propose ways of moving forward in these differences, rather than seeking their resolution.²²

The Hepworth Wakefield

Described on its website as ‘a major cultural asset for Yorkshire’, The Hepworth Wakefield is a large, modern and contemporary art gallery which celebrates the

²¹ See Annemarie Mol, ‘Ontological politics. A word and some questions’, *Sociological Review*, 47:1 (1999), 74-89; Annemarie Mol, *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice* (Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press, 2002); Annemarie Mol, ‘Mind your plate! The ontonorms of Dutch dieting’, *Social Studies of Science*, 43:3 (2012); Annemarie Mol and John Law, ‘Embodied Action, Enacted Bodies: The Example of Hypoglycaemia’, *Body & Society*, 10:2-3 (2004), 43-62; Donna Haraway, ‘Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective’, *Feminist Studies*, 14:3 (1988), 575-599; Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Marilyn Strathern, *Partial Connections*, updated edition (Walnut Creek; CA: AltaMira Press, 2004; originally published by Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, 1991); Law and Mol, *Complexities*; Law ‘*STS as Method*’; Marianne de Laet and Annemarie Mol, ‘The Zimbabwe Bush Pump: Mechanics of a Fluid Technology’, *Social Studies of Science*, 30:2 (2000), 225-263; Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2007).

²² This will be explored further in Chapter 1.

artistic legacy of the region, alongside a critically respected contemporary exhibition programme.²³ As might be deduced from its name, the Gallery is located in the birthplace of the internationally significant artist Barbara Hepworth and celebrates her remaining in the region to study at the Leeds College of Art, along with other famous alumni including Henry Moore, as well as exploring the wider influence that Yorkshire has had on many artists. Designed by award winning architect David Chipperfield, it is the largest purpose-built gallery and exhibition space to be constructed outside London in the past 40 years, and is (self) lauded as a place ‘to explore art, architecture and your imagination’.²⁴ The Gallery opened in May 2011 as part of a citywide regeneration plan for the city of Wakefield, and as such, Wakefield District Council contributed the majority of the capital for the Hepworth’s creation, with significant funding from Arts Council England (ACE) and The Heritage Lottery Fund, alongside numerous other regional, national and international partners including ‘public sector bodies, charitable trusts and foundations, businesses and individuals’.²⁵ The Gallery is now run as a charitable trust, with significant

²³ The Hepworth Wakefield, ‘About’, The Hepworth Wakefield website, <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/about/>> [accessed 28 July 2012]. It is pertinent to describe the Gallery as modern and contemporary, as it predominantly exhibits modern art (mostly work produced in the twentieth century, largely by Barbara Hepworth and her contemporaries) and work by contemporary artists ((mostly) living artists in the twenty first century). The Gallery also houses and exhibits work from the Wakefield Art Collection, which includes an impressive collection of modern British art (‘some of the most significant British artists of the 20th Century’), as well as historical work (the Gott Collection: maps, drawings, paintings of villages and towns across Yorkshires), and the Gallery continues to acquire pieces for the collection. See, The Hepworth Wakefield, ‘Collection’, The Hepworth Wakefield website <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/collection/>> [accessed 16 September 2017].

²⁴ The Hepworth Wakefield, ‘About’.

²⁵ The Hepworth Wakefield, ‘Our Gallery’, The Hepworth Wakefield website <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/about/history/>> [accessed 13 May 2014].

support from Wakefield Council, and ACE as one of its National Portfolio Organisations.²⁶

The Hepworth has a (growing) historical, modern and contemporary art collection, which is exhibited alongside a changing exhibition programme featuring contemporary artists or historical work that is seen to complement the collection. In 2013, the Gallery underwent an expansion with the opening of The Calder, a contemporary art and events space in a redeveloped mill close to the main gallery site.²⁷ More recently, plans were announced regarding the creation of the new Riverside Gallery Garden, transforming an unused lawn area adjacent to the gallery building into ‘one of the UK’s largest free public gardens’.²⁸ Gallery staff were also instrumental in encouraging the redevelopment plans for the neighbouring Victorian mills, announced in early 2016, which had languished in a disused state. Alongside these physical changes, the Hepworth is continually developing and redeveloping its practices in response to having to build its strategies, policies and audiences from scratch only a few years ago. Indeed, at the time this research commenced, the Hepworth was on the cusp of a significant period of organisational change. This change constituted a complete revolution, not only in the team structure – a comprehensive reorganisation of roles, the creation of new posts, and, the reworking

²⁶ Arts Council England, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield’, Arts Council England website <<http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/funding/browse-regularly-funded-organisations/npo/the-hepworth-wakefield/>> [accessed 13 May 2014].

²⁷ Wakefield Council owns the site and funded its redevelopment. Continued funding for exhibitions and events comes from Wakefield Council, Arts Council England and Arts Council England Catalyst Arts programme. See, The Hepworth Wakefield, ‘The Calder’, The Hepworth Wakefield website <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/thecalder/>> [accessed 13 May 2014].

²⁸ The Hepworth Wakefield, ‘The Hepworth Riverside Gallery Garden’, The Hepworth Wakefield website <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/the-hepworth-riverside-gallery-garden/>> [last accessed 17 September 2017].

of existing departments and interdepartmental relationships – but in the overall strategy of the Gallery, largely based on an extensive piece of audience research.

Indeed, this research, carried out by marketing consultancy firm Muse, was commissioned in response to the Gallery trying to come to terms with dwindling visitor figures, and how to make the most of its resources in a precarious economic environment. These harsh realities are why the Muse research was commissioned, and why such a drastic organisational change was carried out. However, by 2016 the Gallery saw a 21% rise in visitor figures (albeit from a significant slump), and in 2017 the Hepworth was crowned the Art Fund Museum of the Year, a significant national accolade.²⁹ I would argue, therefore, that the Hepworth presents a particularly interesting set of peculiarities that are pertinent to explore when considering the relationships between arts institutions and their ‘audiences’ more generally. For instance, arising at the end of the boom of high investment in arts-led regeneration,³⁰ the Hepworth managed to survive the economic crash of 2008 that saw arts development of this type slow down dramatically. Yet, the recession did have a devastating impact on the development of the rest of the Wakefield waterfront site that the Gallery was at the heart of, effectively stalling it until the recent proposals mentioned above.³¹ The Hepworth also faces the challenging issue experienced by many arts and cultural organisations, namely how to navigate the balance between the perceived strategic and international ambitions and the consideration of its audience – particularly its local communities. One member of

²⁹ Mark Brown, ‘Hepworth Wakefield art gallery wins museum of the year award’, *Guardian*, 5 July 2017 <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2017/jul/05/hepworth-wakefield-art-gallery-wins-museum-of-the-year-award>> [accessed 3 August 2017].

³⁰ See Arts Council England, *The power of art, visual arts: evidence of impact, regeneration, health, education and learning* (London: Arts Council England, 2006).

³¹ The effects of this stalled development will be explored further in Chapter 3.

staff neatly summed up this predicament, with their thoughts on the Gallery's 'two split missions that sometimes collide':

1. To engage the local community and provide a thriving cultural and lively venue and exhibition centre. 2. To expose the area with [sic] contemporary art exhibitions from artists currently fashionable in upper elite art circles existent in the art world.³²

This is a crucial challenge that will underpin the work of this thesis. Indeed, we will revisit this particular quote throughout the thesis, as it acts as a key illustration of the embedded and persistent sense of dichotomy regarding the art institution and certain conceptions of 'place'; namely that institutions must ensure that their collections and exhibitions have significance on a national and international stage, while remaining relevant and accessible to their immediate, local context. The Hepworth will provide a useful lens through which to explore the particularities of 'place' in knowledge production in and about the art gallery, and, whether these binaries and bounded categorisations of 'place' and 'community' are useful in our conception of both the institution and their audiences, existing and potential. However, in approaching the Hepworth's particular consideration of place and space, this thesis explores the 'wider' setting of Wakefield and cultural developments in Leeds, that is to say, it is concerned with exploring the broader topology in which the Hepworth is situated, but at all times seeing the particular organisation as the anchor for the research.

Methodology: The Hepworth Wakefield and I

My position at times as both researcher and employee at The Hepworth is significant to this project, indeed, without these experiences this research would never have

³² Survey response by a member of the Visitor Services Team, The Hepworth Wakefield. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

taken place. I first started working at the Gallery at its opening as a casual Visitor Services Assistant, and continued in this role while studying for an Art Gallery and Museum Studies Masters (MA) at University of Leeds (2011-2012). This experience, along with many previous roles in various arts organisations, my time on the Masters programme, as well as my own experiences of visiting art institutions, led to a particular interest in the visitor experience in art galleries, specifically the notion of audience engagement and how this is facilitated by the institution. What I am setting out here, and what I think is important to convey, is that the PhD research very much emerged from my experiences of working at the Gallery, and my particular interests in the key issues I experienced as part of my practice – predominantly as a Visitor Services Assistant engaging with the Hepworth’s audience(s) in the gallery spaces. Consequently, the initial ideas and concerns of this research came out of my relations with visitors in the gallery spaces, alongside the sporadic, partial and limited insights in to the ‘back of house’ processes that produced and maintained these gallery spaces, the exhibitions, and, most importantly to me at that time, my role and its ‘objectives’.³³ After some time in this ‘front of house’ role, and following the completion of my MA in 2012, I began working full time as the Learning Administrator, a position that saw me make the transition into ‘back of house’. Although still a very junior role, this transition allowed me a much better insight into the organisation’s internal workings, and, being part of the Learning Team, I continued to have a lot of contact with the Gallery’s (Learning) audiences. In October 2013, just as I was starting this PhD, the Learning Team

³³ My use of ‘back of house’ and ‘front of house’ directly draws from the language of the organisation itself, these were the terms in use by staff at the Hepworth at that time, to describe particular spaces, people (or rather roles), as a way a making sense of the relations within, across and between the Gallery.

underwent a period of expansion, and I had the opportunity to take on a new fixed-term role as the Adult Learning Programme Assistant, developing workshops and events at the Gallery for adults (part-time, until January 2015). Throughout these various roles I gained a fascinating and practical insight into the day-to-day bureaucratic practices of the organisation (the term bureaucratic is not employed here in a pejorative sense); and, because of my academic experience of thinking through the wider issues of the art gallery as institution, I was often delighted and intrigued to see some of the abstract theories I had encountered in the MA get played out on the Gallery (or Gallery office) floor, all of which contributed to a burgeoning desire to explore further the knotty complexities of these everyday practices.

Thus, from the outset of the research, the desire was to follow these sites of complexity in relation to the institution and its audience to see how they unfolded, rather than approach the research process with preconceived notions, theories, or even particular plans. It is important to emphasise that I did not approach the project with assemblage theory in mind – that is, explicit notions of an assemblage perspective did not precede the ethnography and the gathering of empirical data. This resonates with Sharon Macdonald's experiences in *Memorylands*, where she cites assemblage theory as a key to her explorations of the memory complex:

This characterisation [of assemblage] fits the approach of this book well, in that it gathers material from specific instances and gives attention to a wide range of elements, including the materialisation of memory in heritage. Little of the research that I report here, however, has been conceived explicitly with an assemblage perspective. The studies on which I draw are nevertheless often amenable to consideration in relation to assemblage ideas because, as Bruno Latour, one of the architects of an assemblage approach, acknowledges, anthropological research is frequently conducted with just such an emphasis on looking at what actually goes on and interrogating what

is taken for granted, and thus refrains as far as possible from imputing ‘external’ (or he says, ‘magical’) categories.³⁴

Like Macdonald, specific ideas of ‘an assemblage perspective’ emerged from the inquiry – as a way to inform my analysis of the Gallery’s knowledge(s) and practice(s).

My presence as a researcher within the Gallery did have advocacy from senior members of the team, and discussions took place with the Director Simon Wallis and Deputy Director Jane Marriott about the project and its potential impact for the organisation. This dual role as researcher and employee at The Hepworth presented both real opportunities and potential pitfalls for the research, which is why I will now outline the methodological approach, and its concomitant ethical issues.

It is important to begin by emphasising that the research is informed by my experiences of the organisation at that particular time as participant (employee), along with observations, interviews (with staff and stakeholders) and surveys. More specifically, my empirical research was grounded in an extended period of auto-ethnography during my time as employee and researcher at the Gallery, as outlined above, where I had access to events, workshops, meetings and the general day-to-day practice of the organisation, recording and reflecting on my experiences in a Research Journal which became an active tool for data collection and analysis. As part of this process I created a survey for staff of the Gallery to complete, titled ‘Thinking about Audiences’, which was completed by 48 people from across the organisation during late October to early December 2014. Given the relatively small size of the organisation this number of respondents indicates a high percentage of

³⁴ Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 6. See also Latour, *Reassembling the Social*.

staff, and participants represented all departments of the Gallery, from Volunteers to members of the Senior Management Team.³⁵ I also conducted two rounds of semi-structured interviews.³⁶ The first round included nine interviews (both group and one-to-one) with a total of 18 staff from across the Gallery, carried out during October and November 2014. The second round consisted of six one-to-one interviews with external stakeholders of The Hepworth Wakefield, conducted during September to November 2015. This empirical research forms *part* of the overall approach to understanding the complex process of the construction of social relations between the organisation and its audience. It should be understood as working iteratively alongside a critical analysis of a range of textual sources, including internal documents, policies and reports, as well as the art works, places and spaces that form the system in which and of which the Hepworth operates, to trace the relations of the human *and* non-human in a patterned network of heterogeneous materials.

In this sense, there is an attempt to explore the different rhetorics and meanings utilised (and demanded) by the various actants that inform the relationship between an art gallery and its audience, to discover the possible tensions that then get played out in the Gallery. In the particular case of the Hepworth, this includes unpicking the significance of the policies and particular political rhetoric from the local authority, Wakefield District Council, who were so crucial to the Gallery's conception and its continued existence; as well as the wider political landscape that the Gallery has to operate within, in the form of policy documents, government reports and so on. Of course, it is also essential to situate the Hepworth theoretically

³⁵ See Appendix B: Survey.

³⁶ See Appendix A: Interviews.

in reference to academic literature, but also in relation to the literature of arts professionals themselves in regard to current trends, ideas, and notions of best practice within the ‘industry’. One also must look to the rhetoric of economics and markets, which may operate both internally and externally to the arts organisation, but are increasingly vital as economic constraints have often radically altered art organisations’ strategies. Therefore, the material used throughout this thesis will not be drawn from a consistent set. In fact, as will become clear, there will exist an ongoing fluctuation between disembodied and embodied articulations, between existing texts and materials, like those discussed above, and those that I have created myself, through the textualisation of my ethnographic, and at times autoethnographic embodied experiences in the Gallery.

This inclusion of ordinary, everyday experiences, ‘affects’ and ‘things that happen’ within The Hepworth is significant,³⁷ as the ‘moment-to-moment, concrete details’ are an ‘important way of knowing’, or of producing new knowledge.³⁸ In *The Well-Connected Community*, Alison Gilchrist describes the knowledge presented in her book as being ‘phronetic’, that is to say, ‘derived from practice and experience’.³⁹ She depicts a process of distillation of ideas ‘from action research, workshops, informal conversations, government reports and the academic literature’, that combine to form her evidence and theories.⁴⁰ In the same sense, my own experiences, observations and encounters with staff, visitors and stakeholders in and

³⁷ Kathleen Stewart, *Ordinary Affects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 2.

³⁸ Carolyn Ellis, *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel about Autoethnography* (Walnut Creek, CA; Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2004), p. xviii.

³⁹ Alison Gilchrist, *The Well-Connected Community: A networking approach to community development*, 2nd edn, (Bristol, UK; Portland, OR: Policy, 2009), p. vii.

⁴⁰ Gilchrist, p. viii.

about the Gallery have become potential sites for critical intervention,⁴¹ blurring the subjective and intersubjective with the experiential and dialogical.⁴² Then, ‘distilled’ and included in the thesis they become representations releasing ‘potential modes of knowing, relating, and attending to things’ in The Hepworth itself.⁴³

My ‘practice and experience’ in the Gallery included instances which were not set up, or approached with any theoretical or methodological intention, as (participant) observation often plays out. Yet, however these instances occurred, the significant factor is my choice to record and then present them in the space of this thesis. These presentations are reconstructions, mediated through my background, the ideologies and discourses of both the University, and of the Gallery itself, influencing my thoughts and actions, even in the choice itself to take the ‘field notes’ to produce these (re)presentations. This textualisation of my experience, and that of others, of course gives rise to the issue of authority, and the right of an author to speak for others.⁴⁴ In this process I am perhaps generating a ‘familiar mode of authority’ and power relations,⁴⁵ as there is ‘no natural seeing and therefore there cannot be a direct and unmediated contact with reality’.⁴⁶ Thus, my encounters with reality in the Gallery are not only mediated, but I am active in constructing that reality.⁴⁷ In a similar vein, the use of ‘I’ within academic research can be viewed as problematic, a visible refutation of the traditional idea of the disinterested,

⁴¹ Elspeth Probyn, *Sexing the Self: Gendered Positions in Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 26.

⁴² James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1988; repr. 2002), p. 37.

⁴³ Stewart, p. 3.

⁴⁴ Probyn, p. 82.

⁴⁵ Clifford, p. 39.

⁴⁶ Raymond Williams, *Politics and Letters: Interviews with ‘New Left Review’* (London: Verso, 1979), p. 167.

⁴⁷ Probyn, p. 23.

disembodied and objective researcher. Nevertheless, in this instance, because of the subject of the research and my relationship to it, I feel it is an important methodological approach. As Elspeth Probyn describes, the insertion of the self within the text carries ‘weighty epistemological baggage’; but it can also be a ‘mode of holding together the epistemological and the ontological. [...] In putting the ontological moments of being to work within the elaboration of epistemological analysis’.⁴⁸

Fundamentally, the concerns of this thesis arose from the research process itself. It was only by being in the space of the Hepworth, working there, researching there, participating in and/or observing certain experiences and then trying to make sense of them, that the central issues of scale, space and place slowly began to crystallise. It was only during the critical task of analysing the empirical data gathered during the ‘field work’ stage of the research that, conceptually, things started falling into place - and this only occurred after a significant period of things very much not being ‘in place’! In recognising and reflecting on the struggle of trying to make sense of the messy complexity that is reality of the arts organisation, I realised that my own concerns with ‘how to know’ others knowing were in some ways reflected in the Gallery’s concerns in how to know, and how to know better, their audiences both existing and potential. For example, prior to the commissioning of the audience segmentation research by Muse, I encountered in many staff an increasing recognition of the disjuncture ‘between the articulated and lived aspects’ of the Gallery,⁴⁹ alongside the difficulty in movement between the abstract/theoretical and the visceral/embodied; particularly regarding their

⁴⁸ Probyn, p. 4.

⁴⁹ Probyn, p. 22.

experiences of, or with, an audiences(s) and having to translate or ‘scale up’ these experiences to articulate the Gallery’s ‘audience’ in a more general sense. Then, my own difficulty in translating these experiences into this space of the thesis brought the importance of scale and scaled process to the fore. In both organisational practice and research concrete experiences often become nested in a wider framework of an abstract system or structure, with specific cases and examples being extrapolated out to these wider frameworks.⁵⁰ As stated by Bruno Latour, research frequently employs an assiduous search and desire for context, which is perceived to be just out of reach, outside of or away from the particular experience or local site of research.⁵¹ Within the processes of knowledge production there is a sense of this either/or, here/there, inside/outside, local/global, bigger/smaller, good/bad, and so on. These apparent and obstinate dichotomies of the material, concrete and lived, versus the abstract, general, and transcendent, recur throughout the Gallery’s and, indeed, my own, various scalar practices, and the unpicking of such practices will form the thread that runs throughout this thesis.

Thesis Structure

When contemplating the structure of this thesis I knew there were a variety of potential ways to order and present my research. The most obvious, and perhaps the simplest approach, would have been to provide a chronological survey of The Hepworth Wakefield during my time researching there. This could have mapped the development of the Gallery as it began its momentous process of organisational

⁵⁰ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 167.

⁵¹ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 167.

change, dutifully following the processes in the order in which I encountered them. However, any attempt at a chronological overview is by its very nature destined to fall short and suffer from incompleteness, and such approaches often tend toward the merely *descriptive* rather than the *analytical* and, therefore, lack explanatory power. An alternative prospect could have been to split the thesis into two halves, using one part to discuss the organisational practices of Gallery and the other to consider more closely its audience. Yet, this would have perhaps reinforced the persisting binary between galleries and audiences that I was keen to unpick. Finally, in an attempt to better reflect the more iterative nature of the research, I felt by concentrating on particular moments, or sites where the relation between gallery and audience is revealed and can be explored in all its knotty complexity, would allow for attentiveness to the connections, negotiations, and what is at stake in the construction of social relations in each of these instances.

Chapter 1, 'Scale, Space and Place', begins with the rallying cry of David C. Harvey to interrogate 'the difference that scale makes' in heritage, and heritage studies.⁵² Taking the opportunity to then explore what one may mean by 'scale', and concomitantly the associated notions of 'space' and 'place', I provide an overview, which is by no means exhaustive, of the key theoretical and critical discourses surrounding these concepts. Significant influences here are the disciplines of geography and sociology, particularly the work of Doreen Massey and her key text, *For Space*.⁵³ This will be anchored in how and why key concepts of space, scale and place figure in the thinking and practice of The Hepworth Wakefield; most significantly in the construction of a binary conception of (inter)national artworld in

⁵² Harvey, 'Heritage and scale', Abstract.

⁵³ Massey, *For Space*.

contrast to local audiences. In response to such hierarchical thinking, the chapter concludes by proposing alternative trajectories for both the thinking and practice of museums and galleries, as well as those who study them. This includes drawing on ideas which embrace a more progressive sense of place;⁵⁴ the significance of considering topologies and heterogeneous materiality;⁵⁵ and, the productive possibilities of acknowledging and celebrating the multiple realities of the Gallery,⁵⁶ and finding ways of moving forward in these differences, rather than seeking resolution.⁵⁷

Taking up the methodological approach of situated action and tracing the particular practices and processes of the assemblage at a particular moment, Chapter 2, 'Museum Topologies', explores scale and spatiality in the practice and theory of The Hepworth Wakefield during its Spring 2016 programme. Through a case study of the exhibition *Des Hughes: Stretch Out and Wait*, I unpick the construction of scaled notions such as 'local', '(inter)national' and 'community', in particular, a 'local' *versus* '(inter)national' binary in the space of the exhibition; and explore how we may seek alternatives to such hierarchized thinking and practice. By testing and developing Kevin Hetherington's approach of analysing the topological character of the spaces of the museum, I treat the space of *Des Hughes* as one which is complex, contingent and folded around certain objects on display.⁵⁸ This allows for objects within the space to be treated as agents, which bring complexity and connection within the heterogeneous network of the museum. As such, this chapter explores

⁵⁴ See Massey, 'A Global Sense of Place' and 'Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place'.

⁵⁵ See Hetherington, 'Museum Topology'; Hetherington and Law, 'After Networks'; Law, 'Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network', 'After ANT', and, '*STS as Method*'.

⁵⁶ See Law and Mol, *Complexities*; Mol, 'Ontological politics', and, *The Body Multiple*.

⁵⁷ Law, '*STS as Method*', p. 17.

⁵⁸ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology'.

how certain objects within the *Des Hughes* exhibition create a fold in the Gallery's discourse, and engender connections to other time-spaces.⁵⁹ Following Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari the aim is not to flatten out these folds and homogenise them.⁶⁰ Instead, it is to think of a scrumpled geography,⁶¹ where the fold acts as an 'and', enabling the Gallery to be 'local', and '(inter)national, and 'community', and so on.⁶² Although making this conceptual leap from *is* to *and* by acknowledging that the Gallery can be many things, this chapter argues that is not necessarily all of these things equally, raising the importance of exploring the distribution of agency within an assemblage.⁶³

Chapter 3, 'Place/Binaries', explores the production of the 'place' of the Gallery by Wakefield City Council. I chart the development of the Gallery as part of the Council's regeneration plan for the city, and the scalar manoeuvres and political choices imbued in this process; including particular ambitions for the Hepworth which are conceptualised by the Council as operating locally, nationally and internationally. In exploring how certain aspects of the Council's construction of place then play out in the practice of the organisation, I take a detailed look at another exhibition from the Hepworth's Spring 2016 programme, the Martin Parr retrospective, *The Rhubarb Triangle & Other Stories*. Here we see how the local and (inter)national can be folded into the space of the Hepworth; and how local place and local people can be made tangible in its exhibitions. In this exploration of the

⁵⁹ Morris.

⁶⁰ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Brian Massumi (London: Athlone, 1988; repr. London: Continuum, 2004), in *DawsonEra* <<https://www.dawsonera.com/abstract/9780567258007>> [accessed 18 April 2017].

⁶¹ Marcus A. Doel, 'A hundred thousand lines of light: a machinic introduction to the nomad thought and scrumpled geography of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14 (1996), 421-439.

⁶² See Deleuze and Guattari, and Doel.

⁶³ See Mol, 'Ontological politics'; and Macdonald, *Memorylands*.

Council's production of place, the chapter will unpick the spatial aspects of governmentality,⁶⁴ and the various processes undertaken by government and local authorities to render space knowable. Within this process of rendering knowledge of the world transportable and actionable, the concepts of the abstract and the concrete are key, and, as such, will be explored in further detail, as the action or process of translating and creating inscriptions of the world.⁶⁵ The chapter will conclude with an examination of the example of Leeds 2023 bid to be European Capital of Culture, which suggests a practice embracing a more progressive sense of place foregrounding complexity and multiplicity, in the bid's claims to be '100% local and 100% international'.⁶⁶

Judging from their titles, it may appear that 'audience' is only explicitly addressed in the final chapter. As will hopefully become clear throughout the thesis, however, this is not the case. The 'audience' is a constant and active presence throughout the previous chapters' consideration of the place and social space of the Gallery. Considering the concept of 'audience' and how it is constructed, acted upon and engaged by the Gallery is not possible without first exploring those key concepts of scale, place and space. This final chapter, 'Audience(s)', takes the opportunity to interrogate the language used in the articulations of 'audience', and considers Ien Ang's assertion that there is in fact a 'misleading assumption that "audience" is a self-contained object of study ready-made for specialist empirical and theoretical

⁶⁴ See, for example, Margo Huxley, 'Geographies of Governmentality', in *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, ed. by Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 185-204.

⁶⁵ See Latour, *Science in Action*.

⁶⁶ Leeds 2023 Bid Team, mailing list email from the Cultural Institute, University of Leeds, received 20 April 2017.

analysis'.⁶⁷ Through a detailed exploration of the audience segmentation research project commissioned by the Hepworth and conducted by marketing consultants Muse, I will analyse the Gallery's desire to fix and make stable, and thus knowable, the complex and dynamic social reality of its 'audience', and will explore what is gained and what is lost in this process of simplification.⁶⁸

In considering such processes of identity formation I take the opportunity to highlight work being done in relation to shifting notions of what it means to be an (inter)national museum, and new ways of thinking 'national' or nation-state in itself. Drawing on work by Sharon Macdonald and Rhiannon Mason, I argue that in the practice of attempting to understand museums and their audiences we must consider new forms of identities and identity construction, including the postnational and transcultural.⁶⁹ Mason's 'cosmopolitan museology' is a particularly useful lens through which to explore how museums may represent the complexity of contemporary life, and the productive possibilities of holding conflicting ideas together in tension. Mason cites the following theorists approach to cosmopolitanism as key for her 'cosmopolitan museology': Gerard Delanty, Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, and David Held.⁷⁰ For this thesis, it is worth noting Mason's interpretation of Beck and Grande's concept of 'nationally rooted cosmopolitanism', which takes a

⁶⁷ Ien Ang, *Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 8.

⁶⁸ See Latour, *Science in Action*; Law and Mol, *Complexities*; and Massey, *For Space*.

⁶⁹ See Macdonald, 'Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities', and Mason, 'National Museums, Globalization, and Postnationalism'.

⁷⁰ See Gerard Delanty, *The Cosmopolitan Imagination: The Renewal of Critical Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, *Cosmopolitan Europe*, trans. by Ciaran Cronin (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007); and David Held, *Cosmopolitanism: Ideals and Realities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010). See Mason for an excellent overview of theirs, and others work on cosmopolitanism and how this is useful in relation to the museum.

both/and rather than either/or approach; where museums can be understood as both local, regional and international:

National museums are particularly appropriate for such contemplations precisely because they are situated at the juncture of global flows of ideas, objects, and peoples while simultaneously being enrolled in regional and national politics. They are also subject to local economic pressures and the material legacies associated with specific places in the form of particular collections and articulations of identity.⁷¹

This has direct resonance with our explorations of the Hepworth, and its enmeshed local, national and international ambitions and responsibilities (to be explored in Chapter 1). Considering the potential for ‘cosmopolitan museology’, Mason argues that it is possible for museums to take a ‘lateral and layered approach’ and make connections to different times and places, thus enabling a both/and approach to practice:

Following the logic of both/and rather than either/or, the interpretation could adopt a polyvocal approach and foreground the multiplicity and interconnectedness of histories and peoples. [Indeed,] new possibilities for realizing more pluralistic and self-reflexive, cosmopolitan approaches to interpretation are emerging all the time.⁷²

By emphasising a ‘plurality of views’,⁷³ and holding on to complexity, ‘cosmopolitan museology’ makes it possible ‘to set up a deliberate tension between the museum’s interpretation and the cultural objects to call ideas of nationalism into question’.⁷⁴ This possibility of holding together in tension without unifying/settling is a key concept in relation to the work of this thesis, and will be explored throughout. Indeed, key to this research is Mason’s argument that rather than utilising scaled categorisations of the museum – such as ‘national, supranational,

⁷¹ Mason, p. 46.

⁷² Mason, p. 52.

⁷³ Mason, p. 59.

⁷⁴ Mason, p. 60, see Manson for case studies which explore this tension in practice.

transnational, or universal’ – it is, in fact, ‘more fruitful’ to read museums as ‘clusters of cultural practices and constellations of material culture comprising many different intersecting ontological scales’.⁷⁵

To conclude, I will attempt to draw together the threads of preceding chapters, reflecting on the three areas of scale that interplay constantly throughout, informing and/or contradicting each other. Firstly, the notion of scale that is most closely related to geography: the idea of a ‘local’ and a ‘global’, or, the sense of ‘internationalness’ that can be engendered in modern and contemporary art galleries such as the Hepworth, and can appear to stand in contrast to a notion of (local) ‘community’;⁷⁶ secondly, the idea of scale as value, as seen in the particular importance of ‘quality’ or ‘excellence’ in art, and certain ‘types’ of art being more or less valued, such as ‘high art’ in contrast to ‘community’ art; and, finally, scale in knowledge, that is to say the movement between our abstract conceptualisations and concrete experience, between the epistemological and the ontological. The conclusion will also take the opportunity to reiterate that although the focus of this thesis is a particular institution at a particular time, the ambition is to provoke reflection of the effect of scale on other contexts, places and spaces. As Sharon Macdonald asserted in her influential text, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum*, ‘this particularity, this spatio-temporal location, is important, as I said at the outset. But just as a novel is not only about the particular fictional characters and plot that it narrates, an ethnography too speaks of broader themes and predicaments’.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Mason, p. 41.

⁷⁶ Alan Latham, ‘Rethorizing the Scale of Globalization: Topologies, Actor-networks, and Cosmopolitanism’, in *Geographies of Power: Placing Scale*, ed. by Andrew Herod and Melissa W. Wright (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 115-144 (p. 136).

⁷⁷ Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum*, p. 246.

Therefore, although anchored in a specific context, this scaled and spatial approach to thinking about the knowledge and practices of a particular organisation may be usefully applied to other research contexts and ‘understanding of broader cultural practices of meaning construction’, as well as offering a potential way forward for gallery and museum practitioners.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum*, p. 9.

Chapter 1: Scale, Space and Place

Whether it be pouring over maps, taking the train for a weekend back home, picking up on the latest intellectual currents, or maybe walking in the hills...we engage in our implicit conceptualisations of space in countless ways. They are a crucial element in our ordering of the world, positioning ourselves, and others human and nonhuman, in relation to ourselves.¹

While recent years have seen increasing interest in the geographies of heritage, very few scholars have interrogated the difference that scale makes.²

David C. Harvey recently called for scholars to pay greater attention to the work that scale *does* in heritage and heritage studies. Harvey asserts that, despite widespread acknowledgment of ‘a scalar dimension of heritage’, scale is persistently treated as an unproblematised ‘inevitability’, with accepted hierarchical and structural attributes through which we ‘organise and categorise’.³ His paper argues that this is persistently encountered through the upscaling or downscaling in our conceptualisations of heritage, or the movement between a ‘universal’ or a ‘global’, down to the ‘local’, a ‘community’, or even the ‘personal’; and, that negotiations between these types of categorisations are seen not only in government agendas, their policy documents and political rhetoric, but also in the language and practice of heritage professionals as well as the academics who study them. As Doreen Massey eloquently describes in the above epigraph, we all employ some form of scalar and spatial conceptualisations to make sense of our world and our position within it.

This unproblematised ubiquity of scalar practices in everyday life surely demands closer attention, and, although explicit investigations of scale in heritage

¹ Massey, *For Space*, p. 105.

² Harvey, ‘Heritage and scale’, Abstract.

³ Harvey, ‘Heritage and scale’, p. 579.

are not new,⁴ Harvey proposes that space, place and scale tend to be the backdrop or setting for the heritage investigation rather than brought to fore as active and complicit in the construction of heritage and our relation to it.⁵ Harvey's emphasis on the relationality of heritage and scale, along with a desire to investigate further the impact that scaling practices and process have on power relations resonates with my own concerns. By foregrounding Harvey's scalar plea here, I am not suggesting that this thesis was formed through a simple call and response. Rather, my developing interests in scale, space and place led me to his article and support for his approach; to echo Massey's sentiments, 'I have not worked from texts on space but through situations and engagements in which the question of space has in some way become entangled'.⁶

Only through my experiences in The Hepworth Wakefield and encounters with staff, stakeholders, reports, policy documents and so on, did this research become concerned with ways in which the concepts of space, place and scale, are enacted and evoked by various actors in and around the Gallery, including myself as a researcher attempting to understand these practices. Indeed, in the process of attempting to make sense of the space of 'The Hepworth Wakefield', and the development of its relationships with its audiences, it became apparent that the Gallery's ambitions and responsibilities are intimately bound up in scaled notions of 'local', 'national' and 'international'. Let us take a moment to expand on what is meant by ambitions and responsibilities, as in reality these concepts may not be so easy to differentiate. Moreover, they may often be one and the same. As a way to

⁴ See, for example, Brian Graham, G. J. Ashworth, and J. E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy* (London: Arnold, 2000).

⁵ Harvey, 'Heritage and scale'.

⁶ Massey, *For Space*, p. 13.

explore this issue, let us look again at the ‘two split missions’ comment highlighted in the introduction to this thesis:

Two split missions that sometimes collide: 1. To engage the *local community* and provide a thriving cultural and lively venue and exhibition centre. 2. To expose the area with contemporary art exhibitions from artists currently fashionable in upper elite art circles existent in the *art world*.⁷ [My emphasis]

Both sections of this statement, points 1 and 2, could be read as both an ambition (in the sense of a desire/motivation to do/achieve something) and a responsibility (in the sense of a duty, obligation or accountability). So these scaled conceptualisations of local and (inter)national can be both something that is desired and/or something that the Gallery is accountable for; and understood to exist simultaneously, but also to be acting in tension, to be perceived to ‘collide’.

Such imaginaries of ‘local’ ‘community’, and ‘art world’, demand exploration as to how and why they are being constructed, and why they are so often perceived to be acting in tension. As such, the research questions which emerged from my experiences in the Hepworth included: what does it mean for certain museums and galleries to make explicit claims to be ‘national’ and ‘international’, or committed to ‘local’ audiences and concerns? What are the particular claims of the Hepworth in this sense? How are connections and relations formed by the institution? How are they maintained? How do the notions of space, place and scale relate to the development of the Gallery itself, in the reforming of the pre-existing Wakefield Art Gallery and the regeneration of the city of Wakefield in the wider sense? Within the particular political context of Wakefield, ‘how is the space [of the Gallery] conceptualised, rationalised, and given an identity’, and how might this

⁷ Survey response by a member of the Visitor Services Team, The Hepworth Wakefield. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

affect the conceptualisation, rationalisation, and identification of its audience(s)?⁸

What are the specific claims made by and for the Hepworth, in terms of its possible relations with the public or any form of ‘local’ community?

In addressing these questions the following analysis will present a ‘critical enquiry into the relation between the political and the spatial aesthetics’ of the art gallery and its audiences,⁹ and within this process remain attentive to the ‘scalar narratives, classifications and cognitive schemas [which] constrain or enable certain ways of seeing, thinking and acting’.¹⁰ Yet, in order to achieve this, it is first necessary to address the following points set out by Harvey:

First, that we should explore a little further how space and scale are social and practised rather than essential and pre-given entities. Secondly, we need to examine how recent apprehensions of heritage as a practised, social and processual entity can engage with these more developed spatialities. In other words, rather than space and scale providing a setting or organisational device, we need to think through and theorise the implications for how heritage and scale work together, and consider the opportunities and threats that such an engagement may prompt.¹¹

This first chapter will begin by interrogating the concepts of ‘scale’, ‘space’ and ‘place’ and how they are significant in relation to the Hepworth and its audiences, before reflecting on alternative trajectories possible for understanding scale, space, and place, both for the thinking and practice of the gallery, as well as those who study it.

⁸ Vickery, ‘Anti-space’, p. 90.

⁹ Vickery, ‘Anti-space’, p. 91.

¹⁰ Adam Moore, ‘Rethinking scale as a geographical category: from analysis to practice’, *Progress in Human Geography*, 32:2 (2008), 203-225 (p. 214).

¹¹ Harvey, ‘Heritage and scale’, p. 585.

Unpicking the Concepts of ‘Scale’, ‘Space’ and ‘Place’

Scale has been intensely theorised within the disciplines of geography and the social sciences, leading to radical ruptures in the understanding of this concept as well as other approaches to comprehending the social.¹² Most critically, this has seen a questioning of orthodoxies and practices that were taken as natural and unproblematic – such as the concepts of ‘local’ and ‘global’, and different activities and social process taking place at these geographical ‘scales’. Etymologically, there are an array of definitions for the term ‘scale’ across a range of disciplines, hence the ease in which it is open to misunderstanding. For clarity and brevities sake, the following are the two key definitions from the development of ‘scale’ in geography: firstly, to denote the relative size or extent of something, that is to say, its scope, magnitude, or reach; and secondly, as a system for measuring or grading, representing an order of value from highest to lowest, for example a social scale.¹³ These subtle differences can have significant impact on the way scale is conceptualised, but it is easy to see how certain notions of geographic scales come to be taken as given. ‘Space’ and ‘place’ too are deceptively simple terms, often used interchangeably yet maintaining specific and multiple definitions, which are also subject to change across disciplines. Importantly, these subtle changes and slippages in meanings are often ‘unthought’, part of what Doreen Massey terms the ‘taming of the spatial’,¹⁴ that is to say, ‘taming the challenge that the inherent spatiality of the world represents’.¹⁵

¹² Herod and Wright, p. 4.

¹³ Sallie A. Marston, John Paul Jones III and Keith Woodward, ‘Human Geography without Scale’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30:4 (2005), 416-432 (p. 420).

¹⁴ Massey, *For Space*, p. 63.

¹⁵ Massey, *For Space*, p. 7.

There are various ways that space and place are conceptualised and employed, often innocently and unthinkingly, sometimes purposefully and strategically, but always with particular effect, whether we are conscious of it or not. In most cases space, if considered explicitly at all, is likely to be thought of as an empty container or a stage on which activities, events, and processes play out; space as a flat surface upon ‘which we are placed’ and that we can delimit: the space where we are – local space, and other space – beyond or ‘out there’.¹⁶ Traditional conceptualisations of ‘place’ often require boundaries to be drawn up; whether these are geographical, administrative, bureaucratic, political, some sort of boundary is usually needed to enable a definition and conceptualisation of ‘place’.¹⁷ In this sense, place is treated as bounded, separated, structured, and, most significantly, naturalised; allowing for a ‘politically conservative haven’ where place is essentialised, as we can see in the naturalised notion of the nation-state.¹⁸ In this sense, both space and place are often treated as a given, as natural, *a priori*, unproblematic, inactive, neutral.

As such, in everyday life concepts such as ‘local’ and ‘global’ are frequently invoked as ways to make sense of the world and our position within it. As Andrew Herod and Melissa Wright argue, geographical scales such as these are ‘central to how social life is structured and plays out’, and, moreover, ‘how we think about scale fundamentally shapes how we understand social life and its attendant spatiality’.¹⁹ Scale acquires this significant conceptual power through the creation of

¹⁶ Massey, *For Space*, p. 7.

¹⁷ Doreen Massey, ‘A Global Sense of Place’, p. 28.

¹⁸ Massey, *For Space*, p. 6.

¹⁹ Herod and Wright, p. 4.

a codified system in which the world is structured horizontally and vertically.²⁰ In this system localities are generally identified by the drawing up of ‘spatial boundaries at some level of abstraction’, which can then be differentiated with other localities (horizontally), or, with territories of different sizes such as regions or nations (vertically). Horizontal structuring conjures the notions of ‘here’/‘inside’, as opposed to ‘there’/‘outside’/‘other’, with activities of similar scales happening in different places; whereas a vertical ordering sees activities operating at different scales yet ‘covering the same places’, evoking the notion of activities and social processes taking place ‘locally’ or ‘globally’.²¹ This often results in competing spatial imaginaries, where actions/relations/processes that are seen to work locally may not be thought possible globally, and vice versa. We have already noted such competing spatial imaginaries for the Hepworth, for example the ‘split’ between ‘local community’ and ‘art world’ above, and in the following scaled description of the Gallery as ‘not local, [but] global’ (Figure 1).

²⁰ Chris Collinge, ‘Flat ontology and the deconstruction of scale: a response to Marston, Jones and Woodward’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31:2 (2006) 244-251 (p. 244).

²¹ Collinge, p. 244.

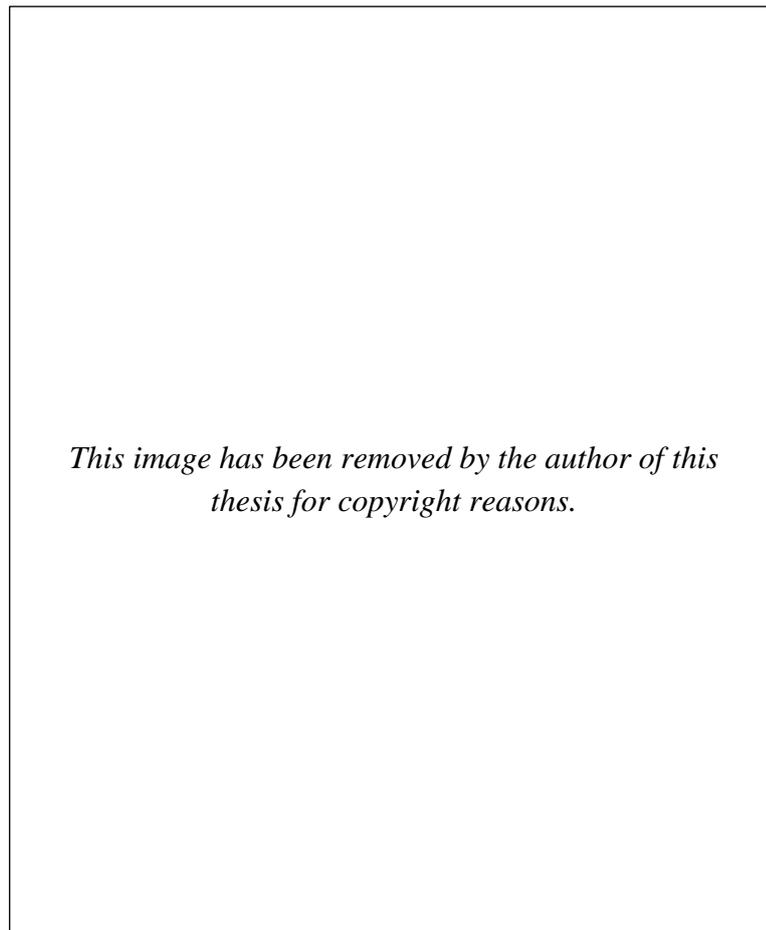


Figure 1: Screenshot of a tweet by The Hepworth Wakefield, promoting their nomination for Museum of the Year Award 2017, Twitter, 10 May 2017.

However, as Bruno Latour points out, these ideas of ‘the local’ and ‘the global’ are in fact ‘hard to locate on a map’.²² Latour suggests that these concepts are in fact ‘mythical sites’ or ‘enchanted utopias’ lacking in actual residence, reaffirming the need to *rethink* how we consider scale, and critically consider the terms and methods that we use to make sense of our world, and of those whom we study.²³ This type of critical thinking has its roots in the rupture in social sciences and sociology in the 1960s and ’70s, most significantly in the methods of poststructuralism and deconstruction. These divisions saw new approaches to social

²² Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 205.

²³ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 205.

theory and a rethinking of the structural properties of social practice, as well as a linguistic turn which placed new emphasis on the importance of language in the constitution of everyday practices and the interpretation of meaning.²⁴ The developing recognition that social relations, spaces and scales are constructed,²⁵ rather than given, contributed to the pervading objectivist versus subjectivist, constructivist versus realist dualisms,²⁶ where theories of the static, bounded, and hierarchical are replaced with those of the fluid, multiple, and networked.²⁷ Nonetheless, there persists a divergent set of approaches to understanding scale, including diverse and often contradictory ideas regarding its definition and essential properties, generally falling along either ontological or epistemological lines.²⁸ Within the discipline of geography, and also the social sciences, these theories have been explored and reviewed in depth; yet it is worth pausing here to highlight a few of the significant positions, before proceeding to make sense of the role scale and spatial practices may play in the particular knowledge practices of the art gallery.²⁹

The traditional approach centres on the idea of scale as an ontological given. In this sense, theorists treat scale as if it exists as ‘a thing’, as something to be seen or experienced, or, as different levels, platforms, or hierarchies of tangible places in which social activity can take place. As an ontological given, scale is taken as a

²⁴ Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984), p. xvi.

²⁵ Katherine T. Jones, ‘Scale as epistemology’, *Political Geography*, 17:1 (1998), 25-28 (p. 26).

²⁶ Giddens, p. xx.

²⁷ Moore, p. 208. In particular, and most important for this study, following developments in Science and Technology Studies (STS) actor network theory (ANT) and assemblage perspectives – to be explored in further detail later in this chapter.

²⁸ Moore, p. 204.

²⁹ See, for example, Herod and Wright; Marston *et al.*; Eric Sheppard and Robert B. McMaster, eds., *Scale and geographic Inquiry: Nature, Society and Method* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Richard Howitt, ‘Scale’, in *A Companion to Political Geography*, ed. by John Agnew, Katharyne Mitchell, and Gerard Toal (Malden, Mass.; Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 138-157; and, Sallie. A. Marston, ‘The social construction of scale’, *Progress in Human Geography*, 24:2 (2000), 219-242.

natural entity, either materially (in the landscape) or ‘mentally’ (how we make sense of things). That is to say, scale is seen as a natural way of organising social praxis, or, as something which is produced *through* social practice ontologically.³⁰ From this perspective, as Adam Moore describes, scales ‘are not independent geographical heuristics, but correspond to real material process, events and spatial forms’.³¹

In contrast to these ontological positions, it has been proposed that scale does not, in fact, ‘exist’ in any ontological sense.³² Rather, it is argued that scale is a purely epistemological construct used as a way to know or make sense of the world, which ‘presents specific sociospatial orderings’.³³ Scale thus, according to Katherine T. Jones, is ‘situated relationally’ and given meaning through the practice of the community of people who produce and read it.³⁴ This practice of construction and meaning making ‘is continually contested’, and therefore is, according to Jones, ‘both historically specific and subject to change, not simply in terms of concepts such as “globalization” and the technologies and materials practices that produce it, but rather in terms of the very concept of scale itself’.³⁵ Therefore, if scale is to be treated as a socially produced epistemological construct, ‘there is no necessary correspondence between purported scale representations and material conditions’.³⁶

³⁰ Herod and Wright, p. 5.

³¹ Moore, p. 204.

³² See, for example, Moore.

³³ Moore, pp. 204-205. More recently, within human geography, the position on scale has been pushed even further by Marston, Jones and Woodward, and their call for its complete rejection in analysis (and practice). That is to say, they propose that scale should not be recognised either ontologically *or* epistemologically (Marston *et al.*), but there are debates as to whether this is possible or even desirable. See, for example, Helga Leitner and Byron Miller, ‘Scale and the limitations of ontological debate: a commentary on Marston, Jones and Woodward’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 32:1 (2007), 116-125 (p. 121); and Collinge.

³⁴ Jones, p. 27.

³⁵ Jones, p. 27.

³⁶ Moore, pp. 204-205.

Yet through the process of continual contestation and deployment of scale, these ‘scalar representations can in turn have material effects’.³⁷

Space as a product (or rather processes) of social relations is fundamental to the work of Doreen Massey, and forms the first pillar of her three point definition of space as follows: ‘*first*, that we recognise space as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny’; ‘*second*, that we understand space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity’; and, ‘*[t]hird*, that we recognise space as always under construction. Precisely because space on this reading is a product of relations-between, relations which are necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out, it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed’.³⁸ If we are to think of space in this sense, as a social product formed of and through social relations, then we must conclude that space can serve needs and be made use of; that space is imbued with and part of the process of power relations, their production and dissemination.

Thinking more carefully about the position of space and place within power relations, ‘space’ is often associated in a more abstract sense with the global, and ‘place’ more concretely with the local, particularly when it comes to power and agency and the strong relationship that is perceived between place and social identity.³⁹ What emerges in this process is the setting up of an opposition between

³⁷ Moore, pp. 204-205.

³⁸ Massey, *For Space*, p. 9.

³⁹ Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*.

space and place, and concomitantly between global and local (as associated but distinct pairings). Massey describes this as a ‘political imaginary’ which equates local with ‘realness’ and the ‘meaningful’, counterposed ‘to a presumed abstraction of global space’, which has ‘a powerful counterpart in reams of academic literature’.⁴⁰ One could link this distinction between the realness of local space and the abstraction of global space to Henri Lefebvre’s distinction of space as it exists in the mind (epistemology), and that of space in material reality. This distinction of mental and material space has long been a concern of philosophers, and the most significant development in this mind/material relationship is seen in Karl Marx’s overturning of Georg Hegel’s dialectic, simply put, from the mind creating the real world, to the real world reflected in the mind:

My dialectical method is, in its foundations, not only different from the Hegelian, but exactly opposite to it. For Hegel, the process of thinking, which he even transforms into an independent subject, under the name of ‘the Idea’, is the creator of the real world, and the real world is only the external appearance of the idea. With me the reverse is true: the ideal is nothing but the material world reflected in the mind of man, and translated into forms of thought.⁴¹

It is important to briefly note that the concepts that Marx’s dialectical materialism raises, particularly the development of concrete and/or abstract universals and the (difficult) movement between our abstract conceptions and the ‘real’, material world.⁴² Massey proposes that this is part of the ‘problematical geographical imagination’, and the binaries of ‘local/global and place/space’ do not, in fact, ‘map onto that of concrete/abstract’.⁴³ In the same sense of Latour’s mythical utopias of

⁴⁰ Massey, *For Space*, p. 183.

⁴¹ Karl Marx quoted in Alex Callinicos, *The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx* (London: Bookmarks, 1983), p. 66.

⁴² This will be explored further in Chapter 3.

⁴³ Massey, *For Space*, p. 184.

local and global, Massey offers that ‘[t]he global is just as concrete as is the local place’, not beyond the ‘concrete’ local to be found in some enchanted ‘other’ space.⁴⁴ If we are to hold on to the definition of space as the product of social relations, that is to say, to think of space relationally, then the global ‘is no more than the sum of our relations and interconnections, and the lack of them [...] it is too utterly “concrete”’.⁴⁵ This difficulty in navigation between abstract and concrete is key, and, as became clear during the research, fundamental to understanding knowledge production in the gallery and as such will be touched upon throughout this thesis.

Thinking back to the traditional, bounded conceptualisations of ‘place’, these boundaries often do not have much ‘purchase’ in reality, or in our experience of the reality these bounded definitions are trying to represent.⁴⁶ Given the socially constructed and process based nature of the various approaches to bounding and defining ‘place’, it follows that a ‘place’ too is not something that is static and historically stable and reproducible. Rather, as Massey suggests, a ‘place’ is a moment in a network of social relations that meet and weave together at a ‘particular locus’.⁴⁷ Intimately related to the concept of ‘place’ are the terms such as locale, location, and localization. Each of these terms suggest geographical specificity, yet these too undergo on-going and evolving processes of spatial production through building up, tearing down, cultivating, and so on. Locales are more than just places – they are ‘*settings of interaction*’.⁴⁸ Locales are the expressions of localizations, that

⁴⁴ Massey, *For Space*, p. 184.

⁴⁵ Massey, *For Space*, p. 184.

⁴⁶ Massey, ‘A Global Sense of Place’, p. 28.

⁴⁷ Massey, ‘A Global Sense of Place’, p. 28.

⁴⁸ Giddens, p. xxv.

is to say, particular localized relations and practices, and the folding and unfolding of the various social sites that compose locales.⁴⁹ It is important to remember that the spaces of particular localities are not neutral, they have a part to play in social processes – but these same social processes can transcend, or link together, different locales. Latour describes this connection between places, or rather ‘the transported presence of places into other ones’ as ‘*articulators or localizers*’.⁵⁰ This mixture of social relations within and across locales is crucial when thinking about ‘place’, as ‘we can talk about the existence of a given site only insofar as we can follow interactive practices through their localized connections’.⁵¹

Closely related to this idea of connections reaching across various locales and ‘places’ is the notion of translocality.⁵² Translocality is not about a geographical location, rather it is perceived as a network of similarly thinking people with shared interests whose reach could know no bounds. Thinking translocally is to consider the connections, processes and relations that transcend locality. Yet, the translocal moves beyond the notions of interconnections or international, it is about relations that occur within networks of interest, whether that is political, cultural, or identity based, through various forms of exchange, such as knowledge, information, ideas, services, and so on.⁵³ Highlighting the process based and nature of ‘place’, and the concomitant notion of the translocal, is not to say that ‘place’ cannot retain particular qualities or specificity. As Massey describes, ‘[t]here is the specificity of place

⁴⁹ Marston *et al.*, p. 426.

⁵⁰ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 194.

⁵¹ Marston *et al.*, p. 425.

⁵² See Clemens Greiner and Patrick Sakdapolrak, ‘Translocality: Concepts, Applications and Emerging Research Perspectives’, *Geography Compass*, 7:5 (2013), 373-384; and, Simon Alexander Peth, ‘What is translocality? A refined understanding of place and space in a globalized world’, Blog Post, 9 November 2014, *Transre* website <<http://www.transre.org/en/blog/what-translocality/>> [accessed 4 May 2016].

⁵³ Peth.

which drives from the fact that each place is the focus of a distinct *mixture* of wider and more local social relations. [...] specificity from the accumulated history of a place, with that history itself imagined as the product of layer upon layer of different sets of linkages, both local and to the wider world'.⁵⁴ The 'uniqueness of place' is still important, as 'the specificity of place is continually reproduced, but it is not a specificity which results from some long, internalised history'.⁵⁵ Therefore, the proposition is not to negate place *in toto* and the sense of specialness of place that is often experienced, rather the ambition is to forefront that place is negotiated, it is an 'event'.⁵⁶

This negotiation can be experienced in our own ways of situating ourselves, and making sense of where we are in the world. Massey describes this as a subjective process of weaving together stories 'that make this "here and now" for me. (Others will weave together different stories)'.⁵⁷ Throughout this process there is a constant negotiation of boundaries that we draw up as 'selective filtering systems', yet these systems' references, meanings and effects are continually 'transgressed' and 'renegotiated'.⁵⁸ Thus, according to Massey, places should be thought of 'not as points or areas on maps, but as integrations of space and time; as *spatio-temporal* events'.⁵⁹ This is a constant theme throughout Massey's writings: places as moments, constellations, woven stories.⁶⁰ Herein lies the problematic of the 'here

⁵⁴ Massey, 'A Global Sense of Place', p. 29.

⁵⁵ Massey, 'A Global Sense of Place', p. 29.

⁵⁶ Massey, *For Space*, p. 139.

⁵⁷ Massey, *For Space*, p. 130.

⁵⁸ Massey, *For Space*, p. 130.

⁵⁹ Massey, *For Space*, p. 130.

⁶⁰ The focus here is on human relations. For many people identity and place, or identity *of* place, is very much rooted in physical geography – hills, mountains, seas, deserts – people tend to be drawn to the 'fixed' nature of nature, the reassuring stability of the natural world. As Massey argues, however, this comforting sense of fixity is actually a false one. Nature too is subject to change.

and now'. Any attempt to mine beneath its surface will reveal layers of encounters, negotiations and complexities.⁶¹ Therefore, we must hold on to Massey's claim that, 'There can be no assumption of pre-given coherence, or of community or collective identity. Rather the thrown-togetherness of place demands negotiation'.⁶²

A final thought regarding the concept of space is the necessity to explore the role/position of power within spatial configurations; as Massey suggests, 'the spatial is political'.⁶³ Important for this thesis is her notion of geometries of power, and the need to explore the specificities of these geometries in each specific conjuncture.

Massey draws on feminist criticism to highlight that thinking in terms of spaces as social relations continually under construction, and thus engendering a sense of openness of space as opposed to closed and fixed systems, does not mean that elitism

⁶¹ Significantly for this overview, in 'Text/Contexts: Of Other Spaces' Foucault discusses space in way that resonates with sentiments explored above, arguing that 'we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be coloured with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another'. Michel Foucault, 'Text/Contexts: Of Other Spaces', trans. by Jay Miskowicz, in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, ed. by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 371-9 (p. 373).

⁶² Massey, *For Space*, p. 141.

⁶³ Massey, *For Space*, p. 9. A significant influence here is Foucault's discussion of space and power: 'a whole history of spaces – which would be at the same time a history of powers – remains to be written, from the grand strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat, institutional architecture from the classroom to the design of hospitals, passing via economic and political institutions ... anchorage in space is an economic-political form which needs to be studied in detail'. Foucault, quoted in Stuart Elden, 'Strategy, Medicine and Habitat: Foucault in 1976', in *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, ed. by Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 67-81 (p. 73). Although emphasis is placed on increased attentiveness to the spatial contexts of history, time is perhaps still foregrounded in this argument. Massey writes at length regarding the complex relationship between space and time, and the frequent precedence for temporality over spatiality: 'Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic' (Michel Foucault, 'Questions on Geography', in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1927-1977*, ed. by Colin Gordon, trans by Colin Gordon *et al.* (Harlow: Harvester, 1980), pp. 63-77 (p. 70)). Often, we see space equated with representation; space to contain time, or space flattened out or sliced, providing stability upon which to display moments, as Massey states: 'It connects with ideas of structure and system, of distance and the all-seeing eye, of totality and completeness, of the relations between synchrony and space' (Massey, *For Space*, p. 36). Massey provides a wonderful account of this changing relationship between space and time in tandem with developments in the pervading theoretical thought: 'This is a change in the angle of vision away from a modernist version (one temporality, no space) but not towards a postmodern one (all space, no time) [...]; rather towards the entanglements of multiple trajectories, multiple histories' (Massey, *For Space*, p. 148).

and individualism can be escaped. Instead, she asserts that ‘the real socio-political question concerns less, perhaps the *degree* of openness/closure (and the consequent question of how on earth one might even begin to measure it), than the *terms* on which that openness/closure is established’.⁶⁴ We must, therefore, attend to the specifics, and following Massey’s suggestion ask: ‘Against what are the boundaries erected? What are the relations within which the attempt to deny (and admit) entry is carried out? What are the power-geometries here; and do they demand a political response?’⁶⁵

It is crucial to critically reflect on the concepts of scale, space and place in every instance they are invoked, as each of the approaches described above has a particular effect on the way we may understand and theorise the world. Bearing Massey’s power geometries in mind, we may look to the scaled conceptualisations of local, community, (inter)national and art world, and concomitant notions of ambitions and responsibility, that can be seen in Arts Council England’s (ACE) policy regarding their perception for roles of art and culture. In the ACE’s 10-Year Strategic Framework, Alan Davey stated that ‘I wanted us to have a clear set of ambitions for the arts’ and that it was ‘time to put all our cultural responsibilities under one cover’.⁶⁶ As a National Portfolio Organisation, the Hepworth receives significant funding from the ACE, so has particular responsibilities to ensure it delivers the ACE’s strategic goals. ACE state that their goals can be ‘distilled’ into two factors; firstly, that they ‘want excellent arts and culture to thrive’, and secondly,

⁶⁴ Massey, *For Space*, p. 179.

⁶⁵ Massey, *For Space*, p. 179.

⁶⁶ Alan Davey, quoted in Arts Council England, *Great Art and Culture for Everyone: 10-Year Strategic Framework 2010-2020*, 2nd edn, (London: Arts Council England, 2013), p. 6.

that they ‘want as many people as possible to engage with it’.⁶⁷ This is a concern for excellence and access, for the ‘creation of work of artistic and cultural excellence’,⁶⁸ as well as ‘increasing the number of people who experience and contribute to the arts’.⁶⁹ Significantly, within their framework the categorisations of ‘local’ and ‘community’ are frequently emphasised, particularly to reaffirm the role of cultural institutions in relation to their local communities:

Arts and cultural organisations that understand the role they play in their local communities, and work with others to build a sense of place, are crucial to the resilience of the overall sector. Such organisations can become highly valued by helping communities express their aspirations and develop their identities, by helping resolve conflicts, and by building the social capital of communal relationships. They can become part of the essential fabric of their communities – and demonstrate the public value of arts and culture.⁷⁰

ACE go on to state that active leadership regarding community and the institution ‘make[s] the strongest contribution to our goals’, and these leaders should ‘understand their role in the communities in which they operate’. More importantly, these leaders should aim to move beyond mere understanding to embracing and actively championing these communities.⁷¹

The Gallery was certainly conceived as engendering certain transformations in the city, as it was developed as part of the Council’s regeneration plan for the city of Wakefield. Specific scaled claims were made by Wakefield Council, the Gallery’s other key funder, for the Hepworth to ‘improve the perception, attraction and desirability of Wakefield locally and nationally as a place to live in, work or visit,

⁶⁷ Arts Council England, *Great Art and Culture for Everyone*, p. 39.

⁶⁸ Arts Council England, *Great Art and Culture for Everyone*, p. 25.

⁶⁹ Arts Council England, *Great Art and Culture for Everyone*, p. 28.

⁷⁰ Arts Council England, *Great Art and Culture for Everyone*, p. 32.

⁷¹ Arts Council England, *Great Art and Culture for Everyone*, p. 32.

and through this process raise aspirations among the city's young people'.⁷² Because of the huge sums invested by the Council in the Hepworth, there was a sense of a 'responsibility to keep providing our amazing offer' to local people, specifically because of the 'investment in putting us here'.⁷³ A member of Wakefield Council expressed their understanding of the role of the Gallery, which, again, was anchored in scaled conceptualisation of place, where the Gallery was seen to operate on two levels, locally and nationally:

I think the gallery plays two roles really. One that it is an iconic building and institution nationally, so it puts Wakefield on a map in the arts world, but I think also it serves for local people as well. As a venue for local people to go spend time there and celebrate good things that happen in the city.⁷⁴

Yet, these roles were often taken as a binary acting in tension; either as roles that 'collide', as above, or as something that needed to be held in equilibrium: 'It tries to balance its role as a national and international venue with being a place for local people to come to and feel comfortable in doing so'.⁷⁵

These different realities of the role of the organisation and the different scales on which these roles operate do not *necessarily* act in opposition, but it is important to note that they were *perceived* as doing so. It is also important to note that the categories of 'local' and '(inter)national' were taken as natural, pre-given entities in themselves. Yet, following our exploration of more relational ways of attending to space, we should neither dismiss these categorisations and conceptualisations as false, nor should we unquestionably adopt them into our own analysis of the practice

⁷² The Hepworth Wakefield, 'Frequently Asked Questions / Comments', The Hepworth Wakefield staff information pack, 2011.

⁷³ Member of the Operations Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 19 November 2014.

⁷⁴ Sarah Pearson, Service Director Economic Growth and Housing at Wakefield District Council, unpublished interview with Author, Wakefield One, 15 October 2015.

⁷⁵ Survey response by a Creative Practitioner, The Hepworth Wakefield. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

of the Gallery. The practice of scale politics and its intimate relationship to power means that the ways in which scale is socially and historically situated is something ‘we should continue to ask’.⁷⁶ As Jones argues, ‘It is scale’s taken-for-granted quality that provides its power, for the rules of social order and practices of representation go hand in hand, and scale is an element in both’.⁷⁷ Thus, following Massey’s proposal, in each instance we must explore the particular configurations, the particular boundaries being drawn up (and what they are drawn up against), and the particular power geometries at play. That is to say, to explore what is at stake in the perception of a binary of ‘local’ and ‘(inter)national’, where attention to one is considered to be at the detriment to the other:

one of the key worries is developing a programme for an audience and how we do that whilst also juggling some of the key strategic ambitions of the organisation. Which is not necessarily an easy thing to do, but it’s also not necessarily an impossible thing to do. So we don’t necessarily have to sacrifice the international ambitions of the organisation so that we make everything very relevant and very accessible.⁷⁸

The notion of ‘sacrifice’ here pointing to a zero sum game: international ambitions (excellence) in balance with accessibility (increased reach).

These sentiments, and similar concerns regarding the apparent dichotomies of collections/communities, excellence/access, Art/outreach, are nothing new, and have long been a concern of museum studies.⁷⁹ Vera L. Zolberg described a similar tension in the Brooklyn Museum in the early 1990s: ‘the museum has tried to

⁷⁶ Jones, p. 28.

⁷⁷ Jones, p. 28.

⁷⁸ Member of Collections and Exhibitions Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 19 November 2014.

⁷⁹ See, Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington; London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Sheila Watson, *Museums and Their Communities* (London: Routledge, 2007); Elizabeth Crooke, *Museums and Community: Ideas, Issues and Challenges* (London: Routledge, 2007); and Viv Golding and Wayne Modest, eds., *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

reconcile two frequently incompatible aims: on the one hand, as befits a venerable institution, to maintain standards of quality and stay in touch with national and international trends; on the other, to play an active role in the life of the community'.⁸⁰ The similarity of this statement to the 'two split roles' described above is striking, and a binary opposition between collections and communities seems set in the minds of many. Often this sees the exhibitions becoming, or being constructed as, the space for the (inter)national, or rather the embodiment of the international art discourse; and the programmes (learning, public) produced as the space for 'the local', that is to say the engagement with local communities or community issues. This leads to a disconnect or dichotomy between the spaces of the local, which are habitually semiotically encoded as other or transitory, in comparison to the permanent displays and interpretation which tend to speak to the (inter)national. This tension emerged in discussions around the designated 'outreach' work at the Hepworth, where a learning practitioner explained that work and projects carried out with the Gallery's local audience(s) were not celebrated publicly and, in particular, there was concern raised for the limited visibility of work that was carried out within the local community, as well as the limited 'space for community exhibits'.⁸¹ There persists an endemic belief that these concepts of excellence/community are essential and at odds, where committing to one will be at the detriment to the other, resulting for some in a perception of an existential challenge to be overcome: 'But it feels like we are trying to attract this art world

⁸⁰ Vera L. Zolberg, 'Art Museums and Living Artists: Contentious Communities', in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, ed. by Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine (Washington; London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), pp. 105-136 (p. 120).

⁸¹ Survey response by a Creative Practitioner, The Hepworth Wakefield. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

audience and be on the map, but then to survive we also need all these local people to be using us. How do you do that?’⁸²

So, now we get to the crux of this brief overview of my encounters in the Hepworth. A visceral sense of conflict between scaled concepts such as ‘art world audience’ and ‘local people’, alongside (for some) a desire for reconciliation, for these tensions to be overcome. And, of course, this may all sound very familiar; these types of sentiments within cultural (or, indeed, any) organisations are nothing new. Sharon Macdonald’s *Behind the Scenes of the Science Museum* provides a fascinating and detailed exploration of similar desires and concerns within another cultural organisation:

Making an exhibition, like making any other cultural product, is likely to involve a degree of explicit framing. What seems characteristic of the hot situation which I observed, however, was the incessant attempt to formalise framing, to make it explicit, clear and rule governed. This was in many ways an unsurprising and even logical response to the sense of dangerous overflow, proliferation and multiple possible connections. Image management, mission statements, aims and objectives, corporate plans, and rigorous conceptual frameworks were all part of the struggle to define, to frame, in an increasingly warm climate. [...] One problem, however, was that the more rigorous or rigid the frame was made, the more seemed to slip outside it – or more that was important could not be accommodated.⁸³

Like Macdonald, in my exploration of the Hepworth I too hope to recognise these difficulties and dwell in the moments of contradiction and confusion. I have the luxury of time, and inclination, to explore and revel in the nuances of these complex moments, without the institution’s urgency and aspiration to overcome them and to seek resolutions. But, for this particular study, the crucial significance is the construction of these binaries of ‘local’ and ‘international’ as well as their effects.

⁸² Member of the Learning Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 23 October 2014.

⁸³ Sharon Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum*, p. 251.

We have seen that such concepts of ‘local’ and ‘international’, or ‘local’ and ‘global’ are not separate, and are not performed separately – ‘globalization is always experienced locally’.⁸⁴ Beyond attending to, or ‘looking at polarities and dichotomies’, the ambition here is to explore how these dichotomies are ‘produced through the museum space’, and to explore intersection of ‘the local and global’ in practice.⁸⁵

This challenge of attending to complexity and finding ways of representing it is the task of both scholarship and museum practice. Regarding the persistent binary thinking encountered in the museum, as Viv Golding questioned in 2013, ‘is such an oppositional perspective unavoidable? Might museums be led by a strong ethos of collaboration while at the same time maintaining strong curatorial integrity? Can museums be *both* about something *and* for someone?’⁸⁶ Is it possible to move beyond this limiting conception, and as Golding and Wayne Modest suggest, ‘towards more liberating *both/and* concepts’?⁸⁷ From our unpicking of the concepts of space, scale, and place above we know that these are much more complex notions than traditional binary and hierarchical thinking allows. There are more productive ways to consider the practice and people who constitute and visit the art gallery, that allow us to move beyond the concepts that the Hepworth’s staff (and myself) were encountering, beyond ‘local’ versus ‘global’, ‘abstract’ versus ‘concrete’, and so on.

⁸⁴ Mason, p. 43.

⁸⁵ Rhiannon Mason quoted in Conal McCarthy *et al.*, ‘Museums in a Global World: A Conversation on Museums, Heritage, Nation, and Diversity in a Transnational Age’, *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research*, 1:1 (2013), 179-194 (p. 190).

⁸⁶ Viv Golding, ‘Collaborative Museums: Curators, Communities, Collections’, in *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration*, ed. by Viv Golding and Wayne Modest (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 13-31 (p. 25).

⁸⁷ Viv Golding and Wayne Modest, ‘Introduction’, in *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration*, ed. by Viv Golding and Wayne Modest (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 1-9 (p. 2).

There are alternative trajectories which do not stabilise these distinctions, but propose productive alternatives not only for how we may understand the art gallery or museum but also in the practice of the organisation itself, and it is to a consideration of these that we now turn our attention. I will now propose three alternative trajectories: firstly, to consider a more progressive sense of place; secondly, to explore topologies and heterogeneous materialities; and thirdly, to celebrate multiplicities and complexities. Although these ‘trajectories’ have been split into separate sections for the sake of constructing a coherent narrative, they should not be seen as acting separately. Rather, each should be taken as simultaneous and co-constitutive of the other.

Considering a More Progressive Sense of Place

For Doreen Massey, place is a product of relations and interactions, a plurality of coexisting heterogeneity that must be understood as a process. That is to say, place is a production of relations as practice, or ‘material practices which have to be carried out’, as such, place can never be ‘finished’ or ‘fixed’.⁸⁸ Massey’s work unpicks ‘prevailing’ attitudes toward place and certain ‘spatial imaginaries’ that hold back or work against her proposal for a ‘shift of political gear’; where she seeks to move beyond reactionary treatment of place and yet remain attentive to conditions which produce a sense of insecurity and a need for a stability and attachment of place.⁸⁹ This approach is important to consider in relation to the complex and competing spatial imaginaries for the Hepworth as ‘local’ and/or ‘national’ and/or

⁸⁸ Massey, *For Space*, p. 9.

⁸⁹ Massey, *For Space*, p. 183.

‘international’, as briefly set out above. As we will see from Massey’s proposal to consider a more progressive sense as space, it is important to unpick such spatial imaginaries of the Hepworth and its place, such as the intriguing description of the Gallery as not local, but global above (Figure 1). What might it mean to describe the Gallery in such a way? What is at stake in such an imaginary? Massey’s approach is a useful way into exploring such conceptualisations, to be attentive to the conditions which produce a certain sense of place, and, more importantly, to not take such counterpositional/binary thinking as natural and given. It is important to briefly set out Massey’s approach here, as this ‘alternative trajectory’ informs the approach taken throughout the thesis: in Chapter 2 with creation of sense of place through the exhibitions and art works on display in the Gallery; in Chapter 3, with the (socio)material practices of Wakefield Council which produce certain imaginaries for the place of the Hepworth, in terms of understanding the relation of the Gallery to the place of Wakefield and the people who live there; and in Chapter 4, how place factors in the Gallery’s understanding of its audience(s), and, moreover, what it means to be an (inter)national museum today.

In setting out her vision for a more progressive sense of place, Massey cites Martin Heidegger’s ‘reformulation of space *as* place’ as problematic in its approach – despite the apparent potential of thinking space *as* place, his ‘notion of place remains too rooted’,⁹⁰ creating a ‘conceptual tangle’⁹¹ where space as Being, acts as ‘a diversion from the progressive dimension of time as Becoming’.⁹² For Massey the key issues with Heideggerian notions of place are as follows: firstly, that ‘places

⁹⁰ Massey, *For Space*, p. 183.

⁹¹ Massey, ‘Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place’, p. 64.

⁹² Massey, ‘Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place’, p. 63.

have single essential identities’ and therefore identity or a sense of place ‘is constructed out of an introverted, inward looking history based on delving into the past for internalized origins’;⁹³ secondly, that it requires the drawing of boundaries, and that definition is engendered by drawing lines around a place creating a frame of outside/inside, us/them, whereas in reality these boundaries have little purchase;⁹⁴ and thirdly, they are static and do not recognise space and place as process, resulting in a ‘strict dichotomization of time and space’.⁹⁵

Thus, according to Massey, we must recognise place as connected – with links and relations which spread across the globe, and in a state of becoming – these relations continually being made and unmade, configured and re-configured. This is not to say that place cannot have a sense of character, or a specificity or uniqueness, but this is distinct from the notion of a single coherent identity that would be shared with everyone; as people have multiple and overlapping identities, so does place.⁹⁶

The uniqueness of a place, or a locality, in other words is constructed out of particular interactions and mutual articulations of social relations, social processes, experiences and understandings, in a situation of co-presence, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are actually constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, a region or even a continent.⁹⁷

So places should be understood as points of intersection in a network of social relations, movements and communications, which engenders a sense of place conscious of its links to a much wider context than more traditional bounded notions of place allow.

⁹³ Massey, ‘Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place’, p. 64.

⁹⁴ Massey, ‘Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place’, p. 64.

⁹⁵ Massey, ‘Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place’, p. 67.

⁹⁶ Massey, ‘Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place’, p. 65.

⁹⁷ Massey, ‘Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place’, p. 66.

Instead then, of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings. And this in turn allows a sense of place which is extra-verted, *which includes a consciousness of it links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local.*⁹⁸ [My emphasis]

This is what should be sought in the knowledge and practice of the Gallery, as well as in our own approach in attempting to know these processes. For a deeper, more rounded understanding, it is necessary to be conscious of the links, and to move beyond binary or counterpositional thinking towards positive integration of ‘local’ and ‘(inter)national’.

A more progressive sense of place in relation to the theory and practice of the art gallery can be seen in the work of Rhiannon Mason, Christopher Whitehead and Helen Graham.⁹⁹ Their paper, ‘The Place of Art in the Public Art Gallery: A Visual Sense of Place’, explores the iterative relationships ‘between places making galleries and galleries making places’.¹⁰⁰ Clarifying that ‘this iteration is not fully congruent’, their work is useful in setting out that galleries and places should be thought of as ‘as two nodes in a constellation of relationships’.¹⁰¹ Drawing on Massey’s proposal to move beyond treating space as fixed and bounded, Mason *et al.* posit the gallery as ‘a nexus for a whole range of networks’ and practices which ‘connect people, places and material culture throughout the region and far beyond’.¹⁰² By representing places in their exhibitions ‘(for example, through displays of work produced by artists working locally, or of topographical images)’, Mason *et al.* argue that galleries

⁹⁸ Massey, ‘Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place’, p. 66.

⁹⁹ See Mason, Whitehead and Graham, ‘The Place of Art in the Public Art Gallery’, and ‘One Voice to Many Voices?’.

¹⁰⁰ Mason, Whitehead and Graham, ‘The Place of Art in the Public Art Gallery’, p. 134.

¹⁰¹ Mason, Whitehead and Graham, ‘The Place of Art in the Public Art Gallery’, p. 134.

¹⁰² Mason, Whitehead and Graham, ‘The Place of Art in the Public Art Gallery’, p. 134.

themselves then ‘operate as a meeting place [...] for many convergent and divergent ways of knowing place, both historical and contemporary’.¹⁰³

Such an approach will be useful for informing the consideration of the spaces of the Hepworth, and the Gallery’s complex and iterative relationship to the place of Wakefield (and perhaps other places beyond). The following chapters will consider what it may mean to follow Massey’s proposal for a more progressive sense of place, and the possibilities to integrate in a positive way the local and (inter)national in the place of the Hepworth. This will include an exploration of the juxtaposition of social relations, and attentiveness to the particular effects that are produced in each particular instance. In respect to Massey’s core concern for power and/in relations, one must strive to be aware of the power-geometries of spatial relations, ‘both in the sense of the power-relations in the social spheres we are examining and in the sense of power-relations embedded in the power-knowledge system which our conceptualisations are constructing’.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, the alternative trajectory before us is the consideration of the spatial as a ‘juxtaposition of different narratives’, where cultures and societies are treated as constellations in time-space, with the rejection of singular narratives of inevitability and traditional binary thinking.¹⁰⁵ That is to say, an altogether more progressive sense of place:

It is a sense of place, an understanding of ‘its character’, which can only be constructed by linking place to places beyond. A progressive sense of place would recognize that, without being threatened by it: it would be precisely about the relationship between place and space. What we need, it seems to me, is a global sense of the local, a global sense of place.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Mason, Whitehead and Graham, ‘The Place of Art in the Public Art Gallery’, p. 134.

¹⁰⁴ Doreen Massey, ‘Imagining Globalization: Power-Geometries of Time-Space’, in *Global Futures: Migration, Environment and Globalization*, ed. by Avtar Brah, Mary J. Hickman and Máirtín Mac an Ghail (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 27-44 (p. 27).

¹⁰⁵ Massey, ‘Imagining Globalization’, p. 41.

¹⁰⁶ Massey, ‘Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place’, p. 68.

A more progressive sense of place moves beyond the sentiments above which described the Gallery as not local but global, or the persistent existential tension perceived in the Gallery's local and (inter)national ambitions and responsibilities. Rather, the ambition for both the practice of the institution, and our study of it, should be to recognise the relational nature of place, the processual and mutually implicated nature of 'local and 'global' (and '(inter)national'), and to acknowledge, as Massey describes, 'a global sense of the local'.

Exploring Topologies and Heterogeneous Materiality

Resonating with Massey's more progressive sense of place, Science and Technology Studies (STS) and Actor Network Theory (ANT) proposed an alternative way of considering social praxis and space, one that contested hierarchically scaled structures of difference and their ontological status,¹⁰⁷ rejecting these existing vertical ontologies for a more horizontal approach.¹⁰⁸ Eschewing traditional thinking which relied on 'totalizing principles and binary thought', STS and ANT theorists acknowledged more topologically complex links between 'things, ideas and politics'.¹⁰⁹ A key proponent and instigator of this theory was Bruno Latour, and his proposition that the local is not 'nestled' inside the global is a key to this research. Latour's attention to the construction of such notions of the local and global enable a recognition of the limits, and effects, of such thinking; and to propose an alternative approach where the ambition is for ontological flatness and regard for topologies, rather than merely horizontal as opposed to vertical, where actors are continuously

¹⁰⁷ Collinge, p. 248.

¹⁰⁸ Simon Springer, 'Human geography without hierarchy', *Progress in Human Geography*, 38:3 (2014), 402-419 (p. 402).

¹⁰⁹ Springer, p. 402.

connected and kept side by side.¹¹⁰ In this sense, where ‘small’ was previously seen as enclosed or below and ‘large’ as enclosing or above, a networked approach is concerned with the density of connections, the ‘small’ being relatively ‘unconnected’, the ‘big’ having many more attachments.¹¹¹ As Latour proposes, ‘an organization is certainly not ‘bigger’ than those it organizes’, so we must be sensitive to connections and links rather than an inherent essence of ‘bigger’ or ‘smaller’.¹¹²

Let us first explore this concept of heterogeneous materiality, which, for John Law, means thinking of networks as constituted of heterogeneous elements that go beyond the simply social.¹¹³ Law argues that we need to consider the relations between the material *and* the social, and how both humans and matter are agents implicated in, and productive of, networks:

Agents, texts, devices, architectures are all generated in, form part of, and are essential to, the networks of the social. And in the first instance, all should be analysed in the same terms. Accordingly, in this view, the task of sociology is to characterize the ways in which materials join together to generate themselves and reproduce institutional and organizational patterns in the networks of the social.¹¹⁴

Therefore, organisations such as the Hepworth should be understood as effects of heterogeneous material networks.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, pp. 173-174.

¹¹¹ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 180.

¹¹² Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 179.

¹¹³ Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network’

¹¹⁴ Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network’, Abstract.

¹¹⁵ Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network’, p. 380. In developing his work with ANT, John Law began to question the metaphorical baggage that accompanies the use of vocabulary such as ‘network’ (John Law, ‘After ANT’, p. 6). Recognising the compelling fit of the metaphor of the network to a more relational understanding of space, that is to say a non-hierarchical approach, Law, drawing on a range of critiques, argued that it is perhaps *too* compelling and conceals a number of problematics. For example, Nick Lee and Steve Brown argue that ANT did not adequately deal with otherness, and despite its pretensions to inclusion it was, in fact, colonial in its approach by creating its own grand narrative with no space for anything outside of the network (Nick Lee and Steve Brown, ‘Otherness and the Actor Network: The Undiscovered Continent’, *American Behavioural Scientist*, 37:6 (1994), 772-790). Feminist critiques, such as those by Susan Leigh Star, also argued that patterns of exclusion and inclusion exist within standardised relational and network configurations, leading to the marginalisation of the voices of those agents who do not ‘fit’

In this sense, we must acknowledge that organisations are made up of lots of *things*, lots of *matter* – buildings, art works, policy documents, people and so on; and that these ‘bits and pieces from the social, the technical, the conceptual, and the textual are fitted together, and so converted (or “translated”)’ in to *The Hepworth Wakefield*.¹¹⁶ In practice, it is too complex to be aware of all networks all of the time, we simply cannot cope with the complexity. In an attempt to ‘tame’ this complexity we engage in a process of simplification, or the creation of what Latour would describe as black boxes, or punctualizations.¹¹⁷ So when we speak of an ‘organisation’, such as my own use of ‘the Hepworth’, this could be said to be a punctualized network. The point is to explore these translations in the Hepworth, how the actors and the organisation produces itself as ‘the Hepworth’, a punctualized actor.¹¹⁸ These processes of ordering and translation result in the precarious

(Hetherington and Law, ‘After Networks’, p. 128; see also Susan Leigh Star, ‘Power, technologies and the phenomenology of conventions: on being allergic to onions’, *Sociological Review*, 38 (1990), 26-56). Developing this argument Marilyn Strathern asserted that network terminology emphasises the relation of similarity and continuity rather than difference and discontinuity (Marilyn Strathern, ‘Cutting the Network’, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2:3 (1996), 517-535). Following Strathern’s argument Law proposes that she ‘asks us to attend the links between notions of network and the assumptions build into Euroamerican notions of relatedness’ (Law, ‘After ANT’, p. 6.). Thus, Law cites the following difficulty with the network metaphor: ‘the notion of the network is itself a form—or perhaps a family of forms—of spatiality: that it imposes strong restrictions on the conditions of topological possibility. And that, accordingly, it tends to limit and homogenize the character of links, the character of invariant connection, the character of possible relations, and so the character of possible entities’ (Law, ‘After ANT’, p. 7). Instead, Law reasserts the idea of translations, which he argued became submerged in the theory. This is the process of equating or equivilising things that are not the same, but what’s lost in the process are the details of how the thing is made. An example is the very issue of ANT itself: the naming and abbreviating of ANT makes it manageable, easy to use and able to ‘travel’, but in this process something is lost: ‘we have *lost the capacity to apprehend complexity*, Lyotardian heterogeneity’ (Law, ‘After ANT’, p. 8.), that is to say, complexities are lost in the process of naming and labelling. Law asks us instead to consider ANT as diasporic, as a process of translation in itself that has absorbed other influences from different disciplines and thus has within it all these ‘partial connections’ (Law, ‘After ANT’, p. 10; and Strathern, *Partial Connections*). There is no single, fixed ANT as there cannot be a fixed place where it can reside. In practice theories evolve and transform themselves, as Law suggests, ‘Only dead theories and dead practices celebrate their self-identity’ and insist on perfect reproduction (Law, ‘After ANT’, p. 10.).

¹¹⁶ Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network’, p. 381.

¹¹⁷ See Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network’; also Callon and Latour, ‘Unscrewing the big Leviathan’.

¹¹⁸ Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network’, p. 386.

relational effects of the material networks, as some matter is more resistant to translation than others. Durability and mobility form two key factors in Latour's description of the ways in which resistance to translation may be overcome. In a similar sense to the notion of more or less resistance to translation, some material may be more durable than others in their 'ability to maintain their relational patterns for longer'.¹¹⁹ Law likens this to a continuum of durability: at one end we find thoughts, as although 'cheap' to produce, their lifespan is limited; then speech, which may last a little longer; and, at the other end of this continuum, we find relations *embodied* in material. For Law it is in the performance of relations, and in particular their embodiment 'in inanimate materials such as texts and buildings' which may allow for a relatively stable network; one 'which is embodied in and performed by a range of durable materials'.¹²⁰ It is important to note that this durability is 'another relational effect, not something given in the nature of things', so the more stable the matter the longer its ordering effects.¹²¹ If we understand durability as 'ordering through time', then mobility 'is about ordering through space' – how one can act and order over (or from) a distance.

This leads us to Latour's important notion of immutable mobiles. Kevin Hetherington and Law provide a succinct introduction to the concept of immutable mobiles, describing them as 'an inscription device that moves within a network and its nodal points of passage but remains the same in different contexts, thereby allowing for relations to be performed in the same way in a variety of different locations'.¹²² Developed by Latour, immutable mobiles essentially describe how

¹¹⁹ Law, 'Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network', p. 386.

¹²⁰ Law, 'Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network', p. 386.

¹²¹ Law, 'Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network', p. 386.

¹²² Hetherington and Law, 'After Networks', pp. 129-130.

information is passed between agents, how it can be made both transportable and permanent. Latour's production of the particular concept of immutable mobiles was to escape certain notions of *moving* 'knowledge', 'power', or 'capital' from one place to another, and of creating these categories *a priori*. Rather, it is about the translation of places into inscriptions which can then be transported, gathered and accumulated in other places (centres of calculation).¹²³ It is about how actors can persuade other actors to take up their way of thinking, their way of seeing the world: 'we need, in other words, to look at the way in which someone convinces someone else to take up a statement, to pass it along, to make it more of a fact, and to recognize the first author's ownership and originality'.¹²⁴ In *Science in Action*, Latour uses a vignette of La Pérouse and his travels to the 'unknown East Pacific', to map and thus allow for these lands and islands to be known (and controlled) back in Versailles; the whole point being to take something back, to take back inscribed devices to confirm (or deny) certain knowledges or ways of knowing about the land. A process of mobilization is undertaken, where the objects to be mobilised have to be able to travel back without 'withering away' or being corrupted, moreover, they must be 'presentable' and able to be combined and recombined with other things. As Latour summarises: 'you have to invent objects which have the properties of being *mobile* but also *immutable*, *presentable*, *readable* and *combinable* with one

¹²³ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 223.

¹²⁴ Bruno Latour, 'Visualisation and Cognition: Drawing Things Together', in *Knowledge and Society: Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present*, ed. by H. Kuklick, vol. 6, (Elsevier Science Limited, 1986), pp. 1-40, in *Bruno Latour* <<http://www.bruno-latour.fr/node/293>> [accessed April 2017], p. 5.

another’,¹²⁵ which makes possible ‘a cycle of accumulation that allows a point to be become a centre by acting at a distance on many other points’.¹²⁶

Latour describes the process of coming to make sense of, to know, and to understand things once we stop looking at nature, at the thing(s) we are trying to know, and instead look at the inscriptions we have made about those things; once we move from the confusion of three dimensions, to the less confusing, ordered and fixed inscriptions in two dimensions.¹²⁷ This process of translation, simplification and reduction of the world into paper – and then less paper, and so on – within the centres of calculation is recognisable in many bureaucratic practices in a range of fields.¹²⁸ For example, in the art gallery we can follow the translation of the complex reality of their ‘audience’ into audience segmentation models, a process which will be explored in Chapter 4. As Latour states, ‘We are so used to this world of print and images, that we can hardly think of what is it to know something without indexes, bibliographies, dictionaries, papers with references, tables, columns, photographs, peaks, spots, bands’.¹²⁹ We also have the benefit of being able to bring together inscriptions that have been made over time, to recombine them with other inscriptions, to enable the bringing together of different times and places. To briefly consider how this may work in the practice of the Hepworth Wakefield, let us consider one of the Spring 2016 exhibitions, *Hepworth in Yorkshire* (Figure 2). The Gallery’s website described this exhibition as looking ‘at Hepworth’s early years growing up in Wakefield, displaying archival material and work relating to her

¹²⁵ Latour, ‘Visualisation and Cognition’, p. 7.

¹²⁶ Latour, ‘Visualisation and Cognition’, p. 7.

¹²⁷ The ‘we’ in Latour’s example being scientists developing scientific theory.

¹²⁸ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 234.

¹²⁹ Latour, ‘Visualisation and Cognition’, p. 13.

family and childhood'.¹³⁰ Here Hepworth's artworks, photographs and letters could be thought of as inscriptions which, once brought together by the curators, act as optical devices to construct the narrative of 'Barbara Hepworth'; the narrative of artistic process, of the Yorkshire Landscape, of Wakefield, of Leeds, of Henry Moore, and so on; which we can then discuss, with only these few pictures and pieces of paper to see of these concepts.¹³¹



Figure 2: *Hepworth in Yorkshire*, Gallery 6, The Hepworth Wakefield. Photo: Sarah Harvey Richardson, March 2016.

We are starting to consider how artworks and objects in the space of the Gallery generate meaning through this process of translation and inscription of other times and places into durable objects which are moveable, (some artworks being

¹³⁰ The Hepworth Wakefield, 'Hepworth in Yorkshire', The Hepworth Wakefield website <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/whatson/hepworth-in-yorkshire/>> [accessed 10 January 2017].

¹³¹ 'The staging of such "optical devices" is the one Eisenstein describes: a few persons in the same room talk to one another and point out at two-dimensional pictures; these pictures are all there is to see of the things about which they talk', Latour, 'Visualisation and Cognition', p. 18.

much less or much more ‘stable’, ‘permanent,’ ‘moveable’ than others, of course), which are then able to be combined and recombined with other artworks in a space, through curators’ choices regarding placement and interpretation. Let us pause now to consider another example of research in an art gallery which employs such concepts. Andy Morris explores how space and time inform how we think of ‘Britishness’, and how Britishness is constructed in the gallery spaces of Tate Britain.¹³² Morris suggests that a particular (transformative) narrative of Britishness is made possible by cutting across different spaces, particularly bounded nationalistic notions of space and British identity. Morris argues that Tate have created such transformative spaces through their re-hang, and by their bringing together of artists from ‘other’ spaces and times in themed rooms such as ‘Home and Abroad’, the possibility of a transformative space is engendered. In Morris’s text, Tate Britain acts as the centre of calculation, and the paintings are the mobiles, brought together from ‘other’ places to be re-localized, but also combined with each other ‘to give us a readable story of Britain’s international context’.¹³³ The paintings act as readable and stable pieces of information (immutable) which are also mobile, but which each have their own temporal and spatial process, points and flows. A specific story of Britishness is being constructed through the bringing together of the paintings (mobiles) and each of their own time-spaces, as well as the visitor’s time-space in coming to the space of the exhibition. Within this process Morris states we must be attentive to ‘what meanings are being ascribed and what meanings are being lost’ by the paintings being brought into a particular constellation in the space of the

¹³² Morris.

¹³³ Morris, p. 175.

gallery.¹³⁴ In a similar sense, The Hepworth Wakefield is generating a space of Wakefield and Yorkshire, through the use of immutable mobiles brought together in the Gallery's heterogeneous material network. This includes the artworks, (visual, sensory), artist biographies (as interpretation panels, leaflets) photography, topographical drawings and so on. The gathered materials (and discourses) culminate in a collection of inscriptions which are 'familiar, finite, near and handy',¹³⁵ and which allow for 'space and time [to] be constructed locally' in the curatorial emplacements and displacements.¹³⁶

Despite the productive possibility of the immutable mobile concept, we must acknowledge two possible limitations of this approach. Firstly, that immutable mobiles can fail. That is to say immutable mobiles are, in fact, mutable.

Hetherington and Law assert the importance of considering their relational effects,¹³⁷ and that objects will become different 'in different places, which reveals that relations are fluid and contextual within objects and well as between them'.¹³⁸ It is pertinent to explore the conditions which generate these effects, and that if the 'relations between them start to change, then so too do truths'.¹³⁹ Secondly, according to Hetherington, we need to be careful in our use of the notion of 'place', as the work of this chapter has clearly set out, and we must consider the particular placing of materials in relation to place, or rather that place becomes reconfigured because of particular placings.

¹³⁴ Morris, p. 176.

¹³⁵ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 230.

¹³⁶ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 230.

¹³⁷ Law, 'Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network', p. 388.

¹³⁸ Hetherington and Law, 'After Networks', pp. 129-130.

¹³⁹ Annemarie Mol and John Law, 'Regions, Networks and Fluids: Anaemia and Social Topology', *Social Studies of Science*, 24:4 (1994), 641 – 671 (p. 652).

To explore this point a little further, we know that place is often treated as subjective. We see this with Heidegger's concept of 'Being', and the privileging of human agency and subjectivity in humanist discourses.¹⁴⁰ Here space is defined as the space between things, between objects defined by their position in Euclidean geometric arrangements. Space becomes place through human interaction – a subjective choice to arrange things in a certain way that has meaning for that particular person. In contrast, Hetherington argues for allowing objects to 'speak' of place, and 'in doing so we have to leave behind both Euclidean geometry and hermeneutics and consider instead the issue of a more complex topology. The topological folding together of space and place leads to the creation of more complex geographies that allow us to see the spatiality upon which this division is usually performed'.¹⁴¹ This allows for foregrounding of the material world, as well as the symbolism and meaning of culture. Hetherington continues:

My aim is to bring materiality back in and to see places as generated by the placing, arranging and naming the spatial ordering of materials and the system of differences they perform. [...] This does not mean that there is no space for the subject and subjective experiences and memories of a space; rather they become folded into the material world and each becomes imbricated in the agency of the other.¹⁴²

The notion of treating space as topologically complex is an important concept, and this alternative trajectory for analysing the practice of the Gallery will be taken up in Chapter 2 in my exploration of another of the Gallery's Spring 2016 exhibitions, *Des Hughes: Stretch Out Wait*.

¹⁴⁰ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962).

¹⁴¹ Kevin Hetherington, 'In place of geometry: the materiality of place', in *Ideas of Difference: Social Spaces and the Labour of Division*, ed. by Kevin Hetherington and Roland Munro (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 183-199 (p. 184).

¹⁴² Hetherington, 'In place of geometry', p. 185.

Celebrating Multiplicities and Complexities

The building blocks of reality have been undermined. Science and Technology Studies, Actor Network Theory, feminist theory have all robbed reality, or ‘reality in its *ontological dimension*’, of its ‘alleged stable, given, universal character’.¹⁴³ As Annemarie Mol describes, this stable understanding of ontology has been troubled, instead, we now see that ‘that reality is historically, culturally and materially located’.¹⁴⁴ As such, we must understand that reality is multiple, and, therefore, in our research we must acknowledge multiple realities, multiple ontologies.¹⁴⁵

Ontologies: note that. Now the word needs to go in the plural. For, and this is a crucial move, if reality is *done*, if it is historically, culturally and materially *located*, then it is also *multiple*. Realities have become multiple. Not plural: multiple. A clarification is required here, a differentiation. For ontological politics is informed by, but does not directly follow from or easily coexist with either perspectivalism or constructivism. Its pivotal term is slightly different: it is performance.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Mol, ‘Ontological politics’, p. 75. See also Haraway, ‘Situated Knowledges’, and *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*; Strathern, *Partial Connections*; Law and Mol, *Complexities*; de Laet and Mol; Mol, *The Body Multiple*, and ‘Mind your plate!’; Mol and Law, ‘Embodied Action, Enacted Bodies’; Barad; Law, ‘*STS as Method*’. Two key theorists who have worked to unseat the stable and universal nature of reality are Donna Haraway and Marilyn Strathern. Haraway demanded a better account of the world; an account of the world that is ‘more adequate, richer, better’, and which takes a reflexive relation to all possible positions, or perspectives, including our own (Haraway, ‘Situated Knowledges’, p. 579). The crux of this demand is a call for ‘situated knowledges’, knowledge which is located and embodied, standing against the god-trick of the disembodied eye of universalism, of ‘seeing everything from nowhere’ (p. 581). Rather, Haraway asserts, ‘only partial perspective promises objective vision’ (p. 583). Strathern’s concern was to move way from holism in anthropology, where cultures were treated as discrete, homogenous, bounded, and thus more easily comparable. Beyond seeking fragments or parts in contrast to wholes, Strathern, like Haraway, argues for partial perspectives. Within this move, Strathern is acknowledging a scaled process which is relational to the observer, where as we bring certain things into focus, other things recede. In this scaled process, Strathern states: ‘The more closely you look, the more detailed things are bound to become’, the more (complex) questions that are asked, the more (complex) answers that are produced (Strathern, *Partial Connections*, p. xiii.). We cannot see everything at once, our (partial) perspectives are shifting and dynamic. As the observer moves their gaze around, different configurations emerge. Strathern argues against the desire for overarching containers/classifications, but for things being brought into relation. So, in our explorations, it is not about trying to capture/contain something, but, instead, to trace partial connections.

¹⁴⁴ Mol, ‘Ontological politics’, p. 75.

¹⁴⁵ See de Laet and Mol, and Mol, *The Body Multiple*.

¹⁴⁶ Mol, ‘Ontological politics’, p. 75.

[...] So they are different versions, different performances, different realities, that co-exist in the present. This is our situation, one that actor network theory and related semiotic sociologies have articulated for us.¹⁴⁷

We can see ontologies being brought into being in the day-to-day sociomaterial practices of The Hepworth Wakefield. The following is an example of different performances of ‘engagement’ by Gallery staff, resulting in coexisting multiple realities of the Gallery’s focus for engagement practices. A member of the Collections and Exhibitions Team gave a particularly passionate defence of their conception of the purpose of the Gallery, asserting that ‘we are not actually here to get as many people as we can through the doors, just to get them through the doors. We are here to get them through the doors to see something particular, to see art’.¹⁴⁸ Whereas during a separate conversation, an equally impassioned, yet thoroughly divergent perspective was shared from a member of the Operations Team, who explained that:

if we can’t get them through the doors with exhibitions, we need to get them through with events. People go to galleries to shop, eat, drink and play. We need more big ticket, festival type events. It is a gallery and the artwork is important, but it doesn’t have to be an explicitly art focused event to get people in.¹⁴⁹

It is clear from these statements that, for some, the Hepworth’s engagement practices are fundamentally about art; their reality of the Gallery’s remit is to engage people with art. Whereas, for others, the artworks are pushed into the background (or out of the equation entirely). For the latter, engagement practices are fundamentally about

¹⁴⁷ Mol, ‘Ontological politics’, p. 79.

¹⁴⁸ Member of the Collections and Exhibitions Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 19 November 2014.

¹⁴⁹ Member of the Operations Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 25 November 2014.

driving visitor figures, and thus any activity is about generating footfall, rather than (but not always necessarily exclusive to) engaging with art.

As Mol states, ‘reality itself is multiple [...] there are *options* between the various versions of an object’.¹⁵⁰ The above demonstrates that there were, at that time, (at least) two options for the reality of the Gallery’s audience engagement practice. One does not, however, necessarily have the agency to choose between different options, between these different versions of audience engagement practices. This is the key differentiation between pluralism and multiplicity, as ‘what “multiplicity” entails instead is that, while realities may clash at some points, elsewhere the various performances of an object may collaborate and even depend on one another’.¹⁵¹ Thus, we ‘need to ask *where* such options might be situated and *what* was at stake when a decision between alternative performances was made’.¹⁵²

And this is the politics of *ontologies*, or rather, ontological politics. That if realities are multiple, and ‘take different shapes as they engage, are engaged, in different relations’; that is to say, if realities are shaped by practice, it is this shaping that is inherently political; political in the sense that there may be different options or choices to perform different versions of reality.¹⁵³ As such, it is pertinent to explore situations where such options might exist, and what is at stake in the decisions to perform one option over another. Drawing on the above example of different versions of audience engagement practices in the Hepworth, we may ask how and where these different performances of engagement (art/no art) are enacted. Are there moments when one performance is chosen over the other? Do these performances act

¹⁵⁰ Mol, ‘Ontological politics’, p. 74.

¹⁵¹ Mol, ‘Ontological politics’, p. 83.

¹⁵² Mol, ‘Ontological politics’, p. 74.

¹⁵³ Mol, ‘Mind your plate!’, p. 381.

in tension? Are there moments where they depend on each other? And, as Mol sets out, different versions of reality are embedded with normativities, what she terms ‘ontonorms’; ontonorms as the analysis of ontologies and normativities, or ‘analysing the norms embedded in practices’.¹⁵⁴ In this sense, Mol frames the concept of ontonorms as methodological tool, but is also careful to state that she is not setting out a theory *of* ontonorms, and indeed, she is not bound to the term, hardly using it in her paper. Rather, Mol suggests, it is potentially a useful way in to complex situations (different dieting techniques, different ways of enacting food and body), and should be treated as ‘fluid’ and ‘ambivalent’.¹⁵⁵

I find this a useful way to consider the practices of the Gallery, or rather the everyday practices of Gallery staff and stakeholders. To consider if and/or what different versions of reality (different versions of *The Hepworth Wakefield*) may be being performed in certain moments, and, if different versions may be embedded with different values. We have already begun to see the enactment of multiple realities, and their relative values, in the framing of the (inter)national and local/community in the organisation of the Hepworth. Where certain practices enact the local, the need to do specific things in the community, to do certain things on and for and with local people; alongside performances of the (inter)national, practices which enact artistic excellence, celebrating great artists (Barbara Hepworth/contemporary artists). Certain moments, such as the comment by a staff member quoted earlier regarding the ‘sacrifice [of] international ambitions’ for ‘accessibility’, reveal ontological variants.¹⁵⁶ Here one reality is to be sacrificed for

¹⁵⁴ Mol, ‘Mind your plate!’, p. 381.

¹⁵⁵ Mol, ‘Mind your plate!’, p. 381.

¹⁵⁶ Mol, ‘Mind your plate!’, p. 383.

the other to be enacted. Such comments point to an implicit value judgement, that one performance of the Hepworth (international ambitions) is perhaps considered 'right' or 'better', to be protected from 'sacrifice'. These moments are what will be explored throughout this thesis. Though, like Mol, I am not explicitly framing this thesis as an ontonorm analysis, indeed, the term ontonrom will not make another appearance. It is just about finding a way in to complex situations (an exhibition; an audience segmentation model; a Gallery) to explore different performances, different enactments of reality, and what is at stake in these moments.

Conclusion

These ideas of multiplicity, ontologies, relationality and processes (becoming rather than being) are gaining much traction in museum studies, and signify the increasing importance of assemblage perspectives.¹⁵⁷ This concern for assemblages forefronts new ontologies for a new fluid word;¹⁵⁸ to explore new ways of knowing and new knowledge practices that better reflect the experience of contemporary life, and, how museums may better deal with, and represent, the complex range of contemporary issues including climate change, extremism, politics (Brexit/Trump), alongside notions of globalisation, post-colonialism, cosmopolitanism and so on.¹⁵⁹ That is to

¹⁵⁷ See, Macdonald, 'Reassembling Nuremberg, Reassembling Heritage' and *Memorylands*; Harrison, Byrne, and Clarke, *Reassembling the collection* and *Unpacking the collection*; Fiona Cameron, 'The Liquid Museum: New Institutional Ontologies for a Complex, Uncertain World', in *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies (vol. 1). Museum Theory*, ed. by Andrea Witcomb and Kylie Message (Chichester, Malden (Mass.): Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), pp. 345-361; Bennett and Healy; Emma Waterton and Jason Dittmer, 'The museum as assemblage: Bringing forth affect at the Australian War Memorial', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 29:2 (2014), 122-139; Frances Larson, Alison Petsch and David Zeitlyn, 'Social networks and the creation of the Pitt Rivers Museum', *Journal of Material Culture*, 12:3 (2007), 211-239; Paul Jones and Suzanne MacLeod, 'Museum architecture matters', *Museum and Society*, 14:1 (2016), 207-219; and, Nail.

¹⁵⁸ Fiona Cameron, 'The Liquid Museum'.

¹⁵⁹ See Mason in relation to bringing to bear theories of cosmopolitanism to the museum, and her particular concept of 'cosmopolitan museology'.

say, how museums may embrace unpredictability, uncertainty, non-linearity and complexity and make these explicit in their practice. Within museum studies, a key influence for this approach is Deleuze and Guattari's work as developed by DeLanda;¹⁶⁰ and Sharon Macdonald has been pivotal for developing assemblage in relation to the museum, or rather, treating the museum as an assemblage.¹⁶¹ By considering the museum as a becoming, emergent process (or rather becomings and processes), Macdonald argues that one should consider the relations between its heterogeneous elements – the assemblage of 'practices, affects and physical things' – by tracing particular actions/processes in a particular situation.¹⁶² This 'situatedness' is key, and may be likened to an approach termed 'situated action', coined by Lucy Schuman.¹⁶³ Situated action is the in-practice interpretation of situated knowledges. Here, context is key to considering what makes people do what they do. According to Schuman, 'Situated action as such comprises necessarily *ad hoc* responses to the actions of others and to the contingencies of particular situations',¹⁶⁴ and that

¹⁶⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.

¹⁶¹ Macdonald, 'Reassembling Nuremberg, Reassembling Heritage' and Macdonald, *Memorylands*. Macdonald cites Bennett as a particular influence on her work (see Bennett and Healy). It is important to note that a key issue in assemblage theory is unsatisfactory nature of the original English translation of Deleuze and Guattari's *agencement* for assemblage. This has been raised by many scholars who employ or point to assemblage theory in their work, including Macdonald (*Memorylands*, pp. 236-237), and has been explored in detail most recently and clearly by Thomas Nail ('What is an Assemblage?'). Nail argues that '[w]hile an assemblage is a gathering of things together into unities, and *agencement* is an arrangement or layout of heterogeneous elements' (p. 22), therefore, when employing the concept of assemblage, it is pertinent to think of construction, or 'a constructive process that lays out a specific kind of arrangement' (p. 24); and that 'an assemblage is a multiplicity, neither a part nor a whole' (p. 23). In this sense, assemblages can be combined and recombined, their elements not operating like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, but rather like the blocks of stone in a dry-stone wall. As Nail describes, '[e]ach new mixture produces a new kind of assemblage, always free to recombine and change its nature' (p. 23). Therefore, we must note the relations between the elements, the sets of relations of the assemblage, and as such, the analysis is never ending because the assemblage is always in a process of becoming: 'An assemblage does not have an essence does not have an essence because it has no eternally necessary defining features, only contingent and singular features' (p. 24).

¹⁶² Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 6.

¹⁶³ Suchman, p. 35.

¹⁶⁴ Suchman, Abstract.

‘[r]ather than attempting to abstract action from its circumstances and reconstruct it as a rational plan, the approach is to study how people use their circumstances to achieve intelligent action. Rather than build a theory of action out of a theory of plans, the aim is to investigate how people produce and find evidence for plans in the course of situated action’.¹⁶⁵ Assemblage theory and situated action have clear resonance with the alternative trajectories that I have set out above, and provide further weight to the importance of employing such approaches to the study of museums and galleries; and help demonstrate why the work of this thesis is significant in testing and developing these concepts in relation to a specific art gallery, The Hepworth Wakefield.

The concept of assemblage is important both for a museum’s practice and its analysis. As opposed to traditional scholarly approaches which focus on social ordering, such as ‘knowledge/power, discipline and disciplinary effects, sign and interpretation, subject and subjectification’, assemblage considers heterogeneous networks and their relational assembly.¹⁶⁶ Assemblage considers how ideas, material, bodies come together and move apart – assemble, disassemble and reassemble – in a continual process of (re)territorialisation and deterritorialisation.¹⁶⁷ This allows for attention to what Tony Bennett and Chris Healy term the ‘shuffle of agency’,¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Suchman, p. 35.

¹⁶⁶ Cameron, p. 355.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Writing a history of a museum involves tracking these socio-material connections. It is impossible to track the museum exhaustively, or recreate the shifting assemblage entirely for any one moment in time. If one looks in too much detail there appears to be no possibility of a single definitive history. However, it is possible to start unpicking some of the interconnections, and looking for stable patterns of connection’, Larson, Petsch and Zeitlyn, (p. 218). Reterritorialisation is a concept originating from the work of Deleuze and Guattari, see Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*; and Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (Les Editions de Minuit, 1972; repr. London: Athlone Press, 1984).

¹⁶⁸ ‘The task of social analysis, on this interpretation, becomes that of tracing the associations – the varied actor networks – through which particular kinds of social relations come to be assembled and made durable. Its concern, in tracing such process of assembly, disassembly and reassembly, is with the complex distribution of agency – between people, objects, technologies, texts – where an actor is

drawing on Bruno Latour's work, which considers how the agency of an actor may change as the configurations of the assemblages within which it operates shift.¹⁶⁹ In this way, utilising the concept of assemblage (and, in so doing the alternative trajectories set out above), allows for a recontextualisation of the Gallery, as Fiona Cameron set out below:

Replacing existing museum concepts with those of assemblages as processes involving affected and affecting bodies, actions, and discursive elements, both actual and virtual, is useful in that it reconceptualizes institutions and their agentive capacities as part of emergent collectives [...]. Reassembling the museums as composed of entangled material intensities and potencies that have the power to affect and be affected by others in dynamic interactions can therefore frame institutions as creative and productive forces.¹⁷⁰

The ambition of this thesis is to explore the dynamic processes of different intensities assembling (disassembling and reassembling) at different moments to create different configurations of *The Hepworth Wakefield*. To discover that there is no *The Hepworth Wakefield*, but rather different performances and enactments of the Hepworth. Within these performances there are shifts in conceptualisations, actions and materials; shifts in ways of defining engagement, who is the focus for engagement, and so on. Each are perspectives on reality, which can be mobilised at

viewed not as “the source of an action but the moving target of a vast array of entities swarming toward it” [Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 46]. The resulting, so to speak, “shuffle of agency” is one in which the forms of agency performed by an actor change – not incessantly, and not necessarily radically – in accordance with the overall configuration of assemblages within which it is brought together, provisionally, and rarely exclusively, with other actors. And it is from this shifting shuffle of agency that particular kinds of power are made up, power understood as “the final result of a process and not a reservoir, a stock, or a capital” [Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 64]. In contrast to more conventional sociological conceptions of power as rooted in an underlying structure that can account for its genesis and function, Latour sees power as a force that can only be analysed by following the processes through which it is made up and, equally important, through which it is performed and exercised’ (Bennett and Healy, p. 3).

¹⁶⁹ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*.

¹⁷⁰ Cameron, p. 355.

different times and in different ways, sometimes brought to the fore, sometimes pushed to the background.¹⁷¹

We saw this in the example above where ‘art’ had different potencies for different members of staff regarding the purpose of the Gallery and engagement with its audience. This small vignette demonstrated the shifting configurations of *The Hepworth Wakefield*, where the agency of commercial operations at one moment may increase its potency and literally reterritorialise spaces of the gallery, such as transforming The Calder from exhibition to event space for a craft fair. Another example we have begun to unpick is the perceived persistent tension between ‘local’ and ‘(inter)national’, the shifting conceptualisations of the Hepworth as community space and local agent, and the Hepworth as (inter)national art gallery catering for an (inter)national artworld. Following Christopher Whitehead’s *et al.* work ‘to move beyond scalar ontologies of place identity, such as the “local nesting inside the global”’;¹⁷² it is pertinent to instead ‘attend to the way in which categories of place identity such as local, global and transnational are ‘assembled’ by museums, that is, how these categories and divisions between places are produced, sustained and indeed disrupted within museum representations’.¹⁷³ By attending closely to

¹⁷¹ John Law and Annemarie Mol, ‘Complexities: An Introduction’, in *Complexities: Social Studies of Knowledge Practices*, ed. by John Law and Annemarie Mol (Durham. [N.C.]; London: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 1-22 (p. 9).

¹⁷² Their work exploring museums and migration in Europe, which draws on Latour’s and Macdonald’s more progressive approach to place (as explored in this chapter). Christopher Whitehead, Rhiannon Mason, Susannah Eckersley and Katherine Lloyd, ‘Place, Identity and Migration and European Museums’, in *Museums, Migration and Identity in Europe: Peoples, Places and Identities*, ed. by Christopher Whitehead, Rhiannon Mason, Susannah Eckersley and Katherine Lloyd (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015), pp.7-59 (pp. 12-13). See also Christopher Whitehead, Susannah Eckersley and Rhiannon Mason *Placing Migration in European Museums: Theoretical, Contextual and Methodological Foundations* (Milan: Politecnico di Milano DPA, 2012); and Christopher Whitehead, Rhiannon Mason, Susannah Eckersley and Katherine Lloyd, *Museums and Identity in History and Contemporaneity* (Milan: Politecnico di Milano, 2014).

¹⁷³ Whitehead, Mason, Eckersley and Lloyd, ‘Place, Identity and Migration and European Museums’, pp. 12-13.

processes and actions in the Gallery at particular moments (situated action) – this thesis will demonstrate the ‘shuffle of agency’ which may allow for (re)configurations of *The Hepworth Wakefield* (as ‘community’, as ‘artworld’); and by attending to these different conceptualisations and their ‘who, what, where, when, and how’, it is possible to discover if some may have more agency than others in the assemblage that is *The Hepworth Wakefield*.

By charting these differences, the possibility for action is enabled. As Law asserts, the task is to attend to and chart difference, that will then allow techniques to be developed for ‘going on well together in difference’.¹⁷⁴

it is the urgent task of STS first to attend to difference, and second to craft specific ways of going on well together in difference – ways of being that are therefore multiple. There are no single solutions. What it means to go on well together in difference is necessarily contested.¹⁷⁵

The significance here is to hold on to differences rather than to disavow them.

Mason’s work regarding national museums and ‘cosmopolitan museology’ is useful here (as outlined briefly in the introduction). Despite the ‘internal heterogeneity and diversity’ of nations, often the impulse of national museums is to offer ‘homogenizing discourses of ethnic nationalism’ which ‘elide and unify or disavow

¹⁷⁴ Law, ‘*STS as Method*’, p. 15. ‘This phrase comes from Helen Verran [see Helen Verran, ‘Re-imagining land ownership in Australia’, *Postcolonial Studies*, 1:2 (1998), 237-254] who charts how the Australian legal system and Australian Aboriginal people have learned how to respond to one another across difference. Is land an area, or is it part of a continuing creation? The solutions are far from perfect, but Australian law has created practices which recognise ownership in both senses. Such techniques for living well with difference do not always work and they need to be crafted case by case. Perhaps the job of STS – and here it works with post-colonialism – is to chart differences, articulate these, and help to craft ways of going on well together in difference’, Law, ‘*STS as Method*’, p. 15.

¹⁷⁵ Law, ‘*STS as Method*’, p. 17. ‘At the same time we need to remind ourselves that the world is not open and that not everything is possible. We cannot invent realities or better ways of living by simply dreaming up new methods. But this does not mean that we cannot try, just a little, to open up and enact alternative and better possibilities. The hope is that in this way we can avoid giving comfort to a politics that denies that it is political. We can resist the claim that reality is destiny. So perhaps in the end the enemy is hubris. Things never have to be the way they are. That is the point of this STS of method’, Law, ‘*STS as Method*’, p. 17.

these differences'.¹⁷⁶ Mason argues, however, 'Europe's' national museums hold the evidence of this difference within and, in many cases, combine contradictory and competing discourses of nationalism in different parts of their displays and collections', (multiple ontologies and performances of 'nation' and 'nationalism' that may work with or against each other).¹⁷⁷ This 'heterogeneity' of national museums provides their 'potential to demonstrate the contingent and constructed nature of contemporary nations'; and, to do this with and through exhibitions and objects that may 'signify in [different] directions simultaneously'.¹⁷⁸ Crucially, however, this productive potential may only be released 'if they are reframed and reinterpreted through a reflexive and cosmopolitan perspective and if the visitor is inclined, enabled, and encouraged to "read for" such an account'.¹⁷⁹

Beyond merely being an effective theoretical tool for the study of museums, the possibilities afforded by attending and holding on to difference thus has significant potential for the practice of museums.¹⁸⁰ The practical implication of an assemblage perspective has been particularly well argued by Fiona Cameron in her development of the work of Donde P. Asmos and Dennis Duchin,¹⁸¹ and assertion that museums should operate as 'complex adaptive systems':¹⁸²

Key characteristics of a complex and adaptive mind-set, according to Ashmos and Duchon (2000), are the holding together of multiple and conflicting portrayals of variety in the organisational environment;

¹⁷⁶ Mason, p. 41.

¹⁷⁷ Mason, p. 41.

¹⁷⁸ Mason, p. 55. The example cited by Mason in this instance was a display in the Museum of Europe Cultures, Berlin, which 'takes visual material produced in the nineteenth and early twentieth century to be explicitly nationalistic, jingoistic, and in some cases xenophobic and reframes it through a postnational interpretative frame' (p. 55). See pp. 52-58 for the full case study: 'The Museum of European Cultures, Berlin: Reframing the nation?'.
¹⁷⁹ Mason, p. 41.

¹⁷⁹ Mason, p. 41.

¹⁸⁰ As argued by Macdonald *et al.*

¹⁸¹ Donde P. Ashmos and Dennis Duchon, 'Spirituality at Work: A Conceptualization and Measure', *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 9:2 (2000), 134-144.

¹⁸² Cameron, p. 354.

management approaches that involve the development of multiple and conflicting goals; variety in strategic activities; informal and decentralised decision-making patterns; a wide variety of interactions and connections for decision-making; the creation of processes and structures that facilitate dialogic communication; and the generation of multiple interpretations and structural flexibility. By instituting a complexity- and systems- oriented way of thinking, such a transition can act as an entry point into new purposeful cognitive frames.¹⁸³

A crucial point here is the holding together of conflicting mind-sets – an approach which could be useful in overcoming that ‘existential tension’ between the local and (inter)national as expressed by Hepworth staff above. By acknowledging and also holding together difference, organisations such as the Hepworth could be ‘better able to deal with messy problems through multiple approaches and different aggregations of things, people and ideas’.¹⁸⁴

To explore the possibilities presented by an assemblage perspective and the alternative trajectories set out above, Chapter 2 will present a close reading of Kevin Hetherington’s article ‘Museum Topologies’ and develop his approach in relation to an exhibition at the Hepworth. It will demonstrate how attending to topological complexity can be a useful tool to understand the conception and construction of ‘local’ and ‘international’ in the assemblage of the Gallery; as well as the ‘shuffle of agency’ that takes place in the development and presentation of a particular exhibition, *Des Hughes: Stretch Out and Wait*. Moreover, it will explore the capacity to hold together conflicting notions of ‘community’ and ‘artworld’, and, the affect this may have on the overall configuration of *The Hepworth Wakefield*.

¹⁸³ Cameron, p. 354.

¹⁸⁴ Cameron, p. 354.

Chapter 2: Museum Topologies

It is not just visitors' interpretations that can lead to multiple readings of the narrative of a space, but that the agency of things can do this as well.¹

Places circulate through material placings, though the folding together of spaces and things and the relations of difference established by those folds. They are brought into being through the significations that emanate from those material arrangements and foldings.²

In 'Museum Topology and the Will to Connect', Kevin Hetherington explores the relationship between material culture and spatiality, treating the museum space as one which is topologically complex, that is to say, 'folded around certain objects on display'.³ His ambition is to unpick the semiotics of materiality in this topological space of the museum, and to ensure that the objects within it are treated as agents, which bring complexity and connection within the 'museum's heterogeneous network'. Through a close reading of Kevin Hetherington's text this chapter will demonstrate how topological complexity can be a useful approach to understand the conception and construction of 'local' and 'international' in the spaces of the Gallery. It will do so by exploring the relationship between Euclidean space, discursive space and folded space, in other words, this chapter will consider The Hepworth Wakefield as a more complex topological space.

Hetherington's case study focuses on The City Museum and Art Gallery in Stoke-on-Trent, and a particular '17th century slipware owl jug' affectionately named 'Ozzy the Owl'. In Hetherington's article Ozzy is treated as 'an agent that is

¹ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 216.

² Hetherington, 'In place of geometry', p. 187.

³ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', Abstract.

constituted by the folding together' of interpretation and narratives within the museum display producing particular spatial effects. The contingent placement of Ozzy within the space of the museum disrupts its central discourse of improvement around the essential figure of Wedgwood and associated notions of Kantian aesthetics. Key to Hetherington's approach is that the object's position in the museum is contingent, and that its insertion in a specific location can perform 'new topological arrangements in a space', which may then reveal 'the friability and partial connectedness of its narrativity'.⁴ Developing this topological and material semiotic approach in relation to The Hepworth Wakefield, I will apply these concepts to one of the Gallery's Spring 2016 exhibitions, *Des Hughes: Stretch Out and Wait*. I am not suggesting here that my case study is directly relatable to Hetherington's, although there may be some resonances; rather it is his approach to exploring the space(s) of the museum I am interested in. Where it takes us will necessarily be different. The focus of my journey is an exhibition in which complex enactions of place, community and art are engendered through the agency of the objects on display, and where multiple realities coexist in both the production and use of this space. The ambition being to explore the possible shifting configurations and agencies within the assemblage of the Hepworth during this exhibition. In particular, how concepts that are often perceived to be at odds within the organisation – 'community'/'local' and 'high art'/'artworld'/'(inter)national' – may be held together productively in the exhibition's development and presentation; and, how power and agency may (or may not) be distributed between them. By reflecting on this particular case study and tracing the actions/process of how meaning is

⁴ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', Abstract.

produced in a particular context (situated knowledges and situated action), I hope to demonstrate how such approaches may be useful for the study of other places and spaces.⁵ Also, that if consciously taken up by museums and galleries in their own practice, how assemblage perspectives may be better placed to effectively deal with the ‘messy problems’ of ‘multiple approaches’ and conflicting organisational goals.⁶

The Space(s) of the Museum: Euclidean, Discursive and Folded

Hetherington begins his paper with a deceptively simple question: how are we to consider the space of the museum?⁷ How are we to approach making sense of the spaces of such institutions, as in Hetherington’s case, The City Museum and Art Gallery in Stoke-on-Trent, and in my own, The Hepworth Wakefield in Yorkshire? He proposes that these institutions are composed of three types of space of varying complexity: Euclidean, discursive and topological. The first space, Euclidian, has mathematical origins in a concern for lines, boundaries, volumes, and where distance between two objects is quantifiable. Euclideanism considers objects as occupying a three dimensional space, with specific coordinates which can be measured, scaled and positioned hierarchically above or below one another.⁸ It reduces the complexity of lived experience and three-dimensional reality to two dimensions, to be mapped and represented. In this sense, Euclidean space allows for the creation of defined regions and boundaries, and thus allows for the idea of an inside and outside, a

⁵ See Chapter 1.

⁶ Cameron, ‘The Liquid Museum’, p. 354.

⁷ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 200.

⁸ Law, ‘After ANT’, p. 6.

centre and periphery; and, as Hetherington and Rolland Munro propose, is ‘an issue that has come to dominate much spatial theory over the past decade’.⁹

Hetherington proposes that discursive space overlays the geometric space of the Euclidean; as discursive space proposes that space is like text, it can be read. Here, Hetherington follows Michel Foucault’s work in *Discipline and Punish* which states that spaces have effects ‘in terms of power and agency’, which are ‘revealed’ through our reading of them.¹⁰ These discursive spaces form the basis of much work in museum studies and the exploration of the narrative, or narratives, of the museum. This is often seen in the understanding that the production of meaning is engendered through the discursive and non-discursive, that is to say, through environment and materiality.

The final space, and the most crucial for Hetherington, is that which is folded,¹¹ and for these folded spaces to be treated as ‘rhizomic and uncertain in their assemblage’.¹² This concept of the fold is influenced largely by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s work,¹³ where they use the term the fold, after Foucault, to indicate an ‘interval, gap, or disjointure’.¹⁴ They look to Foucault’s development and divergence from Heidegger’s understanding of the fold, where folding-in and unfolding is the key, and Foucault’s move beyond Heidegger’s ontology where he is

⁹ Kevin Hetherington and Roland Munro, ‘Spacing division: Introduction’, in *Ideas of Difference: Social Spaces and the Labour of Division*, ed. by Kevin Hetherington and Roland Munro (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 155-157 (p. 155).

¹⁰ See Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 200; and Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of The Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

¹¹ See, Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*; Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*, trans. by Seán Hand (London: Athlone, 1988; repr. London: Continuum, 2006); and, Mol and Law, ‘Regions, Networks and Fluids’.

¹² Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 200.

¹³ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.

¹⁴ Doel, p. 423.

‘able to think being as the fold without [Heidegger’s] intentionality’.¹⁵ In taking up this concept and exploring it in their work, Deleuze and Guattari’s aim is not to flatten out these folds and homogenise them. It is to think instead of scrunpled geography, where the fold acts as an ‘and’, as a gluing together, as a fixative. For Hetherington, this more complex topological space is fundamental, yet, he is not only looking at the distorted space, the folds in the space of the museum, but the relationship that these folded spaces have to the spaces of the discursive and Euclidian. He prompts us to consider how they are each folded into each other; to ask, how are they folded into time, place and materiality?

The Journey to Des Hughes: Euclidean Space and The Hepworth Wakefield

In Hetherington’s article, before we are able to go into the ceramics gallery and encounter Ozzy, he first describes the journey we take to get there. To encounter the *Des Hughes* exhibition we too must make a journey through The Hepworth Wakefield. To satisfy the necessary limits of the space of this thesis, let us now imagine that we are a familiar visitor to The Hepworth Wakefield, eager to see the new exhibition. As such, we may rush through its spaces, those with which we think are well acquainted, to get to this new show. We may hurry through the entrance, across the foyer and up the wide staircase; emerging in to the bright, white space of Gallery 1. Turning immediately to Gallery 2 on our right, impatient to get on with our journey, we may then pass through the chain of gallery spaces, each leading on

¹⁵ Keith Robinson, ‘Towards a Political Ontology of the Fold: Deleuze, Heidegger, Whitehead and the “Fourfold” Event’, in *Deleuze and The Fold: A Critical Reader*, ed. by Sjoerd van Tuinen and Niamh McDonnell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 184-202 (p. 186).

to the next; a blur of objects, white walls and grey, concrete floors passing us by, as we wind our way through plinths, sculptures and doorways that stand between us and Gallery 6, where *Des Hughes* resides.



Figure 3: Installation view of *Des Hughes: Stretch Out and Wait*, including school children's work seen to the left of the image. Photo: Stuart Whipps. Image courtesy The Hepworth Wakefield and Des Hughes.

Arriving at our goal, we are greeted with a clean, bright room, where a range of objects and materials are neatly arranged on walls, shelves and a long central plinth, which diagonally cuts across the space in front of us (Figure 3). Inspired by a particular moment of local history, when Henry Moore gifted his *Draped Reclining Figure* to Castleford in the 1980s, Des Hughes traces the story of this gift and the effect it had on the town. The exhibition includes Hughes's artwork and research documents from the Wakefield Permanent Art Collection Archive, as well as two working models for his new outdoor sculptures, one to be placed outside the Hepworth Wakefield, and the other outside Castleford Academy. An important element of this exhibition is the project 'Castleford Inspires', which saw Hughes,

along with other artists and members of the Learning Team, work with over 70 school pupils from six local schools to creatively engage with the making process, inspired by Moore and Hughes' work.¹⁶ What sets this exhibition apart is the inclusion of pieces made by the school children in the same space as the rest of Hughes' art, not at some remove in a sanctioned and separated community or learning area.

Like *Ozzy*, these little sculptures will form an important part of this analysis, but for now, let us return to our journey. Having taken in the distribution of objects across the space of the room, we may decide to approach each of these shelves in turn, inspecting the heterogeneous mixture of photographs, letters, textiles, drawings; alongside objects that appear to be made from bronze, plaster, metal and wood. Moving from one to the next we make our way around the central plinth, and once we close this loop, our experience of the Des Hughes exhibition is complete. We may then retrace our steps, exiting Gallery 6 the way we entered, or we may choose to complete the circuit of gallery spaces, perhaps now meandering through the remaining rooms, which are filled with a Martin Parr retrospective. Either way, we arrive back in Gallery 1, to descend the stairs and cross the foyer back to the entrance which has now become our exit.

In Hetherington's article, before we are able to go into the ceramics gallery proper and encounter *Ozzy*, he asks us to consider 'what we have seen and what we might say about it'.¹⁷ So what have we seen in this journey around the Hepworth, and what might we say about it? Merely a simple description of a visitor's journey?

¹⁶ The Hepworth Wakefield, Castleford Inspires: Henry Moore, Des Hughes and the Reclining Figure Project, Leaflet, 2015.

¹⁷ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 201.

‘Simple’ in the sense of being a Euclidean representation of space as a fixed, given entity, rendered viewable and intelligible for the eye, to be read as a representation of objects distributed in knowable and quantifiable space?¹⁸ ‘Simple’ in contrast to an approach which is attentive to the topological complexity of space, and sees space as constantly under transformation (think twisting, squeezing, stretching and folding), where relations and connectivity are key?¹⁹ Before proceeding with our exploration of the different modes of analysing the space of the Hepworth to help us understand its practice, it is worth reiterating the ambition to move beyond such dichotomies of simple versus complex, or, simple (bad) versus complex (good). As John Law and Annemarie Mol explain, the aspiration is not only to ‘allow the simple to coexist with the complex’, but also to find ‘ways of describing the world while keeping it open’.²⁰ Is the above brief description useful in that may help us navigate our way to the exhibition? Yes certainly, and more information would perhaps be superfluous, and even distract from the task in hand. Is such a description telling us much about the practice of the institution, the process(es) of meaning making that may take place in its spaces? No, for that we also need to consider different space, and ‘increase’ the complexity of our analysis. For example, the above ‘simple’ description of our

¹⁸ See Heidegger and Haraway.

¹⁹ Helen Couclelis, ‘Space, time, geography’, in *Geographical Information Systems: Principles, Techniques, Management and Applications*, ed. by Paul A. Longley *et al.*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2005) I, pp. 29-38, in School of Geosciences, University of Edinburgh website <http://www.geos.ed.ac.uk/~gisteac/gis_book_abridged/> [accessed 30 June 2017].

²⁰ Law and Mol, ‘Complexities’, pp. 16-17. ‘Multiplicity, point 1. If there are different modes of organising which coexist, what is reduced or effaced in one may be crucial in another so that the question no longer is, Do we simplify or do we accept complexity? It becomes instead a matter of determining which simplification or simplifications we will attend to and create and, as we do this, of attending to what they foreground and draw our attention to, as well as what they relegate to the background. Multiplicity, Point 2. Often it is not so much a matter of living in a single mode of ordering or of “choosing” between them. Rather it is that we find ourselves at places where these modes join together. Somewhere in the interferences something crucial happened, for although a single simplification reduces complexity, at the places where different simplifications meet, complexity is created, emerging where various modes of ordering (styles, logics) come together and add up comfortably or in tension, or both’ (Law and Mol, ‘Complexities’, p. 11).

journey could be met with another ‘simple’ point about agency in the Gallery. We could say that this is a journey which contains *choices*, where the agency is solely with the visitor to choose where they go: ‘Simple description, simple choices, agency is solely with the visitor as an act of volition’.²¹ Yet, as Hetherington goes on to suggest, there is a ‘more complex level’ regarding the journey we take through the galleries, ‘this passage means moving through a series of connected spaces that are architecturally designed so that one moves in a certain direction while being given a series of choices’.²² The architectural design of the Hepworth evidently mediates our navigation of the space. We have no choice but to follow the chain of gallery spaces; the stairs we ascend to the galleries, the numbered room panels, the guides that we hold, all leading our way. The (heterogeneous) materiality of the space thus informs and mediates our ‘choices’ to navigate this space. This is not only in the sense that there are doors (openings), walls, stairs, lifts, shop cabinets and so on; but there are also literal, material signs, ‘signs that point the way, sign that tell us what we are looking at, signs that perform in relation to other signs’. In the Hepworth each gallery space is clearly numbered, these numbered spaces clearly labelled in the What’s On guide, which itself often (though not always) contains a floor plan of the (numbered) galleries to help people navigate their way around (Figure 4). These signs *help* us choose the ‘correct’ way; and correct in the sense that this is the way the Gallery wants us to look. In this sense, ‘Agency is now mediated by the space itself and the semiotics of its heterogeneous materiality’.²³ By holding together these two (‘simple’) approaches to considering space, we have now added a little

²¹ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 201.

²² Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 201.

²³ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 201.

complexity to understand something further about the Hepworth and the effect of its materiality. Extending Hetherington's argument I would also reaffirm that one approach is not 'less good' than the other, what could be taken as simple description of Euclidean space can be met with notion of material agency of the gallery building itself, to add complexity to or understanding of the journey we take to the exhibition. By attending to each, exploring what they foreground or suppress allows us to build a more complex picture of the elements that constitute the assemblage of the Hepworth at that moment, as we shall see in our exploration of the next mode of analysis, that of 'discursive space'.



Figure 4: Map of galleries which form a closed circuit. 'What's On: Summer 2014', The Hepworth Wakefield.

Barbara Hepworth and Modernist Art Discourse: The Museum as Discursive Space

Following Hetherington's lead, we may now fold another mode of reading space in to our analysis, and consider how our progress around the space of the Gallery is being meditated, helped or hindered, by our education and concomitant cultural capital, that is to say, our ability to decode the code of the museum.²⁴ According to Hetherington, as well as 'a series of Euclidian spaces, rectangles, cylinders, cubes and so on',²⁵ the museum is a signifying and classifying space, the space of a code: 'a signifying and classifying code that represents the spaces through which we move and allows us to read what the museum understands its exhibition to mean'.²⁶ What is the code at the Hepworth? What narratives are being constructed? What narratives are absent? What is the narrative intention as we move through the spaces, in serendipitous resonance with Hetherington's experience in Stoke-on Trent, 'as one walks round in the narratively intended clockwise direction'?²⁷

The moment I have chosen to visit the Galley in this case study is merely a snapshot of the exhibitions on display in Spring 2016. Revisit the Gallery a year later, and the exhibitions and artworks on display will be very different. In fact, of the ten spaces only two display permanent exhibitions: Gallery 4, *Hepworth at Work*, and Gallery 5, *The Hepworth Family Gift*. Of course, that is not to say that the changing programme for the rest of the spaces is entirely random. Though not

²⁴ See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984; repr. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2002); and Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel with Dominique Schannper, *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public*, trans. by Caroline Beattie and Nick Merriman (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997).

²⁵ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 202.

²⁶ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 202.

²⁷ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 201.

necessarily known to visitors, internally galleries 1 – 6 are referred to as the ‘collection’ galleries, and galleries 7 – 10 as the ‘exhibition’ or ‘temporary’ spaces. The programme for the collection galleries largely features modern art, predominantly the work of Barbara Hepworth and her contemporaries, and they are often used to showcase pieces from the Wakefield art collection, which includes the historical collection of eighteenth and nineteenth century topographical works of Wakefield and the wider Yorkshire region. It is worth noting that a small space in Gallery 6, which used to be known as *Yorkshire in Pictures*, focused on making strong visual or conceptual links to Yorkshire, usually through historical work from the collection, but also, less regularly, in the form of small community exhibitions.²⁸ For example, one such exhibition in 2012 displayed the outcome of an extensive and funded project entitled ‘Out and About’, which saw the Learning Team work with local schools to engage with different parts the Yorkshire landscape, and experiment with materials and forms influenced by Barbara Hepworth (Figure 5).

²⁸ Gallery 6 effectively functions as two separate exhibition spaces. A dividing wall splits the room in two, one side being around twice the size of the other, the larger space was the location of the *Des Hughes* exhibition.



Figure 5: Display of work created by local school children as part of the ‘Out and About’ project.
Photo: Sarah Harvey Richardson.

Alongside these ‘collection’ galleries, the Hepworth also has a programme of temporary exhibitions, usually, but not always, consisting of contemporary artists who are seen as significant within the art world. Significance is measured in the sense of an artist that would be recognised and thought interesting by the national and or international art world discourse. In Spring 2016 the big coup was the *Martin Parr* retrospective, fulfilling the desire for national, if not international, significance in his prestige as an artist. For example, Parr was described by art critic Alistair Sooke in *The Telegraph* as, ‘arguably Britain’s greatest living photographer’.²⁹ Thus, considering the notion of the ‘collection’ and ‘exhibition’ spaces, we can say there

²⁹ Alistair Sooke, ‘Martin Parr: “If I knew how to take a great photo, I’d stop”’, *The Telegraph*, 23 January 2016 <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/photography/what-to-see/martin-parr-if-i-knew-how-to-take-a-great-photo-id-stop/>> [last accessed 18 September 2017].

are a range of cultural literacies at play within the Hepworth.³⁰ These include an art world literacy, encountered in the aesthetics and interpretation in the collection and temporary exhibitions; local and regional literacies, and the exploration of the identity of Wakefield and Yorkshire; and a historical literacy found in the eighteenth and nineteenth century collections. Not only is the ambition here to have multiple entry points into the Gallery, catering for a range of tastes and interests, but also to ensure that collections and the contemporary always have a ‘relationship’³¹ and ‘complements’, that are seen by the curators as a way to help people access or understand the work.³² For example, past temporary exhibitions by artists such as Richard Long, Claire Woods and Franz West, were seen to have a strong dialogue with the work in the collection galleries and Hepworth’s work, due to their materiality, forms and relationship with landscape. Therefore, these mutually supporting visual, if not conceptual, relationships are seen to facilitate visitors understanding through the opportunity to make ‘connections’ between them.³³

These narratives can be said to be constructed in two ways, firstly, *between* the various gallery spaces, their stories reinforcing and developing understanding of a particular narrative; and secondly, *within* each space through the particular placement of objects and the interpretation in the space. For example, a clear narrative is constructed between the exhibitions *A Greater Freedom: Hepworth 1965*

³⁰ Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Breckenridge, ‘Museums Are Good to Think: Heritage on View in India’, in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, ed. by Karp, Ivan, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine (Washington; London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), pp. 34-55 (p. 46).

³¹ Gemma Millward, Curator at The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 25 November 2011.

³² Natalie Walton, Head of Learning at The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 15 June 2012.

³³ Natalie Walton, Head of Learning at The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 15 June 2012.

– 1975 (Gallery 1), and *Hepworth in Yorkshire* (Gallery 6).³⁴ Fundamentally this is the story of Barbara Hepworth, a reassertion of her importance and significance as a modern British artist, evidenced in Gallery 1; and the importance of Yorkshire to her development, both growing up in Wakefield and studying in Leeds with Henry Moore, demonstrated through the materials presented in Gallery 6.³⁵ There is significant work being done in this ‘discursive space’ of the Gallery, thus we will now explore the construction of this narrative in further detail.

Gallery 1, *A Greater Freedom: Hepworth 1965 – 1975*, includes a selection of Hepworth’s work from her later years. We see five sculptures of varying media (marble, wood, bronze) distributed evenly in the space, raised off the floor on plinths of concrete breeze blocks, a nod, we learn, to the way the works were displayed in that decade. This also accounts for the inclusion of a couple of large potted plants, sitting rather awkwardly in the corners of the space, but which are said to ‘evoke the installations of the period’.³⁶ Around the walls are a selection of large, brightly coloured, framed paintings and prints. We are informed that this period of the artist’s life is significant as ‘[b]y this point Hepworth had achieved international recognition, representing Britain at the Venice Biennale in 1950, winning the Grand Prix at the Sao Paulo Biennial of 1959, and having *Single Form* commissioned for the United Nations in the early 1960s’, and, as such, these ‘successes afforded her opportunities to explore new ideas and processes’ in the range of media and processes on

³⁴ *Hepworth in Yorkshire* being the exhibition we encountered in Chapter 1.

³⁵ Another opportunity to stress the importance of Yorkshire, and Yorkshire’s ‘production’ of another significant modern artist.

³⁶ The Hepworth Wakefield, ‘Two New Barbara Hepworth Exhibitions Announced Featuring Archive Photographs to be Exhibited for the First Time’, The Hepworth Wakefield website <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/news/two-new-barbara-hepworth-exhibitions-announced-for-2015/>> [accessed 10 January 2017].

display.³⁷ This particular story not only links to specific spaces within the Hepworth (the other spaces displaying her work), but also seeks to connect to a different space – that of the Barbara Hepworth Retrospective at Tate Britain. The Gallery publicly asserts its narrative as complementary to, and a development of, the one being constructed at Tate:

We look forward to offering our visitors two new exhibitions that explore new areas of Barbara Hepworth's life and work as one of Britain's most significant artists. We will be examining her earliest years in Wakefield and her lifelong connection to the Yorkshire landscape, as well as presenting sculptures and drawings from the final decade of her career, which saw Hepworth at her most prolific. Together with the permanent display of the Hepworth Family Gift - which features 44 of her working models, tools and archives relating to the major commissions for the United Nations and John Lewis Partnership - we have a wonderful offer to complement Tate's Hepworth retrospective.³⁸

As suggested, the 'Barbara Hepworth' narrative is developed as we pass through the intervening (permanent) exhibitions of *Hepworth at Work* and *The Hepworth Family Gift*, where we learn more about her life and artistic processes. Gallery 4, *Hepworth at Work* explores Hepworth's tools, materials, studio environment, and her development as an artist; the space verging on museum display techniques to tell its story of the 'brilliant' modern British artist (Figure 6).³⁹ We encounter display cases with pull out drawers, each containing a variety of material including personal mementos such as letters, or selections from Hepworth's own collection of 'ancient

³⁷ The Hepworth Wakefield, 'A Greater Freedom: Hepworth 1965 - 1975', The Hepworth Wakefield website <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/whatson/a-greater-freedom-hepworth-1965-1975/>> [accessed 10 January 2017].

³⁸ The Hepworth Wakefield, 'Two New Barbara Hepworth Exhibitions Announced'.

³⁹ 'The Hepworth at Work display explores Hepworth's studio environment, her work in plaster, her collaborative relationships with bronze foundries and the monumental commissions she received in the last fifteen years of her life. The tools and materials on display were Hepworth's own and have been drawn from her second studio in St Ives, the Palais de Danse. Also featured is a step-by-step reconstruction of the bronze-casting process, photographs of works in progress and four specially commissioned films containing archival footage of the artist in her studio', The Hepworth Wakefield, 'The Hepworth Family Gift/Hepworth at Work', The Hepworth Wakefield website <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/whatson/the-hepworth-family-gift/>> [accessed 10 January 2017].

and primitive' objects. At least three, smallish television screens line the walls, each quietly imparting some information about Hepworth, her work, her life. A reconstruction of her workbench stands on a low white plinth, roped off against a wall, a large selection of her tools neatly displayed across it. What we encounter in this space is not so much Hepworth's artworks, but the heterogeneous materials of the artist's life. Moreover, an 'outstanding' British artist's life who was born here in Wakefield, hence, we are told, the decision of the Barbara Hepworth Estate to donate their gift to the city; and, because of the gift's stipulations, for the city to build a gallery that could adequately house them.⁴⁰



Figure 6: Reconstruction of Barbara Hepworth's workbench, on display in *Hepworth at Work*, Gallery 5, The Hepworth Wakefield. Photo: Sarah Harvey Richardson, November 2011.

⁴⁰ 'The Gift is central to the gallery's permanent collection and the purpose-built spaces offer a full exploration of the prototypes for the first time', The Hepworth Wakefield, 'The Hepworth Family Gift'. The Development of the Gallery from the original Wakefield City Gallery to be discussed in Chapter 3.

We learn about this gift as we arrive in Gallery 5, *The Hepworth Family Gift*, an impressively large gallery space filled with light from the enormous window to our left. A window overlooking the dramatic vista of the weir and the waters of the Calder directly rushes beneath us, if we dare to look down we see the gallery walls disappear right into the water; looking up, beyond the water and trees, we catch a glimpse of the city, from the industrial looking buildings across the road, up to the Victorian bridge carrying the train tracks to the nearby Kirkgate Station, and to the high-rise flats beyond. Turning back into the gallery, we see a collection of Hepworth's working models and prototypes, the 'centrepiece' being the huge *Winged Figure*, a commission of over six metres tall for John Lewis' flagship store in London. Standing on wide, low plinths, the full size plaster and aluminium models loom large around us. Taller, narrower plinths line the edges of the room, where her smaller models are to be found encased within Perspex. A key touchstone in the 'Barbara Hepworth' narrative is the significance of Yorkshire and her relationship to city of Wakefield, the city we glimpsed through the window in Gallery 5. Moving on to Gallery 6, the importance of the region to the artist is underscored in the exhibition *Hepworth in Yorkshire*, which explores the early years of Hepworth's life and artistic practice. This includes a range of material from her time at Wakefield Girls High School and the beginning of her interest in art – encouraged by her headmistress, Miss McCorben – to her study at Leeds College of Art, and, along with fellow student Henry Moore, her journey to the Royal College of Art in London. The material and artwork in this space is small, intimate; made up of drawings, paintings, photographs and letters, and all very much focused on Hepworth, her experiences of and in Wakefield and Yorkshire.

Attending to this discursive space of the Gallery as we journey through it has allowed us to consider the unfolding narrative of 'Barbara Hepworth'. A narrative centred on significance (as an international artist), materiality (plaster, wood, bronze), and landscape/place (particularly Yorkshire and Wakefield). Further connections to these themes can then be made when we move in to the other space of Gallery 6, where we find *Des Hughes: Stretch Out and Wait*. These include narratives of material, where evocations of bronze and plaster clearly relate to Hepworth's work; narratives of form, including the organic shapes of Hughes's sculptures mirrored in *The Hepworth Family Gift*, which can be glimpsed through the opening to Gallery 5 (Figure 7), as well the recurring motif of the figure, most significantly the reclining figure, which explores the important theme of Henry Moore's work; and, narratives of place, where explicit links to Yorkshire are constructed through the focus of Wakefield's neighbour Castleford (Moore's birthplace), and thus the importance of the region for the influential artists Hepworth and Moore.



Figure 7: Installation view of *Des Hughes: Stretch Out and Wait*, looking through to Barbara Hepworth's work in Gallery 5. Photo: Stuart Whipps. Image courtesy The Hepworth Wakefield and Des Hughes.

The curators feel that this is a facilitative approach, enabled through their selection and arrangement of objects in each of the collection galleries to construct certain themed narratives and coherent stories, rather than employing a linear, progressive art historical approach to display. As Eilean Hooper-Greenhill explains, 'material things can be understood in a multitude of different ways, that many meanings can be read from things, and that this meaning can be manipulated as required'.⁴¹ In the case of *Plasters: Cast and Copies* (Galleries 2 and 3, the spaces we pass through between *A Greater Freedom* and *Hepworth at Work*) we see this manipulation of heterogeneous material in the mixing of historical, modern and contemporary sculptures in the same space. The artworks are purposefully placed in

⁴¹ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, 'What is a museum?', in *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, ed. by Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (Oxon: Routledge, 1992), pp. 1-22 (p. 6).

dialogue with each other to produce a certain meaning regarding the history of plaster copies, and how this has been transformed and developed by artists over time. This visual dialogue between the sculptures is given textual form in the interpretation panel for Gallery 3:

Contemporary sculptures in this gallery engage with the history of the plaster copy, once dominant definitions of beauty and the classical pose of the human figure. By displaying these works together it is possible to see how Western adherence to an ideal of art represented via the classical plaster cast has been transformed by many different kinds of sculptural objects embodying different artist's personal experience, ideas and values.⁴²

Through the juxtaposition of particular artworks the curators are creating a dialogue between them which illustrates their chosen narrative. This practice has been thoroughly explored in the discipline of museum studies and beyond, through the work of Hooper-Greenhill, Susan Pearce, Michael Baxandall, and Mieke Bal.⁴³ To briefly rehearse some of their arguments in the context of the Hepworth, we could follow Pearce's lead and say that the curator's choices are 'part of the dialectical process, so that each presentation of an object is a selective narrative, and the curator is engaging in a rhetorical act of persuasion'.⁴⁴ Nicholas Serota wrote that this approach to interpretation, the selecting and placing of certain objects in dialogue with one another, is recognised and then read by viewers. They are 'conscious' that

⁴² The Hepworth Wakefield, *Plaster: Casts and Copies*, Text Panel in Gallery 3, The Hepworth Wakefield, 2 May 2015 - 8 May 2016.

⁴³ See Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and their Visitors* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994); Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000); Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, ed., *Museum, Media, Message* (London: Routledge, 1995); Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: an investigation into collecting in the European tradition* (London: Routledge, 1995); Susan M. Pearce, 'Objects as meaning; or narrating the past', in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. by Susan M. Pearce (Oxon: Routledge, 1994); Michael Baxandall, 'Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects', in *Exhibiting cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display*, ed. by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington; London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); and, Mieke Bal, 'Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting', in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1994).

⁴⁴ Pearce, 'Objects as meaning', p. 27.

this ‘grouping’ is the curator’s interpretation which establishes ‘relationships that could not have existed in the minds of the makers of these objects’.⁴⁵ Reinforced by object labels and interpretation panels the viewer is active in constructing these relationships. According to Michael Baxandall, the gallery space becomes ‘a field in which at least three distinct terms are independently at play—makers of objects, exhibitors of made objects, and viewers of exhibited made objects’.⁴⁶ When we enter the gallery space, or ‘field’, we become ‘active’ in the ‘intellectual space’ between the works of art on display and their labels.⁴⁷ This active search for, and construction of, relationships between the art object and their written interpretation is the process of meaning-making engendered by the objects on display, as they ‘may be considered as signs and symbols, creating categories and transmitting messages which can be read’.⁴⁸ The narrative of the gallery space is constructed in this creative process of reading the object’s meaning.

This process of meaning-making, through our encounters with the objects in the Hepworth, takes place as we follow the designated architectural script. We are guided through the spaces by the spaces’ own materiality, its narrative is addressed to us, to be read, internalised, and taken away. As Mieke Bal describes: ‘The space of a museum presupposes a walking tour, an order in which the dioramas, exhibits, and panels are viewed and read. Thus it addresses an implied viewer—in narratological terms, a focalizer—whose tour produces the story of knowledge taken in and taken home’.⁴⁹ The concept of a processual, ritualised tour through

⁴⁵ Nicholas Serota, *Experience or Interpretation: The Dilemma of Museums of Modern Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), p. 8.

⁴⁶ Baxandall, p. 36.

⁴⁷ Baxandall, p. 38.

⁴⁸ Pearce, *On Collecting*, p. 15.

⁴⁹ Mieke Bal, *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1996), p.18.

labyrinthine galley spaces has been explored at length by Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach.⁵⁰ In Duncan's Text, 'Civilizing Rituals', she suggests that the gallery should be thought of as a 'ritual' site with a 'purpose'.⁵¹ This purpose is to effect transformation on those visitors who engage with the ritual performance of walking through its spaces, for them to then come away 'with a sense of enlightenment, or a feeling of having been spiritually nourished or restored', or, as Duncan's title suggests, 'civilised'.⁵² This aspiration for enlightenment is affirmed in the material spaces of the Hepworth, through the use of architectural tropes which reference to those civic and civilising spaces of 19th century. The architect David Chipperfield makes this reference explicit:

Well actually, it's a classic 19th century museum. This is no different from the Royal Academy. You come in, there's a whole load of stuff on the ground floor, you go up the staircase and then you get the galleries. It's a 19th century plan, in a loop. So we have stayed very close to that, but obviously the base of a 21st century museum has more offers in it than a 19th century museum.⁵³

As Chipperfield states, we experience such a trope in our ascent of the large staircase in to the light of the first floor galleries, a journey from darkness into the illuminating brilliance of Hepworth's modernist work. The structure of the galleries themselves form a closed circuit, a pathway which only too readily conforms to

⁵⁰ See Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, 'The Museum of Modern Art as Late Capitalist Ritual: An Iconographic Analysis', in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, ed. by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004; first publ. in *Marxist Perspectives* (Winter 1978), 28-51); and Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995). 'The unicursal maze-walker, having no choice but to pursue a singular, predetermined route, follows a universal and authoritative curriculum, learning by precept', Paul Basu, 'The Labyrinthine Aesthetic in Contemporary Museum Design', *Exhibition Experiments*, ed. by Sharon Macdonald and Paul Basu (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 47-70 (p. 51).

⁵¹ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, p. 13.

⁵² Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, p. 13.

⁵³ David Chipperfield, 'Interview with David Chipperfield, The Hepworth Wakefield Website <http://ripasetsesu.s3.amazonaws.com/www.hepworthwakefield.org/_files/documents/may_11/FENT__1305736424_INTERVIEW_WITH_DAVID_CHIPPERFI.pdf> [last accessed 18 September 2017].

Duncan's concept of the labyrinth: 'Passage through the labyrinth is an ordeal which ends in triumph – a passage from darkness to light and thus a metaphor for spiritual enlightenment, integration, rebirth'.⁵⁴ This concept of a pathway with purpose was shared by curatorial staff speaking shortly after the Gallery had opened: 'the pathway that we have throughout the galleries means that we can actually achieve something with the visitor that helps them to enjoy Eva [Rothschild]'s space or Clare [Wood]'s space or whoever's in that [contemporary gallery] space',⁵⁵ and was affirmed by an early reviewer of the Hepworth, who obviously performed the ritual with ease: 'Visitors are led intuitively through it by the art, with sculptures in the next room framed through openings and the personalities of the rooms working as an orienting device'.⁵⁶

Having paused to consider the narrative intention of the spaces of the Hepworth, we shall now return to Hetherington's journey of building topological complexity. Following his lead, thus far we have discussed the Gallery as an Euclidean space, and, as a signifying and classifying (discursive) space; exploring particular interpretation and coding practices. We can stop here, and Hetherington argues this is an interesting and 'perfectly reasonable' approach; an approach which has already been successfully performed by many and in lots of different ways.⁵⁷ We may even progress a little further in this vein, and, as Hetherington suggests, take Stuart Hall's lead and explore the notion of certain codes taking dominance in the

⁵⁴ Duncan and Wallach, 'The Museum of Modern Art as Late Capitalist Ritual', p. 492.

⁵⁵ Gemma Millward, Curator at The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 25 November 2011.

⁵⁶ Esme Fieldhouse, 'Flowing Sculpture', *Blueprint*, 5 August 2011 <<http://www.blueprintmagazine.co.uk/index.php/everything-else/flowing-sculpture/>> [accessed 29 July 2012].

⁵⁷ See footnote 43.

Gallery's representations.⁵⁸ In terms of the exhibits we encountered in the Hepworth, I would argue this dominant code is that of internationally significant modern and contemporary art as seen through the gaze of modernist aesthetics and display techniques; in this process the art works and the narrative that they help to construct signify 'art world' to those who are seeking this significance and would recognise them as such. According to Hetherington, 'Some visitors may happily accept that code. Others may object'.⁵⁹ Some visitors may, in fact, 'bring to bear an oppositional code', they may question where the current, living city of Wakefield and its communities are to be seen in the Galleries representation.⁶⁰ Where are the practising Wakefield artists and their work? Where are the interests and concerns of the people who live within the Gallery's direct vicinity? This type of questioning takes us back to the binary explored in Chapter 1; the tension felt by staff and stakeholders between 'local' and 'international' ambitions and responsibilities, and where and how these concepts are (or are not) represented in the spaces of the Hepworth. So, there may be a sense of some people being positioned outside, or in opposition to, the Hepworth's dominant code. Or, perhaps, other 'visitors may adopt a negotiated code', the dominant code may not speak to them, or they may not have access to it, but some may experience nostalgia or connection to narratives regarding Yorkshire and, in particular, Yorkshire Landscapes; or as a sense of pride in an important Gallery being located in their town.

Having established a sense of the codes within the Gallery – dominant, oppositional, or negotiated – Hetherington suggests that we may push on even

⁵⁸ Stuart Hall, 'Encoding and Decoding', in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. by Simon During (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 90-103.

⁵⁹ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 202.

⁶⁰ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 202.

further. The next step could be to explore why and how people adopt such codes, using quantitative and/or qualitative enquiries that ‘might bring to bear crude issues of economic class or be more subtle and use notions like habitus and cultural capital’.⁶¹ Let us then take a moment to explore these important notions, and how they come to bear on the spaces of the Hepworth. According to Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Human beings are at once biological beings and social agents who are constituted as such in and through their relation to a social space’.⁶² Marking the difference between social space and physical space, he argues that as biological entities human beings occupy *a* space (a loci), and cannot be in more than one place at once.⁶³ In that sense, a person or event could be said to be situated. However, as social agents, we are also ‘defined relationally, as a *position*, as a rank in an order’, within naturalised hierarchies inscribed in social space.⁶⁴ For Bourdieu, agents are located in social space according to their economic and cultural capital – they are located within a field of power.

Influenced by Émile Durkheim’s relational thinking, where social reality is constituted by an assemblage of invisible relations, each defined by their relative proximity or distance from each other, vertically or hierarchically; Bourdieu argues that the way social agents are located in this social space is determined by commonalities, in other words, the closer they are the more they have in common.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 202.

⁶² Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Vilhelm Aubert memorial lecture: Physical Space, Social Space and Habitus’ (Oslo: Department of Sociology, University of Oslo and Institute for Social Research, 1996), p. 11.

⁶³ Bourdieu, ‘Vilhelm Aubert memorial lecture’, p. 11.

⁶⁴ Bourdieu, ‘Vilhelm Aubert memorial lecture’, p. 13.

⁶⁵ ‘The “social reality” which Durkheim spoke of is an assemblage of invisible relations, those very relations which constitute a space of positions external to each other and defined by their proximity to, neighbourhood with, or distance from each other, and also by their relative position, above or below or yet in between, in the middle. Sociology, in its objectivist moment, is a social topology, and *analysis situs* as they called this new branch of mathematics in Leibniz’s time, an analysis of the relative positions and of the objective relations between these positions’, Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Social

These relations (distances and proximities) can be mapped spatially, and, according to Bourdieu, ‘spatial distances on paper are equivalent to social distances’.⁶⁶ These structures of difference in which people are positioned within form the invisible determining factors of visible/tangible interaction.⁶⁷ *Habitus* is, therefore, a product of ‘these generative and unifying principles which retranslate the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary life-style, that is, a unitary set of persons, goods, practices’.⁶⁸ *Habitus* are the product of social positions, and are thus differentiated (they are distinct) and also differentiating (they are operators of distinction).⁶⁹

The structural nature of these processes is evident, and, indeed, Bourdieu describes habitus as structures which are both structured and structuring:

Habitus are structured structures, generative principles of distinct and distinctive practices – what the worker eats, and especially the way he eats it, the sport he practices and the way he practices it, his political opinions and the way he expresses them are systematically different from the industrial proprietor’s corresponding activities / *habitus* are also structuring structures, different classifying schemes [and] classification principles, different principles of vision and division, different tastes. Habitus make different differences; they implement distinctions between what is good and what is bad, between what is right and what is wrong, between what is distinguished and what is vulgar, and so on, but they are not the same. Thus, for instance, the same behaviour or even the same good can appear distinguished to one person, pretentious to someone else, and cheap or showy to yet another.⁷⁰

Space and Symbolic Power’, *Sociological Theory*, 7:1 (1989), 14-25, in *Jstor* <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/202060>> [accessed 25 January 2017], (p. 16).

⁶⁶ Bourdieu, ‘Vilhelm Aubert memorial lecture’, p. 13. However, Bourdieu does acknowledge that we must not treat ‘classes on paper as real classes’ (p. 17), as he suggests Marx does; rather social classes have ‘*to be made*. They are not given in “social reality”’ (p. 18), citing Edward Palmer Thompson’s *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Gollancz, 1963), as an example of the clear recognition of this process (Bourdieu, ‘Social Space and Symbolic Power’).

⁶⁷ Bourdieu, ‘Social Space and Symbolic Power’, p. 16.

⁶⁸ Bourdieu, ‘Vilhelm Aubert memorial lecture’, p. 15.

⁶⁹ Bourdieu, ‘Vilhelm Aubert memorial lecture’, p. 15.

⁷⁰ Bourdieu, ‘Vilhelm Aubert memorial lecture’, p. 17.

Within these classification schemes symbolic differences ‘constitute a real language’, with their own ‘distinctive features’ and ‘differential deviation that are constitutive of a mythical system, that is, as distinctive signs’.⁷¹ Social space functions as symbolic space, where ‘practices and representations’ are made ‘available for classification’.⁷² Yet, as these are ‘objectively differentiated’ they can only be perceived and understood ‘by those agents who possess the code, the classificatory schemas necessary to understand their social meaning’.⁷³ In the case of the art gallery, this means that ‘a work of art has meaning or interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded’.⁷⁴ As we have seen, the Hepworth is full of signs, but these are only available to those who are able to ‘read’ them. This notion is reinforced by Mieke Bal, who explains that ‘neither texts nor images yield their meanings immediately. They are not transparent, so that images, like texts, require the labour of reading’.⁷⁵ This labour of reading requires the viewer to draw on certain resource – their cultural capital. As ‘no text yields meaning outside the social world and cultural makeup of the reader’, the possibility of effectively, or correctly, reading the work is limited to those who are culturally equipped.⁷⁶ ‘Correctly’ is used here in the sense that the curators who design the exhibitions do this through a certain visual and textual syntax – and by ‘orienting the sentence, syntax also makes the production of meaning possible. Author and reader need to share the knowledge of the syntax in

⁷¹ Bourdieu, ‘Vilhelm Aubert memorial lecture’, p. 17.

⁷² Bourdieu, ‘Social Space and Symbolic Power’, p. 19.

⁷³ Bourdieu, ‘Social Space and Symbolic Power’, p. 19.

⁷⁴ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p. 2.

⁷⁵ Mieke Bal, ‘Working with Concepts’, in *Conceptual Odysseys: Passages to Cultural Analysis*, ed. by Griselda Pollock (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), pp. 1-9 (p. 7).

⁷⁶ Bal, ‘Working with Concepts’, p. 2.

order to communicate'.⁷⁷ It is, then, the viewer as much as the curators who are determining the meaning of the galleries, and although the Hepworth, through its curators and programming, may be clear about its narrative intent, '[t]here is no certainty that visitors would share the background of the museum communicator',⁷⁸ and the 'interpretive strategies' they employ.⁷⁹

According to Hooper-Greenhill, visitor surveys show that 'visitors are self-selected on this basis', given the 'middle and upper-middle social class groupings of most visitors'.⁸⁰ This sentiment was shared by Gallery staff, who felt that the dialogue with visitors tended to be largely one way, and on one level; particularly in regard to the permanent interpretation devices as opposed to events or interventions. In response to a survey question on the 'voice' of the Hepworth, respondents suggested that the Gallery reflected a certain type of voice, and not others. For example, Creative Practitioners stated that 'it reflects the voice of the more experienced and dedicated gallery goer and tries to meet the needs of others' and that 'generally, the exhibits reflect the voice of the white middle class audience'; and a member of Collections and Exhibitions acknowledged that 'I think some of our key texts can be too arts-audience led'. Visitor feedback from the Hepworth seems to support Hooper-Greenhill's sentiments. One comment card read: 'Had a deep physical response to some of the pieces – think it was hugely aided by inspired placement of pieces';⁸¹ and another that: 'The works are curated in a logical, non-

⁷⁷ Bal, *Double Exposures*, p. 138.

⁷⁸ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and their Visitors*, p. 36.

⁷⁹ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill *et al.*, *Making Meaning in Art Museums 1: Visitors' Interpretive Strategies at Wolverhampton Art Gallery*, in *University of Leicester* <<http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/museumstudies/rcmg/projects/making-meaning-in-art-museums-1/making-meaning-in-art-museums-1>> [last accessed 18 September 2017], p. iv.

⁸⁰ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and their Visitors*, p. 36.

⁸¹ Anon quoted in The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished Art Fund advocacy document, 2011.

pretentious manner, allowing those of us who appreciate art/sculpture but are by no means experts to really engage with the collection and enjoy it fully'.⁸² These comments suggest that these particular visitors possess a shared cultural background with the producers of the exhibitions, which then allows the exhibition makers meaning knowledge to be shared 'intersubjectively'.⁸³ As Bal states:

On the one hand, both in the production and in the reception, subjectivity is the bottom line. Yet the object produced and interpreted must be accessible, materially (objectively) and discursively (semiotically, *qua* meaning that is). Cultural objects must signify through common codes, conventions of meaning-making that both producer and reader understand. That is why they have to be intersubjectively accessible. A culture consists of the people who share enough of these conventions to share their views (*inter*-subjectively).

But what of those visitors who do not share knowledge of the syntax? We can perhaps recognise, as Carol Duncan states, that 'no real visitor ever perfectly corresponds to these ideals. In reality, people continually "misread" or scramble or resist the museum's cues to some extent'.⁸⁴ But it seems that for many art galleries the dominant code remains that as was seen in the Hepworth: the narrative is performed in a particular syntax, a particular arts-audience language. During my research I came across an interesting example of this pervasive approach and the almost second nature dominance of this particular code. In this instance 'other' voices in the Gallery – for example young people who had been working on a long project with Learning and Collections staff – were made to adhere to the special syntax, these 'other' voices were re-coded:

we did a project a couple of years ago with some young people, they wrote their panel text for their exhibition in their words, and then it got changed to more of a Hepworthy [sic] wording and they were really annoyed because it was in their words, so we changed it back. But I got the impression that it

⁸² Anon quoted in The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished Kids in Museums Family Friendly Award 2012 application document, 2012, p. 2.

⁸³ Bal, 'Telling Objects', p. 98.

⁸⁴ Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, p. 13.

was done on auto pilot, ‘we’ve got a bit of text we must Hepworth it’, so they did it, and they don’t really think about, ‘oh, this is for a 17 year old who doesn’t talk like this’. So I just wonder if sometimes it is a bit automatic.⁸⁵

Despite such tendencies, staff have described an awareness of ‘arts-audience’ led language and an ambition for sensitivity in their approach to interpretation. A previous curator at the Gallery was eager to make a definite distinction between The Hepworth’s style, and what you may find in galleries such as The Henry Moore Institute, which they described as ‘really theoretical and quite serious and academic’.⁸⁶ This curator stated that her ambitions, and the interpretation that she developed, aimed to ‘strike a balance between it being as accessible’ as possible, but not ‘patronising’ or ‘dumb[ing] everything down’.⁸⁷ Although the methods of display visually conformed to a traditional modernist aesthetic, they were keen to assert that the narrative they provided was ‘not interested in giving a kind of chronology or biography of the artists’; but rather to encourage thinking about a particular context: ‘it’s about materials or it’s about artists engaging with other artists’.⁸⁸ She did acknowledge that often the written interpretation included ‘our thoughts and ways of thinking about the work’;⁸⁹ which confirms Baxandall’s statement that: [T]here are the ideas, values and, certainly, purposes of the arrangers of the exhibition. These are likely to be laden with theory and otherwise contaminated by a concept of culture that the viewer doesn’t necessarily possess or

⁸⁵ Member of the Learning Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 23 October 2014.

⁸⁶ Gemma Millward, Curator at The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 25 November 2011.

⁸⁷ Gemma Millward, Curator at The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 25 November 2011.

⁸⁸ Gemma Millward, Curator at The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 25 November 2011.

⁸⁹ Gemma Millward, Curator at The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 25 November 2011.

share'.⁹⁰ Thus, *habitus* and cultural capital, in Bourdieu's sense, implies and engenders a sense of inclusive and exclusion, a "sense of one's place" but also a "sense of the place of others".⁹¹ In the case of arts and culture this is often manifested and expressed in the sentiment of 'not for the likes of us'. Here, the art gallery itself is differentiated – as distinct and socially distanced from those who do not possess the code to understand and engage with its social meanings. In their recognition of this social distinction ('not for the likes of us') their own position is reaffirmed: 'nothing classifies somebody more than the way he or she classifies'.⁹² Through the particular symbols, rituals, cues and codes encountered in the gallery spaces (as explored above), the Gallery affirms Bourdieu's notion of social space as a space of difference, and that 'art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimizing social differences'.⁹³

So where does this take us? This mode of exploration concerning the Hepworth's discursive space has considered the interpretation of material culture in meaning-making practices in the Gallery that result in certain conceptualisations of *The Hepworth Wakefield*. According to Hetherington it is fine to treat the space of the museum or gallery as one defined by narrative, one that is coded and then subject to decoding. It is fine to explore these spaces as ones which can be read, and read differently, and whose narrative may perform symbolic violence 'on some of its visitors'.⁹⁴ Hetherington states that 'there is nothing wrong with such an approach. It

⁹⁰ Baxandall, p. 34.

⁹¹ Bourdieu, 'Social Space and Symbolic Power', p. 19.

⁹² Bourdieu, 'Social Space and Symbolic Power', p. 19.

⁹³ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p.7

⁹⁴ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 203.

brings some complexity to this simple circular space'.⁹⁵ Thinking back to the limited notion of a 'simple' versus 'complex' account which complexity seeks to overcome (à la Law, Mol and Strathern), it is important not to denigrate such modes of analysing the museum.⁹⁶ A 'simple' approach that explores how people read Euclidian space according to their cultural capital is vital because it is useable, actionable, and (as we have seen) makes certain power dynamics within the Gallery clear. Yet in this account materiality and its agency are lacking. We can add to this account and make use of another mode of analysing the space(s) of the Gallery, by taking up the concept of heterogeneous materiality and the topological nature of space. In so doing we operate in the assemblage frame of mind, and acknowledge that organisations are made up of lots of *things*, lots of *matter* – buildings, art works, policy documents, and people; and that, according to Law, these 'bits and pieces from the social, the technical, the conceptual, and the textual are fitted together' and are converted or translated in to *The Hepworth Wakefield*.⁹⁷ By considering the Gallery as a more complex topological space, we may better attend to the emergent process and 'becomings' of the Gallery. And using a situated action approach, we may consider what materials, ideas, and affects have been (re)assembled in this moment, and how has agency shifted in this process. By acknowledging these shifts and (re)configurations, we may also point to productive possibilities for the future practice of museums and galleries working with and through such complexity.

⁹⁵ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 202.

⁹⁶ See Chapter 1.

⁹⁷ Law, 'Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network', p. 381.

Complex Topological Space

To explore this topological complexity at the City Museum in Staffordshire, Hetherington takes a detailed look at one object, Ozzy the Owl, and explores Ozzy's particular spatial effects; how this little slipware jug opens 'lines of flight down which we can pursue topological connections of time, place, space and things' in the heterogeneous materiality of the museum.⁹⁸ Hetherington's close look at Ozzy and the lines of flight he produces begins by relating the jug to another owl, the owl of Minerva, and how Hegel used this metaphor for knowledge in his preface to *Philosophy of Right*.⁹⁹ In doing so Hetherington is setting up the idea of objects such as Ozzy acting as preface and afterword. Outlining Ozzy's history as an extremely rare example of pre-industrial manufacture, Hetherington highlights a crucial aspect of the object's story, that of its appearance (or 'discovery') on the BBC's Antiques Roadshow and subsequent sale for £20,000, turning it in to something of a celebrity. This celebrity status resulted in Ozzy being brought into and used as a preface for the museum (in its posters, signage, and so on), but also as an afterword – as something which had be fitted in to the museum's pre-existing space and narrative.

The act of Ozzy's insertion in the space of the museum is vital for Hetherington: 'It is not Ozzy as route marker or sign used in marketing the museums that particularly interests me here but the story as to his location within the display

⁹⁸ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 205. 'Line of Flight' is a key term developed from Deleuze, where 'flight' is the translation from French *fuite*, and should not be confused as bearing any relation to flying. It is rather about the act of fleeing, or eluding, or perhaps flowing, leaking, or disappearing (see Brian Massumi, 'Foreword: Pleasures of Philosophy', in Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, pp. ix-xv (p. xvi)). In Hetherington's use, or certainly in the way I am employing the concept, we should think of the creation or production of a rupture, a leak – a line of fuite/flight which we may then follow.

⁹⁹ Georg W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, trans. by S. W. Dyde (London: Prometheus Books, 1896).

and the folding he subsequently performs'.¹⁰⁰ Ozzy could not just be placed in the display with the other slipware, he is too significant, 'instead, he was put in a small display case that stands in front of the larger one containing the major collection of slipware. He stands out in profile, a high point, a preface, which foregrounds the rest of that point of the collect and, indeed, now the collection itself'.¹⁰¹ In this process, Ozzy displaced another object from the museum's collection – this process of displacement having spatial effects. The displaced object was once a key object for the museum, a 1686 copy of Dr Robert Pot's *The Natural History of Staffordshire*:

His book is an important primary source material and yet, when Ozzy arrived, he got shunted off to the store so that the owl jug could take his place. A displacement of one preface for another, a pot for a book, the figural for the discursive, with interesting spatial effect. [...] [The ceramics gallery] is no longer a Euclidian space with an attached narrative but a more complex topological space in which place and time and memory become folded into the materiality of the space.¹⁰²

Hetherington asserts that before he can begin to explore the spatial effects of this (dis)placement, we first have to consider the materiality of the space in which this displacement occurs; its history and development.

Hetherington argues that Josiah Wedgwood is the central figure in the City Museum's collection; asserting that Wedgwood and his objects should be understood as 'a node, what Latour (1988) has described as an obligatory point of passage, in the heterogeneous network that constitutes the gallery; he is its organising principle through which everything else in the collection comes to make narrative sense'.¹⁰³

At the Hepworth, Barbara Hepworth and her artworks play a similar role. Galleries 4 and 5 – *Hepworth at Work* and *The Hepworth Family Gift* – form the only permanent

¹⁰⁰ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 206.

¹⁰¹ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 206.

¹⁰² Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 207.

¹⁰³ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', pp. 210-211.

exhibition spaces, and are thought of by the organisation as its centre-point. So important are these spaces, that a curator described them as acting ‘like the central piece of interpretation that explains the whole ethos of the building and the Gallery’.¹⁰⁴ This operates in both a physical sense, in that the entire building was designed around the specifications of the work that forms part of *The Hepworth Family Gift*, as well as the perceived importance of these galleries to facilitate visitor understanding, to enable aesthetic and conceptual connections between work in the collections and exhibitions spaces. In this sense, Barbara Hepworth and her artworks may play a similar role to that of Wedgwood in The City Museum in Staffordshire. She forms the node, the obligatory point of passage through which the rest of the Hepworth’s displays makes narrative sense, through the importance of her work and the relationship between making and process, collection and contemporary galleries:

So if you think about the gift [*The Hepworth Family Gift*], and that whole dialogue between the gift and the artist as maker is really, really strong. So hopefully that will always be there as a theme that runs throughout. It is about accessibility and making contemporary art have a connection to collection, and therefore be more accessible because you can approach it in that way.¹⁰⁵

David Liddiment, chair of the Trustees at the Hepworth, echoes the significance of Barbara Hepworth and these spaces: ‘you get a feel for the woman and maybe you get a deeper understanding of the work, I think that’s why those displays are so popular. [...] They make the Gallery more accessible without being condescending’.¹⁰⁶ These galleries, which provide accessibility without

¹⁰⁴ Gemma Millward, Curator at The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 25 November 2011.

¹⁰⁵ Natalie Walton, Head of Learning at The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 15 June 2012.

¹⁰⁶ David Liddiment, Chairman of the Board of Trustees for The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 3 November 2015.

condescension, do so as the only permanent spaces in the Hepworth. The material they contain and the narratives they perform thus form the heart (node) of the Gallery, and main reason for its existence.

We saw from our exploration of the Gallery as Euclidean and discursive space that there exists a curatorial intention to construct certain narratives. The ambition is not to produce a chronological history in the spaces of the Gallery, but to tell stories, whether they be about material, landscape, process, and so on. Within this narrative intention lies particular ambitions, or perhaps stipulations. The narrative is to be firmly rooted in modern and contemporary art of national and international significance. The curators are not just using any old objects or materials to tell their stories. The discourse performed in these spaces is centred around aesthetics and place. Here we encounter art with a capital A, we are told of the significance of Hepworth as an artist nationally and internationally, and therefore the significance of Wakefield and Yorkshire nationally and internationally as the place (and landscape) in which the artist developed.¹⁰⁷ Place in this instance is highly aestheticized, the focus being on the Yorkshire landscape and how its forms informed the work of Barbara Hepworth (and Henry Moore).

As Hetherington found in Staffordshire, we encounter the discourse of Barbara Hepworth and materiality through ‘a Kantian aesthetic associated with connoisseurship [of canonised modern British art] in the knowable geometry of a Euclidean space’.¹⁰⁸ The discourse of place in this performance is key, as the

¹⁰⁷ Without Barbara Hepworth and her relationship to the place of Wakefield it makes no sense for the Gallery to be in *this* place as opposed to any other, such as Leeds, or Manchester, or Sheffield. Indeed, this place, the city of Wakefield, is its main strength and also one of its biggest weaknesses. This place is why the Hepworth exists, but also why it struggles. This will be explored further in Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁸ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 213.

ambition was for Wakefield to be improved as a place through the Gallery's representation of Hepworth's work and the narrative of her significance as an artist, her relationship to the places of Wakefield and Yorkshire, and, as a result, the significance of these places (also by drawing in the relationship to Henry Moore). Embodying and fixing this discourse in the material space of the Gallery was seen as a way to pull Wakefield out of its decline by Wakefield Council in their regeneration strategy,¹⁰⁹ to improve Wakefield as a place through the display of high modern and contemporary art and the concomitant moral and aesthetic enlightenment of its citizens.¹¹⁰ This was repeatedly raised in my conversations with members of Wakefield District Council, not only that 'As the council, the primary audience we are interested in is local people', but also in their concern for the local, the place of Wakefield by 'raising the public profile of Wakefield as cultural place and a good place to come and invest in and to live as well'.¹¹¹ So how might these discourses be troubled in the space of *Des Hughes*, by the introduction of the school children's objects in to these highly aestheticized notions of art and place?

Hetherington argues that the introduction of *Ozzy* into The City Museum creates a fold in its discourse. His placement and the concomitant dis-placement of *Dr Plot* creates a new preface for the museum, a new aesthetic. *Ozzy* brings with him something different, as 'his aesthetic is a popular aesthetic'; and 'with the arrival of *Ozzy* and his popularity, suddenly slipware, that product of domestic production,

¹⁰⁹ The Wakefield Cultural Strategy was produced by Wakefield Council and Wakefield District Partnership, 'Wakefield District Cultural Strategy, 2007-2012', Wakefield Council website <<http://www.wakefield.gov.uk/CultureAndLeisure/CulturalStrategy/default.htm>> [accessed 24 May 2012].

¹¹⁰ See Duncan and Wallach, and Duncan.

¹¹¹ Member of Wakefield District Council, unpublished interview with Author, Wakefield One, 23 October 2015.

rather than the products of Wedgwood's famous factory, is the focus of attention'.¹¹² Hetherington asks us to consider Ozzy as a fold in the narrative that ruptures the discourse of improvement and connoisseurship. He argues that 'Ozzy escapes the discourse of the museum space and brings to bear a blankness upon which other discourses about survival and fame come to be written'.¹¹³ This concept of functional blankness asserts that the agency of objects does not reside *within* them, but that their blankness allows for meaning to be generated by the heterogeneous network and inscribed *upon* them. This is not necessarily an intentional process, for example Hetherington makes clear that the agents involved in the process of Ozzy's placement in the ceramics gallery did not, or could not, foresee the effect that he would create; 'Neither the owl, the museum staff, the visitors, nor the Antiques Roadshow intended the effect Ozzy has on the display of pots. His blankness as an object allows for the introduction of unintended topological effect into an Euclidean space'.¹¹⁴ This notion of blankness is formed by the very fact that the object, in this case Ozzy, is constitutionally indifferent to the existing order of the space.¹¹⁵ David Middleton and Steven D. Brown argue that this indifference allows the object to 'take up multiple sets of positions', 'at least, in this case, within the restricted confines of a pottery display'.¹¹⁶ Hetherington explores the concept of functional blankness in a collaborative article with Nick Lee.¹¹⁷ Here they use the blank tile in a dominos set as the perfect example of a functionally blank object and its effects. The

¹¹² Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 213.

¹¹³ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 209.

¹¹⁴ Hetherington, 'Museum Topology', p. 214.

¹¹⁵ David Middleton and Steven D. Brown, *The Social Psychology of Experience: Studies in Remembering and Forgetting* (London: Sage, 2005), p. 215.

¹¹⁶ Middleton and Brown, p. 215.

¹¹⁷ Kevin Hetherington and Nick Lee, 'Social Order and the Blank Figure', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18 (2000), 169-184.

blank tile is indifferent to play of the game, it can fit in at any point, at any time. The ‘blankness’ of this blank tile should not be taken as a lack in comparison to the other tiles. The opposite is true. Rather than lacking their properties, the blank tile contains all of them *within* its blankness, to enable it to become many things – to become this *and* that. As Middleton and Brown state, ‘it gathers up all the properties of the network’, as we see in the case of their monument, ‘it is a project for village elders *and* a discovery by accidental tourists *and* the place of the reconciliation trip *and* a media “event” *and* the subject of a piece of research *and* many other things besides’.¹¹⁸

This ‘and’-ness has resonances with the ‘*is*’ to ‘*and*’ development of Deleuze and Guattari.¹¹⁹ In their approach to ‘The Fold’ the focus is on becomings and multiplicities as opposed to territorialisation and fixity. Their rhizome is about *and*, instead of *is*, as they state, ‘the rhizome is the conjunction, “and...and...and...”’.¹²⁰ And this is the fundamental point; to acknowledge these multiple (and partial) connections.¹²¹ When objects such as Ozzy enter a space and challenge the existing discourse, the rhizomic nature of the space can be revealed. The space is not split by Ozzy, rather it is folded:

We have followed Ozzy the Owl down a line of flight and he has revealed how the museum space has been folded. The fold weakens the fabric of the space allowing, new, yet unfixed and more partial perspectives to come into view. The gallery space is not, however, rent in two by Ozzy. The space of the gallery is full of folds. It is not a flat space but like a crumpled piece of paper, a ‘scrumpled geography’.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Middleton and Brown, p. 215.

¹¹⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.

¹²⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 25.

¹²¹ See Harraway, ‘Situated Knowledges’; and Strathern, *Partial Connections*.

¹²² Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 214.

Ozzy brings together different times and spaces which may be considered distant temporally or spatially. He folds in the places of Staffordshire, the Antiques Roadshow, even our own living rooms if we happened to watch the show; and as Hetherington states, he ‘flies to us more or less straight from the 17th century, via a peak-time television programme that announces him to the world’.¹²³ It is vital to acknowledge that within this space multiple and partial connections co-exist, which may be working with or against each other. As such, the challenges that objects can affect are necessarily contingent, as they are engendered by the very heterogeneity of the network that the Gallery is constructed upon, and the heterogeneity that it performs in its displays.¹²⁴ Like Ozzy, the inclusion of children’s artworks within the *Des Hughes* exhibition creates a fold in the discourse (Figure 8). These little objects create ruptures in the Hepworth’s performance of high modern and contemporary art, which is enabled through the dominant representation of objects that are recognised as significant within the discourse of the art world. These folds have significant effects that change the topological complexity of the heterogeneous network of the Gallery, and we will explore this complexity now.

¹²³ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 209.

¹²⁴ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, pp. 214-215.



Figure 8: Detail of school children’s work included in Des Hughes’ exhibition, *Stretch Out and Wait*. Photo: Stuart Whipps. Image courtesy The Hepworth Wakefield and Des Hughes.

The Folded Space of *Des Hughes: Stretch Out and Wait*

The inclusion of the children’s sculptures creates a fold in the space of the Gallery, bringing to bear other spaces of school/youth, community, and amateur; as well as engendering connections to a different space-time – to the *Henry Moore and the Children of Castleford* exhibition at Wakefield Art Gallery in 1980. This was another exhibition of school children’s work, one which took place ‘in honour’ of Moore’s gift to Castleford. The exhibition poster travels directly to us from this other space-time, resurrected from the archive and displayed in the centre of present day school children’s objects (Figure 8, above). In fact, these ‘objects’ are identified by the text panel as ‘reclining figures’. Situated immediately to left of their work, the panel states: ‘This cabinet includes a selection of reclining figures produced by young people from Castleford Academy, Ackton Pastures Primary School,

Castleford Park Junior Academy, Half Acres Community Primary School, Smawthorne Henry Moore Primary School and Three Lane Ends Academy'.¹²⁵

Although it makes no efforts to identify the individual producers of each of the figures, the panel is using the same language to identify their work as it uses to refer to Moore's. The children have produced reclining figures as Moore produced reclining figures. Developing the importance of the reclining figure motif, the text sets out Moore's 'obsession' with this theme, explaining that it was a 'subject that viewers could immediately identify and allowed him to freely explore more surreal and abstract ideas', going on to state that, 'these young people explored themes around the reclining figure and public art, creating sculptures and drawings in creative visual art workshops. All the resulting work, including sculptures, drawings and photographs are on display in our Learning Studios'.¹²⁶ Although there was, in fact, a separate 'Learning' display, it is significant that these objects have been chosen to migrate 'up stairs' into the gallery spaces proper, to be placed on this special cabinet, in the special space of the *Des Hughes* exhibition. In this placing, these objects are indifferent to the pre-existing order of the gallery space, and so can occupy multiple positions; including that of a reclining figure, a school project, a representation of community, an amateur object, and so on. These objects may also take on a different and very personal meaning if encountered in the space of the Gallery by the child who made them; such as pride or validation. Feedback from

¹²⁵ The Hepworth Wakefield, *Castleford Inspires: Henry Moore, Des Hughes and the Reclining Figure Project*, Text Panel in Gallery 6, The Hepworth Wakefield, 12 September 2015 - 24 April 2016.

¹²⁶ The Hepworth Wakefield, *Castleford Inspires*.

participating students included comments such as: ‘I’ve felt proud because I took part in the project’, and ‘You don’t have to be perfect to make a good piece of art’.¹²⁷

We are beginning to see a new complexity in the space of the *Des Hughes* exhibition; the ‘folding in’ of certain notions of ‘local’ community, amateur art, and the different time-space of Castleford in the 1980s. This space becomes even more complex if we consider the other material within it and their spatial effects. The first is that of the significance of Henry Moore and his relationship to the region. The text panel that we see on our right as we enter the space makes clear Moore’s regional connection, and thus connection to the place of the Gallery, stating that Hughes’ exhibition is ‘inspired by Castleford born Sculptor Henry Moore (1898-1986)’, and that ‘Castleford, [is] his birth place and a near neighbour of Wakefield’.¹²⁸ So place, again, is being performed through the materiality of the space through Moore, his forms and material. The space is full of Moore, full of his reclining figures, we cannot escape them. This makes up the very form of the children’s work we have just discussed as well as Hughes’ own sculptures. As such, the presence of Moore is performed through this recurring reclining figure motif, but also through texts and photographs that have been included from the archive. Because of this inclusion of such items from the Wakefield Permanent Art Collection other space-times are folded in to the space of the Gallery; we see 1980s Castleford, we see Henry Moore by his sculpture, we see his writing, we see others writing about him.

This material from the archive is the foundation of the exhibition. The archive chronicles the development of the former Wakefield Art Gallery’s collection

¹²⁷ Anonymous participant feedback for the ‘Castleford Inspires’ Project, 2015, The Hepworth Wakefield.

¹²⁸ The Hepworth Wakefield, *Des Hughes: Stretch Out and Wait*, Text Panel in Gallery 6, The Hepworth Wakefield, 12 September 2015 - 24 April 2016.

and the exhibition programme through ‘numerous letters from artists, including Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore, press cuttings, photographs, exhibitions catalogues and other related ephemera’.¹²⁹ We are told, by the text panel, that this was the inspiration for Hughes’ exhibition. He was invited to explore the archives, and once there, we are informed, he ‘was captivated by the level of detail in which the life of this work by Henry Moore was documented’. In particular, it was Hughes’ recognition of the changing relations between place and artwork, between Moore’s *Draped Reclining Figure* and the town of Castleford, which formed the basis of the exhibition. Hughes’ interest was in these changing relations to Moore’s sculpture, from its celebration to its ultimate removal. Gifted to Castleford in 1980, Moore’s sculpture was originally situated outside Castleford’s Civic Centre. Following the town’s initial celebration (such as the honorific exhibition in Wakefield City Art Gallery), the sculpture was progressively affected by vandalism, and then due to fear surrounding a spate of thefts of public artwork in 2012, it was removed and placed in storage, for it to be finally re-displayed ‘in the new Castleford Forum Museum’.¹³⁰ As explained in the panel, ‘[t]hrough letters, photographs and paperwork, we can observe the changing meanings, associations and attitudes towards a major work of art sited in the public realm: in this case, the artist’s home town’; and that ‘Hughes suggests that these interlinked, and at times problematic, narratives present an opportunity to reconsider the status and function of public art whilst also revealing the practical processes of making and placing sculpture in a particular context’.¹³¹ This is interesting in two ways: firstly, that the artist is explicitly exploring the

¹²⁹ The Hepworth Wakefield, *Des Hughes*.

¹³⁰ The Hepworth Wakefield, *Des Hughes*.

¹³¹ The Hepworth Wakefield, *Des Hughes*.

relational nature of place and artwork, and the contingent nature of the choices regarding the making and display of such public work; and secondly, that this theme for the exhibition and the material it contains only arose once Des Hughes engaged with a particular place, the archive, and then the place and people of Castleford and the Wakefield region. This approach challenges traditional exhibition practice which perpetuates ‘constructed values’ regarding the meaning and value of art in society, namely that of the ‘artist as genius-producer’; instead, it ‘foreground[s] the idea of participatory practice and of the artist as negotiator [...] that is, someone who does not predetermine the form of the art before negotiating with context, people and/or place’.¹³²

One of the Gallery’s curators was keen to assert that an important feature of this exhibition was that it was driven by both a curator and a member of the Learning Team, working together in partnership, rather than Learning being brought in at the end to merely respond to the finished exhibition (intimated as the usual practice).¹³³ They went on to say that within the arts (or specifically arts management) there are some who have the vision for the potential of shows like this, and then there are some who are very cautious about the inclusion of community or socially engaged practice within the ‘proper’ gallery spaces, let alone into the core of the artistic programming. This is very much to do with notions of artistic integrity – will the work produced be any ‘good’, or indeed, of artistic ‘excellence’? What value might it have to peers on the international arts scene?

¹³² Declan McGonagle, “‘A New Deal’: art, museums and communities - re-imagining relations”, *Community Development Journal*, 42:4 (2007), 425-434 (p. 430).

¹³³ Curator at the Hepworth Wakefield, personal communication, 10 March 2016.

Such sentiments are directly implicated in the local/(inter)national dualism set out at the beginning of this thesis, and the conflicting mind-sets regarding the value of such work and the place it may occupy in galleries such as the Hepworth. As Declan McGonagle points out, the issue is the perceived marginal position that community arts have within culture, and exhibitions such as this can face ‘regular attacks on grounds of quality of practice or that they were somehow not concerned with art at all but was simply “sociology by other means”’.¹³⁴ If this kind of exhibition is not valued and embraced by the leaders of arts organisations, that is to say, an organisation wide refusal of the hierarchised binary of (local) community in contrast to (inter/national) art, then they will never be more than one-offs or special events rather than at the core of the organisation and all its practices. Fundamentally, if agency lies with those who consider ‘community’ or socially engaged practice distinct and peripheral to ‘high art’, then there is limited potential to reconfigure such spaces to hold together both approaches to exhibition making. Despite the significant shift in the practice of the organisation for *Des Hughes*, we still see these tensions at play in the exhibition. The tensions are made manifest in the two text panels included in the space, the panel directly to your right as you enter the exhibition is titled *Des Hughes: Stretch out and Wait*, and the panel to the left of the students’ work entitled *Castleford Inspires: Henry Moore, Des Hughes and the Reclining Figure Project*. This is clear manifestation of the material in the space acting in tension, challenging, pulling in different directions. Although the children’s objects create a folding in of school-community-amateur; the text panel performs an acknowledgment of difference, of holding separate. What is produced here is a very

¹³⁴ McGonagle, p. 426.

particular type of narrative, one that is semiotically encoded as ‘other’ or ‘peripheral’ to the core of the Galley’s mission and values; or even transitory and temporary compared to the dominating and relatively stable spatial narrative of the gallery spaces. Thus, although present in the assemblage of *The Hepworth Wakefield*, the narrative of community is less powerful than that of modern British art.

Conclusion

Hetherington concludes that museums are ordering and classifying machines which are heterogeneous, but aim to perform homogeneity, that is to say, exercise control over their collections and displays. He even acknowledges the more heterogeneous nature of art museums, stating that ‘[e]ven the more innovative, heterogeneous displays that are sometimes found in museums, notably art museums, this planned heterogeneity is always in inverted commas’.¹³⁵ This heterogeneity has to be dealt with, and we do this through ‘the distribution of effects in space’ generally ‘through a Euclidian geometry, and topographical representations such as floor plans, use of labels and signs to point the way’.¹³⁶ But heterogeneity cannot be controlled or settled completely, it asserts itself through human actions and the ‘actions of objects’. This is not an internal action or agency as such (think functional blankness), rather, that ‘[o]bjects are capable of acting when looked at through relations established through heterogeneous material networks like that of the museum’.¹³⁷ The difficulty then is in mapping these complex topological spaces, as this is not as easily done as Euclidian space. Hetherington asserts that we should no longer strive

¹³⁵ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 215.

¹³⁶ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 215.

¹³⁷ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 215.

for a ‘God’s-eye view’, instead, we should acknowledge multiple (and partial) perspectives, angles and viewpoints; recognising that it is impossible to represent them all.

Topological space is not subject to the same sort of code as a geometrical space that has fixed dimensions, lines and angles. Neither does it have a clear narrative nor does it allow discourse to be performed through narratives without at the same time questioning them. [...] To see it all we have to inhabit all possible standpoints at once and that is not possible.¹³⁸

So, what is the answer? Hetherington concludes that ‘[a]ll that is left are lines of flight, ventures down which we might travel in our search for partial truths and incomplete perspectives’.¹³⁹

In this search for partial connections and perspectives of the practices of The Hepworth Wakefield, we have considered the relations between the Euclidean space of the Gallery, the space as a volume with objects distributed within it; the discursive space of the Gallery, of modern and contemporary art and art world discourse; and the Gallery’s complex folded space, of Yorkshire, Wakefield, Art (national and international), community, and many more besides. And this is the crux of the matter, in our alternative trajectory to understand the practice of the Gallery we seek to unpick and move beyond binaries; as many in the arts are already doing. The following, rather weary, comment from Sir Peter Bazalgette points to such a ‘both/and’ perspective:

There used to be a rather sterile, self-regarding debate in the arts world between the ‘arts-for-art’s-sake’ brigade and the ‘instrumentalists’ – those who stressed tourism, talent for the creative industries, soft power abroad and so on. Four years ago, we took a deep breath and announced, ‘It’s both, stupid’.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 215.

¹³⁹ Hetherington, ‘Museum Topology’, p. 215.

¹⁴⁰ Peter Bazalgette, ‘What I learned in four years at the helm of the arts’, *Guardian*, 22 January 2017 <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/22/peter-bazalgette-what-i-learned-as-head-of-arts-council-england>> [accessed 24 January 2017].

So we could say that The Hepworth Wakefield is not this *or* that, it is not local *or* international, choosing instead to proclaim, ‘it’s both, stupid’. We could acknowledge that ‘The Hepworth Wakefield’ – through the discourses of its exhibitions and the objects contained within them – is local *and* international, *and* community, *and* artistic excellence, *and* ..., *and* ..., *and* ..., and I do assert that the Gallery is many things, but that is not to say that it is all of these things equally. It is important to attend to the possible limits and inequalities of meanings and values of *The Hepworth Wakefield*; to follow Rhiannon Mason’s assertion that ‘[i]t is precisely this accumulation of multiple logics and the resulting polysemy of objects and spaces in museums that makes them amenable to so many reinterpretations. However, it is equally important to explore the limits of the museum’s multivalency’.¹⁴¹ Considering the ‘multivalency’ of the Hepworth, we saw in *Des Hughes* that power is not evenly distributed between the concepts of ‘community’ and ‘high art’. The ‘ands’ may exist in tension, and one may dominate over the other. This has been eloquently argued by Griswold *et al.*: ‘We argue both objects and people can potentially shape interpretation and action, while still leaving room for inequalities in how power operates with different configurations of actants, rendering some actants more or less powerful in shaping meaning and action’.¹⁴²

So within complex relations and connections between the local and (inter)national responsibilities and accountabilities, power is not necessarily evenly distributed between them, and within the shifting configurations that construct *The Hepworth Wakefield*, some actants are rendered more or less powerful than others,

¹⁴¹ Mason, p. 46.

¹⁴² Griswold *et al.*, p. 347.

and some concepts and/or approaches to practice gain more or less traction.¹⁴³ This is the work of stabilising and destabilising components of an assemblage, where we saw points of challenge within a system – such as the work of the Curator, Learning Team member, Des Hughes, artist practitioners and school children working together on the *Des Hughes* exhibition – yet overall ‘the Hepworth’ remained stable, territorialised as an international modern and contemporary art Gallery (with a focus on ‘high art’, aesthetics and so on).¹⁴⁴ What we are seeing are moments of oscillation, where the inclusion of school children’s sculptures in the ‘proper’ exhibition space destabilises the overall system of the Hepworth; but, these destabilising effects are perhaps settled by the discrete, but nevertheless present, designation as ‘other’ through the information panel with its different exhibition title, that named the project based nature of these works and marked them as separate from the rest of *Des Hughes* exhibition.¹⁴⁵ The conflicting ideas of ‘community’ and ‘high art’ were, for that moment, held in productive tension – the elevation of ‘amateur’ community art in the space of the Gallery, yet without the full endorsement from the Gallery as ‘official’ works of art (where there would be no need for a special and separate title to explain/excuse their presence in the gallery space). There is, however, productive potential here for galleries, such as the Hepworth, to acknowledge and hold on to conflicting organisational goals within the spaces of their exhibitions (as well as programming, operations, and so on). To work towards positive integration of multiple approaches, through situated knowledges

¹⁴³ Griswold *et al.*, p. 347.

¹⁴⁴ Macdonald, ‘Reassembling Nuremberg’, p. 125.

¹⁴⁵ Macdonald, ‘Reassembling Nuremberg’, p. 126.

and actions, allowing for becomings and embracing complexity without striving to settle it.

The following chapter will explore how the complexity of the place of the Hepworth is both understood and constructed by the Gallery's key stakeholder, Wakefield District Council, and how such conceptualisations of place inform the Gallery's practice. Here we will see that the desire to simplify and settle complexity was explicitly sought by stakeholders and staff at the time of the research, particularly regarding knowledge practices and how best to know people – whether they be citizens or audiences – and, moreover, how to fix and stabilise this knowledge. In line with the alternative trajectories set out in Chapter 1, and the productive possibilities of acknowledging situated knowledges and conflicting goals suggested above, we will also explore a different approach to understanding the complexity of a city, where the ambition is to 'celebrate difference rather than try to eradicate it'.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Leeds City Council, 'DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030', April 2017, Leeds Culture Strategy website <http://leedsculturestrategy.co.uk/assets/downloads/DRAFT_Culture-Strategy-for-Leeds_2017-2030.pdf> [accessed 26 July 2017], p. 15.

Chapter 3: Place/Binaries

The couplets local/global and place/space do not map on to that of concrete/abstract. The global is just as concrete as is the local place. If space is to be thought relationally then it is no more the sum of our relations and interconnections, and the lack of them; it too is utterly ‘concrete’. [...] An understanding of the world in terms of relationality, a world in which the local and global really are ‘mutually constituted’, renders untenable these kinds of separation.¹

The team aim to develop a 100% local and 100% international programme that champions Leeds’ potent cultural sector and reimagines the city’s relationship with the rest of the world.²

When considering the iterative relationships ‘between places making galleries and galleries making places’, it is pertinent to explore the production of the ‘place’ of the Gallery by Wakefield City Council, the key proponent in the Hepworth’s conception and creation.³ Underwriting the initial build and providing £18 million of the £35 million spend, the Council are now one of the Gallery’s two major funding partners along with The Arts Council England, (ACE). In exploring the Council’s production of ‘place’, it is necessary to investigate the history of the development of the Gallery itself as part of the Council’s agenda for the (re)development of the city; including the transformation from the original Wakefield Art Gallery to the new, award winning building with a radically different location and governance structure. As part of this transformation, it is important to consider the scalar manoeuvres at work in the development of a local authority led organisation to an institution which professes significantly greater international ambitions, and that is now distinct from,

¹ Massey, *For Space*, p. 184.

² Leeds 2023 Bid Team.

³ Mason, Whitehead and Graham, ‘The Place of Art in the Public Art Gallery’, p. 134.

yet intimately tied to, Wakefield Council and its agendas. Indeed, Wakefield Council have particular ambitions for the Gallery to be a certain kind of civic space, performing very particular civic functions, which are conceptualised by the Council as operating locally, nationally and internationally.⁴

This chapter will explore the production of place by Wakefield Council and the local/(inter)national tensions that are inherent in this process. This includes certain responsibilities and accountabilities for the Gallery, both locally – in regard to the work the organisation is expected to do with and for local communities; as well as nationally – in creating a certain reputation for the city as a nationally (if not internationally) significant destination for arts and culture. It will explore how certain aspects of the Council’s construction of place then play out in the practice of the organisation, taking a detailed look at one exhibition from its Spring 2016 programme, the Martin Parr retrospective, *The Rhubarb Triangle & Other Stories*.

In this exploration of the Council’s production of place, the chapter will unpick the spatial aspects of governmentality, principally, the various processes undertaken by government and local authorities to render space knowable and to tame its complexity. A key focus will be the socio-spatial cartography undertaken by Wakefield City Council, which allows for certain conceptualisations of place and of the people who reside there. In the process of making place knowable the Council undertake a continual practice of translation or inscription of the world (in this case, Wakefield) into paper form, which allows for greater possibility of action.⁵ This approach of tracing knowledge-making practices draws on Science and Technology

⁴ See Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995); and Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*.

⁵ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 226.

Studies (STS) and Actor Network Theory (ANT), which considers the process of the creation and combination of immutable mobiles within a long network. The inscriptions carried out by the Council, in the forms of maps, charts, zones and tables, results in a new ontological flatness, allowing new possibilities for sight, the gods-eye-view, and the possibility of domination.⁶

Within this process of rendering knowledge of the world as solid, transportable and actionable, the concepts of the abstract and the concrete are key. This chapter will, therefore, take the opportunity for a more detailed exploration of the (recurrent) binaries in thinking and practice of both the arts organisation and academia, including local/global, abstract/concrete, particular/universal. This exploration will be situated in the network of the Hepworth Wakefield (drawn from encounters with staff and stakeholders, policy documents, internal and external communication, and so on); which revealed systemic binary thinking in the construction of knowledge of the Gallery's own identity (identities), as well as that of its audiences(s). This will include an acknowledgement of issues faced in the process of field work itself, which mirrored issues encountered in the Gallery as the object of study. For example, the perceived dichotomies of assumption/evidence, and the difficulty of moving from concrete experiences to abstract theorisation.

The chapter will end with a case study of Leeds 2023, an example of practice that publicly eschews such binary thinking which sees the local in contrast, or mutually exclusive to, the international. In communicating the intentions of the project, to win the title of European Capital of Culture 2023, the bid team explicitly trouble the traditional binary of local place and global space by declaring their bid to

⁶ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 227.

be ‘100% local and 100% international’. They state: ‘The team aim to develop a 100% local and 100% international programme that champions Leeds’ potent cultural sector and reimagines the city’s relationship with the rest of the world’.⁷ Thus, to conclude, this chapter will draw together the threads of encounters in The Hepworth Wakefield and alternatives in thinking and practice such as Leeds 2023, to consider the possibilities for a more progressive sense of place which foregrounds complexity and multiplicity, and the possibility of such claims to be ‘100% local and 100% international’.

Wakefield Council and the Production of Place

The Hepworth Wakefield was created as an integral part of the Wakefield Cultural Strategy, which saw huge investment in arts and culture across the district as part of the regeneration plan for the city of Wakefield.⁸ To briefly put Wakefield into context, it is a city in West Yorkshire situated only eight miles from Leeds, and tends to suffer from proximity to this much larger economic and cultural centre. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Wakefield was an important market town for grain, and there were significant textile and coal industries. The decline of these industries in the late twentieth century led to high unemployment, which continues to this day.⁹ The Council recently reported that ‘effects of recession in Wakefield were more marked than average’, and, despite slow growth in the economy, Wakefield is struggling in comparison with other cities in the region, as well as being below

⁷ Leeds 2023 Bid Team.

⁸ ‘Wakefield District Cultural Strategy’.

⁹ ‘Wakefield: State of the District, Summer 2015’, Wakefield Together: Wakefield District Partnership, October 2015, <<http://www.wakefieldtogether.org.uk/information-and-documents>> [accessed 18 September 2016].

average in other areas such as health, education, and so on.¹⁰ These are the issues that the on-going regeneration plan seeks to address.¹¹

As part of this regeneration plan, Wakefield Council foresaw that the Gallery would, in their words, ‘improve the perception, attraction and desirability of Wakefield locally and nationally as a place to live in, work or visit, and through this process raise aspirations among the city’s young people’.¹² The involvement and participation of local people in the Gallery was – and is – the ambition of the Council, as through their involvement it was hoped that ‘local people [could] change their lives for the better’.¹³ The Gallery is seen as a way to help Wakefield ‘increase visitor numbers and international recognition of our cultural importance’,¹⁴ and to ‘make the most of [Wakefield’s] positioning as part of the Yorkshire brand’.¹⁵ So important is the Hepworth to Wakefield Council, politically, socially, economically, that they describe the Gallery as ‘the jewel of our cultural crown’.¹⁶ Thus, from its inception the Gallery was firmly rooted in the Council’s particular conception of the local with specific expectations in regard to its work with and for Wakefield communities; as well as having definite national and international goals.

¹⁰ ‘Wakefield: State of the District, Summer 2015’, p. 3.

¹¹ The Regeneration of the city of Wakefield was built upon the ‘Wakefield Renaissance Charter 2002 which helped to guide comprehensive regeneration in the city focused upon the improvement of the physical environment and the direct involvement of local people in the process’; and, the policy focusing on the city centre where the Hepworth is located was framed as ‘The Central Wakefield Area Action Plan (CWAAP), adopted in 2009 as the statutory Development Plan for the city centre. [...] The key objective in the CWAAP [was] for central Wakefield to become within 10 to 15 years a “distinctive and vibrant centre at the heart of the District’s economy, making a significant contribution to the prosperity and diversity of the Leeds City Region and the Yorkshire and Humber region”’. ‘Regeneration in Wakefield City’, Wakefield Council website <<http://www.wakefield.gov.uk/residents/planning/regeneration/regeneration-wakefield-city>> [accessed 24 July 2017].

¹² The Hepworth Wakefield, ‘Frequently Asked Questions / Comments’.

¹³ ‘Wakefield District Cultural Strategy’, p. 6.

¹⁴ ‘Wakefield District Cultural Strategy’, p. 7.

¹⁵ ‘Wakefield District Cultural Strategy’, p. 40.

¹⁶ ‘Wakefield District Cultural Strategy’, p. 41.

This idea of the power of culture to regenerate cities, particularly those suffering from post-industrialisation and deprivation, is something that has been written about extensively in studies of museums, galleries and heritage.¹⁷ Laurie Hanquinet's article, 'Place and Cultural Capital: Art Museum Visitors across Space', provides an interesting account of this phenomena of placing culture in spaces of deprivation as a 'way to perform cultural democratization'.¹⁸ The recent building boom of flagship arts and cultural centres (curtailed by the economic crash of 2008) was seen to serve not only the desire for an urban facelift and to ameliorate certain ills in the location in which the new building is situated, but also to act as a 'symbolic' signifier of 'its metropolitan aspirations',¹⁹ to demonstrate a city's reputation on a national or even international level.²⁰ In this sense, a progressively complex relationship has developed between culture and government, as Brian Graham *et al.* state, 'governments have become increasingly dependent upon culture as a constituent element within economic development strategies at many scales'.²¹

The emphasis on transformation at the scale of the 'local' in the Wakefield Cultural Strategy is seen in their desire for local people to participate in, and be at 'the heart of all the changes' taking place in the district.²² The Strategy emphasises the need to involve local communities to 'celebrate [Wakefield's] traditions, heritage

¹⁷ See, for example, Richard L. Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2002; repr. 2004); Michaela Giebelhausen, ed., *The Architecture of the Museum: Symbolic Structures, Urban Contexts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*; Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, 'The Universal Survey Museum', *Art History*, 3:4 (1980), 448-469.

¹⁸ Laurie Hanquinet, 'Place and Cultural Capital: Art Museum Visitors across Space', *Museum and Society*, 14:1 (2016), 65-81 (p. 65).

¹⁹ Michaela Giebelhausen, 'Introduction: the architecture of the museum – symbolic structures, urban contexts', in *The Architecture of the Museum*, pp. 1-14 (p. 5).

²⁰ 'While Tate Modern helps to consolidate London's reputation as one of Europe's leading capitals, the Bilbao Guggenheim facilitates a complete urban facelift', Giebelhausen, 'Introduction', p. 7.

²¹ Graham *et al.*, p. 154.

²² 'Wakefield District Cultural Strategy', p. 7.

and sense of belonging and togetherness’,²³ and also sees culture as a ‘key vehicle for people and communities to acquire and share knowledge’.²⁴ This concern for ‘the local’ was shared by staff at the Hepworth Wakefield, in particular, by a member who self-identified as a Wakefield local:

I would say, as someone who lives in Wakefield and who has lived in Wakefield for quite a number of years, I would say it is here to lift Wakefield up to be something better than it was. To offer people something to look at that otherwise would not be available to them within their own city, and within the region for people travelling in. I always think of things very much in a local - I’m not of the art world, so I don’t know very much about [...] art, but I know that it is amazing to have something like this on your doorstep. It’s literally on my doorstep, it’s 15 minutes to walk from my house. So I always think about our local audience and what it is giving to them. And how much us just being here, amongst other things, in and amongst other changes that have happened within Wakefield, has changed Wakefield in the relatively short amount of time that I have lived here. So I just think what an amazing building, what an amazing offer [and] we have the responsibility to keep giving people this amazing offer, as they have spent a lot of money putting us here and we need to make sure that we are great.²⁵

We have here an explicit recognition of the responsibility of the organisation to its immediate place, the locale of Wakefield, as defined by certain boundaries and borders of the Wakefield District. Moreover, a responsibility to the people who reside in this locale, the local people of Wakefield.

It is interesting to note that this responsibility is framed in terms of an investment made by local people, more specifically, a large economic investment that allowed for the Gallery to be created and continues to sustain it. Yet this investment was not an active choice made by local people to invest their taxes in such a scheme. This decision was made on their behalf by Wakefield District Council, a decision framed through their arguments set out in the Wakefield Cultural

²³ ‘Wakefield District Cultural Strategy’, p. 7.

²⁴ ‘Wakefield District Cultural Strategy’, p. 9.

²⁵ Member of the Operations Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 19 November 2014.

Strategy. As such, it is no surprise to hear such local focussed sentiments echoed by members of the Wakefield Council, where one Councillor stated: ‘As the Council – the primary audience we are interested in is local people’. Yet, alongside and imbued within this concern for the local, is a fervent desire for the Hepworth to perform on an (inter)national scale. As that same Councillor went on to state:

the secondary audience is the visitors, and that’s where the tourism aspect come in. With visitors coming in to Wakefield there is potential for visitor spend, for people to stay here, it’s also about raising the public profile of Wakefield as cultural place and a good place to come and invest in and to live as well.²⁶

What we are beginning to see here is the importance of the terms and categorisations of ‘local’, ‘national’, and ‘international’ in the Wakefield Council’s strategy, and the reification of these scales into ontological givens with material effects. Fundamental to the Council’s articulations regarding their desired outcomes and effects of the assemblage that is *The Hepworth Wakefield*, is the desire to shift people’s identification of the city from local/parochial to national and international, to ‘jump scales’. This scalar practice is imbued with politics and power. Not only in naming something ‘national’, or ‘international’, and through this identification, labelling, bounding, creating spatial containers, but also in the concomitant effects that such naming generates.

An example of these scalar practices can be encountered publicly on the ‘About’ page on the Gallery’s website. Here, the Gallery succinctly sets out the way the organisation views its position in the world, deftly moving between hierarchical constructions of the local, national and international. The first statement, a quote from the *Independent*, immediately conjures the notion of the Gallery on an

²⁶ Member of Wakefield District Council.

international platform for contemporary art, as it states that the institution is '[o]ne of the finest contemporary art museums in Europe'.²⁷ Following on from this assertion, the Gallery's national importance is proclaimed by the declaration that '[w]ith over 1,600 square metres of light-filled gallery spaces, The Hepworth Wakefield is the largest purpose-built exhibition space outside London'.²⁸ Through this production of the organisation's national and international appeal and recognition, the Gallery can be seen to be fulfilling the Council's ambitions to 'raise' the cultural life of Wakefield, and, to be (potentially) serving its local community through engagement with internationally significant contemporary art. Yet, in the very next statement, these national and international ambitions are firmly anchored within the particular locality of the institution: 'The gallery brings together work from Wakefield's art collection, exhibitions by contemporary artists and rarely seen works by Barbara Hepworth'.²⁹

This intimate and inextricable relationship between the ideas of local and the international is reflected in the very identity of the Gallery. In its name, The Hepworth Wakefield, it emphasises the local connection and responsibility to Wakefield, as well as the nationally and internationally important artist Barbara Hepworth and her work. As argued by Brian Graham *et al.*, heritage is often used in this way, as a driving force in shaping representations of place. In the case of the Hepworth Wakefield, Barbara Hepworth and the celebration of her work and legacy, as well as the influence of the region of her practice, are used as tools to shape how we understand the place of Wakefield and its identity. Crucially, this utilisation of

²⁷ 'About'.

²⁸ 'About'.

²⁹ 'About'.

heritage in identity formation works both for those external to Wakefield, as well as in shaping the identification of local people to the place in which they live.

As identity is a major motive for the creation of heritage, then it is no surprise that heritage is the principle instrument for shaping distinctive local representations of place, which can be exploited for external promotion as well as in strengthening the identification of inhabitants with their localities.³⁰

In this sense, placemaking is beyond the physical and material, it desires and produces changes in the symbolic representation of space and place.³¹ It is about changing, and/or shaping people's perceptions and interpretations of a space. An example of the effects of the Hepworth on perceptions and representations of space can be seen in the following exchange regarding an international review of the Gallery. *The Yorkshire Post* ran a feature on the Hepworth, and made a pointed reference to the recent review: 'last month the *New York Times* was praising our beautiful corner of England stating that we are "on the international cultural map"'.³² Here, *The Yorkshire Post* is picking up on a significant shift in the understanding and representation of Wakefield, as performed in the *New York Times* review. The creation of the Gallery resulted in Wakefield being symbolically placed on the *New York Times*' (symbolic) cultural map. In *The Yorkshire Post* article, the Director of the Gallery, Simon Wallis, went on to describe his perception of the tangible (international) effect of this placemaking:

Can you imagine what it would have cost to get that kind of coverage if you were paying for it as an advert? In a modern world where we are saturated by media, coverage like that is exceptional. [...] While it's all but impossible to

³⁰ Graham *et al.*, p. 204.

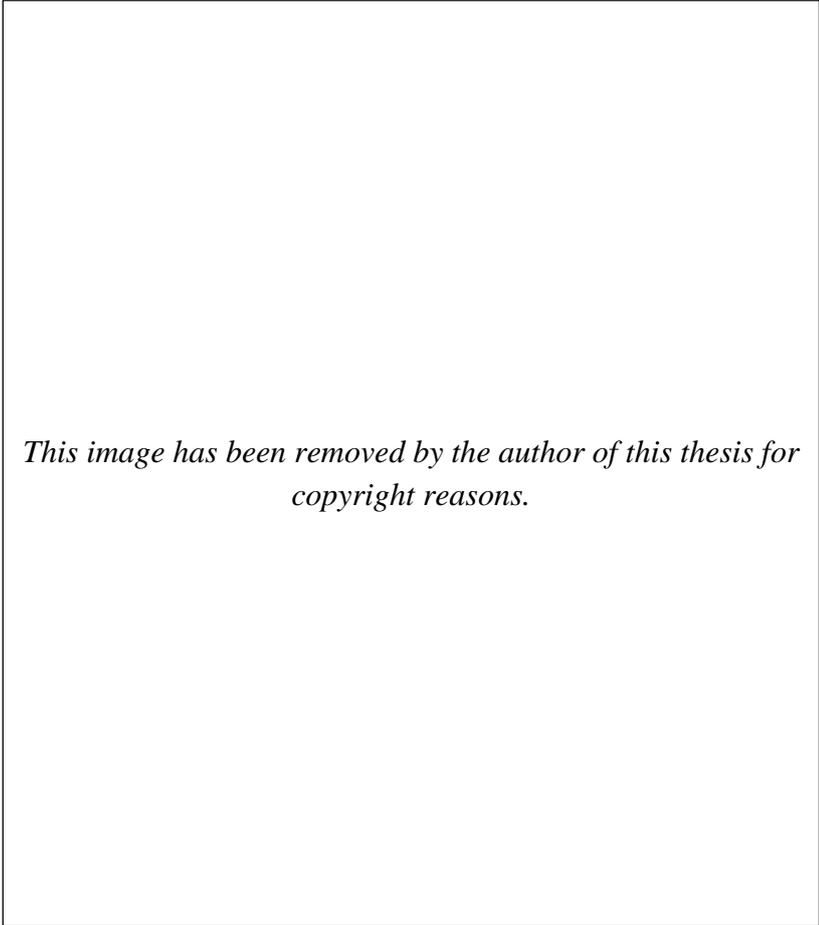
³¹ Carlo Salone *et al.*, 'Cultural Production in Peripheral Urban Spaces: Lessons from Bariera, Turin (Italy)', unpublished talk at *Emergent Culture*, 6th midterm conference of the European Sociological Association's Research Network Sociology of Culture (RN7), 16-18 November 2016, Exeter, UK.

³² Nick Ahad, 'Hidden values', *The Yorkshire Post*, 19 January 2014
<<http://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/what-s-on/arts/hidden-values-1-6379755>> [accessed 16 February 2016].

quantify, how's this for cause and effect: the fact is that some will read the *New York Times*, will be inspired to put Yorkshire on the list of places they must visit, will come here and will spend a lot of money. They will come because the *New York Times* wrote about us, they wrote about us because of the Yorkshire Sculpture Triangle, the Yorkshire Sculpture Triangle exists because of the addition to the county's cultural scene of the Hepworth, the Hepworth exists thanks to local council and Arts Council funding.³³

If what Wallis described is true, then the Gallery can be said to be fulfilling Wakefield Council's desire to re-shape people's understanding of Yorkshire (and concomitantly Wakefield), by constructing new cultural geographies through the Yorkshire Sculpture Triangle, the marketing partnership between the Yorkshire Sculpture Park, The Hepworth Wakefield, Leeds Art Gallery and Henry Moore Institute Leeds (Figure 9).

³³ Ahad.



This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 9: 'Yorkshire Greats Trail' map, Yorkshire Sculpture Triangle website, <<http://www.ysculpture.co.uk/trail/yorkshire-greats-trail/>> [accessed 13 August 2017].

In the symbolic shifts in the representation of the place of Wakefield, it is important to note that there were significant material and physical changes which took place. A key shift being the replacement, or displacement, of one gallery for another.

Wakefield did, in fact, have an existing art gallery, located at the heart of the city centre at number one Wentworth Terrace (Figure 10). Originally built in 1885, the building first served as a large Victorian home, then the vicarage for Wakefield Cathedral, until it was transformed into the Wakefield Art Gallery in 1934.



Figure 10: Wakefield Art Gallery, geograph.org.uk/p/1191552 © Copyright [Mike Kirby](#) and licensed for reuse under a [Creative Commons Licence](#).

This original gallery has left a substantial legacy through its impressive collection, now housed and displayed at The Hepworth Wakefield. Founded in 1923, the Wakefield Art Gallery had a reputation for an ‘ambitious collecting policy with a core aim to nurture an understanding of contemporary art’.³⁴ Successive curators were known to be ‘tough characters’,³⁵ capable of persuading ‘sceptical Labour councillors that it was right to buy important works of modern art’, even during times of economic hardship.³⁶ Art UK describes this significant collection:

At the heart of the collection is a significant group of work by modern British artists including, most notably, Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore who were both born in the Wakefield district. [...] Works by the leading artists of the time, who have become synonymous with shaping modern British art,

³⁴ Art UK, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield’ <<https://artuk.org/visit/venues/the-hepworth-wakefield-3707>> [accessed 18 September 2017].

³⁵ The first curator was Ernest Musgrave and he was followed by Eric Westbrook and Helen Kapp.

³⁶ ‘Gerry’, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield’, *That’s How The Light Gets In*, blog post, 19 August 2011 <<https://gerryco23.wordpress.com/tag/hepworth-wakefield/>> [accessed 11 July 2017].

were collected, including Ivon Hitchens, Paul Nash, Victor Pasmore and John Piper.³⁷

An article on Wakefield Art Gallery by the BBC in 2005 (regarding the plans for the development of the new gallery), highlighted the importance of Wakefield's art collection by demonstrating its 'in demand' status.³⁸ The article states: 'Barcelona, New York and Lyons are just some of the places bidding to show items from Wakefield's art collection at the moment'.³⁹ Despite these accolades, the article went on to explain, '[t]he problem is that back at home there is only room to show around 7% of the holdings at any one time'.⁴⁰ Reviews of the Wakefield Art Gallery from 2008 reveal its domestic Victorian location as being thoroughly inadequate from a visitor perspective. A visitor from London commented:

Not many people seem to be aware that Wakefield has an art gallery, which is a shame because it has such great potential. Even more of a shame is that this potential has not been developed - the gallery is small and cramped, has few exhibits and those that [are] there are not that inspiring, which I find incomprehensible considering that the area has spawned such artistic talent. They do run various workshops and activities for children, which I have not attended and may be worth a visit, but personally, to see art in the area, I would recommend visiting the [Yorkshire] [S]culpture [P]ark in Bretton instead.⁴¹

And a visitor who identified themselves as living in Wakefield stated:

Small art gallery on 3 floors. Very cramped, but some interesting work. Some exhibits are changed on a reasonably regular basis. Some art trolley's [sic] dotted round the place for kids to draw pictures and complete activities. Worth a visit if you've nothing better to do but not worth and [sic] outing in its own right (in my opinion). Due to be replaced by The Hepworth gallery in 2009/10 which is currently under construction.⁴²

³⁷ Art UK.

³⁸ 'On the waterfront...', *BBC* website archive 'Where I Live: Bradford and West Yorkshire', June 2005 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/bradford/features/2005/06/hepworth_centre_wakefield.shtml> [accessed 20 July 2017].

³⁹ 'On the waterfront'.

⁴⁰ 'On the waterfront'.

⁴¹ Reviewer, 'The Hepworth Wakefield', *Yelp*, 19 November 2008 <<https://www.yelp.co.uk/biz/wakefield-art-gallery-wakefield?hrid=Q3n1bADSbu42RYm9Eo5eig>> [accessed 20 July 2017].

⁴² Reviewer, 'The Hepworth Wakefield', *Yelp*, 11 November 2008.

So, the original gallery was at once celebrated, in terms of its excellent collection; and also denigrated, for its inability to adequately house and display said collection. The last curator at the original gallery, Nino Vella, spoke frankly regarding this predicament: ‘I love this building, and a lot of people come along who like the fact it's a domestic Victorian townhouse, but really what we do as a service, the nature of the collection and what we do exhibition-wise has really outgrown its straightjacket’.⁴³ After 75 years of operation, Wakefield Art Gallery closed to the public on the 29th March 2009, replaced (and displaced) by the new Hepworth Wakefield.

One factor in the decision to create the new gallery was the donation of The Hepworth Family Gift to the city by the Hepworth family estate. This gift came with certain stipulations. The collection of Barbara Hepworth’s large working models had to be adequately housed and displayed. Which, of course, the original Wakefield Gallery site was in no position to do. However, in the development of the new ‘Hepworth Wakefield’ the original gallery was completely decimated, not only physically, in terms of being entirely abandoned as the location for the Gallery, but also that none of the original gallery staff were employed at the new venture. Yet, while waiting for the new building to be completed, the newly recruited staff worked in the old gallery; an almost parasitic situation, where the old gallery was shrugged off like an old husk once the shiny new venue was complete.⁴⁴ Another element of the original gallery to be disregarded was its name. Again, certain claims were being made with the choice of the title for the new gallery. ‘Wakefield Art Gallery’ could

⁴³ ‘On the waterfront’.

⁴⁴ In this process we must also note the shift in governance. The Gallery went from being a local authority run organisation, to being registered as a charitable organisation – both independent from, yet intimately tied to, Wakefield Council.

no longer cut the mustard. The inclusion, or perhaps appropriation of ‘Hepworth’ in to the new gallery’s identity is significant. Wakefield alone is not enough to carry weight on an (inter)national platform. (Barbara) Hepworth however has a certain clout. The intention here was, perhaps, for clarity. To make the links between place and artist explicit and to enable a reimagining of place in relation to this internationally significant and celebrated sculptor.

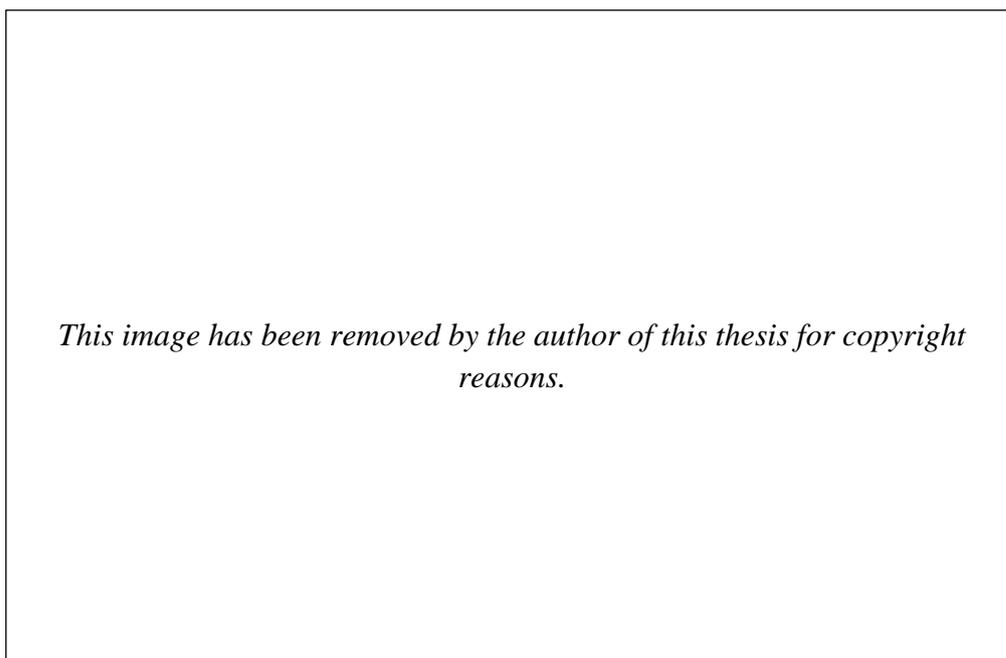


Figure 11: The Gallery’s industrial location, removed form city centre of Wakefield. Screenshot of the David Chipperfield Architects website <https://davidchipperfield.com/project/the_hepworth_wakefield> [accessed 13 August 2017].

If the reasons for abandoning the original Wakefield Art Gallery are clear, perhaps the selection of an old, industrial waterfront site as the choice for the new gallery’s location needs further explanation (Figure 11). As previously mentioned, the Gallery was formed as part of the Council’s wider regeneration plan for the city of Wakefield. At the time of its development, three key sites across the city were earmarked for transformation. Firstly, the waterfront site with its historical, yet dilapidated collection of Victorian mills, connected to the city by a bridge across the

River Calder. Secondly, the area in the heart of the city, immediately surrounding the cathedral. And, thirdly, the new development of Wakefield One near Westgate train station, housing the council offices, the central library and Wakefield Museum.

Speaking in 2005, the Project Director, Gordon Watson, highlighted the significance of the Hepworth in the wider redevelopment plans: ‘The three projects together are really exciting but the Hepworth is the one with the highest profile and the ability to make a mark internationally’.⁴⁵ Again, reiterating the possibility of local transformation through international recognition. It is interesting to note that the waterfront site, although only a ten minute walk from the centre of Wakefield, does mark a significant shift away from the city (particularly in relation to the old gallery site). Speaking to the BBC, Nino Vella described his anticipation for the transformation of this site:

I just can't wait. I was born in Wakefield and my parents still live here, not too far from the waterfront site. I know that as far as access is concerned it's an area of the city that people just bypass quickly when driving over the bridge. It will be opening up an area which has a real beauty and serenity compared to the traffic that goes alongside the area...It really will be the most important building in this city for a hundred years and, as a local person, to be involved in something that could change the cultural view of Wakefield, not only for people who live locally, but also nationally and internationally, is a once-in-a-lifetime event for someone like me who works in a gallery.⁴⁶

In the selection of this particular waterfront site, the new gallery also displaced an existing artist studio and exhibition venue, Artsmill, that had resided in the semi-derelict mill buildings.

Artist Ian Smith is director of Wakefield Artsmill which already provides studio and exhibition space for local artists on the waterfront. He says: ‘We know we are not going to be able to stay here but we hope to continue in some form. The upshot is we are losing our building but I guess people here have mixed feelings about it. Obviously it's nice to have a big new shiny gallery in the city but it means we've got to find somewhere else to go. The

⁴⁵ ‘On the waterfront’.

⁴⁶ ‘On the waterfront’.

good thing about this place is that even though it's run-down it's relatively inexpensive for us to rent'.⁴⁷

The artist studios did find an alternative location, moving to the city centre and renaming itself Westgate studios, where it continues to offer affordable studio space to local artists. Again, this literal reterritorialisation of the waterfront site demonstrates an interesting shift: a clearing away of particular local provision, for something altogether more (inter)national in its focus. Artsmill originally settled in that particular location for the same reason the Council wanted to regenerate it; to realise their desire to radically reimagine the geographies of Wakefield, to redefine the parameters of the city centre, where leisure and culture, not industry, reside.

Yet, these ambitions of Wakefield Council to radically change the geographies of Wakefield, in particular the redevelopment of the waterfront site that The Hepworth forms the heart of, were drastically affected by political and economic changes. The economic crash of 2008 stopped the wider development of the waterfront site in its tracks. The retail and leisure units situated in the shiny new apartment blocks struggled to find any tenants. The old Victorian mills languished in their unused and unloved state. The Gallery remained an isolated figure, removed from the bustle of the city centre, and without companion in the newly created leisure destination. This stalled development had a significant impact on the Gallery, and audience perception of it. For example, the key issue 'uncovered' in Muse's audience research was the negative perceptions of the Gallery's location in Wakefield. Non-local visitors surveyed and interviewed thought Wakefield was generally an unsafe and unpleasant city to visit, and also perceived that there was

⁴⁷ 'On the waterfront'.

nothing else to do in the surrounding area of the Gallery and, therefore, making the effort to get to Wakefield was not worth it ‘just’ to see the Hepworth.⁴⁸ During a conversation between myself and two members of the Muse team who conducted the audience research, they articulated their surprise at the strength of feeling in regard to the negative perception of place. They suggested that the Gallery is unique in its predicament of place, where place forms such a significant barrier to audience attendance. A member of the Muse team summarised their findings:

That’s the fact of the matter; the perception of Wakefield if you’re a non-visitor not living here is entirely negative. The perception, and in large part reality, is there is nothing else to do in the immediate vicinity. There is in the area, like the [Yorkshire] Sculpture Park, but if I come here the belief is there is nowhere else to go and eat or anything like that – I can’t combine it with anything. I think there are some truths about its location and the nature of the local infrastructure that give it a set of obstacles to overcome that we haven’t seen in other venues. I mean, Turner Contemporary is a little bit the same but it’s not as marked as here.⁴⁹

This is not to say that the negative perception of place was necessarily a surprise to Gallery staff and stakeholders. Yet, it seemed to make a difference that a respected, external consultancy company spelled out the issue in black and white. That is to say, Muse translated the abstract, complex issue that staff had an implicit sense of into fixed, knowable, transportable and actionable paper form, supported by hard data and indisputable facts drawn from real, bona fide research with real people.

The power of this process of translation of complex social realities into paper form is a significant one, which will be explored further later in this chapter. Let us now return to the response from the Gallery and the steps taken to overcome these place based barriers to attendance. A significant step was recognition by Gallery

⁴⁸ This will be explored further in Chapter 4.

⁴⁹ Member of the Muse team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 21 September 2015.

staff that they, or *The Hepworth Wakefield*, could not change these negative perceptions of place on their own. Led by members of the Senior Management Team, partnerships were sought with other businesses, arts and cultural organisations, and Council members working across the district.⁵⁰ The research generated by Muse was shared, with the ambition to tackle the issue with strength in numbers. In tandem with this more collaborative approach, the Hepworth also produced a ‘quick win’ marketing strategy employing a tag line developed by Muse, promoting the Gallery as ‘Exceptional Art, Exceptional Place’ (Figure 12). ‘Exceptional Place’ here referring to the Gallery building, not to Wakefield; and in this shift of place (Wakefield to *The Hepworth Wakefield*) the marketing campaign turned the negative sense of place on its head – playing instead to the strengths of the Gallery in its award winning architecture and critically acclaimed exhibitions and collections. This approach aimed to speak directly to those non-local audiences surveyed by Muse whose perceptions of Wakefield were found to be so negative. This was described by a Wakefield Council member as a ‘quick and dirty campaign’ with a ‘very simple strap line [...] that’s interesting because [it] is speaking to that art audience, [it] won’t buy in any local audiences’.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Wakefield Cultural Consortium: ‘The Hepworth Wakefield is part of the partnership of 16 local cultural venues, businesses and tourism organisations who have teamed up to help promote Wakefield as one of Yorkshire’s leading cultural destinations. [...] The consortium comprises: Beam, National Coal Mining Museum, Yorkshire Sculpture Park, Nostell, Wakefield Council, Theatre Royal Wakefield, Wakefield College, The Hepworth Wakefield, Wakefield Bondholder Scheme, Cognitiv, Wakefield Arts Partnership, The Art House, Faceless Arts, One to One Development, Unity Works and Xscape’. The Hepworth Wakefield, ‘Wonderful Start to 2017 as Wakefield Cultural Consortium Awarded £223,000 From Arts Council England’, The Hepworth Wakefield website, <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/news/wakefield-cultural-consortium/>> [accessed 24 July 2017].

⁵¹ Member of Wakefield District Council, unpublished interview with Author, Wakefield One, 23 October 2015.



Figure 12: Poster from the ‘Exceptional Art, Exceptional Place’ campaign, located near Leeds University. Photo: Sarah Harvey Richardson, August 2015.

A longer term approach to overcoming the negative perceptions of place, particularly regarding limited ‘add on’ activities in the Gallery’s immediate vicinity, is the Hepworth’s Riverside Gallery Garden Project (Figure 13). Still to receive the full funding required to bring the project to reality, the ambition is to landscape the unused lawn area immediately surrounding the Gallery to create an ‘inspiring space that will be enjoyed year round’.⁵² The Hepworth shared its ambitions for the Garden Project as part of the promotion surrounding the Gallery’s Museum of the Year Award nomination (somewhat bizarrely presented as a first-person interview with

⁵² ‘The Hepworth Riverside Gallery Garden’.

the Art Fund, as if *The Hepworth Wakefield* could speak for itself, a requirement for each of the award's nominees):

[I am looking forward to] The development of the wider waterfront site where I am located. Internationally celebrated garden designer, Tom Stuart-Smith, has been chosen to transform the grassed area adjacent into a beautiful, free public garden for the residents of Wakefield and visitors to the gallery to enjoy. The team are working hard to raise the funds needed to do this, but when complete it will enable me to expand my programme outdoors and encourage even more people to come and visit and experience art.⁵³

In this sense, the redevelopment of the immediate (outside) place of the Gallery works in two ways. Firstly, to make the place of the Gallery more inviting for non-local visitors. As David Liddiment, Chair of the Gallery's Trustees describes, the Garden will 'enhance the experience of visiting The Hepworth and crucially, attract tourism to the city, further boosting the local economy'.⁵⁴ And secondly, to provide a green space in the city of Wakefield that is for, and can transform, the lives of local residents of Wakefield. A major element of the project appears to be a socially engaged approach to place, as set out on the Gallery's website in the following comments shared by the Garden's designer:

I am delighted to be selected for this ambitious new project for The Hepworth Wakefield. Public commissions like these are scarce in the UK. I truly believe in the community and health benefits that gardens can bring and I am particularly excited by the socially transformative opportunities of this project. I am looking forward to working with the gallery to create a beautiful public space in this riverside setting that will be treasured by local residents and visitors alike.⁵⁵

⁵³ Art Fund, 'Getting to know: The Hepworth Wakefield', Art Fund Website, 8 May 2017 <https://www.artfund.org/news/2017/05/08/getting-to-know-the-hepworth-wakefield?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=moty&utm_content=q%26a_hepworth> [accessed 25 July 2017].

⁵⁴ 'The Hepworth Riverside Gallery Garden'.

⁵⁵ 'The Hepworth Riverside Gallery Garden'.

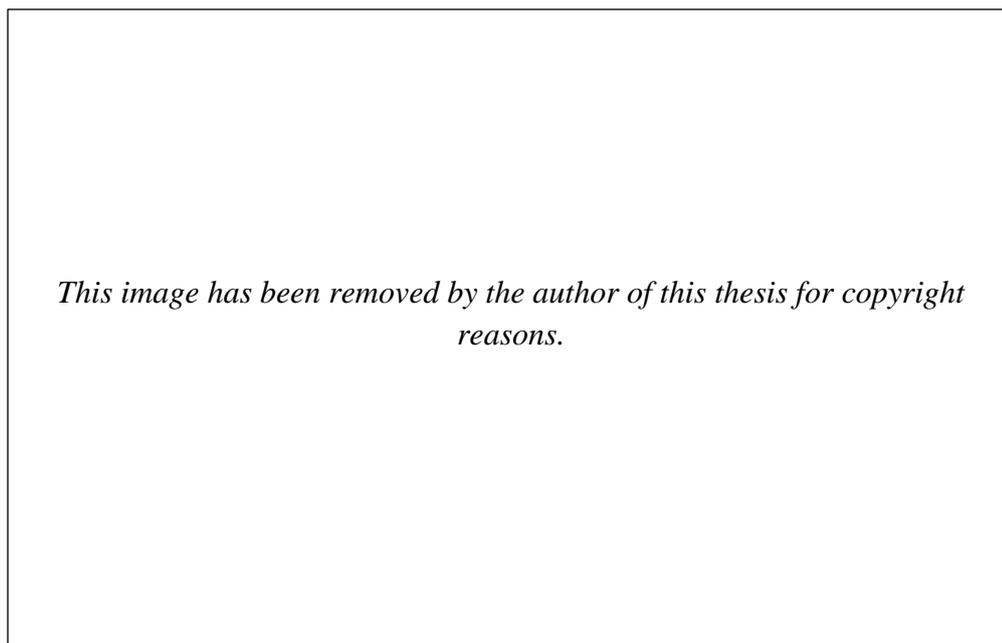


Figure 13: Riverside Gallery Garden Project. Screenshot from The Hepworth Wakefield Website <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/the-hepworth-riverside-gallery-garden/>> [accessed 13 August 2017].

However significant the impact of the Garden project may be, once the required funding has been secured, the perpetual un-used state of the surrounding Victorian mills continues to be a thorn in the side of the Gallery. It is the perceived lack of other amenities in the Gallery's immediate vicinity that Muse found to be so off-putting to those non-local arts-audiences. Indeed, Muse suggested that the negative perceptions of place were in 'a large extent [due] to the stalling of development of the mill buildings'.⁵⁶ Over the years since the Gallery's opening various projects have been proposed for the redevelopment of these spaces, most recently as a multi-purpose venue for creative businesses, cafes, retail spaces and so on. This current iteration is led by City and Provincial Properties, the developers who are responsible for Tileyard Studios, a successful creative music hub in central

⁵⁶ Member of the Muse team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 21 September 2015.

London, and the plan is ‘to create a “northern extension” of this brand’.⁵⁷ And this is what those non-local arts engaged audiences want. According to Muse: ‘When we put that potential project to them that this could be a possible art venue or multi-platform offering food, drink, art – it’s hugely appealing to non-visitors’.⁵⁸

That is not to say that other arts and cultural venues, interesting cafes and restaurants cannot be found ten minutes up the road from the Gallery in the centre of Wakefield. The city has an interesting mix of arts and cultural venues such as The Art House (artists studios, workshops and events space), Unity Works (multi-use space and café bar) and Theatre Royal Wakefield; cool bars which are also exhibition spaces (The Beer Exchange) and quirky community arts and music ventures (Crux), all which speak directly to an arts-engaged audience that Muse identified as significant for the Hepworth Wakefield. Yet there is an interesting leap-frogging of these local arts and cultural venues to identification with other nationally or internationally significant venues by external Gallery marketing. In the public declarations of the Gallery’s own sense of place and cultural context, again as articulated by *The Hepworth Wakefield* in the Museum of the Year Award promotion, its signposting is to the closest national institutions, as set out below:

I was designed by Sir David Chipperfield and sit in a dramatic setting overlooking the River Calder in Wakefield, in the heart of Yorkshire. Two giants of British art were born nearby – Henry Moore (b. Castleford 1898) and Barbara Hepworth (b. Wakefield 1903). Both artists had a deep connection with the Yorkshire landscape and referred to it as a source of inspiration throughout their careers. I’m in good company, as the Yorkshire Sculpture Park is only 15 minutes’ drive away, the National Coal Mining

⁵⁷ See ‘Derelict Wakefield mills to be revived as arts hub’, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 23 February 2016 <<http://www.yorkshireeveningpost.co.uk/news/derelict-wakefield-mills-to-be-revived-as-arts-hub-1-7745542>> [accessed 25 July 2017]; and ‘Future Creativity – Rutland Mills’, Wakefield Arts Partnership website <<http://wakefieldartspartnership.org/future-creativity-rutland-mills/>> [accessed 25 July 2017].

⁵⁸ Member of the Muse team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 21 September 2015.

Museum isn't far, and we have our own National Trust Property in Nostell Priory.⁵⁹

So instead of anchoring itself in a very specific place of Wakefield, the emphasis is on 'national' culture, and more abstract, aesthetic connections to the Yorkshire Landscape. In exploring the conceptualisation of the place of the Hepworth, it is worth briefly comparing this to the conceptualisation of the Yorkshire Sculpture Park, the other key arts institution in the Wakefield District, yet which in some sense has a more distanced relationship to the city of Wakefield. People tend to forget, or not realise, that this is where it is. The identity of the particular 'place', or location, for the Yorkshire Sculpture Park (in terms of where it is geographically situated in Wakefield) is not as important as the identity or image of its physical landscape. Its identity is rooted in a heterotopian, non-place, tying abstract notions of the 'rolling northern landscape' to the particular estate of Bretton Hall (and its development) and the ritualistic and symbolic function of the gallery spaces. Like the Hepworth, the Sculpture Park's website presents an insight into the scaled practices of the organisation, and the importance of the international character of the galleries, the artists, the work, the practices of display and interpretation, and so on: 'YSP seeks to provide a centre of international, national and regional importance for the production, exhibition and appreciation of modern and contemporary sculpture. Many inspirational elements combine here to create a unique and exceptional balance of art, heritage, learning, space and landscape'.⁶⁰

We have seen that there is a complex mixture of invocations of the 'local', 'national' and 'international' in the production of the place of The Hepworth

⁵⁹ Art Fund.

⁶⁰ 'About', Yorkshire Sculpture Park website <<https://yosp.org.uk/about-yosp>> [accessed 25 July 2017].

Wakefield; and an integral part of this production is driven by the Wakefield District Council, as one of the Gallery's key funders. Within the Council, there are individual figures who are directly responsible for 'making the case' for the continued support of the Gallery, not only to council leaders but also to the local Wakefield public, whose taxes and/or local resources are being diverted into this organisation. It is not a straightforward task to justify such a significant chunk of public resource to this one place instead of, say, the series of Sure Start Centres around Wakefield that closed in 2015, or myriad of other potential causes and funds that the Council's budget could be directed to.⁶¹ A member of the Council clearly sets out the predicament that they face in 'making the case', and the importance of economics in their construction of the Hepworth's importance to the place of Wakefield:

if the council's budget is getting less and less, resources are getting tighter and tighter, the argument to support the Hepworth is going to get harder and harder. So what does the Hepworth need to do, to show that its really value for money, and that that £1.24 million that the councils commits to it each year brings back the money to Wakefield, and people in Wakefield can see, almost like cause and effect, 'oh that money has gone in there, oh it's made that back'.⁶²

They went on to explain:

We have to talk that language, a lot of what I have to do is to argue the economic benefit, the tourism benefit, or the community benefits. A lot of our arts organisations work supporting local people. The theatre gets an audience of 70,000 a year, and I think, if I remember rightly, about 80% are local people. So it is a local audience. If we withdrew our money it's going to have a big impact on local people. Whereas, you could argue, our funding for the Yorkshire Sculpture Park [YSP], if we withdrew that - would it have a big impact on local people, when YSP report that they reckon about 13% of their audience is local? They are the sort of challenges we have, and members and senior managers are asking those sorts of questions, and it will get harder

⁶¹ See, for example, Laura Drysdale, 'Outcry as children's centres are set to close', *Wakefield Express*, 4 July 2014 <<http://www.wakefieldexpress.co.uk/news/outcry-as-children-s-centres-are-set-to-close-1-6711498>> [access 26 July 2017].

⁶² Member of Wakefield District Council, unpublished interview with Author, Wakefield One, 23 October 2015.

and harder. So what I'm saying is, the Hepworth needs to understand those pressures that the council is under.⁶³

Again, we see tensions here underlined by the complex intersections of the 'local', the 'national' and the 'international'. The need for relevance and meaning for local communities – to effect change and transformation through engagement with, or exposure to, excellent art and culture; yet also for local communities to benefit from increased revenue from tourism, generated by the Gallery providing a pull to visitors beyond the local, to draw audiences nationally and internationally. Thus, there is a recognition by the organisation, and also by Wakefield Council, that they need to build non-local audiences in order to build the resilience of the organisation. As Daniel Cutmore from the Arts Council described, there is a need for the organisation to be 'meaningful within the local area, as well as being a commercially, financially viable enterprise'.⁶⁴

These concerns for the local seem to fall into two areas, impact and value.⁶⁵

The Gallery has a responsibility to have some sort of impact on the local area (regeneration, redevelopment), as well as on local residents (well-being, engagement, personal/intellectual/social transformation). Alongside this, it also has a responsibility to be of value. This notion of value could be further divided. Firstly, that the Hepworth should be understood to be value for money, in terms of being

⁶³ Member of Wakefield District Council, unpublished interview with Author, Wakefield One, 23 October 2015.

⁶⁴ Daniel Cutmore, Relationships Manager: Visual Arts at Arts Council England, unpublished interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 7 October 2015.

⁶⁵ 'The number one priority, obviously, for Wakefield is around its impact on the local area, on the residents here, and the value of it for the public in Wakefield. Where I have had conversations with the staff here, [they were] about how well is the organisation strategically aligning the different elements of the business to build audiences to make sure that it is more impactful, more engaging, that it can reach a broad group of people in Wakefield, and, also draw in lots of visitors to support the visitor economy', Daniel Cutmore, Relationships Manager: Visual Arts at Arts Council England, unpublished interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 7 October 2015.

worth the investment of the council, linking back to the economic argument made by the council member above. Secondly, and intimately tied to the first, is that the Hepworth should be valued, as a worthwhile ‘thing’ to have and to visit, by local and non-local audiences alike. David Liddiment sums up this relationship of impact and value, local and (inter)national below:

On one level it’s a gallery for everyone, and another level it’s a gallery for the people of Wakefield through the way that Wakefield council have funded this. But for this investment to work for Wakefield, it has to be a gallery for more than Wakefield, and it has to be gallery which has national and international standing. That way it becomes a pivot in the visitor economy which feeds the growth of Wakefield. We can’t ignore the economic reason why we exist. We were not built simply as a temple to the great artists of the district and their contemporaries; we were built also because the local authority believed that a gallery of this ambition and scale could form the basis of a visitor economy for the district.⁶⁶

What is interesting to unpick – and what has been attempted in the previous chapter with the *Des Hughes* exhibition – is how, within these complex relations and connections between the local and (inter)national responsibilities and accountabilities, power is not necessarily evenly distributed between them. Within the shifting configurations that construct *The Hepworth Wakefield*, Wakefield District Council, The Arts Council, and so on, some actants are rendered more or less powerful than others, and some concepts and/or approaches to practice gain more or less traction.⁶⁷ An example of the shifting relations and agency of local and (inter)national can be seen in the following snapshot of funding changes for arts and culture in Wakefield. Faceless Arts, a Wakefield-based community arts charity

⁶⁶ David Liddiment, Chairman of the Board of Trustees for The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 3 November 2015.

⁶⁷ Griswold *et al.*

recently had its funding withdrawn by the Arts Council and Wakefield Council.⁶⁸ For 26 years, Faceless Arts had been working with isolated and deprived communities in the district and also nationally and internationally, at the ‘leading edge’ of creative community engagement.⁶⁹ Through their work the charity aimed to provide inspirational arts experiences for people from all walks of life, particularly those communities who were less served in terms of arts and culture.⁷⁰ At the same time that Faceless Arts’ funding ceased, Wakefield Cultural Consortium received £230,000 from the Arts Council’s Cultural Destinations fund, to help build Wakefield’s visitor economy.⁷¹ As part of this programme the Cultural Consortium appointed a Visitor Champion for Wakefield, to promote Wakefield nationally and internationally:

The Wakefield Cultural Consortium is looking for an inspirational and passionate advocate who is able to promote the value and importance of Wakefield’s culture and visitor economy to support Wakefield’s aspirations to be a leading cultural destination in the north of England. Wakefield’s outstanding cultural and visitor offer has the potential to become an important national and international cultural destination for the north of England.⁷²

On the surface this appears to reveal a shift in focus. A turn away from working with and for local communities through direct engagement with arts and cultural experiences; towards a more expansive, outward looking focus to bring non-locals in to the district.

⁶⁸ ‘Creative charity Faceless Arts closes after loss of funding’, *Wakefield Express*, 31 March 2017 <<http://www.wakefieldexpress.co.uk/news/creative-charity-faceless-arts-closes-after-loss-of-funding-1-8469145>> [access 26 July 2017].

⁶⁹ Making connections to ‘countries including Ireland, Canada, Singapore, France, Turkey, Austria’, Faceless Arts website <<http://www.facelessarts.co.uk/>> [accessed 26 July 2017].

⁷⁰ Faceless Arts.

⁷¹ Faceless Arts was a member of the Cultural Consortium until it had to close.

⁷² ‘Visitor Champion’, job advert on ‘Arts Jobs & Arts News’, Arts Council England website <<http://www.artsjobs.org.uk/>> [accessed 30 March 2017].

Within these political and ontological shifts certain kinds of people are being planned for. In the practice of their redevelopment plans for the city, Wakefield Council construct certain imagined constituents for their particular planned futures. This includes the arts and cultural audiences who the new Visitor Champion for Wakefield is hoped to attract; the businesses and workers hoped to be drawn in through the city's growing cultural offer, championed by the collective efforts of its Cultural Consortium; and local communities whose lives and well-being will be transformed by the regeneration of the city. In this process certain claims are made for certain publics, and thus the Cultural Strategy and the regeneration/gentrification it hopes to engender acts as both an exclusionary and inclusionary practice. For example, the Visitor Champion for Wakefield is not necessarily *for* or speaking *to* local people, nevertheless, local people will be impacted *on*, or transformed *by* the success of their work. Within these imaginaries certain tensions exist; tensions between the planning and control (the Council's plan for a particular future), and the emergent and uncertain process of reality.⁷³ The process of constructing the imagined communities of the city's planned for future occurs from a complex process of identification, mapping, defining and bounding, 'which may or may not coincide with identifiable spatial entities or with existing juridical boundaries'.⁷⁴ Before we continue to explore the particular ways in which Wakefield Council constructs spatial entities and community identities within the district, let us pause to consider the production and representations of place within the spaces of the Gallery.

⁷³ Sacha Kagan, 'Emergence, Complexity, Design, Planning, Control: Approaching issues of emergence in urban sustainable development through the lens of qualitative complexity', unpublished presentation at *Emergent Culture*, 6th midterm conference of the European Sociological Association's Research Network Sociology of Culture (RN7), 16-18 November 2016, Exeter, UK.

⁷⁴ Graham *et al.*, p. 181.

By taking a more detailed look at another of the Gallery's Spring 2016 Exhibitions, the large Martin Parr retrospective, it is possible to explore how the above complex constructions of place are performed in the Gallery spaces themselves.

Place and The Hepworth Wakefield: *The Rhubarb Triangle & Other Stories*

This show, in the Gallery's own words, was the 'largest Martin Parr exhibition in the UK since his Barbican retrospective in 2002, comprising more than 300 photographs that span the past 40 years'. It was indeed a major coup which had perceptible impact on the national arts scene, evidenced by its significant national press.⁷⁵ Yet, beyond being just another big name photographer, this survey of Parr's work had some very significant ties to Wakefield and the wider Yorkshire region. It included his early Yorkshire-based black and white photographs, reflecting his experiences of growing up, living in and visiting various locations around the county, including Hebden Bridge, Calverly, Scarborough, Brimham Rocks, and Bradford. Parr described his enduring interest in communities, particularly those he has encountered in the north: 'I was always enthralled with this sense of community in the North of

⁷⁵ See Nicole Anderson, 'The Rhubarb Triangle and Other Stories, The Hepworth Wakefield', *Aesthetica*, 4 June 2016 <<http://www.aestheticamagazine.com/rhubarb-triangle-stories-hepworth-wakefield/>> [accessed 26 July 2017]; Laurence Piercy, 'The Rhubarb Triangle and Other Stories: Photographs by Martin Parr', *Corridor8*, 10 March 2016 <<http://corridor8.co.uk/article/review-the-rhubarb-triangle-and-other-stories-photographs-by-martin-parr-the-hepworth-wakefield/>> [accessed 26 July 2017]; 'All systems grow: Martin Parr and the Rhubarb Triangle', BBC website, 5 February 2016 <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/5db1BBQfJcMfLTHS8bJv1ys/all-systems-grow-martin-parr-and-the-rhubarb-triangle>> [accessed 26 July 2017]; Stuart Brumfitt, 'the world according to martin parr', *i-D*, 19 February 2016 <https://i-d.vice.com/en_uk/article/nen5bx/the-world-according-to-martin-parr> [accessed 26 July 2017]; Hettie Judah, 'Photographer Martin Parr on being back in vogue - and setting his sights on the British establishment', *Independent*, 8 February 2016 <<http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/features/photographer-martin-parr-on-being-back-in-vogue-and-setting-his-sights-on-the-british-establishment-a6856521.html>> [accessed 26 July 2017]; and Sooke.

England and I immediately took to this which was very different to the non community I had in suburban Surrey'.⁷⁶ At the heart of the exhibition was Parr's encounter with a specific community in Wakefield. For this new series, *The Rhubarb Triangle*, commissioned by the Hepworth Wakefield, Parr documented the life and work of the rhubarb workers of Wakefield (Figure 14). The Rhubarb Triangle is an area of countryside between Wakefield, Morley and Rothwell in West Yorkshire which is famous for producing rhubarb, and over a period of 12 months Parr photographed all aspects of the business, from its production in the field to its consumption by 'food tourists', coach parties and at the annual Wakefield Festival of Food, Drink and Rhubarb.⁷⁷



Figure 14: Installation view of the *Rhubarb Triangle* series by Martin Parr. Photo: Justin Slee. Image courtesy The Hepworth Wakefield and Martin Parr.

⁷⁶ James Cooper-Mitchell and Anna Sanders, 'Martin Parr: The Rhubarb Triangle & Other Stories. Exhibition Review', *Pylot*, n.d <<http://www.pylotmagazine.com/martin-parr-the-rhubarb-triangle-other-stories-exhibition-review/>> [accessed 26 July 2017].

⁷⁷ The Hepworth Wakefield, 'Martin Parr', The Hepworth Wakefield website <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/martin-parr/>> [last accessed 13 April 2016].

In terms of the Gallery's strategic intention for this local anchoring of the show, it is interesting to know that working with the Rhubarb Triangle of Wakefield in some way had been an ambition for the Gallery from its inception, and when Martin Parr came along with the plans for this project it was seen as a serendipitous moment.⁷⁸ In contrast to its more happenstance conception, there was a very deliberate structuring of the show in how it was laid out across the chain of gallery spaces. It began anchored in Yorkshire with his earlier works of Calderdale and progressed through the spaces to the more recent and international works, with the Rhubarb Triangle situated at the heart, in the centre of the chain of gallery rooms. Discussing this mixture of very specific local focus and more international work, Parr made the following statement about his retrospective:

It featured photographs I had taken around the 'rhubarb triangle' – between Wakefield, Morley and Rothwell in West Yorkshire – and a bigger show of my other, more international, work. I liked the way we were able to combine local interest with a broader perspective.⁷⁹

Again, we see a complex folding of the local and the international, the particular and the 'broader'. The exhibition and the works it contained constructed a sense of looking in, through a window (or rather windows) to a very particular space of Wakefield and the people who live and work there; and also of looking out, to 'broader', national concerns of working class seaside holidays (*The Last Resort* series) and the thriving middle class life of the post-Thatcher era (*The Cost of Living*). This retrospective explicitly spoke to the aims of Wakefield Council, their ambitions to promote the culture of Wakefield to national and international audiences. One review commentated that 'The way in which Parr documents the

⁷⁸ Conversation with curator at the Hepworth Wakefield, 10 March 2016.

⁷⁹ Martin Parr, quoted in Museum of the Year Award promotion, email communication from The Hepworth Wakefield, 20 May 2017.

production of the rhubarb, and structures the images chronologically, forms a story with a purpose; the audience are able to appreciate the importance of local industry and consumerism'.⁸⁰



Figure 15: Rhubarb grower pictured in front of his photograph, holding the exhibition catalogue. Photo: Justin Slee. Image courtesy The Hepworth Wakefield and Martin Parr.

And what of the people of *The Rhubarb Triangle*? These people who are very much part of the Hepworth's immediate, 'local' community? Martin Parr was very keen that the farmers and workers photographed for the exhibition were invited to the VIP opening. Parr explained that 'I really like the fact that the VIP guests tonight are the rhubarb growers, I'm very much in favour of bringing things back to the people where they (the photos) were taken' (Figure 15).⁸¹ Parr's intentions extended beyond a simple invitation, he wanted to ensure that they would feel comfortable and welcomed at the event – adapting the space and what would usually happen at Private Views to accommodate them. Parr also personally offered to pay for the

⁸⁰ Anderson.

⁸¹ Martin Parr quoted in Cooper-Mitchell and Sanders.

Eastern European workers who did not have access to a car or a shared car, to get a taxi to and from the Gallery on that evening. This effort extended to the invitations that the participants received, which were the standard Private View invitation letters, which take the slightly impersonal and rather formal approach of ‘the director and the trustees invite you to...’. On this occasion, however, the curator of the exhibition added a friendly note to each letter, making clear practical elements like the parking being free, and if they had been included in a photograph on display, as well following this up with a conversation over the phone. In so doing, Parr and Gallery staff were extending and forming local connections between the Gallery and members of its immediate local community. At that moment, staff performed a reaching out and inclusion of the Rhubarb workers, their family and friends, into the Gallery’s network; and not just a performance of inclusion, but a designation of this community as ‘VIP’ members of this network. Thus, the performance of inclusion was imbued with scaling and significance, an explicit hierarchy – of marking out, of making special and distinct.

In this example of the Hepworth’s (and Parr’s) engagement with local communities and the place of Wakefield in the production of The Rhubarb Triangle images, and the performance of the exhibition’s private view, the Gallery was both signalling its presence and absence within Wakefield, signalling its presence and absence to place and the people who reside there. The Gallery was both very much ‘in’ and ‘outside’ Wakefield, physically, mentally and symbolically. The territorial embeddedness of actors involved in the production and reception of the Rhubarb Triangle images varied widely.⁸² How many staff involved with the Martin Parr

⁸² Salone *et al.*

project were ‘embedded’ in Wakefield? All were embedded in the place of The Hepworth Wakefield, but how many lived in Wakefield? How many spent time in the city beyond the confines of Gallery walls and grounds? One of the issues raised by staff during my fieldwork work at the Gallery was the need to have more awareness of, and sensitiveness to, the organisation’s place in the local community, including engaging with local issues, and the perception of the Gallery, particularly regarding the Gallery’s funding. Across the organisation staff cited a lack of external understanding, particularly in the local community, around the role of fundraising and the reality of how much funding is needed to run the organisation, despite the apparently large settlements from the Wakefield Council and Arts Council.

Ultimately there was a desire to enter into more of a dialogue with the Gallery’s local communities, rather than merely speaking to, or for them. John Holden, a trustee of the Hepworth, conveyed his passion for working with communities: ‘I’m very, very keen to have the widest possible – not only participation and engagement, but of people really getting involved in shaping the organisation and feeling that it is theirs, rather than us just providing a service to the local community’.⁸³ So how might this local community be identified and targeted? Let us now consider the work of Wakefield Council in constructing its local communities, and how this process is a fundamentally spatial and scaled one.

⁸³ John Holden, Trustee of The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, via Skype, 4 November 2015.

Spatiality of Governmentality: Socio-Spatial Cartography

The rationality of modern government, according to Foucault, is both individualising and totalising. It is about ‘finding answers to the question of what it is for an individual, and for society or population of individuals, to be governed or governable’.⁸⁴ In this specific case of unpicking the role and relationship of Wakefield Council to the development and practice of the Hepworth Wakefield, we must consider the aims the Council, and explore the techniques, strategies and tactics that allow its subjects to be governed, or self-governing, in realising of the Council’s ambitions. As Margo Huxley describes:

Studying ‘governmentality’, however, involves not only examination of practices and programmes aiming to shape, guide and govern the behaviour of others and the self, or the calculations, measurements and technologies involved in knowing and directing the qualities of a population; but also pays attention to the aims and aspirations, the mentalities and rationalities intertwined in attempts to steer forms of conduct. These mentalities or rationalities of government are framed within ‘regimes of truth’ that inform the ‘thought’ secreted in projects of rule.⁸⁵

We have already begun to explore some of the ambitions of Wakefield Council as articulated through its Cultural Strategy and regeneration plans for the city. Imbued in this process is a continual practice of knowledge production (or technologies of knowledge), regarding Wakefield and its citizens. As part of these technologies of knowing, councils continually gather information about their cities, generating a wealth of data and statistics on issues such as housing, health, wealth, crime, education, and so on, often choosing to present this information in the form of urban mapping or zoning. In Wakefield, this type of social cartography is continuously

⁸⁴ Colin Gordon, ‘Governmental rationality: an introduction’, in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 1-51 (p. 36).

⁸⁵ Huxley, p. 187.

undertaken by the Council, through the creation of identities and bounded categorisations of places within the Wakefield District. In this sense, the Council are fulfilling Huxley's assertion that 'space seems to be conceived as a series of surfaces and containers upon which governmental aims can be projected and within which certain practices can be enacted'.⁸⁶ In their desire to know and act upon its citizens, Wakefield Council are creating a series of distinct (but sometimes overlapping), hierarchically scaled surfaces and containers. In their conceptualisation of the city the Council employs a process of telescopic zooming through the use of scaled zones. Starting at the 'meta-level' is the Wakefield District – taking in the whole of local government district which covers over '338 square kilometres and is home to 325,837 (2011 census) people', that were once the concern of 14 different local authorities.⁸⁷ The District can then be divided into two distinct areas of North West and South East, and is also often referred to as Wakefield and the five towns (Normanton, Pontefract, Featherstone, Castleford and Knottingley), despite there being many more towns in the district and numerous other urban and rural communities. In terms of the current official reporting created by the Council, the key report is the 'Wakefield: State of District Report' (the meta-level reporting), followed by seven 'State of the Area' reports which 'zoom' in a with more details by splitting the District in to seven distinct working areas, which are then further divided, or 'complemented' by '21 Ward Profiles', described as 'containing more local details'. As Henri Lefebvre describes, this process is very much underpinned by the desire to distinguish and differentiate:

⁸⁶ Huxley, p. 191.

⁸⁷ 'The Wakefield district', Wakefield Council website <<http://www.wakefield.gov.uk/about-the-council/about-wakefield/the-wakefield-district>> [last accessed 19 September 2017].

A classical (Cartesian) rationality thus appears to underpin various spatial distinction and divisions. Zoning, for example, which is responsible – precisely – for fragmentation, break-up and separation under the umbrella of a bureaucratically decreed unity, is conflated with the capacity to discriminate.⁸⁸

It is not that these scaled districts or zones are ontological givens. These constructs are an ‘example of the deployment of scale itself as an epistemological frame for apprehending the political-spatiality of the city’, but which may in turn have very materials effects in terms of government spending, allocation of resources, access to certain types of services, and so on.⁸⁹

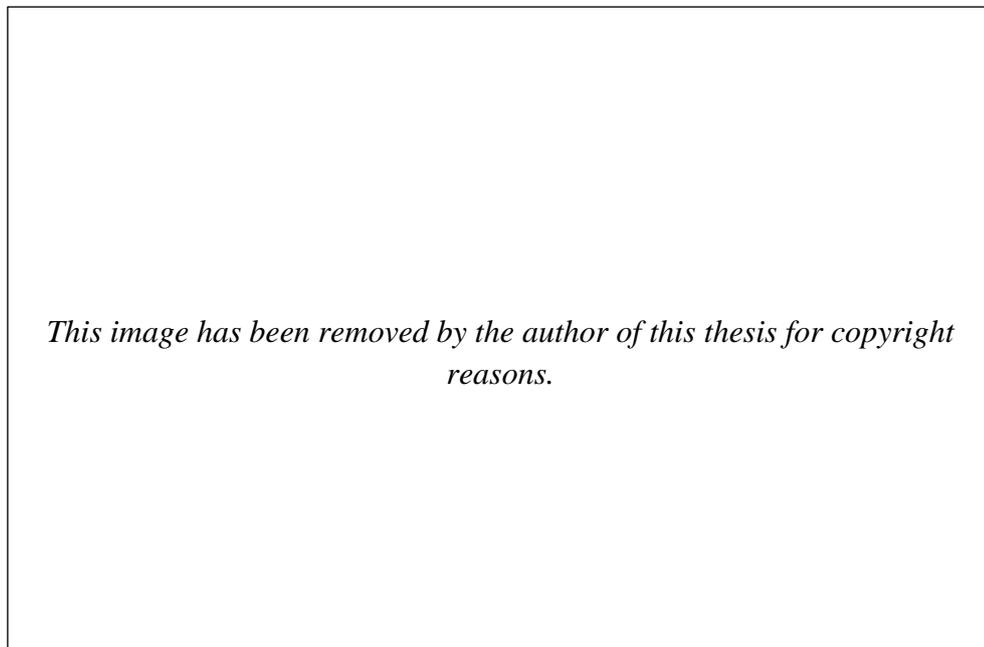


Figure 16: Screenshot of the Wakefield Observatory’ website <<http://observatory.wakefield.gov.uk>> [accessed October 2016].

The Council created the Wakefield Observatory,⁹⁰ a dedicated website to ‘Stats, Facts and Maps’ maintained by the Wakefield Together Partnership, which was hailed as a ‘resource for anyone looking to find data and information about

⁸⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 317.

⁸⁹ Jones, ‘Scale as epistemology’, p. 27.

⁹⁰ The Wakefield Observatory website <<http://observatory.wakefield.gov.uk>> [last accessed 27 July 2017].

communities and neighbourhoods in the Wakefield District' (Figure 16).⁹¹ In this sense, the way the city is mapped by the Council and the particular political-spatiality that it constructs in resources such as this website, enables certain ways to know about the city and disables others.⁹² Because of the relationship between the Hepworth and the Council and the particular obligations the Gallery has to fulfil in terms of its funding agreement with them, certain spatial constructs created by the Council, such as Neighbourhood Priority Areas (NPA), certain 'at risk' communities, are then used by the Gallery to inform their practice, for example whom they engage with for certain 'outreach' projects. Pressures also come from the Arts Council to focus on specific social groups such as BME (black, minority and ethnic), young people and children, so within the Gallery's National Portfolio they have to focus on these groups in order to meet funding requirements.⁹³ Therefore, the way the city is mapped and understood through certain zones alters how it is known and engaged with in practice – *their* mapping becomes *the* truth about a city.⁹⁴ As Ola Söderström describes, 'it was not the gaze that the ordinary citizen could direct upon the districts of [the city] which would reveal the truth about these areas, but the observation of the social map of those same districts'.⁹⁵

This process of using scale to create distinct areas about which things can be known, is a way of enabling specific effects through this process of 'local knowledge' production. As Arjun Appadurai proposes, 'local knowledge is

⁹¹ The Wakefield Observatory website.

⁹² Ola Söderström, 'Paper Cities: Visual Thinking in Urban Planning', *Cultural Geographies*, 3:3 (1996), 249-281 (p. 272).

⁹³ Natalie Walton, Head of Learning at The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 15 June 2012.

⁹⁴ Jones, 'Scale as epistemology', p. 27.

⁹⁵ Jones, 'Scale as epistemology', p. 27.

substantially about producing reliably local subjects as well as about producing reliably local neighborhoods within which such subjects can be recognized and organized'.⁹⁶ This is about the production of specific places, neighbourhoods or localities through the drawing up of distinct zones, which in turn enable the 'production of local subjects', which the Council can then categorise, organise and act upon.⁹⁷ In this sense, there is a desire to 'fix' and hold stable the complex reality of social life, which is, in fact, constantly in flux. Doreen Massey provides an excellent account of this aspiration for fixity, which can only ever provide glimpses of certain 'trajectories' at certain moments in time. Massey states: 'any politics catches trajectories at different points, [and] is attempting to articulate rhythms which pulse at different beats. It is another aspect of the elusiveness of place which renders politics so difficult'.⁹⁸ This illusiveness of place results in, what Lefebvre terms, a 'fake lucidity'. The clarity that Wakefield Council seek in their maps, charts, and statistics is necessarily a false one.

the creators' gaze lights at will and to his heart's content on 'volumes'; but this is a fake lucidity, one which misapprehends both the social practice of the 'users' and the ideology that itself enshrines. None of which prevents it in the slightest degree from presiding over the spectacle, and forging the unity into which all the programmed fragments must be integrated, no matter what the cost.⁹⁹

For the Council, there is no alternative but for the complexity of the social reality of Wakefield to be integrated, made unified and knowable.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 181.

⁹⁷ Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p. 181.

⁹⁸ Massey, *For Space*, p. 158.

⁹⁹ Lefebvre, p. 318.

¹⁰⁰ This is an example of the difference between dialectical and formal logic. Dialectical logic grasps the essence of things as processes, as they constantly change/transform. On the other hand, formal logic – or common sense – only sees things as they 'are', fixed, immutable and unalterable. This will be explored further in the next section, *Binary Thinking: The Abstract and The Concrete*.

In tracing the production of these knowable and unified places, we find a process of simplification or deflations where the world (objects, places, and so on) are turned into paper. These written inscriptions perform a translation of complex reality into a stable and transportable form.¹⁰¹ According to Bruno Latour, the collection of these written inscriptions into files can then be mobilised and connected to other files in other places (and times). Latour suggests that connectivity of interdisciplinarity is through these inscriptions and their connections, '[e]conomics, politics, sociology, hard sciences, do not come into contact through the grandiose entrance of "interdisciplinarity" but through the back door of the *file*'.¹⁰² This is where power is formed. It is not the case that something or someone is necessarily larger than another; rather, they may have more connections *to* others, more information *on* others, and more potential to mobilise inscriptions. As Latour clarifies: 'A man is never much more powerful than any other—even from a throne; but a man whose eye dominates records through which some sort of connections are established with millions of others may be said to *dominate*'.¹⁰³ It is pertinent to note, following a feminist critique of ANT, that within this process there may be some who are more likely to easily fit in those positions of access to records etc.¹⁰⁴ While acknowledging this potential uneven agency in access, it is crucial that we understand that 'the scale of an actor is not an absolute term but a relative one that varies with the ability to produce, capture, sum up and interpret information about other places and times'.¹⁰⁵ Latour argues that the focus should be on the paper – the

¹⁰¹ Latour, 'Visualisation and Cognition', p. 21.

¹⁰² Latour, 'Visualisation and Cognition', p. 26.

¹⁰³ Latour, 'Visualisation and Cognition', p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter 1.

¹⁰⁵ Latour, 'Visualisation and Cognition', p. 27; and Callon and Latour 'Unscrewing the big Leviathan'.

production of inscriptions and how they are mobilised, and ‘how they help small entities become large ones’. Latour goes on to state that it is unwise ‘[t]o take the existence of macro-actors for granted without studying the material that makes them “macro”’, as to take this approach is ‘to make both science and society mysterious’.¹⁰⁶ As seen above, in this study the attempt has been to trouble such notions of *The Hepworth Wakefield*, and *The Wakefield Council*, through exploring their complex socio-material networks, formed of connections and relations; and, by paying attention to the various actors within said networks, tracing their different (often ‘conflicting’) agendas and desires regarding the role of *The Hepworth Wakefield* for the city.

In considering the material that allows for some actors to be acknowledged as ‘macro’, the key is in the translation, or inscription of the world into paper form which allows for greater possibility of action.¹⁰⁷ The inscriptions result in a new flatness, allowing new possibilities for sight, the god’s-eye-view, and thus the possibility of domination.¹⁰⁸ This process is inherently about ‘disclosure, making visible’,¹⁰⁹ and, providing a certain scaled perspective to picturing knowledge about others, that is to say, an apparently ‘omniscient optic’ afforded to ‘those who employ it’.¹¹⁰ This methodological perspectivism of hierarchical scale constructs a sense of ‘a God’s Eye view’ ‘from which the world [can be] surveyed’, and surveyed objectively.¹¹¹ As Simon Springer explains:

Scale is an abstraction of visioning, an ocular objectification of geography that encourages hierarchical thinking, even if unintentionally, or more

¹⁰⁶ Latour, ‘Visualisation and Cognition’, p. 27.

¹⁰⁷ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 226.

¹⁰⁸ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 227.

¹⁰⁹ Giddens, p. 127.

¹¹⁰ Springer, p. 404.

¹¹¹ Marston, Jones III and Woodward, p. 422.

accurately, unconsciously. As an ontological percept, the detached gaze of scale invoke Haraway's (1991:81) 'god-trick', 'and like the god-trick, this eye fucks the world' through its *point de capiton* [Lacan] and the unconsciousness it maintains with respect to situated knowledges and rhizomic spaces.¹¹²

Wakefield Council, as a centre of calculation employing this process of visioning, could thus be said to *generate* the space of the city of Wakefield through its detached gaze.

Latour uses the example of the creation of astronomical charts and maps to produce a readable space; '[w]e, the readers, do not live *inside* space, that has billions of galaxies in it; on the contrary, this space is generated *inside* the observatory by having, for instance, a computer count little dots on a photographic plate'.¹¹³ The same can be said for the creation of the space of Wakefield by Wakefield Council. 'Wakefield' is generated by tools such as the Wakefield Observatory, in the collating and assembling of inscriptions – maps, charts, statistics. In a centre, such as Wakefield Observatory, there is an ongoing process of reduction, or, abstraction. Again, we come to translations and representations, where things stand in for things in a continuous process of abstraction, which can be carried out to the nth degree, level or order. Latour terms this a cascade of representations.¹¹⁴ The collation and translation of statistics regarding the place of Wakefield by Wakefield Council, which are then re-collated and re-translated and so on, are abstract representations of the social reality of the city. As Latour states:

The Phrases '1,456,239 babies' is no more made of crying babies than the word 'dog' is a barking dog. Nevertheless, once tallied in the census, the phrases establishes some relations between the demographers' office and the crying babies of the land.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Springer, p. 414.

¹¹³ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 229.

¹¹⁴ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 234.

¹¹⁵ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 234.

So, the abstract representations of Wakefield establish relations between the offices of Wakefield Council and the city. These connections are then expanded between the Wakefield Council offices to the offices of The Hepworth Wakefield. They are established when the statistics, such as the numbers of NPA or BME residents to be targeted for engagement, are mobilised and connected to the Gallery in the form of reports and funding agreements. Inscriptions, however, do not guarantee success or control. What is on the paper does not necessarily translate to the real world. Just because the report says a certain number of people from a NPA have to engaged with, does not mean that this actually happens (nor what form this ‘engagement’ make take).¹¹⁶ As Latour suggested, ‘The risk of the cascade I presented above is of ending up with a few manageable but meaningless numbers’.¹¹⁷ This was a key issue articulated by staff at the Gallery, the difficulty of working with, making sense of, and reacting to, abstract representations of social reality (particularly regarding the Gallery’s audiences, existing and potential) in practice. This issue was underpinned by a fundamental binary notion of the abstract and the concrete, which we will now explore in further detail.

Binary Thinking: The Abstract and The Concrete

First of all, let us consider this notion of binary thinking in a broader sense. In our day-to-day lives, we have a tendency to think in binaries, such as the local in contrast to the (inter)national, where the contrast between two (seemingly) mutually exclusive concepts is an important approach in how we make sense of the world, or

¹¹⁶ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 236.

¹¹⁷ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 237.

make sense of something in distinction to its 'other'. Binaries such as man/woman, white/black, civilised/uncivilised were traditionally seen as necessarily true and natural, perpetuating certain power structures privileging the western white male. With the rise of post-structuralism, (third-wave) feminism and postcolonial studies, these binary oppositions were widely critiqued, in order to render visible power structures and expose their constructed nature.¹¹⁸ Deconstruction of binaries is not necessarily the reversal or collapsing of oppositions, rather the recognition that these apparently neutral, contradictory oppositions must be analysed and criticised in their relationship to one another as a *totality*.

Within arts and culture such binary thinking is often played out in dichotomies, such as local as opposed to (inter)national interests and ambitions (as discussed above), and related notions of excellence versus access, and artists versus community that pervade in thought and practice. It is important to understand this issue within the context of changing attitudes to aesthetics, access and education to appreciate the difficulties that galleries face today. These challenges are manifested in the attempted reconciliation of the traditional aesthetic importance of display, and newer attitudes and ideas regarding different methods of interpreting and engaging

¹¹⁸ See, for example, Suki Ali, 'Introduction: Feminist and postcolonial: Challenging knowledge', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30:2 (2007), 191-212; Sushmita Chatterjee, 'What Does It Mean to Be a Postcolonial Feminist? The Artwork of Mithu Sen', *Hypatia*, 31:1 (2016), 22-40; Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay, eds., *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996); and Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans. by Alan Bass (London: Athlone Press, 1981).

with art.¹¹⁹ The rise of the post-museum,¹²⁰ and the increased ‘understanding of the complex relationships between culture, communication, learning and identity’, further fuels the association of increasing access in the arts with populism or dumbing down, as opposed to more ‘critical’ approaches to displaying, interpreting and engaging with art.¹²¹ These tensions add weight to apparent dichotomies of excellence/access, curator/community, Art/outreach, as well as perceptions of the local as limited, inward looking, parochial and provincial, standing in contrast to the (inter)national as expansive, outward looking and possessing inherent quality.¹²² As was explored in Chapter 1, this dualistic relationship between (high) art and community is a long and unresolved debate. Let us think back to the quote by Vera L. Zolbery regarding the Brooklyn Museum in the early nineties: ‘the museum has tried to reconcile two frequently incompatible aims: on the one hand, as befits a venerable institution, to maintain standards of quality and stay in touch with national and international trends; on the other, to play an active role in the life of the community’.¹²³ This notion of binary opposition between collections and

¹¹⁹ ‘These shifts are practical (caused by changes within professional museum practice and cultural policy), theoretical (a result of the increasing appropriation of museums by scholars of cultural studies) and symbolic (connected to the changing relationship between the museum, the state and other authoritative organizations)’ (Kylie Message, *New Museums and the Making of Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2006), p. 8). However, this process has not taken place universally and has occurred at differing rates: ‘the rhetoric of change does not create change’ (Janet Marstine, ‘Introduction’, in *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction*, ed. by Janet Marstine (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 1-36 (p. 27)). There is extensive literature on the changes to museum theory and practice, see for example, A. L. Rees and Frances Borzello, eds, *The New Art History* (London: Camden Press, 1986); Jonathon Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001); Peter Vergo, ed., *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion, 1989), and Lisa C. Roberts, *From Knowledge to Narrative: Educators and the Changing Museum* (Washington, DC; London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), particularly pp. 119-130.

¹²⁰ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy, Performance* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 1.

¹²¹ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and Education*, p. 1.

¹²² Mary Hutchison, ‘“Shared Authority”: Collaboration, Curatorial Voice, and Exhibition Design in Canberra, Australia’, in *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration*, ed. by Viv Golding and Wayne Modest (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 143-162 (p. 145).

¹²³ Zolberg, p. 120.

communities seems to be set in the minds of many. Indeed, it is still an endemic belief that these concepts are essentially at odds, where committing to one will be at the detriment to the other.¹²⁴

These dichotomies persist in relatively recent developments in museum and gallery practice, including participatory or socially engaged work. Clare Bishop describes the dominant narrative in participatory art as ‘negation: activation of the audience in participatory art is positioned against its mythic counterpart, passive spectatorial consumption’.¹²⁵ That is to say, a construction of an active in contrast to a passive audience. Within this process, complex binary and hierarchized ‘tropes’ exist. This includes a construction of difference between real (concrete) and imagined/mythic (abstract) audiences; a separation of artistic/aesthetic ambitions in contrast to concrete outcomes; and, complex hierarchized value judgements in relations to each of these constructed divisions. As Bishop explains:

[there are a] number of important tropes: the division between first-hand participants and secondary audience (‘temporary community’ versus ‘outside public’), and the division between artistic goals and problem solving/concrete outcomes. [...] a tacit hierarchy between these terms [‘artist and ethical, practical and political’]: aesthetic experience is ‘simply’ offered, compared to the implicit more worthwhile task of ‘real efficacy’. [...] In short, the point of comparison and reference for participatory projects always returns to contemporary art, despite the fact that they are perceived to be worthwhile precisely because they are non-artistic. The aspiration is always to move beyond art, but never to the point of comparison with comparable projects in the social domain.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Steven D. Lavine, ‘Audience, Ownership, and Authority: Designing Relations between Museums and Communities’, in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, ed. by Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine (Washington; London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), pp. 137-157 (p. 148).

¹²⁵ Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (London; New York: Verso, 2012), p. 275.

¹²⁶ Bishop, p. 19.

Tension is imbued in these binaries. Tensions between contemporary art and participatory projects, tensions between art and ‘real’ life. Bishop sums up this persistence of difference and its inherent tensions as the ‘art vs real life debate [...]’. This tension – along with that between equality and quality, participation and spectatorship – indicate that social and artistic judgments do not easily merge; indeed, they seem to demand different criteria’.¹²⁷

Within research and scholarship similar dichotomies exist. Traditionally, concerns for local, small scale or grass roots initiatives were denigrated in favour of attending to the power of global dynamics.¹²⁸ This ties in with the idea of ‘power differentials embedded in the binaries of global and local, space and place’, that is to say, one side of the binary holds more value or more power, for example the local or the global, the abstract or the concrete.¹²⁹ It is also important to note that binary concepts have oppositional associates. For example, local is often linked to notions of the weak, passive, static, bounded, and global to such concepts as strong, assertive, dynamic and open. Andrew Herod and Melissa Wright describe the ‘asymmetrical dynamic linking concepts of “the global” to its binary and oppositional twin, “the local,” by reviewing how the global is associated with strength, domination, and action, while the local is invariably coded as weakness, acquiescence, and passivity’.¹³⁰ These associated concepts then have the potential to

¹²⁷ Bishop, p. 275.

¹²⁸ J. K. Gibson-Graham gives an excellent account of presenting research and being challenged by those who assert a local focus is less valuable than a global one. See, J. K. Gibson-Graham, ‘Beyond Global vs. Local: Economic Politics Outside the Binary Frame’, in *Geographies of Power: Placing Scale*, ed. by Andrew Herod and Melissa Wright (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 25-60.

¹²⁹ Gibson-Graham, p. 29.

¹³⁰ Andrew Herod and Melissa W. Wright, ‘Introduction: Theorizing Scale’, in *Geographies of Power: Placing Scale*, ed. by Andrew Herod and Melissa Wright (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 17-24 (p. 18).

implicitly effect how we may understand or even emotionally relate to certain concepts.

This was certainly something that I encountered during my research at The Hepworth Wakefield. During conversations, interviews and observations with staff in the Gallery, the understanding of audience was often underpinned by a complex relationship to, and between, abstract thinking and concrete experience in organisational knowledge practices. More specifically, in the processes of identifying audiences there was an evident difficulty in moving between abstract conceptualisations of audience – the imagined/perceived/desired audience – and its material reality.

So sometimes I think there is, I don't know, a sense of disappointment perhaps, that we have got this imagined audience in our heads, and I know that Simon has [Simon Wallis, Director of The Hepworth Wakefield]. I think Simon's imagined audience is very much the desired Calder audience that we went for, that 18-34, students, tastemakers. So I think there is that discrepancy between perhaps the audience that we talk about in the back office, and the audience that are actually coming through the doors.¹³¹

The emotional weight tied to this binary's associated concepts resulted in divisions and hierarchies of value for these different ways of knowing. For instance, abstract thinking, and associated notions of assumption, implicit and/or tacit knowledge, was considered bad; as opposed to concrete experience, anchored in reality, evidence, statistics, facts, which was considered good. As we explored in Chapter 2, such dichotomies of simple versus complex, or, simple (bad) versus complex (good), do not have to be taken as necessary and essential, but it is important to note that such binary modes of thought seemed pervasive in the thinking of the organisation regarding its audiences. It is worth briefly outlining here the approach to knowledge

¹³¹ Member of the Marketing and Communications Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 18 November 2014.

and practice in the Gallery at that time, which stood in contrast to the more relational, assemblage attitude that was set out in Chapter 1. In the practice of the Gallery staff, there was a sense that general terms, such as ‘audience’ or ‘visitor’, were most often used because there was a lack of knowledge or confidence to talk about audiences more specifically. Staff described how the ‘idea of audience’ had been ‘articulated vaguely, but with urgency’, for example around the opening The Calder in 2013. The Calder saw an expansion of the Hepworth’s exhibition space in the renovation of the ground floor of the adjacent Victorian Mills, with its programme having a contemporary art focus. At the time of its development, staff suggested that the intended audience for this new space was articulated using terms such as ‘new, different, younger’, but without much interrogation or understanding of what those identities meant or represented, or how that might affect the Gallery’s engagement practices. Ultimately, it was felt that when the audience was spoken of in these general terms, it was not made real.

An important issue regarding this sense of separation of the idea of audience versus its reality was the simultaneous desire for, and rejection of, abstractions and abstracted conceptions and identifications of ‘audience’. I encountered expressions of the difficulty and impossibility of abstraction in the organisation’s current modes of thinking about and articulating audience, alongside its prolific use. There was a clear desire for abstraction in staff perceptions of how audiences could be thought about better, in the form of bespoke audience segmentation profiles. While some staff (particularly Collections and Exhibitions) articulated their aversion to and scepticism of audience segmentation techniques, in particular any generalisations regarding audience where individuals are grouped together and conceptualised as a

mass and undifferentiated, there was also a keen desire for the construction of bespoke audience segments and profiles (which are nothing more than generalised audience types). In reality, or the social reality I encountered at The Hepworth Wakefield at that time, there was a constant interplay and tension between abstract conceptualisations of audience and concrete experiences of its material reality. This relationship was much more fluid and messy than the clear-cut dichotomy which is usually presented. The notion of abstract versus concrete is difficult to rationalise in practice. As we saw in Chapter 2, the above experiences at the Hepworth may evidence that shuffle of agency between what is valued (concrete experiences, knowledge), and what is less valued (abstract theorising, generalisations, simplifications) when, really, both approaches coexist and are mutually implicated in practice. However many multiple identities the institution assigns to its 'audience', it cannot escape from the vital importance of their material reality. At the same time, for institutions or anyone to be specific down to the individual is impossible, there has to be some generalising to be able to think, let alone articulate any intentions and ultimately act. The use of concepts and thinking in abstractions is how we understand, or make sense of, the world. Our philosophical framework has to narrow the gap between our (generalised) abstract thoughts and the (particular) reality they hope to describe. Yet, we must be aware here of the potentially false dichotomy of the concrete *versus* the abstract.

And here lies the heart of the struggle of the abstract/concrete dilemma. The difficulty of movement between the mental and the social world, the space of abstraction and the space of phenomena.¹³² To try and unpick this process let us first

¹³² Lefebvre, pp. 11-12.

think about the terms themselves. Starting with ‘abstract’, its origin in Latin literally means ‘drawn away’ from, and in this sense, ‘[a]bstraction passes for an “absence”, as distinct from the concrete “presence” of objects, of things’.¹³³ Yet Lefebvre pushes beyond this purely binary definition of abstract, suggesting that abstraction occurs in the attempts to rationalise reality; and in the process of this rationalisation or abstraction, a violent cutting, slicing and ultimately shattering and fragmentation of reality ensues.¹³⁴ According to Marx, ‘[t]he concrete [is] the actual starting point of perception and conceptualization’.¹³⁵ The concrete is needed for any sort of conceptualisation to take place, as ‘[p]erception does not begin, in his view, with “mind” or “consciousness” on its own’, because Marx is a Materialist and not an Idealist.¹³⁶ Being determines consciousness, not the other way around; and human cognition is an active process of movement from the concrete to the abstract.¹³⁷

If the abstract and the concrete can be thought of as an active process rather than fixed binary, why do such binaries as art/outreach, collections/community persist in thinking and practice, and why are they often perceived to act in tension?¹³⁸ As we found in Chapter 2, it is, in fact, possible to hold such (apparently) conflicting concepts together productively, to allow for the simple and complex to coexist, to work together (or against) each other. In her discussion of the either/or

¹³³ Terrell Carver in Karl Marx, *Texts on Method*, trans. and ed. by Terrell Carver (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975), p. 136.

¹³⁴ Lefebvre, p. 289.

¹³⁵ Carver in Marx, *Texts on Method*, p. 136.

¹³⁶ Carver in Marx, *Texts on Method*, p. 136.

¹³⁷ See, for example, Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: foundations of the critique of political economy*, trans. by Martin Nicolaus (Harmondsworth; Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973).

¹³⁸ We may understand these as the actions or processes of translating and creating inscriptions of the world. Abstraction should not be used just as a way of describing the process, that is to say, as an adjective or adverb. Abstraction is based in material, it is based in the action of the actors involved in the ‘activity of re-presentation’ (Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 241). According to Latour, ‘This confusion between the refined product and the concrete refining work is easy to clarify by using the substantive “abstraction” and never the adjective of the adverb’ (p. 241). In the same sense, theories should not be separated from what they are theories of. Theory is/and practice (p. 242).

concepts of the discourse of participatory practice, Clare Bishop went on to describe how some participatory projects can ‘unseat all of the polarities on which this discourse is founded (individual/collective, author/spectator, active/passive, real life/art)’. In this process of ‘unseating’ existing dichotomies, Bishop asserts that the goal is not to collapse them, but rather to ‘hold the artistic and social critiques in tension’.¹³⁹ Exploring this possibility for the holding together of different or differenced concepts (both/and) in tension rather than reconciliation, Bishop then outlines two philosophical approaches. Firstly, she draws on Guattari, and his ‘paradigm of transversality’. Like the lines of flight opened by Ozzy and the school children’s sculptures in Chapter 2, transversality allows for categories such as art to be in ‘constant flight into and across other disciplines’.¹⁴⁰ This process allows for both the art and the social to be called into question, in simultaneous conception, but held in tension without reconciliation.¹⁴¹ Secondly, she highlights Ranciere’s ‘aesthetic regime’. Here Bishop forefronts Ranciere’s use of the conjuncture, the *and*: ‘the aesthetic regime is constitutively contradictory, shuttling between autonomy and heteronomy (“the aesthetic experience is effective inasmuch as it is the experience of that *and*”)?’.¹⁴² Here, again, is a concept of holding together without equalising or simply collapsing one into the other. As Bishop sums up, ‘[i]n different ways, these philosophers offer alternative frameworks for thinking the artistic and the social simultaneously; for both, art and the social are not to be reconciled, but sustained in continual tension’.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Bishop, p. 278.

¹⁴⁰ Bishop, p. 278.

¹⁴¹ Bishop, p. 278.

¹⁴² Bishop, p. 278.

¹⁴³ Bishop, p. 278.

Both these approaches resonate with the alternative trajectories set out in Chapter 1 which allow for more productive ways to navigate complexity, where the ‘simple [may] coexist with the complex’ – as simplifications *and* complexities.¹⁴⁴ Assemblage too embraces the *and*, like Rancière, but in acknowledging multiplicities (i.e. the Gallery can be many things), it is important to remember that not all ‘*and*’s are equal. This productive possibility of holding together with equalising is key, and in both practice and analysis we must find ways, or at least attempt, to describe and make sense of the world without trying to fix, unify or render stable what are dynamic and fluid processes.

Leeds 2023: 100% Local and 100% International

An example of practice that has, apparently, embraced the holding together of what may be perceived as conflicting idea/activities/goals, is the Leeds bid to become the European Capital of Culture in 2023. In exploring this case study, we will see that institutions, spaces, production sites, and actors, can simultaneously be local, global, national and parochial in different, complex ways. This is because these spaces are not constructed through ‘conventional’ notions of scale, nor are they about just ‘mixing up scales’, termed ‘glocalization’ by Erik Swyngedouw.¹⁴⁵ Rather, simultaneity is key.¹⁴⁶ For example, simultaneous scaling is evident in the construction of the Leeds 2023 bid, which negotiates in a very dynamic and flexible way particular sets of scale and scale politics, moving between notions of the

¹⁴⁴ Law and Mol, ‘Complexities’, p. 16.

¹⁴⁵ Erik Swyngedouw, ‘Neither Global nor Local: “Glocalisation” and the Politics of Scale’, in *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local*, ed. by Kevin R. Cox (New York; London: Guilford/Longman, 1997).

¹⁴⁶ Latham, pp. 138-139.

institution, the individual, the people, the city, the region, the nation, the continent of Europe and the European Union. We can see this explicitly in the bid teams' declaration that the programme will be '100% local and 100% international'. Not only are there complex scalar manoeuvres at play here, in embracing the simultaneity of being 100% local and 100% international, but there is also a forefronting of connections. The bid employs a networked approach for Leeds 2023 to enable the 'connecting [of] a city through culture',¹⁴⁷ and the reimagining of the city's relations to 'the rest of the world'.¹⁴⁸

The key focus of the bid, of course, is to be awarded the international accolade of the European Capital of Culture 2023. The project commenced in 2014 with the preparation of the bid, a full nine years before the city would host the title, if successful. Despite its anchoring in the 2023 Capital of Culture, the communication surrounding the bid has made clear that it is part of a 'much bigger journey', a journey described on the Leeds 2023 website as aiming 'to transform the city and the quality of life experienced by everyone who lives, works and plays here'.¹⁴⁹ The bid team assert that theirs is an inclusive and holistic approach to the city, and that encompassing the city centre as well as suburbs and more 'peripheral' communities was a condition of the Leeds' City Council's agreement to move forward with the project. The bid team shared their responsibility for this condition, stating: 'We will remain true to this commitment ensuring that discussions, events, exhibitions and activities take place in every community, on every estate and throughout every street in Leeds'.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ 'About', Leeds 2023 website, <<http://leeds2023.co.uk/about/>> [accessed 24 July 2017].

¹⁴⁸ Leeds 2023 Bid Team.

¹⁴⁹ 'About', Leeds 2023 website.

¹⁵⁰ 'About', Leeds 2023 website.

Anchored in the newly developed Leeds Culture Strategy 2017-2030, a requirement of the Capital of Culture bidding process, the ambition is to raise the status of Leeds, so that ‘In 2030 Leeds will be nationally and internationally recognised as the Best City to Live’.¹⁵¹ The European Capital of Culture award was initiated in 1985, with the ambition to highlight the ‘richness and diversity’ of European culture, as well as celebrating commonalities and generating a sense of belonging to a ‘common cultural area’.¹⁵² The award is also recognised as an excellent opportunity for the regeneration of the successful city, and to reshape the identity of the city for both its inhabitants and as well as raising its profile internationally.¹⁵³ The Leeds 2023 bid team set out their ambitions for the award as such:

European Capital of Culture is an opportunity like no other, with Leeds as our canvas.

For 365 days Leeds will be an international stage, concert hall, gallery, laboratory, and centre of creation. We will explore the issues of our time and find new ways of imagining and interpreting life in a diverse, complex and modern European city.

We will challenge the norm, break barriers, cross boundaries and reach out across the city to draw on the ideas and identities that makes Leeds so very... Leeds.

We will weave the fibres of the city to reject the bland, create spaces for all voices to be heard and be listened to, and acknowledge fears and hopes. We will work towards creating an equal, united and confident city that breaks the mould and provides a new blueprint for modern life.

Our city stands for the free movement of ideas. Consider this your call to arms, and the start of a new journey for Leeds.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Leeds City Council, ‘DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030’.

¹⁵² ‘European Capitals of Culture’, European Commission website

<https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/capitals-culture_en> [accessed 26 July 2017]. See also Sharon Macdonald’s work in *Memorylands* on European identity and shifting desires for highlighting commonalities and/or differences.

¹⁵³ ‘European Capitals of Culture’.

¹⁵⁴ Leeds 2023 Bid Team.

Indeed, there was a call for ideas from individuals, arts and cultural organisations, academics, charities and community groups from across the city to co-develop the programme for the bid. The importance of the artistic strength of the programme in terms of the bid's overall success was acknowledged, but the particular framing of the bid as 100% local and 100% international rather sets it apart. Explaining their approach a little further, the bid team described their ambition for an artistic programme that 'is both co-curated with local communities and international in scale and ambition'.¹⁵⁵ The intention is to 'address some of the challenges in the city – improving connectivity, building greater social cohesion across the city, engaging new audiences and tackling inequality'; and also to develop a 'practical programme' and 'relationships with European artists and partners', which was described as 'key' to the 2023 programme.¹⁵⁶

In a public discussion regarding the choices behind the focus of the Capital of Culture bid, it was made clear that this concentration is to be solely on 'Leeds', and for the bid to be very much 'rooted in the city'.¹⁵⁷ Rather than, say, embracing the Leeds City Region, which would include other places like Bradford, Wakefield, Harrogate and York. Yet, at the same time, the bid includes a specific claim to encapsulate places such as the Yorkshire Sculpture Park and The Hepworth Wakefield within it. As the 2023 team state, 'Whilst our focus is Leeds we will work with partners from across Yorkshire'.¹⁵⁸ This translates as a simultaneous need to be identified as a definite location of 'Leeds', as a defined and bounded city that may be

¹⁵⁵ 'Leeds 2023: Artistic Programme Coordinator Opportunity, Leeds 2023 European Capital of Culture Bid - Leeds City Council', job advert on 'Arts Jobs & Arts News', Arts Council England website <<http://www.artsjobs.org.uk/>> [accessed 23 November 2016].

¹⁵⁶ 'Leeds 2023: Artistic Programme Coordinator Opportunity'.

¹⁵⁷ 'Leeds 2023: Artistic Programme Coordinator Opportunity'.

¹⁵⁸ 'Leeds 2023: Artistic Programme Coordinator Opportunity'.

clearly identifiable as a particular locale in contrast to other places in the region/country; and, as an acknowledgement of the far reaching networks translocally which Leeds cannot do without or be separated from.¹⁵⁹ That is to say, a network of actors and social sites within and outside of the Leeds city location. Henri Lefebvre describes this complexity of the places of social space:

the *places* of social space are very different from those of natural space in that they are not simply juxtaposed: they may be intercalculated, combined, superimposed – they may even sometimes collide. Consequently the local (or ‘punctual’, in the sense of ‘determined by a particular “point”’) does not disappear, for it is never absorbed by the regional, national or even worldwide level. The national and regional levels take in innumerable ‘places’; national space embraces the regions; and world space does not merely subsume national spaces, but even (for the time being at least) precipitates the formation of new national spaces through a remarkable process of fission. All these spaces, meanwhile, are traversed by myriad currents. The hypercomplexity of social space should by now be apparent, embracing as it does individual entities and peculiarities, relatively fixed points, movements, and flows and waves – some interpenetrating, others in conflict, and so on.¹⁶⁰

Within the 2023 bid the place of Leeds comes to encompass and be composed of many places, many social sites (such as the Sculpture Park and the Hepworth), as flows and currents of connections and relationships that form the place of Leeds 2023.

The bid team are actively engaged in a process of producing the place of the city, or the place of Leeds as the European Capital of Culture for 2023. Within the dense network of social relations that will engender the production of this place, organisations such as The Hepworth Wakefield play a key part. This role can be seen to play out in two ways. Firstly, as the abstract concrete concept of ‘the gallery’ and what that signifies. The Hepworth can help shape the identity of Leeds 2023 as an

¹⁵⁹ Which could also be read as more cynical move to get the best ‘names’ in the bid.

¹⁶⁰ Lefebvre, p. 88.

internationally significant place for culture, through the association with its own identity as such. Secondly, as the very material actions and interactions of the people (and not forgetting objects, art, buildings, rooms, materials) that constitute the heterogeneous material network of the Gallery. These two roles can be simultaneous and enacted (or invoked) in the same social space, and do not necessarily have to be in the place of the Gallery itself (that is to say, its physical location). Thus, the Hepworth is able to form part of the place of Leeds 2023, despite its location outside Leeds city centre.

The bid team are also shaping the social space of the city through their rallying cry for people to ‘shout, connect and celebrate’ Leeds 2023. This shaping has material and tangible implications, as the bid team are making visible these connections of the social space of Leeds 2023, through the use of logos, badges and stickers for individuals and organisations to use on their body or building, as well as on social media (Figure 17). By making visible these commitments to the bid, the connections that the 2023 project is engendering are literally able to be traced, to be physically and/or digitally encountered.

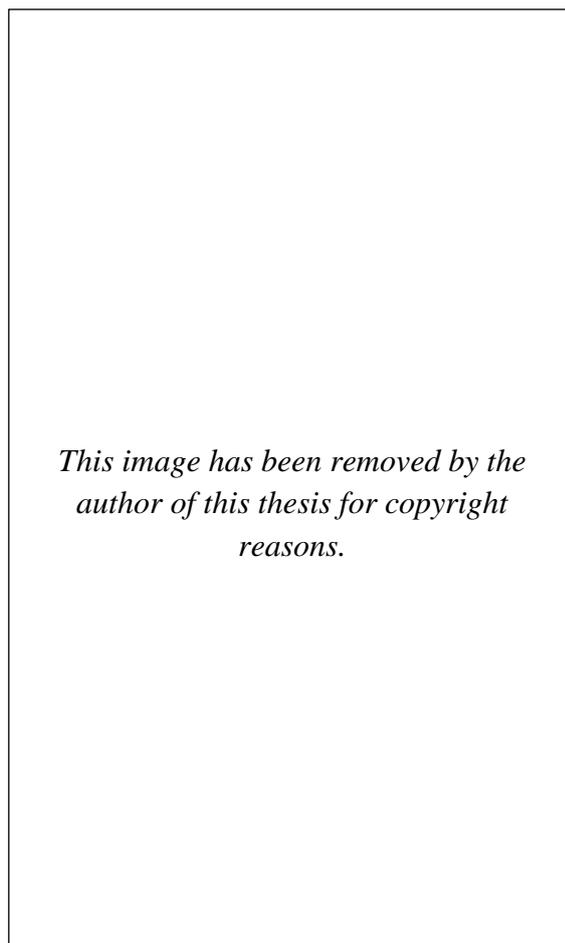


Figure 17: Screenshot of tweet by The Hepworth Wakefield showing support for the Leeds 2023 bid, Twitter, 29 November 2016.

The development of the Leeds South Bank is another tangible production of place, as part of the wider ‘journey’ for Leeds that the bids plays a part of. The Council have identified and branded this area of the city for redevelopment, stating that they ‘have ambitious plans to double the size of Leeds City Centre to create 35,000 new jobs and over 4,000 new homes’.¹⁶¹ Wholly aligning with the 2023 project to increase Leeds’ (inter)national standing, this physical transformation of place (doubling the size of Leeds city centre) is also deeply symbolic. The process of branding this particular area of the city ‘South Bank’, and the imagining and planning for certain

¹⁶¹ ‘South Bank Leeds’, Leeds City Council website, <<https://southbankleeds.co.uk/shapeyourcity#>> [last accessed 19 September 2017].

futures within this place, such as encouraging the digital, technology and cultural industry to the area, is to aim to re-shape the imaginary of the city for both locals and those external to the city. The Council have articulated their vision for the area, stating ‘we aim to double the size of Leeds city centre by transforming south bank into a distinctive European destination for investment, living, learning, creativity and leisure’.¹⁶²

A key element of the re-shaping of the imaginary of the city, is the production of the Leeds Culture Strategy 2017-2030, developed as part of the 2023 project. This Culture Strategy marks a radical departure for the Leeds City Council, as it is the ‘first ever’ to be ‘co-produced’.¹⁶³ As stated within the draft report, co-production is an important step to take to enable change; as to effect real change, those who are affected must be involved in its creation and delivery: ‘To create radical, irrevocable and transformative change in the quality of life experienced by all communities in the city, all stakeholders and partners must be active in creating and delivering the solutions’.¹⁶⁴ Through consultations, conversations and collaborations the draft strategy has been produced, and the Council have highlighted the need for this co-production to continue:

The actions and outcomes of the new Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030 will be co-produced with the city over the next thirteen years on an iterative basis. Collectively we will prioritise the challenges outlined in this strategy, develop new ideas, and create projects, test and grow the projects that can make a difference to the way that the city is created, experienced and viewed.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² ‘South Bank Leeds’.

¹⁶³ Leeds City Council, ‘Leeds Culture Strategy - Leeds City Council Approval’, mailing list email communication, 18 July 2017.

¹⁶⁴ Leeds City Council, ‘DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030’, p. 12.

¹⁶⁵ Leeds City Council, ‘DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030’, p. 12.

An important step is that the Council have explicitly articulated that culture will now be embedded at the heart of all their decision making. In some ways, this is nothing new. As we saw with Wakefield District Council's regeneration plan, culture has long been used as a tool to regenerate and revitalise a city. Leeds City Councillor Judith Blake confirmed this view, stating that 'culture should now be placed at the heart of all policy decisions in the city and given the recognition it deserves for its role in improving the quality of life, building a strong economy and supporting a compassionate city'.¹⁶⁶ Councillor Blake then went on to reiterate the networked and connected approach that the Culture Strategy and Leeds 2023 bid employs, explaining that 'by setting out a clear strategy, we can give our incredible network of communities and cultural organisations an environment in which to grow, connect with each other and stimulate creative change all across Leeds'.¹⁶⁷

The Draft Culture Strategy begins by providing the city's co-produced definition of culture ('Culture is what we do and who we are, encompassing a broad range of actions and activities which have the capacity to transform, challenge, reassure and inspire, giving a place and its people a unique and distinctive identity'),¹⁶⁸ and who this culture is for ('Culture has no membership criteria', and is to be embedded across all policy areas and thus should have a much more diverse audience).¹⁶⁹ The next section then introduces the city of Leeds, separating the city's 'local' and 'global' contexts. Within the discussion of the 'local' context of Leeds, the Strategy sets out both the positive and negative aspects of the city.

Acknowledging the varied living standards, health, education, and wealth and so on

¹⁶⁶ Leeds City Council, 'Leeds Culture Strategy - Leeds City Council Approval'.

¹⁶⁷ Leeds City Council, 'Leeds Culture Strategy - Leeds City Council Approval'.

¹⁶⁸ Leeds City Council, 'DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030', p. 3.

¹⁶⁹ Leeds City Council, 'DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030', p. 4.

across the city, the Council makes clear that this is what the Culture Strategy seeks to address. Again, emphasising the transformational potential of culture to address such issues, the Strategy highlights how culture can ‘play a vital role in retaining graduates, improving health and well-being, bringing communities together and resolving tensions’.¹⁷⁰ Though framed as the ‘local’ context, much space is given to external perception of Leeds, particularly regarding its national and international standing:

In conversations there was a strong view that our international reach is undersold, our national profile is low, and our voice has often been timid. Our relationship with our northern counterparts has been often more of competition than companionship. In order to become Best City 2030 we must continue to expand our horizons, create new alliances and embrace collaboration.¹⁷¹

Thus, within the Culture Strategy document the Council are employing complex, distinct and yet also very much co-constituted scalar classifications of space. In their argument for the transformations they desire in the local, the (inter)national is also inherently imbued in that process. They suggest that ‘The Best City is open to the cultures of the world’, is ‘internationally connected’; is formed by ‘inviting artists and thinkers from all corners of the world to sit alongside our communities, whose differences are embraced and celebrated’.¹⁷²

This simultaneity of the local and (inter)national is then continued in the section exploring Leeds ‘Global context’. Returning to the issue of the city’s (inter)national standing, the Strategy document states that:

For a city of this size, Leeds itself does not have a strong cultural profile internationally, or even nationally, despite our many strengths. Even being home to the birth of film has not really put us high on a global map. The city

¹⁷⁰ Leeds City Council, ‘DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030’, p. 7.

¹⁷¹ Leeds City Council, ‘DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030’, p. 6.

¹⁷² Leeds City Council, ‘DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030’, p. 7.

also sits within a region, Yorkshire, which has far greater resonance internationally and a stronger ‘brand’.¹⁷³

The need to emphasise the identity of ‘Leeds’ is reinforced in later comments regarding the identification or branding of culture within the city. The Strategy reports that Leeds’s ‘successes are not well known’, directly connecting this to the fact that ‘none of our largest cultural organisations display the word ‘Leeds’ in their name’.¹⁷⁴ As such, the explicit connection between a city and its culture is perceived to be crucial. This is something that has been achieved in the naming of The Hepworth Wakefield, where its location is very much part of its name, and part its identity, as explored above. Leeds Council therefore recognise the lack of explicitness in the identities of its cultural organisations, and thus the reduced ability for Leeds itself to be recognised ‘on a global stage’.¹⁷⁵ Not only is the Council here articulating the need for international recognition to effect local transformation, it goes on to explore the complex identity of Leeds, and how the city, or rather the people who constitute the city, identify themselves/Leeds nationally and internationally. An event which had the potential to instantly derail the Leeds 2023 bid was the referendum of 23 June 2016. The issue of ‘Brexit’ is addressed on the 2023 website, where the team state: ‘We woke to the news that the UK had voted to leave the European Union, with Leeds narrowly voting to remain with a near 50/50 split, casting doubt over the competition’.¹⁷⁶ Although the Leeds 2023 bid can safely progress, following an announcement from the Department of Culture Media and Sport in December 2016 that it would proceed with the competition, the city Council

¹⁷³ Leeds City Council, ‘DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030’, p. 9.

¹⁷⁴ Leeds City Council, ‘DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030’, p. 19.

¹⁷⁵ Leeds City Council, ‘DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030’, p. 19.

¹⁷⁶ ‘About’, Leeds 2023 website.

still has to address the deeply divided feeling of its citizens regarding their relationship to the (inter)national. As the Culture Strategy states,

Although Leeds is an international city, the referendum result highlighted our differences with an almost equal vote for leave and remain. Leeds accounts for 37% of EU migrants in the Leeds City Region providing a valuable labour market for local businesses and enriching the city's cultural offer and global reach. With Article 50 triggered and the outcome of Brexit negotiations remaining uncertain Leeds will have to work hard to rebuild relationships, maintain global partnerships and support all of its communities equally.¹⁷⁷

Being careful not to alienate either 'leavers' or 'remainers', the Culture Strategy emphasises the need to 'strengthen our international presence', and respond to 'new relationships and new challenges and opportunities' which are now emerging.¹⁷⁸

There is, however, an explicit criticism of nation-states within the document. The Council argues that 'cities have the opportunity to do what seems to escape our nation states – unite fractures across the world, make room for a new kind of shared democracy and make global networks feel local and relevant'.¹⁷⁹ They advocate for an outward looking ethos, for 'Leeds to look beyond its borders', to 'open our city up and invite the world to join us in Leeds'.¹⁸⁰ To recognise the complexity and multiplicity of the narratives, identities, and cultures that form the city of Leeds, and for these stories not to be restricted to the city centre, but allow for all the places and people of Leeds to participate and be represented:

We are a city of many identities yet the story of our city centre is the only one we tell. We struggle with the idea of having a multiplicity of identities as opposed to one unified and easy to brand stamp of who are, often searching for our single USP in a diverse economy, a diverse city, with diverse communities, beliefs, customs and lifestyles.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Leeds City Council, 'DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030', p. 9.

¹⁷⁸ Leeds City Council, 'DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030', p. 9.

¹⁷⁹ Leeds City Council, 'DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030', p. 20.

¹⁸⁰ Leeds City Council, 'DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030', p. 20.

¹⁸¹ Leeds City Council, 'DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030', p. 15.

Not only does the Culture Strategy set out its acknowledgement of multiplicity, and its desire to celebrate rather than efface difference, it also provides practical examples of how this may be achieved. Setting out their ambitions, their imaginings of and for the city (co-created with and by its citizens), the Strategy shows real intent to move beyond theorising, to really create a change in the day-to-day life of the city and its people. There is certainly a hopeful and progressive approach to conceiving, and potentially practicing the place of Leeds. As such, it is pertinent to end with this statement from the Culture Strategy which encapsulates this alternative and open approach to conceiving of place:

We must leave space for communities to create their own sense of place and identity, which reflects their unique history and heritage. We must become comfortable with the idea that Leeds, like all great cities, does not have one story to tell, we are multi-faceted, diverse and messy, and should seek to unite our communities rather than unify them. To understand, share, and celebrate difference rather than try to eradicate it.¹⁸²

Although not explicitly framed as such, the ambition here appears to be to consider the city of Leeds as a more complex, topological space; in the same way as the Hepworth was treated in Chapter 2 through the discussion of *Des Hughes*. The Strategy points to a more progressive approach to place, where the Council will hold on to differences, and to acknowledge and celebrate multiplicities – which may work with or against each other – without trying to settle or unify them into one coherent story of Leeds.¹⁸³

¹⁸² Leeds City Council, 'DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030', p. 15.

¹⁸³ Leeds City Council, 'DRAFT Culture Strategy for Leeds 2017-2030', p. 15.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored different approaches to conceptualising and producing place. It began with the production of place by Wakefield Council, and that in this production not only are the Council's understandings of place (Wakefield) deeply scaled, but that culture and heritage are very much used as tools in the process of identity formation of this place – which are then expected to perform locally, nationally and internationally. The example of the Martin Parr retrospective demonstrated how the local and (inter)national can be folded into the space of the Hepworth; and, how local place (Wakefield and the Rhubarb Triangle) and a local community (rhubarb growers, sellers and buyers) can be made tangible in its exhibitions.

The idea of local community, or communities, is rooted in spatial and scaled technologies of knowing utilised by the state and local government. As such, this chapter explored some of the techniques employed by Wakefield Council to render social space knowable, in an ongoing process of collations, translations and transcriptions. This necessarily required a consideration of the abstract and concrete, an unpicking of persistent binary thinking, and concerns regarding the relationship and tensions between abstract conceptualisations and material reality. In the case of the Hepworth, a key expression of this abstract/concrete dilemma was the concern for abstract theorising regarding its audience, in contrast to experiences, encounters and the lived reality of the people who do (or do not) visit the Gallery. These concerns translated into a desire for clarity, for more and better knowledge of the place and people who form the Hepworth's audience, both existing and potential. Despite these desires, we found that such binary thinking of simplifications (bad)

and complexity (good) are actually not as ‘simple’ in practice. An alternative trajectory was therefore posited where the ‘mutually constituted’ nature of ‘simple’ and ‘complex’, and concomitantly ‘local’ and ‘(inter)national’, is brought to the fore of thinking and practice.

Thus, it was important to give adequate space in this chapter to an example of a more progressive sense of place, where the divisions of local and (inter)national are unsettled. By exploring the development of the Leeds 2023 bid and related Culture Strategy, where the bid team and Leeds City Council state their aim is to acknowledge and also celebrate the city’s multiplicities and differences and to be ‘100% local and 100% international’, we saw an alternative way of thinking and doing the local and the (inter)national.¹⁸⁴ Leeds 2023 bid set out that the city is not just one thing, it is x, and z, and y – multiple ‘Leeds’ that are held together without equalising. Of course, what happens in practice remains to be seen. As this thesis constantly asserts, agency will not be evenly distributed through these multiple stories and experiences which constituted the assemblage of ‘Leeds’, and certain stories may, in fact, gain more traction or influence than others.

This chapter has highlighted (and attempted to trouble) a key theme of abstract versus concrete, simple versus complex, and the apparent need to operate within representational knowledge and rational thinking. The desire to clarify the museum, or audience, as this, and not that; as here and not there, and so on. Emphasising the significance and persistence of such modes of thought and practice, Chapter 4 will set out the approach of the Hepworth at the time of the research, using situated action to explore in detail the desire for representational thinking in regard

¹⁸⁴ Leeds 2023 Bid Team.

to audiences. It will trace the particular process of audience segmentation practices, using the Muse project as a case study, where the ambition was to fix and make stable audiences, to tame their complex, fluid and dynamic reality; which stands in contrast to the more relational and nuanced approaches that have been explored in these preceding chapters.

Chapter 4: Audience(s)

As we practice our trade as intellectuals, the premiums we place on transportability, on naming, on clarity, on formulating and rendering explicit what it is that we know—this premium, though doubtless often enough appropriate, also imposes costs. And I am concerned about those costs. I believe they render complex thinking—thinking that is not strategically ordered, tellable in a simple way, thinking that is lumpy or heterogeneous—difficult or impossible.¹

What do we mean when we choose and use a term such as ‘audience’? Could we have chosen from a selection of alternative terms? What happens if we use the word ‘visitor’ instead? Or ‘user’? Or ‘participant’? Or ‘customer’? When we talk of museums and art galleries we have to speak about the people that use them, and in order to do this we must identify and label them. Whether this ‘we’ is directed at academia, or the institution itself. In terms of addressing the ‘we’ that will constitute the ‘audience’ for this thesis, this ‘we’ is envisaged as academics, yet, through the research, its methods of dissemination and the networks it may operate in, the ‘we’ it hopes to address is all those who encounter this problem of identification and understanding of ‘audience’ in relation to art galleries, from arts professionals, cultural policy makers, funders and so on, as will be explore below.

This chapter is interested in unpicking these terms that can on first appearance seem arbitrary in their use, whether in making broad generalisations or in increasingly specific audience segmentation systems, and considers if there is in fact a ‘misleading assumption that “audience” is a self-contained object of study ready-made for specialist empirical and theoretical analysis’.² This is an assumption which

¹ Law, ‘After ANT’, p. 9.

² Ang, *Living Room Wars*, p. 8.

is often played out in the practice of museums and galleries, and in the practice of studies attempting to ‘know’ these organisations.

How are the people who visit the institution to be described? And they must be described as ‘[a]lthough there may not be a universal agreement with the term “visitor”, *some* term must be used.’³ To progress from an individual, each with their own identity and sense of self, to the ‘museum’s public’ that is constituted by this aggregated ‘myriad’ of individuals, this diversity becomes ‘audience’, ‘public’, ‘visitor’, ‘customer’, ‘consumer’, ‘participant’, ‘user’, ‘viewer’, ‘collaborator’, ‘stakeholder’, ‘community’, ‘partner’ to name but a few.⁴ I am interested in exploring ‘the social processes’ that form these identities, who is constructing them, how and why;⁵ and if the constructed identities are in fact imaginary entities, which bear little resemblance to the vitally important material reality of ‘audience’.⁶ Therefore, this chapter will explore the desire for representational knowledge; the desire to fix and make stable, and thus knowable, the complex and dynamic social reality of the institutions ‘audience’.

It is also important to investigate this process of claiming knowledge of another’s identity, and its enforcement, whether knowingly or not, as an act of power; and through the selection of different terms the subtleties of various (power) relationships and value judgments may be revealed. Scale politics are active in the construction of identity, as Andrew Herod and Melissa Wright state, ‘the ways in

³ ‘Strategic Action Plan 2012-2014: Championing excellent visitor experiences’, Visitor Studies Group, 2012 <<http://visitors.org.uk/files/VSG%20Strategic%20Action%20Plan%202012-2014.pdf>> [accessed 30 October 2013], p. 5.

⁴ Crooke, p. 1.

⁵ Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier, ‘Introduction’, *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, ed. by Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 1-18 (p. 3).

⁶ Ien Ang, *Desperately Seeking the Audience* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 2.

which identity is constructed may be deeply scaled, together with how struggles over such scales of identity can have significant political ramifications'.⁷ Evidence of these significant political ramifications has been seen in the recent political struggle over conceptions of National or European identity with regard to Brexit. This saw very material implications resulting from the particular ways that identity was imagined and articulated by Brexit campaigners and voters. A definite scalar strategy was utilised to engender specific results; thus, it can be said that 'scale has become a central component of many forms of identity politics'.⁸ This chapter will take the opportunity to explore the ramifications of these shifting national and post-national identities, and the possible implications for museum practice.

It is imperative to explore the different approaches to articulating and understating 'audience', as it is through the choices that the institution makes in labelling its 'audience' and giving them an identity that it reveals its role, its relevance and the value it places on the relationship it forms with those people. Therefore, this chapter will examine some of the different methods and terms used in the articulation of 'audience', and their cultural, social, political context and historical development. This will be addressed specifically through the lens of The Hepworth Wakefield, but also situated within wider trends across museums and galleries. We will explore the audience segmentation project conducted by the Hepworth and marketing consultants Muse; and how through the adoption of two very specific audience personas, 'Vanguard Culture' and 'Complete Culture', as its core audience, the Gallery has clearly articulated its symbolic and social boundaries.

⁷ Andrew Herod and Melissa Wright, 'Introduction: Rhetorics of Scale', in *Geographies of Power Placing Scale*, ed. by Andrew Herod and Melissa Wright (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 148-153 (p. 149).

⁸ Moore, p. 203.

This chapter will question: Who is included and who is excluded from their official segmentation model? What does it mean if your identity does not relate to the Hepworth's constructed idea of their audiences identity? Does this go on to reinforce traditional ideas of exclusion and inclusion in the art gallery? To attempt to answer these questions, it is pertinent to start by considering the term 'audience' in itself, and how its meaning and usage shifts over time and across contexts.

What is 'Audience'?

Audiences are identified and described by institutions in multiple ways, and, the language chosen in this articulation of audience is unstable. Different terms move in and out of consciousness and popular usage at different moments in history, and are also subject to internal instability where their meaning can change over time, or, in different contexts. Language and the words chosen to identify 'audiences' are not only a reflection of the changes taking place socially, culturally, or politically, rather these processes are occurring '*within* language', where the terms or words exist within 'networks of usage', a dynamic process which is ongoing and active. It is key, therefore, to unpick the 'critical encounters' that occur when a term is invoked, and the tensions that may arise in the gap between the intention and possible multiple readings of a word. Difficulties may arise when this desired meaning slips or mutates in another person's reading of it, yet exploring these moments of tension does not necessarily lead to resolution. One cannot fix the meaning of a word for all times and all people, but, as Raymond Williams argues, 'what can really be contributed is not

resolution but perhaps, at times, just that extra edge of consciousness'.⁹ To situate words within a particular context, and as such, acknowledge that words exist within 'networks of usage', 'for the moment', in a dynamic process which is ongoing and active.¹⁰ Rather than despair or balk at complexity and change, we should be satisfied with an ambition for 'extra edge of consciousness' as opposed to fixity. In this sense, this chapter's work is that of situated action, a concern for how people (actors in the Hepworth) made meaning (regarding 'audiences(s)') in a particular context (the assemblage of the Gallery) at particular time (during the Muse audience segmentation research project).¹¹

Let us now take a moment to briefly map the terms that existed in the Hepworth's 'network of usage' at the time of this research. As part of the fieldwork I created a survey which was completed by staff across the organisation during October and November 2014, and within this one survey, within a relatively short time-frame, the language used by staff regarding the Gallery's audiences was strikingly varied. In the response to one survey question, over 70 different terms were used to describe the Gallery's audience by 29 respondents. Many were slight variations on the same idea, with significantly inconsistent language between (and sometimes within) the different departments. The most widely and consistently used term was 'families', stated by 15 of the 29 respondents (see Table 1 for the most frequently used terms). Staff expressed concern around the inconsistency of understanding or meaning of the terms/identities used to describe audiences across the organisation, which, they suggested, lead to them becoming meaningless.

⁹ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*, 3rd edn (London: Fontana Press, 1988), p. 24.

¹⁰ Williams, *Keywords*, p. 23.

¹¹ Suchman, see Chapter 1.

I'm sure there is probably a degree of audience understanding definition etc. among SMT [Senior Management Team] and Marketing... and, one would hope in fact across all departments... but I haven't seen any formal presentation of audience in terms of 'personas' or stats etc.¹²

Staff stated that some of the terms in use at the time across the organisation, particularly the Arts Council Arts Insight Segmentation, were not helpful or meaningful.¹³ People struggled with these terms as they felt they did not necessarily relate to the Gallery's particular audience(s). Staff described how different departments had different understandings of certain words and terms, including the identities used to describe an audience type, down to the associated terminology such as the 'need' of an audience, or even the definition of 'audience development' and 'audience segmentation' in itself. There was particular emphasis on the unease of using certain terms such as 'hard-to-reach', as there was uncertainty around what this term actually means (and who it is supposed to represent), and the sense that it can mean different things to different people across the organisation. For example, a member of the Collections and Exhibitions stated: 'We are quick to use certain terms, such as families, but we need to really interrogate what they mean'. Staff expressed that at times there was lack of understanding of what some terms/identities mean in reality, and that these terms represent real people who perhaps have complex issues. Staff stated that the person who is identified can become abstracted to a 'tag line', with no real understanding of what that means in terms of engagement. For example, one member of staff explained how they thought there were ambitions to work with a certain audience for strategic reasons, for example NEETs, (a young person who is not in education, employment or training), but then

¹² Survey response by a member of the Operations Team, The Hepworth Wakefield. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

¹³ To be discussed later in this chapter.

there is a lack of understanding of what that label means in reality across the organisation. And this lack of understanding results in both a limited appreciation for what the project is doing and trying to achieve with that audience, and a confusion concerning how the audience is valued by the organisation. This perhaps points to an organisational unwillingness to accept multiple ontologies – multiple understandings and performances of ‘audience’ – leading to a sense of conflicting organisational goals regarding the associated value of certain performances of ‘audience’, and some ‘audiences’ being more valued/having more agency than others. As discussed in Chapter 1, we ‘need to ask *where* such options might be situated and *what* was at stake when a decision between alternative performances was made’.¹⁴

Term	Number of respondents who used term
Families	15
School	8
Student	8
Young People	7
Arts Engaged	6
Adults	5
NEET	4 (Learning Team and CPs only)
Additional needs	4
Tourists	4
Dinner and a Show	3
Bedroom DJs	3
Retired	3
Local/Community	3
First-time visitors	3

Table 1: Most frequently used terms or identities to describe The Hepworth Wakefield’s visitors by the 29 survey respondents. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

¹⁴ Mol, ‘Ontological politics’, p. 74.

As a way into exploring how these multiple ontologies (experiences and understandings of ‘audience’) are constructed, and why they are often perceived to be acting in tension, it is perhaps best to take a step back and begin by exploring the word ‘audience’ itself and the network of definitions and uses this term operates within. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines ‘audience’ as ‘the assembled spectators or listeners at a public event such as a play, film, concert, or meeting’, or ‘the people’ who ‘watch or listen’ or read, or give ‘attention to something’.¹⁵ If we also think in terms of the original broadcast model of one-to-many, these definitions imply the passive reception of information that is projected onto the person or people who are giving something attention. Within media the term ‘audience’ has been undergoing a transformation. The changing nature of the relationship of the ‘audience’ to media goes hand-in-hand with the changing nature of consumption. Frank Trentmann describes this shift, from ““passive dupe”, the consumer has reappeared as “co-actor”, or “citizen consumer” in a variety of settings in state, civil society and market’.¹⁶ This conflation of the idea of consumer and producer has resulted in a new ‘buzzword’: ‘prosumption’.¹⁷ This apparently ‘en vogue concept’ is an attempt to make sense of, and identify, people who are engaging with the plethora of new (and increasingly social) medias as both ‘audience’ *and* content producers.¹⁸

¹⁵ ‘Definition of *audience* in English’, Oxford Dictionaries Website

<<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/audience>> [accessed 22 January 2014].

¹⁶ Frank Trentmann, ‘Knowing Consumers – Histories, Identities, Practices: An Introduction’, in *The Making of the Consumer: Knowledge, Power and Identity in the Modern World*, ed. by Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Berg, 2006), pp. 1-27 (p. 3).

¹⁷ Brian O’Neill *et al.*, ‘New Perspectives on Audience Activity: “Prosumption” and Media Activism as Audience Practices’, in *Audience Transformations: Shifting Audience Positions in Late Modernity*, ed. by Nico Carpentier, Kim Christian Schrøder and Lawrie Hallett (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 157-171 (p. 161).

¹⁸ O’Neill *et al.*, p. 161; and Nico Carpentier, Kim Christian and Lawrie Hallett, ‘Audience / Society Transformations’, in *Audience Transformations: Shifting Audience Positions in Late Modernity*, ed. by Nico Carpentier, Kim Christian Schrøder and Lawrie Hallett (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 1-12 (p. 5); and Philip M. Napoli, *Audience Evolution: New Technologies and the transformation of Media Audiences* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2011).

Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to assert that the ‘audiences’ identity has shifted so completely from one concept to another, when ‘one-to-many types of communication still play key roles in ‘audiences’ everyday lives’.¹⁹ Although there is a recognisable ‘increase of audience activity and autonomy at the level of production’,²⁰ to dismiss the alternative out of hand is to render ‘passive consumption either absent or regrettable’, by only articulating the potentially falsely conflated producer and consumer as ‘active participants’.²¹ Galleries too are increasingly described as undergoing a similar transformation with their ‘audience’, from passive viewer to active participant and consumer of culture. Frank Trentmann reasons that:

the recent attention given to agency emerged through a self-conscious break with earlier narratives of modernity. Approaches such as post-modernity or late modernity pose a paradigm break with earlier forms of modernity associated with mass production and mass consumption, class or welfarism.²²

Perhaps, therefore, concepts such as the active ‘audience’ arising from post-critical museology,²³ and the increasingly fragmented and segmented identities assigned to ‘audience’ are the product of socio-political conditions and the ‘transition from Fordist to post-Fordist consumption, where audience markets are increasingly thought of in terms of “niches”, shows are no longer churned out to an anonymous mass audience, but tailored for specific, hard-to-get audiences’.²⁴ We can see the plethora of terms used to identify ‘audiences’ are a product, and reflection, of the

¹⁹ Carpentier, Schrøder and Hallett, ‘Audience / Society Transformations’, pp. 7-8.

²⁰ Carpentier, Schrøder and Hallett, ‘Audience / Society Transformations’, pp. 7-8.

²¹ Carpentier, Schrøder and Hallett, ‘Audience / Society Transformations’, p. 5.

²² Trentmann, p. 3.

²³ See, for example Andrew Dewdney *et al.*, *Post Critical Museology: Theory and Practice in the Art Museum* (London: Routledge, 2012).

²⁴ Ang, *Living Room Wars*, p. 11.

attempt to understand and articulate an individual's position in a capitalist, postmodern and postmodernist epistemology of fragmentation, flexibility and flow.

What often can be all too easy to ignore within this multiplicity of identities that constitute 'audience', is the identities that are constructed and articulated by the 'audience' itself. Do the notions of self-definition and self-identification become a secondary concern for art galleries in their quest for 'audience' classification, left by the wayside in favour of the more easily obtainable and demonstrable demographic statistics? Even the ex-Culture Secretary Maria Miller acknowledges that 'many of us no longer define ourselves solely by our work, or by our role in society', and that 'ties created by gender, age and social background become less rigid, so – increasingly – we define ourselves by our cultural experiences and interests'.²⁵ This aligns with the constructivist/post-museology concept of the democratisation of the museum, drawing on the post-structuralist rubric of identity politics, audience studies etc., with the focus on the 'audience' or 'viewer' as the meaning maker and constructor of their own individualised experience. And, though coming from quite a different trajectory, this too goes hand-in-hand with consumer capitalism, with its ideological underpinning of individualism and consumer choice.²⁶ Standing in contrast to this individualisation is the concept of community. Something which has become prevalent in many museums' and galleries' articulation of audience, particularly when talking about their relationships to local audiences. This has been an underlining current running throughout this thesis, in the exploration of the

²⁵ Maria Miller, 'Culture Secretary Maria Miller Keynote Arts and Culture Speech', 22 January 2014 British Library London, gov.uk website <<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/culture-secretary-maria-miller-keynote-arts-and-culture-speech>> [accessed 10 March 2014].

²⁶ Christopher Whitehead, *Interpreting Art in Museums and Galleries* (London, Routledge 2012), p. 39.

persistent binary of local/community in tension with (inter)national artworld, so we will now explore this concept of ‘community’ in further detail.

The Museum and its Community/Communities

‘Community’ is a term increasingly used in museum practice to evoke the idealised relationship that institutions wish to have with their ‘audiences’. Yet ‘community’ is a concept which is rarely interrogated, despite intense theorisation in academia.²⁷

Reframing the institution/audience relationship as ‘institution’ and ‘community’, or the ‘institution’ and ‘*their* communities’,²⁸ began in earnest in response to the social inclusion agenda, and continues in relation to ideas of access, cultural diversity and concepts of active engagement, participation and a sharing of power between visitor and institution.²⁹ Nevertheless, is ‘community’ becoming a catchall term to embody all of the above and more besides, with the concepts it invokes being taken for granted? Why do we recognise such concepts as ‘the public’ as an ‘abstract aspiration’ but then accept that ‘communities are real’?³⁰ The term ‘community’ and its fundamentally abstract nature leads to ambiguity in the reality of the audience or public it is being used to represent: Which community? Whom in particular is the institution trying to invoke? The community immediately surrounding the Gallery as defined and bounded by geography, or the translocal community created by the Gallery through certain kinds of use, which could be national to international in its

²⁷ See Karp, Kreamer and Lavine, *Museums and Communities*; Watson, *Museums and Their Communities*; Crooke, *Museums and Community*; and Golding and Modest, *Museums and Communities*.

²⁸ Watson.

²⁹ See, for example, Watson, Crooke, Goulding and Modest.

³⁰ Eric Gable, ‘The City, Race, and the Creation of Common History at the Virginia Historical Society’, in *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration*, ed. by Viv Golding and Wayne Modest (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 32-47 (p. 38).

reach? The term can mean startlingly different things depending on who is using it and in what context. Nevertheless, disparity in meanings and values are rarely acknowledged, and can lead to potentially dangerous misrecognitions of the particular ‘community’ being invoked.

The term ‘community’ is often one of convenience, providing legitimacy for institutions’ activity (or funding) under a cloak of ambiguity. It is increasingly used to evoke the idealised relationship that institutions *wish* to have with their ‘audiences’, rather than necessarily being based in *reality*. ‘Community’ thus becomes an abstraction projected by ‘those who invoke it’, yet this abstraction is a utopian conception that bears little resemblance to reality.³¹ This ‘romance of community’ is often accepted by the institution,³² but without ‘entering into a dialogue with reality’, the *actual* needs of the ‘community’ may be overlooked.³³ Taking a more critical stance, we can raise Viv Golding and Wayne Modest’s reservations, and consider if the term ‘glosses over the complexity of community identities, limits the ways in which curatorial practice (and the curator) is defined, and leads to tokenistic claims of inclusion by museums’?³⁴ Such sentiments beg the question as to whether the cost of this simplification is too much?

Let us attempt to unpick the notion of ‘community’ and what it represents. Drawing from Raymond Williams’ research on the term in his seminal text, *Keywords*, we know that the word community has been in use since fourteenth century, and stems from the Latin ‘communis’, meaning common. The notion of common can be understood in different ways, including in terms of ownership, and

³¹ Gable, p. 38.

³² Gable, p. 39.

³³ Gable, p. 33.

³⁴ Golding and Modest, ‘Introduction’, p. 1.

the possession of, or rights to, people and or land, such as ‘commons or common people’, or, ‘the quality of holding something in common, as in community of interests, community of goods’; in terms of people having something in common, as in ‘a sense of common identity and characteristics’; and, in terms of relations to place, for example a community of people may have particular links to a particular place, such as ‘the people of a district’. The latter understanding of community ‘was strongly developed’ from the nineteenth century, where community was increasingly equated with ‘the sense of immediacy or locality’, that is to say, defined in relation to place.³⁵ Williams goes on to describe how from the twentieth century community developed ‘a polemical edge’:

as in community politics, which is distinct not only from *national politics* but from formal *local politics* and normally involves various kinds of direct action and direct local organization, ‘working directly with people’, as which it is distinct from ‘service to the community’, which has an older sense of voluntary work supplementary to official provision of paid service.³⁶

This resonates with the tensions that The Hepworth Wakefield faces in being both a service provider and a co-producer with and for local communities of Wakefield, as was explored in Chapter 3. It is worth reiterating John Holden’s concerns which echo Williams’ ‘polemical edge’, for people to ‘really get[...] involved in shaping the organisation and feeling that it is theirs, rather than us just providing a service to the local community’.³⁷

Turning again to the early stage of this research and the survey carried out with staff in 2014, a number of people made assertions regarding ‘community’ and their understanding of the relations between ‘community’ and the Gallery. Within

³⁵ Williams, *Keywords*, p. 75.

³⁶ Williams, *Keywords*, p. 75.

³⁷ John Holden, Trustee of The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, via Skype, 4 November 2015.

the survey, several comments were made regarding the visibility of community within the spaces of the Gallery. A Creative Practitioner stated that ‘There isn't much space for community exhibits’, and a member of Collections and Exhibitions that ‘I do not think that the voice of the local community is reflected here’. Perhaps pre-empting John Holden’s statement above, the following comment from a member of the Learning Team expressed concern about the possibility for audiences to make ‘inputs’ into the Gallery:

There are limited opportunities for the visitor’s thoughts/inputs to be visible in the Gallery. If they are made visible, these opportunities are limited, transitory and kept at a remove from the ‘real’ exhibitions, i.e. limited to Learning interventions, or officially prescribed spaces at the margins - blogs, social media.³⁸

Although not explicitly stated in the above comment, such work is often carried out in the form of community projects or ‘outreach’ work, and there exists a persistent sense of separation between such projects and the ‘real’ exhibitions. This was echoed by a comment from a Creative Practitioner:

I wish there was more of a presence of the work and projects that goes on in the Learning department virtually - there is NOTHING on the website explaining the MEANING and DEPTH of over 3 years of outreach work, development/research work. It's completely hidden from public view (or blog posts have since been removed) - and I don't know why because it's incredibly valid and perhaps unjust for the people who have been involved in the projects. [...] It seems it doesn't ‘fit’ with the overall Gallery identity.³⁹

These issues were keenly felt by those working explicitly with such community and outreach projects as part of the Learning Programme. These comments, of course, pre-date the Des Hughes exhibition we explored in Chapter 2, and the possibilities for community/outreach work to be folded into and very much part of the ‘real’

³⁸ Survey response by a member of the Learning Team, The Hepworth Wakefield. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

³⁹ Survey response by a Creative Practitioner, The Hepworth Wakefield. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

exhibition spaces of the Gallery. As we found in that exploration, even within these more complex relations of community, art, place and space, power imbalances still exist.

Survey responses from staff also expressed a need for the Gallery to be more locally relevant to Wakefield and the region, tapping into local audiences and using local ambassadors. Many staff discussed the need for more outreach to build dialogues with the Gallery's communities and to find out why they are not visiting. It was consistently articulated that the Gallery needed to be more present and visible in its local communities, to 'talk to people, go out', and that there was greater need for this because of the Gallery's location, as the communities surrounding the Gallery are 'a larger part of our community than would normally be than if we were in a big city'.⁴⁰ It was also felt that the organisation had a 'responsibility to keep providing our amazing offer' to local people specifically because of the 'investment in putting us here'.⁴¹ A comment from a member of the Collections and Exhibitions Team re-emphasised a desire for greater engagement with local people, explicitly framed as local *communities*: 'I think more could be done to engage the local communities and encourage a more positive relationship with local people'. Several staff stated that the Gallery needed to build and foster relationships externally rather than expecting people to come to in to the building, and engage with the Gallery 'on our terms'. It was felt that externally (and to an extent even internally) people were not aware of what the Gallery does, so there was a need to get out and speak to people, outside of the building's 'imposing façade'. It was specifically mentioned that more initiatives

⁴⁰ Member of the Operations Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 19 November 2014.

⁴¹ Member of the Operations Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 19 November 2014.

and incentives were required, to ‘go out to get them in’. Staff also questioned that as Wakefield is a racially diverse area, why weren’t more Asian and Polish people coming through the doors? It was suggested there was a need for the Gallery to interrogate if it could (or should) do more to engage people in the local community from a range of different social and cultural backgrounds. To build dialogues with communities, as well creating programming that speaks to or for them.

However the term community is invoked, that is to say, whether the Gallery is understood to be working *on* or *with* a community, the problem arises when we start to unpick what or whom this ‘community’ may represent. The material reality of ‘community’ comprises a complex multitude of individual identities, which are fluid and subject to change yet concurrently grouped together and defined by boundaries including spatial, temporal, gender, ethnic, socio-economic etc.⁴² The idea of ‘community’ as an ontological given bears similarities to the ‘homogenizing ideas of the “public” or publics’.⁴³ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri explain how this false conception of ‘community’, or ‘the people’, stands in contrast to the reality of a multitude of differences:

The people has traditionally been a unitary conception. The population, of course, is characterized by all kinds of differences, but the people reduces that diversity to a unity and makes of the population a single entity: ‘the people’ is one. The multitude, in contrast, is many. The multitude is

⁴² The following description of ‘community’ elaborates these points particularly well: ‘Despite the implication of being grouped under the term *community*, communities are not homogenous, well-defined, static entities. On the contrary, they are porous, multifaceted, ever-shifting, loosely connected groups of people. *Community* as a concept ceaselessly creates, struggles, renegotiates, transforms, destroys, and renews itself, constantly defining what and who is and is not community. Communities’ members may be knowingly or unknowingly involved, they may be insiders or outsiders, members of multiple communities, and self- and not self-identifying. Membership of a community may be fleeting, partial, or innate, lifelong and unshakeable, often irrelevant of an individual’s wishes. Thus community is used as a poor substitute, or shorthand, for a complex, rich, and ever-changing interaction’, Bryony Onciul, ‘Community Engagement, Curatorial Practice, and Museum Ethos in Alberta, Canada’, in *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration*, ed. by Viv Golding and Wayne Modest (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 79-97 (p. 81).

⁴³ Golding, ‘Collaborative Museums’, p. 20.

composed of innumerable internal differences that can never be reduced to a unity or a single identity—different cultures, races, ethnicities, genders, and sexual orientations; different forms of labor; different ways of living; different views of the world; and different desires. The multitude is a multiplicity of all these singular differences.⁴⁴

The danger of utilising these overarching classifications through the official naming of identity is clarified by Richard Day. He explains that by ‘calling “everyone” proletariat (or anything else for that matter) is to stumble blindly into a political impasse, and this has the unfortunate effect of alienating precisely those with whom one might hope to build the links of solidarity’.⁴⁵ Therefore, by identifying their ‘audience’ as a homogenised community the institution may in fact be alienating those it wishes to engage with. Through their construction of the concept of ‘community’ they are constructing imagined communities (following Benedict Anderson),⁴⁶ or ‘imagined worlds’ (following Appadurai).⁴⁷ For Wakefield Council their imagined communities are formed very much on the basis of place; place as defined by the construction of geographical boundaries based on juridical regions and borders, and spatial zones created from socio-demographics through tools such as the Wakefield Observatory.⁴⁸ Yet this equating of ‘community’ with place is a false step, as explained by Doreen Massey:

One of the problems here has been a persistent identification of place with ‘community’. Yet this is a misidentification. On the one hand communities can exist without being in the same place - from networks of friends with like interests, to major religious, ethnic or political communities. On the other hand, the instances of places housing single ‘communities’ in the sense of

⁴⁴ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2005), p. xiv.

⁴⁵ Richard J. F. Day, *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements* (London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press; Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005), p. 155.

⁴⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006).

⁴⁷ Arjun Apparundai, ‘Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy’, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7 (1990), 295-310.

⁴⁸ See previous chapter for further details.

coherent social groups are probably - and, I would argue, have for long been - quite rare.⁴⁹

As such, place based notions of community do not allow for translocal relations, where people's connections to others in different places may hold more weight than simple geographic proximity.

Despite the above problematic of the term 'community', a strong focus of current museum theory and practice is to identify 'community' as its focus for engagement and development (as opposed to just 'audience' or 'visitor' engagement).⁵⁰ Alongside the problems 'associated with representing complex, multifaceted communities', we need to question the reasons why the term 'communities' (and their engagement) has become so prevalent within institutions.⁵¹ In line with the prominence of the social inclusion agenda discussed previously, the term 'community', and its associated engagement and development, has been increasingly used by Government to perform a 'delicate balancing act between the state agenda and community interests'.⁵² In fact, it could be argued that the state or Government cannot be separated from 'community', or any action that the 'community' takes.⁵³ 'Community' has become increasingly imperative to 'government initiatives', either through their participation in, or delivery of, such schemes.⁵⁴ We saw this in Wakefield Council's desire for The Hepworth Wakefield to perform certain relations with and transformation on Wakefield's local communities, as outlined in the previous chapter. The importance of community is

⁴⁹ Massey, 'A Global Sense of Place', p. 28.

⁵⁰ Onciul, p. 79.

⁵¹ Onciul, p. 79.

⁵² Gilchrist, p. ix.

⁵³ Ben Dilby, 'The museum's redemption: Contact zones, government and the limits of reform', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 8 (2005), 5-27, in *Sage Publications* <<http://ics.sagepub.com/content/8/1/5>> [accessed 30 October 2013], (pp. 13-14).

⁵⁴ Gilchrist, p. 20.

made explicit in their key policy documents, for example, the ‘Community Strategy’ sits at the core of the Council’s vision for the District:

The Community Strategy (‘Developing Knowledge Communities’) represents a shared commitment by key organisations to work together to achieve a 25-year vision for Wakefield District and secure the future well being of residents and workers. This brings forward the vision and challenges of the previous Community Strategy (‘Fast Forward’) and aims to build up the skill levels and confidence in individuals and communities.⁵⁵

Where the ambition is to address and overcome certain ‘community’ challenges, framed by the Council as ‘Safer and stronger communities’, ‘Healthier communities’, and ‘Skills and enterprise’.⁵⁶ The term community here is a political and ideological choice. Alison Gilchrist describes how the term ‘community’ has been selected for use as a tool by ‘academics, policy makers and politicians’:⁵⁷

In the past the prefix ‘community’ has been used to soften the edge of state interventions, implying user-friendly, accessible services or partnership arrangements for the delivery of welfare to those sections of the population said to have issues that are particularly difficult to address. ‘Community’ is envisaged as both an agent, as well as an object, for interventions devised to remedy perceived deficits and alleviate deprivation.⁵⁸

This further illustrates the ‘philosophical-political’ contexts that give rise to the identity of ‘audiences’ targeted by institutions, and the ‘issues related to power and control between museums and their different *communities*’ [my italics].⁵⁹ Within this context the identity of ‘community’ can raise negative connotations, or, as Gilchrist describes, ‘when used as a collective noun, “community” tends to refer to people who are disadvantaged by poverty, oppression and prejudice’.⁶⁰ Although

⁵⁵ ‘Local Development Framework: Central Wakefield Area Action Plan’, Wakefield Council website <www.wakefield.gov.uk/ldf> [accessed 31 July 2017], p. 11.

⁵⁶ ‘Local Development Framework’.

⁵⁷ Gilchrist, p. 19.

⁵⁸ Gilchrist, p. 19.

⁵⁹ Golding and Modest, ‘Introduction’, p. 1.

⁶⁰ Gilchrist, p. 19.

‘community’ is utilised as a broad definition, its subtext can be read as ‘all communities outside the mainstream marginalized by, for example, their ethnic origin, disability or sexual orientation’.⁶¹ When museums and galleries elect to use the term ‘community’, does this then conjure up notions of outreach, signifying a group outside of a typical user who requires special attention (or coercion)?

If community engagement is synonymous with outreach then what is the relationship that the institutions are striving for when identifying their ‘audiences’ as such? How does it sit with the other associated notions of ‘community’ that seek to engender active participation on behalf of the ‘audience’ with an aspiration for an even distribution of power and knowledge production? In reality does community engagement continue to be interpreted and delivered ‘through decidedly “institution centric” means’?⁶² If the organisation remains the ‘driving force in the relationship, preparing programs [sic] and activities that it attempts to market to the public’, the difference needed to shift this relationship is dialogue between communities, stakeholders and the institution – the ‘community’ must be recognised as ‘not simply exist[ing] to consume’.⁶³ It has been argued that there has been a revolution in (some) museums relinquishing the didactic, monovocal voice to a more polyvocal, collaborative multi-perspective,⁶⁴ with a ‘broader shift in understanding of the museum less as temple and more as forum’.⁶⁵ There has been an increase,

⁶¹ Caroline Lang, ‘The Public Access Debate’, in *The Responsive Museum: Working with Audiences in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Caroline Lang, John Reeve and Vicky Woollard (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 29-38 (pp. 32-33).

⁶² Bradley L. Taylor, ‘Negotiating the Power of Art: Tyree Guyton’s Heidelberg Project and its Communities’, in *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration*, ed. by Viv Golding and Wayne Modest (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 48-58 (p. 53).

⁶³ Taylor, p. 53.

⁶⁴ Golding and Modest, ‘Introduction’, p. 1.

⁶⁵ Rhiannon Mason, Christopher Whitehead, and Helen Graham, ‘One Voice to Many Voices? Displaying Polyvocality in an Art Gallery’, in *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and*

theoretically and practically, in the social role of the institution through consultation and collaboration with a more diverse range of communities, and ‘museums reexamining themselves in relation to community expectations’.⁶⁶ This reexamination can have a bearing on the identification and categorisation undertaken by the institution, where traditional and limited ‘either/or dualistic frameworks’, remotely constructed to capture and categorise otherness can be expanded to ‘a more liberating both/and conception’ engendered through dialogic and polyvocal practices.⁶⁷ Perhaps the Hepworth could be said to have been utilising such approaches in the examples of the Spring 2016 exhibitions we have explored in this Thesis; through working with school children from local communities in the *Des Hughes* exhibition (Chapter 2), and the extension of the Gallery’s local networks to the Wakefield rhubarb growers in the Martin Parr retrospective (Chapter 3).

However, it is worth exploring here a more complex, and contentious, encounter with ‘community’ that occurred during the Hepworth’s *Howard Hodgkin: Painting India* exhibition. The exhibition explored Hodgkin’s experiences in India, and the influence that the country had on his work for over 50 years. Consisting of 35 paintings produced by Hodgkin from the 1960s up until his death earlier this year (March 2017), alongside archival photographs and diaries, the exhibition formed part of the UK-India 2017 Year of Culture. This event is described on the Hepworth’s website as ‘a major bilateral year of cultural exchange’ hosted by India and the UK,

Collaboration ed. by Viv Golding and Wayne Modest (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 163-177 (p. 164).

⁶⁶ Golding and Modest, ‘Introduction’, p. 1.

⁶⁷ Golding and Modest, ‘Introduction’, p. 2.

‘to celebrate their shared long and rich history’.⁶⁸ As such, the private view for the exhibition celebrated the significance of India to Howard Hodgkin and his work by making explicit links to Indian culture. This included offering the private view guests samosas from an Indian street food van near the entrance to the Gallery, and a traditional Indian dancer performing in the exhibition’s spaces, in front of Hodgkin’s paintings (Figure 18). Despite the Gallery’s (presumed) intentions to ‘celebrate’ ‘cultural exchange’ with India, tensions began to emerge during the private view. These tensions were explored in a scathing review by Niru Ratnam in *The Spectator*.⁶⁹ With the title, ‘Hepworth Wakefield’s latest show is grossly irresponsible – the museum doesn’t deserve any sort of prize’, the strength of Ratnam’s feeling towards the Gallery is evident. Ratnam’s review raises interesting questions regarding the relationship between The Hepworth and its ‘communities’, as well the perils of classifying and identifying people and/or communities, and the very real implications of doing so. Therefore, I think it is illuminating to include a close reading of Ratnam’s review, and the issues that it raises.

⁶⁸ The Hepworth Wakefield, ‘Howard Hodgkin: Painting India’, The Hepworth Wakefield website <<http://www.hepworthwakefield.org/howard-hodgkin-painting-india/>> [last accessed 19 September 2017].

⁶⁹ Niru Ratnam, ‘Hepworth Wakefield’s latest show is grossly irresponsible – the museum doesn’t deserve any sort of prize’, *The Spectator*, 4 July 2017, <<https://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2017/07/hepworth-wakefields-latest-show-grossly-irresponsible-museum-doesnt-deserve-sort-prize/>> [accessed 28 July 2017].

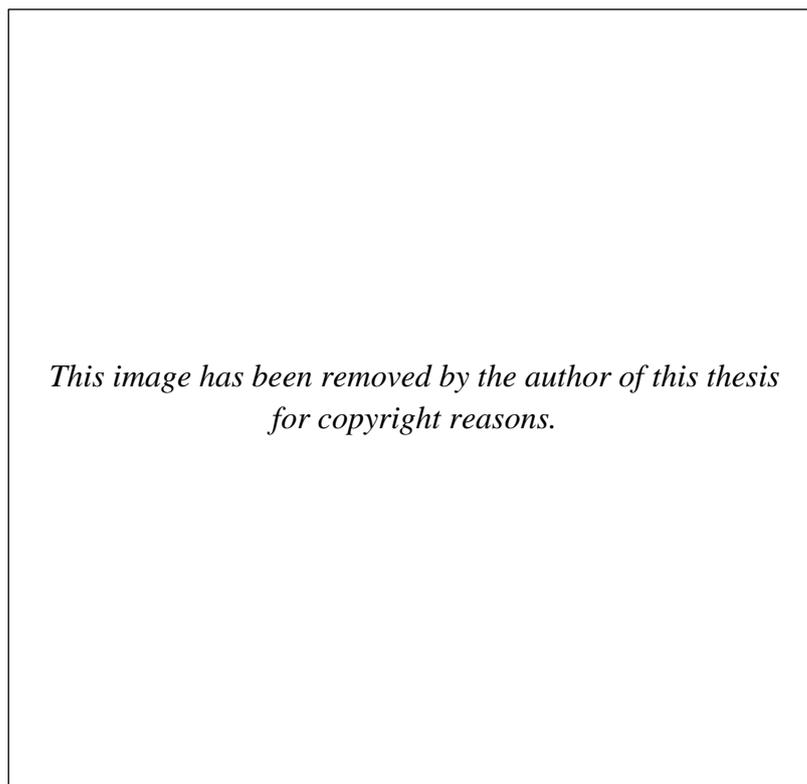


Figure 18: Screenshot of tweet by The Hepworth Wakefield to promote the opening of the Howard Hodgkin exhibition, Twitter, 30 June 2017.

Ratnam begins by describing the events of the private view. As so often occurs with such gatherings, photographs of the openings ‘festivities’ and attendees were circulated on social media (Figure 19). What Ratnam marks as significant about these images is the lack of diversity of the people within them, indeed, that ‘the crowded preview was composed of a predominantly white audience’. Ratnam conveyed the response of those who attended the event, stating that ‘one guest estimated that he could see around ‘less than ten’ South Asian faces in the audience’. This ‘largely white crowd’ stood in contrast to the ‘entertainment’ provided for the evening; the samosas, the ‘classical Indian music in the bar’, the street food van ‘festooned with the words ‘Fancy an Indian?’’, the ‘classical Indian dancer in a sari holding a pose in front of one of Hodgkin’s paintings’. In presenting Indian culture in this way, Ratnam argued that ‘the Hepworth event presented South Asia as a

decorative background, classical and unthreatening, somewhere where a much-loved English artist could visit, as and when, before returning to make pleasant enough abstract paintings'.⁷⁰ In this sense, the Hepworth constructed a particular sense of 'South Asia' in the space of the gallery, assembling links to an idea of the place of 'South Asia' to the place of Wakefield and Yorkshire. Yet, this is (also) problematic for the lack of resonance with the reality of the lives of the many people of South Asian heritage who actually live in Wakefield and Yorkshire. Reinforcing his point with a quote from another attendee, Ratnam stated that '[t]he problem with all of this was summed up by the director of an arts organisation in the Midlands who, commenting on the Hepworth event, noted that "the lives of most South Asians in Yorkshire are not particularly decorative or fashionable"; they are not usually represented in galleries such as the Hepworth.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Ratnam.

⁷¹ Ratnam.

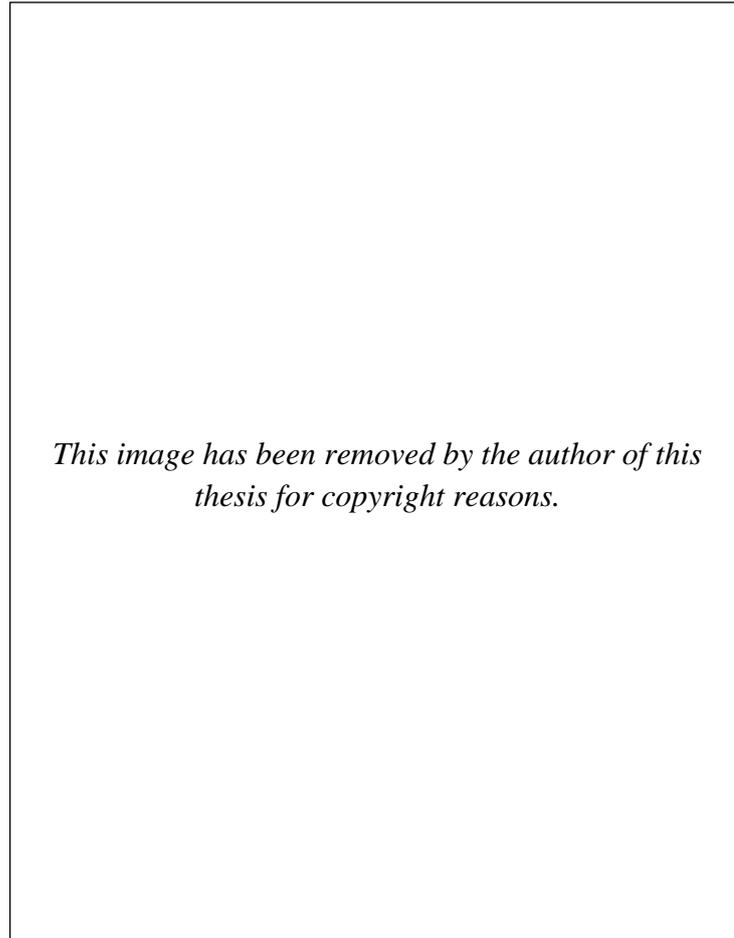


Figure 19: Screenshot of tweet by Wakefield Bondholder to promote the opening of the Howard Hodgkin exhibition, Twitter, 30 June 2017.

Drawing out this problematic a little further, Ratnam pointed to South Asian communities located close to the Hepworth. At first recognising that Wakefield has a relatively small ethnic minority population, the largest of this group being Polish, Ratnam then points out that Dewsbury is just six miles from the Gallery, which is a town with a large Asian population. Like Bradford, Dewsbury is a place which has generated national attention for ‘bad news’ narratives around South Asian Communities, narratives which focus on radicalisation, extremism, terrorism, and limited community cohesion:

However six miles down the A638 lies Dewsbury, a town that came to wider public consciousness when it emerged that Mohammad Sidique Khan, the leader of the four bombers who attacked London in 2005, hailed from there.

The following year Britain's youngest convicted terrorist, Hammaad Munshi, was arrested while walking home from a Dewsbury comprehensive. Last year, Talha Asmal became Britain's youngest suicide bomber. A fellow pupil at Asmal's school in Dewsbury told reporters they believed he had been radicalized in the town, rather than online.⁷²

Ratnam questions what role museums should be playing in overcoming such racial, ethnic, and religious segregation of communities. Issues that are recognised as significant in Yorkshire, as well as nationally. Although Dewsbury does not fall under Wakefield Council jurisdiction (its local government is Kirklees Metropolitan Council, whose headquarters are found in Huddersfield), Ratnam argues that as an (inter)national institution, the Hepworth should be active and respond to its 'social and political context', particularly when it is engaging with the culture of people from that context in its exhibitions. Ratnam states:

The Hepworth is not a small institution that speaks just to its own city. This week it is up for the Art Fund Museum of the Year, the world's biggest museum prize. It is arguable that a museum of this stature, funded by tax payers through the Arts Council and the local authority has a responsibility to respond to the social and political context around it. And the context around the Hepworth is simple – a series of disaffected South Asian groups who don't believe that this country's institutions or shared public spaces are for them. Some members of these groups will go a step further and stop believing in any notion of shared values with the white folk in the next town. And a very small number will take it one murderous step further.⁷³

As framed by Wakefield Council's Community Strategy, should The Hepworth Wakefield's ambition be to address and overcome certain 'community' challenges, to help build 'Safer and stronger communities'? Should the Gallery have taken more meaningful steps which explicitly engage with these issues, rather than merely using South Asia as a 'decorative background'? Should the Gallery acknowledge and also

⁷² Ratnam.

⁷³ Ratnam.

be active in addressing ‘community challenges’ of a ‘town down the road’? Ratnam is unequivocal in his stance on the matter:

A museum in West Yorkshire that holds an exhibition ostensibly framed by India, has a responsibility to face up to this, and not simply lob Indian food at its gathered white guests. South Asia is no longer ‘somewhere else’ as Hodgkin thought. It’s in the town down the road. Hodgkin’s paintings might be lovely, as might nibbling on a samosa while a lady in a sari holds a classical Indian pose, but at best, the director and trustees of the Hepworth are naive. At worst they are grossly irresponsible. This is not a museum that deserves any sort of prize.⁷⁴

A searing indictment of the Hepworth and its relationship to this particular community.

Other readers of *The Spectator*, however, disagreed with Ratnam’s declarations. There was a mixed, if not overtly hostile response to Ratnam’s article in its comments section. One commenter decried Ratnam’s politicisation of the event:

The humble samosa is now politicised too. Memos will be flying round Museum Events departments in this UK-India Year of Culture... ‘Lose the samosas! They totally bombed in Wakefield... And forget the ice-cream van’. This ill-humoured piece, prompted by social media complaints by a few private view-goers last week, casts an unworthy and damaging slur on the Hepworth Gallery. It’s also deeply unfair to an excellent show of some of Howard Hodgkin’s paintings inspired by India over half a century, most recently the poignant ‘Over to You’, completed this year not long before his death. Granted, HH’s pictures are unlikely to bring in or win over any nascent Yorkshire jihadis. But then what will?⁷⁵

This comment seems to be arguing for the separation of art and its instrumentalisation, decrying the suggestion that art can be used to address such issues as ‘jihadis’ and the possibility of winning them ‘over’. This was echoed in another statement describing Ratnam’s article as ‘nannying rubbish’.⁷⁶ Not only

⁷⁴ Ratnam.

⁷⁵ ‘fishcake o’reilly’, comment responding to Ratnam.

⁷⁶ ‘Lakanal’, comment responding to Ratnam.

did this person re-emphasise the view that ‘an art museum should concern itself with art (political or other), not social politics’, they also argued that ‘India is not “down the road”’.⁷⁷ Perhaps this is a straight refusal to follow Ratnam’s more translocal connections between the place of Dewsbury and the, granted, geographically distant place of India.⁷⁸ A refusal to follow the potential connection that may place the Hepworth Wakefield in a network which has complex relations between South Asian and people and places, real and imagined.

One comment did acknowledge that ‘The art world (read the class system) in the UK, is fairly insulated from anything outside itself’.⁷⁹ This commentator then proceeded to qualify their statement by highlighting the exhibition’s full title, *Howard Hodgkin: Painting India*, stating that Ratnam’s ‘shortened version’ changes the context of his piece. That is to say, by acknowledging the full title, we can see that the exhibition is framed as Howard Hodgkin’s experiences of India, not engaging India in a wider sense. The emphasis is on India as experienced by Hodgkin. The commentator also picked up on the intricacies of the choice of terms in Ratnam’s article: ‘Both Dewsbury and Wakefield have small Indian populations and it is opportunistic of the writer to replace “India” with “South Asia”’.⁸⁰ For them, Ratnam was using particular terms for political effect. Ratnam’s selection of terms and ‘categorisation’ was troubling for another commenter:

So this exhibition should have been more ‘Indian’ in order to help integration and prevent terrorism? It sounds like you are lumping everyone ‘foreign’ into the same category. 80% of Indians are Hindu. And the last I heard, Britain doesn’t have much of a problem with Hindu terrorism.⁸¹

⁷⁷ ‘Lakanal’, comment responding to Ratnam.

⁷⁸ Or rather Pakistan, hence the problem with this India year in West Yorkshire.

⁷⁹ ‘edithgrove’, comment responding to Ratnam.

⁸⁰ ‘edithgrove’, comment responding to Ratnam.

⁸¹ ‘Carbonari1848’, comment responding to Ratnam.

This raises a serious issue of the contentious nature of classification and identification. These last two commenters took real issue with how Ratnam had framed the people and places (and exhibition) of his article. They made clear their particular sensitivities to use of the term ‘Indian’ or ‘South Asian’, and the concomitant associations of each term. Each has real implications, as seen in the anger of Ratnam, and then the anger of those who disagreed with his classifications. This is a significant point, and one which has real consequence for the practice of the Hepworth Wakefield and its audience’s experience of it. With this in mind, we will now explore the tensions imbued in classification a little further.

Segmentation, Classification and Symbolic Violence

According to Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star’s text *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences*, to classify is to create ‘a spatial, temporal, or spatio-temporal segmentation of the world’.⁸² The creation of labels and categories through inclusion and exclusion in these segments⁸³ then allows for ‘bureaucratic knowledge production’.⁸⁴ In the process of this knowledge production the classifier uses various tools, including ‘conceptual distinctions, interpretive strategies, [and] cultural traditions’ in ‘creating, maintaining, contesting, or even dissolving institutionalized social differences (e.g., class, gender, race, territorial inequality)’.⁸⁵ Therefore, classification is necessarily tied to these processes and practices. As Bowker and Star state: ‘[a]lthough classification does not provide psychological

⁸² Italics as original, Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1999), p. 10.

⁸³ Lamont and Fournier, p. 2.

⁸⁴ Bowker and Star, p. 10.

⁸⁵ Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár, ‘The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28 (2002), 167-195 (p. 168).

depth, it does tie the person into an infrastructure—into a set of work practices, beliefs, narratives, and organizational routines’.⁸⁶ Surely this act of categorising individuals into groups and constructing their social identity is somewhat of a paradox. Identity is something that differentiates you from all others, yet your social identity is based on your similarities (metaphysical or physical).⁸⁷ Classifications too are static. They are supposed to be consistent, mutually exclusive and existing in a complete system, yet surely this is a utopian ideal arising from non-dialectical and (flawed) formal logic?⁸⁸ And through this process of identification and classification, does one then become bound to this imagined identity constructed by the institution, with no allowance for transformation through engagement?

It may be useful here to explore a little further this concept of boundaries, comparing Trentmann’s explanation of an ‘audience’ that is ‘*bounded* in terms of ideas, social composition, representation and, significantly, by consuming practices’,⁸⁹ to Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier’s idea of symbolic boundaries.⁹⁰ Symbolic boundaries are intersubjective ‘conceptual distinctions’ devised by ‘social actors’ to classify and categorise a diverse social reality.⁹¹ Through this classification we can explore the ideological origins of these identities as ‘[e]xamining them allows us to capture dynamic dimensions of social relations, as groups compete in the production, diffusion, and institutionalization of alternative systems and principles of classifications’.⁹² As these symbolic boundaries are

⁸⁶ Bowker and Star, p. 319.

⁸⁷ Robin Williams, *Making Identity Matter: Identity, society and social interaction* (Durham: Sociologypress, 2001), pp. 7-8.

⁸⁸ Bowker and Star, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁹ Trentmann, p. 10.

⁹⁰ Lamont and Molnár, p. 168.

⁹¹ Lamont and Molnár, p. 168.

⁹² Lamont and Molnár, p. 168.

utilised by institutions to negotiate ‘definitions of reality’,⁹³ symbolic boundaries can then be said to be influenced by ‘the cognitive, communicative, and political dimensions’ of society.⁹⁴ Therefore, symbolic boundaries are not just a ‘product of interactions between individuals’, they are in fact ‘imposed’ upon society through ‘sociopolitical forces’,⁹⁵ and thus the concept of symbolic boundaries translates into social boundaries, and ‘identifiable patterns of social exclusion’.⁹⁶

We can ascertain these social patterns through identity, as identity is ‘socially constructed’.⁹⁷ The act of being an ‘audience’ in itself is only achieved through coming into contact with other ‘social actors and agencies’ and interacting with them.⁹⁸ Audiences and consumers cannot exist in a vacuum. There must be some form of relationship, which invariably involves ‘uneven access to expertise, authority and power’.⁹⁹ And in the formation and assignation of identity ‘dominant conceptualizations’ are formed and acknowledged as ‘negotiated outcomes between key institutional stakeholders’, within and outside the institution, including ‘policy makers and advocacy groups’.¹⁰⁰ Charles Tilly describes this process of identity construction:

Instead of imagining culture as an autonomous sphere in which ideas change ideas, which then constrain behavior, structural and institutional analyses treat culture as shared understandings and their representations; actors operate within frames of understanding constructed by previous interactions, anticipating one another’s response on the basis of those frames, and

⁹³ Lamont and Molnár, p. 168. Through definitions institutions can stabilise a definite group which they can then assign meaning to, enabling them to conceptualise and articulate their relationship with said group. As Trentmann describes: ‘The bounded character of consumers is worth emphasizing, since it was vital not only for stabilizing certain meanings but also delimiting the material and political spheres that were legitimate arenas for consumers’, Trentmann, p. 10.

⁹⁴ Lamont and Fournier, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Lamont and Fournier, p. 1.

⁹⁶ Lamont and Molnár, p. 169.

⁹⁷ Napoli, p. 3.

⁹⁸ Trentmann, p. 14.

⁹⁹ Trentmann, p. 14.

¹⁰⁰ Napoli, p. 15.

modifying their strategies as a result of shared experiences. In such a view, culture intertwines unceasingly with social relations; culture and structure are simply two convenient abstractions from the same stream of transactions.¹⁰¹

Identity and the imposition of symbolic boundaries are the outcome of negotiations between stakeholders, where boundaries are in fact ‘shaped by institutionalized definitions of cultural membership’.¹⁰² Therefore, the notion of ‘audience’, or any other descriptive category devised by the organisation, is not an ‘ontological given, but a socially-constituted and institutionally-produced category’.¹⁰³ The categories that get agreed upon are the result of the negotiation between different authorities, but as David Dibosa questions, the point is not ‘who had cultural authority and who did not, but rather [...] what were the conditions through which cultural authority had become possible? How had such conditions changed’?¹⁰⁴

This problematic is further compounded by the fact that to form the conceptual identity is an act of authority, the authority to claim to know someone. This, of course, gives rise to issues of power, validation, and speaking for others, constructing their identity as a process that is ‘done to or with them rather than something that can be said to be true to their understanding – or knowledge – of themselves’.¹⁰⁵ Michel Callon and Bruno Latour describe the implications of this process of speaking about and for others, mirrored through the experience of a sociologist’s research:

the sociologists, who also translate – using polls, quantitative and qualitative surveys – not only what the actors want, not only what they are worth, but

¹⁰¹ Charles Tilly, *Durable Inequality* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 19-20.

¹⁰² Lamont and Molnár, p. 171.

¹⁰³ Ang, *Desperately Seeking the Audience*, p. 3. The organisation itself is an abstraction, more properly we mean the person or people who *comprise* the organisation.

¹⁰⁴ David Dibosa, ‘The Self that Follows the Discipline: Visual Cultures and the Tate Encounters Research Project’, *Tate Encounters - [E]dition 4: Post-critical Museology*, October 2008, <<http://www2.tate.org.uk/tate-encounters/edition-4/#ref1>> [accessed 13 January 2014], p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ Williams, *Making Identity Matter*, p. 3.

also *what they are*. On the basis of scattered information, replies to questionnaires, anecdotes, statistics and feelings, the sociologist interprets, sounds out, incorporates and states what the actors are (classes, categories, groups, cultures, etc.), what they want, what interests them and how they live. Self-designated and self-appointed, spokesman of the people, they have, for more than a century now, taken over from Hobbes's sovereign: the voice that speaks in the mask is their own.¹⁰⁶

As Robin Williams asks, who can claim to know someone (even if this identification is of the self), and, moreover, what knowledge 'counts' as valid, 'necessary and sufficient' to construct an identity? Let alone the further issues of 'access', 'retention, inspection and modification' of such knowledge.¹⁰⁷ Pierre Bourdieu explores this power, and those with the authority to wield it:

This means that one cannot conduct a science of classifications without conducting a science of the struggle over classifications and without taking account of the position occupied, in this struggle over the power of knowledge, for power through knowledge, for the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence, by each of the agents or groups of agents who are involved in it, whether they be ordinary individuals, exposed to the vicissitudes of the everyday symbolic struggle, or authorized (and full-time) professionals, which includes all those who speak or write about the social classes, and who are distinguished according to the greater or lesser extent to which their classifications commit the authority of the State, the holder of the monopoly of *official naming*, correct classification, the correct order.¹⁰⁸

Therefore, there cannot be identification without the generation, or reinforcement, of authority and power-over.¹⁰⁹ To be able to identify, and therefore to represent people, is to be able to dominate them. There is no action without representation (just as there is no museum without 'audience'?). Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno explain this contradictory issue of representation as domination: 'Just as the capacity of representation is the measure of domination, and domination is the most powerful

¹⁰⁶ Callon and Latour, 'Unscrewing the big Leviathan', p. 297.

¹⁰⁷ Williams, *Making Identity Matter*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups', *Theory and Society*, 14 (1985), 723-744, in *JSTOR* <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/657373>> [accessed 7 May 2012] (p. 734).

¹⁰⁹ John Holloway, *Change the World Without Taking Power* (London: Pluto Press, 2002).

thing that can be represented in most performances, so the capacity of representation is the vehicle of progress and regression at one and the same time'.¹¹⁰

Thus, whether intentionally or not, galleries can be said to be using symbolic violence to 'impose a specific meaning [or classification] as legitimate while concealing the power relations that are the basis of its force'.¹¹¹ For example, identities are a product of the institution and its place within the 'macro-sociological context', its relationships and agendas, political and/or economical and so on, working both politically and epistemologically.¹¹² Its force is one of domination, with culture as 'an ideology at the service of the dominant classes'.¹¹³ Perhaps the most tangible example of those in the positions of power carrying out symbolic violence¹¹⁴ is when institutions identify their 'target' participants,¹¹⁵ or 'target audiences'.¹¹⁶ The term 'target' an example of the militarisation of language, suggesting that these groups are identified to be captured and conquered by the institution, as if it's conducting a war with the uninitiated and unengaged. As

¹¹⁰ Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. by John Cumming (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972), p. 34.

¹¹¹ Lamont and Molnár, p. 172.

¹¹² Ang, *Desperately Seeking the Audience*, p. 7. Ang goes on to elaborate the political and epistemological underpinnings of 'audience', and although the focus is that of television audience I think it is relevant to this exploration: 'Institutional knowledge is not interested in the social world of actual audiences; it is in 'television audience', which it constructs as an objectified category of others to be controlled. This construction has both political and epistemological underpinnings. Politically, it enables television institutions to develop strategies to conquer the audience so as to reproduce their own mechanism of survival; epistemologically, it manages to perform this function through its conceptualization of "television audience" as a distinct taxonomic collective, consisting of audience members with neatly describable and categorizable attributes', Ang, *Desperately Seeking the Audience*, p. 154.

¹¹³ Lamont and Fournier, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ Karen Cerulo, 'Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23 (1997), 385-409 (p. 390).

¹¹⁵ Dr. Bernadette Lynch, 'Whose cake is it anyway? A collaborative investigation into engagement and participation in 12 museums and galleries in the UK', Paul Hamlyn Foundation, 2011, p. 11.

¹¹⁶ 'Strategic Action Plan 2012-2014', p. 4.

Horkheimer and Adorno said, ‘representation is the vehicle of progress and regression at one and the same time’.¹¹⁷

If identification is an exercise in power carried out by the institution, then their selection and articulation of a specific term implies ‘a potentially different relationship’ between institution and individual.¹¹⁸ When institutions ‘talk of the public, their publics, their audience, their consumers’,¹¹⁹ the balance of power subtly shifts with each term, each carrying its own inferences reframing the relationship both cognitively and materially, relative to the ‘specific actors’ involved.¹²⁰ This process can be most clearly seen in active and passive terms, where the effect of choosing one over the other is to define the expected action of the identified: ‘notice the effect of the *active* word “user” compared with the *receptive* word “audience”’.¹²¹ The terms can also represent the relationship that the identified individual or group has with the Gallery, such as, its ‘public’, its ‘partner’, its ‘stakeholder’. The actors here are identified in relation to their political or economic context. As such, the chosen term can reveal the institution’s responsibilities to that particular ‘audience’; publicly funded museums have a responsibility to the public whose taxes are used to fund it. The terms selected may also reveal the vested interests or agendas of the identified; if a person, or persons, are identified as a ‘stakeholder’, the power balance may be tipping in their favour.

¹¹⁷ Horkheimer and Adorno, p. 34.

¹¹⁸ Gable, p. 38.

¹¹⁹ Gable, p. 38.

¹²⁰ Isabel Shaw, ‘Situating Method: Accountability and Organizational Positionings’, *Tate Encounters - [E]dition 4: Post-critical Museology*, October 2008, <<http://www2.tate.org.uk/tate-encounters/edition-4/#ref1>> [accessed 13 January 2014], p. 10.

¹²¹ Ian Blackwell and Sarah Scaife, ‘Networks and Partnerships: Building Capacity for Sustainable Audience Development’, in *The Responsive Museum: Working with Audiences in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Caroline Lang, John Reeve and Vicky Woollard (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 61-73 (p. 63).

John Reeve and Vicky Woollard highlight an interesting example of the delicate nature of the power balance between ‘audience’ and institution, explaining the predominant trend in galleries to use the term ‘visitor’, rather than ‘customer’:

the preferred term for museums is ‘visitor’ as in ‘visitor services’ rather than ‘customer services’, for institutions may wish to keep the power balance in their control rather than that of the customers. The possible change in balance may lead to the dominance of the consumer, which would totally change the rationale of the museum as a cultural institution.¹²²

What is revealed here is the epistemological framework that some terms operate within, and the concomitant values that are associated with them. Some terms can be deemed positive and others have negative connotations. As highlighted by Reeve and Woollard, the terms ‘customer’ and ‘consumer’ are perceived as negative in relation to cultural institutions. To use the term ‘consumption’ is to invoke the concepts of mass consumption within the capitalist system.¹²³ To identify a visitor to the museum as a ‘customer’ is to equate their activity to a (‘mere’?) commercial transaction, which ‘is to diminish both the activity, the artists who provide it and the people who value it’.¹²⁴

What we are seeing here is a hierarchy of terms, with value attached by various actors within and outside the institution revealing their notion of culture and how that sits within the wider (capitalist/political) framework. As Reeve and Woollard explain, although ‘museums must recognise that they continually offer products for consumption such as exhibitions, events, gifts, [and] membership schemes’, they dislike overtly identifying their visitors as ‘consumers’ as ‘using the

¹²² John Reeve and Vicky Woollard, ‘Influences on Museum Practice’, in *The Responsive Museum: Working with Audiences in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Caroline Lang, John Reeve and Vicky Woollard (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 5-17 (p. 6).

¹²³ Reeve and Woollard, p. 6.

¹²⁴ John Tusa, *Art Matters: Reflecting on Culture* (London: Methuen, 2000), p. 193.

term “consumer” places museums alongside shopping malls and the high street’.¹²⁵ During my fieldwork at the Hepworth there were several discussions around the commercial aspects of the Gallery. Staff stated that, as with a lot of organisations, there has been a sense of separation between ‘Commercial’ and the rest of the organisation, and, for some, unease around commercial activities. Staff articulated a sense of implicit dichotomy in the Gallery, of art/exhibitions/beauty versus commercial/making money. A member of Collections and Exhibitions echoed Reeve and Woollard’s statement above, revealing that ‘[i]t does sometimes make me feel uncomfortable when using the language of commercial market research to sell what the Gallery does (in a similar way to a shop product)’.¹²⁶ In contrast to this view, other staff explicitly asserted that it should not be thought of in those separate or opposing terms, as ‘it is all about pleasing people’.¹²⁷ One conversation explored this issue in depth, where staff stated they felt a sense of hierarchy in how the different aspects of the Gallery were valued, with commercial operations being valued the least. They suggested this feeling had a physical manifestation in the layout of the office:

You have got the people who are designed to make money right at one end of the room, and you have got the people who are designed to put lovely art together right at the other end of the room, and then you have got Learning that sort of joins the two together in the middle.¹²⁸

Some staff did say that ‘Commercial’ is now more integrated across the departments, and there is a recognition of the need for income generating opportunities, and

¹²⁵ Reeve and Woollard, p. 6.

¹²⁶ Member of the Collections and Exhibitions Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 19 November 2014.

¹²⁷ Member of the Operations Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 19 November 2014.

¹²⁸ Member of the Operations Team, unpublished group interview with Author, The Hepworth Wakefield, 19 November 2014.

ultimately that the Gallery is a business that needs to survive in order to keep the visitors coming in. At the time of the research, however, this understanding was uneven across the organisation, and tended to an aversion of relating ‘audience’ to ‘customer’.

These types of sentiments are not new or unusual. For example John Tusa, an influential arts administrator, policy maker and writer, compared the identity of ‘audience’ to ‘consumer’, and asserted that utilising the term ‘audience’ is to effect a more valid experience in relation to arts and culture that is more highly regarded, intense, and ‘rich in a philosophical sense’.¹²⁹ Whereas, according to Tusa, the notion of ‘customer’ is to debase the relationship between art gallery and audiences to a commercial transaction made up of ‘product and consumer in which the market decides and divides according to the principle of exchange’.¹³⁰ As such, Tusa is happy to nail his colours to the mast: ‘So my own hierarchy of values runs, from the best to the less good: audience, consumer, customer’.¹³¹ Again, this demonstrates the existence of multiple ontologies of ‘audience’. With the assemblage of a gallery customers, *and* consumers, *and* viewers, *and* participants (*and...*, *and...*, *and...*) coexist. That is to say, there are multiple ways of conceptualising and performing audience, but in what may be considered as ‘good’ and ‘less good’ ways. Depending on context (situated action), the term ‘customer’ can be denigrated or celebrated. This occurs in a constant, dynamic process – which can shift within one member of staff’s own use, or across the organisation as the importance of commercial activity

¹²⁹ Tusa, p. 193.

¹³⁰ Andrew Dewdney, ‘Identity, Difference and the Art Museum’, *Tate Encounters – [E]dition 4: Post-critical Museology*, October 2008, < <http://www2.tate.org.uk/tate-encounters/edition-4/#ref1> > [accessed 13 January 2014], p. 4.

¹³¹ Tusa, p. 193.

(and thus associated ideas of audience members as customers and (literally, paying) consumers of culture) grows in agency and gains traction.

We have seen that the complex processes of classification and naming are often imbued with varying relations of power and notions of value that are dynamic and shifting. Yet, in line with an approach which allows for the simple to coexist with the complex, there are also powerful possibilities engendered through the creation of classifications, to make sense of and to help rationalise a complex world. By undertaking projects such as audience segmentation, galleries, like the Hepworth Wakefield, can embark on a journey to translate complex reality into stable and distinct ‘segments’. Like the concept of immutable mobiles explored in Chapter 2, audience ‘segments’ allow knowledge of audiences to be stabilised, mobilised, combined and re-combined; for the material reality of ‘audience’ to be translated in paper form.¹³² Nonetheless, such inscriptions do not guarantee success or control. What is on the paper does not necessarily translate to the real world.¹³³ In the processes of translation complexities are lost, as we explored in Chapter 3, which for certain actors, in certain moments, is too much of a payoff. As John Law describes:

as we practice our trade as intellectuals, the premiums we place on transportability, on naming, on clarity, on formulating and rendering explicit what it is that we know—this premium, though doubtless often enough appropriate, also imposes costs. And I am concerned about those costs. I believe they render complex thinking—thinking that is not strategically ordered, tellable in a simple way, thinking that is lumpy or heterogeneous—difficult or impossible.¹³⁴

We will now explore the audience segmentation project carried out at The Hepworth Wakefield, to see what possible costs were imposed at the expense of clarity, naming

¹³² Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 228.

¹³³ Latour, *Science in Action*, p. 236.

¹³⁴ Law, ‘After ANT’, p. 9.

and transportability, and concurrently what may also be gained; and how the heterogeneous and lumpy reality of its audience(s) has been ordered and made tellable.

Audience Segmentation and The Hepworth Wakefield

The audience segmentation project was carried out in 2015 by the marketing consultancy firm Muse and saw the identification of existing and potential audiences through social-economic categorisations of citizens within the nation-state, as well as their hierarchically scaled categorisation through levels of engagement with arts and culture. To introduce the concept of segmentation in a little more detail, it is broadly understood and utilised as a marketing method where a given ‘audience’ is broken down and grouped in to particular segments.¹³⁵ The grouping is based on the ‘audience’s’ similarities in criterion including demographics, characteristics, interests, needs, and so on. Audience segmentation is undertaken in order for an organisation to better understand their ‘audiences’, and therefore tailor their product or services to the target group.¹³⁶ Arts Council England (ACE) describe audience segmentation as a technique to ‘find new ways to excite, engage and inspire people’, as ‘segmentation can help organisations to understand their markets, identify groups of consumers they would like to target, and develop products and communications that anticipate their needs’.¹³⁷ ACE has developed its own audience segmentation

¹³⁵ For a good introduction to audience segmentation and its use in the arts see ‘Practical Lesson 3: Finding your Audience through Market Segmentation’, National Arts Marketing Website <<http://www.artsmarketing.org/resources/practical-lessons/practical-lessons>> [accessed 14 May 2014].

¹³⁶ ‘Practical Lesson 3’.

¹³⁷ ‘Arts-based segmentation research’, Arts Council England Website <<http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/what-we-do/research-and-data/arts-audiences/arts-based-segmentation-research/>> [accessed 12 May 2014].

model that is widely used across many arts and cultural institutions, including the Hepworth prior to their work with Muse. The Arts Council's model consists of 13 segments, separated by a hierarchy of the 'audience's' current engagement in the arts. This ranges from highly engaged to not currently engaged, with each of the engagement levels having their own more specific 'identity' subsections.¹³⁸ The existing audience segmentation model for the Hepworth was developed in collaboration with (and led by) &Co, and is predominantly made up of the ACE segmentation model as discussed above, alongside ACORN, a geodemographic segmentation model.¹³⁹ &Co are a cultural marketing organisation who specialise in helping cultural institutions understand their 'audiences', 'through research and market analysis, strategic and tactical planning, evaluation and benchmarking'.¹⁴⁰ &Co had been responsible for devising, collecting and analysing data through visitor surveys completed at the Gallery since its opening, alongside other data collection methods including fieldwork, focus groups and workshops.

Within the Hepworth, however, there was dissatisfaction with the existing audience data and profiles. During my fieldwork I encountered an almost universal desire from staff for a bespoke audience profile, where the segment identities felt real and could be used in a meaningful way. In the survey responses there was a general aversion to the Art Council's profiles, for example staff stated that 'although they are adequate for some reporting contexts, I don't believe anyone feels they

¹³⁸ The ACE's 13 segments include the following identities: 'urban arts eclectic', 'fun, fashion and friends' and 'a quiet pint with the match'. You can even play the quiz 'Arts audiences: which segment am I?' to find which segment you are placed into, see 'Arts-based segmentation research'.

¹³⁹ See ACORN website <<http://acorn.caci.co.uk/>> [accessed 12 May 2014].

¹⁴⁰ 'About us', &Co Cultural Marketing website <<http://www.andco.uk.com/about-us/>> [accessed 12 May 2014].

adequately reflect our audiences'.¹⁴¹ The references to the Arts Council's segments were largely recollections of what was in use when the Gallery first opened, but there was uncertainty if this was still in use, or to what extent it was used. For example:

although I am previously aware that THW have used the Arts Council audience segmentation model in the wider organisation, I am not aware if this is still in use when working to develop programme, and if so, to what extent this is used.¹⁴²

This is evidenced by the striking heterogeneity of terms suggested by staff for the Gallery's existing audience segments (Table 2).

Term	Number of respondents who used term
'Dinner and a Show'	7
'Culture Vultures'	4
'Fun, Fashion and Friends'	4
'Bedroom DJs'	4
Families	2
Schools/schools & colleges	2
Students	2
Adult Learning	2
People with additional needs	2
'Hobbyists'	1
A quiet pint	1
Pie & a Pint	1
Ladies that Lunch	1
Time Poor Dreamers	1
Young family	1
Young People	1

¹⁴¹ Survey response by a member of the Collections and Exhibitions Team, The Hepworth Wakefield. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

¹⁴² Survey response by a member of the Learning Team, The Hepworth Wakefield. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

Vulnerable	1
Members	1
Funders	1
‘Affluent Achievers’	1
‘Rising Prosperity’	1

Table 2: Terms named by the 18 respondents who identified the audiences from The Hepworth Wakefield’s existing audience segmentation model. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

Overall, there was a definite sense of dissatisfaction with, and/or a lack of awareness of, the existing audience segmentation model used for the Hepworth. It was seen as something ‘that has been addressed in vague terms’, mostly ‘for the purposes of funding applications/in attempts to consider strategic exhibition planning’.¹⁴³ In response to this, staff widely felt that it would have been helpful to apply a bespoke audience segmentation model to their own projects, to increase understanding of the groups they were working with (or hoped to attract), and to ensure consistency of language and understanding of audiences across the organisation. It was also thought that visitor segmentation should be tailored specifically to the organisation and reflect its audience(s), and that one should be able to ‘spot’ the segments when visitors come through the doors. There was general desire to have a greater understanding of audience motivations, perceptions and barriers to attendance. Staff stated there needed to be more consideration around ‘bespoke promotional packages’ for ‘target’ audiences, as it was felt that if exhibitions and events were developed for a clearly defined and bespoke audience segment, it would be much easier to ‘engage and enthuse funders and supporters’, as well as those the institution hoped to attract.

¹⁴³ Survey response by a member of the Collections and Exhibitions Team, The Hepworth Wakefield. Surveys completed October-November 2014.

The commissioning of the audience segmentation project was also largely driven by the Hepworth's rapidly declining visitor figures. The Gallery far surpassed its footfall target in its first year of opening, exceeding 450,000 visitors; yet by 2015, this figure had dropped to around 200,000. In an all staff briefing the Deputy Director, Jane Marriott, set out the objectives for the audience segmentation project and explained, from her senior management position, why the project was an important undertaking for the organisation. Marriott stated that, as a charity, everything the organisation does is for the public, so 'we', the Gallery staff and stakeholders, need to do something about the 'dropping' visitor numbers. The possibility for this action, to 'do something', was then equated with the ability to gather more and better knowledge of the Gallery's audience, both existing and potential. Marriott set out a range of questions that the team wanted to address. These included: Why are visitor numbers declining? Who is visiting and why? Who is not visiting and why? What are visitor expectations of the organisation? Why have arts-engaged people who live in Wakefield still not visited the Gallery?¹⁴⁴ Why are people making assumptions about us and what we do that aren't true? How can we make the most of our limited resources?¹⁴⁵

Although clearly advocating for the upcoming segmentation project, Marriott also stated that audience segmentation alone was not *the* answer. Rather, she suggested, it was the road map on which they could work out how they could appeal

¹⁴⁴ Crucially, the local was explicitly addressed by Marriott, who stated that for the Hepworth to flourish it is local communities who are more likely to come again and again.

¹⁴⁵ In a later meeting, where the results of the segmentation project were shared with the Wakefield Cultural Consortium, Marriott explicitly acknowledged the importance of this better knowledge of audiences in a time of limited resources. That this knowledge and the production of segments would allow the organisation to know who to prioritise, to make the most of the resources that are available. Jane Marriott, speaking at a meeting with cultural, business and council partners across Wakefield to share findings from Audience Segmentation Research, The Hepworth Wakefield, 21 September 2015.

to certain audiences. She explained that it should certainly not be thought of as ‘just’ marketing. It should inform everything within the organisation, to know who the organisation were ‘going for’ and why, to ‘increase understanding’, to ‘broaden and grow audience and repeat visitors’. Marriott echoed the staff dissatisfaction with the existing audience segmentation model which relied on the Art Council’s personas, emphasising the need for a bespoke, rather than off-the-shelf model, to create a meaningful shared language within and across the organisation.¹⁴⁶ These sentiments were summarised in the segmentation project brief, which set out to potential tenderers the organisation’s rationale:

The Hepworth Wakefield’s annual visitor target is 250,000 and from this April until end of August we have attracted just fewer than 95,000. We need a better audience understanding of visitors’ behavior [sic] - as well as their expectations of the organisation and the experiences they look to us to provide - to increase footfall, achieve targets and build a sustainable business base for our ambitions.

[...] We want to broaden and diversify our audience in order to increase numbers and the proportion of repeat visitors. We need to look beyond who we are currently attracting and find out why others are not visiting to address this. These insights will help us further improve our offer, visitor experience and enhance the brand to encourage repeat visitors¹⁴⁷

Although &Co had worked with the organisation on the existing audience segmentation, the project was opened up to an external tendering process. Muse, a ‘Marketing Strategy Consultancy’ based in Soho, London, went on to secure the contract. Perhaps this is another example of a desire by the Hepworth to ‘jump scales’; to work with/commission an (inter)national company based in the cultural capital of the UK, with a track record of successfully working other large (in both physical size and prestige) cultural institutions. Muse describe themselves as working ‘in the UK, multinationally, and in individual overseas markets’, and state

¹⁴⁶ Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, The Hepworth Wakefield, 3 March 2015.

¹⁴⁷ The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished Audience Segmentation brief, 1 October 2014, p. 2.

that they have conducted over 500 projects with cultural organisations, with clients such as the Victoria and Albert Museum and The Royal Academy of Art in London, and Musée de l’Air et de l’Espace in France.¹⁴⁸ Muse proposed that they could provide: ‘A tailor-made audience segmentation for The Hepworth Wakefield that provides a better understanding of both our existing and potential audiences in order to increase the number of visitors we attract’.¹⁴⁹

During an all staff briefing regarding the segmentation project, Muse set out their definition of audience segmentation as follows:

- ‘Segmentation’ is a technique used to understand your audience as they see themselves. If you understand your audience from their perspective - and then act on that understanding - there is more chance of them engaging with you;
- Organisation’s audiences are almost never homogenous, being united by a common interest or need, but divided by many other things;
- Segmentation is a statistical technique that divides people into ‘segments’ where people in a segment are statistically attitudinally and behaviourally similar to each other and statistically different from people in other segments;
- Different segments can require different needs to be fulfilled if they are to engage with an organisation;
- Segmentation is created by getting people to complete a questionnaire that asks them about their attitudes and behaviour;
- Specialist computer software then identifies respondents into statistically significant groups, or segments;
- Based on the characteristics of the segments the provider (such as Muse) should then name and visualise them in a representative manner.¹⁵⁰

According to Muse, the strength of segmentation is that it is not opinion. They argue that it is statistical fact developed from computer software. Therefore, actions to attract audiences which are based on an understanding of the segments are

¹⁴⁸ ‘Our Work’, Muse website <<http://musestrategy.com/work-sectors/>> [accessed 12 August 2017].

¹⁴⁹ Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield Segmentation Proposal’, unpublished document, October 2014, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ Muse, ‘Background Note to the Segmentation Meeting on 3 March 2015: An Introduction to the Principles and Benefits of Segmentation’, unpublished staff briefing document, 2015.

‘undertaken on the basis of a factual understanding rather than supposition or speculation’.¹⁵¹ Perhaps conflicting with these assertions, however, a Muse team member did acknowledge that the data collected from segmentation surveys is ‘claimed data’; ‘it’s what people said they have done, it’s not verifiable’.¹⁵² Despite these conflicts (which are very successfully held in tension without diminishing the overall significance of the audience research), we will now explore how these segments were developed, and how Muse went about fulfilling their objective to ‘better understand the types of people who might be predisposed to visiting The Hepworth Wakefield’.¹⁵³

The project commenced in late 2014 with the agreement, between Muse and Gallery staff, of the ‘universe’ for the research. Once the ‘universe’ was agreed, a base Target Group Index (TGI) segmentation was conducted, followed by initial enrichment research, then further enrichment research (surveys, questionnaires, interviews). At this point priority segments were agreed, as some segments from the ‘universe’ needed to be excluded to provide a manageable number of segments to work with. This then allowed for the presentation of the finished and full segmentation, after which priority actions could be agreed, which then could be implemented and evaluated.¹⁵⁴ Let us take a moment to clarify the very first step and the creation of the research ‘universe’. This was significant, as it revealed certain choices regarding who was included in the segmentation research, and therefore, who was not; who (or what kinds of people) were brought to the fore and assigned

¹⁵¹ Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, The Hepworth Wakefield, 3 March 2015.

¹⁵² Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, The Hepworth Wakefield, 3 March 2015.

¹⁵³ Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation’, unpublished PowerPoint, September 2015, slide 2.

¹⁵⁴ Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, The Hepworth Wakefield, 3 March 2015.

more value within the assemblage of the Gallery, and who was pushed into the background (or even out of the picture entirely).

According to Muse, the ‘universe’ simply means the people who will be segmented. As they state:

‘Universe’: The people being segmented. This could be anything from all adults in UK, to dog owners in Scotland (if you were a Scottish dog food manufacturer for instance), to people who are particularly concerned about their health (if you are BUPA for instance). ‘Segment’: A segment, or part, of the universe where people in the segment are statistically similar to each other and statistically different to people in other segments.¹⁵⁵

The ‘universe’ draws on data from TGI’s single source survey data, which is collected annually in Britain from over 25,000 people. In terms of deciding the ‘universe’ for the Hepworth’s segmentation, Muse suggested that it needed to ‘comprise both your current visitors and those that have the same attitudes and behaviours but don’t currently visit you’.¹⁵⁶ To get a sense of who these people might be, Muse looked to data from the last &Co Visitor Report, and suggested that the Gallery’s current audience looked like this:

- 64% are from Yorkshire and Humber (82% are within a 2 hour drive time)
- 13% come from a 3 hour plus drive time (and they look to be congregated in London)
- 55% have a high interest in art and 40% have a moderate interest in art
- 64% have visited Tate Modern
- 52% have visited Tate Britain¹⁵⁷

Therefore, to create the ‘universe’ upon which to conduct their research, Muse decided on geographical and behavioural filters. The geographical ‘filters’ focused on the Gallery’s ‘geographical heartland’, which also accounted for how far the

¹⁵⁵ Muse, ‘Background Note to the Segmentation Meeting on 3 March 2015’.

¹⁵⁶ Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Recommended TGI segmentation universe’, unpublished staff briefing document, May 2015.

¹⁵⁷ Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Recommended TGI segmentation universe’, Staff briefing Document, May 2015.

‘media budget’ could stretch. Although emphasis was placed on creating local boundaries for the universe, a relatively high non-local audience from London meant that people from this location were also included.¹⁵⁸ As the &Co research also demonstrated that 95% of the Gallery’s visitors ‘have an interest in art’, Muse stated that ‘we need to allow these types of people into the segmentation universe’.¹⁵⁹ To allow for the ‘[q]uantification of people who are predisposed to visiting museums, galleries and similar visitor attractions’.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, to have been included in the Hepworth’s segmentation, people must have lived in selected standard TGI regions; and, they must have visited one or more gallery or museum in the past 12 months:¹⁶¹

Must have been to at least one or more of the following in the last 12 months:

- Other Art Galleries in Rest of UK
- Other Art Galleries in London
- Other Museums in rest of UK
- Other Museums in London
- National Gallery
- National Portrait Gallery
- Tate Modern
- Tate Britain
- Victoria & Albert Museum
- British Museum
- National Maritime Museum
- Royal Academy

Must live in the following TGI standard regions

- The North West
- The North
- Yorkshire and Humberside
- The East Midlands
- The West Midlands
- Greater London¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ ‘if we were to include cultural consumers outside your local regions, we recommend including London, as it looks as though there are sufficient number coming from there currently and we know there are huge numbers of cultural enthusiasts in the capital (so it would be worth advertising there should budgets allow)’, Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Recommended TGI segmentation universe’, Staff briefing Document, May 2015.

¹⁵⁹ Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Recommended TGI segmentation universe’.

¹⁶⁰ Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation’, slide 3.

¹⁶¹ Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Recommended TGI segmentation universe’.

¹⁶² Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Recommended TGI segmentation universe’.

Muse stated that these particular qualifications, once applied to TGI, ‘gives us a universe of 9.6 million UK adults to segment’.¹⁶³

Based on shared characteristics, specialist computer software identifies these TGI ‘universe’ respondents into statistically significant groups, or segments. Muse then ‘name and visualise’ these groups ‘in a representative manner’.¹⁶⁴ Following this process, Muse presented six audience segments: Big Kids, Thrill Seekers, Family Centric, Outdoor Culture, Vanguard Culture, and Complete Culture. Each segment was presented with a pen portrait, outlining the segment’s behaviour, interests, attitude, as well as some socio-demographic information. Muse explained that these pen portraits should be taken as the ‘centre of gravity’ for the segment. They were not claiming that everyone assigned to a particular segment is exactly the same, rather, the pen portrait provides the ‘gist’. The segments signpost an attitude, which sometimes can be taken literally, and sometimes not.¹⁶⁵ Based on these portraits of attitudes and behaviours, Muse found that that Big Kids, Thrill Seekers and Family Centric were ‘not relevant’ to the Hepworth. That is to say, due to the segments characteristics, they were seen as unlikely to be predisposed to visit the Gallery. Outdoor Culture were thought to have slightly more disposition, therefore, should be thought of as a ‘secondary’ audience; but the core audience, and those who Muse suggested should be treated as the ‘target segments’, were Vanguard Culture and Complete Culture.¹⁶⁶ This was due to these two segments having the most

¹⁶³ Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation’, slide 6. The claim of UK adults here being a stretch, as all the regions are located in England, with the agreed universe excluding respondents’ located in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

¹⁶⁴ Muse, ‘Background Note to the Segmentation Meeting on 3 March 2015’.

¹⁶⁵ Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, The Hepworth Wakefield, 3 March 2015.

¹⁶⁶ Complete Culture was frequently associated with, or related to the Art Council’s notorious classic ‘Culture Culture’.

interest in contemporary and historical art, as well as showing the highest levels of satisfaction for the Hepworth, and, tended to spend more during their visits.¹⁶⁷

Targeting Vanguard and Complete Culture was seen as a way to make the most of existing 'visitorship', where the opportunity to grow was strongest.¹⁶⁸ Muse argued that as disposition and engagement were highest amongst the Vanguard and Complete Culture, and, as a lot of them lived in an hour's drive time, there was big potential for boosting visitor figures. Muse's research found that there were 52,000 Vanguard and Complete Culture (in their 'universe') and they tended to visit four times a year, so, Muse argued, 52,000 people times four visits each equated to over two million potential visitors each year. Therefore, Muse found that there was a potential for very high return on investment from focusing very locally (one hour drive time) and engaging with the people who sit within the Vanguard and Complete Culture segments. In an attempt to make the segments more real for staff, they were invited to complete a survey to find out which 'one of the segments you fall into'.¹⁶⁹ I too participated in this survey, as a member of staff at the time, and here are my results:

Your THW segment is VANGUARD CULTURE.

Some of the characteristics of this segment are:

- Progressive, adventurous and an ethical cultural consumers.
- Young, open to different cultures and art forms, exploring the contemporary and the new.
- Aware of trends and the zeitgeist, motivated by self edification.
- Interested in visual arts, music, food, design and technology.
- Age 18-34

The breakdown of THW staff that completed the survey is:

Complete Culture 55%

Vanguard Culture 35%

Outdoor Culture 5%

¹⁶⁷ Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, presented by Muse, The Hepworth Wakefield, 7 July 2015.

¹⁶⁸ Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, The Hepworth Wakefield, 3 March 2015.

¹⁶⁹ Email correspondence to all staff at The Hepworth Wakefield, 1 April 2015.

Thrill Seekers 5%
Family Centric 0
Big Kids 0¹⁷⁰

It is perhaps no surprise that 80% of Gallery staff who completed the survey were identified as belonging to the Hepworth's two key audience segments, Vanguard and Complete Culture.

Following the initial research period of agreeing the universe, forming the segments, and agreeing the 'focus' segments, Muse went on to further research the three key segments. This research intended to answer the following aims: to identify why local, apparently disposed non visitors don't visit; to identify barriers to visiting; and, to identify motivating actions that might prompt a visit.¹⁷¹ The methodology utilised by Muse in attempting to answer these questions was both quantitative and qualitative. The questionnaires and survey approach was a fundamental method that ran throughout the process. However, at this stage, these predominantly quantitative, and certainly hands off approaches were supplemented with face-to-face engagement (by Muse researchers) with people who they had identified as belonging to the three segments.¹⁷² This consisted of: a pre-interview with local non visitors from the three segments to establish pre visit awareness and perceptions of the Gallery; the Gallery visit, so respondents had the opportunity to experience the Gallery; and, a post visit interview to establish their impressions, responses and likelihood to visit again or recommend to others.¹⁷³ Muse found that

¹⁷⁰ Personal email correspondence with staff segmentation results, 5 May 2015.

¹⁷¹ Muse, 'The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation', slide 69.

¹⁷² And who had consented to participate in the qualitative research. I am aware that focus groups and interview participants were compensated for their time and participation, and incentives were included on the call outs to encourage participation. For example, on one occasion each participant in a focus group received £50 for their time.

¹⁷³ Muse, 'The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation', slide 71.

Vanguard Culture had a 99% satisfaction with the Gallery and Complete Culture 97% satisfaction. The headline findings from this part of the research were that these segments very much liked the exhibits, the building and the setting. They liked the immediate, waterfront environment of the Gallery. What these segments didn't like, according to Muse's findings, was the (perceived) lack of additional things to do, the lack of complementary activities near the Hepworth, (and the parking charges).¹⁷⁴

Addressing the key question of why local culturally engaged people do not visit in greater numbers, Muse found that for the Vanguard and Complete Culture segments the primary reason for their lack of engagement was the low profile locally of the Gallery.¹⁷⁵ The Hepworth's profile was described by Muse as being so 'exceptionally low', that local 'people have forgotten about it since its launch, and so simply do not consider going', and/or 'do not know what to expect from it'.¹⁷⁶ The other significant motive for lack of visits from local culturally engaged people was their negative perception of Wakefield, a factor that was explored in Chapter 3 in the production of the 'place' of the Gallery. Muse reported that for Vanguard and Complete segments, the place of Wakefield was 'stigmatized', 'particularly amongst respondents from Leeds'. These negative perceptions were both about the place of Wakefield, it being an un-pleasant or un-safe place to visit; and that there were limited associated activities (arts, cultural, leisure, retail) nearby, that is to say, it was assumed there will be nothing else to do near the Gallery.¹⁷⁷ They quantified these negative perceptions by stating that '40% of local non visitors say they don't go to Wakefield'. Muses' feedback presentation for staff, stakeholders and trustees at the

¹⁷⁴ Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, presented by Muse, The Hepworth Wakefield, 7 July 2015.

¹⁷⁵ Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, presented by Muse, The Hepworth Wakefield, 7 July 2015.

¹⁷⁶ Muse, 'The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation', slide 73.

¹⁷⁷ Muse, 'The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation', slide 74.

Gallery included a selection of qualitative statements to support this statistic.

Comments from survey and focus respondents regarding Wakefield included: ‘It’s full of chavs’, ‘I wouldn’t let my children go there’, and ‘It’s insular – no one leaves there, no-one goes there’; the very sentiments that Wakefield Council were hoping to overcome in their regeneration plan for the city.¹⁷⁸

Geographical proximity did not hold much sway in people’s opinions. Muse reported that the people of Vanguard and Complete Culture segments had a much closer ‘emotional connection’ to more geographically distant places. Muse highlighted a quote from a Complete Culture segment member who lived in Leeds: ‘I’ve been to Bilbao, the Guggenheim, Paris, New York...My mother in law worked with Barbara Hepworth, I’ve dropped her off at the Gallery, my wife went to Chelsea Arts College, I’m a graphic designer...I’ve never been’.¹⁷⁹ The very person the Hepworth sees themselves to be for, that Muse suggests the Gallery should focus their energy on, who lives within easy distance of the Gallery, this person feels more emotionally and culturally connected to places on the other side of the world than to Wakefield. As Muse state:

London, New York, Paris, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Berlin, Manchester, Bilbao, are all closer to cultural consumers in Leeds emotionally and culturally than Wakefield is. Vanguard Culture and Complete Culture respondents talk of these locations with much greater familiarity and propensity to visit than Wakefield.¹⁸⁰

This is a clear example of the power of translocal connections, the complex reality of how people form emotional connections to other people and places; and how geographical notions of place do not necessarily play a predominant role in the

¹⁷⁸ Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation’, slide 75.

¹⁷⁹ Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation’, slide 75.

¹⁸⁰ Muse, ‘The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation’, slide 75.

forming of those connections. Indeed, geographical sense of place, that is to say, the physical distance one may be to, or from, a place, can be transmuted by one's emotional connection to it. As one Complete Culture segment person from Leeds stated about their feeling of, and relation to, the place of Wakefield, 'It's so close, but a million miles away'.¹⁸¹ Fundamentally, such responses evidence the concept of 'cultural cosmopolitanism', which 'argues that people's patterns of identification and sense of identity have been reconfigured by the effects of greater mobility, migration, multiculturalism, and a globalized mediascape to become pluralized and discontinuous'.¹⁸² These sentiments were also echoed in the response from non visitors from Vanguard and Complete Culture segments who were classified as non-local (Muse also referred to these geographically distant people as 'remote' visitors). Muse reported that these segments reasons for not visiting the Gallery as 'they do not go to Wakefield (74.8%, 68% respectively), followed by they do not hear much about it so do not consider it (51.6%, 48.3% respectively)'.¹⁸³

As the above brief summary of Muse's findings shows, the strength of feeling against Wakefield from those people who should be pre-disposed to visit the Gallery, local and non-local, was stark. Following the gathering of this initial data, Muse went on to arrange visits with focus groups consisting of people from each of the three key segments, Vanguard Culture, Complete Culture, and Outdoor Culture. These groups of non visitors were then re-surveyed or interviewed following their visit. Muse reported that their responses post visit were 'universally positive', particularly regarding the 'venue and exhibitions'. Once these segments were taken

¹⁸¹ Muse, 'The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation', slide 75.

¹⁸² Mason, p. 44.

¹⁸³ Muse, 'The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation', slide 215.

to the Gallery and had experienced it, they went on to have the same perception as visitors: very high satisfaction rates, expressions of interest in repeat visits (they said they would come again), and that they would recommend the Gallery to others.¹⁸⁴ So, once people got through the doors, their experience of the Hepworth, including its immediate surroundings at the waterfront location, was overwhelmingly positive. Muse's headline findings regarding all visitor responses emphasised this: 'All visiting audiences are hugely satisfied with the setting of THW as well as the gallery and exhibits'. Getting a little further into what people find appealing about the Gallery and exhibitions, the survey data showed that all visiting audiences agreed that the Hepworth 'contains famous and world class exhibits' in 'an extraordinary building both inside and out'. Complete Culture survey respondents 'most motivating statement' regarding the Gallery was its 'extraordinary building'. For Vanguard Culture segments, the most motivating statement for local audiences was 'artists shaping the art agenda', whereas for 'remote' Vanguard audiences it was 'artists acclaimed in the art world'.¹⁸⁵ These selections affirm the behavioural interests and attitudes that should respond positively to the Hepworth's offer. They are predominantly interested in art and architecture. Particularly architecture that is critically acclaimed and celebrated nationally and internationally, and art and artists who are significant in the art world and who shape the 'art agenda'. Perhaps suggesting an interest in less widely known cutting edge contemporary artists who are setting taste and trends, resonating with the Gallery's understanding of the role of

¹⁸⁴ However, this change in perception was only seen in Vanguard and Complete Culture. The Outdoor Culture segments largely said the art is not for them, and they wouldn't want to come again or recommend to others. Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, presented by Muse, The Hepworth Wakefield, 7 July 2015.

¹⁸⁵ Muse, 'The Hepworth Wakefield: Full Segmentation', slide 226.

the Calder exhibition space; and artists who are acclaimed in the art world, whose credentials are firmly established and possibly widely known and recognised.¹⁸⁶

Either way, through the selection of these motivating statements, there was an explicit recognition and identification with the notions of art, architecture, art world, taste (taste making), recognition, acclaim, world class, and so on. And, as such, these are the concerns that the Hepworth needs to accommodate for, as these Vanguard Culture and Compete Culture segments are the agreed focus of the Gallery's activity by Muse and the Gallery's Senior Management Team.

But what does this mean for the people who do not fall into these segments? This was a recurring question raised during the project briefings and feedback sessions. This question was particularly felt in the Learning Team, and I joined their staff meeting with Muse, as part of the supplementary sessions being held for each department. There was a palpable sense of unease, and questions raised during this session reflected this uncertainty regarding the relation of the Gallery's two key segments, and the work, and remit, of the Learning Team. It was felt that the two key segments did not speak to or for most of the audiences that Learning engaged, so did that mean the Team were no longer going to work with audiences that were not Vanguard and Complete Culture? What did this mean for certain priority audiences from Wakefield Council and the Arts Council, regarding targets for engaging with BME audiences, people who are not currently engaged in the arts, and people from

¹⁸⁶ 'At a content level more well known artists hold far higher appeal and so an exhibition(s) focusing on a well known artist(s) will have greater success in driving visitor numbers' (Muse, 'Segmentation and local non visitor findings', unpublished PowerPoint, June 2015, slide 73). The artists who were found to be most appealing, from a selection of planned and possible upcoming exhibitions at Gallery, were David Hockney: 89% and Barbara Hepworth: 87%. The least appealing was found to be Des Hughes, at 24%, the artist whose exhibition formed the basis of our discussion in Chapter 2 (Muse, 'Segmentation and local non visitor findings', slide 71).

certain socio economic and/or geographic areas? As was raised in the staff briefing at the presentation of the segment personas: everyone in the pictures to represent the segments is white!¹⁸⁷

It is worth including here an extract from my field notes at the time, which capture a sense of the feeling of Learning Team (I had only recently finished my role as Adult Learning Programme Assistant), and their reservations regarding the audience segmentation results:

There is a predominant sense of a marginalised Learning Team that are working with audiences who aren't inside the universe. It feels like there is uncertainty around the position of Learning audiences in the strategic plan for the Gallery. What, and who, we think is important is not reflected in the segments that have been constructed. Does that mean that those audiences which do not fit into the segments are not important? How/where do they sit? Will they be considered? It feels like there is a separation between audience segmentation and audience development in the eyes of the organisation. 'Hard to reach' is seen as audience development, which is considered as a separate thing to the audience segmentation project which is currently taking place. Like there is a recognition that you [The Hepworth Wakefield] will not get the return on your investment with 'Learning' audiences, predominantly a financial return and also in terms of visitor figures, so there is no point in putting as much effort in to trying to understand them as your core, existing audiences, which you have a credible chance of building upon and turning into repeat visitors. Which I'm not saying isn't extremely important and an incredibly relevant and necessary thing to do. But, it needs to be made clear how the segmented

¹⁸⁷ Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, The Hepworth Wakefield, 3 March 2015.

*audiences sit alongside those other audiences that we already work with (or hope to work with). It will be a different way of thinking and measuring success.*¹⁸⁸

This concern for the lack of visibility of certain local (non-arts engaged) audiences who did not fall into the Vanguard Culture and Complete Culture segments was shared by a Wakefield Councillor. They suggested that although they ‘completely understood’ the strategy proposed by Muse and the Galley, there was a ‘danger’ of ‘ignoring’ local audiences. And, in terms of the Gallery satisfying the Council’s agendas, as was set out in Chapter 3, the Council have ‘got to see a turn, an up-turn, and they need to show a demonstrable impact on local people’.¹⁸⁹ He went on to explain:

there was nothing in that work that then also said how they were going to get to the family audiences, the family audiences are going to be more than likely local people. So one of my challenges, and I haven’t had this conversation with them yet, but I probably will at some point, is that it’s alright going for that motivated, culture, arts engaged people – I understand that, because, let’s face it, they’re the high spenders as well, so they’re more likely to spend in the shop or this that and the other, or stay in the area – but, I think one of the conversations I will be having with them is developing much clearer communications and marketing strategy for local people [who aren’t necessary those arts engaged].¹⁹⁰

This, again, points to a tension between the importance of arts engaged audiences and a sense of responsibility to local communities. That is to say, a perceived tension in the ambition to target and focus effort of the Gallery on art programming and exhibitions that speak to arts engaged interests: art world, high art, excellence, world class; and working to broaden and diversify audiences, to encourage visits and

¹⁸⁸ Field notes from a Learning Team Meeting, The Hepworth Wakefield, 4 March 2015, responding to Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, The Hepworth Wakefield, 3 March 2015.

¹⁸⁹ Member of Wakefield District Council, unpublished interview with Author, Wakefield One, 23 October 2015.

¹⁹⁰ Member of Wakefield District Council, unpublished interview with Author, Wakefield One, 23 October 2015.

participation for those who are not currently engaged in the arts, in line with the role and responsibility of a publicly funded institution to the public who funds it. This tension is recognised by the Gallery. John Holden, a trustee of the Hepworth, explicitly spoke to this tension:

I think there are particular worries about the tension between keeping visitor numbers high and therefore wanting to attract the audience which is the easiest segment to attract. In other words, either young urban hipsters who are reasonably well off, or older people with time on their hands who are interested in the arts and who are also reasonably well off. All galleries around the country face this, the Hepworth is no exception, there is a natural constituency who come to visit you because they are interested. Within that natural constituency there are people who have never heard about you, so the easiest way to increase numbers is to go for those kinds of groups. But they are not necessarily the people you want to go for most, because you have a public role, and public duty as a funded organisation to extend the audience.¹⁹¹

Marriott too was open about the struggle for the organisation regarding this issue: How could the Gallery ‘best use our reserves’, be ‘more entrepreneurial’, yet also face up to ‘public funding issues’? She stated that ‘we are a charity so we will always continue to work with audience who do not think we are for them’, but, the Gallery also had to ‘think about generating more income as well as continuing to meet their aims’, public and charity aims, and there was a conundrum in how the Gallery is going to meet both.¹⁹²

So what were the immediate decisions and action points following the presentation of the full audience segmentation? According to Muse, the Hepworth’s visitors already had very high levels of satisfaction. In fact, satisfaction levels were the highest of a lot of cultural organisations they had worked with. From their

¹⁹¹ John Holden, Trustee of The Hepworth Wakefield, unpublished interview with Author, via Skype, 4 November 2015.

¹⁹² Jane Marriott, speaking at a meeting with cultural, business and council partners across Wakefield to share findings from Audience Segmentation Research, The Hepworth Wakefield, 21 September 2015.

audience research nothing about the intrinsic offer was critiqued to a significant degree. Yet the key factor remained that the Gallery was experiencing declining visitor numbers. Therefore, Muse recommended that budget should be moved away from plans that were peripheral to actions that were going to improve profile and make a big difference.¹⁹³ Everything should be focused on the central aim of increasing visitor figures and revenue. As such, Muse's proposed key actions were as follows: to target Vanguard and Complete Culture segments who are located within one hour drive of the Gallery; to greatly increase the local profile of the Gallery; and, to communicate the appeal of the venue and the exhibits using the strapline: 'exceptional art in an exceptional place'.¹⁹⁴ They also asserted that the scale of change required should not be underestimated, but this should be seen as an opportunity and not a threat. The Gallery did see significant organisational change, certainly in terms of its staff structure. A key shift was the creation of a programming 'umbrella', under which Collections and Exhibitions, Learning and Public Programme were brought together, under the direction of one person.¹⁹⁵

Following the presentation of Muse's proposals, a 'framework', for the Gallery's next steps was created and circulated to all staff via email. The framework was set out as 'THW Audience Development Priorities based on MUSE research', and encompassed four areas of activity.¹⁹⁶ Firstly, the production of 'Generic Communications campaigns' to focus on priority targets within one hour drive time, utilising Muse's strapline 'exceptional art in an exceptional building'. This saw

¹⁹³ Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, presented by Muse, The Hepworth Wakefield, 7 July 2015.

¹⁹⁴ Staff Audience Segmentation Briefing, presented by Muse, The Hepworth Wakefield, 7 July 2015.

¹⁹⁵ Perhaps not a direct *result* of Muse research, the restructuring certainly took place at the same time – informed by the research findings.

¹⁹⁶ Email correspondence to all staff at The Hepworth Wakefield, 4 August 2015.

posters solely with the image of the Gallery with the strapline pasted across it (as we saw in Chapter 3, p. 152); as well the continual reiteration of this phrase on print and copy through the Gallery's website, exhibition print materials and so on. Secondly, to increase the Public Programme, specifically focusing on the introduction of a regular programme of weekend events each year, alternating between Print Fairs, Xmas Fairs, which had already been delivered with huge success (for which read very high footfall), as well as Partner events with projects such as Huddersfield Music and also exhibition related activities. These large scale events, making use of the vast open space of The Calder, continue to big draws. Now also encompassing events such as craft and summer fairs, the combination of retail led activity with street food vans and, occasionally, other forms of entertainment such as music and workshops, seems to be a winner for hitting the targets of increasing revenues and footfall. Thirdly, the development of the wider riverside site, including the Garden project, Mill Buildings, courtyard and river. As explored in Chapter 3, this is more of a longer-term development, which requires the securing of funding for the realisation of the Garden Project, and, waiting for Tileyard to start development of the Victorian mills into the thriving cultural complex that it promises to be. And, fourthly, to 'promote Wakefield', by working with 'local partners, outreach and tourism to change perceptions of Wakefield'. This saw the inviting of local partners to the Gallery to discuss the findings of the research. Here Marriott was clear with the invited guests, stating that what the Gallery cannot do by itself is change the perceptions of Wakefield. That they 'cannot change impression of Wakefield by ourselves, that's why you're invited to start that conversation to figure out how to

work collectively'.¹⁹⁷ I came across an interesting turn of phrase which summed up the organisation's ambitions for the changing perceptions of Wakefield, to 'Make Wakefield the Brooklyn to Leeds' New York'.¹⁹⁸

Fast forward to 2017 and The Hepworth Wakefield has become the proud recipient of the Art Fund's Museum of the Year Award. Not only does this accolade come with £100,000 prize money, but brings with it press coverage on national, perhaps international, platforms that go way beyond a gallery's typical media budget. The Director of the Art Fund and chair of the judging panel, Stephen Deuchar, described the Gallery as 'the museum everyone would dream of having on their doorstep'.¹⁹⁹ Dechuar went to state that 'The Hepworth Wakefield was a powerful force of energy from the moment it opened in 2011, but it has just kept growing in reach and impact ever since'. Citing its new prize for sculpture, inaugurated in 2016, as earning it 'instant national status', Dechuar also highlighted the Stanley Spencer and Martin Parr retrospectives as 'Breath-taking' exhibitions.²⁰⁰ Dechaur also asserted that the Hepworth's success was also due to its commitment to local audiences, that it 'serves its local community with unfailing flair and dedication and contributes centrally to regional tourism too', citing the key revelation that the Gallery brought '210,275 visitors in 2016, up 21% on the previous year'.²⁰¹ Perhaps this indicates that the action taken by the Hepworth following, and drawing on, Muse's research was a success. Muse certainly think so. A blog on Muse's website

¹⁹⁷ Jane Marriott, speaking at a meeting with cultural, business and council partners across Wakefield to share findings from Audience Segmentation Research, The Hepworth Wakefield, 21 September 2015.

¹⁹⁸ The Hepworth Wakefield, 'Implementation Plan Document', unpublished document, July 2015.

¹⁹⁹ Brown.

²⁰⁰ Brown.

²⁰¹ Brown.

celebrates the Hepworth's triumph, and sets out what the company did to help them achieve it, they state:

With insight into the target audience and understanding of the barriers to visiting, we did some Consumer Engagement Planning with the client, resulting in a radical change to communications (including stopping advertising in the Guardian Guide, considered by many in the sector to be a 'must have' medium.) Instead we proposed a technique that we call 'Surrounding the Consumer', in which the brand makes itself as omnipresent as possible in the day to day lives of the target audience.

The work also affected programming decisions, leading to the Martin Parr and Stanley Spencer exhibitions that the Art Fund article above refers to. And The Hepworth Wakefield tell us that they can see the nature of their visitors changing, to reflect their target segments.

And from decline, their visitor numbers have grown 21%.

And so well deserved congratulations to our impressive client. Evidence that *'Fortune favours the brave'*. (Brave in implementation we mean, not brave in working with us!).²⁰² [Emphasis theirs]

Yet, is the Hepworth's victory complete? We saw that their journey was fraught with tensions, tensions in the practice of the national and the local. Tensions in the need to focus on Vanguard and Complete Culture segments, but also fulfil a responsibility to local communities. What does it mean for a gallery to be (inter)national in its remit, and also serving a local 'community' with flair and dedication? What, indeed, is a national museum? What do such things mean if Vanguard and Complete Culture segments emotional closeness can be to cities half way around the world rather than 10 minutes down the road? What can (inter)national museums be in these new times of conceptualising self and place, and self in relation to place?

²⁰² 'Congratulations!', blog post, 12 July 2017, Muse website
<<http://musestrategy.com/congratulations/>> [accessed 10 September 2017].

The (Inter)national Museum: Cosmopolitanism in a Post-nation-state Era?

It is important to note the significant contemporary shifts in the very nature and meaning of nations, as well as other such universal notions as community, citizenship, belonging, and so on.²⁰³ Much has been said on the development and effect of ‘globalisation’, and the associated notions of a more fluid, plural, multicultural and cosmopolitan relation to place, where bounded and more rigidly defined national narratives tend to contradict this more relational understanding. Brian Graham *et al.* argue that within the field of heritage, despite these globalising developments the ‘pre-eminent’ ‘definition and management of heritage’ remains at the national scale.²⁰⁴ Yet, the postmodern resistance to the homogenising national meta-narratives has seen awareness, and increasing employment of ‘fluidity, plurality, heterogeneity and multiple socially constructed identities and meanings’ within heritage, museum and gallery practices.²⁰⁵ Resonating with these ideas, Sharon Macdonald questioned whether the universal survey type museums discussed above are too ‘old’ to respond to these new types of identity formation that she terms post-national or ‘post-nation-statist’.²⁰⁶ That is to say, their treatment of the nation state as a place bound, rooted and homogenized entity, and so too the ‘public’ associated with it or constructed by it, does not sit well with the development of late modernity or postmodernism.²⁰⁷ Macdonald goes on to say that ultimately (some)

²⁰³ ‘In Britain, however, research studies around nationality, citizenship and community cohesion have struggled to identify “common values” and what constitutes “belonging”’, Gilchrist, *The Well-Connected Community*, p. 7.

²⁰⁴ Graham *et al.*, p. 75.

²⁰⁵ Graham *et al.*, p. 75.

²⁰⁶ Macdonald, ‘Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities’, p. 1.

²⁰⁷ Macdonald also explores the problems of this kind of radical transformation argument.

museums are beginning, or are attempting, to situate themselves as post-national, and *transcultural* institutions as a way to articulate ‘new, postnational and transcultural identities in late modernity or the second modern age’.²⁰⁸ Macdonald cites the transcultural exhibitions at Bradford’s Cartwright Hall to evidence her argument. She describes the relationship between Bradford’s Indo-Pakistan community and the building of a collection by curator Nima Poovaya Smith, to reflect and ‘articulate a *plural, multicultural, identity*’; rather than continuing or reinforcing binary notions of white/Asian, British/Indo-Pakistan.²⁰⁹ Despite this transcultural, translocal process being enacted within and through the space of Cartwright Hall and its artworks, Macdonald also highlights the danger of trying to represent transcultural identities without falling into the trap of ‘freezing’ or fixing them in time and space, the very thing which they are trying to deconstruct.²¹⁰

We are now seeing a forceful return to national identity in politics in a number of nations across Europe as well as in America. Events such as Brexit, Scotland’s devolution and continuing campaign for independence, the election of Donald Trump and political slogans such as ‘America First’, see the return to an increasingly parochial and nationalistic view. What is crucial to understand, and as Massey explains in *For Space*, is that these particular ways of understanding space are not natural or neutral, they are constructed, or as Massey describes, part of ‘a project’.²¹¹ Citing Bill Clinton’s famous speech regarding the natural and inevitable

²⁰⁸ Macdonald, ‘Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities’, p. 1.

²⁰⁹ Macdonald, ‘Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities’, p. 7. See also Nima Poovaya Smith, ‘Keys to the Magic Kingdom: The New Transcultural Collections of Bradford Art Galleries and Museums’, in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Museum*, ed. by Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 111-125.

²¹⁰ Macdonald, ‘Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities’, p. 10.

²¹¹ Massey, *For Space*, p. 5.

nature of globalisation as something that cannot be resisted, much as we cannot resist the forces of gravity, Massey asserts that this is, in fact, a project with purpose, constructed ‘to persuade us that there is no alternative’.²¹² These ways of conceptualising the world spatially are not descriptions of some sort of material reality, but a production of a particular (and purposeful) image which is made by those in power: ‘This is not a description of the world as it is so much an image in which the world is being made’.²¹³

Continuing with this theme of accounting for the construction and complexity of ‘national’ in the national museum, Rhiannon Mason’s response to Macdonald’s article discussed above is a useful approach when considering the art museum alongside theories of postnationalism and cosmopolitanism.²¹⁴ Mason asserts that the questions Macdonald raised are still pertinent some 10 years on. Namely, how do national museums contend with the failure of the nineteenth century museum project and a post-national, post-colonial, global, cosmopolitan context (and new identity politics and social theory related to late modernity)? Mason, however, proposes that the call to move ‘beyond’ the national museum is flawed.²¹⁵ According to Mason, merely stating that national museums are out of step with globalization or ‘contemporary globalized societies’ is an oversimplification, based on a misunderstanding of the concepts of nationalism, globalisation, cosmopolitanism, and localism.²¹⁶ She argues that these concepts are not separate, nor should they be treated as such, but rather they should be understood as ‘always enmeshed and co-

²¹² Massey, *For Space*, p. 5.

²¹³ Massey, *For Space*, p. 5.

²¹⁴ Mason.

²¹⁵ Mason, p. 41.

²¹⁶ Mason, p. 41.

constitutive'.²¹⁷ Thus, it is not about moving 'beyond the museum', or refuting categorisations of local/universal and so on, rather we should recognise the museum as constellations of cultures, materials and practices:

Instead of categorizing museums as either national, supranational, transnational, or universal at an institutional level or alternatively calling for a move 'beyond the museum', I propose therefore that it is more fruitful to recognize that national museums operate as clusters of cultural practices and constellations of material culture comprising many different intersecting ontological scales.²¹⁸

This, of course, relates to ideas of complexity – raised in Chapter 1 and explored throughout this thesis – namely how the museum may make sense of, and represent, the complexity of contemporary life. This is the challenge that Mason recognises for 'Europe's national museums (and with which many of them are already engaged)'.²¹⁹ The challenge of 'how to recognize, display, and interpret the contemporary complexities of identities, cultures, and histories in ways that are intelligible, engaging, and resonant with contemporary museum audiences'.²²⁰ Her paper contends that the theoretical framework of cosmopolitanism is a useful approach to do just that, and she presents two case studies which show the potential for her concept of 'cosmopolitan museology'. In so doing Mason considers the following questions: is it possible to 'rework' objects once used to tell a national story to tell a cosmopolitan one?²²¹ Can objects co-opted in the nineteenth century to tell a unified national narrative instead tell something of their longer history?²²² Can objects and spaces in the museum be 'rescripted' through new approaches to interpretation

²¹⁷ Mason, Abstract.

²¹⁸ Mason, p. 41.

²¹⁹ Mason, p. 42.

²²⁰ Mason, p. 42.

²²¹ Mason, p. 46.

²²² Mason, p. 47.

display etc., and should they?²²³ How ‘amenable’ are museums to representing, and/or working with and through complexity, rather than continuing to present settled national narrative?²²⁴

It is pertinent to recount one of Mason’s case studies here, as it has particular resonances with – and influence on – the work undertaken in this thesis. ‘The National Museum of Scotland: Reconciling Diversity and Unity?’ takes a close look at the Lewis Chessmen exhibit in the National Museum of Scotland, an exhibit which plays an important role in and for its national story.²²⁵ Located in *Kingdom of the Scots*, a section of the museum which ‘focuses on telling the formative moment in Scotland’s history’, Mason agrees that such an exhibition is expected to be ‘an overtly nation-building account, and ostensibly it is’, however, by looking more closely at the objects contained within the display, this account of nationalism and national unity can be ‘complicate[d]’.²²⁶ By tracing the histories (and journeys) of the Chessmen, we see that they are truly global, globalized, and transnational (with connections to Norway, Ireland, India, Islamic culture, Vikings, Norse mythology, to name a few); yet they also have very particular local meaning(s), and political contentions, within and across their place in the (National) Museum of Scotland, the British Museum (who originally acquired the pieces), and where the hoard itself was found (Isle of Lewis, which has its own local museum). The Chessmen – like many of the (colonial) objects in national museums – clearly trouble the simple notion of a ‘national’ object in a ‘national’ museum.

The Lewis Chessmen therefore illustrate the complex interweaving of local, national, and global heritages and identities that can be found in so many

²²³ Mason, p. 47.

²²⁴ Mason, p. 47.

²²⁵ Mason, pp. 47-52.

²²⁶ Mason, p. 48.

museums, particularly where collections concern trade, migration, colonization and empire. In this respect, it is clear that to describe a museum and all it comprises as simply 'national' is to oversimplify the situation. Certainly, at the institutional level expressions of traditional nation building can be discerned in the National Museum of Scotland, but at the level of individual objects there are innumerable examples that exceed and complicate the national story.²²⁷

Objects can be mobilised in different ways to tell different (sometimes competing) stories. Through Mason's example we saw moments of disruption to the national narrative within the display of *Kingdom of Scotland* (for example, through the acknowledgement of the Nordic heritage of the Chessmen), however, the 'top level' text interpretation settled these disruptions. The transnational and diverse nature of the Chessmen were settled into unity and a unified Scottish narrative: 'The dominant message from a display perspective is about how diversity is turned into national unity'.²²⁸ This desire for unity and the settling of difference was encountered in the Hepworth and its Des Hughes exhibition. Here children's ('local', 'community', 'amateur', 'outreach') art works were represented in the 'proper' gallery spaces, yet also contained (excused and settled by the interpretation text) within the dominant narrative of modern (and in this case) contemporary British art.

This, again, is about the capacity, and potential, for museums (or art galleries), their exhibitions and the objects they contain, to hold together certain (often conflicting) ideas in tension. In the case of the National Museum of Scotland,

the Kingdom of the Scots display can be understood in terms of the tension between stories of transnational cultural exchange and networks of global interaction that these premodern objects themselves offer up and the interpretive, overarching framework of the display that pulls the intended visitor toward a modern understanding of how the world is organized into nation-states.²²⁹

²²⁷ Mason, p. 50.

²²⁸ Mason, p. 51.

²²⁹ Mason, p. 51.

Yet are the visitors encouraged to reflect on such tensions? To reflect on the ‘push and pull’ of ‘unity and diversity’ inherent in the ‘processes of nation formation’?²³⁰ Mason argues that it is possible for museums to take a ‘lateral and layered approach’, and make connections to different times and places.²³¹

Following the logic of both/and rather than either/or, the interpretation could adopt a polyvocal approach and foreground the multiplicity and interconnectedness of histories and peoples. With new forms of digital interpretation and the ability to connect physically distinct collections by means of transnational digitized resources, new possibilities for realizing more pluralistic and self-reflexive, cosmopolitan approaches to interpretation are emerging all the time. In our present time, when relations between European and Islamic cultures are often characterized in the media and politics as irreconcilable, the Lewis Chessmen and their Arabic counterparts have a powerful story to tell.²³²

Emphasising a ‘plurality of views’,²³³ and holding on to complexity, makes it possible ‘to set up a deliberate tension between the museum’s interpretation and the cultural objects to call ideas of nationalism into question’ – or, as we have seen, other related ideas of local and (inter)national, community and art world.²³⁴

However, It is also important to note that this plurality has its own challenges:

Cosmopolitanism’s emphasis upon plurality of views—some of which may be in conflict with one another—leads us to the second question about limits. Would a cosmopolitan approach to museology therefore mean that all views should be equally welcome in the museum space, or even treated with parity?²³⁵

²³⁰ Mason, p. 51.

²³¹ Mason, p. 52.

²³² Mason, p. 52.

²³³ Mason, p. 59.

²³⁴ Mason, p. 60.

²³⁵ Mason, p. 59.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the notion of ‘audience’ as an ontological given, that can be identified, categorised and articulated without question ‘needs to be reconsidered’.²³⁶ Identities and terms chosen to represent a given audience are not only contingent upon the social, cultural, political conditions of a specific conjuncture, but they are subject to re-interpretation and fluctuation in meaning temporally, spatially, and subjectively. Suffice to say, whenever we use the terms ‘audience’, or ‘institution’ for that matter, their selection and meaning cannot be taken for granted. Whatever models may be applied, it is important to recognise the subtle meanings behind the terms we chose to articulate ‘audience’ – whether it be ‘public’, ‘consumer’, ‘community’, ‘audience’, ‘core’, ‘niche’, ‘customer’, ‘Vanguard Culture’ or ‘Complete Culture’ and so on, and how their agency and significance may vary in each particular context.

The use of different classification schemes, or audience segmentation models, creates opportunities for action through being able to conceptualise and therefore do. As we saw from the example at the Hepworth, organisations can invest huge amounts of time and energy in such schemes. The simplifications undertaken by Muse could have been said to have significant gains (Muse certainly articulated them as such); including the turning around of fortunes from steeply declining visitor figures to a 21% rise, followed by the accolade of winning Museum of the Year 2017. But there are also losses in the processes of translating the complexity of ‘audience’ in to the simplifications of Vanguard and Complete Culture. It cannot be

²³⁶ Glenn D. Lowry, ‘A Deontological Approach to Art Museums and the Public Trust’, in *Whose Muse? Art Museums and the Public Trust*, ed. by James Cuno (Princeton, N.J.; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 129-149 (p. 146).

denied that these processes are fraught with tension regarding who is, and concurrently who is not, included in the Gallery's priority segments. Although these dominant ideas of 'audience' are challenged and disrupted by different types of audiences being actively sought by some agents within the Gallery (such vulnerable young people, community, family, non-arts engaged), these challenges/disruptions are relatively small – overall they have less agency and less durability.

In the assemblage of the Hepworth during the Howard Hodgkin exhibition, other narratives of India, like Ratnam's, were also lacking agency. The materials, ideas, activities and affects gathered at that moment, particularly during the private view, confirmed the narrative of India (or, for Ratnam, South Asia) as decorative backdrop/inspiration for white Western cultural activity. This worked both in the first instance (and different space-time) of providing the inspiration for Hodgkin's paintings, and then in the second instance of the aesthetic background (said paintings) and entertainment (Indian food, music and dancing) at the (not very diverse) private view. Thus, galleries are always in a process of becoming dependent on people's experiences of them. Multiple experiences and understandings of the Hepworth exist simultaneously, sometimes they may be complementary and co-constitutive, or, as in the case of Ratnam's experience, they may very much contradict and work against each other.

This chapter also considered shifting notions of what it means to be an (inter)national museum, alongside new ways of thinking 'national' or nation-state in itself. In the practice of attempting to understand museums and their audiences, we must consider new forms of identities and identity construction, including the

postnational and transcultural,²³⁷ drawing on work foregrounding the relational nature of space and the importance of attending to connections.²³⁸ Sharon Macdonald highlighted the work of Nima Poovaya Smith at Cartwright Hall, where ‘[t]he shift to a more transcultural approach was a significant attempt to move beyond mere “inclusion” and avoid the zoological representation of cultures’.²³⁹ Ambitions to be inclusive of ‘other’ cultures (itself a problematic statement), runs a ‘risk’, according to Macdonald, ‘that the museal logic of culture would act to reify South-Asian culture as an exotic “other” presence within the galleries’; which could be likened to the effect of the Howard Hodgkin private view, and to a certain extent, the school children’s work in Chapter 2.²⁴⁰

Cosmopolitanism is an interesting term which is frequently invoked as a way to overcome such issues. Often taken as inherently positive, actually what cosmopolitanism is, or is understood to be, varies significantly. A ‘key feature’ generally agreed is an ‘openness to difference’;²⁴¹ and Macdonald cites the work of Nina Glick-Schiller *et al.* in pointing out that openness is often understood as a binary – openness as opposed to closedness – where openness entails ‘some kind of celebration of difference’.²⁴² Glick-Schiller *et al.* instead argue for a ‘focus on “daily cosmopolitanism”’, understood in terms of “relationalities of openness *across* differences”, in which people are seen “as capable of relationships of experiential commonalities *despite* differences” [my emphasis].²⁴³ Attention should be paid to

²³⁷ Macdonald, ‘Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities’.

²³⁸ Massey, *For Space*; Latour, *Reassembling the Social*.

²³⁹ Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 177.

²⁴⁰ Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 176.

²⁴¹ Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 191.

²⁴² Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 191.

²⁴³ Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 191.

the subtleties of the everyday practice of cosmopolitanism, (where binaries of open/closed may still be invoked). This is the importance of situated action – attending to how things work in practice. Macdonald’s research found that ‘while cosmopolitan aspirations worked well when safely removed from their specific context – i.e. when “the Holocaust” operated as a generalizable case of the perpetration of evil – they could founder when reinserted into *Realpolitik*’.²⁴⁴ As such, situated action allows us to interrogate what happens to rhetoric in practice, and what are the gains and losses in each instance. For example, what will happen with Leeds 2023/Culture Strategy (Chapter 3) and their ambition to celebrate multiplicities of the city, to tell all of its stories, rather than *a* coherent Story of Leeds? To co-create culture and culture strategies with *all* Leeds communities seems to have been successful in the creation of the draft culture strategy, but what happens next, when the rhetoric is ‘reinserted into *Realpolitik*’? This, we are yet to discover, but what I hope to have demonstrated thus far is the usefulness of exploring the practices and processes that form the assemblage of *The Hepworth Wakefield*, the situated action of how negotiations between international/global, local are constructed and enacted within the spaces of that particular Gallery, during these particular moments.

²⁴⁴ Macdonald, *Memorylands*, p. 205.

Conclusion: Situated Action and the Assemblage of *The Hepworth Wakefield*

This thesis has been concerned with exploring the tensions between the international and national responsibilities and ambitions of an art gallery, the Hepworth Wakefield, and its local audiences. An art gallery which, on the one hand, is very much positioned at the forefront of national and international art; shows art work and artists of a particular standard that are be understood to be of excellence and/or at the cutting edge of contemporary practice; and, has recently been awarded Museum of the Year 2017. On the other hand, it is a Gallery which has a particular responsibility to its local audiences; a responsibility to the people who immediately surround the Gallery and form its local community, the people for whom Wakefield Council's funding stipulations expect the Gallery to do certain things with and for. As such, this thesis has explored the construction of such scaled conceptualisations of the Gallery, regarding its roles and responsibilities; and, how these roles play out in the day to day practice of the organisation. It has probed how we may encounter the local and (inter)national in the spaces of the Gallery; if these concepts have to be conflicting/mutually exclusive; and considered if alternative trajectories are possible. By exploring materiality and spatiality (assemblages, networks, topologies, folded spaces and practices) this thesis has sought to unpick binary and hierarchised thinking and practice, and to explore the possible alternatives of working with and through complexity both for practice (museum professionals) and theory (the discourse of museum studies).

We began with David C. Harvey's call for scholars to pay greater attention to the work that scale *does* in heritage and heritage studies. Setting out developments in the thinking and practice of scale, space, and place over time and across disciplines; we then saw how these concepts were crucial in the thinking and practice of The Hepworth Wakefield. Through my own day-to-day experiences working at the Gallery, alongside research encounters with staff and stakeholders during the fieldwork, it became clear that within the thinking and practice of the organisation a fundamental binary conception of local community in contrast to international artworld persisted. This local and (inter)national binary related to scaled conceptualisations of place and identity, both of *The Hepworth Wakefield* and its audience(s). This was frequently manifested in a (perceived) tension between the (perceived) dual role of the Gallery, the tension and interplay between the desire for significance on the international artworld stage, alongside the responsibility to local communities that immediately surround the Gallery's location in Wakefield. By drawing on the work of scholars utilising spatial developments in geography (Massey), STS, ANT, (post)ANT, (Law, Latour, Hetherington), complexity (Haraway, Strathern, Mol, Law) and assemblage (McDonald, Latour), we saw that there are alternatives to such binary and hierarchised thinking. For example, an assemblage perspective which draws on these more progressive approaches to understanding place, along with ideas of complex topologies and heterogeneous material networks, refuses any definition between such binaries of the local and the (inter)national, the abstract and the concrete. However, this refusal moves beyond the traditional approach of merely striving for common understanding, endeavouring instead to hold on to multiple realities. Although we have been seeking a more

progressive sense of place – to move beyond the binary and bounded thinking of ‘not local but global’ (see Chapter 1), we must also acknowledge the visitors (individuals) reliance on such frames of reference to make sense of their day-day-to-day lives. Thus, it is about working with these alternative trajectories and more progressive methods, without denying or belittling an individual’s day-to-day world making practices. Hence the assertion to hold onto multiple realities without settling, unifying or disavowing them.¹

Chapter 2 demonstrated this with an exploration of the complex topological space of The Hepworth; the contingency, connections, materiality and representations in its spaces. By employing an approach which considered material semiotics and spatiality we recognised the complexity of The Hepworth Wakefield as a heterogeneous web of the social, material, political, spatial and geographical. This approach allowed us to explore the Gallery’s multiple realities of ‘local’ and ‘community’ as well as ‘international’ and ‘art world’, that in the practice of the organisation are often taken as essential and at odds. In a journey around the spaces of the Hepworth we considered the relations between the Euclidean space of the Gallery, the space as a volume with objects distributed within it; the discursive space

¹ See, for example, Whitehead, Mason, Eckersley and Lloyd: ‘While both theorists and museum practitioners may seek to emphasize the fluid nature of identity and the constructed nature of place, within individuals’ daily lives the desire to hold a fixed understanding of place may provide a sense of pride, stability and coherence in their identity narratives. This may run counter to the “connective” and transgeographical work encountered in museums that have taken a global history approach [...]. This work enables multi-geographical perspectives that constructively open up, problematize and render the complexity of place identities, identity objects and place histories, potentially contributing to the development of the kind of “extroverted” and “progressive” sense of place championed by Doreen Massey [see ‘A Global Sense of Place’]. But, as Massey herself points out, “there is the need to face up to – rather than simply deny – people’s need for attachment of some sort, whether through place or anything else” [‘A Global Sense of Place’, p. 26]. In addition, visitors may resist museum interpretations that stress the connections and commonalities between places, for such ideas may undermine the feelings of pride and comfort visitors experience when focusing on the unique and distinctive aspects of place in the face of globalization and perceived homogenization’, Whitehead, Mason, Eckersley and Lloyd, ‘Place, Identity and Migration and European Museums’, p. 49.

of the Gallery, of modern and contemporary art and art world discourse; and, most critically, the Gallery's complex folded space, using the example of *Des Hughes* exhibition, with its ruptures and folds. Exploring these different modes of attending to space allowed us to consider how the simple may (productively) coexist with the complex, to trouble dichotomies of simple *versus* complex, and to pay attention to the gains and losses of simplifications and complexities in each instance.²

The folds we encountered in *Des Hughes* were complex. In some ways, the exhibition reaffirms the discourse of place, and the notions of Wakefield and Yorkshire as local place, however, it simultaneously disrupts the dominant discourse of modernist art aesthetic and the highly abstract aestheticised notions of place. This is where the inherent tensions lie in the perceived binary between these notions of local place and international place. In day-to-day practice we cannot easily appreciate this more complex topological approach to thinking of these concepts, leading to the perpetuation in the sense of hierarchised binary between the two. When, in fact, it isn't either/or, but both/ and, or rather 'and..., and..., and...', folded in to the discourse of the space, within its heterogeneous material network. Although we acknowledged that the Gallery was many things simultaneously – 'community' *and* 'high art' – we also discovered that agency was not necessarily evenly distributed between them. Within the shifting configurations that construct *The Hepworth Wakefield*, some actants are rendered more or less powerful than others, and some concepts and approaches to practice gain more or less traction.³

The construction of the place of the Gallery was then explored in Chapter 3. Here we saw that Wakefield Council's understanding of place (Wakefield) is deeply

² Law and Mol, 'Complexities', pp. 16-17.

³ Griswold *et al.*, p. 347.

scaled, and that culture and heritage are very much used as tools in the process of identity formation of this place, which are then expected to perform locally, nationally and internationally. As part of the exploration of the Council's production of place and the process of producing inscriptions of the world on to paper, we considered the notions of the abstract and concrete, the relationship and tensions between abstract conceptualisations of place (and people) and its material reality. In the case of the Hepworth, a key expression of this abstract/concrete dilemma was the concern for abstract theorising regarding its audience, in contrast to experiences, encounters and the lived reality of the people who do (or do not) visit the Gallery. These concerns translated into a desire for clarity, for more and better knowledge of the place and people who form the Hepworth's audience(s), both existing and potential. Although binary thinking existed in the organisation, as perceived by staff at the time, it is better to understand this as different ideas, concepts, and ways of seeing the world operating at different intensities at different moments. Drawing on Annemarie Mol's approach of recognising different connectivities and different understandings of same material object but with different ontological entities (different realities), we were able to unpick the co-existence of multiple realities and understandings of what the Gallery is and whom it is doing it for, which, in turn, allows the Gallery to keep operating. This is about world making practices. Everything – people, technology, social relations and so on – constantly refine, (re)produce, and shift what these realities are. As such, places should be understood as points of intersection in a network of social relations, movements and communications, thus engendering a sense of place which is conscious of its links to a much wider context than more traditional bounded notions of place allow.

Instead then, of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings. And this in turn allows a sense of place which is extra-verted, *which includes a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local.*⁴ [my emphasis]

This is what should be sought in the knowledge and practice in the Gallery, as well as in our own approach in attempting to know the knowledge and practice of the institution. For a deeper, more rounded understanding, it is necessary to be conscious of the links, and to move beyond binary or counterpositional thinking towards positive integration of ‘local’ and ‘international’. An example of practice which showed potential, or at least ambition, for more positive integration of local and international was the Leeds 2023 bid. Here, the bid team and Leeds City Council state their aim is to acknowledge and also celebrate the city’s multiplicities and differences and to be ‘100% local and 100% international’, an alternative way of thinking and doing the local and the (inter)national.⁵

Chapter 4 showed that the notion of ‘audience’ as an ontological given, that can be identified, categorised and articulated without question ‘needs to be reconsidered’.⁶ Rather it is crucial to acknowledge that any approach to categorising or identifying audience is socially constructed. We explored in some detail the Hepworth’s work with Muse to produce their own bespoke audience segmentation model, the processes of simplifications undertaken to attempt to know their audience ‘better’, and, the series of (political) choices that were inherent in these processes. The audience segmentation project was expected to do particular work – to answer a set questions, to solve the Gallery’s problems through more and better knowledge of

⁴ Massey, ‘Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place’, p. 66.

⁵ Leeds 2023 Bid Team.

⁶ Lowry, p. 146.

their audience(s), existing and potential. In the face of declining visitor numbers and increasing need to generate income the following questions became a growing organisational priority: Why are visitor numbers declining? Who is visiting and why? Who is not visiting and why? What are visitor expectations of the organisation? Why have arts-engaged people who live in Wakefield still not visited the Gallery? Why are people making assumptions about us and what we do that aren't true? How can we make the most of our limited resources?⁷ The desire was to translate the complex reality of 'audience' into knowable and actionable data, and in the process of generating this actionable knowledge, a series of political choices were made regarding how this knowledge would be constructed. From the very start in agreeing who would be included in the 'universe' for the research, based on their predisposition to visit arts organisations and where they live, to the creation of pen portraits and their relative 'value' to the Gallery in helping them achieve their goals (increase numbers, increase income). Indeed, these were incredibly challenging times that Gallery was hoping to overcome, and as such each move is laden with particular ambitions, assumptions, and contradictions – hence the need to explore the specificities of these process in a particular place, i.e. the Muse Segmentation in the Hepworth Wakefield, to contribute to broader understanding of the complexities of the gallery/audience relationships in other contexts and spaces.

It could be argued, and certainly was by Muse, that through this audience segmentation project significant gains were engendered. And the Gallery did see a turnaround in its fortunes. From steeply declining visitor figures to a 21% rise, followed by the accolade of winning Museum of the Year 2017, perhaps the

⁷ Jane Marriott, speaking at a meeting with cultural, business and council partners across Wakefield to share findings from Audience Segmentation Research, The Hepworth Wakefield, 21 September 2015.

Hepworth is evidence of audience segmentations' success. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the process is fraught with tension regarding who is, and concurrently who is not, included in the Gallery's priority segments, Vanguard Culture and Complete Culture. Additionally, by being attentive to the process of the construction of these segments, we saw it is crucial to know how the terms are chosen, the network of actors involved in their production, and the action that they engender.

As part of this attention to identity production, we saw the importance of shifting notions of what it means to be an (inter)national museum, and new ways of thinking 'national' or nation-state in itself. Here we explored the development of concepts such as fluid, plural, multicultural and cosmopolitan in relation to place, where bounded and more rigidly defined national narratives tend to contradict a more relational understanding of post-national, and *transcultural* institutions. Employing a transcultural approach to exhibition making attempts a more productive way to perform 'inclusion' in the gallery, to avoid the exoticisation of the 'other'. This is clearly something that the Hepworth was not able to do with its *Howard Hodgkin: Painting India* exhibition and private view. We explored the critique of the use of India (and/or South Asia) as decorative background with no attempt to engage meaningfully with the exhibition's, or the Gallery's, social and political context, including the South Asian community only 'down the road'.

So how might the museum represent the lived reality of different communities without fixing and making static (and thus staging merely as decoration or a backdrop) what is dynamic, complex, changing and multiple? As this thesis has demonstrated, the answer begins with acknowledging and celebrating that a community, and, of course, the institution, can be this *and* that, can be here *and* there

– local *and* international, *and* community, *and* artistic excellence, *and* ..., *and* ..., *and* ... – to employ a more progressive sense of space and the translocal, to explore how agency may be distributed, and, to find productive ways of moving forwards in simultaneous differences. By setting out and reflecting on such approaches to analysis and practice in a particular context, the insights provided in this thesis provide a useful basis for further research. As noted in the introduction, notions of assemblage theory did not pre-exist the (auto)ethnography I carried out in the Gallery. Therefore, a way to build on this study would be to work collaboratively with an arts organisation to explore and test out an assemblage perspective in practice, by operating as a ‘complex adaptive system’, explicitly holding together conflicting organisational goals and employing complexity orientated mindset.⁸ Indeed, the ambition of this thesis is to encourage the embracing of ontological uncertainty and the co-constitution of reality as participatory ontology, to recognise that reality is not a stable ‘thing’ that can be engaged with; and as such, to take an enquiry approach to practice and everyday life, and embrace active learning through an ongoing process of developing and testing questions or problems. This could be, for example, a long term, embedded action research project which allows for researchers and staff to critically reflect on their practice in an ongoing an iterative cycle, to work with and through complexity together.

Thus, the contribution of this thesis has been to outline the possibilities for an assemblage perspective and the in-practice interpretation of situated knowledges, which is important for both practice (museums professionals) and theory (museums studies discourse). By attending closely to processes and actions in the Gallery at

⁸ Cameron, p. 354; and Ashmos and Duchon.

particular moments, and tracing the dynamic processes of different practices, ideas, materials and affects assembling (disassembling and reassembling), we were able to attend to different performances and enactions of *The Hepworth Wakefield*. To demonstrate the ‘shuffle of agency’ which allowed for (re)configurations of *The Hepworth Wakefield* – as ‘local’, as ‘(inter)national’, as ‘community’, as ‘artworld’, and so on; and discover moments where multiple realities (largely) productively co-existed in practice.⁹ As we saw in the example of the *Des Hughes* exhibition, a space was created in the organisation for Exhibitions (curatorial) *and* Learning to work together productively, not as a distinct either/or, creator/explainer, but as a folded set of practices; and, for the representations of community *and* high art to not only be in dialogue, or in the same space, but to also be the same things, folded in to each other. In this moment we acknowledged that not all the ‘*and*’s were equal, yet what this points to is productive possibility of holding together without equalising. In both practice and analysis we must find ways, or at least attempt, to describe and make sense of the world without trying to fix, unify or render stable what are dynamic, fluid and complex processes. Instead, it is more productive to hold onto the multiple realities; to allow the Gallery ‘to be’, in the complex tensions and arguments that form its everyday work. These contradictions should be acknowledged and accepted, loose affiliations should be allowed to go unreconciled, ambivalence should be seen as productive. It is important to recognise the deeply unknowable, and to stop expecting clarity and resolution. And, as such, the importance of this thesis is in exploring the complex ways that realities are produced in *The Hepworth Wakefield*, without striving for clarity and resolution; without reconciling that tension that exists

⁹ Bennett and Healy, ‘Introduction: Assembling Culture’, p. 3.

in the thinking and practice of the organisation and yet, at the same time, charting a way forward based on a richer, deeper understanding.

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Appendix A: Interviews

Round One Interviews

Nine semi-structured interviews were carried out with a total of 18 staff from across the Gallery during October and November 2014.

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Transcriptions are not included in this thesis as agreed with participants.

Participants agreed to be quoted, and for these quotes to be identified only by the department in which they worked.

Date	Participant(s)	Location
23 rd October 2014	group interview with three members of the Learning Team	The Hepworth Wakefield
24 th October 2014	group interview with two members of the Learning Team	The Hepworth Wakefield
30 th October 2014	one-to-one interview with a member of the Operations Team	The Hepworth Wakefield
18 th November 2014	group interview with three members of the Development Team	The Hepworth Wakefield
18 th November 2014	one-to-one interview with a member of the Marketing and Communications Team	The Hepworth Wakefield
19 th November 2014	group interview with three members of the Collections and Exhibitions Team	The Hepworth Wakefield
19 th November 2014	one-to-one interview with a member of Collections and Exhibitions Team	The Hepworth Wakefield
19 th November 2014	group interview with two members of the Operations Team	The Hepworth Wakefield
25 th November 2014	group interview with two members of the Operations Team	The Hepworth Wakefield

Round Two Interviews

Six semi-structured, one-to-one interviews were carried out with external stakeholders of The Hepworth Wakefield during September to November 2015.

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Transcriptions are not included in this thesis as agreed with participants.

Participants agreed to be quoted, and for these quotes either to be named or partially anonymised (only identifiable by their place of work) depending on their preference.

Date	Participant(s)	Location
21 st September 2015	2 Muse employees	The Hepworth Wakefield
7 th October 2015	Daniel Cutmore, Relationship Manager – Visual Arts, Arts Council England	The Hepworth Wakefield
15 th October 2015	Sarah Pearson, Head of Regeneration, Economic Development and Housing for Wakefield Council	Wakefield One
23 rd October 2015	Wakefield Council employee	Wakefield One
3 rd November 2015	David Liddiment, Chair of the Trustees of The Hepworth Wakefield	The Hepworth Wakefield
4 th November 2015	John Holden, Trustee of The Hepworth Wakefield	Skype

Other Interviews

This research also drew on two previous interviews conducted with The Hepworth Wakefield staff, with their permission.

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Transcriptions are not included in this thesis as agreed with participants.

Participants agreed to be quoted, and for these quotes to be named or partially anonymised (only identifiable by their place of work) depending on their preference.

Date	Participant(s)	Location
25 th November 2011	Gemma Millward, Curator at The Hepworth Wakefield	The Hepworth Wakefield
15 th June 2012	Natalie Walton, Head of Learning at The Hepworth Wakefield	The Hepworth Wakefield

Appendix B: Survey

The survey, ‘Thinking About Audiences’, was completed by 48 people from across the organisation during late October to early December 2014.

The survey was accessed online through Survey Monkey.

Respondents were from the following departments:

Department	Number of Respondents
Collections & Exhibitions	5
Learning	6
Marketing & Communications	3
Development	3
Operations	4
Front of House/Visitor Services	12
Senior Management	2
Creative Practitioner	8
Volunteer	5
TOTAL	48

The survey results contain a mixture of qualitative and quantitative data.

Survey Introductory Text and Questions

Thinking about Audiences

The purpose of this questionnaire is to map the organisation’s current thinking around audience(s). This research is part of a wider project within THW concerned with the development of the gallery’s practices in understanding its audience(s), as well as forming part of a PhD research project being undertaken by Sarah Harvey Richardson with University of Leeds and the Arts and Humanities Research Council. The ambition is to review this again after the proposed work on audience segmentation to assess how useful/impactful this work has been for the organisation.

There are no right or wrong answers to the following questions. Please just answer as honestly and as fully as you can, using bullet points, keywords or full sentences – whichever you feel comfortable with. The questionnaire should take around 10-15 minutes to complete.

Your answers are anonymous and only associated to the department in which you work. Please note that if you wish to remain anonymous you should not make any comments that will identify you as the author.

Many thanks in advance for taking the time to complete this questionnaire, if you have any questions please do not hesitate to get in touch:
sarahharvey-richardson@hepworthwakefield.org

What department do you work in?

- Collections & Exhibitions
- Learning
- Marketing & Communications
- Development
- Operations
- Front of House
- Senior Management
- Creative Practitioner
- Volunteer

Do you think THW has a clear identity and mission?

- Yes
- No

Please describe what you think THW's identity and mission is:

- [text box for open response]

Do you think THW has a typical visitor(s)?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please describe them:

- [text box for open response]

Do you use different terms or identities to describe different types of visitor?

- Yes
- No

If yes, what are these and in what contexts do you use them?

- [text box for open response]

Are there any terms or identities that you do not feel comfortable using when talking about audience?

- Yes
- No

If yes, what are they and why?

- [text box for open response]

Do you consider audience(s) in your day-to-day role?

- Yes
- No

If yes, how?

- [text box for open response]

Do you think the THW currently has systems in place for thinking about/understanding its audience(s)?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please describe them:

- [text box for open response]

Do you consider non-attenders?

- Yes
- No

If yes, how?

- [text box for open response]

Are you aware of the concept of audience segmentation?

- Yes
- No
- To some extent

Please describe your understanding of audience segmentation:

- [text box for open response]

Are you aware of THW's existing audience segmentation model?

- Yes
- No

If yes, can you name any of the audiences?

- [text box for open response]

Does audience segmentation influence your day-to-day practice?

- Yes
- No

How?

- [text box for open response]

Are you aware of concept of audience development?

- Yes
- No
- To some extent

Please describe your understanding of audience development:

- [text box for open response]

Do you think audiences are at the heart of the organisation?

- Yes
- No
- To some extent

Please explain

- [text box for open response]

Do you think that the Gallery is responsive to its audience(s)?

- Yes
- No
- To some extent

Please explain

- [text box for open response]

Do you think that the Gallery reflects the voice and/or needs of the audience(s)?

- Yes
- No
- To some extent

Please explain

- [text box for open response]

Do you think it is important or desirable for the Gallery to reflect the voice and/or needs of its audience(s)?

- Yes
- No

Why?

- [text box for open response]

Do you think that anything could be done differently when considering audience(s) across the organisation?

- Yes
- No

If yes, what?

- [text box for open response]

Do you think that anything could be done differently when considering audience(s) specifically in your role?

- Yes
- No

If yes, what?

- [text box for open response]