A Provenance of Performance: Excavating new art histories through a consideration of re-enactment and the perspectives of the audience.

Sarah Elizabeth Wishart
Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
The University of Leeds, School of English
October 2018

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.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

List of illustrations

Abstract

In 2001, the artist Jeremy Deller staged a re-enactment of a key encounter in Orgreave, Sheffield between miners and police from the 1984-5 miners' strike close to the original site, with a cast of 500 re-enactors and 300 local people including some miners who had been there in the original moment. In 2003, the artist Graeme Miller rehung the stories missing from an area socially devastated by the compulsory purchase and demolition of over 350 homes in East London as part of the road-building scheme that started in the 1980s. Both pieces were concerned in some way with re-enactment and involved a number of people in their creation. Both engaged with people who had been there at the time but in the social history of both works, there are omissions and hidden details about their creation and impact.

I look to explore the historical context of my two case studies: Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave* and Miller's *Linked* along with the processes and procedures undertaken in the course of making them. This undertaking revealed the multiplicity of narratives and collaborators involved in the work. By using a specific kind of historical perspective, that of the provenance of the work, a term most often used in art history or archaeology to look at the detail of how each work was created, I am more fully able to think about the importance of re-enactment and different spaces of documentation in the work's context.

I look at how documentation of an event might expand and enable the revisiting and new understandings of the work in different ways. In addition, I look particularly at the role of audiences and why their memories of the event are an under-used resource. In order to address this, both in relation to the investigation into how a provenance of performance might operate and as a method to raise the presence of the expansion of history through the transfer of knowledge through bodies, I use the opportunity to talk to audiences through qualitative methods. I also consider how a provenance of performance might engage practically with live art documentation and work with institutional archiving of live art.

Chapter 1 – Introduction to a Provenance of Performance

I first met the Turner Prize-winning artist Jeremy Deller in 2012 in Sheffield. I had tickets to his talk at DocFest, the Sheffield documentary film festival and had contacted him to see if I could have a short interview. I wanted to ask him some questions about *The Battle of Orgreave*, his 2001 reconstruction of the key battle between striking miners and police in Sheffield during the 1984-5 UK Miners' Strike. In our extremely brief meeting before his presentation, I mentioned my conviction that it was the fact he had used testimonial from miners who had been at the original event and taken part in his re-enactment that made the performance so significant. To my astonishment, Deller categorically stated that testimonial had not been used to construct the performance in the way I had suggested. Realising that I had made a completely unfounded assumption about the origins of the piece, I began trying to track back the source of my error. This discovery totally negated the direction of most of my early research into Deller's *Battle of Orgreave*, but at the same time, opened up the entire event to a host of questions. Why had I believed testimonial was key? What stories around the work had directed my thinking? How would I find out the processes at stake? Was it just me, or was there a shared misunderstanding here? As I dug deeper, I began to see that there were different kinds of gaps in the accounts of this artwork, which those of us hearing about it, tended to fill in for ourselves. It therefore seemed imperative in my research on the way this work was documented, to retain awareness of these holes even if it was not easy to find what the missing stories or conclusions are.

This thesis then looks at how documentation of an event might continue to be expansive, and how that growing documentation over time might enable new understandings of the work. I look particularly at the role of audiences and why their memories of the event are an under-used resource. The first of my two case studies, Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave* (2001) was a performance event re-enacting a violent moment in the 1984-1985 miners' strike between police and miners at the Orgreave coking plant just outside Sheffield. This re-enactment was made in collaboration with the production company Artangel, and through them, an event organisation EventPlan, specialising in re-enactments. It was funded in part by sponsorship from *The Times* newspaper, and the rest of the funding came from Channel 4, with a resulting documentary directed by Hollywood director, Mike Figgis. The hour-long television programme was broadcast a year after the re-enactment performance in the autumn of 2002. Initially this film was the only form of documentation of the

performance. Since then, Deller has developed a gallery installation titled *An Injury to One is an Injury to All.* This is made up of one space containing documentation on the re-enactment and historical material on the strike, and the national history that led to that strike. This archive sits alongside a space screening the documentary.

The second case study, Graeme Miller's *Linked* (2003) is a sound installation situated in a suburban area of East London. This installation was originally made up of 19 radio transmitters, hung on lamp-posts across a three-mile route, broadcasting a looped soundscape, which audience members listen to with the use of a receiver as they walk along the route. *Linked* has been running since 2003, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 365 days a year and the stories are playing out their eight-minute loops every day to this day. The work was created as a response to the building of a section of the A12 motorway in East London that destroyed around 350 houses and areas of historic woodland. One of the demolished houses was the artist's own family home. Like *The Battle of Orgreave*, this work was created in collaboration with a wide range of people, including a team of interviewers, and scores of interviewees and produced by an arts organisation, Artsadmin. Like Deller's artwork, it was also part-funded by an external organisation, the Museum of London and the resulting interviews were donated to this museum's permanent collection. Whilst *The Battle of Orgreave* has expanded with the addition of an installation accompanying the film, *Linked* has shrunk; with the 19 transmitters being reduced to around 14 at last count.

Why these artworks?

These two artworks were key to this research for two main reasons, firstly whilst perceived as contemporary artworks, these artworks also dealt with issues common to performance around re-enactment, the body, narrative and documentation. In particular, the experience of Miller's *Linked* necessitated a consideration of the central role of audience in receiving and transmitting the narratives that had been lost from that landscape. As socially engaged artworks, they passed narratives on from artist to production to audience that indicated a new perspective on the collection of documentation. Secondly, the stories were ones that resonated strongly with my own political and personal history. They were both created out of a moment of personal connection with a violent political moment and from policies and government action under the UK's Conservative government of 1979 – 1997. In Deller's case it was witnessing the violence on television in 1984 during the coverage of the Sheffield protests and seeing it as evidence of a civil war taking place in the UK. In Miller's case, it was more personal as he was forcibly removed from his home by bailiffs with

battering rams and had 24 hours to empty his property before his house was demolished in the building of the A12 link road. My own history runs in parallel with these two political events. During the same miners' strike, I lived in South Wales and saw first-hand the discord the strike created in Welsh mining communities and saw and heard the wide-spread conflict from adults around me. I had friends at school who were the children of striking miners. By the time the road protests were underway, I was living with environmental protestors in the South of England, who were significantly involved with the road protests at Twyford. Finally, when Miller's *Linked* opened, I was involved with an artist who had a huge archive of photographs of the M11 protests, and who has made his archive and his personal memories of being a teen living in Leyton during that period available to me throughout my research.

Both pieces were created to lift up lost things and enable them to be experienced and re-experienced by people. This became a physical experience in relation to the process of re-enactment, either with the bodies of miners and re-enactors, or with the bodies of the audience members walking the *Linked* route listening as they went. This process that I saw as lifting up a lost narrative – also created the process of something being handed on, that went from hand to hand. The 'something' was an idea or memory, with the concept being handed from the artist to the production team along with all the slippages that occur. These pieces were also handed on to the audiences, to spectators or listeners, or through different forms of documentation. Whilst it is easy to see how documentation around an artwork contributes to the ways in which the narrative on a piece expands, with these artworks, it is also the role of collaboration that can be seen to add layers. It is the collaboration between different kinds of producer of the piece, (including the audience member) which makes these stories expansive.

Rather than relying on the critical writing that rarely referenced the groups who were central in the making of the work (EventPlan etc.) I decided to try and speak to the collaborators myself. This was to understand how the works came into being, were supported and performed. In order to do so, it was necessary for me to understand their place in the world, how they were created and their journey in time. In order to resist any further assumption, I needed to lay out who had been involved in the making of the work and the processes in play to make the work. It started to feel more like I was undertaking an archaeological search than an historical one. Whilst there was an inevitable need to engage with the documentation of the archive, and the

testimony of the involved groups, this research demanded a consideration of the landscape, and what lay under the surface at the same time. It was this engagement with different landscapes that made the work feel like archaeological research rather than a historical one.

Why an archaeological perspective?

Explaining the beginnings of their work on archaeology and performance, Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks acknowledged the usefulness of thinking in an archaeological way to consider performance. Pearson suggests: "It may ultimately be more appropriate to discuss performance through archaeological rather than literary means, with performance as a kind of prehistory of scripted drama and to imagine the retrieval and re-contextualisation of performance as constituting a theatre archaeology".[1] Whilst neither *The Battle of Orgreave* nor *Linked* were specifically created as performances, the ephemerality of the events, the problems inherent in some of their documentation and the engagement of the audience meant that thinking about them in terms of both performance and archaeology seemed useful. In *Theatre/Archaeology*, Pearson (Director at the time of Brith Gof, a site-specific performance group based in Wales), and Shanks (Professor of Classics at Stanford specialising in archaeological theory) wrote individually about how these approaches were useful due to the ways that performance and archaeology are means of a production of culture. Shanks lays this perspective out:

> The past is not somehow 'discovered' in its remains, for what would it be. Gone is the notion of a singular material record bequeathed to us from the past and from which meaning can be 'read off'. Instead archaeology is to regard itself as a practice of cultural production, a contemporary material practice which works on and with the traces of the past and within the archaeologist is implicated as an active agent of interpretation. What archaeologists do is work with material traces, with evidence, in order to create something – a meaning, a narrative, an image, - which stands in for the past in the present. Archaeologists craft the past. Rather than being a reconstruction of the past from its surviving remains, this is a re-contextualisation.[2]

Pearson instead focuses on the issue of a different take on documentation through the archaeological interest in retrieval:

> The traces left behind by performance are perhaps more susceptible to the approaches of contemporary archaeology than methods taken from textual analysis: the documentation of unwritten happening through material trace, is an archaeological project. For certain, performance is inevitably in the past and ultimately enigmatic. It was thus around questions of documenting performance

---

[1]   Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks, *Theatre/Archeology* (London: Routledge, 2001) 13
[2]   Pearson and Shanks, *Theatre/Archeology* 11

that I was drawn back to archaeology, a discipline intimately concerned with retrieval, recording and reassembling.[3]

Why the adoption of provenance?

These two artworks use narrative to unpack the detail of what Deller and Miller did in order to create *The Battle of Orgreave* and *Linked* respectively. In trying to map out the shape and context of each case study, I took on a variety of processes, from logging huge administrative lists of who was doing what at what time, capturing interviews with key producers and an inordinate amount of transcribing in order to capture processes that had not made it into any critical coverage of the work. In this way, though I did not realise it while I was doing it, I was uncovering the social history of the work, at the same time as mapping where and how it existed in the world. In archaeological studies, there are two significant terms when it comes to undertaking this sort of work. The first is *provenience*, which is set out as the "three-dimensional context (including geographical location) of an archaeological find, giving information about its function and date".[4] The second linked term is *provenance* or "the origin, or history of ownership of an archaeological or historical object."[5] Provenance is more often used to describe an object's history of ownership, either by private collectors or institutions and is often used in art history to confirm the authenticity of an artwork.

On first approach, applying the concept of provenience to both artworks might be considered more relevant than provenance. This is because they are both site-based artworks, specific to a time and crucially to a specific place. And, in this, like any, historical investigation, I am digging into memories of performance-making and spectating rather than suggesting there is something fake about these works. As a result, setting out a mapping of the find-site seems more significant than listing a history of the institutions involved which suggests I should be undertaking a study of the provenience of each artwork. There are no issues around the authenticity of the work and yet there is something here about the gaps in the history of the work, and of the experience of the works that require some sort of consideration of context than a provenience might be capable of. In accessing both works, particularly the Orgreave piece, as I will demonstrate, there is a reliance on one sort of account of what took place, which is the critical analysis. In relation to Linked, the erasure of the work over

---

3   Pearson and Shanks, *Theatre/Archeology* 9
4   *Introduction to Archaeology: Glossary*, accessed 10 March 2018,
        https://www.archaeological.org/education/glossary#p
5   *Introduction to Archaeology: Glossary*, accessed 10 March 2018,
        https://www.archaeological.org/education/glossary#p

time also creates gaps in the narrative and history of the piece. An attempt to therefore capture a fuller story about the piece is more aligned to engaging with a study of the provenance of the work, so to see where there might be absences or holes in the story. The histories around the work have shifted over time and in capturing a wealth of memories from the audiences of the work, I am bringing new histories to bear upon the artwork. In *Theatre/Archaeology*, Pearson and Shanks indicate the ways in which histories of places and moments are constantly shifting: "The past 'as it was' or 'as it happened' is an illusionary category, neither stable nor homogeneous. For instance, the prehistoric monument we call Stonehenge has no single essential meaning: it has been reworked, reconstructed, reinterpreted since building began".[6] This reworking and reconstructing in relation to these artworks seem to fit within the way the work has been handed on and on – and how the narrative grows on, expanding with each iteration. Pearson and Shanks also indicate the ways that narrative works too in the intersection of archaeology and performance:

> It is worth singling out narrative as a feature of the cultural work that is both archaeology and performance. It is a common aspiration of much archaeology eventually to construct historical narrative. And these have been of great importance in providing depth and orientation to cultural identity. Consider also how the narratives of performance may intersect with the narrative of personal identity. Audiences experience the performance in a state of preparedness which derives from past experiences and the way in which they have chosen to order them and accord them significance.[7]

In this particular way, Pearson and Shanks show the significance of the audience and the audience's stories in relation to the performance or story under consideration.

The very first time I saw *The Battle of Orgreave*, it left me with a feeling that I wanted more detail about the story of how it was put together. I wanted to find out how many miners who had been at the original event, were also at the re-enactment, I also wanted to consider why in all the work I was reading on Orgreave, no-one else was asking that question. My thesis therefore is looking at the importance of the capture of expanding stories, and the role of processes such as re-enactment, in line with that and the significant importance of the audience in doing so. The search for a detailed social history of this work to encompass the people who had made and created it came about when I realised, I had got the reading of Deller's *Battle of Orgreave* wrong. Following that conversation with Deller, I looked further to see that this was due to two main issues, firstly there was a consistent perspective in the

---

6   Pearson and Shanks, *Theatre/Archeology* 11
7   Pearson and Shanks, *Theatre/Archeology* 64

reviews I had been reading, that the miners had engaged with the co-creation of the work; and, secondly, Deller had edited a book just after the Orgreave re-enactment *The English Civil War Part II: Personal Accounts of the 1984-85 Miners' Strike* which was a collection of testimonials. From both the groundswell of critical works and the presence of this collection of testimonials, I made a leap and presumed that the 'script' for Deller's famous re-enactment from the violent clash between 1984 miners' and police had been constructed by Deller himself from the testimonials of miners involved at Orgreave, and these were central to the development of the performance filmed by Mike Figgis. Involving people who had been there in developing the shape of the performance felt key to what was so exceptional about the work.

These two pieces are also both site-specific works. Deller tried to ensure the re-enactment took place on as close a site to the original battle-ground as possible and *Linked* can only be experienced on site, by wandering around a suburban space of houses alongside a blaring motorway. Yet over the course of my part-time research, it became obvious that narrative was expansive in both pieces, and that these stories had grown in different ways. Both pieces have a longevity despite one being a very specific piece of performance that happened in a field one day in 2001 and the other, in attempting to telescope time in and out of the work, the slippage of time was also a key issue. So, looking at these two aspects of time and story, and thinking of how I was working to uncover how they had been made and how they had been experienced, led to the idea that I was absolutely working in relation to space but in an archaeological sense. In *Theatre/Archaeology* Shanks indicates the relationship to land that is particular to archaeologists:

> Archaeologists walk the land, observing, recording, drawing, telling. I wish to argue that, in our understanding of archaeology, primacy should be given to this general attention to land. It comes before, and subsumes, interventions in the land – excavations, so often considered the defining archaeological activity.[8]

The importance of the relationship between the site and the on-going history is significant in relation to my research as both of my case studies are site-specific. The history of what happened is also the history of what happened in *this specific place*. Archaeologists have a term for the original space of a discovery "archaeologists usually understand provenience to be the original find spot of an object".[9] In contrast the art historian's term provenance, which also describes the history of an object, but

---

[8]   Pearson and Shanks, *Theatre/Archeology* 37

[9]   Rosemary A Joyce, "From Place to Place: Provenience, Provenance and Archaeology" in *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art* ed. Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Reist (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2012) 48

usually the history of its ownership. In relation to archaeology though, there's an intersection between the two versions, and that's when the object leaves the space of discovery – "provenience is a fixed point, while provenance can be considered an itinerary that an object follows as it moves from hand to hand".[10] These concepts do not stand aside from space, as Rosemary Joyce explains they are both "emplaced histories" and to engage with both ensures a fuller understanding of the object.[11] Joyce is writing here about objects found on archaeological digs that then are taken into collections, either private or institutional but my belief is this is a useful way to think about the specific issues around these two artworks and beyond them to how we might consider expanding the archive of live art.

In the making of the work, there a handing of the creation back and forth between the collectives involved, from Deller, to Artangel, to EventPlan, to the re-enactors. In the memorial of the piece then there is an opportunity to also expand the responsibility of handing the work on from those who were physically present to those who read about the work or see it on film. There is an accumulation of narratives around the artefact, or are even built up on the artefact, the artwork as a patina. This echoes Pearson's perspective:

> Archaeological practice indicates not only ways in which we might work with the remains of past performance, creating contemporary meaning in the present, it also enables us to think provocatively about the ways in which we might create the documents of current work. Rather than pretending to be a final and complete account of things, a closure, the performance document, an equivalent of the dramatic text might be in itself equally fragmentary, partial and encouraging of interpretation.[12]

In many of the accounts of these artworks, the complexity of engaging with scores of people in the creation of the work is not referenced. This in part is due to a critical focus on the artist at the centre of all this participatory activity. In addition, many of the critics writing on participatory artworks, whilst discussing the importance and successes or failures in involving viewers and communities, rarely speak to these people directly. Pearson though does not forget the significance of the audience when he goes into detail about his memory of a performance and how events create spaces: "And a different experience for each watcher: activity approaching, arriving, passing, activity in close-up, at a distance, in the background; shifting focus; multiple focus; making decisions about what to watch; the proximity and touch of others both

---

10   Joyce "From Place to Place: Provenience, Provenance and Archaeology" 48
11   Joyce "From Place to Place: Provenience, Provenance and Archaeology" 49
12   Pearson and Shanks, *Theatre/Archeology* 13

other spectators and performers".[13] There is a need to retain the complexity of narratives around the making and the performance of the work, across all their aspects including their reception and one way to enable this to take place is through a considered provenance of performance. This enables a fuller history and more expansive way of collecting the social histories about a performance; a process that's unlikely to gather everything together but to ensure discussion and consideration of the work is kept open. In this way the process of 'handing on', indicates the importance of a continuum; the consideration of what and who goes into making a piece of work, including the people who become the audience.

My aim was not to create an authoritative final assertion about the way the work was created but to think about the way performance work might be documented in order to preserve as many perspectives as possible. Audience response and memory is important to this thesis because to take these perspectives on board ensures that an understanding of the work is not solely reliant on the perspectives of art and theatre critics. A different view is possible. Both works change and shift over time, with the Deller piece expanding from a live event to a film and then into an archive in 2004, and the Miller piece reducing as physical changes happens in the geographical space. Yet both expansion and reduction create new narratives around the work. I wanted to talk to as wide a range of audiences as possible to try and follow a genealogy of experience as an aspect of a provenance. In order to capture this plurality of memories I tried to speak personally to critics and audience members who had attended Deller's performance in 2001, and four sets of audience members who walked with me on excursions to listen to *Linked* between 2011-2013.

I ask how the artwork impacts on audiences, by talking to the people who have seen the work. By doing so, I am responding to Lois Weaver who introduces Helen Freshwater's book on *Theatre and the Audience*. Weaver suggests that the many levels of audience responses are always secret until someone asks the question:

> We each have our own private rapture, whether we sit politely in the company of pearls and suits on a Saturday afternoon or offer vocal and daring alternatives; whether we swallow it whole or read between the lines; whether we rage against the critic who saw the performance as a series of in-jokes because everyone seemed to get it but him or stay home because the reviews are bad; whether we hold an ice cube mouth-to-mouth with a performer until our lips meet or hold season tickets to our local regional theatre. Our individual raptures are likely to be kept secret. Unless, as Helen Freshwater aptly suggests, someone bothers to ask: What did you make of that. Go on, ask.[14]

---

[13]   Pearson and Shanks, *Theatre/Archeology* 22
[14]   Helen Freshwater *Theatre and Audience* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009) x-xi

To ask something of the audience in this manner, means there is the opportunity to listen and create new stories, even if that spectator did not like the show. To ask an audience member what they thought is an opportunity to add their perspective to the history of the event. Freshwater in fact defines the relationship with audience as providing the "theatre event with its rationale" and identifies that in taking on this central discourse to modern theatre, she is also able to provoke an understanding into "other cultural forms which position us as part of a collective."[15] Questions around the significance of audience response and engagement to performance work have been negotiated more rigorously in recent years. It is important to note this discourse is still an emergent framing and one that is not quite resolved. Nevertheless, the opportunity to consider how important the memories of audience as one method of remembering in acquiring a fuller critical discourse with issues around public art and performance.

Chapter outline

In my second chapter, I investigate how re-enactment itself has a significant relationship with the concept of provenance. In re-enacting a piece, some sort of historical assessment must be undertaken to ensure the piece is being done as it once was done. In order to think about this, I look at an overview of the practice of re-enactment but specifically in relation to contemporary art practice. I look at how institutions are researching live art practice in different ways, in order to re-enact them, and the relationship this forces on documentation. In particular I look at Tate and how they are developing a strategy for curating but also conserving ephemeral live art, and the relationship this has with a documentation process that I link to provenance of performance.

In my third chapter, I look at one key aspect of performance that historically has not been as engaged with as other areas and that is the consideration of the role of audiences. In terms of thinking about provenance in its traditional format, it might be considered as the social history of the object, who has owned the work, what institutions have placed it. In relation to performance work, the social history of an artwork should therefore include the people who have engaged with it directly as the audience. I look at the ways in which audience engagement has been dealt with in the theatre historically and how this is now shifting. I look at examples of ways that audiences are consulted and collaborated with in the research and development

---

[15]   Freshwater, *Theatre and the Audience* 2-3

processes of some theatre groups, and how with some artworks, they act as spectator-collaborators, actually contributing the content of the work.

In the fourth chapter, I look at what methods I undertook to talk to audiences and the problems and failures met alongside the discoveries I made. Here I address the inevitability in the pursuit of a part time PhD of the audiences I did not find as well as discuss the ones I did. I consider the screenings and focus groups and the processes of an engagement practice with audience. I explore the audiences I did manage to talk to and discuss the reasons why there were some I was not able to access in this iteration of the research.

In chapters five and six, I undertake a close consideration of my main two case studies investigating first the history of the original events. Second, I then examine how the artworks came about, along with the support networks and people that brought their own stories to bear upon the performance events. I return to participants, performers and co-producers of the events to collate the different experiences of the work and explore how both are sustained and experienced today. These two chapters are also underlined with the memories of the creation of the works. I return to the memories of the original audience for an exploration on the experience of the performance in the case of *The Battle of Orgreave*. In relation to *Linked*, I also explore what it means to undertake the walk on multiple occasions and under different material conditions. The provenance of each artwork is shown to assist with an expansion of thinking around the creation and reception of the work. I look at why certain aspects that have restricted the thinking about the work might have come about in relation to Deller's piece and how *Linked* is eroding due to the conditions in the space. I underline why a provenance of performance that includes the perspective of the people that helped to make it, and the people who watched it would enable wider understanding of the history and social history of the works.

In this thesis, I attempt to create a provenance of performance for *The Battle of Orgreave*, nor *Linked*, it is not comprehensive, but becomes a way to hand on a set of histories that have not been included in the works history before, even if the provenance is incomplete or limited in its capacity. In my final chapter, I will give an overview of some of the implications of those limitations, including the limitations of my own research. I will also suggest the shape of what a provenance of performance might look like, and how it might be created to take on the future shifts and changes in the way the works are engaged with and experienced.

The process of 'handing on' is one-way provenance might work beyond just being a list of owners. Walter Benjamin in the chapter 'Unpacking My Library' whilst sifting through his book collection, discusses at length how a book's value is impacted by whom it has been owned by, but he also considers other aspects. As he finishes unpacking his books, he lists all the memories of cities that he's either bought the books from or where he has housed them, leading him to suggest that he has created buildings and places from these books, "not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them".[16] This slight shift of context on how a provenance might be framed is useful to my thinking on these artworks. Of the thousand people who have walked Miller's *Linked* or the tens of thousands who have watched Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave* or passed through the archive installation since it was acquired by Tate in 2005, each will have experienced the pieces in different kinds of ways, taken different things from them, disliked it, forgotten it. Along with the over eight hundred people who came together to create the performance or the twenty people, the works are carried or rejected in different ways.

I am not suggesting that artists or curators need to attempt to collate every audience member's response or experience to a piece of work. However, in opening up the ideas around what to document to include the perspective of the audience, might also ensure that ways of thinking about a piece of work is also kept open. Including a range of perspectives, including from outside the art making perspective, also might encourage reflection on the processes that underpin an artwork. In addition to opening up consideration on how a piece has been made, by including a wide spread of memories on the work, a provenance of performance might also act as a tacit reminder to the changing landscape of how it has been received.

---

[16]   Walter Benjamin 'Unpacking My Library: A Talk about Book Collecting' in *Illuminations* translated by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 2007) 67

Chapter 2 – Archaeology, Provenance and A Consideration of Re-enactment

Due to gaps in my understanding about how the work had been created, and unable to easily find the narratives to fill those gaps in the accounts of the work, meant I became driven by a need to address those spaces in my knowledge. I investigated what remained, spoke to those that remembered the events and tried to find as much documentation on the works as I could. I was often investigating the remains in some way, a process that has been described by Pearson as a specific kind of recovery,

> Initially we discussed issues of survival and recording: the effective documentation of devised theatrical performance. For these are the kind of things that remain: a few slides, the odd contact sheet, fragments of video, scribbled drawings on scraps of paper, indecipherable notes, diaries, reviews, injuries, scars, half-remembered experiences, faint recollections. This we referred to as theatre archaeology: the retrieval and reconstitution of ephemeral events.[17]

These remaining 'ephemeral events' are the clues to with that, in this example, past piece of performance, as Gabriella Giannachi suggests, "archaeology is increasingly understood less as the discovery of the past and more in terms of different relationships between what is left of the past".[18] The processes that get put into operation when a re-enactment is undertaken create the need to assemble a mapping, but a mapping from out of a history. Pearson and Shanks echo this when they flag the social production undertaken in processes of archaeology: "Archaeology is more than the recovery and examination of the material remains of societies and cultures. The archaeological is held to be a dimension of social practice, referring to the articulation of people and things and the material processes they undergo and witness".[19] It is in this consideration on witnessing and in the material change experienced, that re-enactment becomes key in a handing on, not of stories but a physical event for both actors and audience. Speaking about site reports, here Pearson and Shanks indicate a different format – which is useful in thinking again about provenance.

> The site report is an archaeological genre – the publication of excavation plans and photographs and attendant analysis of finds and evidence. But here is a very different model. This work at scene of crimes also generates site reports – compendia of superimposed documents and materials which involve: the formal description of gesture and movement through space: each person's

---

[17] Mike Pearson *In Comes I (*Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006) 15

[18] Gabriella Giannachi "Introduction – Archaeologies of Presence", in *Archaeologies of Presence: Art, performance and the persistence of being* eds. Gabriella Giannachi, Nick Kaye, Nick and Michael Shanks, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) 2

[19] Pearson and Shanks, *Theatre/Archeology,* 68

(watchers and watched) fragmented reflections and recollections of experience, tied to location and evidential fragments pertaining to both. We can imagine such reports being constructed not merely as a recreation of a theatrical performance but also of historical events.[20]

In my research I looked at re-enactment in two ways in relation to these two case studies. Firstly, in capturing the processes required to create a re-enactment and, secondly, how a provenance on re-enactment might assist the understanding and reception of a piece of work. In my consideration on re-enactment, I am not looking to undertake a comprehensive history of contemporary art and re-enactment, but instead reflect on how a provenance on the work permits a broader understanding of the social history of an artwork. This is to take on Rebecca Schneider's directive to be careful of not missing things out:

> Still, we must be careful to avoid the habit of approaching performance remains as a metaphysic of presence that fetishizes a singular 'present' moment. As theories of trauma and repetition might instruct us, it is not presence that appears in the syncopated time of citational performance but precisely (again) the missed encounter – the reverberations of the overlooked, the missed, the repressed, the seemingly forgotten.[21]

Both of these pieces of work have continued to expand narratively in different ways, and this necessitates a process like provenance to capture the different iterations and to pick up on the moments that otherwise might be overlooked, overwritten or undervalued. It is useful therefore to look at processes of re-enactment within the framework of the art historical provenance. When an art historian looks at an artwork, they place it in its genre, period, consider the history of the artist, the story of its creation and impact, but provenance also considers who has owned a piece of work. To be able to see the different sorts of history attached to an artwork clearly enables a more nuanced understanding of an artwork, "how the relationship of an owner with a work of art or, in varying degrees, with the work's previous owners, may change irrevocably the way that works will be perceived and understood by future generations".[22] The social history of an artwork therefore might be seen to hold relevance to understanding its significance and place in the world.

Even if the provenance cannot account for a complete history, by indicating there is a gap in understanding, those spaces can also be seen to reflect issues as the

---

20   Pearson and Shanks, *Theatre/Archeology,* 62
21   Rebecca Schneider, "Performance Remains Again" in eds. Gabriella Giannachi, Nick Kaye, Nick and Michael Shanks, *Archaeologies of Presence: Art, performance and the persistence of being* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) 71
22   Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Reist "Introduction" in eds. Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Reist *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012) 2

indicator that something missing is also significant. In the afterword to the book on *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art*, Anne Higonnet references a mask from Benin in Nigeria hanging in the Met Museum of Art in New York. Acknowledging the label on the wall there are two moments indicated: the first, the place and time of origin of the mask (the Kingdom of Benin and the 16th century); and, the second, the moment when it was gifted to the Met Museum in 1972. Higonnet sees this gap as potentially performing a huge task:

> The little white space between the two lists on the wall label, hides a huge leap across time and space. As if many decades never occurred and many miles never existed. […] In the gap are hidden the dramas of global power dynamics, military conquest, massive movements of wealth from one continent to another and tragedies of racism.[23]

In creating a provenance of performance, I also wanted to ensure that even if there is a space where we cannot see where the story goes, that the leap across the gap is at least acknowledged.

Re-enactment

The Battle of Orgreave was the largest re-enactment of its type in 2001 and, arguably, no larger re-enactment has been undertaken in the UK since, It brought together representatives from most of the small local re-enactment societies in the UK, which were co-ordinated by a central events organisation. It was a re-enactment of the kind that prompted the *Oxford English Dictionary* to add a draft definition around the word in 2004. The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition is linked to the action "to re-enact' and 're-enactor."[24] Both of these terms are centred on the definition of a re-enactment society: "n. an association whose members re-enact events (often battles) from a particular historical period, in replica costume and using replica weapons."[25] The most regular context of re-enactment and re-enactment societies occurs around military endeavours. Despite this sort of definition, I argue that Miller's *Linked* is also a re-enactment, although rather than using re-enactment societies, Miller's piece requires the audience to populate and re-animate a transmission of lost stories. In each case, I argue that Miller and Deller both brought moments back into being, re-enacting events consigned to the past, and through the bodies of either actual re-enactors or the audience members needed to trigger stories into being.

---

23   Anne Higonnet "Afterword: The Social Life of Provenance" in eds. Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Reist *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012) 197

24   *Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v. "re-enactment", accessed 27 November 2009, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/250343?redirectedFrom=reenactment#eid.

25   *Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v. "re-enactment", accessed 27 November 2009, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/250343?redirectedFrom=reenactment#eid.

Whilst the dictionary definition of re-enactment leans upon the role of revisiting battles in authentic as possible uniforms, in art and performance, re-enactment in recent years has taken on a space fixed less on an authentic re-rendering of a piece of art and often more in terms of re-interpreting or 'covering' a previous artwork, much as a musician or group might 'cover' the work of others. In this instance, 'cover' means a new performance or recording of a song by someone other than the original musician. In the foreword to *Performing Remains*, Schneider identifies re-enactment as a term that "has entered into increased circulation in late twentieth century and early twenty first century art, theatre and performance circles."[26] I argue that re-enactment demands a provenance in the way it is made, through the processes needed to create it, the maker has to research a history, go through documentation, enable an understanding of not only the original event, but the situation surrounding the event to be able to undertake a re-activation of that event. In investigating the original event to carry out a re-enactment, an uncovering of history needs to take place, however the artist or re-enactment society chooses to do it, choices will be needed about what histories to consider, and those choices should be laid bare as these will always make a difference to the piece. Deller's re-enactment specifically used adopted processes of re-enactment societies as part of the practice behind *The Battle of Orgreave*. In turn, Miller's *Linked* is the re-enactment of narrative through a technological solution. Whilst neither piece engages with contemporary art notions of re-enactment (such as a focus on covering someone else's artwork or reigniting an artwork through the documentation of a past piece), the consideration of the kinds of re-enactment within live art and performance practice have a bearing here.

Re-enactment and contemporary art

The phenomenon of re-enactments performing to enable a new perspective on historical events also can be seen to occur in art. The issue around choice and how that interpretation makes a difference to a re-enactment is set out by Gabriella Giannachi in her book on the ways in which institutions have approached performance and the challenges of documenting live art, "it is well known that re-enactments and re-interpretations are often used by artists as a strategy for the production of documentation. This is crucial to understand how artists preserve and 'grow' performance works, whether the original was their own, or it was created by another

---

[26]   Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Re-enactment* (London: Routledge, 2011) 2

artist".[27] Giannachi looks to Marina Abramović's re-enactment of 'Action Pants' by VALIE EXPORT to expand on this. Abramović created her interpretation from the documentation not of the original performance, but of a staged response to the original performance, created as promotional material after the event. The original performance of 'Action Pants' had so many different stories attached to it, Abramović decided to engage with the photographic documentation because "it was really difficult to determine the facts about the original piece from al the archaeological evidence. In the end, I thought, given the circumstances, it was best for me to create an image."[28]

Whilst provenance is the history of an artwork, it can also be used by an artist considering the future of an artwork, as Joannine Tang sets out "the use of provenance when performed and motivated by the artist, who folds the object's futurity into a work of art's anteriority, in preparation for provenance, calculating how art will be inserted into future relations and exchange values".[29] Institutions or museums now collecting and acquiring live art pieces, have to be concerned not only about how to conserve and protect these works, but also how to re-perform or re-enact them. In 2012, the Head of Collection Care Research of Tate, Pip Laurenson, began work on a research project that would look at this in detail, engaging artists, museum professionals, and academics to consider the issues at stake for live art.

> Between 2012 and 2014, prompted by the live works entering Tate's collection, I led *Collecting the Performative*, a research network that examined emerging practice for collecting and conserving performance-based art, with Vivian van Saaze of Maastricht University. [...] Also within this network, we worked with a range of museum professionals, transmitters and artists to create a document called 'The Live List' which provides prompts for those thinking about acquiring or displaying live works. […] Subsequently Acatia Finbow has worked with the conservation department at Tate to develop this list to also consider documentation".[30]

The 'Live List' mentioned here by Laurenson has now expanded itself into a strategy for conservation and preservation of live art owned or to be acquired by Tate. Tim Etchells, Artistic Director of British theatre company, Forced Entertainment, was one

27 Gabriella Giannachi, "At the edge of the living present: re-enactments and reinterpretations as strategies for the preservation of performance and new media art" in *Histories of Performance Documentation: Museum, Artistic and Scholarly Practices* eds. Gabriella Giannachi and Jonah Westerman (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018) 118

28 Giannachi, "At the edge of the living present," 120

29 Jeannine Tang "Future Circulations On the work of Hans Haacke and Maria Eichorn" in eds. Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Reist *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012) 171

30 Jonah Westerman, Catherine Wood and Pip Laurenson "Tate – London" eds. *Histories of Performance Documentation: Museum, Artistic and Scholarly Practices* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018) 33

of a number of artists involved in this research project. Etchells began his 2013 talk at Tate by asking questions about the kinds of documentation of performance work that might exist and the issues surrounding them:

> Questions about the technical task of replicating of surfaces – matching and re-doing of something to the detail-map or template of the original, word for word, pause for pause, and how this work, the replication of surfaces, might not be quite the same thing as (but could be the same thing as) the replication of something's heart. About the difference between reproducing something and re-animating it, between re-enacting something and reactivating it.[31]

In this way Etchells indicates the importance of the potential between the initial instruction and the eventual realisation of the performance for people thinking about how to collect and conserve live art.

In her article on the idea that performance work might not stop expanding, Schneider focuses on this idea that came from the MOMA live art curator:

> Sabine Breitweiser who at that time was the chief curator of media and performance art at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Speaking of "acquiring actions" when "collecting" performance, Breitweiser said almost as an aside during the question and answer session after her talk: "if live artworks are collected correctly, I believe they can acquire a patina over time".[32]

This idea that the conservation of live art might add to the life of the performance piece became really significant to my own practice. In 2017, I was asked to add to the work that Acatia Finbow began as a result of her co-funded research with Tate and Exeter University on the Live List. Finbow had worked to make the 'Live List' (a series of suggestions about how to engage with live art in a collection) and had written up a series of challenges and suggestions for conservators in their thinking and choice making about what goes into documenting iterations of live artworks. I have since been working with the Head of Time-Based Media Conservation to take Finbow's work onwards. The subsequent strategy and template document for conservators could be considered to be a blueprint of a provenance of performance. The strategy document works in tandem with the 'Live Art Documentation Template' and comes with the advice to conservators that "the documentation of each enactment is so that each iteration can add to both the patina and the understanding of every time-based media piece owned by Tate".[33] In order to ensure conservators do not simply go

---

31   Tim Etchells, "Live Forever, in Fragments, A Text" Paper presented as part of the research project "Collecting the Performative" at the Tate Modern 25 November 2013.

32   Rebecca Schneider, "What Happened; or, Finishing Live" in *Representations*, Vol. 136 No. 1, Fall 2016; 98

33   *Strategy for the Documentation of Live Art: The Conservation and Preservation of Performance Based Artworks* (forthcoming) Tate

through a list speaking to each point, 'Live Art Documentation Template' has been designed as a menu of questions to emphasise the advice that "these are suggestions, but they are not exhaustive".[34] This process speaks to Laurenson's assertion that Tate is driving a strategy onwards,

> I am interested in the way in which artworks unfold through the re-engagement of the museum and the artist. I am keen to acknowledge these processes and to see them as part of the history of the work; let's value these records, surface them and make them public […] a way of being mindful of the fact that something is developing as a historic record throughout its active life and its different transitions.[35]

Whilst talking about the process of writing his paper, Etchells describes his computer crashing and the processes he then needs to take to pull together digital fragments from a range of locations stating, "I am not so much delivering this talk as retrieving it from a variety of places".[36] In an echo of the action involved in the retrieval of pieces of the past from different places, archaeologist Michael Shanks in an interview with artist Lynn Hershman Leeson, discussing the point when a series of archives from an artwork she had thought confiscated by the police, was acquired by Stanford University:

> Michael Shanks: I'm interested in what comes after the event, as it were. What you do with the remains of the past to somehow get back to where they originated.
> Lynn Hershman Leeson: I don't know that you can ever get back to that point, but you can go forward using them as context for the future. The trail of the remains may be dormant, but they exist, waiting to be revived or resurrected into something else.[37]

The process of conserving live art and documenting it in order to be able to re-enact it – to re-animate it from the archives, to enable it to take breath again, to enable it to 'live forever' to come out to play again, and again can also be seen to be a process of provenance. The story does not stop expanding but instead grows on into the future.

Documentation of performance and provenance

In order to consider the significance of how re-enactment might bring a new perspective to the process of narrative expansion, I am going to return to Abramović and the seminal show she put together as part of Performa 05, at the Guggenheim Museum in New York, *Seven Easy Pieces* (2005). *Seven Easy Pieces* was a series of

---

[34] *Live Art Documentation Template* (forthcoming) Tate
[35] Westerman, Wood and Laurenson "Tate – London," 34
[36] Etchells, "Live Forever, in Fragments, A Text"
[37] Lynn Hershman Leeson and Michael Shanks "Here and Now" in *Archaeologies of Presence: Art, performance and the persistence of being* eds. Gabriella Giannachi, Nick Kaye, Nick and Michael Shanks, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) 224

re-enactments made up of five other artists' work, and two of Abramović's own historical pieces. Abramović reworked Bruce Nauman's *Body Pressure* (1974), Vito Acconci's *Seedbed* (1972), VALIE EXPORT's *Action Pants: Genital Panic* (1969), Gina Pane's *The Conditioning* (1973), Joseph Beuys' *How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare* (1965) and her own performances, *Lips of Thomas* (1975), and the more recent *Entering the Other Side* (2005).

Abramović explained her desire to re-enact these performances as a response to incomplete or deficient documentation of the original pieces:

> In re-performing and re-documenting earlier performance art works, Abramović claims to have been motivated by a desire to avoid 'repeating the mistakes of the '70s' – mistakes with documentation that had, in her estimation, obscured the history of performance art. Having chosen performances that, she had not seen herself, Abramović was in the position of many who encounter performance art works through their fragmented records.[38]

The attempt by Abramović to fill the gap between the original event and the documentation of that event with the use of re-enactment as a process speaks to the phenomenon described by Giannachi in describing the capacity of re-enactment to undertake two simultaneous actions:

> This capacity of the re-enactment to be both original and a reproduction reveals a fundamental aspect of artistic production in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, namely the fact that the production process itself is becoming perhaps less important than the often performance accumulation of what could be described as relations between different works, but also among different versions of a work.[39]

By looking at what happens when Abramović attempts to rework a seminal performance, is a useful way to focus on the role of re-enactment in my research as it seeks to untangle the historical documentation and ways to access the original moment.

Jessica Santone in her article on *Seven Easy Pieces* suggests that "whether one understands performance as always disappearing, endlessly mediated [...] or perpetually repeating scenes of loss, the question of interpreting not the performance itself but its documentation comes to the fore."[40] Santone indicates that Abramović felt the available documentation "failed to accurately or fully convey the experience of

---

38   Shannon Jackson, *Social Works: Performing Art, Supporting Publi*cs (London: Routledge, 2011) 434

39   Giannachi, "At the edge of the living present," 118

40   Jessica Santone, "Marina Abramović's Seven Easy Pieces: Critical Documentation Strategies for Preserving Art's History," *Leonardo* 41, pp.147-152. 147. Accessed 17 November 2008 http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/leon.2008.41.2.147

the performance, motivating the artist to bring these works back to life."[41] The documentation, being limited to a few images, was even "iconic in its continued reproduction as complex works were reduced to singular images, belying the essentially body-based actions that Abramović understood to be at the heart of these six works."[42] Despite Abramović's aim to re-enact these performances, and thereby enabling an experience of the event that did not rely on two-dimensional documentation, her performances were very heavily documented. Essentially, audience members had to watch the show from behind a line of cameras. Lara Shalson describes how the visibility and proximity of the recording equipment watching the performances got in the way of the audience: "Yet, to 'be there' was also to be constantly aware of documentation, both of the well-known images and accounts of performances past, which were being evoked, and of the ever-present surrounding documentary apparatus."[43] The presence of the process of documentation was such a visible process that it led some commentators to suggest that they did not need to watch the work as the cameras were doing it for them, and they could return via documentation at a later point. For example, T. Nikki Cesare and Jenn Joy considered that the heavy presence of cameras caused them to feel that at the heart of the work were a set of contradictions that became an excuse to abandon being audience members because they knew it was being recorded, so they didn't need to watch it – the cameras were doing the work of the audience: "the contradictions entwined in *Seven Easy Pieces* become the excuse to not watch, become permission to leave because an intact, documented memory will still exist."[44] Yet despite the sheer weight of the presence of documentation Shalson goes on to look at what happens for an audience who stays and ignores the 'permission to leave', at what takes place between bodies, in a transmission of knowledge.

Shalson suggests that in Abramović's efforts to reconstruct these pieces, she was performing an experiment of "endurance" and asking the audience member to endure with her. The endurance experiment worked in a number of ways. Shalson focuses on three pieces in Abramović's arsenal at the Guggenheim and discusses the fact that through close studying of an aspect of the documentation of an original performance event, Abramović held the chosen pose for a period of time. The documentation she used tended to rely on the photographs of the performances of VALIE EXPORT *Action*

41   Santone, "Marina Abramović's Seven Easy Pieces," 148
42   Santo Santone, "Marina Abramović's Seven Easy Pieces," 148
43   Jackson *Social Works*, 434
44   Shalson, Lara "Enduring Documents: Re-Documentation in Marina Abramović's Seven Easy Pieces" *Contemporary Theatre Review* Vol. 23, No. 3, (2013) 437

Pants Genital Panic, Gina Pane's *The Conditioning* and Joseph Beuys's *How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare*. Shalson suggests that in the process, Abramović not only 'endured' the failures of the photograph and document to fully capture the original event, but also "helped the photographs themselves endure into the future, not as permanent and fixed, but as contingent and changing."[45] Shalson carefully considers the fact that Abramović is not attempting to master a total revisiting of the original event; instead she is remaking what has been left through the traces.

Although Abramović's banks of cameras designed to document her variation in a considered campaign create the opportunity for a wide archive of images around the reworked event, there was one account that made me think again about the significance and importance of re-enacting work in this way. Shalson's experience as an audience member brought an important new context to the work. In her parallel act of endurance, standing watching Abramović's endurance of cradling a dead hare for many hours, Shalson was able to understand the Beuys artwork in a way she had not been able to before. By travelling along with Abramović, her presence did cost her something (she also had to endure), but also presented her with something. In the process of Abramović holding a dead animal, stiffened by *rigor mortis*, the animal softened in close proximity to Abramović's warm body.

> When I look at the photo of Beuys now, I understand something about the relationship between his (then) living body and the hare's (already) dead body that I did not before. I understand how a living body might transform that which is still through an extended embodied engagement with it. I understand this because I was there at the Guggenheim thirty years after Beuys's performance when Abramović performed his actions and posed in the postures held by him in the images captured by the camera all those years before. For me, rather than supplanting the photograph or exposing its inadequacy, Abramović's performance served to extend the image. [46]

The transmission of new ways of looking at art as a result of re-enactment is picked up by other critical writers. In her essay 'The Now and the Has Been: Paradoxes of Live Art in History' at the beginning of *Perform Repeat Record,* Amelia Jones suggests that the processes of re-enactment give an opportunity to newness and to new understandings as Shalson herself was party to,

> The return to the live via complex modes of re-enactment, re-staging, reiteration, might be seen to be sparked by (and eliciting of) openness and hope, by way of presenting new possibilities of intervention and by activating fresh ways of thinking, making, being in the world.[47]

---

45   Shalson, "Enduring Documents," 437
46   Shalson, "Enduring Documents", 440
47   Amelia Jones, and Adrian Heathfield, *Perform Repeat Record: Live Art in History* (Bristol: Intellect, 2012) 14

The layering of embodied re-tellings of these artworks, the new story being created to lie adjacent to the old, creates a space for comparison, folding into and over each other, this is the aspect that Schneider sees as most significant: "it can be argued that any time-based art encounters its most interesting aspect in the fold: the double, the second, the clone, the uncanny, the *againness* of (re)enactment.[48] Giannachi also uses the terminology of the fold to indicate the relationship from original through documentation and into re-enactment. The imagery of unwrapping gives the shape of re-enactment as being something like cloth, something malleable:

> To unwrap a document into performance, and vice versa, make a document out of performance, through acts of re-interpretation and re-enactment, means unfolding one into the other […] This is why re-enactments form an 'appropriate' preservation strategy, for the facilitation of 'the circulation of work within its context of original again, as performance and through encounters with a new generation of spectators'.[49]

The means by which this unwrapping can take place is through bodies, as Shalson has indicated. The passing of knowledge is something Schneider sees as being central to re-enactment as she argues the case for performance being transmitted through bodies. Schneider looks to "the practices of US Civil War re-enactors who consider performance as precisely a way of keeping memory alive, of making sure it does not disappear".[50] The transmission of knowledge through bodies is something that I argue happens between performers and audience. As a result, documenting the experiences and knowledge of the audience need to be as significant as any other aspect in a provenance of performance.

---

48   Schneider, *Performing Remains* 6
49   Giannachi "At the edge of the living present," 129
50   Schneider, "Performance Remains Again," 69

Chapter 3 – Provenance and The Perspective of the Audience

Documentation and audiences

Provenance can be considered as the documentation of the life of an artwork, usually within a social setting, a list of who the object has been owned and sold to, when and where it has been exhibited and who the artwork has come into contact with. In relation to live art, a practice that requires an audience to witness its liveness, the social life of this kind of artwork, takes on another significant aspect, and perhaps therefore requires engagement with the audiences that a live artwork comes into contact with. This relationship with audience is so significant due to the multiple vantage points any given audience will have subjectively on a piece of performance, and their responses will give a richer perspective on any documentation or provenance on the social history of an artwork. Indeed, the social history of a piece of performance surely requires the documentation of the people who engage with it – not only in its creation but also in its reception. Ensuring the acquisition of an audience's responses can be seen to be a new way to think about provenance and performance.

In this chapter, I argue that engagement with the audience is a set of new histories that could be added to a provenance or social history compiled on an artwork to understand it more fully. In part this is due to the kinds of body to body story transmission that Schneider sees as occurring within the event of performance, "in the theatre, the issue of remains as material document, and the issue of performance as documentable, becomes complicated – necessarily imbricated, chiasmically, with the live body".[51] Including an understanding of audience is a crucial element in the space between performance and reception of that performance. There is here a potential transmission of understanding through bodies, from performer to spectator.

Audience and the Theatre

During the period that I have been working on this research, the question of audiences and audience responses has been growing in theatre discourses. In 2009, Helen Freshwater undertook a discussion on theatre and audience in the compact *Theatre &* series, which was certainly not the first time any writer on theatre had done this but was an attempt to compile many ideas around how to engage with audiences. Rather than consider some of the more theoretical or philosophical considerations on

---

[51]   Schneider, "Performance Remains Again," 65

audience, I am looking at a practice-based process in uncovering how to access engagement with the audience, and this has meant I want to look at this area in a specific kind of way. Freshwater's work takes a new stance on the issue and asks if: "this apparent aversion to engaging with audience response is related to deep-seated suspicion of, and frustration with, audiences? And, if so, what are the grounds for this suspicion? Why are audiences apparently not to be trusted?"[52] Freshwater acknowledged that engagement with the audience is under represented and her perspective is shared. For example, Kirsty Sedgman suggests "audience studies, a discipline that emerged in the 1930s, but which has only recently begun to consolidate its presence within theatre and performance studies".[53] In her 2003 essay 'Audiencing the Audience', Linda Park-Fuller sets out to explore why there is such a paucity of audience research in theatre studies "despite, or because of, theories that problematize concepts of performance audience, few recent studies of audience exist".[54] In a comprehensive list she points at the places in research where the audience has featured but concludes that this has just made it more complex a space to consider. "Paradoxically, however, while contemporary theories and methods have given us vocabularies and frameworks in which to talk about audience, they have also problematized the concept of audience to the point of rendering it chaotic—an apparent abyss into which, as scholars, we tentatively venture".[55] Sedgman, in considering this aspect of why audiences have not been engaged with as much as other areas of expertise, looks to Eleanore Belfiore's article 'On Bullshit in Cultural Policy Practice and Research' which as Sedgman sees it:

> The impact of the arts had been 'one of the defining themes of cultural policy in Britain and beyond over the past 10–15 years', until recently such discourses tended to rely on professionally implicated commentators to ascertain the 'intrinsic value' of cultural experiences.[56]

If audience engagement is undertaken by organisations, Sedgman indicates this was largely through "the adoption of 'impact' and/or 'advocacy' approaches: either by focusing on demographic segmentation of audiences as a means of developing better methods of attraction, or by designing qualitative studies that set out to prove the taken-for-granted benefits of arts activity".[57] Certainly, many professional theatre companies and art institutions invest in differing level of audience engagement on their

---

[52] Freshwater, *Theatre and the Audience,* 11
[53] Kirsty Sedgman, "Audience Experience in an Anti-expert Age: A Survey of Theatre Audience Research," *Theatre Research International* vol. 42, no. 3: 308
[54] Linda M. Park-Fuller "Audiencing the Audience: Playback Theatre, Performative Writing, and Social Activism", *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 23:3, (2003): 288
[55] Park-Fuller "Audiencing the Audience," 289
[56] Sedgman, "Audience Experience in an Anti-expert Age," 308-9
[57] Sedgman "Audience Experience in an Anti-expert Age," 309

productions and in the future development of their work with audiences. The Audience Agency is an organisation that liaises with arts organisations across the UK, helping them to understand their audiences more. In their most recent online client list, there are over 1000 organisations including hundreds of theatres, venues and touring companies, as well as multi-disciplinary organisations that produce plays.[58] The Agency assists with compiling demographics on audiences, enables a national benchmark so that organisations can see what other similar companies are achieving or have understood through their audiences, and in, particular, helps thinking around segmentation of audiences, so organisations can understand the profile of their base and their potential new audiences better.

Different kinds of audience engagement

Professional theatre companies invariably and economically need to repeat successes but most audience surveys from an organisation like the Audience Agency focus on demographics to help understand where marketing strategies need to go. There seems mostly to be a reliance on electronic surveys that are fairly unobtrusive and directed towards people who are already signed up to a company's marketing lists. A growing number of companies are now using video trailers and setting up YouTube channels, which contain an embedded capacity to capture and track audience data through powerful built in analytical tools. This sort of information might include where audiences are located, whether they subscribed to the channel, or if they have acted upon call-to-action links embedded in the video. There are also a growing number of performances that are live streamed online. The live streaming functionality is often provided from external companies who then provide streaming data for marketing and company statistics after the event. For example, Forced Entertainment have used independent video organisation Quadia for some of their durational shows of recent years, and streaming statistics are sent back soon after the event.[59]

In order to consider what might be at work as to why audience engagement is not as established in theatre theory or with practitioners, Sedgman looks to the article 'What UK Spectators Know' by Janelle Reinelt to list three issues which might be working to create problems:

---

[58]   'Who is using Audience Finder?' Audience Finder - Accessed February 2018
         https://audiencefinder.org/clients/
[59]   Stockdale, Sam. (Forced Entertainment producer) email message to the author, 12 January 2015.

First is a possible 'contempt or fear of audiences on the part of artists (and, by association, scholars)'. The second is a methodological lacuna within the discipline, which has not traditionally offered training in those analytical methods that study the interplay between qualitative and quantitative data (often called 'quali-quantitative' or 'qualiquant' research), instead tending to direct ethnographic enquiries towards 'insider knowledge of artistic organizations, rehearsal processes, or other research problems more related to production than reception'. The third explanation offered by Reinelt 'is that this kind of research can seem too close to the "market research" or ratings games that are at the heart of commercial ventures within consumer-based capitalism'.[60]

Reinelt's second point underlines the fact that most theatre studies programmes do not engage with methods of empirical data collation as a standard aspect of research training. In my own experience at Leeds University, I had to specifically seek out specialist arts qualitative data collection training rather than it being part of grounding for my theatre research. Add this to the tangled issues and perspectives that one audience member or many audience members might bring to their reaction to a piece of theatre, it is no wonder that Freshwater has suggested that there is a "mystifying mythology", at work to distance practitioners from their audiences.[61]

There is, as a result, a growing attempt to change this resistance to a more comprehensive engagement with audiences, Weaver sets out what Freshwater has set in motion:

This moment of being caught between individual responsibility and collective response, between active engagement and passive consumption, is my lived experience of Helen Freshwater's careful survey of the wide range of approaches that theatre scholars, philosophers, practitioners and promoters take when considering the presence and power of the audience. It is also a reply to her call for more research that explores audience response."[62]

Lyn Gardner, theatre critic with *The Guardian*, in 2013, also called on theatres to engage more fully with audiences. Gardner envisaged a process from theatre makers to audiences "that would embrace them not just as consumers of whatever the theatre decides to give them, but as equal participants."[63] She suggests that this is a risk that needs to be taken on. Sedgman also calls for an end to the suggestion that audience engagement is not being undertaken, and instead to see that "the time seems right to consider the strengths and limitations of this approach, and to point to its potential

---

[60]   Sedgman "Audience Experience in an Anti-expert Age," 310
[61]   Freshwater, *Theatre and Audiences* 11
[62]   Freshwater, *Theatre and Audiences* x-xi
[63]   "Making a play: theatre needs risk-takers more than ever", Lyn Gardner, 27 May 2013, accessed 8 July 2014. https://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2013/may/27/theatre-risk-takers-funding-cuts

future directions as an emergent discipline".[64] As an optimistic response to Sedgman, and a coda to the work I've already done, it is useful here to look at some examples of different ways that theatre has been trying to engage with audience.

Whilst in general theatres have been slow to engage audiences in the research and development of shows, things are changing. The company Fevered Sleep, who make a variety of performance and artwork, regularly engage with audiences, to drive the development of projects. They have been involved in a four-year research project looking at how work for children is developed and engage with young audiences to carry this research out. The recent *Dusk*, a children's show, was a fully integrated part of a research project called *Future Play*.[65] *Dusk* was developed in research workshops with children, and in partnership with researchers from the Intel Collaborative Research Institute on Sustainable Connected Cities at Imperial College London and University College London. This looked at ways to engage different kinds of audience with technology. The performance involves the audience dressing up with a very high-quality animal tail and ears costume that looks almost identical to the costume of the main characters.

Figure 1 Tails being distributed to children at a performance of Fevered Sleep's 'Dusk'

With such a large proportion of the audience being children, and with so many school groups attending the performances at the Young Vic, Fevered Sleep wanted to

---

64   Sedgman "Audience Experience in an Anti-expert Age," 312
65   'Future Play'; Fevered Sleep, accessed 12 October 2016.
          http://www.feveredsleep.co.uk/fpresources/

capitalise on this resource-as-audience to possibly inform future performances. The team had set out to create a method by which children could feedback on what they'd seen without needing an adult to mediate the process. Sarah Gallacer from University College London created a series of five boxes with dials, buttons and other colourful and interactive aspects to encourage children to use a co-collaborative aspect so that the children would want to independently answer questions about what they'd just seen to establish what they could remember and what they'd taken from the show. In addition, observations from early performances showed that whilst it was expected that the children would find wearing tails like this pleasurable, they spent more time than expected being distracted by the way they moved in the space with the tails. To expand upon this discovery, one performance was set up where motion sensors were placed inside the tails worn by the children, to see how they moved around the space and engaged with their tails during the performance.

Longitudinal research into theatre audiences

Another project that shows a different way of doing things in relation to audience was launched in 2012 by the British Theatre Consortium as a research project to engage with audiences through surveys, interviews and workshops. This research entitled *Critical Mass* looked at how audiences valued the theatre they engaged with. This piece of academic research is a significantly different piece of work in theatre studies as it is both quantitative and longitudinal, undertaken with the input of Freshwater herself. *Critical Mass* looks at theatre's impact over time, revealing "how subjects process their experiences as an on-going part of individual lives, and those of their families and social circles."[66] The project set new expectations of what academic research in this area might seek to achieve.

The research looked at how audiences value the experience of attending performance and talked to a range of people seeing different plays at different theatres. Research questions were put to the participants before they saw the performance, then again, the day after the performance, and finally, once again two months after the performance. The Royal Shakespeare Company (London), the Young Vic (London) and the Theatre Royal Drum (Plymouth) and fourteen plays were used in the research. The plays ranged from Mark Ravenhill's adaptation of *Candide* to Theatre O's adaptation of Conrad's *The Secret Agent.*[67] Of the fourteen plays, eight

---

[66]   Janelle Reinelt, David Edgar, Chris Megson, Dan Rebellato, Julie Wilkinson, Jane Woddis
        Cultural Value, Critical Mass: Theatre Spectatorship and Value Attribution 2014
        http://britishtheatreconference.co.uk
[67]   The fourteen plays were as follows: *Candide* – Mark Ravenhill adaptation, *Hamlet* - Shakespeare,

were either established texts from the theatrical canon or adaptations from established canonical literature. Of the remaining six plays, four appear to abide by traditional theatrical formats with only *Fight Night* by Ontroerend Goed and *The Animals and Children took to the Streets* by 1927 theatre offering an alternative format – the former partially involving the audience to choose between actors to vote out of the performance, and 1927 staging a performance using mixed media including animation and live music.

If discussions with and research into audiences is rare in the theatre, then longitudinal studies involving the same area of work are even rarer. This piece of research foregrounded the question of whether changes occur in how spectators thought about their experience at the theatre over time. Some participants were asked about work they'd seen over a year ago, with others being questioned two months after seeing a play. The collation of demographic information included age, gender, education, occupation, disability and previous experience of theatre. Despite detailed examinations of the implications of the educational background and age of respondents, the research findings did not include any data on ethnic breakdown. They asked participants why they had chosen that particular play, what their expectations were and whether they had lasting memories of other performances that they'd seen previously. The research was conducted with initial surveys, and then followed up with focussed interviews and workshops. In total the research used 317 participants, with the majority filling in surveys and 35 participants engaged in interviews, and 11 in workshops across the three theatres. The research picked up on the significance of key terms in the responses as well as framing some specific issues in the questions. In particular, there was an emphasis on how the theatre reflected a connection to the participants' lives and then beyond that to a relevance and connection to contemporary life.

From these interviews, surveys and workshops, the research found that in the process of attending theatre, audience members were able to engage with their own narratives as well as being able to share collective histories. The research suggested that this led to audience members being able to speak about their identity in different ways:

Wolf Hall – Mike Poulton adaptation, *Twelfth Night* - Shakespeare, *The Heresy of Love* – Helen Edmundsun, *The Secret Agent* – Theatre O adaptation, *The Events* – David Grieg, *Happy Days* – Samuel Beckett, *The Changeling* – Middleton and Rowley, *Fight Night* – Ontroerend Goed, *The Animals and Children took to the Streets* – 1927 Theatre, *Solid Air* – Doug Lucie, *Lovesong* – Abie Morgan, and *Horse Piss for Blood* – Carl Grose

> Theatre going provides an imaginative framework over time in which to locate and interpret personal and collective histories. Participation in a shared theatrical culture bonds one generation with another and provides structure for the articulation of personal and to some extent, civic identity.[68]

The findings led the team to stress the need for theatre to embed an engagement with the audience by recognising the agency of the participatory body of the audience. Beyond pursuing audience responses to ensure that companies are doing all they can to bring in different demographics, some companies are beginning to go to the audience to see what they have to say.

Listening to audiences

Despite criticisms that the theatre does not readily engage with audiences, the journal *Participations* has been running since 2002, with a core focus on audiences and audience research. It has published twenty-four issues since 2002, and a recent edition contains a piece by its chief editor, Matthew Reason, who lays out a range of the empirical research from theatre studies over the years. He does acknowledge that of 370 articles in *Participations,* only four included empirical data and posits that despite an increased amount of empirical research, particularly in the field of Australian theatre studies, there was still "a sense that until recently empirical research in theatre studies has largely consisted of sporadic pockets of activity, rather than something fully integrated into the subject area as a whole."[69] There have also been attempts to fold the audience into processes of recall around performance, to use the audience as a form of documentation. One such attempt took place in 2006, when Heike Roms launched a research project that looked to uncover through a process of archaeology, the history of live art and performance in Wales since 1968. The project was called *What's Welsh for Performance (Beth yw 'performance' yn Gymraeg?)*. Roms wanted to create as comprehensive a set of data as possible, which would be available to the public online, and secondly, to stage a series of oral history performances with significant artists in the shape of an interview in front of an audience. The series of interviews took place between 2006-2008 and was entitled *An Oral History of Performance Art in Wales*. Roms felt that staging the engagements with artists addressed a level of the performativity of such archaeology of remembering. Crucially in relation to my research, this staging it in front of an audience was key

---

[68]   Reinelt, *Critical Mass: Theatre Spectatorship and Value Attribution*, 10

[69]   'Participations' Online journal, Volume 12, Issue 1 Matthew Reason, accessed 12 July 2015 http://www.participations.org

because Roms wanted to use the audiences themselves as another strand into the recollections of the artists:

> By inviting an audience to the conversations, I also wished to emphasize that these artists' stories are not providing us with the only possible, authoritative version of events, even where their own work is concerned, but that remembering performance must be a communal effort. Audiences at the conversations, who may include past collaborators or witnesses of past performances, are invited to add their own memories, helping to accumulate an interactive and diverse archive of performance art in Wales.[70]

In the collection Roms brought together first a photograph of the staged interview and usually the artists and interviewer are on a raised platform with the heads of the audience shot from the back. Following this there is a transcription of the staged interviews in full and then a small selection of questions from the audience. Finally, there is a small selection of other documentation of the artist's work as photographs or notes about the work or flyers and posters of the promotional material.

The transcription of the audience's input follows a traditional questions and answers, which is standard at public talks, and people pick up on issues that either they have some fascination for or a query about. In Roms' collection, it is rarer that recollections of the artwork or processes are captured. Where audience members were discussing memories of their own, it was more to do with the surrounding political situation rather than a dissenting memory of the performance under consideration. There are only a small selection of comments and questions from the audience, so it is possible that Roms was able to bring their input into the database in a broader fashion, but this is not indicated in the book. Asking audience members to engage in public, in front of the artist in question, is not going to be the most inclusive way of engaging with all kinds of different accounts as people might not have wanted to disagree with memories coming from the stage. This particular process demonstrated that even when audience reactions are being documented, thereby bringing more voices into play, it would still be subjected to the intentions of the artist. However, despite these issues, that Roms saw this input as important in her research is significant and indicates one way to expand the narratives around a work.

Another project that looks to the recall of the audience is the on-going archival project *Collecting Fireworks* by Helen Cole. Cole has been touring this archive around the world since 2011. The project is a simple one: it asks audience members to recall

---

[70] Heike Roms *What's Welsh for Performance (Beth yw 'performance' yn Gymraeg?* (Cardiff; Samizdat Press, 2008) xi-xii

a significant performance and be audio recorded as they do so. These memories then join the archive and the archive tours the world, enabling people to listen to the memories caught in this recording. The installation is experienced in a dark room, which the visiting audience can wander round, whilst listening to the voices of the recorded past audiences. The room is lit by hanging bare light bulbs.

In 2011, it was installed at the Barbican as part of the *Spill Festival* and was a rare occasion where the memories of the audiences were positioned as a resource to experience. Obviously, these memories were of many different performances, and not all of them were theatrical ones necessarily, some voices recalled music performances, or events performed by friends. However, it centres the voice of the audience member as a significant resource in the recall and documentation of an experience, and therefore in the larger sense, to the potential use of the audience in the documentation of performance historically.

The examples I've cited above have mainly used audience experiences to add layers to established performances such as *Collecting Fireworks*, creating frameworks for new performances such as Fevered Sleep's work with children, or creating contexts on past performances such as in Roms' research work. The *Collecting Fireworks* expanding archive perhaps feels the most aligned to my research interests because it never felt like a thin exercise in engagement. Coles' project absolutely folded the narratives into the ever-expanding body of work. As I was involved with narrating a story into that expanding body, I was keenly aware of my voice joining a proliferation of other voices in something that felt like the beginnings of a future archive.

Art spaces and audiences

As with my consideration of the importance of re-enactment in relation to my case studies, it is also useful to think about how the artworld and gallery spaces are making changes in engaging with how significant audiences are. The exhibition *The Imagined Museum* (2016) at Tate Liverpool, was a show in two halves, and conceived as a process of remembering. Stemming from a political response to current financial cuts throughout the UK affecting the arts, and a need to recognise the importance of the presence of art, the show set out to look at the concept of a future museum where the work had been removed, and all that was left was the recollection through audiences. This show used stepping-off points such as Ray Bradbury's dystopian *Fahrenheit 451*

(a novel about a time where books are banned and only available through the bodies of people who have committed one book each to memory), and an image of the Louvre during the German occupation of the Second World War (where paintings were removed for safekeeping, and walls were left with frames hanging with the titles of the absent paintings). The curator of the exhibition, Darren Pih, referred to an essay in relation to this experience of absence and presence.

> Yet against this backdrop, the French scholar André Malraux envisaged a re-definition of the parameters of the museum, not unrelated to the very real possibility of a future without art objects. His 1947 essay *Le Musée Imaginaire* (translated as the 'museum without walls') imagined a museum in book form, its images liberated from historical context as well as museums' usual systems of classifying works of art, and able to be rearranged in the mind of the reader to create new meanings.[71]

The show was populated with a range of well-known artworks for a month, and each artwork was assigned someone to consider how to describe it. At the end of the month, the artworks would all be removed from the gallery. The final aspect of the show would be a performance of the memories of these lost works.

> The exhibition will culminate with an exciting final weekend (20 – 21 February). All of the artworks will 'disappear', leaving the gallery to be replaced by members of the public who will personally recollect the missing art works to become *2053: A Living Museum*.[72]

During that final weekend, a number of members of the public performed their memories of chosen artworks. As with *Fahrenheit 451* each artwork in the show was assigned a human memory. Some members of the public performed narratives about their experience of the artwork. Often considerations of the artworks were relayed in the present tense and included the performer's personal narratives as well as descriptions of how they remembered the physicality of the missing artworks.

The context of the malleability of new layers to the re-enacted artwork can be seen here, as there was a sense of memory folding and layering into the artworks, art layered with new writing. Each performer had their own style and the performance of memory involved the realisation of the multiplicity of ways this work could be interpreted or translated in memory. Some performers contextualised the work by asking audiences to imagine what might be there themselves. Rosie Cooper for example, a curator from the Liverpool Biennial team, speaking about a Warhol piece

---

[71]   "Paul Almásy: Making Absence Present" The Double Negative. Darren Pih, accessed 8 October 2016 http://www.thedoublenegative.co.uk/2016/01/paul-almasy-making-absence-present/

[72]   "Works to Know by Heart – The Imagined Museum" Tate. Accessed Friday 7 October 2016 http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-liverpool/exhibition/works-know-heart-imagined-museum

says, "I can't quite remember the story, you'll have to imagine it."[73] Pih acknowledged during his performance of Barbara Kruger's *Untitled (We Will No Longer Be Seen and Not Heard)* that they had not been able to find people to remember Polke's *Pasadena* (1968) and Thomas Bayrle *Nuremberg Orgy* (1966). He says to the audience, "take a moment to accept these will be lost."[74] Part of this show was an action of committing to memory, a performance of provenance, with re-enactment working here as a slippage in time between that which is lost and that which is rediscovered through memory. In the process new layers and new contexts were grafted onto the work, gifted to the audience who were given the vision of the missing artworks, from the perspective of another different audience, an audience from the past. The audience engaging in this re-enactment could access completely new takes on well-known artworks. At one level, the premise of Pih's show at Tate Liverpool looked at the precarity of art collections in current economic climate with the Conservative government's drive to make wide-ranging cuts, but the show is also a rare example placing new narratives from different kinds of voices, in the very centre of the frame. The audience was of paramount importance to the concept of Pih's exhibition and can be seen to demonstrate a key overlap point between the significance of audience and the format of re-enactment to make new narratives and histories available to the provenance of a piece of performance.

How to talk to audiences

In order to now move into my methodology section, I want to return to Park-Fuller's 'Audiencing the Audience' to consider the challenges within the premise of talking to the audience, that is to say, how do we talk when we talk to the audience? How should questions be positioned?

> For example, how do we ask audience members to articulate changes in awareness about social issues as they view a given production without, on one hand, prejudicing them through language that may lead to a presumed response or, on the other, resorting to simplistic questions that prompt only a "yes, no, or sort of" response and tells us very little? We need questions that are simple and straightforward but also capable of calling forth thick descriptions of experiences that are difficult to articulate. We also need new forms of communication, including narrative and performance forms, through which audience members can express responses.[75]

---

[73]   Rosie Cooper, "Andy Warhol's 100 Campbell's Soup Cans 1962" (performance as part of *2053: A Living Museum*. Tate Liverpool 20 February 2016)

[74]   Darren Pih "Barbara Kruger's Untitled (We Will No Longer Be Seen and Not Heard)" (performance as part of *2053: A Living Museum*. Tate Liverpool 20 February 2016)

[75]   Park-Fuller, "Audiencing the Audience," 289

Park-Fuller is echoed in some of her concerns by Sedgman, writing in 2018, when she suggests that when audiences are the subject of research, we need to think about different ways to engage with the resulting material:

> Although the traditional triad of interviews, questionnaires and focus groups remains in common use, those researching arts audiences have also been active in the development of creative and participatory methodologies, in which respondents are positioned as co-creators of knowledge rather than subjects of analysis.[76]

In order to position audience members as co-creators of knowledge, rather than specifically co-creators of the work, the right kinds of questions need to be asked and perhaps in different kinds of formats than organisations like the Audience Agency would ask of an audience. Whilst demographics and metrics need to be more considered in the way that performance is thought about critically, in order to ensure that audiences are considered as a crucial part of the provenance of performance, it is key to collate a richer, more varied collation of their responses and thoughts.

---

[76] Sedgman "Audience Experience in an Anti-expert Age," 314

Chapter 4 - The methodology of my research

Thinking on how academics like Sedgman have been working with audience studies would have been incredibly useful in the early construction of my research methods but were simply not available to me during the period I was working with audiences. My work was taking place at the same time as the consideration of this field was being honed by other people and shows that audience engagement was a growing concern for the field of performance and live art. However, it is at the later stages of my research that work by Sedgman and work such as the research undertaken by Tate for 'Live List' have fed into my thesis. As a result of the focus groups and screenings, and these different aspects of audience research, I have been able to imagine the ways that audiences might help to develop new themes and ideas in the realm of performance in relation to development processes and in how these might expand.

Audiences: methodologies and processes

During my part-time research that took place over eight years, I was undertaking work that travelled back and forth through time (back to 1984, back to 1994, back to 2014 etc.) and geographical distance (Leeds, London, London, Sheffield) and between the memories and responses of audiences across these overlaps created a space of uncertainty of the direction I was going in sometimes. In trying to understand what particular narratives were present, I set out to investigate the direction of travel the stories took around and about the artwork. The process itself had a significant impact on the focus of my research. I found that the attempt to keep the historical narratives open had an impact on the research methods in turn. This kind of impact is addressed by Davis, Normington, & Bush-Bailey when they state that "theatre historiography has come to define not only the way we write about the theatrical past but also how we raise issues about the research methods we use in uncovering, interpreting and disseminating that past."[77] As my research opened up the processes of how the artwork was made, the story that lay behind the work appeared to split out into different trajectories.

I wanted to find out *how* the work was made and *how* it worked on people in particular in order to uncover the social life of the artworks and also access new art histories in order to capture a wider provenance on the work than had been

---

[77] Jim Davis, Katie Normington & Gilli Bush-Bailey with Jacky Bratton, "Researching Theatre History and Historiography" in *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance* ed., Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011) 89

undertaken before. I particularly needed to investigate the processes at work in the creation of the artworks because of my (erroneous) pre-conceptions about how Deller had created *The Battle of Orgreave* from testimonials. This had particular significance for *The Battle of Orgreave* but was proved to be a useful system to apply to Miller's *Linked* in turn. I found separating the re-enactment performance event from the Figgis documentary on *The Battle of Orgreave* challenging and saw evidence of a similar kind of struggle in much of the critical analysis of the event. I also wanted to establish an in-depth provenance of performance in terms of what exactly was happening at different points of the work's creation and who had been involved at different levels. Both artworks took a number of years to create and both had a technological aspect embedded from the outset (film and sound installation) so there were many structural considerations to be addressed in pursuing these lines. I investigated the history in the making of the artworks by talking to the people that contributed to their creation, and by delving into the different archives and documentation attached to the making process and event.

As these two artworks each had a significant relationship with a political moment in time, I needed to examine how each emerged from different types of engagement with those situations. It also became important to draw attention to the fact that narrative can close down critical understanding of an artwork, just as it can open up understanding. Some critical responses can obscure aspects, even as that documentation delivers the artwork to new audiences. Both artworks had to vie with specific situations in the reading or experience of the work and therefore it was crucial that the attempt to create a provenance of each performance piece was considered as an on-going and mutable set of stories.

At the heart of my thesis lies a core belief that engagement with an audience is an under-used resource in much of contemporary artwork and performance. Due to the 'given' nature of performance, it is crucial to use as many resources as possible to research and discuss the work. As Davis, Normington and Bush-Bailey raise in their chapter on research processes in performance,

> Given the inevitable interplay of liveness and disappearance in any past performance, research methods in theatre must enable both memorialisation and disruption and must embrace oral testimony and embodied history as well as the material object and the written text.[78]

---

78   Davis, Normington & Bush-Bailey, with Bratton, "Researching Theatre," 97

I want to ensure that the embodied histories of a performance piece include the perspective of the audience, and to also think in different ways about how that history can be recorded. With this in mind I want to take on board Park-Fuller's exhortation to think about different methods of measuring this kind of research:

> In pedagogic and many social science disciplines, quantitative methodology lays claim to and is usually granted supremacy as a tool for measuring audience response. That is especially true in issues of efficacy and as we increasingly seek to understand performance as a means of advocating social change, quantitative methods loom large as an obvious methodological choice. Now more than ever, we need sophisticated quantitative studies that will measure the types and extent of social disturbance and regeneration prompted by performance. [...] Yet, it would be equally foolish to limit our audience research to studies using only quantitative methods. [79]

In order to think about these different methods, I placed audience and the people that helped to co-create and produce the artworks at the heart of the way I did my research, to try and find the significance of having multiple perspectives. This was to attempt to engage with Park-Fuller's call to "understand the rich contributions that audience members bring to a performance, what happens in performance, what they take with them when they leave, where it goes in the world, and what it does there".[80] I wanted also to see whether or not this would also reflect upon whether there was then a multiplicity of narratives in their experience but also in the impact of the work.

The best ways to listen – working with quantitative data collection

Work that retains the capacity to tell a multiplicity of stories to an audience also possesses the potential for rich reflection on the nature of participation. The central aspect for my investigations was to retain an open approach to understanding what had taken place in the creation and performance of these artworks. I began by unpicking the available documentation and archival records of the making of the work, but it soon became obvious that I needed to speak first hand to the people that created the work to enable a more nuanced understanding at what was at stake. I am a humanities student, not a social science student and this background had not prepared me to carry out the sort of data collection necessary for this research route. Whilst there are some areas of theatre studies that do engage with social science methodology, notably Applied Theatre, this was not my research background. Freshwater identifies this lack in general theatre academics as a reason more work is not undertaken on audience as "the majority of theatre scholars are not trained in the fields of empirical psychology and sociology, and in consequence the delivery of rigorous audience research presents them with substantial methodological

---

[79]   Park-Fuller, "Audiencing the Audience," 290-291
[80]   Park-Fuller, "Audiencing the Audience," 307

challenges."[81] To prepare for the task of engaging with different groups, I undertook arts-focussed qualitative training at the University of Leeds, which addressed issues on engaging with audiences through questionnaires, focus groups and interviews.

Overview of methods

I decided upon a number of ways to engage with audience members and involved participants in the creation and the performances of the events. Firstly, to find original participants from the two events and to speak to them about their memories of the events. Secondly, to bring new audiences together and find out what they thought about each of the artworks. The ways I looked to do this was as follows:

The Battle of Orgreave

- To hold number of public screenings of Figgis' film specifically in the Leeds and South Yorkshire areas
- To create questionnaires for participants (mostly re-enactors) in the original event
- To create questionnaires for original audiences
- To create questionnaires for audiences of the film
- To hold in-depth interviews with production team
- To hold interviews with original audience members of the event

Linked

- To set up a number of tours of the audio-walk – providing equipment for participants
- To create questionnaires for protestors, artists or residents from the Leyton area
- To create questionnaires for audiences of the walk
- To hold in-depth interviews with production team
- To hold interviews with audience members from the guided tours I undertook

Once these research processes and the questionnaires had received approval by the Ethics Committee at Leeds, the questionnaires were made available online through the Bristol Online Surveys. I began broadcasting my search for participants and audience members to the original events nationally early in 2011. I also began searching for partners and venues in which to hold the screenings of *The Battle of Orgreave*. At the same time, I began to advertise a call for interested parties to get in touch to take part in group-walks of *Linked.*

The questionnaires I put together fell into six different types: for the *Orgreave* artwork, it split into people who had been there as re-enactors, people who were present as audience members at the original performance, then people who were

---

[81]   Freshwater, *Theatre and the Audience* 36-7

audience members of the film. For the *Linked* project I created questionnaires for people who had lived in the area during the run up to the road being built, and then questionnaires for people who had done the walk. Questions for audiences tended to focus on how local they were, how they'd found out about the event, what they could remember significantly about the event, what they valued about it, what they had reservations about, what they might have learnt and how they behaved as audience members (where they stood, how they moved about the performance space). The historical questionnaires had more free-ranging aspects, allowing people to go into detail about their relationship with the area and their memories of the run up to the building of the road.

As time went on, it quickly became obvious that the questionnaires were not the best format as despite pushing them through various means (social media, mailing lists, groups such as re-enactment societies) they simply did not get much take up. I discovered that I was beginning to receive the most responses online, not from people wanting to fill in the questionnaires but from original audience members of *The Battle of Orgreave* re-enactment who were eager to talk to me about what they remembered.

The longest and richest responses came from the set of questionnaires in response to the history of *Linked*. These came from a couple of protestors who had lived at Leyton in the run up to the end of the occupation of empty properties ahead of demolition who were really keen to talk about a significant moment in their political history. The level of detail they submitted was quite astounding given it had taken place a long time ago, but the accounts were quite set and there was little scope to open the conversation up. I felt it was going to be more informative to talk in an open fashion with involved people rather than rely on the restrictive format of the questionnaire. From this point on, I focussed on undertaking in-depth interviews taking around an hour. This included interviews with the following people:

- Both artists
- Audience members of the original performance event at Orgreave
- The production team for *Orgreave* including representatives from Artangel as varied as the Director Michael Morris, or Eleanor Nairne one of the curators at Artangel, through to Howard Giles the Director of EventPlan, the field narrator at the re-enactment, and Mike Figgis, the Hollywood director.
- The production team for *Linked* including representatives from Artsadmin, a third of the interviewing team for *Linked*, a resident from the M11 road

> protest who had featured in the artwork and a number of the founding board of ACME who had housed artists in the area

- Feedback from focus groups of people from the five screenings of *The Battle of Orgreave*

- Interviews with the focus groups from the five walks of *Linked*

- Two interviews specifically around how *The Battle of Orgreave* has been developed since the original event at subsequent art exhibitions

Overall there were 33 separate interviews by email, phone or face to face, with over 40 hours of transcribed content running to over 87,000 words. In addition, I used the London College of Communication research resource of interviews with artists who had been housed in the area by groups such as ACME.[82]

In the online theatre journal specifically set up to look at audiences, Reason also considered how audience assessment as an on-going workable concern, might avoid issues around alienating audiences with a bombardment of questioning:

> As the contributions here demonstrate, whether responses are captured via fan mail letters sent to theatre practitioners, or through undergraduate student essays, or by participants walking around a performance site talking to each other, audience research can also gather useful knowledge through smaller or more concentrated studies. What matters above all else and what our authors here achieve is to take the challenge of addressing audiences' experiences seriously.[83]

Reason suggests that the balance lies in opening empirical research up into less rigorous forms of data analysis, that engagement with an audience could encompass alternative methods beyond questionnaires or interviews. As mine was a more arts-based methodology than a social science response, it is less reliable in terms of any representative sample: it was a self-selecting sample of responses from people who had already established themselves as being engaged by this work and these questions. However, it still allowed for a rich seam of ideas and thoughts and though it took longer and required more work, it allowed more space for wider stories to materialise.

---

[82] Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994', University of the Arts London, Research online, accessed 15 July 2015 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[83] 'Participations' Online journal, Volume 12, Issue 1 Matthew Reason, accessed 12 July 2015 http://www.participations.org

In addition to the different forms of interviews I held four *The Battle of Orgreave* screenings to a total of around 400+ audience members between early 2012 and late 2013. Following those screenings there was two formal focus groups and two informal audience-driven discussions. I carried out five *Linked* guided walks with between four and fifteen attendees, and all had focus groups sessions after the event, and supported two independent solo walks by providing the equipment, and directions and discussed their responses afterwards. The participants in the silent guided walk carried out in the summer of 2013, were interviewed twice by me as individuals and then also as a group.

Screenings and walks

It took about nine months to screen the first showing of *The Battle of Orgreave*. This would be the largest at over 300 attendees and the one with the biggest promotional campaign. I put a lot of energy into promoting this event through the local press. I had seen particular success from an interview on BBC Radio Leeds, West Yorkshire with Andrew Edwards. Edwards brought in another interviewee, Ken Capstick, former vice president of the National Union of Mineworkers. The first event raised the profile of my research, and that was a huge boost particularly in order to establish the research as sympathetic to local groups and miners. In terms of enthusiasm and support for the project, the most successful partnership relationships were either with local radical arts or political groups such as Red Ladder Theatre, The Really Open Space (a radical political space in Leeds), Wharf Chambers (a not-for-profit cooperative run venue in Leeds) or within education institutions that I had a previous connection with via someone who had taken part or attended Orgreave. My screenings at Sheffield University were due to engagement with Tim Etchells who had been a re-enactor at Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave* and the screening at Chelsea Art College, part of the University of the Arts, and the University of the Arts in London, was due to my interviewing David Cross, artist and lecturer who had attended as an audience member in 2001.

Practical problems

Firstly, I was limited by the engagement of potential partners to assist me in contacting subjects. My initial queries were directly to Artangel and Artsadmin to see if it was possible to contact people who had contributed to the making of the work and if they had details of audience members. Artangel could not release the details of the audience members that they had on file due to data protection. Artsadmin discussed ways that I could send information out to their lists, but *Linked*, whilst still running, was

not one of their front-line pieces and it was hard for me to liaise with them effectively as a result. It became clear fairly quickly that whatever search would need to take place, I would need to be self-reliant. That raised another issue, which as a self-funded part-time PhD student, working full-time, I was going to be restricted as to how much administration I could realistically carry out unaided.

In addition, the administration required was a significant issue in relation to Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave*, change order: not least because, if screened publicly, each screening required individual permission from Artangel, the copyright holders of the film.[84] I was also required by Artangel to obtain specific liability insurance coverage whilst I held the film in my possession. This was on a rolling basis under the provision of the University of Leeds but did require intermittent paperwork every few months to retain the coverage.

To try and find new audiences for the *Linked* project was just as challenging. To begin with, there was a high level of commitment needed from an audience to take part in potentially four-hour walk is and as a long walk, there were accessibility issues that limited what kind of people could make up the audience. Some people enthusiastically signed up only to have to decline when the realities of the day were made clear to them. Trying to arrange a group of people to come to do the *Linked* walk at the same time, was just as challenging. As it was a free event, I also found that some would drop out at the last minute. As at that point I was having to travel down from Leeds to London to do the walks, it would sometimes not be a good use of time if I was only left with a couple of people. Walks were arranged and subsequently cancelled on a number of occasions.

There were other avenues that I pursued in line with these screenings that proved unsuccessful. I was keen to engage with different kinds of audience, not just ones that shared a political affiliation with the content of the work. I liaised with the West Yorkshire Playhouse to see if I could screen it to their older members group *The HeyDays* but unfortunately that screening never came to fruition. The second event that did not go through was for an education event with the Trades Union Congress and Workers Education in Leeds through The Really Open Space but due to organisational issues, it ended up being cancelled. Other venues that I attempted to screen the event with included Doncaster Prison Service, the Riverside venue in

---

[84]   Channel 4 hold the copyright for the film to be screened on television.

Sheffield, the Institute of Education and the Royal College of Art in London. All of these venues had issues around timings in the year, support structures and funding, not to mention their concern around interest from students at the times they were suggesting I held screenings. Despite not showing the film at these spaces, I am including the information as it answers why I did not screen to more audiences. It was a huge time and energy commitment to try and persuade these groups to allow me to screen events for free, with no funding to support any promotion of the events.

The unheard audiences or why didn't I just turn up at Orgreave?

There appears to have been roughly four different kinds of audience at Orgreave. Firstly, there were a large number of art critics that Artangel had bussed up to Sheffield, largely from London. Secondly, there was what I'm calling an 'art audience', these would have been people who followed Artangel's events, or had heard about the performance from the art 'grapevine'. Thirdly, there were local people, either supporters of the re-enactors or local residents from the local village, Orgreave itself. As I wasn't able to engage with Artangel's records, it has been difficult to confirm these intuitions about who made up the audience. With over 800 re-enactment societies taking part in one of the largest ever collaborative attempts to put on a re-enactment event, in all likelihood, the largest audience section was made up of re-enactors' families and re-enactment spectators.

Three of the in-depth interviews I held, were with audience members who did not come up from London. These people were all educators from Nottingham, Leeds and Sheffield about their memories of the original event, a local ex-activist turned architectural academic, a political artist from London, a local performer from Sheffield and a miner from Gateshead who both performed in the piece, and around ten people from the production teams. In addition, I spoke to two London-based journalists who had attended the work. My engagement with the audience then – was marginally more focussed on non-London based attendees than London based ones. I do acknowledge that there is though, regardless of this, a narrow response space.

The two remaining types of audience I did not manage to speak to were re-enactment audience members and people from Orgreave itself. It was difficult enough finding participants for the re-enactment event itself, let alone finding audience members. A future expansion of this research would certainly centre a focus on getting hold of these two groups. It was perhaps easier to reach out to people living in Orgreave to see if any of them had attended the event because I could access the

location fairly easily from Leeds due to proximity. However, the reason I didn't visit the locality and see if I could find people 'cold' as per a suggestion to just turn up and talk to people in the pub, was to do with an ethical anxiety about the process of turning up unannounced and expecting people to speak to me. There was no guarantee anyone in that village would have gone to the event and to turn up without prior engagement felt deeply problematic. Had I been able to send out communication to the contacts Artangel still possessed from that period, I would have done so.

There might be an accusation that I have remained separated off from these people in that village, but within the means I had at my disposal, I did what I could to try and find affected people, most significantly at the largest screening in Leeds, where I was able to put out publicity through BBC Leeds and local radio and to screen it to over 300 people who had travelled over from Sheffield and the surrounding areas as well as from Leeds itself. This included a good number of miners who had been at Orgreave and their families. That my recording equipment failed on that evening to record the responses from local people is a significant disappointment in this research as it means the scope of material I gathered on audience was not as broad or reflective of the people who spoke to me as I wanted, and it does therefore restrict the PhD and the breadth of narratives I was able to collate. Inevitably not having more of these groups restricts the nuance of the art histories and social life of the artworks in not being able to access them. Their absence from my provenance of performance on Orgreave is a space for future investigation and investment.

In the end, some of the administrative issues I had to deal with, added some interesting stories of their own to the research process. When I screened the *Orgreave* documentary for the first time, at the City Varieties theatre in Leeds, I discovered I would need clearance to do so from Leeds City Council. In order to do that, I had to submit a request to the Licensing Sub Committee at Leeds City Council, who had been concerned about the certification on the film to indicate to the public the suitable minimum age of audience. Legally, this was unnecessary as the film of *The Battle of Orgreave* had been screened on television, and never had a release date in cinemas. As a result, it never required formal age certification. However, Leeds City Council advised that restrictions might be put in place if this did not go ahead to City Varieties. In order to be able to screen the film at the theatre, I had to present to the licensing committee at Leeds City Council. In early 2012, I attended a meeting about the content of the film, so they could make a decision to give it an indicated local certificate. As an official committee, this meeting has a member of staff taking

minutes, and so is now in the council's records thereby adding another note to the provenance of this event.[85]

Answering questions from that board included giving a run down on the number of swear words in the film, and in particular how obvious it was as to the split between re-enacted scenes of violence and original footage. I had to enact a description of the performance and of the film, including addressing which scenes were indicated as performance or historical. When I had finished explaining that the film denoted the original event with monochrome still shots rather than any footage from TV coverage at the time, one representative on the board, satisfied with my answers, supported giving it a PG certificate and as he left, explained why the committee had insisted on this examination. The board had been afraid the audience, in particular, any young people attending, might be provoked to violence as a result of seeing the film. Whilst anxiety around violence was a key element in the making of the Deller re-enactment, this anxiety was slightly different as it pertained to the fear that the audience might respond to the work in a way that would break out of the frame of the theatre literally. There was a fear that the audience might critique the film in the wrong way.

With Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave*, one major issue around collating the information was in relation to the distance, both time and geographical. The performance event had taken place over ten years before, so finding original audience members, particularly from the local community was going to be a challenge. At the beginning of my research, I was living in London, so there was also a physical and geographical distance at stake. My subsequent relocation to Leeds in 2010 assisted with accessing different audiences for screenings. Although it was equally as problematic to then return to London intermittently to engage with focus groups and walks for *Linked*, my established networks and local knowledge made it easier to work on arranging the walks from a distance than the screenings.

Regardless of the differences between the two case studies and the ways in which people experienced them, I wanted to avoid framing what the groups should be talking about. If the group appeared to be finding it difficult to speak, I would ask a general question, often around how aspects of the walk or how the film made people feel. I wanted to get a clear sense of what they remembered about being an audience

---

[85]   Stephen Holder, (Leeds City Council administration) email message to author 7 February 2012

member at Orgreave, or how participants felt about the course of the walk, with a focus on the practical elements of their experiences.

Asking my interviewees to focus on facts such as how they remembered how they got to the sites, or moved between spaces, often prompted some interesting gaps in their narrative remembering. I rarely prompted them beyond this sort of question. The breaking down of the narrative conditions for *Linked* and *Orgreave* that audiences had constructed around the event allowed a slightly different approach to be taken in their telling. Anna Deavere Smith's processes of interviewing techniques proved useful in thinking about this as a method of disruption for her range of verbatim dramas, which might also be thought of as re-enactments. Deavere Smith interviews a range of people around a particular subject and from these interviews creates a piece of theatre in the re-enactment of all those stories using herself as the performer on stage. She discovered a method that would dislodge her interviewees from the set track of their usual anecdotes, and that would uncover something interesting. She describes the point she was searching for where the process of thinking would disrupt their language in an interview with Carol Martin:

> Deavere Smith: I would ask people for an hour interview and I would talk to them. I'd tell them we could talk about anything. I was looking specifically, not for what they said but for these places where they would struggle with language and come through. I talked to a linguist about it and she gave me three questions I could ask that would guarantee this would happen.
>
> Martin: What were the questions?
>
> Deavere Smith: One of them was: What were the circumstances of your birth?[86]

In my case I found one particular 'dislodging' question to be around travel. In my first interview with an original audience member from *The Battle of Orgreave*, Jane Rendell, who has written about the event at length, one question distracted her significantly from her discussion of the event. At the beginning of my questioning, I asked Rendell how she had got to the site. The fact she could not remember clearly how they had arrived held up the interview for a little time. The effect this had on her narrative was interesting as it made her realise, she was not as sure of her memory of the event as she thought she had been. In this way my 'how did you get there' had a similar sort of disruptive quality as Deavere Smith's 'what were the circumstances of your birth'.

---

[86]   Carol Martin and Anna Deavere Smith "Anna Deavere Smith: The Word Becomes You. An Interview" *TDR*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Winter, 1993), pp. 45-62

Another discovery, which fed into future interviews and focus groups I took from, the first group walk with students from the University of East London doing a site-specific module as part of an undergraduate drama degree. I was brought in to do one module on the *Linked* walk with them. Most of the students left at Leytonstone tube, only about an hour into the walk. None of the questionnaires I handed out afterwards were returned to me. That particular course had a number of outside curators and artists working with the students and so there was no time to allow for a second session to follow up with students to get feedback. As a result of this failure, I used the experience to build in expectation that the group walks would always end with a visit to a café and a chance for people to give me feedback. The café would be at the end of the walk, so I usually started the walk at Leyton to end either at Leytonstone Station or Wanstead rather than the other way around, driven by the proximity to cafes and restaurants. The interviews with the focus group walking parties were informal and driven by the conditions in which we had experienced the work.

I decided to undertake some one-to-one interviews with walkers and found these less successful than the group discussions. Often, because participants were experiencing the walk as a group, the shared ideas were a way that the group would respond to different directions and even if there were disagreements, people were able to contextualise these more comprehensively as they had often experienced the same thing at the same time.

Overall the methods I used shifted over time and each interaction with my subjects taught me a new skill or highlighted a different issue that would inform the next iteration of enquiry. One of the major aspects practical aspects I would take from my own research to feed into this was also linked to direct engagement with individuals over written analysis. The experience of the audience can be extracted less painfully if they are recorded rather than asking audience members to fill in forms. My own results from focus groups were much richer when recording, despite the toil of transcription, and often during my writing of this PhD, I've had my interviews with focus groups playing in the background, to capture something of the essence of the event as I construct my chapters.

My research took place over eight years, and as with the British Theatre Consortium, I can see the impact of the process of *time* upon the memory of an artwork, both from people involved in making it and the people who watched it. Thinking about how this works is a way to access a rich seam of content for

understanding how we absorb and are affected by narrative. In the process, by engaging audience members in this way, an artist might find solutions to further and future development on ideas. In addition, other artists and creative groups might gain access to a wide understanding on process by making such research more available widely. If the humanities and arts should look more to engage with audiences, then research training in this area should be as standard as a literature review. Qualitative training should be embedded in the work that arts and performance students might engage in. This in turn will lead to more innovative ways of data capture and connection. What would it be like to have recording packs available at organisations like Tate whilst people are experiencing performance that their experiences might be captured after the event? I argue that this might lead to new thinking in terms of how performance could be curated and experienced.

In my research, the practice of the screenings and the group walks, increasingly displayed the need for that level of re-enactment, and re-embodiment as part of a research practice. My curatorial interventions facilitated people to engage with the artworks, and every time I did so, the research shifted in pace as new perspectives and understandings came to bear. In retrospect, what I was doing was trying to bring the work to new audiences, echoing of the kind of work Abramović declared she was doing in *Seven Easy Pieces* when she suggested that "an enormous number of young people came, who had only known the works from these bad photographs – to come to see something to then reflect on it and have discussion."[87]

This was the case during the focus groups and the walks, and in my methodology to avoid framing the discussion too much, this collaborative body of audiences had flowed into different kinds of discussions without prompting. In my investigation into *Linked* and *The Battle of Orgreave*, I did not re-enact the performances in the same way as Abramović did in *Seven Easy Pieces*, I did not seek to re-interpret or re-stage them. However, sometimes my attempts to gauge actual audience responses necessarily led me into curatorial or even creative practice. I was also surprised at how convinced authorities in Leeds were at the capacity of the artwork to provoke a violent reaction. It was significant that the same anxieties seen in the run up to the making of *The Battle of Orgreave*, were still in play over ten years later, and that the question was still around what might happen if people were reminded about the strike. With *Linked*, the fact that I could still be walking the walk ten years later and still be

---

[87]   Jones and Heathfield *Perform, Repeat, Record:* 556

finding new strands, new effects on myself, and hear new engagements from new audiences, was remarkable.

My research into not only the thoughts and memories of the many people who had created *The Battle of Orgreave* and *Linked* in collaboration with Deller and Miler, but with the people who had witnessed the performances or acted as an audience participant on the walk make my attempts at creating a broad archaeological consideration of these artworks more nuanced. I have come to a deeper understanding of how the artworks were created, work, and continue to work through this provenance, of not only the creation of the work, but also in the way they were experienced and received.

Chapter 5 - Jeremy Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave*

In 2001, Jeremy Deller and Artangel staged a key moment in the 1984-1985 miners' strike in the UK, re-enacting a specific conflict between miners protesting at the Orgreave coking plant in Sheffield and police troops positioned to stop the miners interfering with lorries ferrying coal and materials to and from the plant. In a year of bitter events for trade unions and the NUM specifically, this event was particularly controversial due to the scale of violence that took place. Deller was a teenager at the time and had been powerfully affected by the scenes he saw on the television and the impact of that reportage stayed with him.

Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave* was a significant performance as a piece of participatory conceptual art and continues to be used as a reference artwork for contemporary art work and to a range of audiences. As a result, it moves beyond a specific place and distinct moment of British industrial relations history, into a space where it continues to be relevant to workers and protestors worldwide. As David Douglass, one of the miners who'd been at the original battle said of the work, "it's been used world-wide. Both politically and as part of a study on conflict and unions".[88] Deller's *Battle of Orgreave* was also one of the largest historical re-enactments of the time for the re-enactment societies involved in the process and worked as a piece of relational art that brought many strands of conversation together. It is a sprawling, complex piece of performance and involved more than a thousand people in its conception and creation. In this chapter, I set out the history of the original event, construct the provenance for the re-enactment performance work and finally look to the existing accounts of the artwork and consider why these histories have formed as they have and what the accounts of the production teams and the audiences bring to expanding the social history of Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave*.

A history of The Battle of Orgreave

In order to consider the complex history and contested nature of the event, it is useful to begin by looking at the wider political context of what happened at Orgreave. The 1984-5 Miner's Strike was a significant historical event that represented a key shift in the class struggle in the UK. The methods used by the government of the time

---

[88]   Douglass, David. (NUM representative at Orgreave, and participant in Deller's Battle of Orgreave and Mike Figgis' film of event) In phone discussion with the author, 28 August 2013.

to respond to the strike, and its lasting impact, has been felt ever since. Arguably that period of British political history changed the face of industrial relations for good.

It is difficult to perhaps understand from the vantage point of this contemporary moment and standing outside of those communities just how violent but also significant a battle was being fought. It was a divisive time in the UK and the impact of what happened to mining towns and communities can still be felt. In order to understand what made the 1984-5 miners' strike so problematic, it is necessary to remember that it was not an isolated moment, but rather the latest in a long line of conflicts between the unions and government. It was to the trade union movement, perhaps, the most critical in a generation.

The political landscape was changed as a result of what came out of Orgreave and the influence of trade unions has been reduced to this day. It was a moment of extreme agitation between different factions, that strategic battle lines between government and trade unions had been drawn and violence exploded, there was nationwide unrest, a time of great division, of society dividing itself, either supporting the strike or being against it. It is not hyperbolic to declare what happened at Orgreave 'a battle', a single stand-out fight in a greater war waged to destroy the power and the influence of the unions and by extension, to disempower the working classes, leaving behind devastated communities of atomised people. Even the sole representative of the police in Deller's film, Mac McLoughlin, describes the event as devastating to the point of being warlike "especially round here in South Yorkshire, it was like a civil war".[89]

In *No Redemption*, a book detailing the documentation of the photography project that Keith Pattison undertook in the mining town of Easington in County Durham, the writer David Pearce sums up the effect the strike has had on the political and cultural landscape of the UK:

> The 1984-85 Miners' Strike was the most cataclysmic event in post-war British history. And the many legacies of the Strike, and of the defeat of the National Union of Mineworkers, are spectres that still haunt Britain, and ruptures that still divide Britain, to an extent that is often difficult to comprehend, such are the enormity of the changes that the defeat of 1985 has wrought upon British society.[90]

---

[89] Mac McLoughlin in *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, (Artangel, 2001) 21:23

[90] David Pearce and Keith Pattison, *No Redemption: the 1984-85 strike in the Durham Coalfield*, (Northumberland: Flambard, 2010) 7

For people who did not live through this period, and who never saw the damage wrought on working class communities, it might be easy to dismiss Pearce's perspective as somewhat mythic. After all, Pearce who is a working-class writer from the North of England, wrote his perspective on the miners' strike GB84, as a part fiction piece informed by fact, but certainly not a conventional history of the strike, yet his assessment of the strike rings true in my subjective experience of the miners' strike in my childhood in South Wales, another area like Sheffield, where the coal industry was a central employer:

> A lot of people have been criticizing in the press over the years, why don't people move on? But my experience that year, you can't move on (these areas have) some of the greatest deprivation in the country, the worst health, problems with Class A drugs. Unemployment high. We've got the most people on incapacity benefit.[91]

In addition to its amalgam of fiction and history, GB84 was partly inspired by Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave*, which he cites as a source for the book.[92] After reading *GB84*, photographer Keith Pattison was reminded of the photographs he'd taken documenting the devastation wrought on communities in Durham and was equally inspired to find those photos. The re-discovery of those photos subsequently turned into the *No Redemption* show.

However, the language and tactics of war in relation to the strike were not only used by left-wing political artists and writers. The narratives of power in the constantly shifting range of conflicts between governments and the trade union movement stretched back over generations. The impact of other historical industrial action flowed into the 1984-5 strike, which is effectively shown in Yvette Vason's 1985 documentary, also entitled *The Battle of Orgreave,* where sections of the events at Orgreave in 1984 are punctuated with newspaper articles showing clashes at Orgreave stretching back over a hundred years.[93]

The battle lines for the conflict between the Thatcher government and the NUM had been drawn up after the series of strikes between 1974 and 1984. In particular the winter of discontent in 1979 had led to Thatcher's election during this period, and strikes took place across the UK from many different groups and unions, "on 22 January 1979, the Winter of Discontent's single most militant day, 1.5 million public

---

91   Peace and Pattison, *No Redemption* 13
92   David Pearce *GB84* (London: Faber & Faber, 2014) 465
93   Yvette Vason, "The Battle of Orgreave" Accessed January 2015
      https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dn7DZSagDl4

sector staff refused to work". [94] Despite the impact that the miners' strike of 1974 had on the Conservative government led by Edward Heath, up to this point, there had been reluctance on the part of the Conservative party to take on the unions, "trade unionists were not, yet, political bogeymen who could be invoked with little risk; they were a majority of the work-force and a large minority of the Conservatives' own voters", and so the party was slow to focus on fighting the unions as an election promise. This changed in an interview with Margaret Thatcher in January 1979 where she nailed her colours to the mast and talked through a series of suggestions about what she wanted to do about the unions. At the time, these thoughts were not Conservative policy, "by flouting them so publicly and suddenly she knew, as she put in her memoirs, that anti-union legislation would be instantly "higher on the agenda than some of my colleagues really wanted. I had broken ranks. People could see that I was going to fight".[95] The Conservatives then drew up such a policy to ensure that industrial action on that scale would not be possible again, setting out how they would denationalise aspects of public industry.

Battle lines and tactics of the government

A secret report by the then Shadow Secretary of Energy, Nicholas Ridley, was leaked to the *Economist*, and published in May 1978. This document set out the aims to pursue all-out denationalisation and laid out the ways that the power of the unions might be toppled in the process. This included stockpiling supplies in advance and bringing in non-union drivers to move coal around the country where necessary. This was one stage in a strategy to restrict the power of all unions across the major industries. Perhaps the most crucial issue in that report, given what subsequently happened at Orgreave, was the aim to set up a policing system to deal with the Tory party's anticipation of the inevitable protests that would come: "the only way to do this is to have a large, mobile squad of police who are equipped and prepared to uphold the law."[96] This would mirror the flying picket tactics by striking workers and mobilise a means to respond quickly to industrial action around the country.

The Conservatives, even amongst themselves, were setting up the language that would change the terms of the debate and assist in constructing an image of the miners as a threat to the UK. Nigel Lawson, who became Thatcher's Chancellor of the

---

[94]   Andy Beckett *When The Lights Went Out: What Really Happened to Britain in the Seventies* (London: Faber & Faber, 2009) 465

[95]   Beckett *When The Lights Went Out*, 468

[96]   "Economy: Report of Nationalised Industries Policy Group (leaked Ridley report)" Margaret Thatcher Archives. Accessed 18 January 2013 http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/110795 25

Exchequer in 1983, likened the preparation for the strike to "re-arming to face the threat of Hitler in the late 1930s."[97] During a speech to the 1922 Committee of Conservative backbench MPs on 19 July 1984, in the midst of the UK miners' strike, Margaret Thatcher said: "We had to fight the enemy without in the Falklands. We always have to be aware of the enemy within, which is much more difficult to fight and more dangerous to liberty."[98] The phrase 'the enemy within' was referenced time and time again throughout the strike.

By the summer of 1984, the public were aware that tension had been growing at various coal depots around the UK. One of the main focus points of the miners was the depot at Orgreave in South Yorkshire. As non-unionised lorry drivers transported coke from Orgreave to steel works, the plant was surrounded. The crowds included local miners and flying pickets from all round the country that had braved police checkpoints to offer solidarity to the Orgreave miners. Arthur Scargill, Head of the NUM, pushed flying pickets to amass there: "I want to see every single one of my union who is here, every single member who is on strike, and every trade unionist who is here, supporting us down at the Orgreave plant."[99] That he wanted a mass showdown at one site certainly pulled miners from picketing other key targets around the country and arguably contributed to the overall long-term failure of the strike.

The police too were marshalling troops from within Yorkshire and from as far afield as from the London Metropolitan Police Force in order to counter the picketing miners. Special forces had received particular kinds of crowd control training unseen before in UK police forces. These squads were known as short-shield squads and their tactics were as follows:

> Known as Police Support Units (PSUs), these were a new development on the British mainland. An aggressive, consciously offensive form of policing, they were developed out of the Toxteth and Brixton riots of 1981 and modelled on some of the colonial riot tactics used by the Hong Kong police force. As the mounted police cantered out, the PSUs followed in their wake, delivering baton beatings to the unarmed miners.[100]

---

[97]   Seumas Milne, The Enemy Within: The Secret War Against the Miners (London: Verso, 2014) 9
[98]   Paul Wilenius, "Enemies Within: Thatcher and the Miners" *BBC*. Accessed 19 June 2010,
       http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/3067563.stm
[99]   "When Britain Went to War" *Channel 4*. Accessed 22 October 2016
       http://www.channel4.com/programmes/when-britain-went-to-war/on-demand/36247-001
[100]   Tristram Hunt, "The charge of the heavy brigade," *The Guardian* 4 September, 2006
       http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2006/sep/04/features5

These tactics were quickly seen and felt at the clash at Orgreave leading it to be described by Seumas Milne as "the most violent confrontation in post-war industrial action."[101]

Civil restrictions were in place around the UK, which enabled police stopping anyone resembling a flying picket from travelling. Miners were therefore surprised that getting to Orgreave on 18 June 1984 was so easy, as there were no roadblocks, and when they arrived at the coke depot, there were signs telling them where to park. When they left their cars, there were signs telling them where to go to join the picket.[102] Whatever else can be said about the preconceived tactics and violence, the dropping of the normal police restrictions increased numbers at Orgreave. The weather was already very warm even that early in the morning, and thousands of pickets mingled on the fields outside Orgreave gates, shirts off, kicking footballs about, waiting for the arrival of the lorries which would go into the depot, and then leave loaded with coke. The presence of the lorries would signify action with miners moving to try and block their way, the police blocking the miners and then some jostling back and forth between the two groups.

Police action at Orgreave

Whilst the police appeared to have strategic plans in place already that day, the picketing miners were not a military regiment and as such did not exactly have a considered strategy for how they were going to proceed with the protest. At the front gate, the engagement began, with miners scuffling and pushing at police lines, this was standard practice at picket lines. However as the lorries were going in, pickets reported police operating in a different way than normal, a miner after the event remembered; "the police starting rapping their truncheons on their riot shields that day, I'd never seen it before, and chanting like Zulus, it were like they were psyching themselves up."[103] Whilst there were some who had never been on a picket before, the numbers of police letting out war cries in full riot gear indicated the possibility that there might be violent conflict ahead.

There are different accounts for the reasoning behind the decision, but whatever it was, following minor scuffles with short shield riot police and miners, mounted police broke through the lines and pursued miners across the fields. One miner in the Channel 4 documentary 'Strike: When Britain went to War' reported:

---

101   Milne, *The Enemy Within*, 329
102   David Douglass *Ghost Dancers* (Hastings, Christie Books, 2010) 80
103   "When Britain Went to War"

> I turned around to see a police horse bearing down on me, the police horse knocked me to the floor, and it run over the top of me, then officers came out with shields and truncheons, one of them hit me on the back of the head and I went down. As I'm getting back up, this other police officer then got me, and truncheoned me, till he broke his truncheon on me.[104]

'When Britain Went to War' is critically problematic in the reductive way it delivers the events of the miner's strike, but it is useful in that it contains a great deal of original footage filmed at the time and widely shown on television broadcasts of the news. It is shocking how violent the engagement was having now watched extensive footage of the clashes at Orgreave and, in general, how much violence was shown in news reels at the time. Even Scargill appears shaken when he is interviewed at the site, referring to "the police in full riot gear who had gone absolutely mad."[105] This is reiterated by a Welsh miner who explains the astonishment faced by older miners, "you saw men […], being whacked over the head with a truncheon, because they didn't believe the police would do that to them, so they stood still."[106] It is visible that many miners, veterans of other engagements with police, are shocked at the level of force deployed.

Douglass also remembers the extreme violence; "The whole scene was something from an epic film set but the fighting and blood and gore were real."[107] Tony Benn was in London but recorded 18 June in his diary as follows:

> Hair-raising accounts of what happened at the Orgreave Coke Depot: 5000 pickets and 5000 police clashed, the police lines opened, and the horses came charging through. The pickets threw stones in defence, and then the riot squad went in with batons and just beat the living daylights out of any miners around. It was horrible. A kind of civil war is developing; there is no parallel that I remember in my lifetime.[108]

The events at Orgreave were broadcast that evening across the three television networks. From the outset, the BBC in particular was trying to create a very particular shape to the story of what had happened that day.

Disparities in reporting – the BBC at Orgreave

Written soon after the event, Len Masterman's essay on the way the television portrayed what happened at Orgreave was published in the autumn of 1984 before the trial of the Orgreave miners even got to court. It is a very early response to the dispute over how the events were discussed. Right from the beginning there was an attempt to resist the single strand of narrative about what happened at Orgreave.

---

104   "When Britain Went to War"
105   "When Britain Went to War"
106   "When Britain Went to War"
107   Douglass, *Ghost Dancers* 87
108   Tony Benn *The End of an Era – Diaries 1980 – 90* (London: Arrow, 1994) 361

Masterman's edited book *Television Mythologies: Stars, Shows and Signs* was intended as a homage to Roland Barthes' *Mythologies* and to draw attention to what Masterman saw as the way that "those with power and authority still manage to have too much untrammelled success for the good of democracy in manufacturing an unspoken form of consent for their ways of seeing via television."[109] Masterman demonstrates that the BBC perspective in reporting what happened on 18 June was significantly different to the ITN footage; "ITN's coverage of events at the Orgreave coking plant in South Yorkshire in June 1984, a rare example of the reporting of police violence by television, succeeded in throwing into sharp relief strategic omissions from the BBC's account of the same events."[110]

Masterman's engagement with the differing reports from the BBC and ITV shows that, rather than being a hidden and unknown distortion, it was widely accepted that police violence was excessive and prevalent at Orgreave at the time, "many commentators over the next few days were to remark upon the disturbing images of police violence 'which we all saw on TV."[111] Masterman breaks down issues around the way the BBC focussed on the violence of the miners, using from the offset a particular photograph with what looks like a miner leaping up and kicking a policeman in the chest or throat area as a background image for the first BBC news reports on the early evening news with Moira Stewart. This image would be repeated in subsequent reports and formed the basis for the opinion that it was a miracle that no one had been killed by the miners.

In contrast, on ITN, coverage focussed more on the clearly organised military tactics of the police and officers in riot shields and helmets truncheoning unarmed miners in t-shirts to the ground.

> The images, which followed, turned Orgreave into one of the biggest media stories of the entire strike. One of them showed a policeman repeatedly clubbing a fallen man to the head in a manner familiar within the context of Chile or South Africa but never before seen on television being administered by British policemen upon British workers. Nor is it clear that this was an isolated incident. An arrested miner being frog-marched behind police lines yells to the camera-crew, 'you want to get in there and see what they're doing.[112]

---

[109] Len Masterman, *Television mythologies: Stars, Shows and Signs* (London: Comedia Publishing, 1984) 6

[110] Len Masterman, "The Battle of Orgreave" in *Television mythologies* ed., Len Masterman, *Television mythologies: Stars, Shows and Signs* (London: Comedia Publishing, 1984) 99-110. 99

[111] Masterman, "The Battle of Orgreave," 103

[112] Masterman, "The Battle of Orgreave," 102

Despite widespread discussion in the press and on television about the disturbing images of police violence witnessed on TV, the BBC did not show the images. Masterman flags up that the other news stories did not focus on this lack of coverage by the BBC and asks whether this was simply down to the BBC reporters not being in the right place at the right time. However, when he compares footage by both ITN and the BBC, he finds that both sets of cameras were present, but that footage from the BBC stops at a crucial moment:

> Close comparison of BBC and ITN footage shows that the BBC film has in shot the man who was most severely beaten by the police but that the film has been cut at precisely the point when the policeman begins to set about him with his truncheon. What we cut away to are miners' retaliatory attempts to help their colleagues. But because the BBC film has not shown any examples of police violence, these decontextualized images can only signify unprovoked violence by pickets.[113]

Masterman's main concern was in relation to the fact that the BBC omitted the violence shown by other channels. Eventually the other channels started questioning the police with TV footage as evidence.

Following the clashes at specifically at Orgreave, 95 miners were arrested on charges that included "riot and unlawful assembly, offences that carried potential life sentences."[114] All 95 were subsequently acquitted after the case fell apart for the first fifteen on trial, and "in 1991, 39 miners were paid an unprecedented £425,000, plus costs, by South Yorkshire police to settle civil claims that included assault, malicious prosecution and wrongful arrest."[115] No formal charges were raised against the police, despite the evidence that police statements had been falsified and had been dictated to the officers making them.[116] Orgreave had been the high water mark in the battle of unions and state or police, after this, the power of unions was largely broken in a crisis point between the unions and a government seeking to crush organised industrial resistance in the eighties.

---

[113]   Masterman, "The Battle of Orgreave," 102
[114]   David Conn "Hillsborough and Battle of Orgreave: one police force, two disgraces" *The Guardian* Thursday 12 April 2012 http://www.guardian.co.uk/football/2012/apr/12/hillsborough-battle-orgreave
[115]   Conn "Hillsborough and Battle of Orgreave: one police force, two disgraces" *The Guardian*
[116]   "IPCC decisions on matters relating to the policing of events at Orgreave coking plant in 1984" Independent Police Complaints Commission. Accessed 8 October 2016 https://www.ipcc.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Documents/investigation_commissioner_reports/Ogreave_Decision_12-06-2015.pdf 4

The Provenance of the artwork *The Battle of Orgreave*

Orgreave stands out as a significant moment that is still under investigation. This is why Deller's choice of using re-enactment was so key, re-enactment returns to the thing that has happened and is happening still:

> Re-enactors take the 'past' in multiple directions. As they line up for war every weekend of every summer of every year across the States, repetition trips into something entirely out of linear, narrative time and practices of live forgetting recur as the very charge to remember. And perhaps they are not exactly wrong. As Rosemarie K Banks suggests, […] what has happened in a place is always happening.[117]

Deller is an artist persistently interested in the process of accessing history from below by making popularly available, that which has been closed off. He involves brass bands to play acid house music, and creates the opportunity for marches to celebrate folk and outsider art. He sets up processes of détournement of the expected and predictable.[118] This latter interest can also be seen in his more recent projects, *Sacrilege (2012)*, and *All That's Solid Melts into Air (2014)*. *Sacrilege* is the life-sized, inflatable replica of the standing stones at Stonehenge as a bouncy castle and the exhibition juxtaposes ideas and history of the Industrial Revolution with contemporary culture. The description of *All That's Solid Melts into Air* on the Southbank website describes his work: "Deller approaches this wealth of material like a social cartographer, revealing neglected ley lines of cultural history."[119] Most recently he was behind #wearehere on the 100th anniversary of the Battle of the Somme, 1st July 2016. Deller's aim appears to be about engaging people with a specific crystallised historical moment, and to then to try to open the story up by creating access to a different perspective.[120] While there are set perspectives on the miners' strike, in that even now people do not believe in the consequences of the strike on local communities, the story at Orgreave is an open narrative with an unclear conclusion. One reason for this is that a full political or civil enquiry, as with Hillsborough, has not been ruled out yet.

---

[117]   Schneider, *Performing Remains* 26

[118]   By détournement I mean the Situationist tactic of transforming art by turning the situation around or upside down – derailing it in order to subvert.

[119]   "Jeremy Deller Curates All That is Solid Melts Into Air" Southbank Gallery. Accessed 11 January 2016
http://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/find/hayward-gallery-and-visual-arts/hayward-touring/future/jeremy-deller-curates-all-that-is-solid-melts-into-air

[120]   Jeremy Deller, "Sacrilege - Inflatable Stonehenge." Accessed 31 December 2013
http://vimeo.com/47124630

The making of the Battle of Orgreave

In 2000 the site-specific art production company Artangel put out a public call for submissions for proposals from artists and Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave* was one of two selected.[121] Since 2000 there have been only two other similar open calls from Artangel, as usually the organisation approach artists they know of and want to work with. *The Times* partnered 'The Artangel Open' and the competition culminated in awarding commissions to Deller and Michael Landy. Deller had submitted four proposals to the open; a crazy golf course in Bexhill on Sea to be designed by locals; the transcript of the trial of a man who had murdered drug dealers linked to Leah Betts (the teenager who died as a result from taking ecstasy in the early nineties); the installation of recording studios in old age people's homes to collect stories from the inhabitants, and finally, the re-enactment of what had happened at Orgreave.[122]

From the outset, the project was always conceived of as a massive collaborative social piece of artwork and would need a lot of partners with skills in particular areas in order to make it work. Artangel and Deller understood that *The Battle of Orgreave* project necessitated partners that would only come on board if the project was tied in with a film. This was a practical move and would enable the funding of the artwork and would provide the impetus to encourage other partners to join up. In addition, the involvement of re-enactment societies would provide a network of people already used to engaging in this sort of performance as well as a network of established administration to expand Artangel's production capability. The overlap between film and re-enactment was something that Deller had discussed with me in one interview. He emphasised one area of inspiration came from the 1964 documentary film *Culloden* by the British filmmaker Peter Watkins:

> The film that influenced me the most was *Culloden* by Peter Watkins. It's about the Highland clearances, in the eighteenth century about English soldiers going into Scotland to have battles with Scottish raggle taggle army and basically pursuing them through the Highlands and killing them. It's an amazing film and it's a reconstruction. As if TV cameras were there making a documentary and it's seventeen whatever…. Its brilliant and I was really influenced by that – by the feel of it, by the seriousness of it. [123]

Watkins' film was made on handheld cameras, in the style of a documentary, with a camera crew interviewing participants. This was the history of a bitter battle between

---

[121] The other artist commissioned in this open call was Michael Landy for his idea 'Break Down' which involved him destroying all his possessions in an empty shop on Oxford Street, London.

[122] Jeremy Deller (Artist) In conversation with the author, Trevi café, Holloway Road 6 January 2015 9:00am

[123] Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015

English soldiers and the Scottish army in the Highlands. This form of fictionalised documentary conceit is a well-used form now, and because of *Culloden* Watkins is widely held up to be a significant influence for many different contemporary filmmakers.[124] In addition to re-enactment taking centre stage in the film, Watkins also preferred amateur actors, which is also mirrored in the methodology Deller used by involving re-enactment societies. John Cook, writing about Watkins' methodology, might have been just as easily speaking about Deller's when he sets out that "Watkins' consistent casting of non-professional actors, as well as his bringing together of performers and crew for an intense communal experience that becomes the process of shooting the film."[125] The whole project sounds reflective of the methods and outcomes in Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave* project.

When Deller discusses how he had envisaged the project it usually sounds as if he always imagined the event would engage with the re-enactment community as much as with the historical issues of the strike. "I thought it would be interesting for re-enactors to work alongside veterans of a battle from recent history."[126] This quote is repeated in a number of texts including in his essay for Artangel's 2002 book *Offlimits*, and in *The English Civil War Part II*. In addition, in an interview in 2012, Deller reiterated this:

> I love watching the spectacle of re-enactment, and I'm interested in the people that do that and the idea of history. The use of historical re-enactment societies was a very important part of the process of creating The Battle of Orgreave as an artwork. That gets lost a bit sometimes because you think it's all about the miners' strike. But it's also about British history, how we look at ourselves, this notion of living history that re-enactors talk about a lot. I was very interested in their culture. I'm quite supportive of it.[127]

At a meeting for the Artangel 2013 'Open Call' to new artists, Deller attended as a previous winner to talk about how he remembered the processes of the competition. He advised prospective participants to submit their biggest idea. In describing how his idea had first materialised long before it was ever put forward to Artangel, he remembered making a poster for a battle with re-enactment societies and burning the paper to make it look ancient, "I made a poster for an event that I wanted to do, which was this reconstruction of the conflict […] I burnt holes in it to make it look old."[128] In

124   Cook, John R "Making the Past Present: Peter Watkins Culloden" in *Documenting the Documentary: Close Readings of Documentary Film and Video* ed., Barry Keith Grant, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press 2014) 217
125   Cook, "Making the Past Present: Peter Watkins Culloden," 217
126   James Lingwood and Michael Morris, *Off Limits – Artangel* (London; Merrell publishing, 2002) 91
127   Mike Pitts "Looking at ourselves, looking back – interview with Jeremy Deller" *Archaeology – The voice of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond,* May/June 2012, 10
128   Jeremy Deller – "Experience of the Open Call with Artangel and Orgreave", Artangel Open Call

essence, it starts to feel that the group Deller had really wanted to engage with, had always been the re-enactment society groups, rather than it being driven by the involvement of miners.

Deller's original concept was to re-enact the fight at Orgreave at the same ratio as the original event, with the same number of participants and following the route identically. The ambitions for the re-enactment project had to be significantly pared down due to financial dictates, "my proposal was to have this battle in real time, over a period of eight hours with 12000 people, we didn't have the budget, and because the land where it happened didn't exist anymore, it just wasn't possible. It did change a lot."[129] This initial ambition turned into something else altogether, speaking to me in 2015, Deller explained how he thought about it now, "it's not a recreation of a thing as it actually happened, it was barely an approximation really. I never thought it would be a forensic recreation; it was a suggestion of something, or an attempt to recreate an atmosphere of something, even if it wasn't wholly accurate."[130] Deller began with an almost impossible idea, and then worked to the framework and steps needed to realise a version of that idea. This would involve handing over a significant aspect of the story to someone else. It would also involve the engagement of a filmmaker.

As indicated already, the film aspect of the project had been a key element from the moment that Artangel commissioned the work. The film was more central to the project working than engaging EventPlan. Effectively the project was always going to be shaped by the process and presence of the documentation:

> The film solved the problem of how we pay for this grandiose project in order to get the maximum engagement from participants, which means paying them. And how do we also legitimise a piece of performance art, going to the owner of the field where the Orgreave encounter took place, going to them and saying we want to do a piece of performance art. A one-off live event would have been puzzling but saying were making a film for Channel 4 somehow legitimises the process and would open doors for us.[131]

The issue here is that the film would then be another aspect of storytelling that would repackage the re-enactment as its liveness recedes.

Despite the need for the involvement of a film partner, the actual core 'scripting' of the performance event was undertaken by a re-enactment society group. The society

---

Meeting at Conway Hall, London. March 2013
[129]   Deller – "Experience of the Open Call with Artangel and Orgreave", March 2013
[130]   Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015
[131]   Michael Morris (Director of Artangel) in conversation with the author, at Artangel offices, 2 September 2013

themselves described this on their website in their summary of the event, "the reconstruction sequences scripted and directed by EventPlan looked terrifyingly real and the miners' accounts were fascinating".[132] This script would not have looked much like an actual theatre script, but instead was a map of what happened on the day. Bringing a specialist organisation in to manage the pre-production details was the most cost effective and strategic way to engage with all the different national societies and to bring on the expertise of a group used to this sort of event. EventPlan were a brand-new events organisation formed in September 2000 by Howard Giles. Giles had worked at English Heritage from 1984-2000 as Head of Special Events but decided in 2000 to form his own organisation. Deller had come across Giles at a re-enactment event during his research time on the project, when Giles was still working for English Heritage:

> I'd seen him perform at English Heritage, when I was doing my research, I'd gone to a day, and there was a mega re-enactment and he was the guy on the mic. And I just got in touch with English Heritage and just wrote to him and rang him to see if he was interested in this thing.[133]

Deller approached Giles in November 2000, *The Battle of Orgreave* was EventPlan's first major event, and as this event promised to be vast, and as it had a film and a major sponsorship partnership with *The Times* and Channel 4 attached, it would have been a great opportunity for the newly formed organisation.

Giles was given the brief to aim for 1,000 participants in the re-enactment, which would have been around 9% of the original 11,0000 people at Orgreave. However, due to financial constraints this number was reduced to 800.[134] Of these, some 280 would be local people including some ex-miners: "Despite a short time scale, we were to feature 800 people, mostly historical re-enactors that we recruited but also including - in another innovation - 280 local people, including some of whom were ex-miners who had been present in 1984".[135] There are no more specific figures than this as to how many people who had been there in 1984 were involved in the 2001 performance given that the vast majority of attendees were re-enactment participants and that there were a lot of local people who were not miners who had been involved. In fact, a key participant in the film and the performance event, David Douglass suggested that the numbers of actual miners who had been there at Orgreave were

132   EventPlan: Recreating the Past – accessed through WayBack Machine 2 May 2018
       https://web.archive.org/web/20150717095301/http://www.eventplan.co.uk:80/
133   Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015
134   Howard Giles (Director of EventPlan and organiser of the re-enactment aspect of The Battle of
       Orgreave) In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013
135   EventPlan: Recreating the Past – accessed through WayBack Machine 2 May 2018
       https://web.archive.org/web/20150717095301/http://www.eventplan.co.uk:80/

actually quite small, that the men in the group photo at the end of the film *were* the key group of miners who had actually been at Orgreave on the day.

Sarah Wishart:	How many actual miners who were at Orgreave were involved in the film?
Douglass:	Probably about 40.[136]

There were many people who were linked to the miners who had been there on the day though, even if they hadn't been there themselves. As Giles suggests,

> Nearly three hundred of the participants were local people some of whom had been miners at the time, a lot of them were sons of miners or friends of miners. And they had no re-enactment experience whatsoever. A lot of them, the only experience they had of Orgreave was watching it on the telly[137]

One thing that EventPlan's archive online added to the narrative was to identify many of the locals as 'extras' hired in for the event – "Unlike our re-enactors, the local extras (recruited by an agency) were not "battle trained".[138] Certainly the list of local people/extras acknowledged at the end of the film includes Tim Etchells who, though a local resident of nearby Sheffield, was not a miner at Orgreave and had been drafted in by Artangel with the view to write up the experience, "Michael Morris mailed me to talk about the project, wondering if I'd be interested to take part, with a view to writing something, a feature piece somewhere. I said sure and, in the end, we placed that small text in Tate magazine."[139]

In relation to the numbers of re-enactment societies present, one respondent to the questionnaire part of my audience surveys, speaking as a member of the Sealed Knot re-enactment society, pointed out that this had been the largest re-enactment he had ever done, at that point, or crucially, since.[140] The fact it was such a large event explains why it received so much take up from the re-enactment societies. The process of recruiting re-enactors to take part was perhaps the biggest part of the process and the aspect that took the most time. EventPlan sent out information and details to re-enactment companies and societies throughout the UK. Within the ranks of the hundreds of re-enactors who were contacted about the event, levels of experience would have been mixed. However, EventPlan's standard conditions of

---

136   Douglass. In conversation with the author, 28 August 2013, 4:30pm
137   Giles, In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013
138   EventPlan: Recreating the Past – accessed through WayBack Machine 2 May 2018
      https://web.archive.org/web/20150717095301/http://www.eventplan.co.uk:80/
139   Tim Etchells. (Artist and participant in Deller's Battle of Orgreave) In conversation with the author, May 2012
140   Respondent, 'Questionnaire about the participants at the re-enactment of 'The Battle of Orgreave' Bristol Surveys Online Jan 2013 – Feb 2016
      https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/participant_at_orgreave

participation set out terms and conditions that demand a minimum level of co-operation and authenticity. Application forms were sent out to local re-enactment societies, and on the forms, people could indicate which side they would like to be on. Decisions about who might play different groups with different responsibilities were made on the grounds of re-enactment experience. This was specifically applied to the long shield police lines, as these roles would be largely defensive ones. They required particular skills from these re-enactors because of the diversity of challenges facing these participants. They would need to be able to hold off charging miners, whilst working at deflecting missiles and at the same time being able to advance the police line. In this instance Giles sought out men with particular previous experience "we picked Romans and Dark Age groups, together with a few serving and ex-policemen."[141]

Despite the huge amount of work bringing in re-enactors, there was less focus on recruiting involved miners. This side of the recruitment came from Deller and Artangel. After visiting local groups and discussing the plan with them to largely ensure there was not going to be a reaction against the idea, Deller advertised locally to tell people to come along to the meeting the day before the planned re-enactment. Douglass, a key miner on the day and in the re-enactment remembered, "Jeremy advertised in the Yorkshire media and on the telly that this was going to be doing and asked anybody who was at Orgreave to attend a meeting along with the Re-enactors anybody who wanted to restage this."[142]

Despite the promotional opportunities that such a large project would offer such a new company, Giles had reservations about getting involved initially, as he wanted the work to be even-handed and not overly critical of the police. Giles' perspective on what had gone wrong was simply a case of mismanagement, "at Orgreave, it was not a case of Thatcher's police force giving the miners a kicking but a really difficult policing operation that went wrong".[143] The process of creating the event began with a feasibility study, which Giles confirmed was "based on practicalities but also a very strong understanding that if we did it (the event) we would do it without political spin."[144] This was something Giles said in the interview I did with him in 2012, but it is repeated on the EventPlan webpage about Orgreave "One of EventPlan's key objectives was to remain entirely objective and non-political, recreating the battle as

---

141   Giles. In conversation with the author 21 June 2013
142   Douglass. In conversation with the author, 28 August 2013
143   Giles, In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013
144   Giles, In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013

accurately as possible free of the "spin" (from both sides) that had at the time and has since clouded the facts. We appreciated that the Channel 4 film might not reflect this viewpoint, however".[145] Given that the original event was not an apolitical one, it is difficult to imagine what such a version might have looked like.

> If they had said, we wanted you to do this with a left or a right bias, we would have said no. As a historian, I believe you should tell people how it was, and if other people have got political aspirations to turn it into something that suits their purposes, then good for them but I wasn't out to do that.[146]

A narrative around the Orgreave history could never be a neutral one and in reality, to suggest otherwise indicates a framing sympathetic to the police. Douglass, NUM secretary for Hatfield Colliery commented on the idea that anyone would even try:

> They couldn't say that about any other point in history so why should they say it about this one? It's like staging the war of the roses and saying that you don't want it to be political. How are you going to do it? Turn it into an episode of the Archers?[147]

The processes undertaken by the re-enactment societies were not even handed in their collection of information. Inevitably this is the way that re-enactment societies research historical events, by access to the documentation available, and it is unlikely that their research skills would have looked to take on engaging with testimonial from living memory. However, it is difficult to see how Giles might have thought it was possible to undertake a neutral positioning without acknowledging his own was not neutral.

The scripting process was one that included scheduled liaisons with Artangel and Deller but effectively EventPlan scripted the sequence of events, as Giles explains:

Sarah Wishart: You talk about a script – was that something that was created by EventPlan because that's what you do – or was that something created in collaboration with Artangel and Deller or was it left to you – they brought you in, they paid you and that's what you did?

Giles: There's always liaison but that's our strength. Scripting things, creating a programme from the facts. So, I very carefully drew up the script – I took a lot of time and effort making sure that this script was accurate. I had to run it past Jeremy and Artangel, but to give them all due credit, […] they left us to get on with it. They were more strategic, Artangel particularly, getting the infrastructure in […],

---

145 EventPlan: Recreating the Past – accessed through WayBack Machine 2 May 2018
https://web.archive.org/web/20150717095301/http://www.eventplan.co.uk:80/
146 Giles. In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013
147 Douglas. In conversation with the author, 28 August 2013

making sure the publicity was in place. Whereas we were the foot soldiers on the ground.[148]

In the creation of this script, Giles did not focus on pursuing miners for interviews, but instead relied on processes that he'd honed during his time with English Heritage. These were research tactics that mostly relied on using the available documentation: "it was a case of looking at the records of the time, both the police reports, speaking to police officers if we could, and also looking at the miners accounts."[149] In this last point, Giles does suggest that he did speak to some miners that were there over the weekend, and this affected some of the tactics he had drawn up, but with at most 24 hours to amend their plans, changes as a result of direct engagement with the miners would have been small.

In addition, there was a second layer of narrative in a more direct form of storytelling through the presence of a commentator. This is generally standard process at a re-enactment in order to get the larger story across to the audience, and Deller wanted miners to particularly get involved in this section. "I thought that would be good for the first half just to set the scene. I originally wanted some miners to take part in that, take the microphone and talk about stuff, and EventPlan just wouldn't have it."[150] This would not have been a script in a theatrical format but a skeleton frame of what happened on the day, so that the re-enactment commentator would be called upon to add narratives into the gaps so that the commentary would have felt informal.

Giles remembered that "Des Thomas had a brief outline of the main phases of the battle, which is what everybody had, and I bombarded him with the background information."[151] Thomas remembered that he added to the content by talking to the miners who had been there the first time around. It is understandable that EventPlan would want to use someone proven, as public speaking and this level of improvisation is not necessarily something that anyone can do. However, by resisting featuring miners speaking their memories of the event over the tannoy, and only using a re-enactment society representative, there was no likelihood the narrative would bring in any detail that would disrupt the events that Giles had set out with Thomas.

---

[148]   Giles. In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013
[149]   Giles. In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013
[150]   Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015
[151]   Giles. In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013

As EventPlan were being asked to provide the full event on the day – to recruit participants, organise the groundwork and significantly to create the script – it adds weight to critic Dave Beech's concern about the context of their involvement. Beech is one of the few people to flag up that the narrative framework and direction on the day was not through Deller's involvement but mainly down to Howard Giles' event creation:

> The problem arises out of Deller's decision to extend the necessity to commission an established re-enactment 'director' by relinquishing authorship for the re-enactment to the re-enactors themselves. […] Politically this meant that Deller could no longer be assured that the history of his event would be 'from below'.[152]

Beech suggests in fact that the piece therefore sides not with the miners, but with the police and Thatcher all over again.[153] Beech looks here at the way that Deller had described his work as a "history painting from below"; one created by involvement outside of the dominant narratives.[154] However, Beech suggests that by involving Giles to script the work rather than enable the re-enactors to take on the authorship of the project, Deller has effectively enabled a conservative retelling:

> Considering the prevailing fetishisms of re-enactment societies, it was almost inevitable that the plans, strategies, weapons and victory of the police were going to be celebrated on the day of the re-enactment and render its version of 'history' decidedly 'from above'. And so, it turned out. Despite his own intentions, sentiments and commitments, then, Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave* was a political work of art that took sides, ultimately, not with the striking miners so close to Deller's heart but, despite himself, with the police, the state and Thatcher's government.[155]

EventPlan, despite the intentions of Giles, failed to 'neutralise' the political context of the day. In an earlier review of the piece Beech sets out the problem:

> Re-enactment societies unavoidably fetishize tactics and since the Assistant Chief Constable had planned a straight military victory while the miners just wanted to stop a few coal lorries and scab workers, the re-enactment focussed wholly on how the police achieved their victory.[156]

The police documentation was available in a way to EventPlan that the memories of the men who attended the strike were not. The police documentation was also localised and easy for EventPlan to access, whereas getting hold of miners' accounts when there had been so many flying pickets from all over the country, would have been difficult. Despite it being obvious as to why Giles' research practices operated in

---

[152]   Dave Beech, "The Reign of the Workers and Peasants Will Never End: Politics and Politicisation, Art and the Politics of Political Art" *Third Text* 16:4, (2002) 387-398. p. 396
[153]   Beech, "The Reign of the Workers and Peasants Will Never End" 396
[154]   Beech, "The Reign of the Workers and Peasants Will Never End" 396
[155]   Beech, "The Reign of the Workers and Peasants Will Never End" 396
[156]   David Beech "Jeremy Deller The Battle of Orgreave" *Art Monthly* (2001) 39

the way they did, it still led to only certain kinds of action being recovered in the research process, namely that of police tactics.

The film

From the beginning, the future documentation of the event was key to the performance event existing at all, the consideration of provenance is bound up in this, there needs to be a level of documentation in order for the work to exist. This is exactly the kind of situation that Jeannine Tang is discussing in her essay on the role of provenance and the future when she sets out that provenance can also be used when the artist "folds the object's futurity into a work of art's anteriority, in preparation for provenance, calculating how art will be inserted into future relations and exchange values".[157] At a practical level, the plan for the film opened doors: it drove engagement from the two communities (miners and re-enactors) to give legitimacy to the event.

Tim Etchells, performing as a miner by Artangel, was aware of the centrality of the film making process.[158] He too saw it as the driver of the creation of the artwork,

> I don't think you could have persuaded the community or indeed anybody to take heart in it much unless you told them you were making a film, so I think the sell was on the basis that a film was being made. As participants and performers, obviously being in a film is more exciting than running around on a field with a hundred people watching you. It has more legitimacy culturally speaking. As a project it was always a film shoot. I don't think there was any moment when it wasn't a film shoot.[159]

Michael Morris and Artangel confirmed that they had looked for a number of directors, although Figgis had not been the first director to sign up to the project. Eventually though, Morris spoke to Figgis: "At the back of my mind, I had that I wanted him to do it, you go through twists and turns, and you end up with the right team, and Mike was exactly the right director to do it."[160] Figgis also recalled the process:

> It was getting close to production day, and Artangel were heavily dependent on the involvement of Channel 4 and Channel 4's involvement was also hinged on getting a director that they could sign off with, and the whole thing was in danger of falling apart, so I had a meeting, but I said I would do it because I really liked the project, but I had very little time. It was all quite quick.[161]

Figgis, then, was not really involved in the preparation until close to the event as he was working on other projects.

---

157   Tang, "Future Circulations", 171
158   Etchells. Email conversation with the author, 2 March 2007
159   Etchells. Email conversation with the author, 2 March 2007
160   Morris. In conversation with the author 2 September 2013
161   Mike Figgis – (Film director, and director of the Channel 4 film of The Battle of Orgreave) In phone discussion with the author, 27 June 2013, 12:00PM

Giles himself found the representation of the re-enactment problematic as portrayed within the Channel 4 documentary filmed by Figgis. Giles felt that the film had a bias that EventPlan had succeeded in avoiding and indicated that this was an agenda that Figgis himself had constructed:

> If he had used the same sources and the same thought processes that we had it would have been a very different film because it would have shown a balanced view, as a military historian, one of the things, I've been fascinated in has been when things go wrong.[162]

Figgis, instead of foregrounding his own authorial perspective, indicated the significance of other groups who drove the shape of the documentary.

> I had a different responsibility; by then of course I was liaising with Channel 4. And for them it was quite a big investment and they wanted some more kind of let's say, political substance as well. I think they were pleased that I was delivering the vox pops and talking heads and giving it a context.[163]

Due to time constraints and involvement on other filming projects, Figgis was not able to prepare widely in advance. However, he felt this would actually assist the feel of the film, as this was exactly what the situation would have been for a film crew on the day. They would not have been able to prepare and would have had to improvise and react to events as they happened. Figgis recalls the difficulty of the process:

> You couldn't reshoot. In fact, I couldn't even re-stage elements of it. Physically it was a real big challenge. Because you had to, not only be with the action, you had to try and get ahead of the action, so you weren't always following. Trying to anticipate, to be in the right place for the next bit.[164]

The filming took place from within the action, there were not many moments when the action would stop to be redone or re-shot for camera.

The artist David Butler, participating as a member of the Welsh constabulary, remembered the filming processes that were going on during the event:

> Figgis' approach was to use five camera crews working with digital video and steady cam. The cameras got inside the action rather than the action being set up for the cameras. Participants were encouraged to break off from the re-enactment and talk direct to camera when they were ready to tell their stories of the original battle and the strike and the camera crews had to respond. The presence of the film crew never felt intrusive. Given the deep distrust of the media among ex-miners, this was important not just to make the filming work but also to show that things can be otherwise.[165]

---

162   Giles. In conversation with the author 21 June 2013
163   Figgis. In phone discussion with the author, 27 June 2013
164   Figgis. In phone discussion with the author, 27 June 2013
        165   David Butler, "Battle of Orgreave" Artist's Newsletter. Accessed 8 October 2016 https://www.a-n.co.uk/resource/battle-of-orgreave

There were around 15 camera operators with hand held low definition digital cameras, some are caught on the film during the event, Deller himself is seen to be filming with one such camera at one point.

After the event Figgis worked with Deller to pull together interviews with individuals that would be interspersed throughout the documentary. After this set of filming the process moved into the editing stage. Another issue I had not realised until I spoke to Figgis was how involved Deller had been in the edit of the film. Deller had asked to sit in on the edit, but on inspection of the subsequent cut, Figgis felt like his notes had not been adhered to, "it was kind of a mess, there wasn't enough of an integration of talking heads and political context".[166] Figgis also implies that there were disagreements again about the next cut of the film. Whilst sympathetic to the idea that Deller and Artangel might have wanted a different looking film, Figgis was conscious of the responsibility to Channel 4. Ultimately the structures necessary to seeing the work realised also shaped the final piece.

One unforeseen aspect of Deller being involved in that edit suite was that it began to teach him about film, which has continued to be a fascination in his work, even to the extent of wanting to make a feature film, a fictionalised consideration of the miners' strike:

> I would like to make a film about the miners' strike. A proper film. I know I could do it. I have thoughts about making a film about the miner's strike from the perspective of a policeman. The opposite of what anyone would want or expect. Or about two brothers, one a policeman, one a miner. One father police, one son miner. That was absolutely inevitable. At some point in my life I will make a feature film about the miners' strike.[167]

From talks with Deller it is obvious his relationship with the strike and the miners did not end when filming was over. He has continued his engagement with the people he met during the process of making *The Battle of Orgreave*. He regularly attends events like the Durham Miners Gala and keeps in touch with people like Douglass. As I will also show in more detail later in this case study, Deller did not stop his expansion of the work, the aspect of testimonial, (with the interviews in the film, not present in the pre-production, but present in the post-production of the film) he turned into a book, and then expanded the film into an archive for use by galleries.

---

[166]   Figgis. In phone discussion with the author, 27 June 2013
[167]   Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015

In the provenance of the work, it is important to lay out that the Figgis film is not a piece of performance documentation but a separate piece of work altogether. It is a political documentary looking at the strike and the event with commentary from involved people, and sympathetic to the perspective of the miners over the police. As a result, the performance is only visible through the snatches of the re-enactment one is able to see in the film. This next section therefore looks to reconstitute the re-enactment through two methods, firstly by extracting the performance captured in the film, and secondly, from the memories of people who were present or involved with the event in some way.

The Audience of *The Battle of Orgreave*

Morris acknowledged the numbers for the audience in general were limited "I would say that the participants on the field outnumbered the audience."[168] Melanie Smith, in the production team assured me that local people were invited but suggested there may have been lower numbers from that group because of the weather: "All local people and community groups were informed of the event in advance and invited to attend. It may sound strange, but I think the weather may have put some local people off from attending. It was freezing cold and wet."[169] Neither Artangel producers nor other people from the local people I spoke to in attendance were clear about the breakdown of the audience, not being sure of exact numbers for how many were a London art crowd, how many were people from surrounding area on Artangel's mailing list and how many were attendees from the village. It seems most likely that the majority of people were in support of the performers doing the re-enactment, friends and family of the performers.

Unlike large-scale performance or site-specific work from Artangel in recent years, there was not much press coverage about the re-enactment before the actual day, as Artangel did not advertise it widely in advance. Artangel had also tried to encourage as much positive press coverage on the event as possible by letting London based press know, that they'd be picked up from Doncaster train station and taken to the re-enactment site by coach. Rosie Millard, who was art critic for the *BBC Breakfast News* at the time remembered; "we all went up by coach, all the art critics, put on by Artangel, I remember sitting next to Richard Cork as there were all these art critics

168   Morris, In conversation with the author 2 September 2013
169   Melanie Smith, (Artangel producer) Email message with the author, 30 May 2013

going up to this thing."[170] Other audience members also came up from London but got a taxi from the station like David Cross and Jane Rendell.[171]

In the film, there is footage of groups of children, which does imply they were local rather than travelling long distances to attend the performance event. In addition to the suggested small numbers in attendance from the village of Orgreave, there were other audience members who came from neighbouring towns and cities. Art lecturer Gerry Barker from Leeds Art College remembered a mixture of people that he spoke to in the audience around him: "and you start to find out who was local, and who has come down for the day and of course there were loads of arty types there, which was a bit weird, but there were locals too."[172]

On arrival at the site, audience members found themselves heading for the space where the battle scene was obviously going to take place. Jane Rendell, now a geography Professor from the Bartlett School of Architecture at UCL, recalls; "I remember pitching up in the place. We realised there was going to be this staged battle and so we headed towards this area with the ropes."[173] In this section of the film, there is footage of a brass band, playing a jolly tune as the field fills up with audience members standing behind the rope. There are kids and families.

Artist Alison Lloyd, who travelled up from Nottingham remembers how cold it was on the day, describes her son being all "muffled up in his little green coat."[174] This is reflected in Figgis' capture of the day as people look cold as the camera pans down the field and children wave as it passes them. The brass band looks like a local one, with little kids in it. They are in bright blue uniforms but look cold considering this is taking place in June. The weather might have been one issue at play in relation to the make-up of the audience. This might have meant there were less people from the local community there as a result.

The gates on the field opened at 11:30am, with the re-enactment scheduled to start an hour later. While the audience arrived, there was a dedicated section for what was described as a "show and tell display of uniforms, tactics and personalities"; this was

---

[170]   Rosie Millard. (Journalist who attended The Battle of Orgreave performance in 2001) In conversation with the author, 30 January 2012

[171]   Jane Rendell. (Academic who attended The Battle of Orgreave performance in 2001) In conversation with the author, 24 September 2012

[172]   Garry Barker, (art lecturer), in conversation with the author 10 September 2012

[173]   Rendell. In conversation with the author, 24 September 2012

[174]   Alison Lloyd (audience member at Deller's Battle of Orgreave) in conversation with the author 11 September 2012

presumably a standard kind of introduction to any re-enactment.[175] In addition, there were some tents and a caravan, some audience members describe this as a fair, Deller remembers it as "a few tents with memorabilia from the strike and some local groups, it was very low key."[176] This was organised by Artangel as Smith remembered: "I felt that it would help to involve community groups in the day, and also for mining groups to show some of their history and stories to those attending. I also felt it would give the day a more family feel and get people talking about the history of the area, and why we were there."[177] Art critic of the Independent, Tom Lubbock described his experience of arriving on the site:

> Coaches took us to the field at Orgreave. Burgers, bhajis, pot plants on sale. A gathering audience partly made up of people from the area, partly a Sunday afternoon crowd from Hampstead Heath transposed. A tent with stalls a) offering Artangel publicity, b) selling re-enactment literature such as the journal Skirmish, and c) supporting the current AEEU strike. Film crews. St John's Ambulance. Police. And then "police" and "pickets" troop in force onto the field, the battle area is roped off from the public and the MC starts talking.[178]

The MC that Lubbock mentioned, was Des Thomas, who had worked with Giles before.

The setting up of the first part of the day is clearly captured in the Figgis film. As the camera pulls back, the extent of the audience can be seen, a long thin L shape around the field. There are two rope barriers, one against which the audience are tight against, and then a gap, and the second barrier, where the ambulance men and a couple of contemporary uniformed policemen stand, the official first aiders. The audience crowd, about five deep, against the rope barriers, huddling against the cold. At the back, a kid is sat on his father's shoulders. Nothing is happening yet. The miners march down one end of the field, and the police down the other. They are setting themselves up to clash. Lubbock describes, in the opening sentence of his review, the sense of polarities visible right from the beginning and the attempt to ignore them:

> One thing we'll do very early on is to get the two sides to come together and shake hands," says the MC into his radio mike, and the words relay blurrily into the crowd. He's standing in the middle of a field, and standing between two bodies of men, each about a thousand strong. To the left, the miners. To the right, the police'.[179]

---

175   Stewart Gledhill, (Re-enactor) email message to author 11 February 2015
176   Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015
177   Smith, email message with the author, 30 May 2013
178   Tom Lubbock "When History Repeats Itself Too Soon; If English Civil War Battles Are Suitable for Re-Enactment, Why Not Those of Our Recent Past? Tom Lubbock Reflects on Jeremy Deller's the Battle of Orgreave and the Reconciling Effects of Time" *The Independent* (June 19, 2001). 11
179   Lubbock "When History Repeats Itself Too Soon" 11

The re-enactment kicks off - literally - with the football match that miners had on the sunny field in June 1985. A miner puts a 'coal not dole' sticker on the helmet of a policeman. A senior officer removes it. Thomas says, "Things started to go wrong. One or two missiles were thrown from the back of the police ranks."[180] Jeers go up and the police carrying shields run onto the field. The miners start chanting songs. The miners start slowly walking towards the shields and then speed up. The shield officers push back. The crash of miners against the shields seems very loud. Thomas says, "at this point Acting Chief Constable Clements decided to order the men to retreat."[181] The re-enactor playing this officer over a megaphone says, "If you do not move back 100 yards, I will be forced to deploy the short shield unit."[182] The miners angrily gesticulate, jeer, and swear at this. Clods of earth are thrown and then the horses charge through.

Lubbock also considered issues around an accurate portrayal of what happened, and reported on hearing audience members disagreeing with the staging, people around him commenting on the inaccuracies, for example shouting that the horses "didn't trot, they galloped."[183] Lubbock also identifies one major absence from the re-enactment (obviously more glaringly apparent in the performance than in the film, due to the fact that the film contained still photographs of the original event), the lorries that were transporting coal out of the coking plant and the reason the pickets were there in such numbers. As a result of that absence, the context is somewhat altered:

> The mock- battle treatment involved some serious distortions, and it's not just a matter of the reduction of scale, or the change of site, or the singling out of one day from a long dispute. Re-enactments, rehearsed and narrated as they are, tend to make the originals look more inevitable than they were. In this case, and unlike many military engagements, it wasn't inevitable that there would be a "battle" at all. What's more, this re-enactment simply omits the main point at issue, the picketing or protecting of the lorries entering the coking plant. The lorries were mentioned in the commentary once but had no real or proxy presence in the spectacle. Consequently, the event was made to look like a demonstration, as if confrontation and suppression were all.[184]

Lubbock describes the back and forth proceedings on the field:

> The mock battle proceeds like that for an hour or so, with more missiles, sporadic picket assaults, directionless lulls and repeated cavalry charges, arrests, advances of the police line, until the pickets are literally driven from the field. Then it's the interval, and a silver band, and time to register feelings that are obviously mixed."[185]

---

180   Des Thomas *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, 43:10
181   Des Thomas, *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, 46:56
182   Re-enactor - *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, 47:02
183   Lubbock "When History Repeats Itself Too Soon" 11
184   Lubbock "When History Repeats Itself Too Soon" 11
185   Lubbock "When History Repeats Itself Too Soon" 11

Another aspect of inauthenticity is that was no official group of police officers who had been there on the day. This would have been simply too easy for conflict to flare up if that had been a serious aspect of the concept of the work. Police officers were present but mostly in the form of bringing in police trainers to advise and train up the participants in police tactics and behaviours. Giles identifies that one police officer was more significant than most, and this officer subsequently featured as the central police representative in Figgis' film, Mac McLoughlin. This came about, due to having seen the project advertised locally, McLoughlin then offered his services to the re-enactment teams and worked closely with Giles to assist in the scripting of the project and assisting in the training for the tactics. Howard Giles explained:

> He came forward to offer his services and it was a huge benefit because […] he knew full well what had gone wrong and the things that shouldn't have been done. He gave us an unusual perspective because unlike everyone else that we had spoken to, he had been a miner and all his friends were miners. And there he was charging them with a drawn baton because he was also a policeman. I actually think he was a pivotal character in finding out what it felt like to be there, what it was really like, and obviously he was quite useful in teaching us some of the tactics aspect.[186]

Given that there were many different forces from around the country, McLoughlin is the sole police contributor seen and heard in the Figgis film. His history and engagement with place was very specific and so it was perhaps more likely that, as he was from Orgreave, he would want to engage with this project more than other police.[187] McLoughlin never expands upon the impact to his family even though he indicates there was a huge conflict for him in being present as a policeman involved in the strike, all he will say about it is the impact he has on his community, "thanks to Maggie Thatcher […], I helped to destroy it."[188] Despite this perspective he also holds the line throughout the documentary about the police involvement, that, like the miners, there were simply a few people that lost their heads. Giles also admits that McLoughlin had also been involved in the research process quite significantly, in fact it rather sounds like he'd been a key research material as Giles describes him as "a pivotal character in finding out what it felt like to be there, what it was really like, and

---

[186]   Giles. In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013

[187]   A recent BBC documentary made in the wake of the 2016 Hillsborough ruling that the same South Yorkshire Police Force who had led the Orgreave policing, were to blame for deaths at Hillsborough football ground five years after Orgreave, also featured Mac Mcloughlin as a key representative of the police on duty that day. After this event, he suffered a breakdown and left the police – which presumably didn't come up in his overview of the policing at Orgreave. His take on those events – though still not totally holding the police to account – was more critical of police tactics at Hillsborough than he had been in the Figgis film about Orgreave. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fd7Cv8B5WCM

[188]   Mac MacLoughlin, *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave*, 57:28

obviously he was quite useful in teaching us some of the tactics aspect."[189] The blame from Giles' perspective therefore tends to land on a conflict between Margaret Thatcher and Arthur Scargill rather than anything to do with the South Yorkshire Police Force tactics.[190]

Some re-enactors did get to have some input into their roles at times. One re-enactor explained that he opted to play a policeman, because he *was* a policeman. "I was a Special Constable at the time, so it was a natural choice."[191] The same man added a slightly different rumour to the anxious narrative around the miners, that there were local people who hated the police had attached themselves to the event, so they could attack the police. This Police Special Constable respondent explained, "It was rumoured that some local lads had sneaked into the event and were doing their best to smack a copper. I remember the director having to get on his megaphone and remind miners that people in uniform are not real police officers."[192]

Despite this perspective, this participant indicated that after the event, he spoke to a lot of miners, and was affected by their stories and at just how run down the village appeared. In answer to the question 'Did you have an emotional response', he replied that he had "a lot of empathy for the miners and their families, angry at what Thatcher did, angry at the Met Police for fuelling the violence to obtain overtime."[193] This is obviously one response but his explanation and description adds a particular kind of potential to his encounter, that the people who were most likely to create new histories and new stories, allowing a different sort of engagement with history, were not the miners, but the re-enactors. This reflects some of Deller's interest in bringing disparate people together, rather than an attempt to heal one specific community. This, however, had a particular impact on the expectations and anxieties around the work.

From the outset of this project, anxieties had been raised against how dangerous it appeared, and how people feared it had the potential to re-ignite a political conflict. Giles stated that he was reluctant initially to take the project on, and, anecdotally, one

---

[189]   Giles. In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013
[190]   Giles. In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013
[191]   'Questionnaire about the participants at the re-enactment of 'The Battle of Orgreave' Survey Open Jan 2013 – Feb 2016 https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/participant_at_orgreave
[192]   'Questionnaire about the participants at the re-enactment of 'The Battle of Orgreave' Survey Open Jan 2013 – Feb 2016 https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/participant_at_orgreave
[193]   'Questionnaire about the participants at the re-enactment of 'The Battle of Orgreave' Survey Open Jan 2013 – Feb 2016 https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/participant_at_orgreave

of the curators from Artangel recalled dismay from the board of trustees at the very idea of this artwork. This anxiety was seemed to be concerned with the negative publicity attached to engaging with such a charged moment of British history, but overwhelmingly in relation to fears around the work reigniting the emotions and causing a violent eruption, Giles recalls, "we thought a few people are really going to lose it and kick these policemen."[194] As I indicated earlier in this chapter, this anxiety is even attached to what might happen at screenings of the film.[195]

The big threat hanging over the event was the fear of the miners stepping back into their memories. The re-enactment societies leaders were anxious that participants would either want to enact a different ending or to forget they were only acting and attack re-enactment troops. The Figgis documentary shows that the anxiety around the behaviour of the miners a central issue. One re-enactor in the film explains: "I've been re-enacting for 17 years, up against guys with swords, maces, axes, horses, guns, you name it, and I haven't had butterflies for an awful long time. And I am quite nervous about today."[196] The implication here is that the miners being caught up in the moment somehow went against the form of re-enactment, but a number of re-enactors I spoke to suggested this is an inherent part of the format. Stewart Gledhill for example described this as the 'Thug and Bash' element:

> I joined because friends of mine did it and they'd come back from these weekends talking about a bit of rough and tumble if you imagine a rugby scrum with about fifty people in it. There's a lot of adrenaline and occasionally fists did fly and sometimes someone did tread on your toes and you did punch them back."[197]

This in fact was one of the key reasons he had signed up in the first place.

One of the re-enactors recalled being absolutely consumed with anger when the 'miners' had been pushing at the long shield units, and summed up, "it made me realise how easily things could escalate. We were only acting in a play and it was scary. It got out of hand. I had wanted to bash someone's head in."[198] Giles himself admitted in hindsight that the event had raised the engagement stakes in the re-enactment societies as well: "In actual fact I think the Re-enactors went in harder than

194   Giles. In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013
195   For more detail on the hearing I had to attend at Leeds City Council to screen the film, see page 61
196   Re-enactor - *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, 17:05
197   Stewart Gledhill, email message to author 11 February 2015
198   'Questionnaire about the participants at the re-enactment of 'The Battle of Orgreave' Survey Open Jan 2013 – Feb 2016 https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/participant_at_orgreave

the real miners."[199] So the impact of 'getting caught up in it' was something that is inherent in re-enactments, and perhaps this is why the societies were so nervous.

It is certainly obvious from the documentary footage that on a number of occasions and that the miners featured were enjoying this return to being oppositional. At the beginning of the film, in a meeting before the local participants (non-re-enactors) are transferred to the site, Howard Giles asks for a show of hands to indicate how many of the group had been there at the original event. He then says, "Remember this is a re-enactment, not a re-fight" The room erupts with laughter and a man at the front is seen snapping his fingers and saying, "Damn!"[200]

It is also visible in the film that the re-enactors are nervous about the same possibility, "we've got a few concerns about a few of the extras. A few scare stories were coming out of the captain's meeting yesterday and a few of us are a bit worried. Some of the extras don't really know when's enough's enough, effectively we're all on the same side."[201] In one section, what looks like a re-enactment team leader warns the particularly vocal group of miners that if the event has to be stopped to deal with things getting out of hand, the people responsible will not get paid. Following some banter within the group, one man literally crying with laughter shouts, "Fuck the £160, we're going for it. If they throw us off, they throw us off."[202] This notion of 'going for it' was an indicator that the miners were not simply playing here.

Extra safety strategies were deployed such as putting miners into the roles of police as Douglass recalled: "I think that was a common sentiment, the getting carried away, and the only way they got round that really was dressing some of the miners up in uniforms."[203] The miners were also warned that if they did go too far, they'd be removed from the field. Despite these strategies, rumours about miners exceeding their brief were flying about, to the extent that EventPlan called an emergency meeting the night before the event. Deller recalled:

> It was a massive problem, the night before there was a huge meeting with the re-enactment, the heads of all the re-enactment societies and Artangel people, they were terrified there would be some sort of riot would ensue, they didn't trust the miners particularly, so they put some steps, some security measures, they were absolutely paranoid about it. We had to do that otherwise they might have pulled out. We had to come to some sort of compromise about it.[204]

199   Giles In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013
200   Miner - *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, 2:20-2:25
201   Re-enactor - *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, 29:45 – 30:00
202   Miner - *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, 30:54-31:00
203   Douglass. In conversation with the author, 28 August 2013
204   Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015

Deller remembered that he was so unnerved by the anxiety around the issue that he literally left the field at the start of the event, leaving the re-enactment to run without him:

> That was a very scary day. In a lot of ways. In the first half, I watched about the first ten minutes, and then I walked off. […]. I just left, unplugged my earpiece, and went to a shop and just bought a Mars bar or something. Really literally I did, and I came back afterwards, in the middle part in the second half, I took part as a re-enactor[205]

Deller felt the main aspect of the anxiety came from re-enactors being unnerved that the miners were obviously emotionally affected by the memories being stirred:

> I think basically because re-enactors had never seen emotion in a re-enactment, usually it was about the technique, but here there were people who were getting upset, they weren't going to beat them up – that was never going to happen. I just think they'd never seen something like this, on display.[206]

However, a really significant risk that might have led to a real rather than re-enacted display of hostility, and which had not been clearly communicated, arguably not even to Artangel and Deller, was the involvement of serving members of the Metropolitan police as *participants* in the re-enactment. Deller himself acknowledged that he'd been aware that certain numbers of police had functionally been there but not in the way that Giles had admitted, "That's good I didn't know about that – it gave it a bit of an edge."[207]

During his interview with me, Giles admitted he knew members of the Metropolitan Police were involved as re-enactors, but their presence was not made public knowledge. Whilst it was obvious that police *trainers* were present to take people through particular kinds of tactical training, it was never made clear that groups had specifically requested to be in attendance from the Met because it looked enjoyable.

Giles:	We kept it under our hats really. We didn't really want miners knowing that there were real police in the police line. But we had a police unit […] from the Met actually, who came up because they just thought it was a brilliant idea to do it but like us, they didn't want their presence to inflame things or alter the course of the show by any stretch of the imagination.
Wishart:	Had they been there at the time as well?
Giles:	They were all just young coppers; but they knew about Orgreave. And they were trained in modern riot police techniques. But none of them were there at the time. So,

---

205   Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015
206   Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015
207   Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015

> I suppose it was a historical experiment for them. I mean they loved it.[208]

In hindsight, this in itself is perhaps one of the most contentious aspects of the re-enactment given the Met were a notorious presence during the strike policing and particularly during the policing of Orgreave. In the opening minutes of the Figgis film, an ex-miner states, "Our coppers were alright, it was the Met and the army, that were aggro" and later on, another ex-miner describes the situation when "we used to have our car window smashed, and there would be a sticker on it, 'You have met the Met.'"[209]

Giles seemed confident that the miners themselves would not anticipate the serving police presence in the ranks of the re-enactors, "We didn't really want miners knowing that there were real police in the police line."[210] It is surprising, given how anxious the re-enactment societies were about the risk of violence spilling out from the side of the miners, that they would risk involving serving police from the Metropolitan police. The Met were the force particularly mistrusted by the miners and yet, in all the risk assessment for proceedings, this aspect was never discussed as being the most authentic one that might cause violence on the day rather than the miners becoming emotional. It is possible that this fact, albeit behind the scenes, might have also been an aspect that made the re-enactment societies anxious.

These mixed feelings were strong enough to drive Deller from the field at the beginning of the event as already indicated, and participants like Etchells to note that the mental shift back and forth between thinking of this as a re-enactment and getting caught up in the event:

> Dressed as a 'miner' I am thinking what it means that the video played in the refreshment tent was *Starship Troopers* but when the horses come charging, I can't think I can only run, run and jump. I am trying to process the story that one re-enactor was there at Orgreave in 1984, teaching English Civil War tactics to miners fighting mounted police, but when a fight breaks out near me it becomes so real that I just do not want to be close to it and I'm not thinking but running again.

In addition, the re-enactor, Gledhill made an intriguing point about how the performers divided without being told to, into two tents according to the roles of either police and miner and he found himself separated from his son who was playing a policeman and was therefore on the opposing side:

208 Giles. In conversation with the author 21 June 2013
209 Miners, *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, 3:50 and 22:30
210 Giles. In conversation with the author 21 June 2013

> When we went for dinner breaks in the marquee it was very strange that the police went to one end of the canteen, and the miners went to the other, even my son who were one of the police, we naturally divided, people stayed in character.[211]

Alex Farquharson, writing in *Frieze* magazine was one of the few people to reference

that this was another point the community stalls were opened up to the audience:

> There was even an interval, during which the commentary was replaced by somewhat crap mid-1980s chart toppers ('Two Tribes' and 'I Want to Break Free' acquired an unexpected political urgency) and spectators milled about a marquee full of archival material on the conflict or bought a vegan pie or a bedding plant from a few enterprising local stall holders.[212]

The field was cleared in this section, and the second half moved to the village.
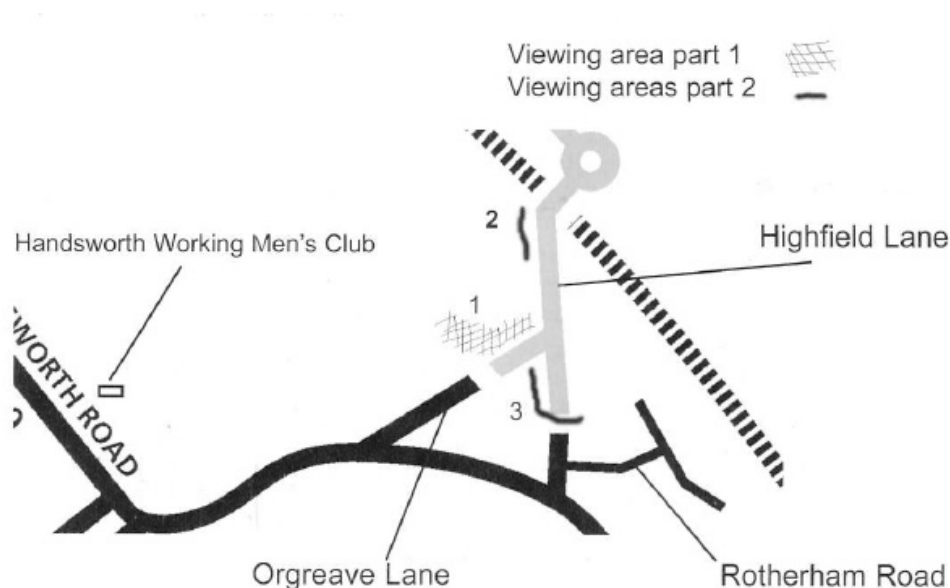
Figure 2 - Map from The Battle of Orgreave information sheet for participants – email from Stewart Gledhill

Audience members were given directions and a map and recommendations as to

where to stand:

> We recommend that you initially view part 2 from area 2 moving with the action to 3. Alternatively, you may want to go directly to area 3 and watch the action move towards you from the distance. Due to the layout of Highfield Lane, viewing of part 2 action is limited. If it is dry, we ask those at the front in area 3 to sit down, so that those behind can follow the action as well.[213]

The village

Curator and critic Lars Bang Larsen described the beginning of the second part

"After a lunch break, it was time for the chase through the village. As with the first part

---

211   Stewart Gledhill in recorded conversation with Professor Steve Bottoms, February 2015
212   Alex Farquharson, "Jeremy Deller The Battle of Orgreave" *Frieze Magazine* Issue 61 September 2001
    http://web.archive.org/web/20141129022311/http://www.frieze.com/issue/review/jeremy_deller/
213   Documentation from event – see *Figure 4*

of the battle, it remained unclear as to how things started and why."[214] Most people, who spoke to me about the event in some way, did appear to prefer the section after lunch. It was less to do with enacting battle plans, and more something caught fleetingly by the audience, capturing the capacity to see what it might have been like. Journalist Iain Aitch remembers feeling that in this section you could see "things more directly, you were right in the middle of the action, catching things happening down side streets, or alleys and it was all a bit edgy."[215] Lubbock also favoured this section:

> Part two, fought along the street, where the audience's angle of view that was partial and narrow, more like a witness's than a spectator's, had moments of real verite. And I suppose the main surprise of the event was that the peculiarities of re- enactment were much less obtrusive, and the past was brought to life more directly than I'd anticipated. That was how most of those in the audience who had been there originally seemed to take it, not as a charade, but as a vivid way of remembering.[216]

Deller also found this part more rewarding, "the second part was much more real, accidents happened, when I say that, things went wrong, not that people got injured but things went wrong in terms of timings, people turned up in where they shouldn't have been at certain times and so on. So that was good."[217] Giles also was enthusiastic remembers the impact of the section in the village "At the bridge, I was in the front line directing the shield wall, I couldn't help myself, it was fantastic. The stones coming in clonk bang, it was absolutely amazing."[218] Bang Larsen was one of the few to reference the fact that this section had been totally improvised:

> No start-to-finish trial run had been held for the second act, which led to impromptu deviations from the plot: i.e. a group of 'police officers' were cut off and received an impromptu thrashing from 'strikers' before they were able to get out of harm's way. In a surreal moment an ice cream truck went about its business and several rioters licked cones while being chased. The re-enactment unwound after more than two hours of 'fighting'. The participants applauded each other, a palpable sense of relief in the air.[219]

In the footage of this section in the film, the miners are shown at one end of a road, the police form a barrier with lines of shields, to stop access to a bridge in the village. The miners throw missiles. A car burns on the side of the road.

One re-enactor describes this section also in terms of how real it felt:

> We formed a shield wall and advanced up the street, I felt very vulnerable as we progressed, it seemed safer on the field with four rows of police behind me,

---

[214]   Lars Bang Larsen, "Jeremy Deller: The Battle of Orgreave" *Art and Text* no. 75 (Nov 2001-Jan 2002) 67

[215]   Iain Aitch, (Journalist) In conversation with the author, 22 March 2013.

[216]   Lubbock "When History Repeats Itself Too Soon," 11

[217]   Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015

[218]   Giles. In conversation with the author 21 June 2013

[219]   Bang Larsen, "Jeremy Deller: The Battle of Orgreave," 67-68

there wasn't as many of us now and we were closed in by gardens and houses. We progressed up the road, passed by a burning car that sent black smoke across us, it again seemed very real. A police helicopter was hovering above us. The stones and rocks came towards us, 'incoming' I shouted, and we raised shields and felt them thump onto our shields, it seemed *very* real.[220]

Another re-enactor responding to my questionnaire remembered this part as the most dangerous moment for him:

The police chase miners down the street past this burning car and a number of truncheon miners until they are lying on the road. As a re-enactor described "the street fighting was more exciting in my opinion as we are used to fighting in fields in a regimented way. It was more real, but chaos. I remember my helmet being half ripped off by something being thrown."[221]

The 'success' of the second half was also referred to in the letter that EventPlan sent out to participants after the event, "looking back, I felt it was one of the most realistic re-enactments I've ever been involved with, particularly down by the bridge. Moving up the lane, past the burning car, all the while under bombardment from 'stones' was quite an amazing experience".[222] In contrast, the Artangel producer was made very nervous by this section.

You're right, the second bit felt very improvised and I don't think it worked as well. Lack of rehearsal time in such circumstances is dangerous in my opinion especially when doing 'stunts', i.e. we had horses charging down a crowded street. I did express concern over this at the time, but the momentum of the day seemed to take over anything like that.[223]

One aspect that is highlighted here is how difficult it is to see in the film who is a re-enactor and who is an audience member. It is useful here to consider the audience in a slightly different way. That they were also at some level, audience-participants, standing in for bystanders of the original event. When I watch this section of the film, I feel as if I had been there as an audience member, I would have felt afraid that the police re-enactors might have been carried away and attacked without realising who was in on the act.

The audience also expanded to include people living in the village, looking through windows and coming out of their houses to watch. This in effect is a secondary audience, villagers who knew it was going on, but who have only now been embroiled in the performance because it is taking place around them. This echoes how the

220   'Questionnaire about the participants at the re-enactment of 'The Battle of Orgreave' Survey Open Jan 2013 – Feb 2016 https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/participant_at_orgreave

221   'Questionnaire about the participants at the re-enactment of 'The Battle of Orgreave' Survey Open Jan 2013 – Feb 2016 https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/participant_at_orgreave

222   Gledhill, email message to author 11 February 2015

223   Andy Morgan (Production Manager, Artangel) email message to author 10 February 2013

villagers would have responded to the original battle. It is unclear how informed the local population in the village would have been. As one re-enactor recalled, "bizarrely a man was watching us from his doorway drinking a cup of tea as we passed...he said, 'you're all mad!'" [224]

The last section of the film shows a series of scuffles with miners and police, and in the houses that form the backdrop to this part of the re-enactment, a small girl can be seen in the upstairs window at the front of her house singing, "The miners united will never be defeated" over and over again."[225] This is the last image of the film but the re-enactment event itself continued beyond this point.

The after party

All the people I had spoken to about their memories indicated that there'd been no clear way to call time on the performance. As one re-enactor recalled, "the show ended rather abruptly. There didn't seem to be a definite end, I think a whistle was blown or something and it was suddenly all over. It didn't really feel we had reached an objective."[226] In the Figgis film, in an early section of the re-enactment day, there were images of miners carrying banners, walking onto the field, along with other audience members, and the brass band, and as such it looks like this was something that started the day. In reality, this parade with banners was at the end of the event and was a way for everyone to leave the village section and to come back together into the field.

As Deller remembered, "the miners paraded behind a banner, like at Durham or something, and then they followed this brass band into the field. […] It was very difficult to end. So that was a relief. Then we had an after party at the miner's social club, just behind the road."[227] Thomas remembered that the idea for the end of the event involved the side playing miners and the side playing police to come together and shake hands. Douglass recalled that "we brought the banners along and we followed the band back to the field".[228] After the event came to a close, most of the production company cleared up and left the site. Many of the re-enactment society teams also left. The miners and the audience were the main groups that went along to

---

[224] 'Questionnaire about the participants at the re-enactment of 'The Battle of Orgreave' Survey Open Jan 2013 – Feb 2016 https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/participant_at_orgreave

[225] Child in window, member of the public, *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, 1:00:35 – 1:00:45

[226] 'Questionnaire about the participants at the re-enactment of 'The Battle of Orgreave' Survey Open Jan 2013 – Feb 2016 https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/participant_at_orgreave

[227] Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015

[228] Douglass, In conversation with the author 28 August 2013

the local working man's club for a drink before going home. As Farquharson described, "everyone paraded back through the battlefield to the sound of a brass band, dads in uniform or 1980s denim played with their kids, 'miners' hugged 'police' and both sides joined the rest of us from Orgreave and London for a few pints of Stones down the local Treeton Miners' Welfare."[229]

There are differing memories of this final event of the weekend, with many of the London audience finding the situation uneasy. All of the audience members that I spoke to, who recalled attending the working men's club, remembered the groups of people splitting off. Whilst that would inevitably happen in any post-performance group, on this occasion it heightened the sense of disconnection between the art audience and the local performers. One interviewee felt it worked as a continuation of the framing of the event, "Although you're sort of still in it as an artwork you could feel that you might be moving towards the edge of the frame of the work. And then we all, we drifted off at that point."[230] Another felt somewhat resentful towards the production company for creating a situation where they felt the class differences so keenly, "I don't remember how it ended. I remember there was a thing at a working men's club, which was the thing that slightly jarred with me. [...] I felt slightly uneasy with. I think the authentic working-class food was problematic. It was almost overly authenticated for a retro London audience kind of thing." [231] However, another audience member felt less that the event at the social club was a manufactured situation and was more focussed on the thought that it indicated his or her own difficulty with being out of their comfort zone:

> The division between the two groups of people was so apparent. Lots of fag smoke, pork pies, mugs of tea, pints of bitter but because the groups of people who had been there originally knew each other, they were already a community and we were there just for the day, and we could only talk to other people like ourselves, so the Londoners all formed into little huddles like a private view and the people from Orgreave and the surroundings, from Doncaster and elsewhere, like the miners, and maybe the police as well – sat down at tables and got stuck in for a good long session and so the disintegration of these two groups of people – it was embarrassing.[232]

Not all art critics or audience members felt it was a contrived offering but was symptomatic of the range of audiences and participants at this event. Bang Larsen, for example, remembered that "afterwards, at the local pub, Pulp singer Jarvis Cocker

---

[229] Farquharson, "Jeremy Deller, The Battle of Orgreave," *Frieze Magazine*, 2001
[230] Rendell. In conversation with the author, 24 September 2012
[231] Aitch. In conversation with the author 22 March 2013
[232] David Cross, (artist) in conversation with author, 26 February 2013

hung out in a yellow pixie cap and sunglasses, while a weather-beaten Orgreave granddad across the table told his version of what actually happened in '84." [233]

Whilst I am aware that my search for a wider aperture on the events of the performance was not as comprehensive as I had wanted (I did not get to talk to a range of miner-performers, or audiences from either miner's families or from the local village itself) the extensions of the histories available and the opening up of vantage points makes the narrative around this work wider and the scale of the social collaborations central to the event more accessible. It seems imperative that in order to understand this sort of event, the stories must be kept open so that as many of the multi-levelled strands can be taken into account as possible. In so many of the critical responses, the story was reduced down, particularly in relation to the healing narrative. This creates a narrow aperture with which to consider the work, although as I will show in the next section, there are ways to open this back up again, partly through the engagement with audiences that I undertook in a small curation of the film, but also in the way that Deller has expanded the work and resisted the narrative of the film being reduced in the process.

The Provenance of Audiences

My engagement with *Battle of Orgreave* audiences operated at two levels, the first was in finding original audiences and second in screening the film to new audiences. This work ran in parallel, as I was often finding someone new to interview who had been involved with the performance, at the same time that I was trying to organise screenings. Often, they would feed into each other: sometimes I would be prompted to ask questions of my interviewees, as a result of something that had come up at a screening. Sometimes something an audience member remembered would feed into the framings I would provide to the viewers at the screenings.

In addition to providing a significant additional context to the events of the day, the original audience members I spoke to also opened up some context on the critical writing about the work. Two issues stood out in the audience engagement on *The Battle of Orgreave*, firstly, many audience members would link the issues in the film to thinking about political engagement they themselves had been involved with historically. This is likely to be a specificity due inevitably to the appeal of the film to different audience groups. Secondly, however, the other major aspect picked up by

---

[233]   Bang Larsen, "Jeremy Deller: The Battle of Orgreave." 68

audiences of *The Battle of Orgreave* was around the slippage between reality and unreality within the event.

There were many examples of the interviewees uncovering their own story during the process of the interviews, as if the process had shaken it loose. Alison Lloyd who had attended the Orgreave event with her two young children, recalled looking at the mounted charges on the field during the re-enactment but being returned to another protest moment:

> What it took me back to is picket lines at Wapping where I'd been or going to Greenham Common or demonstrations in Trafalgar Square where we'd get split off from people that you were with by police horses and stuff like that, because we saw the police horses, so what it did was remind me of being in a similar situation to the miners […] it reminded me of how similar my own personal experience of being us against the police on a picket line. [234]

This was a slippage in the witnessing of the event, in the moment of watching a political moment in history; they were attaching the event to their own political engagement in that moment. The miners' resistance brought them to memories of their own protest experiences, or their own resistances in large or small ways. This issue also indicates an event happening to the audience, rather than happening to original participants of the conflict or even re-enactors. This slippage was something that was also felt at the screenings so had a wider impact than events on the day. This slippage speaks to Schneider's consideration of re-enactment which also using the analogy of folds:

> I am curious to ask here about a more porous approach to time and to art – time as full of holes or gaps and art as capable of falling or crossing in and out of the spaces between live iterations. […] I am invested, too, in the curious inadequacies of the copy, and what inadequacy gets right about our faulty steps backward and forward and to the side. [235]

It also speaks to the idea of the fold in relation to understanding a performance as passing between bodies and is a key aspect of the provenance of this particular performance.

Most of the audience members I spoke to who had been at the re-enactment would discuss at some level how real the depiction of events was. This also came from attendees to my screening in Leeds who had travelled over from Sheffield and who had been striking miners at Orgreave in 1984. In their testimonials after the screening

---

[234]   Lloyd, in conversation with the author, 11 September 2012
[235]   Schneider, *Performing Remains* 6

and their discussions with me in the bar afterwards, this formed a large part of their assessment of the film as in how much the re-enactment was or was not a good simulation of the original event. Rendell remembered, "as the day progressed, there was mingling with local residents, and their main thing was not 'this is a nonsense artwork' but instead how accurate it was, in the sense of 'that didn't happen there, but it happened there instead.'"[236]

However, often when I worked to open up the discussions around this, something started to happen to these thoughts about authenticity and it started to make the issue less to do with inaccuracies in comparison with the original event, and more to do with an awareness of the layers of time between here and there. There was a slippage and a discomfort in this experience, as one attendee remembered, "it was a mediated event, it was orchestrated, and the sights and sounds and smells of it which gave it a sense of reality were counterpointed by this strange sense of unreality – we were all acting out – something like wish fulfilment was going on."[237] The judgements seemed to be less about whether the uniforms were right and more about a discomfort felt by the audience members as they could feel the boundary lines between past and present, themselves and the action, were slipping.

This also flagged up a disruption between the past moments being experienced in the present. Two activist artists in particular discussed this issue, that there was some sort of time travel or at least that they had been looking for some sort of time travel:

> I wanted it to be more real than pantomime. Standing by a telephone box, taking pictures as if I was reporting on the poll tax riots, because I've been to many demonstrations and documented them. So, my position witnessing the thing through the camera lens was participating in this big constructed spectatorship and I was really upset.[238]

Audience members were trying to catch something of that moment, and as this memory indicates, many of the people at the scene had cameras or video cameras, to capture this moment perhaps *as* a past moment. Cross remembered that "everyone had brought their cameras, so even if it wasn't filmed and edited together, the witnesses came along to document […] there's always the idea that […] the rhetorical coding of the image can carry an extra power that simply bearing witness would not."[239] People spoke about feeling like they had stopped being audience members

236   Rendell, in conversation with the author, 24 September 2012
237   Cross, in conversation with author, 26 February 2013
238   Cross, in conversation with author, 26 February 2013
239   Cross, in conversation with author, 26 February 2013

watching a re-enactment performance and instead became re-enactors themselves. This was something they particularly felt in the village section, when the ropes were gone, and the demarcation was lost between performers and audience: art teacher Garry Barker remembered "And as the lines of demarcation disappear physically they also disappear mentally."[240] Barker had felt like he was an actual bystander, and as if they had time travelled actually back to the original moment. They were the people from the village caught up in the conflict:

> We weren't an audience anymore, we were asked to be participants because we had taken on the role of the population of the area almost like being there on the streets as everything was happening, you've lost the role of spectator and now you're included, because the ropes have gone, there's no defined edge and you are there in the space[241]

This is a particularly rich aspect of what happens when audiences are engaged. The visibility of this slippage for audiences has only been possible due to the collection of audience stories on the artwork and adds to the art history around the work. Barker remembered it as being as something that happened throughout the day, "but actually during the day audience members became coerced into being participants as well so your role blurred."[242] He recalled this as being at the prompting of the film crew, keen to expand the depth of the crowd as the action got heated: "You were often just shouting or (shouts) adding to the cacophony because they would ask you to do that you know: 'Go on make some noise.'"[243] Lloyd remembers watching and feeling wholly involved, suggesting, "Because you're in the crowd, in the audience, you become like the picket line."[244] Rendell: "although we were still in it, the artwork, you could feel yourself moving to the edge of the frame at that point."[245]

Another aspect felt by many of the interviewees was remembering the gap between the re-enactment event and the original battle. This was another space where a disruption forced them to question their own responsibility at the event. The main consideration was in relation to whether they were undertaking a problematic form of tourism. Cross, who had been struggling with the attempt to hold onto the event in the present, recognised that in fact what he was witnessing was something akin to "a dress rehearsal or being on a film set and trying to say to myself in my mind, even privately, I saw the miners' strike being broken. What kind of tourism is that?"[246] Whilst

240   Barker, in conversation with the author 10 September 2012
241   Barker, in conversation with the author 10 September 2012
242   Barker, in conversation with the author 10 September 2012
243   Barker, in conversation with the author 10 September 2012
244   Lloyd, in conversation with the author 11 September 2012
245   Rendell. In conversation with the author, 24 September 2012
246   Cross, in conversation with author, 26 February 2013

responses to the work obviously were subjective and different, it is the refusal of the work to impose a closed narrative that enables it to be opened up to these differing personal responses and reflection.

Screenings of *The Battle of Orgreave*

The first film screening that I presented took place at the City Varieties Theatre in Leeds on 28 January 2012. This was the best opportunity to bring local people into engaging with the event, and perhaps reach some miners who had taken part in the re-enactment. The audience for the screening was made up of mostly local people from the surrounding area. There were a lot of people from Leeds, but also there were a large number of people who had travelled over from Sheffield, and a significant number of miners who had been at Orgreave in 1984. Around 10 miners stood up at the event to speak and around 15 more with families came to talk to me in the bar afterwards. The age range of this group was probably the most expansive with the youngest members being teenagers through to people in a 60+age range. This group also had the most family attendees. In terms of demographics, there was a good spread of genders but there was a large majority of white British in this audience. This audience was the only screening that had miners in attendance in terms of those who had been at the original event. There were some children of miners as well as organisers from local groups supporting the miners and the strike in 1984.

The first screening suffered from a serious technological hitch in that it was the one post-show event I was not able to document as my audio recorder failed. I held a Q&A session afterwards with a panel to discuss the film with the audience. This included Rod Dixon, the director of Red Ladder Theatre, Douglass, NUM representative for Hatfield Colliery and participant in the Deller re-enactment and Figgis film. In addition, other members of the cast of the Red Ladder show were there including Phill Jupitus who had toured with his poetry show to raise money for striking miners during the 1984 strike. Throughout the event there were loud ripples of reaction in response to issues in the film. There was a lot of laughter at the conversations of the miners when they were teasing the re-enactor groups or speaking proudly about things they had got up to during the strike. When Margaret Thatcher's voice or image came on the screen, there was an angry surge of muttering around the theatre.

After the film, members of the panel talked about their memories of that time, and what they had been doing. We opened up the floor to the audience and I was particularly struck that hardly any of the audience asked questions. Instead people

were standing up and telling their story, where they had been and what they remember from that period of time, not just the strike. Some were miners, some had been at Orgreave, and others were the families of miners from Orgreave who were attending in their stead. Some were testifying stories from their fathers, from their own memories or to attest that they had known nothing about Orgreave despite family involvement because the men had not wanted to talk about it. Coming together to see this piece seemed to change some attendees' minds about this. This story telling continued for hours in the bar after the screening, and many people approached me to tell their stories of Orgreave. Miners in the bar lined up to talk me through anecdotes of the strike and told me much they also had shied away from returning to the place where so many painful memories resided, and even had avoided any engagement with politics for years afterwards. This was not in the form of formal interviews but indicated a future potential for material for future capture of opinions.

The second screening took place at Wharf Chambers, a radical private members club and event space in Leeds. Around forty people attended that event, and the focus group was around ten people. Of the ten, there was one person who had seen the film before, and who had written about it as an academic. The rest had not seen the film before, and the attendees had a range of familiarity with the events of the miner's strike. There was a good spread of both men and women, although the demographic at the whole event was around 75% white and 25% BME, the focus group was wholly white British. All attendees at this screening were under 40.

The third screening was held at Sheffield University, to a range of staff and students from a range of humanities disciplines. Again, the vast majority were white British, and again there was a good balance in the genders that attended. This group was a little older, and also more informed with many people living in Sheffield at the time of the strike, so much more informed with more detailed memory of the strike. The fourth and final screening was held in London at Chelsea Art School. This event had a much broader demographic spread in terms of ethnicity, as it was an advertised event unattached to a particular teaching area. The demographic split was around 60/40% female to male and around a 70/30 split with white students and BAME students. It also attracted a number of political activists, anticipating a sympathetic audience, who wanted to make the case for supporting striking cleaners, a significant issue against the management of the University for the Arts at the time.

At the screening held in Sheffield, there were a lot of attendees, much like the screening at the City Varieties, whose families had been directly involved in the strike, and they spoke, not of their responses to the film, but their memories of that time, that the film had unsettled, "I'm from a mining family – my first memory is watching stuff on the news, hearing stuff on the strike."[247] The way this very specific audience felt in response to this screening indicates how significant these events were for those involved as well as those that are interested in what happened.

In one focus group, there was the same common thread that featured in all the post-screening discussions. Like the people who stood up at *The City Varieties* in Leeds and told their story of their link to Orgreave, the ten people who stayed behind at Wharf Chambers, despite being either all too young to experience the strike or not local to the area, all immediately folded the film into their own experiences of protest. They bore witness to their own engagement with politics. Sometimes this would be linked into the miners' strike through memories of their family's involvement. Alternatively, this witnessing-bearing turned towards protest and activism as at Chelsea Arts School, or activism and class at Wharf Chambers or local history and politics, as at Sheffield. For example, one woman immediately started speaking about her role in anti-fascist groups and marchers as soon as discussions around the authenticity of violence came up:

> I've been on a couple of demonstrations myself and they are when you're reading about it, or when you're re-enacting it or whatever you want to do they are very very violent. They are violent. I was at one in Leeds a couple of years ago when we were protesting against the BNP you know they were trying to get white supremacist music into HMV which and we were picketing outside of there and it went completely you know over the top and out of hand.[248]

In discussions about Deller's event and the film, no matter how involved participants were in discussing the events of the re-enactment or the original clash between police and miners, every single discussion would return to the present. The responses from the screenings and focus group drove a connection and relevance from the documentary and the re-enactment to the politics the focus group attendees were concerned about in that present moment. I was interested in the flow of conversations between the groups and would rarely interject to lead the discussion. I would only tend to involve myself if the conversation was flagging.

---

247   *Battle of Orgreave* focus group – Sheffield University, February 2013
248   *Battle of Orgreave* focus group Wharf Chambers, May 2012

The time slippage for this audience was more to do with the film inspiring them to compare the political moment within the film and in the past, to a political moment they were concerned about in the present. The film performed as a useful tool to examine processes of protest for example, in particular the impact and implication of violence. One audience member commented on the reality of the event and how it aligned to his thoughts of protest, "the reality of getting beaten in the streets and being associated with the miners and the protest scene was a dirty thing. And it's a dirty thing now to be a protestor and you are branded as other."[249] Threads in the events would be run into current political events or issues in activism in a contemporary setting. One audience member discussed her involvement at the Dale Farm protest and her thoughts on undertaking a re-enactment of the violent clashes there. "I was at Dale Farm in the summer and doing a re-enactment of that would be too recent but doing it again in time, in twenty years would be completely different." [250]

There was one interesting disagreement in the group, which went on for some time around the purpose of the event. One participant who was a teacher in the local area believed that the re-enactment event had been created for local children as a historical space of learning and drove this into the discussion:

> Discussant 2: 'My contention as someone who has been a teacher in Leeds for 10-15 years that this was made for those people who stood on the side-lines, the children…'
> Discussant 4: 'The documentary was made for that'?
> Discussant 2: 'No. The event was made for those children.'[251]

This audience member was convinced that the piece of work had been created for local children to educate them about what had happened at the event. The rest of the focus group initially ignored his position but his return to this conviction eventually caused an interesting line of discussion about what the purpose of the film was. In the end, the teacher was not challenged about his understanding of the point of the re-enactment and it led me to want to expand my own knowledge about the exact time line and why the re-enactment had been made. A significant finding from my engagement with audiences suggests that the piece encourages political storytelling and that it doesn't even necessarily matter if the stories are accurate, as in case of teacher thinking this was done for children as even misinterpretation can prompt valuable reflection.

---

[249] *Battle of Orgreave* focus group Wharf Chambers, May 2012
[250] Dale Farm was the site of a large-scale violent eviction of a traveller site in 2011
[251] *Battle of Orgreave* focus group Wharf Chambers, May 2012

The Provenance of the accounts of Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave*

One of the significant reasons I began my research into specifically *The Battle of Orgreave* was because I felt a slippage of detail between the film of the re-enactment performance and the critical accounts in art writing around the piece. I kept on seeing gaps in the context of how the event had played out, and in the presumptions from critical analysis as to what exactly had happened as a result of the performance, as in the impact of the performance on the people involved in its creation and reception.

One of the major consistent critiques art reviewers and writers make about Deller's re-enactment, is that in some way it healed a rupture created by the strike. I have always felt uncomfortable about this reading. To date, I have never found any critic who claims this position, backing it up with any evidence demonstrating who has been healed in the process. I wanted to understand more fully why this happened, so I dug down to uncover how the work was created and who had been involved. Deller has consistently said that it was not an attempt to heal any wounds, "This isn't about healing wounds, it's going to take more than an art project to heal wounds"[252] In later years, he has expanded on that by stating that it was instead a process that would reopen wounds, to enable anger to be felt:

> That was never what it was about – I'm sure you've read interviews where I've said it wasn't about that. […] For me it was never meant to make people feel good about something. It was meant to make people feel really bad about something. The opposite, so I wasn't that interested in that interpretation. But if it meant that it could get made, and people would get behind it, then that's fine if that's what they want to believe, but that wasn't my aim. At all.[253]

I wanted to understand why so many people, despite his insistence, were convinced the artwork healed something. The Oxford English Dictionary defines catharsis within terms of purging, particularly of the emotions in relation to theatre, but in this definition, it is aligned with psychotherapy: "The process of relieving an abnormal excitement by re-establishing the association of the emotion with the memory or idea of the event which was the first cause of it, and of eliminating it by abreaction."[254] It is useful to think about why this leap to assessing the work in terms of psychotherapy was made, beyond the need of critics to see the efficacy in an important artist's work of a piece of participatory social art looking at a contentious piece of history.

---

252 Deller, *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* 10:01 – 10:07
253 Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015
254 *Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v. "catharsis", accessed 22 October 2012,
     http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/28926?redirectedFrom=catharsis#eid

The healing trauma narrative

One of earliest responses to Deller's artwork was also one of the earliest that made the trauma-and-healing binary central. JJ Charlesworth's assessment of *The Battle of Orgreave* was based on the existing critical written documentation of the event. Charlesworth's main criticism of the work was, "in choosing the form of the historic re-enactment and then populating it, not with disinterested actors, but with many of the men involved in the strike, Deller turned the meaning of 're-enactment' into its psychotherapeutic parallel."[255] Charlesworth here has focussed on the presence of miners who had been at the original event as being significant and is positioning the re-enactment as a return to trauma in order to heal, seeing Deller as trying to "turn the personal experience of trauma into an act of group therapy, conflating the emotional experiences of a locally defined community with the nebulous group-consciousness of contemporary British cultural anxiety."[256] Whilst Charlesworth's assessment was an early one, and one not actually informed by the performance event or the film but by second hand perspective based on other people's reviews, it shows the inherent reading of putting affected people back into a situation that had been a violent experience.

Charlesworth's take was not widely cited, so I'm not holding it responsible for the preponderance of trauma narratives on *Orgreave*, but it is one of the earliest examples to suggest this reading. The trauma narrative itself seems to be ready to hand in terms of the context of the *Battle of Orgreave*. In order to consider why, I'm going to look at both why the trauma narrative might be so easy to reach for in consideration of this work and in relation to re-enactment. Re-enactment in general, and these re-enactments in particular, have a connection to trauma and re-engaging with a traumatic moment in time. Trauma itself has a relationship with re-enactment:

> Time collapses for the traumatized. Trauma theory suggests a performative bent in traumatic suffering itself – the trauma symptom is a rehearsal, representation, reperformance of the experience of the trauma-event, which irrupts unbidden into the sufferer's daily life. The normative assumption of trauma theory is that the sufferer needs to re-establish their life narrative – incorporating the event as past – to gain closure.[257]

This returning to a previous event in time, and the way that the process of return seems automatically cathartic in relation to trauma, means that it is not surprising that

---

255   JJ Charlesworth "Jeremy Deller's The Battle of Orgreave: Politics as Art Therapy" Accessed 23 August 2012 http://www.jjcharlesworth.com/articles/orgreave.com

256   Charlesworth, "Jeremy Deller's The Battle of Orgreave"

257   Mick Wallis and Patrick Duggan "Introduction to On Trauma" *Performance Research* (Volume 16, No. 1 March 2011) 2

so many critics looked at the work as a performance of a process of traumatic return and subsequence closure.

Mary Braid from *The Independent* attended the re-enactment event, and while she acknowledged the importance of engaging with the story anew, nevertheless also fell back on the word cathartic: "For most, the afternoon seemed cathartic, although a few people said they could not bear to watch because the real event had been so vicious and upsetting."[258] Critic Lars Bang Larsen also focussed on the capacity of the event to address previous wrongs and on the side-swapping implications when miners played police:

> Everyone was galvanized by the possibility of redressing the media's lingering, one-sided focus on the miners' violence, and of relativizing the position of friend and foe (to that end, a few vets changed sides, strikers becoming cops and vice versa).[259]

Adam Mendelsohn in *Art Monthly* writing about the performance described it as a "kind of cathartic, interactive theatre."[260] In Louise Buck's review of the Figgis film she compares the event to a method to draw out poison, "Figgis adeptly demonstrates how Deller's project acted as a poultice to draw out individual and collective memories."[261] Peter Chapman reviewing the documentary in *The Independent* again uses the term; "If they are to achieve satisfaction and ease the burdensome nature of their memories, it can only be through some ritualised catharsis."[262] This reliance on the event as some sort of therapy or catharsis might be a way to avoid the political by condescending to the "traumatised" and has continued in later research.

Alice Correia, in her 2006 article for *Visual Culture in Britain*, does not make clear whether she attended the re-enactment in 2001, but does suggests that in his addressing of social trauma, Deller might be not only attempting to heal the participants, but might also be thought of as "participating in the regeneration and rehabilitation of marginalized mining communities" because the event contributes to the history of the Miners' Strike.[263] The artwork does certainly contribute to the history

---

[258]   Mary Braid "Miners Side with the Enemy as Battle of Orgreave Becomes Art," *The Independent*, June 18, 2001. 5

[259]   Lars Bang Larsen, "Jeremy Deller: The Battle of Orgreave" *Art and Text* no. 75 (Nov 2001-Jan 2002) 67

[260]   Adam E Mendelsohn. "Be Here Now: on the Ultimate High-The Retrieval of History through Re-Enactment." *Art Monthly*. Issue: 300 (October 2006). 15

[261]   Louisa Buck, "Mike Figgis' Battle of Orgreave." *Artforum International*. Volume: 40. Issue: 5 (January 2002). 31

[262]   Peter Chapman, "Staying In: The Pit of Despair; Mike Figgis Looks Back to the Day Industrial Relations Turned Violent in Britain." *The Independent* October 19, 2002. 47

[263]   Correia, Alice "Interpreting Jeremy Deller's The Battle of Orgreave." *Visual Culture in Britain* Volume 7, Number 2, (2006), pp93-112. 100

of the Miners' Strike but Correia offers no evidence as to how it might regenerate or rehabilitate the mining communities. In her consideration of the event, Inke Arns raises another conviction, that the miners had been significant advisors to the script of the event as the focus for her belief in the restorative capacity of the artwork,

> By allowing the miners' memories to control the course of the re-enactment, the performance provided languishing mining communities for a way for their actions to act outside of the historical script that was determined for them by the government and the media.[264]

Correia also suggests a similar sort of misunderstanding when she suggests that the miners who took part in the event were party in making choices about how they presented themselves, and how they engaged with what she suggested was a re-living of violence: "It is significant that a proportion of the participating miners chose to play policemen during the re-enactment, complicating the notion that identities are stable and that representation can be authoritative."[265] This kind of assertion I would argue is responsible for some of the misunderstandings around the work. Apart from the fact this assertion is not referenced, so it is unclear where Correia has found this information, it is worth pointing out that, the control of who played who in the assigning of roles, had nothing to do with the choice of the miners, came down to a directorial decision emanating from EventPlan[266].

In fact, far from giving miners agency, the whole point of asking some original miners to play police was because EventPlan theorised that other miners would not attack the police with gusto if they knew that some of their own were in police uniform. Correia, by not addressing the full terms of why the miners had been made to play police, changed the context for this framing. It is of course possible that the individual miners would have seen a different perspective on proceedings whilst playing police regardless of the context of that decision-making process.

Thomas Maxwell Shore also engaged with a perspective on the presence of trauma within the work: "many of the veterans described the re-enactment as a positive experience giving voice to a particular type of subaltern narrative by confronting their own pasts and traumas; […] returning to the same piece of soil and paying their

---

[264] Inke Arns, ed., *History Will Repeat Itself: Strategies of Re-enactment in Contemporary (Media) Art and Performance* (Berlin: Hartware MedienKunstVerein and KW Institute, 2007) 49
[265] Correia, "Interpreting Jeremy Deller's The Battle of Orgreave," 106
[266] See page 85 for detail

dues."[267] He does not cite those individual voices though. Instead he suggests something healing occurs in the process "by replicating the vitriolic cries of 'Maggie! Maggie! Maggie! Out! Out! Out!' the Re-enactors participated in a collective form of auditory catharsis."[268] This is once again a moment of a critic making assumptions about the state of mind of the participants.

The concept of healing also seemed to draw in some assumptions about the ways the performance was created and co-created. Shore, citing Correia, also suggests that the shape of the re-enactment itself was created from conversations with a range of people, rather than completely created by Giles who, as I've indicated, never entered into dialogue with the miners before the weekend of the re-enactment. Shore, like Correia, suggests that original participants of the events at Orgreave assisted in the creation of the re-enactment: "Giles was keen to promote the veterans own re-collections of the past via a two way communication process that constantly referred back to the veterans for reflexivity throughout the project."[269]

In fact, the miners that had taken part at Orgreave, were only brought into contact with Giles the day before the re-enactment, and were taken from that function room debriefing at Barnsley to the site on the Saturday. Giles did not focus on interviewing original participants to shape the event, although he did encourage participants to ad-lib actions on the day if they had experienced a particular narrative.[270] It is at this point in the film when it starts to obscure the performance rather than document it. Within the film, the action of the re-enactment is broken up with interviews with individuals discussing their personal memories of the day. Most of these interviews were gathered after the re-enactment, with people who had come to the re-enactment and were not used by Giles in the construction of the performance itself. The miners' testimonial was not used by the re-enactment societies to feed into and inform the shape of the performance, although they were encouraged to ad-lib some of their experiences into their performances.[271]

---

[267] Thomas Maxwell Shore "The Battle of Orgreave 25 years on: Memory, counter-memory, re-enactment and translation" Accessed 8 October 2016 https://thomasmaxwellshore.wordpress.com/the-battle-of-orgreave-25-years-on-memory-counter-memory-re-enactment-and-translation/

[268] Maxwell Shore "The Battle of Orgreave 25 years on"

[269] Maxwell Shore, "The Battle of Orgreave 25 years on"

[270] Giles, In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013

[271] At the beginning of the film, during the information session at Barnsley Football Stadium, miners are filmed telling Howard Giles their own movements on the day and he suggests they carry some of those actions out in the process of the performance. It is significant to remember that that information session took place the morning of the performance and would have had minimal impact on the direction of the scripted events.

Rebkah Modrak also implies that because some level of power was returned to the miners, this constructed some level of resolution: "the re-enactment enabled former miners, whose families had worked in the mines for generations, to commemorate the iconic moment when they lost a meaningful part of their lives."[272] She does not explain how this happened. Katie Kitamura also framed the work within the context of trauma, "the very fragmented nature of the re-enactment, however much a product of practical necessity, fitted into the rhythm of a traumatic repetition."[273] The idea that the work healed was not just taken up by critics, but also by the people involved in its creation as well. Giles, when speaking to me, for example, was unequivocal on this: "there was definitely a healing process because the attitude of the local people who had been miners at the time, was very different at the start and at the end."[274] He also did not explain this beyond the fact that miners and police shook hands at the end of the film.

Figgis felt that it too achieved something along these lines although his suggestion implies an emotional purging in the form of catharsis. Figgis suggests that he thought, "It was cathartic because up until then the big problem as far as they were all concerned was that the truth had not been told."[275] Due to our familiarity with the Freudian notion of the repressed and his role in relating to post-traumatic stress disorder in First World War soldiers, there is a tendency to speak in these particular kinds of terms in relation to how people deal with trauma, yet there are other ways to consider how trauma might be moved on from, beyond the repression-catharsis binary.

The responses and presumptions about Orgreave are not in isolation. It is an assumption often jumped to with the role of art in relation to trauma, that the 'return' to an event is enough to heal issues. James Thompson has looked at the sort of effect this has in traumatic situations in his work on art practitioners and trauma. In *Performance Affects* he considers how art practitioners crudely impose ways of dealing with of trauma narratives in inappropriate contexts:

> After the Asian tsunami in December 2004, a huge relief effort channelled resources through a range of international agencies into the disaster-affected countries. As the second-worst hit country, Sri Lanka received financial aid, but also a plethora of specialist teams dealing with all aspects of disaster relief.

[272] Rebekah Modrak and Bill Anthes, *Reframing Photography* (Routledge, London 2010) 214
[273] Kitamura, Katie "Recreating Chaos: Jeremy Deller's The Battle of Orgreave" in *Historical Reenactment: From Realism to the Affective Turn* ed., by I. McCalman and P. Pickering (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) 43
[274] Giles, In conversation with the author 21 June 2013
[275] Figgis. In phone discussion with the author, 27 June 2013

[…] Some of these were invited but the majority simply arrived with their elaborate plans for offering relief to the tsunami-traumatised population. Narrative Exposure Therapy were one of these and rapidly set about finding 'survivors' who would benefit from their services. […] The child was a 'survivor' whether they considered themselves to be or not, and Sri Lankans who questioned whether there was a need for 'trauma' therapy were themselves 'in denial'.[276]

Thompson suggests that part of the issue lies in the way that the effect of the traumatic moment has spread through western thinking. As a result, it is widely accepted that if someone goes through a traumatic situation, that they should not repress it, but talk it through:

> The assumptions emanating from the popularity of the trauma diagnosis have led to the prescription of 'telling one's story' as the preferred method and necessary precondition for 'relief', 'liberation' or 'healing'. According to this approach, constructing a narrative from the pain of the past allows it to be contained or healed."[277]

Thompson shows how, in the case of dealing with distressed, traumatized children who had survived the 2004 Indonesian tsunami, this process was not only not unhelpful, but ultimately created more distress for survivors due to being forced to speak. The applied-drama therapists who had descended from the west upon the children were importing over-simplified concepts into a culturally complex situation. Thompson shows the idea that one size fits all when dealing with trauma, from different countries and cultures, is one that is all too easy to leap to.

Thompson's argument about prizing affect as well as effect also speaks to the reductive way that these critical arguments want to imagine a particular effect or efficacy for the artwork:

> Participation or engagement with the arts more generally, is said to do things, to have certain identifiable effects. These claims, and the research mission to back them, have been the dominant framework for organizing and developing the work. In addition to this focus on theatre's impact, a linked tendency has been to see these arts programmes as revelatory. A play or process not only communicates information about issues or ideas but is also understood to show something of the truth of the lives involved. It documents a story, displays the real-world oppression of a particular community, or replays the effects of trauma. With their problems revealed, a group can reflect upon them and hopefully they can be changed.[278]

---

276   James Thompson, *Performance Affects Applied Theatre and the End of Effect* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 47-48
277   Thompson, *Performance Affects* 45
278   Thompson, *Performance Affects*, 116

Thompson suggests that rather than depend on this sort of thinking, a more nuanced response to 'the difficult return' is needed:

> The suggestion here is that arts programmes should step out from the over-convenient umbrella of trauma studies for their complex possibilities to be realised, and the more fluid concepts of the difficult return might be a place from which to start.[279]

The 'difficult return' is the idea that people affected by trauma go back to look and think about traumatic events rather than seeing catharsis as the solution. In this process, affected people keep meaning open rather than closing the narrative of their trauma down. What is perhaps most significant is that Thompson is not arguing that the telling of stories in response to a damaging situation is wrong, but that it is a simplification and does not take into account the myriad issues at stake and the equally myriad ways that affected individuals or communities might seek to deal with it:

> The argument here is not a dismissal of the importance of telling stories per se. Rather, it is a reaction to how this discipline has embedded within it, a set of assumptions that when put into operation can lead to a denial at worst, a disregard for alternative and possibly multiple responses to crises.[280]

The violence that erupted at Orgreave was astounding to those on the ground on the day and to those who watched it on television. Therefore, it is perhaps understandable that so many critics and writers saw Deller's work as working through some level of psychological return that would heal the traumatised. However, the difficult return might be a more nuanced way to think about what happened at Orgreave, and in the way the work continues to speak to people affected by politics events today.

The 'truth' about Orgreave has not been excavated into the public domain and is unlikely to do so for some time. As I was researching this part of the thesis, I had just begun the process of trying to get access to the South Yorkshire police archive from the conflict, held in Sheffield libraries. This archive held witness statements, police reports and various videos of news reports from that time. However, following a public enquiry into the South Yorkshire Police's conduct at the Hillsborough disaster where 96 people died, South Yorkshire Police decided to see whether there were the grounds for a public enquiry into Orgreave. This meant that my Freedom of Information request for access, which would have been a beneficial thread to my research, was denied pending that enquiry. In 2015, the Independent Police

---

[279]   Thompson, *Performance Affects*, 65
[280]   Thompson, *Performance Affects*, 67

Complaints Commission announced that there were no grounds to open a public enquiry.

However, in April 2016 after 27 years of determinedly pursuing the case, the Hillsborough group found themselves vindicated by an inquest. The jury on this case ruled that the 96 football fans who had died that day had been unlawfully killed and the same South Yorkshire police force had been guilty of mistakes that caused or contributed to the deaths. This result from Hillsborough will now assist similar groups linked to Orgreave make a decision as to whether to pursue a similar line of enquiry. The sheer weight of what it looks like to release the truth about what happened at Orgreave means this is a process still underway, and likely to be so for years to come. The truth was not released through Deller's performance of a re-enactment or through Mike Figgis' film.

What happened at Orgreave in June 1984 was perceived as a crossroads moment for British society and one that is not completely consigned to history. The issues regarding the tactics of the South Yorkshire police continue to this day. At the end of 2012, prompted by a BBC documentary, a request to open an investigation into what happened at Orgreave was passed to the Independent Police Complaints Commission (the IPCC).[281] However in 2015, the IPCC announced that they would not be opening an investigation. This decision though does not preclude a public inquiry, which is now the next step for concerned groups. The issues at Orgreave are far from over and the effects of the strike still continue today. Douglass echoed these sentiments:

> Had they held that picket line and we'd won, think of the things that wouldn't have happened. The wars that we wouldn't have been involved with, the attacks on benefits that wouldn't have happened. The on-going […] change in social policy about benefits and privatisation, the whole things that could've happened that didn't happen.[282]

The story is unresolved and still expanding onwards. This narrative is still a growing one.

Schneider sees that re-enactment, rather than a solitary ephemeral event, speaks to the fact that the live event demands to be done again, even if that redoing is not faithful to the original event:

> There is a certain superabundance to re-enactment, like a run-on sentence, as if an event in time, refusing to be fully or finally 'over' or 'gone' or 'complete'

---

[281]   "Orgreave miners' strike handling referred to IPCC," *BBC News* 6 November 2012. Accessed 28 January 2013 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-south-yorkshire-20362002

[282]   David Douglass, *Jeremy Deller's Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, 60:00

pulses with a kind of living afterlife in an ecstasy of variables, a million insistent if recalcitrant possibilities for return (doubling as possibilities for error). The zillion details of the act of interpretation in an act of live repetition make the pastness of the past both palpable and a very present matter.[283]

This unresolved aspect is crucial to thinking about how narrative works in and around Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave*. The historical event that inspired it is still shifting. Therefore, that Deller used re-enactment as the form to engage with this history is significant as re-enactment enables the opportunity, as evidenced with Marina Abramović's work, to also shift, and change and grow.

An Injury To One Is An Injury To All

The process of provenance is a handing on of the histories of a work, of the social histories, of the sales of artwork and of the people who have owned or affected the journey of the art. The histories grow and expand onwards as the artwork passes through hands or institutions. Re-enactment and the engagement around a piece of artwork adds to the body of documentation. In the case of *The Battle of Orgreave*, Deller had been collating the archive from the minute he began the process, "The archive had been there since the beginning, from the beginning of my research." [284] The archive though hadn't existed as part of the public version of the artwork from the beginning, but new iterations and layers were added to the original performance. The piece, now titled, *An Injury To One Is An Injury To All*, centres the larger social history and archival provenance of a piece in particular reference to contentious issues around a piece's history. In 2003, Maria Eichhorn's *Politics of Restitution* was installed in Munich, and worked as an original piece that had additional layers of the history of the piece, exhibiting the provenance of the work:

> Eichhorn employed a historian, Anja Heuss, to research the provenance of a group of state-held 'orphaned' paintings that were on permanent loan to the Lenbachhaus. The research was exhibited in a guide and exhibition catalogue […] The guide includes photographs of each painting's front and back, formal descriptions, explanations of transport markings, scans of property cards, restitution contracts and a glossary with both key terms and names of people. […] As they passed through the exhibition, visitors had an opportunity to browse a miniature library that featured books on the Holocaust and on art restitution.[285]

In the same sort of way, Deller's *Battle of Orgreave* continues to evolve. He first began the processes of adding to the artwork after the re-enactment performance. Firstly, Deller published a book, *The English Civil War Part II*, this was largely made up of

---

283   Schneider, *Performing Remains*, 29-30
284   Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015
285   Tang. 'Future Circulations," 179 - 180

interviews he had recorded in the process of making the documentary. The book included a CD of all the interviews and some songs and poems made about the miners' strike thereby adding more stories to the performance-documentary double narrative. Secondly, in 2004, Deller reworked the Figgis film into an installation piece. From that point, if a gallery wanted to screen the film, they also had to install the archive to accompany the screening. The artwork as a whole is entitled *An Injury To One Is An Injury To All*, and this motto is ascribed to The Industrial Workers' group. The installation piece is made up of several sections. The first is the screening space for the Figgis film and then there is a second space installed with information on the making of the work, and the history of the strike. The archive consists of:

- Vinyl lettering
- Vinyl map
- Archive material
- Acrylic painting on board
- Framed posters
- Denim jacket, badges and decorative buttons
- Acrylic police shield
- Wall painting
- Books, placed left to right – politically and have a strict order that needs to be followed from *State of Siege* by Coulter/Miller/Walker to *The Downing Street Years* by Margaret Thatcher
- A chair for people to sit and read the books
- Two x single channel videos shown on monitors (showing two programmes: *Police Rio*t training video and a relevant episode of *History in Action*)
- One x audio – (this is the CD of the audio interviews carried out by Deller)
- One x video projection
- A timeline [286]

This timeline sets out the main and important occurrences of the strike.[287] Deller said of the addition of the timeline and the archive in general: "It is an accumulation of time lines. That room was a way to acclimatise people to the film. To tell them what you going to be looking at, or it was something to look at after you've seen the film. To look at more detail to what you've just seen."[288] In essence the room was a layer of

[286] Eleanor Nairne, (Curator at Artangel) email message to author 20 February 2013
[287] The timeline and layout of a version of the archive can be seen here
http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/deller-the-battle-of-orgreave-archive-an-injury-to-one-is-an-injury-to-all-t12185
[288] Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015

stories to give to the audience, to allow them to possess as much information as possible. The expansion of the original film, like an explosion that keeps on moving, was summed up by an art critic as "this work, or its aftermath".[289]

In 2011, the situation changed, when Artangel formed a partnership alliance with Tate. As a small organisation, Artangel was finding the high volume of requests to be problematic. The creation of the Artangel Collection was a move to house the major film and video works with Tate, which would enable the works to have a more national and international life.[290] This would mean that they would be made available to different museums around the world in a more meaningful way. Since 2011, the reach of this collection has grown with the full range of works being lent out on over 39 occasions reaching over a million visitors and *An Injury To One Is An Injury To All* has been sent out to six different international galleries reaching over 83,000 people. Each time *The Battle of Orgreave Archive* is sent out to galleries, there are very specific instructions that are supplied in its construction. A gallery assistant from Tate is sent to the gallery to assist in the setting up of the piece. This will include ensuring the instructions are adhered to, and to construct some aspects of the work.

The artwork has evolved from a performance, into a documentary into an archive installation. Deller expressed his interest in the continued movement of the project:

> What's interesting about it as a film and as an installation is that it has a longevity that I wasn't expecting at the time. People can connect to it in different countries, because as a story, it is a universal story, it's not about Britain so much, it is a story about history, about power, about governments, every country has their own miners' strike. It has become part of a bigger story than the strike itself. [291]

This can be seen by the kinds of people that are asking to borrow the work. In 2014, Artangel had a request from a Russian curator, Anna Bitkina, to screen the film as part of the European Biennial of Contemporary Art: Manifesta 10 which took place in St Petersburg in Russia between June and October 2014. The timing of the screening was key as the Ukrainian conflict was escalating, and there had been several riots between 2011 and 2013. Bitkina was keen to open up thinking on the injustice occurring between British government and citizens and what was happening in the Ukraine.

---

[289] Charles Darwent, "Here's Another One That I Wrecked Earlier", *The Independent on Sunday* (London, England) Publication date: February 26, 2012. Page number: 58
[290] Nairne, in conversation with the author, 20 February 2013
[291] Deller. In conversation with the author, January 2015

Bitkina positioned *The Battle of Orgreave* in the context of the St Petersburg documentary archive, which began in 1930 and has a collection of documentary films on Soviet and Russian history. The British Council provided Russian subtitles for the film, which given the number of regional accents and dialects in the film, enabled it to be accessible for all Russian audiences. Bitkina embedded a public discussion every time she screened the film during Manifesta, and also included it in a conference entitled "How to Deal with the Past? A joint conference on the historical past and how we all deal with it":

> The audience invited to our first screening with a presentation included not only professionals from the art world but also a wider audience that regularly would attend openings. This contributed to a good discussion afterwards. People made parallels with events that were happening in Russian last year. In addition, the historical conference had a pretty lively active discussion about it and that was an international audience, not just a Russian one – I think the people really related themselves to the work and how to connect it to the current political situation in Russia.[292]

In her analysis of that performance event, Bitkina shows the impact of the film and the archive still has a present-day impact and relevance. The re-enactment and its stories still speak on, the provenance of this performance is still expanding.

Once revealed, the complexities of the narratives at work in this piece of public art defy attempts to simplify or construct them into a single strand or story. The levels of collaboration, co-construction, co-creation and conversation between groups meant that the creation, reception and social history of *The Battle of Orgreave* was always going to be a sprawling process and event. In addition, Deller himself can be seen to have set a process in motion that he cannot really 'author'. Rather he is making an open-ended intervention into a complex history that involves real people. Deller is putting things into play and enabling a situation like Thompson's 'difficult return' to a violent moment rather than closing the stories down.

What I have wanted to demonstrate is how the wound is still open and the (re)tellings continue, Deller has kept it open through reframing as archive. Perhaps more than any other aspect of Deller's work, the discovery of Tate's notes on the shape of *An Injury To One*, gave credence to the expanding shape of *The Battle of Orgreave*. This set of notes for curators and institutions enable the work to be re-enacted time and time again. The room may be different, the chair people sit in to read the books might be different, the timeline on the wall in a marginally thinner typeface

---

[292] Anna Bitkina (Curator) in conversation with the author, 16 March 2015

on the wall, but those notes are a score to re-enact the work. It is this sort of score that can be expanded too for a greater understanding historically and socially on the work. To add in not just the directions for re-use but who has used it, and in what context offers a bigger picture, a provenance of the work.

The shape of Deller's work, and its continued travels to different galleries and museums around the world make it an obvious case for requiring a provenance of performance. However, I am also interested in what a provenance of performance might mean for a work that is not expanding in the same commercial direction, or that is slowly passing from existence.

Chapter 6 – Graeme Miller's *Linked*

In 2003, Graeme Miller's *Linked* was installed across a series of roads in Leyton and Wanstead, East London. These 19 transmitters are transmitting eight-minute looped soundscapes that any member of the public can hear if they have the right equipment to pick up the signals. The majority of those transmitters are still hanging in the same place they were hung by council cherry pickers in 2003. They are still broadcasting their stories seven and a half times an hour, 180 times a day, 1260 times a week, 65700 times a year. For each transmitter still broadcasting, they will have spoken out over 854000 times by the summer of 2016. There are plenty of public art pieces created to last, and no-one gets astounded that this kind of sculptural pieces are still there, standing in the same place. However, the fact that *Linked* is still whispering away years later is somewhat astonishing, I believe this is due to its reliance on technology and in particular, a technology that is not easily repairable for a variety of reasons.

Unlike Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave*, *Linked* is not as well-known a piece of contemporary art, Miller did not get put forward for consideration for a Turner prize and the work has not been exhibited all over the world. It is though, like *The Battle of Orgreave*, a complex, sprawling piece of performance, which engages audiences to be involved as participants in the reawakening of the stories. It is a transmission of stories between bodies, from the bodies of people who once lived there to the bodies of audiences that may now walk the route. It also took a long time to create, with many different collaborators involved in different ways. Unlike Deller, Miller *did* directly use the voices of affected people to build the piece from the outset, although he ensues a level of distance and mediation to create the work as a composer. As with my consideration of Deller's work as a case study, I will look to an overview of the political history of the events leading up to the road protests that created the conditions for *Linked*. However rather than focussing on the critical accounts of *Linked*, I will focus on the *material* ways that the work is obscured and why gaps in its history exist due to weather damage, council members removing the transmitters by mistake, political shifts and economic development in the area. Finally, I will look to the accounts of the teams responsible for its creation and the accounts of some of the audiences I spoke to – to see how a provenance of audiences and re-enactment work with this particular piece. Despite all the ways that the work is being eroded from the site, it still retains an incredible capacity to connect listeners to the space long after they have completed the work.

The history of the M11 Link Road History

The M11 link road proposal in East London affected areas ranging from Leyton to Wanstead flats. There were over eighty years of discussion and debate, ten years of planning blight and three years of escalating demolitions of empty houses. There was widespread political and media coverage on the issue, particularly when a final attempt at resistance from a group of disparate communities was mounted in the last 18 months. Yet despite all this, by the end of 1994, over 350 homes had been demolished in order to build a road in a suburban area of East London. In 1999 the A13 link road, linking the M11 to the A12 road running through east London was opened. In the Leyton area, the affected housing was largely working-class family homes made up of Victorian terraced housing stock that differed from the more affluent areas of Wanstead, with its detached and semi-detached large 1930s properties. Notably it was within the less affluent area of Leyton that the highest number of houses were demolished. Although the focus on this period has historically looked most often to the clashes with police and protestors that took place in the early nineties, the story of the road and the communities affected by it, spread much further back than a few months of violence in 1994.

The first proposal for a new road in the Leyton area was made in 1903 although the first public inquiry and feasibility study did not open until 1961.[293] The roads in that area were overwhelmed by heavy traffic, driving out of London to the eastern routes. In addition, the M11 motorway was completed in the early 1970s and pressure grew to create a link road to it from significant hubs in East London. Congestion and pollution were a local concern as long traffic jams were a constant issue in Leyton and early mentions can be seen in questions from local MPs to Parliament in the mid-sixties on traffic congestion:

> Mr. T. G. D. Galbraith asked the Minister of Transport what short-term action he proposes, and what long-term plans he has to relieve the traffic congestion in the High Road, Leytonstone, between the Green Man public house and Maryland Station.[294]

---

[293] "Missing Link"; Online news; New Civil Engineer by Matthew Jones, accessed 17 January 2013 http://www.nce.co.uk/missing-link/851755.article

[294] Traffic Congestion (Leytonstone and Stratford) - Thomas Galbraith Hansard Commons Debate 5th series (1909–80), 28 July 1965 vol 717 cc113-4W accessed 14 August 2016
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1965/jul/28/traffic-congestion-leytonstone-and

The plan was for the link road to connect the M11 in Redbridge with the A12 at Hackney Wick. As suggested, the local understanding and response to the plans around the road scheme had been in place since the sixties. Local people concerned about the congestion in the area, but equally as concerned about the impact of a road, had lobbied parliament for a tunnel to be built which would take the traffic away from local communities, whilst still addressing the up-scaled need for a link to the motorway. The compulsory purchase orders were fairly rare as a lot of people had sold up and moved in the intervening years with the council leaving the houses empty, to become derelict. Some local residents got heavily involved with the protest, people like the Leighton family who were resisted losing their family home that they'd lived in for generations. They were significantly devastated as a family, with Mrs Leighton being famously hospitalised as a result of being forcibly removed from her house, and never recovering from the experience, dying about a year later. Richard Leighton, spoke of the effort his family had put into resisting the road scheme from the very beginning:

> And in the fifties, the ministry of transport started buying up houses and my dad and some of the other neighbours got together and I think if not unique unusually they put sixpence together and hired a QC. And that QC tore the government's plans to pieces and they thought it went to rest but my dad knew it hadn't gone to rest and that the government could always play a very long game.[295]

The first residents' group was formed in 1976 and sought ways to legally challenge the link road proposals. The tunnel option would have addressed the pollution that residents were currently experiencing, and which would only get worse with increased traffic. As the legal process dragged on, many families accepted the compulsory purchase orders and moved out, leaving a growing number of empty houses.

The empty houses fell into disrepair, which created a situation termed 'planning blight':

> There was an invisible wall running down the middle of Grove Green Road and Fillebrook Road because one side was blighted by the announcement in the 50's about the plans for the extension of the M11, and the other side was going to be left alone. The Compulsory Purchase Orders had happened ages ago, so one side of the road was proper families living in proper houses and the rest on the other side of the road, the houses were not looked after, in terms of upkeep.[296]

---

[295] Richard Leighton (resident of Colville Road) in conversation with the author 5 March 2013

[296] "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994"; Alison Marchant, accessed 13 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

Some of these empty houses were squatted, and others were left to literally fall to pieces. Into this situation came a relatively recently formed organisation called ACME. This had been put together in 1972 by art graduates Jonathan Harvey and David Panton. They had discovered the benefits of working with local authorities, who could for limited time periods, enable access to buildings, which were not being used and which were being primed for development or demolition. In negotiation with the Department of Transport, they formulated an agreement to take on an initially small amount of buildings to let to artists with the understanding that the sitting tenants would vacate immediately at the point the buildings would be demolished. These agreements were under a Short Life Housing tenancy. This relationship began in the eighties and ran right up until 1994. ACME were able to set up more SLH schemes than any other housing association due to a good relationship with one individual at the Greater London Council. Within two years, they were managing 150 properties. Following that main relationship with the GLC, ACME widened their engagement and next worked closely with local authorities and then the Department of Transport.

The ACME group created a new set of communities in relation to the space in the shape of artists. They answered a need from the Department of Transport to avoid the cost of evicting squatters from emptied properties and a need from artists for low cost living and studio space. That the spaces were often already in states of disrepair was not necessarily something that would dissuade the artist community. Having no restrictions on what they could to the property enabled artists to fashion useful, if not particularly safe, working spaces. The artist and film-maker John Smith recalled what he had done to get his space working for his practice:

> I had my studio space upstairs and I had two rooms for a studio and because I was a film-maker I made a projection window from one window into the next, so I knocked a hole in the room in between two walls and put a window in so you could view films in one space without the noise of the projector whirring away.[297]

One artist interviewed in Alison Marchant's M11 research project on ACME, Julian Perry, spoke about the extensive amendments they'd do to the housing including taking the ceiling out and putting patio windows in the roof after bringing the ceilings down so that they could put 'letter box slots' to drop large scale canvases through.[298]

---

[297]　"Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994"; Marchant, Alison, accessed 13 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[298]　Access to a rich seam of interviews from a huge range of ACME artists was made possible through the interviews made publicly available by the artist, previous ACME tenant and academic Alison Marchant, who undertook her own research into the artist community involved with the M11 link road protest in the same period of time. Marchant has stored these interviews and materials online

The ACME community of artists were not the only ones to take up spaces that had been vacated. As the process of building the road escalated, other political issues came to bear on the area.

The Road Protests

In May 1989 the planning and development of the M11 road was escalated by its inclusion in the "Roads for Prosperity" white paper put together by the Conservative government of 1979-1997. This scheme "proposed 2,700 miles of new and widened roads at a cost of £6 billion, more than doubling the roads budget."[299] The white paper is memorable perhaps due to the infamous oft-repeated quote that it was the largest road-building scheme "since the Romans."[300] It was part of the Conservative government's 'Predict and Provide' policy, which ostensibly made somewhat unsubstantiated guesses as to which roads would need expansion. There was also a reluctance to consider alternative strategies (such as reducing car usage through taxation and using railway freight rather than depending on lorry transport), and the 'Roads for Prosperity' proposed a general widening of existing trunk roads and expanding motorway programmes to reduce congestion.

However, the Strategic Road Network Paper, written to assess historical issues around roads managed by Highways England, puts the context for the scaling back of the 'Roads for Prosperity' plan on a range of other factors. The paper gave reasons including new ministers in positions of influence that had different perspectives to the 'Roads for Prosperity' propositions, and a growing awareness of the impact of air pollution and ill health. Louise Butcher, the author of the Strategic Road Networking briefing report for the Government, implicate the growing organisation of protest groups as a determining factor, "a mix of direct action groups and protestors and more conventional pressure groups seized the media agenda and were more coordinated and methodological than had been the case in the past."[301] The report does not reflect the growing number of more radical groups beyond the Friends of the Earth, but these other groups were certainly present at key protest sites such as Twyford Downs in Hampshire.

---

and has encouraged other archives to be added to her research. Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994"; Marchant, Alison, accessed 13 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[299] Joe Moran *On Roads: A Hidden History* (London: Profile Books, 2009) 211

[300] In *On Roads*, Joe Moran states that this line was never in the report, nor anywhere else officially although the transport minister did 'describe himself with atypical overstatement, as the 'biggest road and bridge builder since Julius Caesar'. 212

[301] UK, Parliament, "Briefing Paper, number SN01448, 10 August 2015, Strategic Road Network", Louise Butcher, accessed 14 October 2016 www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/SN01448.pdf

Twyford Downs was first project from the proposed road schemes that faced organised resistance strategies. Although I am not going to attempt a full history of the complex road protest movement and the political impact of the multiple actions that took place in the nineties, understanding what happened at Twyford is useful in seeing how the protest and the population developed at Leyton as a result. The marshalling of direct-action DIY protestors was one of the significant aspects of what happened at Twyford and would go on to influence the other road protests against the government around the country. A significant group at Twyford were the Dongas, an environmental group Joe Moran describes as "late twentieth-century equivalents of what the historian Christopher Hill called the 'masterless men' of the English Civil War era – the beggars, squatters and pedlars who, as nobody's servants, were ripe for conversion by radical religious and political sects."[302] The action of groups like the Dongas mirrored the actions of the flying pickets in the miners' strike, as they would move around the country to amass bodies at sites needing a response. Like the miners, these protestors too were demonised in the popular press. Like the miners they pulled in alliances from elsewhere, just as the miners accepted support from the left, from student groups, and other marginalised political groups whilst the road protestors found support from the liberal middle classes.

Although the road at Twyford went ahead despite the organised attempts over time to stop it, this first mass response to the 'Roads for Prosperity' bill was widely covered in the press and influenced other protests tactically. In addition to pulling in people from outside the local community and employing new extreme methods of physical resistance (such as locking arms to fixed items and then encasing the arm in concrete), there was also a radicalising of people new to protesting. After the Twyford Downs protest came to an end, many of the protestors including those from the Donga tribe moved onto the next space involved in the road scheme, which was the M11 protest.

Communities with nothing in common

The building of a road in a built-up suburban space does not happen overnight. The decisions that took so long to make in relation to the construction of the A12 link road created the conditions for Miller and other artists to live there. The affected community was not a group that had known each for generations. Some people had been there for their whole lives, some moved in to take advantage of the space in the run up to

---

[302]   Moran *On Roads* 213

the demolitions and some were there to engage with the protest. There seem to be roughly four communities that overlapped together in the period running up to the building of the link road. The first group was made up of local inhabitants whose houses were not under threat. The second group were local residents who either had not yet accepted compulsory purchase orders, or who had decided to refuse them altogether hopeful they could stop the road. The third group were the artists placed in empty houses by (mostly) the ACME housing association group and the final group to arrive on the scene were anti-road protestors, some of whom came from other road protests around London (such as the one at Archway) and some from traveller-protestor groups like the Dongas.

The concept of community is a contested one in relation to the narratives around the making of this artwork, *Linked*, and the road. Although at first glance, there was a community created by the building of the road, but the affected people were a disparate group with differing backgrounds, and varied reasons for being in the area. In turn the road would have varying levels of impact on those people. For example, the locals in Leyton were the ones most likely to be facing compulsory purchase orders, whereas in the more middle-class area of Wanstead, where less homes were likely to be demolished, the concern was more to do with the threat to the ancient sweet chestnut trees. In one sense, there was no cohesive community of people and in another sense; there was a multi-layered group of people who were able, in part, to be 'pulled together' because of the imminent disaster.

All of these groups were placed within a community as Miller puts it "torn together".[303] This community effectively came into being at the point the conflict against the construction of the road began. Alphonso Lingis in *The Community Who Has Nothing in Common* suggests, "The community that forms in communicating is an alliance of interlocutors who are on the same side, […] tied together by the mutual interest of forcing back the tide of noise pollution."[304] The people that came together at that point were made up of people afraid of losing their homes and being unable to afford to stay in the area, along with people who didn't want to lose their cheap art studios and people who wanted to resist the Conservative government's policy on roads. This, then, was a disparate community.

---

[303]   Graeme Miller "Walking the Walk, Talking the Talk: Re-Imagining the Urban Landscape" *New Theatre Quarterly*. 21, pp161-165 2005. 165

[304]   Alphonso Lingis *The Community of Those Who Have Nothing in Common* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994) 80

Over the years in addition to neighbouring buildings becoming effectively derelict, residents also had to get used to transient communities of artists. The houses in this area were so run down that other housing associations would not take it on because so much work would be needed to get the properties into safe states for people to live in. However, the ACME artists moved in understanding that their low rents were dependent on the poor condition of the houses, and they were prepared to do building work to make spaces work for them. This area of London was, at the time, largely a suburb where families moved to, to acquire bigger houses and enable their children access to greener open spaces. Many local residents therefore were not enthralled by the fact that artists were turning up to use the empty houses as studios. Artist Grayson Perry had a studio in the area for around six years, but notably did not live there for longer than a year, and despite living elsewhere, retained the studio to use as cheap working space. Perry remembers signs in the road when he arrived saying "Homes not Studios" which indicated a local level of resentment at the shift in use of the properties.[305] Steve Rushton, interviewed for Alison Marchant's research for London College of Communication, remembered "I had an image of artist and non-artist, you know that kind of clear division, you know as you go up and down the road, an artist lives there, there lives an in-between person, I don't think they're an artist."[306] This liminality of community was in part due to the role that ACME itself had taken in placing these particular people in near derelict housing. The artists made changes to the properties in line with their art practice rather than gentrifying the neighbourhood. ACME artist houses were unlikely to push up property prices in the area.

Moran suggests that the Department of Transport made a crucial error in renting the empty houses out to ACME as he felt that, "by the 1980s, they were home to mass squats of artists and other bohemians ready to be radicalised by the campaign against the road."[307] Yet ACME was not a part of the counter-cultural resistance to the road as they worked so closely with the authorities. They had embedded the proviso that artists had to hand their keys back to ACME, and as artists wanted to retain a good relationship with ACME, they obeyed this rule: "The artists we supported always returned the keys when they were asked, regardless of the difficulty they might have faced. We had to have a 100% track record in returning properties."[308] Some artists lived there in conventional family situations, the low rent enabling them to make a

---

[305] Grayson Perry interview - "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994"; Marchant, Alison, accessed 13 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[306] Steve Rushton interview - "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994"; Marchant, Alison, accessed 13 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[307] Moran *On Roads* p. 215

[308] Jonathan Harvey (co-founder of ACME) in conversation with the author, 26 March 2013

living through their art. Some lived communally, and these houses were more like shared-living artist studios. Miller was offered the opportunity to take up a shared residence in one of the ACME run houses. He moved into the area in 1984, some ten years before the road protest reached its heights. Whilst Moran is right to suggest that the broadly middle-class group of artists now living in ACME houses were radicalised by the road building, nevertheless they acted in similar ways that the middle classes had done at previous protest sites: i.e. legally.

Artist Matt Hale, now a writer for the art magazine *Art Monthly*, was heavily involved with the protest, and even represented the area in a trip to Brussels to challenge the road building in the EU courts but he disengaged following the public enquiry findings.[309] Steve Rushton acknowledged the gap between the process of the ACME artists and the road protestors that had joined the fight towards the end:

> There wasn't a huge amount of contact between the ACME artists and the crusties, and in fact I'd say there was hostility between them, because they were so different. You know the ACME artists would more or less play by the rules whereas these people, there weren't any rules, just to, just stop the motorway and to party. And that, the ACME people were more complex than that.[310]

There were artists that had joined in the protest in other ways than in these established ways, such as Paul Noble, who was not an ACME artist, but like a lot of other artists had taken up in ACME properties as a sort of a sublet to the official sitting tenants. Noble got involved in races to squat houses as soon as the word went up that the families were moving out or created artworks such as the fake English Heritage plaques which featured on a number of the houses threatened with demolition and featured in much newspaper coverage of the protest area. [311]

Despite the involvement by different strands of the different local groups with the protests, there was also at the same time a disconnection with the local community and the protestors who had travelled into the space to resist the road. Miller talks of wonderful redemptive bridging moments but also of terrifying events for local people dealing with noise from parties, drug dealers and violence. Miller remembered that, "I think some people would try and portray this thing as this wonderful connection, and

---

[309]   Matt Hale interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[310]   Steve Rushton interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[311]   Paul Noble interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

not see people just tearing down someone's garden fence and burning it on a bonfire, while they sat terrified inside."[312] The various established protest groups had grown wildly in number and activity by the influx of protestors that had left Twyford and other similar protest sites. There had already been an established alliance between local resident protest groups and inner-city London anti-road development groups, pro-cycling groups and other political activists mobilised by the poll tax riots. Noble felt "that the reason why a lot of people decided to get involved in fighting against the M11 link road was probably as much to do with the poll tax riots."[313] When the public enquiry failed, a lot of artists bowed out, and left the area, seeking alternative spaces. On occasion, those with families, as they had been living in the area now for such a long time, were often rehoused and ACME often stepped in to help.

The story of the end – protest and resistance

After the public enquiry failed to stop the development plan, in September 1993, the first target was the ancient sweet chestnut tree demolished on George Green. This part of the campaign particularly garnered support from a more middle-class movement. The first indications it was under threat came when the authorities put up boards around the tree. When the demolition team came in September of that year, there was a fast mobilisation of locals and protestors and people formed a protective ring around the tree, in a moment of coming together. Protestors and locals tore down the boards around the tree and some even made a tree house out of them. Local people like Jean Gosling were prompted to act even though it subsequently cost her the job of lollypop lady.[314] In the process, police used heavy-handed violent tactics, with 49 complaints being lodged by protestors following the protest at the chestnut tree. [315]

This was simply a stay of execution for the tree and in December hundreds of police moved in and the tree was demolished only three months later:

> The abiding memory for me has to be the night/morning that the tree on George Green was finally taken. […] I went through every emotion possible that night, from determination at the start to absolute terror when the 200 odd police turned up and were laying into protesters, kicking us on the floor and

---

312   Graeme Miller interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/
313   Paul Noble - interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/
314   "Twenty years on from the Battle of George Green", *East London and West Essex Guardian*, Barnaby Davis, accessed 1 August, 2015 http://www.guardian-series.co.uk/news/localhistory/11490693.20_years_on_from_the_battle_of_George_Green/
315   Andrew Rowell, Green Backlash: Global Subversion of the Environmental Movement (London; Routledge, 1996) 342

throwing punches, dragging people out by the hair. Absolutely without question the most frightening night of my life[316]

The evictions swept gradually through Cambridge Park Road, or as it came to be known 'Wanstonia', which was cleared of protestors by security guards flanked by police on 16 February 1994. The remaining protestors moved onto Claremont Road. "Residents transformed the Victorian terraces into a makeshift walled city, blocking up the entrances and creating new interior routes between the houses and over the rooftops."[317] As the police and bailiffs moved in, and the protestors moved onto the roofs and trees around the area, the authorities took drastic measures to get them down by using cherry pickers to pull protestors off the roofs.

In total, the operation took "four days for them all to be evicted."[318] One protestor remembers the last days engaged in the protest:

> The music blaring in the sunshine high over Leytonstone. Dozens of us chained to the building, up the tower with its streamers and shiny things catching in the wind. Dozens more scampering over the roof like a load of baby squirrels or something. From below the sounds of demolition, from above the horns, catcalls, jeers and yips. And from the side, in the evil robot arm of the cherry picker, come our bailiffs. Two get on the roof and escort you away; one is in the cage at all times.[319]

Evictions began by removing Dongas in the treetops, to more formal variations of eviction on residents in houses. Richard Leighton and his mother were violently and unexpectedly evicted from the house they'd both lived in all their lives. It terrified Leighton's elderly mother, to be forcibly evicted. During the eviction, she had a heart attack and had to be taken to hospital. Mrs Leighton died the following year, and Leighton holds the eviction as directly responsible for her death to this day, "It does traumatise you. Course it killed my mum. Mum and me were thrown on the streets. My neighbour took me in. Mum had to go to hospital. She was a very frail lady". [320]

---

[316] "Questionnaire for anyone involved in the M11 road protest (at any level – including squatting empty spaces in the area" Survey Open April 2013 – September 2015 https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/m11

[317] M11 protest, Twentieth Century Society, accessed 1 August 2015 http://www.20thcenturylondon.org.uk/m11-protest

[318] Moran *On Roads* 218

[319] Questionnaire for anyone involved in the M11 road protest (at any level – including squatting empty spaces in the area" Survey Open April 2013 – September 2015 https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/m11

[320] Leighton, in conversation with the author 5 March 2013

Figure 3 - © Nicholas Middleton 2018 – Claremont Road 1994

It was obvious that the end of the barricade and the protest was imminent, larger numbers of security began to be seen, and greater restrictions were put in place, for example residents had to carry passports to get in and out of the area. As Mary Lemley Miller, Miller's partner at the time, explains the final stages of the protest:

> The police action on the road protest action on Claremont Road was a completely different kettle of fish. They got policeman from all across the metropolitan police. […] The huge security forces there seemed to have a higher echelon of people that didn't seem to be like your regular security guards down at the Broadgate Centre or something.[321]

The demolitions when they came in the end were fast and violent. The locals who had stayed to the bitter end were often re-housed far away from that area of East London. The transient protestors moved on to new conflicts. Some created new movements out of their experiences in Leyton, for example John Jordan who had been at Claremont Road, created the 'Reclaim the Streets' group as his next project. This group continued resistance particularly around ecological issues and took up some of the playful resistance elements employed at Claremont Road, such as the blocking of the street by turning it into an outdoor living space, which was difficult to clear. He was also an early key collaborator with artist and activist group, Platform, working with them on ecological performance projects between 1989 and 1996. The activity that

---

[321] Mary Lemley Miller interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

began at Claremont Road went on in other ways with artists formulating relationships and working practices that would continue to this day. It was not just Miller who was prompted to work in response to what happened to him.

Effectively for those that were there, in whatever capacity, the events that took place over that last violent year have stayed with them. For many people it was, as with Orgreave, a period of time that had great potential, because even if their battle ultimately failed, many protestors take the clash at Leyton as a victory.[322] The government scaled back the road projects, and there has not been the appetite to expand the British roads in the same way since. For others, it was a moment of disruption that came to inspire their practice (as artists) or be a defining moment (for residents like the aforementioned Leighton).

The provenance of the artwork *Linked*

Miller has regularly created work that has fused different mediums across music, composition and performance. His early projects range from composing the music for the children's *Moomin*s TV series, to being one of the co-founders of Impact Theatre in 1978. More recently, Miller has created works that use radio waves in performance, to open up issues about site, social history and the political. For example, a work like *Beheld*, (2006) blends technology and narrative to mark spaces where stowaway refugees fell from airplanes to their deaths. The piece consists of photographs taken of the sky where the refugees fell, projected onto glass bowls and sound recordings of the site, audible when audience members lift the bowls.[323] It can also be seen in Miller's contribution to the Cultural Olympiad, *On Air*, (2012) a commentary broadcast by sports and arts commentators across radio and picked up with receivers in the museums area of South Kensington, London.[324] He has had a long history of working with producers Artsadmin who he worked with to create *Linked*.

Miller had directly lived through the situation that inspired him to make *Linked* and it was of a particular significance to him to make the work because he had a personal history in the area. Whilst Miller had originally left London for Leeds to escape the suburbia of his childhood, but in returning and finding himself in this suburban space, he had a rare opportunity that allowed him a considerable space and time to make

---

[322]   Aufheben, "The No M11 Link Road Campaign" in *DIY Culture: Party and Protest in Nineties Britain* ed., George McKay (London: Verso, 1998) 126 – 127

[323]   Miller, Graeme *Beheld*, Artsadmin Accessed 2 May 2018 https://www.artsadmin.co.uk/projects/beheld

[324]   Graeme Miller *On Air* Artsadmin Accessed 2 May 2018 https://www.artsadmin.co.uk/events/3104

work. Miller felt that all the artists around him at that time, in that area, were working in an odd moment which allowed them a huge amount of creativity: "We knew each other in this absolute idyll of time, where we were all able to take days, live with so much space for next to nothing in pretend houses we didn't even have to care for."[325] However with the birth of his son he found himself thrust into engaging directly with the local area and groups, and caring for the area around him in a very different way. As a single parent with a disabled child, he was engaged as a participant in the community in a way that he had not expected, "you suddenly realize that it does empower you in terms of being a local resident and having feelings about the homes."[326] Miller married Lemley who became Gabriel's stepmother. Though aware and sympathetic to the issues of the community fighting the road proposal, they never became a part of the central protest due to the needs of their family. By the summer of 1994, they were waiting to be re-housed in a council property in central London. The protest was nevertheless very present and eventually would force a traumatic collision upon Miller and Lemley's attempts to keep a distance from the conflict.

As the protest stepped up in the autumn of 1994, the road that they lived in was shut off causing their day-to-day living with a disabled child, to become extremely difficult. As Lemley recalled:

> Graeme's house, 159 Grove Green Road was exactly on the corner of Grove Green Road and Catford Bridge, we were included in the inclusion zone. We were surrounded by; it must have been like thousands of police there, and security guards, we were part of that. We had to carry our passports and something with our address, to get Gabriel in and out of there to go to school.[327]

The issues of restricted movement for Miller and Lemley worsened due to a moment of kindness to a member of the protest group. One of the key players in the protest movement, Paul Morotzo, was under siege in one of the nearby houses. However, somehow, he managed to get out and sought refuge at 159 Grove Green Road where Lemley fed him.

Lemley suggests that Morotzo's arrival at their house were witnessed by the police and led to an assumption that the house he was hiding out in, was somehow a headquarters for the protest. While Morotzo was in the house, Lemley also witnessed

---

[325] Miller in conversation with the author, March 2013

[326] Graeme Miller interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[327] Mary Lemley Miller interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

a brutal beating of a young protestor by a number of police and security guards, which she videotaped. The next morning their house was violently raided. Lemley infers that the incidents were all linked to their house being raided.[328] Whilst the family were having breakfast, their front door was broken down by a battering ram, and Miller was dragged out and restrained outside the house for over two hours while his son was terrified and screaming in the house accompanied by Lemley. As she remembers:

> They used one of those battering rams. […] I let out this huge scream and just grabbed Gabriel. I was terrified. I just didn't know what was going on. He was screaming, I was screaming […] it is more frightening when the state comes down on you than having some mugger stick a knife in your back, which has also happened to me. Because you feel more powerless. You feel you have got a better chance with a mugger. At least I would say 30 of them came into the house. Again, they were in their riot gear.[329]

After this terrifying situation, the family were fully evicted from the property, but due to intervention by ACME, were given 24 hours to taken as many belongings as they could carry. This indicates the kind of good working relationship that ACME had with the Department of Transport. Within a day, their house was demolished. Miller remembered that after being unable to return into the property, in that 24 hours, "people came from all over London to get our stuff out. And the moment we brought the last box of stuff out, this huge bulldozer came down and tore the house down behind us."[330] With this context, Miller's assertion that "politics came powering through my front door one day" is a literal response to what happened to his family.[331] Lemley finds it difficult to return to the area to this day, "My feeling towards the area is that I hate it. I don't like driving over there."[332] It is unsurprisingly both adults suffered psychologically as a result of the event.

When listening to or thinking about the actual content for *Linked*, it is striking that the artwork that came out of this experience does not echo the violent end encounters that Miller experienced first-hand. Although Miller directly includes his eviction experience in a recording in *Linked*, the response is still a reflective rather than an angry piece. The first time I walked the piece, I was surprised how reflective and tender it was, speaking of love of the space and the people encountered over lifetimes

---

[328] Mary Lemley Miller interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[329] Graeme Miller interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[330] Graeme Miller interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[331] Graeme Miller, interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[332] Mary Lemley Miller, interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

of houses, rather than an angry response to what had happened. Having met and spoken to Leighton for example, a key interviewee, featuring on at least two transmitters, his discussion of the events in my interview with him, were much angrier than in his stories captured by Miller in *Linked*. Other artists, making work that responded to similar kinds of circumstances such as the loss of their home, and the destruction of the area, also responded less angrily and more reflectively, than might have been expected. It was not only Miller who made contemplative work out of their losses. The film *Blight* by the filmmaker John Smith and the composer Jocelyn Pook was commissioned as part of a BBC series on artist collaborators. The film focuses initially on what appears to be invisible forces tearing down a house, with a repetitive composition of voices narrating the experience of living and losing homes in the area.[333] Like many other artists responding to their experiences of the area, there are visual echoes across the work indicating that they were responding to what was in front of them, the sudden visibility of layers of lives in the process of destruction and deliberated strategies of decay.

The concept for *Linked* came to Miller surprisingly soon after his eviction from the area. Less than six months after he and Lemley had found a new house in East London, and had settled in, Miller, still dealing with the emotional impact that followed their violent eviction, returned to where he had once lived. When he went back, rather than being disturbed by the memories of the eviction, he found himself trying to fit his narratives back into the space, Miller contextualises the way he cannot place his narratives on the area changed beyond recognition by the road:

> My decade of waking, feeding, working, childbirth, heartbreak, sleep, dream, meals, convivial moments and isolated thoughts were suddenly without a hook to hang themselves on. The new surface rejected them. […] I cannot retrofit my story into the space it occupied because it has become a sterile zone.[334]

This gap in-between the stories of the life he had lived there, and the lives he had witnessed living there, and the surface that now, emptied of houses and people, was resistant to the placing of those stories, created a place that Miller wanted to fill. The revenge he had been seeking for the traumatic eviction and destruction of his community had shifted into something else:

> Partly my anger levels really went down but also, I didn't want to do something as unsubtle as revenge and thinking that the best revenge is just an alternative

---

333   John Smith and Jocelyn Pook, *Blight* 1997, accessed 1 August 2015 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yil33Hb9BpM

334   Graeme Miller, "Through the Wrong End of the Telescope" in *Performance and place* ed., Leslie Hill and Helen Paris (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) 108

reality. Implicitly, anything that retells a story that's been conveniently erased is inherently critical, it doesn't need to do anything other than exist.[335]

To address the erasure of the buildings and people on these streets, Miller wanted to put the stories of those houses and people back into the place that they'd been removed from.

Despite Miller coming up with the idea for *Linked* within six months of being evicted from the area, it would take another six years for the work to be made. As Mark Godber, producer with Artsadmin remembers:

> The houses were maybe knocked down in 94, and only two years after that, Graeme had started to do it and had trouble fundraising. We were trying to get money from NESTA and other sources and eventually the key thing was the Heritage Lottery Grant, which used to fund art projects, […] in summer 2002.[336]

Godber felt that some of the issues around the difficulty in getting funding lay in the liminality of the piece, and in that it was not a conventional oral histories project.[337] Miller has described the way the work emerged from the in-between-space of seeking funding, conceptualising it for the applications and waiting for the money to come in, "it was like doing art by fundraising. It was uncalled for – no one commissioned it."[338] Funding eventually came from a number of organisations including the Lottery Fund and the Museum of London.

The creation of Linked - interviewing

There was then an initial process of gathering stories from others. One of the first processes after funding had been secured was to put together a team of interviewers. Five people were tasked, not only with doing the interviews, but also with finding their subjects, albeit it with some direction from Miller. He explained, "They each had a patch and a transmitter and then worked on that locality."[339] The area was split up into five sections and the interviewers worked to find people to interview in their areas. They worked through a range of mediums to find people including word of mouth, friends of Miller's from the area, and adverts in local press and posters around the area. Producer Mark Godber explained their role:

> They were artists that Graeme's worked with before. They had some training with an oral historian who was connected to the Museum of London. They wrote transcripts so that Graeme had a means of reference. As far as I know

---

[335]   Miller. In conversation with the author, 26 March 2013
[336]   Mark Godber (Artsadmin producer) in conversation with the author, Toynbee Hall October 2012
[337]   Godber, in conversation with the author October 2012
[338]   Miller. In conversation with the author, 26 March 2013
[339]   Miller. In conversation with the author, 26 March 2013

he listened to everything, there were some specific interviews where he was aware that he wasn't going to use them, and not use every word, but it helped him find the bits he was looking for.[340]

Toby Butler was the advisor for the Museum of London and liaised between the groups to make sure that the collation and documentation of the interviews would be in a legally good state for the Museum to put to use:

My minor (but interesting) role was to attend a series of meetings held throughout the process of gathering testimony from people who had once lived or worked at the road site. The five- strong interviewing team, the artist Graeme Miller and Mark Godber attended bi-weekly meetings from Artsadmin (the organization administering the project). My role was to liaise between the *Linked* team and the museum and come up with some guidelines for collecting and documenting interviews that would make sure that the resulting recordings could be successfully (and legally) archived by the museum.[341]

The team were afforded a good deal of autonomy. The process was a collective and collaborative one, with the team coming back together on a regular basis, to have food and socialise together and in those moments, to discuss their processes and what was working and what was not.

Helen Statman, one of the five interviewers, remembers that as a result of these group meetings, that it then impacted on the way that she responded to the walk. She suggested that due to the collective melding of the experience of doing the interviews, any territorialism around the narratives was dissipated:

Because of the sharing events, you forget which is yours, or which is which. And that was special as it was a co-collaboration all the way through. […] Of all the projects I've ever been involved with, this was the most equal. Everyone was passionate about it and shared and there was no hierarchy. Was I listening out for my bits? Yes, but it wasn't in any way competitive. Which is unusual. It was such an extraordinary project. In the end everything became everyone's.[342]

There was no dictated methodology that Miller preferred the interviewers to use, and at these sessions, the group of five interviewers would exchange ideas about tactics.

The interviewing team had always looked for people beyond the remit of the protest and the evictions and had advertised across different mediums to try and attract different kinds of people to the project. In the Artsadmin press cuttings archive, I found the wording of the typical sort of advert that was put out at the time. In the

---

340   Godber. In conversation with the author October 2012
341   Butler, "Linked: a landmark in sound, a public walk of art" 81
342   Helen Statman, (Artist) Hackney. In conversation with author, May 2014

Loughton, Buckhurst Hill & Chigwell Guardian in early 2003, a request was put out asking for people to contact Graeme Miller:

> To share the smaller details of life, family events and recollections, to help weave this audio history together. He is particularly interested in speaking to elderly former residents who may be able to share stories dating back to their grandparents' time. He would like to talk to children who were just three or four at the time of the demolitions to get their views on what happened. Finally, Miller hopes to trace the entire history of at least one of the demolished homes.[343]

Miller had always been interested in ensuring as wide a range of interviewees as possible. He wanted to speak to generations of people who had grown up there, lived their lives, had children, experienced interesting moments, as much as he wanted to capture the moment in time that the protest had existed in. In fact, as this advert shows, if someone had any link at all to the area, Miller was interested to hear what they had to say:

> Did you live in a house demolished for the M11 link road? For the Museum of London, artist Graeme Miller is working to make a memorial in sound along the length of the road, broadcasting voices, stories and the music, which will be open in summer 2003. If you or your family had a connection with the streets, homes, businesses and gardens that have now vanished, we would like to get in touch with you.[344]

Dan Saul, another interviewer in Graeme Miller's team, considered it would have been a very different process if they had done it today due to the levels of work needed to find people before the advent of social media: "there were adverts put into papers, but I think it was mainly done through a trail of friends and associates. Gradually tracking people down but Graeme provided the beginnings of the leads."[345] Miller already had a sense of how he wanted the experience of the walk to travel through the area. Certainly, there was more opportunity to talk to people that either were ACME artists or artists linked to his own practice and circle, or people who had lived close by the Miller family.

However, for the rest of the interviewers the process of finding people to interview was a considerable amount of work. Statman recalled the process, "It took quite a lot of investigation. Phone calls and knocking on people's doors and contacts of other contacts, being a detective pushing and pushing and eventually finding the right

---

[343]   Loughton, Buckhurst Hill & Chigwell Guardian 23 Jan 2003 - Cutting from Artsadmin Linked archive

[344]   Anonymous blog - Cutting from Artsadmin *Linked* archive - www.musicland26.freeserve.co.uk

[345]   Dan Saul (artist) in conversation with the author, 7 May 2014

person."[346] Whilst Miller allowed the interviewers a certain level of autonomy in how they were carrying out the work, he did need a certain quality to the content and format – something that he has described as the effect of reaching for a memory:

> When events happen, and you recount them more than once, you slip into storytelling and embellish them a bit, but you also smooth the edges off. You have told that story many times before. But when you are telling the story for a first time, and getting into an area for a first time, you are reaching into this cinema in your mind, and something happens. It is about really being there. And you just don't want to break the surface of the water too much. It is evocative, because it is honest. And it has got that element of reaching in the voice.[347]

The interviewers were encouraged to find the means to get interviewees to discuss their memories in the present tense.

The point where a story is disrupted, is the point Miller wanted to find, he sees stories told after trauma as being ones that can turn into stories that follow a certain path, stories that as he suggests, calcify into a particular shape:

> This is what happens, particularly with people who are good at retelling a story. Tim Etchells said this thing about something that happened to a friend of his, something really big and traumatic involving murder. A big story and his friend called him up and told him the story, and then she spoke to him a day later and she'd already, as you'd have to in a situation like that, told the story about another four times, and Tim said you could already feel it calcifying and becoming a story she doesn't have to relive every time she told it, now she had found these words for it.[348]

Miller was not seeking a way to break the shell of stories people had created to deal with their traumatic losses from the building of the road, but he did want to find a way to get to different kinds of stories.

Miller had already used a technique like this in 1995 in a previous project, *Feet of Memory, Boots of Nottingham* which one of the interviewers had been involved in.[349] Dan Saul, who worked on this project remembered the process of that earlier project as a prototype of the methodologies used in *Linked*. The project sent out forty people on a walk, during specific time slots over a day, with instructions of when they were to return to a recording studio and get the people to recall certain factors from the walk whilst recording. Whilst not all of them were asked to speak in the present tense, the

---

[346]   Helen Statman, (artist) in conversation with the author Friday 2 May 2014

[347]   Graeme Miller interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[348]   Miller, in conversation with the author, March 2013

[349]   'Feet of Memory, Boots of Nottingham' Accessed 2 May 2018 https://www.artsadmin.co.uk/projects/feet-of-memory-boots-of-nottingham

way they were recalling information was of particular interest to Miller. Saul
remembered that:

> Every person had a different set of instructions, some were asked to look out
> for things of a certain colour and other people were asked to shadow other
> people – walk behind someone else and try and imagine what they were
> thinking. Or try and imagine what their inner mantra was. Graeme was really
> interested in the moment when you're trying to recollect something. The part of
> your brain that goes into the subconscious – and there's a reflective tone in the
> voice and he was interested in the quality of voices.[350]

Getting people to engage in the present tense changed more than the timbre of their
voices. It would also bring the past into the present. Miller looked to his interviewers to
come up with simple processes which would shape the project considerably and that
was to get interviewees to speak in the present tense:

> What I do is get people to shut their eyes basically and be encouraged to visualise
> scenes from the past. And then report back in the present tense. For example, a
> postman with a fantastic visual recall, 'I am walking down so and so road, I am
> turning left, I have got a bag of letters on my arm, I am walking up now, up the
> path, I am going in through the door, into the sorting office in my left, the sorting
> frames, I can see through to the garden outside, I am going into the garden now.
> All kinds of flowers there, a pond, I can see…' They are reliving those moments in
> the present tense. And the reason I did that was because part of what I was doing
> was rebuilding the houses.[351]

Some people found it more difficult than others. In the notes on the transcription of
Cornelia Parker's interview for example, now held by the Museum of London, the
interviewer flags up that Parker found it very hard to keep talking in the present tense
and that she needed to keep starting and stopping.[352]

Using the present tense was always something Miller wanted to include. One of
the key ways that the team got to talk in the present tense was with the use of
photographs as a prompt. Interviewers would ask people to sift through those photos
and then, with a couple, get them to narrate what was happening in the present tense
as if they were back in that moment. All interviewees would have photographs of that
period of their lives and this would have provided an easy framework for the
interviews. Using photographs enabled the interviewee to be more at ease with a
process to carry out, and it also directed the interviewees to a more engaged
recollection of history. The memories of their relationship towards that place could
expand rather than contract in relation to their loss of their homes, and rather than

---

[350] Saul, in conversation with the author, May 2014
[351] Graeme Miller interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road
       campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/
[352] Notes with transcription with Cornelia Parker's interview held by the Museum of London

solely being a conversation about the situation people faced at the end of the time before they were forced to leave. By describing photographs, the memories would be embedded in the experience of individuals, rather than what might have turned into somewhat repetitive, marginally different perspectives of the eviction. In addition to leading the stories into a more personal specific area of memory, using photographs was the most significant tool in getting the interviewees to speak in the present tense.

Interviews would usually last upwards of an hour, and interviewers would ask about people's memories of their time in the house or that space. Statman remembers that, "it felt like a jigsaw puzzle with some people and that you brought a little bit of something, and then they would put together the next ten pieces. And then you'd give them another little bit, and then again. So, you were helping a rebuild of their memories and their past."[353] She recalled some challenging interviews when people would begin by suggesting that they'd be bad subjects, as they had no stories to tell and couldn't remember very far back, but in the process, people would open up and would even be surprised at their own recall.

Technology and *Linked*

The narratives were framed and shaped by the interview process, but another similar framing was the technology that would carry the stories through the air. Miller had wanted to use radio technology from the outset inspired by the work of artist activist group Platform who used radio waves to make content in a secret layer: "You can't stop some radio waves without stopping all the other radio waves, and so you have access to this space where you can tell another story, but in telling the other story, you effectively are reimagining, reigniting a kind of narrative."[354] As Ofcom, the British regulators of broadcast point out on their website about the legal issues around radio, "Radio does not stop at frontiers."[355] Miller had already placed 18 transmitters across the landscape in Salisbury as part of an Artangel project, *Listening Ground, Lost Acres* in 1994 and saw how it worked and liked the feeling of getting an audience to tune in to something. *Linked* runs on low frequency FM radio waves; the same as baby monitors. After approaching Ofcom, it was agreed that the analogue frequency was the most suitable option available for use with low power transmitters and without a licence.

---

[353]   Helen Statman, (artist) in conversation with the author Friday 2 May 2014
[354]   Miller, in conversation with the author March 2013
[355]   Guide to the use of radio transmitters and the law, Ofcom, accessed 16 September 2016, http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/enforcement/spectrum-enforcement/law

The technology for the transmitters was developed by Simon Beer, who had created the technology for *Listening Ground* for Miller in Salisbury.[356] Beer had founded a company, Integrated Circles, in the 1980s, and much like EventPlan and *The Battle of Orgreave*, this organisation would shape *Linked* in a similar way. This external company developed the carrier technology to enable the stories were publicly available. The firm has specialised in technical installation for thirty years ago, working specifically with museums and exhibitions, and winning awards for the ways these institutions used technology in displays.[357] One of the main challenges set with the brief for *Linked* was that it needed to work in all weathers, and have some sort of power source that was extremely easy to maintain.

Integrated Circles were briefed to find a solution that would be "permanently mounted and had to work outdoors in all weathers."[358] In order to address all of this, Integrated Circles created "twenty low power transmitter units with built in SoundStores which are attached to lampposts along the route of the tour."[359] The power comes from the 240volt systems running the lampposts. Miller explained that the key to the design for longevity "lies in the chip that stores the sound in particular and the robustness of the transmitter itself."[360] The pools of transmission were not set up to be a generic or specific size. Miller explained: "Within the limits of the output the height of the transmitter, the length of the aerial and various other mysterious factors, make the area of reception vary. It also depends on the receiver."[361] The transmitters are largely hung on lampposts along the route where houses and buildings torn down to make way for the road.

Graeme Miller and the editing process

Apart from being a practical solution to the huge task of interviewing so many people, Miller's decision to use interviewers to talk to people also gave him a distance. He saw this as a means to ensure there was no single narrative over-whelming the balance of the other stories:

> They are almost deliberately sabotaged not to be a version of the truth because they are too incomplete to tell any coherent version, but in the process, they can arouse a lot of curiosity.[362]

---

[356]   Miller in conversation with author, March 2013
[357]   Integrated Circles, accessed 27 July 2015.
         http://www.integrated-circles.com/news/the-centre-of-new-enlightenment-short-listed-for-awards/
[358]   Graeme Miller, email message to author, 28 July 2015
[359]   Integrated Circles http://www.integrated-circles.com/case-studies/m11-linked/
[360]   Miller, email message to author, 28 July 2015
[361]   Miller, email message to author, 28 July 2015
[362]   Butler, "Linked: a landmark in sound, a public walk of art" 82

In overlaying these snippets in sequence with other people's extracts, the process effectively destroys the full direction and emphasis of the interviewee's stories: "I decided to go in up to my neck in editing, so I was really removing 90% of material."[363] The narratives were given fresh context and meaning through the editing process, perhaps to a greater degree through this splicing of different views and voices, than the interviewees would have expected.

Miller wanted to avoid feeling the need to replicate a particular narrative or be beholden to one person's story. He has always discussed the process within the project as set up to resist that happening, "it was completely artificial, and there was no sense about it being in a conventional sense, a documentary in terms of story."[364] Despite the fragmentation of the interviews, Miller still felt that he captured the essence of the personal history of each individual, "Even in those little fragments I'd reach this point where I'd feel real emotion about who this person is, something quite poignant about people's lives and stories so I'd have to sweat my way through everything, it was like diving in and coming up again with little fragments."[365]

Miller's editing of the raw sound material from the interviews was a process of listening, selecting and then locating ideas into how he wanted to shape the experience of the walk, and it took a huge amount of time. He remembered the physicality of the editorial process as a task in itself, "just the amount of computer mouse clicks, just unbelievable."[366] Music was always going to feature, and a large part of his shaping of the work lay in listening to the rhythm and honing out the repetition and finding the relevant sound to begin the composition, such as bells, noises of trains, whistles, or humming sounds. The fragmentary repetitive experience of the audio assists in the creation and experience of layering. These gaps assist the experience because they raise the awareness of what might be left out or what else might be lost. The layering also creates movement across this interior landscape through time. This chimes with Miller's aims for the work:

> You get clues in the stories, they're sort of half told in fragments. So, you have to fill in the gaps. As the listener, hopefully there's some sort of pleasure in it, but actually your real job is to become implicated in it, like the reader generating narrative, like you are designing a really good roller coaster.[367]

---

[363]   Miller. In conversation with the author, 26 March 2013
[364]   Miller. In conversation with the author, 26 March 2013
[365]   Miller. In conversation with the author, 26 March 2013
[366]   Miller. In conversation with the author, 26 March 2013
[367]   Miller, in conversation with the author, March 2013

Miller here has created a piece of work that the audience member is actively creating in this process. This might be said to be a writerly text, in respect of Roland Barthes' distinction of a readerly text and a writerly text. Barthes' writerly text allowed the reader to escape their subject hood and create.

> Text of pleasure: the text that contents, fills, grants euphoria; the text that comes from culture and does not break with it, is linked to a comfortable practice of reading. Text of loss: the text that imposes a state of loss, the text that discomforts unsettles the reader's historical, cultural, psychological assumptions, the consistency of his tastes, values, memories, brings to a crisis his relation with language.[368]

This echoes Miller's assertion that his aim with the work was the get the walker to work the ideas into being "that the reader generates the narrative."[369] These snippets of half formed stories require the audience member to do conceptual work to join things together to see the photographs in front of them, hanging in the air.

When Miller had finished extracting the audio he needed, he donated the full 120 hours of audio recordings to the Museum of London. The Museum of London would benefit from obtaining all the raw interviews for the Museum's sound archive. These would also be a companion piece to the M11 protest archive that they had, which included a wide range of protest documentation, banners, photographs and even the street sign from Claremont Road. Butler, an academic working with the Museum of London identified that the project would bring new audiences into contact with the Museum, which sat within "the 'Voices' programme of National Lottery funded activities designed to reach new audiences and experiment with the presentation of oral history."[370] The interviews were given to the Museum of London in the shape of Minidisc recordings with transcriptions by the interviewers. In the 13 years since the project began, the Museum of London have slowly been digitising the interviews. They are held in an archive about the M11 protests including a huge range of protest magazines, photographs of the houses and the final days of the protest attempts to stave off the evictions, street signs from streets that no longer exist, and similar kinds of objects donated or collected from inhabitants of the site.

However, even though the interviews have been donated to this public archive, this is not, even now, a very accessible space if you are not a researcher. A session needs to be booked, the times you can get into the archives is very limited and listening to

---

[368]   Roland Barthes *Pleasure of the Text* Farrar, Straus and Giroux (originally published in French as *Le Plaisir du texte 1973* Éditions du Seuil, Paris) 1975 p. 14

[369]   Miller, in conversation with the author, March 2013

[370]   Butler, "Linked: a landmark in sound, a public walk of art" 86

them through their systems limits access to one person at a time. Even though the Museum of London have been digitising the interviews, they are not available online unlike Marchant's interviews with ACME artists which have proved to be such a rich resource in my own research. On the Museum of London's webpages, there is a page for each interview with details about who has been interviewed and the link to the M11 protests, but beyond this there is no context of the larger project these interviews were collected for.[371] There is no mention of any of the partner organisations, the assistance from the local authorities, the involvement of Artsadmin or even Miller himself. The fact that there is no mention of *Linked*, no hyperlink to the Artsadmin site is a missed opportunity by the Museum for London to easily promote the work and enable more Londoners to experience it. In Marchant's interview with Miller, he voiced a concern about oral history:

> There is always a problem with archives, in that they tend to compress into a hidden block of stuff that is behind, you know is only going to be accessible to researchers. And how to aerate? How do you literally get it aired? So, broadcasting, literally I am using broadcast, but I am broadcasting in the sense of seeding as well, throwing seed out.[372]

The Museum of London's use of the donated interviews which are locked away rather than accessible, proves that Miller was right to be concerned about leaving this work to an archive, an archive which has given no opportunity for the narratives to expand and grow.

From the outset, Miller ensured that the supporting material would not direct audiences to the exact spots the transmitters were installed. Miller had been resistant to laying out where the transmitters were on a map, and this was one area of conflict with the Museum of London:

> It was a battle between the Museum of London and me. Because they wanted a nice clear map and I just did a red line and said if you walk along this red line you'll hear some of the transmitters, most of them, maybe. This was intentional because this would deliver a sense of discovery and you get ownership of it and you decide how long you spend walking and listening.[373]

Miller here is reiterating the issue around the requirement of the audience members to participate in the making of the work; another aspect of collaboration in *Linked* is in the pursuit of making meaning.

---

[371] "Audio interview with Cornelia Parker" Museum of London. Accessed 22 October 2016 http://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/742197.html

[372] Graeme Miller interview with Alison Marchant, "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994" accessed 14 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

[373] Miller, in conversation with the author, March 2013

Butler also indicated there were some issues in the relationship with the funders, mainly around the kind of map that Miller wanted to give out to audience members:

> Miller was keen not to have the transmitters marked on the map that walkers will follow. He wanted the public to happen upon the recordings, like an Easter egg hunt. The museum staff, perhaps more used to making things as accessible as possible, was keen to make the route easier and more user-friendly.[374]

The Museum of London wanted something with the transmitters clearly marked out, and Miller in contrast wanted people to almost get lost in the pursuit of his walk. The idea that an audience member might not hear the whole thing was a radical departure from the kinds of work that an organisation like the Museum of London might connect their visitors with.

It is also perhaps significant to describe how strange this space is. This area of East London is split not only by the M11 physically but by a train track, where the Central line tube runs at noisy intervals. In crossing the space from Hackney Wick to Wanstead, the audience-participant crosses many roads, and walks down many different sub-urban spaces, under bridges, over bridges and along cycle paths. It is a space largely devoid of shops or parks and it is sporadically very noisy with busy roads, the six-lane motorway as well as Leyton High Road and the Green Man roundabout – again both very busy spaces with lots of people bustling about. These details in themselves do not particularly make this any more unusual than any number of similar areas in London or indeed any city. What is unusual is that as an audience member, you are walking places that only the people who live there, usually walk. And you are walking in a very different way to the everyday, you stop for eight minutes in residential areas and listen, and then move on to stop again, you are intermittently stopping for long periods, ostensibly doing nothing to anyone looking at you who doesn't know what you are doing. Your narrative is bringing something other than the everyday to this space; you are disrupting the space by your presence.

The building of the motorway is why these buildings were destroyed, and is what moved these families on, but Miller is not now asking the audience-participant to inhabit the motorway. The artwork does not happen in the siding to the M11, like some re-enactment of Ballard's *Concrete Island*.[375] The artwork is not placed within

---

[374]   Butler, "Linked: a landmark in sound, a public walk of art"83
[375]   In Ballard's novel *Concrete Island*, the central character - Robert Maitland finds himself stranded

the motorway, audience members do not have to climb down into the motorway, nor is it possible for cars driving through the area on the M11 to tune into the transmissions on their radios. The work runs alongside the motorway, and exists sonically, conceptually and for the time they are listening in, in the bodies of the audience as they stop to hear. Miller is rebuilding the lost buildings in the bodies of the audience. Miller is not re-appropriating space, because the motorway cannot be colonised or resisted. In that sense, this work is not turning a non-place into a space where people can now be. This is not a space absent of people, not all the people had to leave because half of the road was left standing, half the families continued their life in this space.

At one level, the work is recalling the memories of a lost community, but at another, the audience-participant is also still in the space of a suburban residential area, within a local community space. There are still homes here, still kids playing in the street, still people coming home from work, still new memories being built in the lives of the people who got to stay. Miller was reconstructing space and memory into the bodies of the *visitors* to the area, he was not attempting to reform community or human connection. The work creates a repository of history; the transmitter is a house, the audience-participants the transitory residents, just as Miller was a transitory resident, just as the previous tenant of his house in Claremont Road had been a transitory resident replaced in time by himself and Parker. The audience-participants do not walk through this space, they loiter. To hear the whole iteration, we must stand still and listen.

The M11 is busy day and night, but the *Linked* is not a bifurcation in relation to the M11, instead it creates a demand from people to loiter and stop in the non-motorway space. It asks people to act in ways that the everyday inhabitants of this space do not do, in spaces they probably rarely loiter at (outside the station, in the strange Linear Park). The narratives are formed spatially, and they expose a multiplicity of events and histories over time. The experiencing of the piece necessitates being embedded in the space.

Linked - Walking the Walk between 2003 – 2013

---

on an island at the bottom of an embankment, 30 feet below six lanes of traffic, unable to raise help and unable to get out.

Linked is a walk along a three-mile stretch of suburban part of East London. It can take up to five hours to do the whole walk, listening to every soundscape fully once. It crosses three residential areas of Wanstead, Leytonstone and Leyton, with each transmitter broadcasting roughly eight-minutes of looped soundscapes.

Figure 4 - © Sarah Wishart 2018 - Transmitter on lamppost (left in picture)

These transmitters continually broadcast a composed, almost musical score taken from the 120 hours of interviews with a wide range of the people affected by the road building. The voices include people who have worked in the area, local residents who had lived there all their lives, a couple of ecological protestors, radicalised artists from the ACME scheme, artists from the ACME scheme not radicalised by the protest, railway men and nightclub attendees. To be able to hear the work, audience members need a receiver that will pick up the broadcast from the transmitters. Audience members receive, now somewhat archaic, metal headphones with foam earphones, and a receiver, which looks like a little black box, the battery, starts working when the headphones are connected to the pack.

Figure 5 - © Sarah Wishart 2018 - photo of the receiver pack for Linked

The first time I walked the route was about a month after it had opened. We picked up the small map, headphones and a receiver from Wanstead leisure centre at the far eastern end of the route. The transmitters are not shown on the map, so we started wearing the headphones from the minute we left the pick-up point. We started the walk, around the Redbridge roundabout, and climbed the footbridge over the A12 to listen to the first of our broadcasts. I now know that doing it this way was theoretically backwards. In addition, although I know there was a route to follow in sequence, this is only because I've interviewed the artist and producer. This information isn't broadcast about the piece and the work is not mis-experienced by doing it in any order at all, or even breaking up the experience.

Figure 6 - Small map of 'Linked' provided when you pick up a receiver

Without visual signs to tell us when the experience was to begin, we found we were creeping along, listening intently. 'Has it started yet?' we said to each other: 'Can you hear anything yet?' Some audio warning signs – whistles, hums, sighs – snatches of words – started coming through, as the frequency grew stronger. Then suddenly, we stepped out into a pool of narrative that lay up the incline of a bridge over the M11 link road.

The footbridge swayed almost imperceptibly, as my companion and I hopped backwards and forwards, and edged towards the hum of the radio receiver, trying to find the best place to stand, the space where the stories came through. Once we had found that place, we stopped and listened, leaned on the railings and looked out. The sun whipped out from behind a rain-cloud, the view of houses and roofs was peaceful and suburban. A man washed his car. Two women stood on the doorstep, lingered over a goodbye. "The past is" the line was whipped away by the bellow of the traffic, or perhaps by the wind that zipped past my head and whined around the earphones.[376] "The past is the past and that was a very long time ago."[377] In the background, behind the old lady's voice, there were wind chimes, ethereal, tinkling music.[378] The footbridge wobbled slightly as someone walked up the steps on the other side. The radio transmitter whined loudly. I shuffled sideways again; wiggled the

---

[376]   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London
[377]   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London
[378]   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London

receiver in my pocket. "The past is the past, and that's that. Get on with the future."[379] The stories are incoherent, scratched, sliced, snippets of sounds. "They haven't really gained anything, the bigger the road", the voice of the old lady trails off.[380] The repetition, the refrain, the point I came in begins again, "The past is the past, and that was a very long time ago", her voice is sweet, a bit baffled but firm in her stance, "the past is the past, and that's that, get on with the future."[381]

The whole effect overwhelmingly made me conscious of the layers of sound. The traffic's noise, smooth cars and gruff lorries; one layer. The music ebbing in and out of the background, hardly there but just audible; another layer. The radio transistor's whine that grew or faded depending on your position; another layer. The effect is eerie. It feels ghostly and the fact that the narratives are on a continuous loop, speaking out for possibly a hundred years, made it feel even more ghostly. I looked at the quiet streets, imagined families there, going to work, going to school, coming home, their telly on the blink, a bit like the reception is being meddled with, granny picking up some strange stories in her fillings. I wondered if there were any cars out there looking for a radio station and accidentally tuning into these tales as they looped round and round; these stories of the departed, the demolished and the dear echoing off the walls of the motorway. Could the stories seep through the walls? Could they be dreamed on this location? Could the stories come into being, and re-map the space over?

This is an account of the first time that I walked *Linked,* back in the summer of 2003 accompanied by someone who had grown up in the area. I did not walk it again for seven years. Since then, I have walked it six times between the summer of 2011 and the summer of 2013. I have walked it as a tutor leading a group of students on a site-specific performance module, with one other person and with focus groups. I have walked it in rain and sun and fog and at different times of the day. The work shifts in different ways depending on all these different factors.

I have been walking *Linked* for over a decade. The last time I did the walk was with six other people in silence at night in June 2013. As a result, my experience of the walk is quite extensive, and it is useful to continue to explore that personal experience before I discuss my findings from my group walks.

---

[379]   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London
[380]   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London
[381]   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London

It might be increasingly difficult for people to access the means to listen to the work, but the audience are still able to access the work in some form, albeit an eroded one. In contrast to *The Battle of Orgreave,* I do not need to seek out the original audience for the walk because I can still participate in it today.

When I did the walk in 2003, local inhabitants who recognised what we were doing approached my companion and me more than once. About a quarter of the way along, as I leant upon a bollard, a woman came up to me. She was walking her dog and had just come out of one of the houses in the street. She got me to take my headphones off and told me that 'there's a better story just down the road on George Green." *Linked* at that moment enabled me to touch not just the stories and the past through the walk, but also the present. On that first time, I expected that we as the audience-participants might be reminding people in the area of what was absent, that we became the indexical link to those stories swirling in the realm of baby monitors. The fact that local people had approached me on those early walks to discuss the piece was presumably because of the newness of the piece and that the local residents were picking up on some of the publicity around it. Just ahead of the ten-year anniversary of the work, residents either no longer notice the transmitters or have moved to the area since the installation, and don't know about the work or the history of the road's impact on the area.

It is not clear whether Miller would have anticipated this particularly longitudinal aspect to the work. He does though recognise that the work does have an elegiac tone to it, "it is melancholic, it is valedictory, it is like a work of mourning" but this mourning occurs potentially without the knowledge of the local people.[382] The mourning takes place in the physical experience of the spectator rather than for the people who were left or are new to the area. The audience provides the indexical link once witnessed in turn by locals but now that indexical aspect – the witnessing – happens only for the audience.

Part of my anxiety was around being seen as a trespasser. The more I felt like that, the faster I moved on, and listened to the stories less. Though the anxiety was a distraction when I walked alone, there were other distractions in company. If I could find somewhere to be inconspicuous whilst listening, I was more likely to listen to the

---

[382]   Miller, in conversation with author, March 2013

full loop. In 'Linear Park', which has benches and is next to a bus stop, I stayed and listened to the two transmitters there in full, sitting on one bench, and then at the second transmitter, at the bus stop. Equally, at 'George Green', a large green area, with open spaces, trees and lots of benches to sit at, I felt very comfortable sitting and taking in the site in front of me, along with the sights being created in my imagination through the soundscape I was listening to.

When I walked with a companion between one transmitter to the next, we were often discussing aspects of the work, or issues evoked from the content of the soundscapes. I noticed that when I walked the route alone in silence, this silence enabled a different relationship, not only to the work, but also to the location. Walking in silence meant that the soundscapes trailed after me, and as a result, their effect on my thoughts were prolonged. It also meant that I was much more aware of the road's interrupting force. Walking with people, particularly with the focus groups, I mostly thought of the road as an obstacle, something to be concerned about in getting a group of people to cross. Walking alone brought the noise and the road's overwhelming presence on the area to the forefront of my thoughts. It also then created a much more tangible aspect to the layering effect that the work has. I was consistently aware on the solo walk of the lost things, houses, buildings, workplaces and above all, people's lives, which had been swept away in the construction of the noisy entity of the road. Arguably *Linked* works best in isolation, because this is when the participant is more immersed in a focussed relationship with the space.

When I was leading a group of people I didn't know, what became obvious was the rhythm of the experience not just of starting and stopping, but also of silence and conversation. We would stop for eight minutes, then walk on, the stop would be silent, and communication non-verbal (smiles at each other at particular jokes), but more often than not, rather than engage with each other, people preferred to find a comfortable space and would listen looking away from other participants. In between locations people talked. Experiencing the walk alone, I have often found that the soundscapes float with me on between transmitters; this space creates the space for questions. Where might that person have lived? Did all the houses look like this one? Or this one? The soundscapes go beyond the space they literally inhabit and echo onwards. The feedback from the groups suggests that happened after the event, with people feeling haunted by certain moments "I think I'm always going to hear the

'Where's London' soundtrack every time I go to that place."[383] I also have felt depressingly like a tour guide of *Linked*, answering questions and this also puts people at a remove from the project when they have someone to experience it through in a weird way. It also means it's hard for me to engage with the project. Instead I tend to field waves of concern about whether the batteries were all working, or whether it was too rainy, or whether people were not enjoying themselves.

The Provenance of Audiences

As I have discussed, there is a relationship with the archaeological site in terms of the provenience of an object and also with the way we might think about provenance. If that siting of a social history is a key aspect to understanding the social history of a piece, or how the piece continues to shift, then the relationship between audience and artwork becomes particularly visible in relation to Miller's *Linked*. Describing the piece in terms of what happens to audiences when they walk the route, Miller suggests "the human landscape, acutely complex in cities, is an act of co-composition and *Linked* was designed to alter the flow of that composition by inviting witnesses into the flow. It might seem that transmitters broadcast narrative outwards but, in a sense, they draw it in."[384] How re-enactment works as a process of provenance to transfer knowledge between bodies is particularly significant for audiences here, in the relationship between transmission and reception of the history in the body of the audience member.

Setting up focus groups for *Linked* was both as laborious as the event planning that was needed in setting up screenings and engaging with audiences for the *Battle of Orgreave* audience work, but on top of all the similar sorts of issues, was the sheer effort it took to do the walk. It could take anything from between an hour and a half and four hours to undertake, and this drawn out concentration and intensity put certain kinds of pressures on the audience. One of the first focus groups was with students from the University of East London. A number of the students had not really considered the length of time despite this being communicated, and many left before I was able to have a discussion with them and their tutor. This early experience indicted that although straight after the walk was the best time to capture immediate thoughts and feelings, there was a risk that people might just want to get away. It was certainly harder to engage with a *Linked* focus group than a *Battle of Orgreave* focus group.

---

[383] *Linked* focus group, Southbank centre, May 2015
[384] Graeme Miller, "Linked", *Searching for Arts New Publics* ed., Jeni Walwin (London: Intellect, 2010) 143

Some of this was practical – in the process of screening a film, a space has to be found just to put the film on, and this space can be used for discussions after the event. In all cases of the screenings, the discussions were largely contained within the screening space, and if they spilled over afterwards, it was usually into a bar or café attached to the screening space. In contrast, *Linked* takes place in a suburban area, and there are not many spaces where it is easy to bring people to for discussions. Often people were exhausted by the effort of walking for four hours minimum or drenched by their experience on the walk, so I was also conscious of not wanting to keep them in difficult conditions.

About half of my group discussions were held directly after the walks, and half at a later date that I arranged with the walkers. All of these discussions were audio recorded using an mp3 recorder or a Minidisc and the results were transcribed with all participants retaining anonymity. These focus groups were mostly held in cafes around the Leytonstone or Wanstead areas. On the occasion we had to stop due to the rain, I was unable to find a suitable venue to house everyone to do an early focus group and so we huddled under an awning in a café near to the station. That their input was still so rich was testament to how much that group enjoyed the event. One issue that I found it particularly difficult to refrain from responding to questions from participants about the walk, were Miller's processes that I knew of through my research. Ultimately, the groups were not solely responding to the artwork but were conditioned by the circumstances I had set up. Like the focus groups with the film, I did not direct the discussions in any one particular way but responded to the direction of the group. If the conversation slowed down, then I had a series of questions focussing on different aspects of the experience ready to bring to the participants, but these were never needed.

In line with wanting to not direct the flow of conversation about the experience, I often asked people to talk about what they thought about the technology, the quality of stories, their knowledge of history around the area, but so much of the time these issues came up without the need for prompts. A lot of the attendees I discovered were people who had wanted to do the walk for a long time but had never got around to it. My sorting out of the administration of the walk, providing the receivers and setting up a day for the event, meant that people were inspired to actually do it. Therefore, a lot of people were already motivated and had some prior knowledge of the artwork. Nevertheless, I wanted to try and learn processes as I went on to improve the conditions for people committing to doing one of these walks. This also meant my role

in the walking events was very different than my role in the screenings. It was more curatorial and involved. There was more interaction ahead of the event, and during the walks I acted as a guide, addressing technological issues around the receivers, carrying spare headphones, batteries and receivers. I spent one walk constantly changing batteries for attendees. I allowed walkers to lead the pace, but as we had people with different accessibility issues, I required the group to proceed at the pace of the slowest walker.

Figure 7 - © Sarah Wishart 2018 - Group Walk of Linked no. 1 - Students from UEL

In all the walks, the first and most pressing engagement with the event was through the medium of hearing it. Many audience members would often first discuss the issue of the technology. Some, like the student group, would find frustration that they could not turn the volume up on the receivers. Some attendees would have preferred a digital technology, either as mp3 downloads or as triggered digital signals to be able to hear the stories at their own leisure, "I found the technology the barrier, I wanted to lose myself in the experience."[385] On other walks, audience members appreciated the permanence of the technology "It felt very important that it was radio waves as they

---

[385]   *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 23 September 2012

were there all the time and go on."[386] Others appreciated that it was radio rather than a digital stream. This aspect seemed to be about the nature of radio over a digital form, "I think that's also part of the thing emphasised by radio, so it's constantly emanating out there. Rather than being an app on your phone, it's the physical stuff moving through the air."[387] The radio technology was also appreciated as a body of history located in the world at that place, "Rather than all the information existing in a digital nowhere, of not being 'placed'. Whereas the constant playing of the radio waves is like the constant playing of history."[388] The radio technology created a physical demand of the audience, namely that they had to sometimes move around to find the best transmission location, "I actually liked that I was picking up the static, then walking back in and out, it felt like an experience that I could create. I wasn't trying to consume the story, but instead to simply feel the texture, so sometimes I was staring at something else, and then these voices would pick me up and I would tune in again."[389] This comment was suggestive of the audience's body as analogous to the receiver, a tuning in and out of the stories within their own frame.

Some older audience members, not as used to walking around listening to music, found the technology somewhat anxiety-making "I really liked the ordeal of the thing because I'm not used to this, you guys are wearing headphones all the time, I'm never wearing headphones, or listening to music in that way, and I am a bit afraid of it."[390] This anxiety was also something felt by the focus groups, but as an absence. A lot of the women discussed with me the fact that either they had done the walk before and had felt significant anxiety "When I've done this before, I felt like I was being watched so there was an aspect of paranoia. This time I felt more in control partly because we were a group."[391] Alternatively, they were instead aware that they would have felt anxiety under different conditions. "To keep moving on, you don't get so much of a sense of the place, or your position in the space as a woman, coming out here on my own, not knowing it. If it was in Soho, I'd have been confident."[392] Engaging with the event as a group was easier, not only in terms of accessing the material way of doing the walk as I provided the technology and administration, but because they would not be doing it alone. It is perhaps key here to revisit the fact that much of the writing around the work has been done in response to what seems to be walks in solitude.

---

386   *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 22 September 2012
387   *Linked* focus group, Southbank centre, May 2015
388   *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 22 September 2012
389   *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 23 September 2012
390   *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 23 September 2012
391   *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 23 September 2012
392   *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 23 September 2012

However, a lot of that writing has been done by men, and the anxiety for men, or lack thereof, might work slightly differently.

The night walk

My plan to undertake the walk at night and in silence was an attempt to replicate the effect of the solo walker within a group walk. By undertaking it within a group, it would feel safer than trying to encourage individuals to do a night walk alone. It would also enable a slightly different kind of focus group feedback session. I had set up a breakfast event so that the group could get revitalised after an all-night walk and discuss the walk. However, in the experience, people actually requested to feed back to me later, either because they were much more tired than they had anticipated and that the walk had made them want to go away and think about how it had affected them.

In looking at this group particularly despite the fact it was at night and in silence, the walk nevertheless uncovered a set of encounters that framed our experience of the art event. Perhaps because we were silent, we were more aware of scrutiny and because we were in a group, we could assess the situation better than if we had been individuals walking alone. The performance here is also a multi-layered experience because not only is it about our performance of doing the walk in silence, we are also performing to an audience of bystanders who presumably wouldn't have known what we were doing, but we were also then able to watch the performances around us, as people performed certain responses to us.

I always thought about the chattering of the stories at points when the suburban space had even less of a population. What would it be like to walk at night? Would the anxiety that is inherent in experiencing the work, an anxiety about being out-of-place in this residential area, be lessened or heightened? How would we, the audience, feel in the space? I had brought together a group of five people, two who had done the walk before and three who knew nothing about the walk at all. All were friends of mine and four of the five are artists. Involving people that I knew and that would respect the framework of the art piece meant that I could be sure that they would respect my request for four hours of silence, and not to bring any means of documentation with them, so there would be no cameras to create moments of distraction away from the focus of the artwork.

We set off from Wanstead, after catching the last train arriving there at 1am. This time the reason I set out to do it 'backwards' was because I hoped we would get to the other end of the working receivers by dawn – looking towards London's skyline, with the content concerned with London being on fire. This seemed an appropriate end to a night walk through Midsummer's night.

The content at the Wanstead Bridge is of an old lady who had approached Miller's team when she'd heard about the project. She'd not lived in the area for years, and so the road building didn't affect her in the same way as other interviewees. She could afford to be sanguine. Miller edited specific descriptions of her childhood memories and the refrain, "The past is the past and it's a very long time ago."[393] Miller has edited these slips into the work to heighten this disconnection at this specific site.

As we moved between the transmitters, I noticed the other person who had done the walk multiple times, was speeding ahead, whereas the people who had not done it before, were slowing down and appeared to be meandering, looking at the buildings, and the surrounding area in-between receivers. I didn't want them to lose this curiosity, so indicated that he should slow down. It was very obviously an unconscious thing, he knew where the next receiver was and wanted to get to it as fast as possible, but the difference in terms of the physical reaction to the piece was marked.

We got to the green where the story is one of the few concerned with the protestors. This was the man who had occupied the sweet chestnut tree as a resistant strategy to slow down its demolition. If the tree had an occupant, then the government would need to raise a compulsory purchase order on it. As our group stood in the dark, with the lampposts picking out pools of light in all this night, I had a moment of realising how sinister we looked. Because of the rain, most of us had hoods up. There we were, standing around, not in a tight huddle, but spread out around the area, some under trees, some in the glare of the lampposts and most of us were in dark clothes, standing dead still, focussing on something unseen. We must have looked like something out of a horror film. I suddenly wondered if passers-by might be nervous of us. This was an interesting shift, rather than me being nervous of people feeling like we shouldn't be there, perhaps people were going to be nervous of us.

---

[393]   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London

We moved to the next transmitter which describes a protestor remembering being outdoors with the snow falling causing an incredible refraction of light. This was near the demolished doctor's surgery, and one of the few lost residential houses in the more middle-class Wanstead area. Again, stood in this little lay-by, I was struck by what it would look like if someone twitched their curtain. I was more conscious of the spectators' responses to our bodies in the space than I had been in a long time.

The transmitter near to where there had been a Territorial Army base, like the old lady on the bridge, also has audio distinctiveness, as it brings through whistles and hums of a radio frequency as Territorial Army officers talk about radios. Another example of this specificity is with one of the lost transmitters – near to the allotments beyond Asda in Leyton, which featured the memories of an old railway worker with noises of train engines and shunting sounds. As we all slowed down to listen to the Territorial Army transmission, just on the boundary of cycle path and road, we all spotted a gaggle of teenagers lying on top of a shed, smoking, against the tree line. Lucy and I exchanged looks – was there a moment of exchanged anxiety? I was really conscious of their eyes on us and wondered whether we were going to be challenged for being there. Not only did they not challenge us, they did not move. They didn't say a thing even as we passed them.

We drifted down the road listening to Cornelia Parker at Linear Park, sitting on the wall on the corner beyond it. I then broke silence and suggested to the other experienced *Linked* attendee that we avoid the little stub of Claremont Road, as I was concerned we might wake people sleeping in the houses, as the transmitter is in such a small space in a tiny cul-de-sac. We made as if to walk past, but people had their headphones on, and two attendees caught the sound of a transmitter and drifted off down the little street. The artwork as a result demonstrated how it was working in drawing people in.

The sky had been rapidly changing colour and as I hoped when we got to the last transmitter at Leyton tube, dawn was breaking. Four of us stood on one side of the bridge by Leyton station, and two were on the other. We stood leaning against the bridge walls, listening to Richard Leighton talk about his father's memories of the Blitz. 'Where's London' asked a man, and Richard's father pointed at the plumes of smoke in the distance as London burned. "There it is mate."[394] As we stood and watched

---

[394]   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London

images in our heads, two girls, one carrying her stilettos, tottered across the road. They looked at one attendee solemnly stood listening, looking out beyond the bridge and exchanged glances and laughed. Then they saw another doing the same thing. At this, they looked puzzled. Finally, they looked back and saw us four leaning against the bridge. This was simply too much. They said nothing, but both started running, tore away down the street away from our little silent group. This last performance around our walk has been the most referenced by the walkers of that night, with one walker saying it was the most apt thing to be seen and responded to by our public audience at that time of the morning.[395]

Carl Lavery, for example, was conscious of the scrutiny of the people around him in his experience of the work. "I wondered if these people thought I was a policeman, a Department of Health and Social Security officer, a private detective, or a spy. I had become paranoid, unsure of my place."[396] Lavery's anxiety was in relation to being seen as an example of authority, standing in for an outsider bringing in change. My anxiety, beyond the daily anxiety of being a woman in empty spaces, was more around an anxiety of being seen as an art tourist, transient and disconnected to the space. For example, the transmitter on Green Grove Road is located at the apex of a very short dead-end street. To walk there puts the audience-participant potentially in the path of the people who live there and means that there is a risk of being confronted about what you are doing there.

On the silent walk, the issue around anxiety was attached less to imagined responses from local people and more about the very specific conditions that were in front of us. In particular, the anxiety was attached to people we came across during our walk, and how the walkers perceived how they might have felt seeing us engaging with the space in that way. In an echo of *The Battle of Orgreave* post-film discussions, this discussion eventually turned to a consideration of personal stories about space and loss. It took longer to get to these personal narratives, as the medium seemed to demand attention in different ways. The form of the artwork demanded a more physical response. It indicates the difficulty too of talking about a more personal response to content. One German audience member suggested his experience of it

---

[395]   *Linked* focus group, Southbank centre, May 2015
[396]   Carl Lavery, "The Pepys of London E11: Graeme Miller and the Politics of Linked' and 'An Interview with Graeme Miller: Walking The Walk, Talking the Talk: Re-imagining the Urban Landscape." *New Theatre Quarterly*, 21 (2). (2005) 155

was "a moment of being full of thinking, andachtsvoll."[397] The translation of this word suggests a moment of meditative, absorption, or prayer.

When audiences did speak of their own narratives, they were also equally reflective of the nuances and content of the recordings, with their personal engagements seemed much more to be immediate and physical. One participant seeing comparisons with the impact of the Olympic changes to the area; "I felt the same way – the same loss – about Hackney Wick when the Olympics came in. There was no more going back."[398] The kinds of personal stories told were less focussed on conflict, or large-scale political protests, but instead on the ideas of loss of places, the loss of history in the walkers lives or their own memories of space being layered on the spaces in front of them. They were provoked through the experience of going on the walk.

This provocation was often through a physical response; the way audiences responded was how they felt in the space and in the slippage of time. This too came as a gentler experience than the time slippage felt at Orgreave:

> The houses were only here for a hundred years anyway, before that these were fields with trees – there's such a feeling of knowing that where you are standing now, there was all this change, and it's going to keep on going. The changes and the stories.[399]

The experience could also be slipped in and out of by stepping out of the soundscape, "take your headphones off and you can hear what's going on in the background – those were the great moments when you were hearing about the railway and you actually literally hear the railway train."[400] Another participant who had grown up in the area, had a visual linkage to the time slippage:

> I remember when the road was being built. And taking photos of the houses before they were demolished – so that was an overlay on top and before that – there was another bridge where we would go over. Up. From school. So, you have all these weird layers of familiarity for me – things which are the same, and things which have changed.[401]

Audiences felt too that it was their body that set the words in motion. *Linked* occurs in front of the audience and through them. Although the stories are repeating every eight minutes it needs the body of a witness, rather than an actor, to fire up the connection,

---

[397] *Linked* focus group, Southbank centre, May 2015
[398] *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 22 September 2012
[399] *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 23 September 2012
[400] *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 23 September 2012
[401] *Linked* focus group, Southbank centre, May 2015

enable the encounter with the past. It is the audience, which is the channel, picking up the long-lost frequencies and listening. People were bringing in their own stories, but it was mostly around their experience of the work, rather than aligning themselves to the political protest in some of the stories. This related to the quotidian, emplaced nature of this experience, it's the experience of the everyday and its history, not so much of a specific historical rupture despite the big rupture that created the work.

People found themselves a physical part of the work even to the extent where they felt less substantial, and more aligned with the fragility of the words spoken. Walkers often spoke of feeling like they were part of the radio waves themselves so caught up in it were they, "when you're walking the walk, you are fading in and out and you're part of the work."[402] Sometimes this was in relation to the impact of the imagery in the stories – another walker trying to expand on the previous quote said "It's something to do with trying to imagine yourself in the spaces. When one of the recordings talks about 'imagining the house be hanging in mid-air', I am imagining myself hanging in mid-air."[403] The experience of the city opens up to the audience, in a process of listening which called the aural into being, making things that were invisible, visible in the mind's eye. These manifestations distort the road and the area in the memory of those who have done the walk. The work is falling away, but it is also still evolving in these moments of mapped empathy, in an aural sharing.

The walk has forever changed that area of London for me. My body is held in tension with the memories spooling out the minute I walk out from Leyton tube station. Even in the spaces where there are no longer transmitters, I hear the stories in my memory as I cycle past the velodrome in the Olympic Park. I hear the music from The Spooky Lady transmission, I hear her saying 'The DJ and the music and the DJ and the music" and catch myself saying the lines as I travel past these spots. It is almost as if I have become at these moments, both a repository and a transmission for the stories. With the other people who have experienced the walk, we now discuss the area in a coded short hand – with references to the audio we can remember playing out there.[404] This indicates that Miller's hopes and aims for the piece, to turn the audience-participants into a living architecture that reignite spaces of living, has been successful, and although the numbers who have experienced the work are small,

---

402   *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 22 September 2012
403   *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 22 September 2012
404   For example, when discussing one area of the walk, people often just say 'Where's London' and we immediately know we're talking about the transmitter by Leyton tube station, but beyond just being a memory – the entire story will start looping in my memory.

the work pulled people into its orbit, and stories grew on at the intersection for the audience members who walked there.

The challenge to a Provenance of Performance with *Linked*

The issue with the documentation and provenance of *Linked* has been how the material issues of spatial development, geographic accessibility and erosion are closing the work down, slowly, but surely. In terms of the critical reviews of the piece, *Linked* never courted the same level of publicity that Deller did with *The Battle of Orgreave*. It is a much easier experience to sit in front of a film for an hour as opposed walking for up to five hours in an outlier area of London. The press coverage usually included photographs of the protest, often with lines of police against mostly female protestors, often in black and white, which they would juxtapose with a colour image of Graeme Miller with the backdrop of the M11 motorway. *The Independent* did an interview with Miller and Parker, and there was some focus on the fact that some of the material in Parker's exploding shed *Cold Dark Matter – An Exploded View* (1991) came from houses demolished in the process of the road building. There was also a foregrounding of Miller's personal story of eviction and loss as one of the most significant issues attached to the work in the early coverage, although this fades away over time. So, the conflict between police and protestors formed a framework in *Linked* that was hard for people to step back from in the *initial* direction of their coverage, but once the critics went on the walk, their focus shifted.

The Independent's Louise Grey's description of the project is typical of the sorts of perspective the early previews took, "an intensely personal oral history of the people who used to live in the community destroyed by the motorway link road."[405] The title of her review has a somewhat sensationalist tone and indicates a violence in the work, 'Our House (Was) In The Middle Of Our Street; When His Community Was Destroyed by a New Motorway, Graeme Miller Retaliated With Art', yet the actual review was much gentler and reflective in tone:

> The concept is not a new one. Much land art stems from a similar basis, as do the voice-based promenades by Janet Cardiff. But what makes Miller's work so different and alive is his insistence on the encounter that the audience has with this material. In the case of *Linked*, what we're hearing is not so much history, but a careful layering of events and emotions to which we're invited to bring our own resonances. It's the strange contradiction inherent in memory,

---

[405] Louise Gray, "Our House (Was) in the Middle of Our Street; When His Community Was Destroyed by a New Motorway, Graeme Miller Retaliated with Art" *The Independent on Sunday* July 13, 2003. 7

its ability to be simultaneously fragile and enduring that inspires Miller.[406]

Jonathan Gibbs in *Time Out* in 2003, seems to initially dislike the commitment and the need to keep starting and stopping:

> Not so much a promenade performance as a bloody schlep. Graeme Miller's installation follows the route of the M11 link road for 4 miles from Hackney Marshes to Wanstead. It commemorates the protests against the demolition in 1994 of an entire community – mostly artists and squatters by the time the bulldozers arrive – to make way for the 6 lanes of tarmac. It's a neat subversion of the heritage trail, standing yards from the cars zipping noisily through where people once lived. The stories run from protest myth-making to local gossip. […] But the transmitters short range means you have to loiter near them to hear each piece in its entirety.[407]

In contrast Rachel Halliburton's main criticism of the piece was to do with the audibility of the work, in *The Evening Standard*:

> When *Linked* works, it creates a powerful sense of ghosts seeping up through the paving stones, but it also has its frustrations: if a car goes past, or somebody talking too loudly on their mobile phone comes close, it is impossible to tell whether someone is talking about a murder or recounting fondly the days when smog descended on a regular basis.[408]

Tracey Moran in *The Waltham Forest Guardian,* like Gibbs, also found the stopping and starting problematic. Moran wanted more direction and more documentation to indicate where the houses had been, so she could physically compare the past and contemporary in images to add to the effect of the sound:

> As I continued along the path, I had a strong urge to see photos of the ghost buildings. I had no frame of reference for the steps; trees, dogs and neighbours the interviewers were talking about. I had no idea where the homes had stood. Unfortunately, neither did any of the other people in the area whom I asked. They all just shrugged their shoulders and eyed me with a bit of concern. They must have thought I was nuts asking them about destroyed homes because after all the area is now filled with tarmac and traffic.[409]

Moran abandoned the walk half way through because she hadn't been able to find more stories. Yet there was a strong possibility that she had given up in an area that was a bit thin with transmitters. The transmitters are not evenly distributed, and if walkers rely on audio cues alone, without working out what the transmitters look like, there are areas where it can be difficult to find the next set of stories.

---

[406] Gray, "Our House (Was) in the Middle of a Street" *The Independent on Sunday 2003*
[407] Jonathan Gibbs "Review of Linked" *Time Out* 23-30 July 2003
[408] Rachel Halliburton, "Ghosts in the Pavement" *The Evening Standard* July 15, 2003. 40.
[409] Tracey Moran, "Linked" *The Waltham Forest Guardian* 25 Sep 2003

Moran, like a lot of reviewers, did not seem to identify what the transmitters looked like. This seems to be a more regular occurrence when the walker is on their own. The issue around not having a visual marker to assist in the linking up is raised also by Toby Butler:

> Conversely, at its most disorientating and at times frustrating, *Linked* offers no visual clues or reference points to what you are hearing. You might as well close your eyes. I did exactly that when I heard deeply personal descriptions of homes that have been replaced by the motorway trench before me. There just seemed to be no point of reference to hang the descriptions onto – just acres of Tarmac. The houses have to be entirely constructed in the imagination and it isn't easy.[410]

The project does ask a lot from its audience and the strenuous nature in making the audience walk for long distances is picked up by Libby Purves in *The Times*. She also states her gratitude for the M11, as being a useful piece of road for her and the implication is that she is not looking forward to undertaking this experience. However, by the end of the work, she wishes that there were more work of this kind all around Britain to embed the cost of such projects:

> It was like being haunted. I found myself wishing that more of Britain were covered by such transmissions, ghosts of ravaged neighbourhoods set free to speak again. I meant only to walk a mile and a half to Leytonstone Tube station. But sorrowful and thoughtful in the end I walked and listened all the way to Wanstead.[411]

Lavery's essay 'The Pepys of E11' is an account that clearly displays the fact that Lavery undertook the entire walk and felt the weight of its pilgrimage form.

> You have to walk the route. You are obliged to put in the hours. Your feet suffer. You sweat. In a world of pure speed, a world where time is money, the six hours I spent walking, listening, and observing seemed extravagant, wasteful, sacred.[412]

As a result, the form of the walk is embedded in the findings. Lavery sees the stories, instead of being in response to the protest, as intrinsically linked to the audience in the co-creation of narrative. Looking beyond the framing of theatre to address the slippage of boundaries that Miller has set in motion, Lavery uses a contemporary ethnography to describe what is happening in the processes of listener and artwork in *Linked*: "one way of understanding this self-reflexive and critical form of

---

410   Toby Butler, "Linked: a landmark in sound, a public walk of art" *Cultural geographies* 2005 12: 77–88 Accessed 22 October 2016 https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00572142/document 83
411   Libby Purves "Ghosts voices remind Libby Purves of a new road's real cost" *The Times*, article December 2003, Artsadmin *Linked* Archives
412   Lavery, "The Pepys of London E11," 153

ethnography is to see it as a form of witnessing through empirical immersion, a means of arriving at the general through the particular, the macro through the micro."[413]

Lavery also discusses space, and acknowledges, the double-bind in *Linked* that the site is key but at the same time, also missing:

> The location is the meaning – the site is absent, situated somewhere in the air above, or the ground beneath, the busy grey tarmac of the new road that rumbles noisily in the near distance. This invisibility, this erasure, is what Miller wants to contest. His sonic memorial haunts the road, reminding those who listen to the personal testimonies on the headset that this anonymous *passage de conduite* was once a dwelling place, a site of community.[414]

Lavery looks to Marc Augé to build upon the context that Miller has given by considering *Linked* in relation to Augé's 'ethnology of supermodernity' in the way that the audience-participant walks within the space:

> To that extent, Miller invites us to practice – to perform – what Marc Augé calls 'an ethnology of supermodernity'.[14] According to Augé, such an ethnology can only ever be 'an ethnology of solitude', for, in today's society of retail parks, home entertainment systems, and 'real time', the subject is physically isolated from his or her community, and radically alone.[415]

He argues that *Linked* enables the audience-participant, like the interviewees momentarily broken from their isolation, in the coming together of a communal resistance, to resist that radical alone-ness:

> If super-modernity deprives place of memory and community – and what could be more destructive of these things than a motorway? – Then performance, Miller argues, ought to find a way of contesting this erasure by providing alternative methods for humanizing space.[416]

Lavery goes on to discuss the ways in which the alienating effect of the motorway is countered by Miller's demand for the audience to engage with the space at ground level – engaging with everyday life:

> Everyday life, in de Certeau's terms, is constituted through a series of practices: chance encounters, affective energy-flows, brief conversations, and ephemeral gestures. To get to grips with everyday life, we have to be part of it, to experience it, engage with it. Walking permits this type of embodied knowledge, this form of concrete participation, because it compels the walker to be physically present in the space s/he observes. In this way, every- day life reveals itself through smells, sounds, sights, tastes, intensities, and the

---

[413]   Lavery, "The Pepys of London E11," 149
[414]   Lavery, "The Pepys of London E11," 149
[415]   Lavery, "The Pepys of London E11," 150
[416]   Lavery, "The Pepys of London E11," 151

rhythms of the body.[417]

Linked is a piece that can only be experienced as an embodied piece of performance. It is such a long and diffuse piece of work that in a sense it disarms criticism. It forces a focus on the spectatorial experience over critical commentary. You can only experience it by doing it, and that process takes at least four hours of navigating and walking. It takes a substantial effort, it takes work. Understanding the essence of the artwork can be achieved by listening to a few transmitters but this somehow misses the point of the work. The experience belongs to the walker because it is in part created by the walker. The fact that there is not a lot of critical narrative on it, is a consequence of its form, and of the fact that the numbers who have experienced it are so few. If Deller raises the issue of social history provenance in the need to keep the space of expansion, then Miller's work heightens the need for this process of narrative expansion to include the audience.

The Provenance of *Linked*, Audience and Re-enactment?

The very particular relationship that *Linked* has with its audiences, the ephemeral and sited nature of the artwork (you can only experience in this space, the work is eroding) is in contrast to Deller's work of expansion. The histories and therefore provenance of *Linked* occurs every time someone undertakes the walk, occurs every time an audience member experiences the artwork, and re-enacts the artwork. The expansion is present, but it is not being captured. As this stands the provenance of the artwork is only present in the body of the audience member and not passed on. This idea is captured in one of my audience members summing up the piece a couple of days after they'd walked it with me "when you're walking the walk, you're walking the walk along that kind of line, but also its kind of you fading in and out, and it's you being part of the work."[418] This engages also with the relationship between site and provenance, with the social and sited histories adding layers of understanding to the way the work has grown on the landscape in the way that Miller planned it to.

This idea that landscape constructs us is an important one in relation to an artwork that requires a connection between audience and space. Here I want to engage with the ideas of the geographer Doreen Massey particularly in the way she discusses space in her 2005 book, *For Space*. At a simple level, Massey looks to the potential of space as a connection between many divergent narratives. Describing how she was going to call the book *Spatial Delight* at an earlier stage, she describes a childhood

---

417   Lavery, "The Pepys of London E11," 152
418   *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 22 September 2012

habit of pointing out places on her globe or maps and trying to imagine the different stories going on there at the same time as her story was happening in Manchester, and she suggests that despite the over-simplistic view this gave out "rather we should, could replace the single history with many. And this is where space comes in. In that guise, it seems to me, it is quite reasonable to take some delight in the possibilities it opens up."[419] Massey here sees space as something which will never finish being constructed – that it will always be shifting and creating new opportunities for connections and history. These opportunities can be seen in the construction of self *and* space. A later example in *For Space* sets this process up. Massey in describing the impact of travelling from London to Milton Keynes, describes the potential for change:

> You are part of the constant process of the making and breaking of links which is an element in the constitution of you yourself, of London (which will not have the pleasure of your company for the day) of Milton Keynes (which will; and whose existence as an independent node of commuting is reinforced as a result), and thus of space itself. You are not just travelling through space or across it; you are altering it a little. Space and place emerge through active material practice.[420]

This proposition is never finished, as the material practice within *Linked* is re-enacted every time an audience-participant engages with the work. Massey therefore describes a way of thinking about the *potential* of space, which might enable a clearer vision of *Linked* as a process of keeping the narratives and histories of this space open. This ensures this work can continue to speak to audiences in new ways. It is here that the potential lies for art with a political context might enable individuals to formulate new stories about themselves, a space or a situation:

> If you really were to take a slice through time it would be full of holes of disconnections, of tentative half-formed first encounters. […] There are always connections yet to be made, juxtapositions yet to flower into interaction, or not, potential links which may never be established. Loose ends and ongoing stories. [421]

Massey's reference to the holes sliced through time echoes Schneider's description of the process of re-enactment, "I am curious to ask here about a more porous approach to time and to art – time as full of holes or gaps and art as capable of falling or crossing in and out of the spaces between live iterations."[422] This sort of time disruption calls to mind the experience of *Linked*.

---

[419]   Massey, *For Space,* 14
[420]   Massey, *For Space* 118
[421]   Massey, *For Space* 107
[422]   Schneider *Performance Remains* 6

For example, this extract is taken from the memories of one of the people who lived in a house that was demolished; within the narrative there is a collapsing of time taking place here that is reiterated by the format and the content of the score:

> I'm looking out of the window
>   We can hear some screams and Mrs Lily is locked around a lamp-post
>   And we look out and I can see mad people running down the road.
>   I'm looking out of the window
>   And I can see dustbins going by at eye level
>   I'm looking out of the window
>   And there's a really frightening sound of all the tiles on the roof
>   I'm looking out of the window
>   And the roof has come off the library up in Leytonstone High Road
>   And there's books flying about everywhere
>   (The sound of bird wings)
>   Screaming in the wind
>   I'm looking out of the window
>   And seeing skips and huge cranes.[423]

The refrain of 'I'm looking out of the window' is an indicator that these memories took place over time in the interview itself. Miller has used this refrain deftly, each time it is said, it sounds literally as if the narrator is saying it as the beginning of a sentence, not as a looped affect, spoken over and over again. The narration doesn't just include memories of the endgame of the events linked to the road construction, but of a huge number of sites and sounds from long ago to fairly recent that mattered to this community and this place. It's obvious that the interviews took time to do, that there is a gap between where you are, as the listener/audience, and where these stories took place in *time*. The interviewees are talking in their present, about their past. When you hear them, there is the sensation of near-past-present (the interviewees' 'now') along with the distant past (the interviewees' past) that sits upon your present-now. There is also the sensation of being surrounded by stories, stories of near and distant past, spoken through the air. There are no walls to do the talking here; Miller has enabled the air to speak in place of the missing walls. It might be that today was the day when you got to hear the stories, but after you've gone, these stories will still be whispering out of the air. Yet if you go back to hear them again, the experience will be a different one. This flux; the ephemerality of the event is part of what makes it significant *as* performance.

Although the looped eight-minute soundscapes are the same, and the listener could approach them by the same route, it would not be the same experience. The

---

[423]   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London

weather would be different, the company might be different, the listener's mood might be different, and this would render the performance ontologically different:

> My mother took two photos of my son and myself holding hands while he was having his supper there, (sigh) yet another picture of my son having something to eat, patterns, layers, I remember him sitting at that table for a full half hour, and I've never seen him sit still for half an hour, with his eyes popping out, watching Madhur Jaffrey making samosas. Shadows and brightness. I've got a photograph here of my son standing on the rubble of this house, him looking at what's left of that dining room […] you can see patterns, layers, layers upon layers, shadows and brightness. […] He's facing towards the wall of the house that had the fireplace; he's feeling the loss not just of the house, but of his father as well. That's in that photo really.[424]

It's not only this that brings time to the fore in *Linked*. The ambient sounds in the background to the narration assist a sense of both time gone past and a captured present. In the case of the extract above, the backing track behind the speaker's words is made up of what sounds like photos being looked at, in the interviewee's present-now, flicked through one by one, the sounds of photographs being looked at or shown to us, verbally and physically, then put to the bottom of the pile. It feels as if she's flicking through them obsessively – caught in a moment forever. It's also within this repetition of sound, and repetition of the stories and a framing repetition around it all that there's shown to be something happening with time in this work. The narratives are on a loop going over and over in an eight-minute repeat, but then there are loops within the soundscapes themselves, loops that oddly remind us of a present moment, even a present moment that has gone.

Miller defines *Linked* as a time-based work, "because it can only be accessed on foot, it always places the listener in their own present moment."[425] The listener is in the present moment, listening to bodies who have disappeared, but who are here, in the present with us, and in their present moment. This performance is present and absent at the same time, we are conscious of a lost time and place, even as the voices come back to tell us about that loss, Miller himself describes the hoped-for longevity of the piece when he describes it as "*Linked* is 100m x 5 km x 200 years in dimensions."[426] There is something else though about the live event, it creates a disjointed time; the event that happens in time also in its revisiting, collapses time, we are here in the present, in a space, which once housed communities, where communities were housed. Now there is nothing to see, and without our headphones, nothing to hear.

---

[424] Miller *Linked* 2003, East London
[425] Miller, "Through the Wrong End of the Telescope" 109
[426] Miller, "Through the Wrong End of the Telescope" 109

Put the headphones on, and suddenly the empty landscape is full of stories, stories that create landscapes and views out of windows for us:

> We had some snow, it was shimmering, you get that refraction of light, and you get a softness, and it absorbs sound, I remember four was a meeting place and two was a meeting place, people were living there as well, 6 & 8 were occupied by some security guards, and one night it was a freezing cold night and they were very cold, and one night they came out and they had a drink with us. And then they left, and I thought that was a wonderful moment. And at that moment, the snow was coming down and it was like silvery, swirling, petals from heaven, and I thought we'd been blessed. There was warmth there.[427]

Yet the event that happens in time, the live event does not *only* enable this dislodging of time, it also has the potential to dislodge something else, it disrupts the spectator too. The use of a temporal disruption enables a physical disruption to be felt by the audience. The theme of shifting time is particularly in terms of being present in a space, experiencing the 'now' in terms of the environment, weather and noise, whilst at the same time listening to the past. This speaks to a process Massey identifies in *For Space*, "it is not just buried histories at issue here, but histories still being made, now. Something more mobile than is implied by an archaeological dig down through the surfaces of the space of today. Something more temporal than the notion of space as a collage of historical periods."[428] Two audience members of an early focus groups in September 2012, felt the form itself created this effect,

> Interviewee 1: It felt very important to me that it was radio waves because they were there all the time whether you were listening to it or not.
> Interviewee 2: All the information exists in a digital sort of nowhere – it's not placed – whereas the constant playing of the radio waves are the echoes of history.[429]

In *Linked*, it is the fact that the past is also being experienced in the present tense that creates a spill or slippage as the present of the speaker's past spills into the listener's present. Alan Read's consideration of the piece looks at the tension between present time and past-present time and long-past present time. Read also suggests the piece works in terms of creating the experience of filling that spill or disruption, and that this tension created by time, does something to the listener:

> Charged with narrative yes, reminiscence maybe, gossip and rumour perhaps, but in *Linked* there is an invitation to come back down to earth, to walk, to encourage a pedestrian in the presence of the automobile, to engage with two presents. The present that is the first-person narrative of the speaker speaking, now in a present that must have been back then, at least eight years if the

---

427   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London
428   Massey, *For Space* 118
429   *Linked* focus group – Leytonstone, 22 September 2012

words are to be taken at face value. A second present that is the insistent present of the landscape transformed. And between these two presents a tension, held like a refrain from a faraway room, of the sound of memories coming into being just long enough for them to fail again in the forgetting of the insistent demands of time.[430]

This experience is an uncomfortable one, a dislocation between one's position as a spectator or listener in 'your' present time and the present time of the narrators that you are hearing.

This crossing encounter with time, this slippage across far past, recent past and present in the experience of *Linked*, recalls the aspect that Schneider sees as embedded in the process of re-enactment. Schneider considers a folding in time as central to re-enactment, and sees the shift, not simply as a movement between two moments but instead as "an energy of passing, an energy of affect's transmission. It is one time passing on to and as another time, but also not quite passing."[431] The effect of this jolt is something that Schneider likens to a quote from the artist Miranda July. In the extract, July describes a moment when her audience realise that she's acting, that the movements she is doing are a performance and that this realisation might provoke a disruption to the way her audience perceived her. July suggested that the effect on her audience would be "the sick or incredible way you feel."[432] Schneider uses this odd phrase (sick or incredible) as a way to explain her own moment of time travel, as a moment when walking across a re-enactment battle field after the event, she came across a prop left on the field:

> A severed forefinger lying alone in a field. Though not at all in the head-space of a re-enactor, I was brought up short and had to gasp coming upon this severed index lying forgotten and left behind. I also had to laugh, but only after initial moment of shock when faux finger passed for forefinger – or when the precise jointure between the two was not yet decided.[433]

The idea of this slippage, of the feeling of 'the sick or incredible way you feel' is something that comes through in my experience of *Linked*. The slippage across time, listening to someone discuss a memory of the Blitz, and superimposing in your imagination what that might look like from the same vantage point that you are standing on, is a strange feeling. There is an aspect of moving backwards and forwards, there are the clouds of smoke obscuring the city in the forties, here is a man discussing standing on a roof watching the protest in the nineties, here I am in the rain

430 Alan Read, 'The Arithmetic of Belief' in *Linked by Graeme Miller, A landmark in sound, an invisible artwork, a walk*. (London; Museum of London, 2003), 5-7. 5
431 Schneider, *Performance Remains*, 15
432 Schneider, *Performance Remains*, 49
433 Schneider, *Performance Remains*, 51

on Leyton High Street as traffic clogs my view. The artwork takes you into a space between all these spaces and times, it produces a dizzying effect.

Perhaps a good example of this is within the soundscape that dealt with Miller's own home. In it there are three sets of memories threading between each other – an earlier resident describes walking into the house, as a female voice remembers doing the same thing when she was visiting Miller, and then Miller's own experience of his eviction is brought in with the earlier resident's memory of bombing during the Second World War:

> Male voice: 1943-44, 1939, 1960 I can remember, 1947, the weather, 1953 I remember very vividly. My father bought the pharmacy. The bombs. A horse slipped and had to be shot, 1941, 1949, 1956, 1963, Ice on the water in my bedroom, smog through the yellow haze, seven months pregnant and she won the toboggan race.

> Female voice: You walked straight in

> Male voice: And straight away up the front door and that's where Mrs Ingalls would sit with the filing cabinet

> Female voice: We had a sort of little table and the letters were there

> Male voice: Through doctor's surgery and straight up the stairs

> Female voice: The stairs in front of you

> Male voice: And it's on the right

> Female voice: And round the corner and round again

> Male voice: And straight up the stairs and it's on the right

> Female voice: And Graeme's bedroom was on the left, and it's all black

> Miller: 1994

> Male voice: 1941- 1943, 44,

> Miller: We were having breakfast

> Male voice: And all of a sudden

> Miller: Terrible sound

> Male voice: All the windows caved in

> Miller's voice: Suddenly

> Male voice: And suddenly there's glass everywhere

Miller: And glass is flying down the hallway, the police have a battering ram

Male voice: I went out with mummy the next day to see my friends and I said where have all the houses gone, she said gone away somewhere else I don't know if there's still a Methodist church there.[434]

This extract is the only one that I think features Miller himself, with his own story of the violent eviction forming part of the narrative. The layers here are a direct response to Miller's eviction and dislocation. It is the only time it comes into the transmitters and perhaps proved impossible to avoid given that this was a location. In particular too, this location by asking the question – "I don't know if there's a Methodist church still there", is a good example of the folding of time and place in reception of the recordings, as there is still a Methodist church there – plainly visible.[435] The listener is hearing stories of bombs, the war, evictions and protest and suddenly is thrown back into the present by the question around a building that is plainly visible. This is a constant back and forth experience of *Linked*, from the charged present into invisibility and history and back again. Whilst this is from a purely subjective point of view from my own experience of the artwork, it may be useful to see the kinds of layers these transmissions uncover in the experience of the listener. This is one of my favourite transmissions. I particularly enjoy that this one is Miller's own history because of my own relationship with his history in this research. I enjoy the piano that is included due to Miller's neighbour also featuring on this track, and the memory about the composer's sons being naughty, Parker's reminiscing about her moving in and her enthusiasm for the house and her sculptures on the ceiling. Yet every single time I listen to it, I am astonished by the feeling when the Methodist church is called into sight. It is an odd vertiginous moment, thrown from a moment in the past, into the present.

Lavery considers the effect of dislocation he experiences in both spatial and temporal terms,

> When I walked *Linked*, I felt self-conscious, not at home, 'separated from myself'. […] The sonic skein that Miller spins over the city dislocates consciousness. The memories and sounds entering my ears conflicted with the data processed by my eyes. Where my ears recreated a vanished world of gardens, children playing in the streets, and snow in the city, my eye stubbornly insisted on what was still there: the motorway. Past and present merged; imaginative reality competed with everyday reality. My disorientation was increased by the performance of the interviewees. Although the testimonies are about the past […] they are delivered as if they were happening just now, in the present.[436]

---

434   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London
435   Miller *Linked* 2003, East London
436   Lavery, "The Pepys of London E11," 153

Although Lavery is discussing the effect of the disruptive experience of the piece, there is something that indicates the body of the audience members as producing a connection in this process, linking the body in the present to the bodies of the past. To return to Miller's quote about the role of the audience as a process of collaboration, "the human landscape, acutely complex in cities, is an act of co-composition and *Linked* was designed to alter the flow of that composition by inviting witnesses into the flow. It might seem that transmitters broadcast narrative outwards but, in a sense, they draw it in."[437]

This calls to mind a function of this slippage effect in the experience of re-enactment. Miller has often included a small anecdote about the demolition of a synagogue in his writing about *Linked* and has regularly referenced it as significant over the last ten years. The synagogue was demolished in a road-building scheme, and he was told about it when he visited Bratislava. The ghost of the synagogue kept on returning night after night, to lay out a path for itself once more:

> In Bratislava, they told me, the new bridge built in the early seventies demolished a medieval synagogue. Under the elevated carriageway the ground plan of the building was chalked out where it stood. The drawn footprint was cleaned away, then re-chalked, cleaned and drawn again. This was not done by an individual but realized in a collective act of defiance. They told me that when you spoke to people they spoke as if the synagogue was still there and the road not.[438]

The collective act of people coming together every night to draw the outline of the building was a performance of resistance to its destruction, "defiance lay in collective belief and the traced ground-plan was its trigger. The narrative integrity of this place was not only restored, but the absent effectively replaced the present."[439] Miller repeats his aim that the audience are there to create new stories, not to add to the stories spilling from the receivers, but to walk the streets, and by being there, resist the absences created by the road. Miller uses different metaphors for this action, but returns to it in every piece of writing, particularly in later years, "I am offering someone a red wire and a black wire to hold, hoping they will complete the circuit."[440] This, in fact, is not simply a metaphor. In order to listen to the transmissions, and in order to turn on the receiver, the audience-participant must complete an electronic circuit – as the battery only works if a headphone jack is plugged in.

---

437   Miller, "Linked" in *Searching for Arts New Publics* 143
438   Miller, "Through the wrong end of the telescope," 105
439   Miller, "Through the wrong end of the telescope," 105
440   Miller, "Linked" in *Searching for Arts New Publics*, 143

By returning bodies to these spaces, there is here a re-enactment of the original historical tensions between absence and presence, between architecture and community, and a gentle, collective defiance against the road's interruptions into space. In this encounter of audience and space, Miller facilitates new narratives, and new histories. The artwork is available as an encounter with memory and narrative that has the potential to fuse onto the audience, who now have new material to add to their own stories and relationship with London. To the audiences that have walked *Linked*, they have become new parts of the provenance of performance, growing onto this artwork and the artwork has acted, as Miller suggested, as a lure, to bring them to an area of London that had lost people from its streets. The greatest danger to the narratives of *Linked* is decay that it too is falling away into the past.

The decaying narratives

The work is eroding over time, and some of the transmitters haven't even lasted ten years. In a discussion with Miller about the current state of the *Linked* technology he admitted that he was always sad to lose a transmitter and not be able to replace the missing ones himself. In some of the documentation, the claim is that the work was insured for 100 years, which suggests that Integrated Circles had guaranteed them to last this long:

> The transmitters, which were custom made and cost £1000 each, are built to last: the recordings are broadcast from particularly stable, non-volatile computer chips and the transmitters are solid-state – they have no moving parts to wear out. The company that constructed them, Integrated Circles, have even guaranteed them to work for 100 years.[441]

When I discussed this with Artsadmin's Godber at our last meeting in July 2015, he confirmed that the guarantee with Integrated Circles had in fact been for three years not 100, and that the possible longevity of the project had been somewhat exaggerated in the years after the launch. Despite losing some transmitters, the show is still running 15 years after it was first launched, though there is the argument that even if there was no-one or no way to keep accessing the stories, it could still work as a conceptual piece. Miller has said that he doesn't mind that there aren't many people who visit the piece and has even gone so far as to suggest that the work would still work conceptually without an audience or even the receivers to access the transmitters, "*Linked* would kind of work if all the receivers disappeared and it continued to broadcast, as if it were sealed in."[442] This is because of the idea of the

---

441   Butler, "Linked: a landmark in sound, a public walk of art." 81
442   Miller in conversation with the author, March 2013

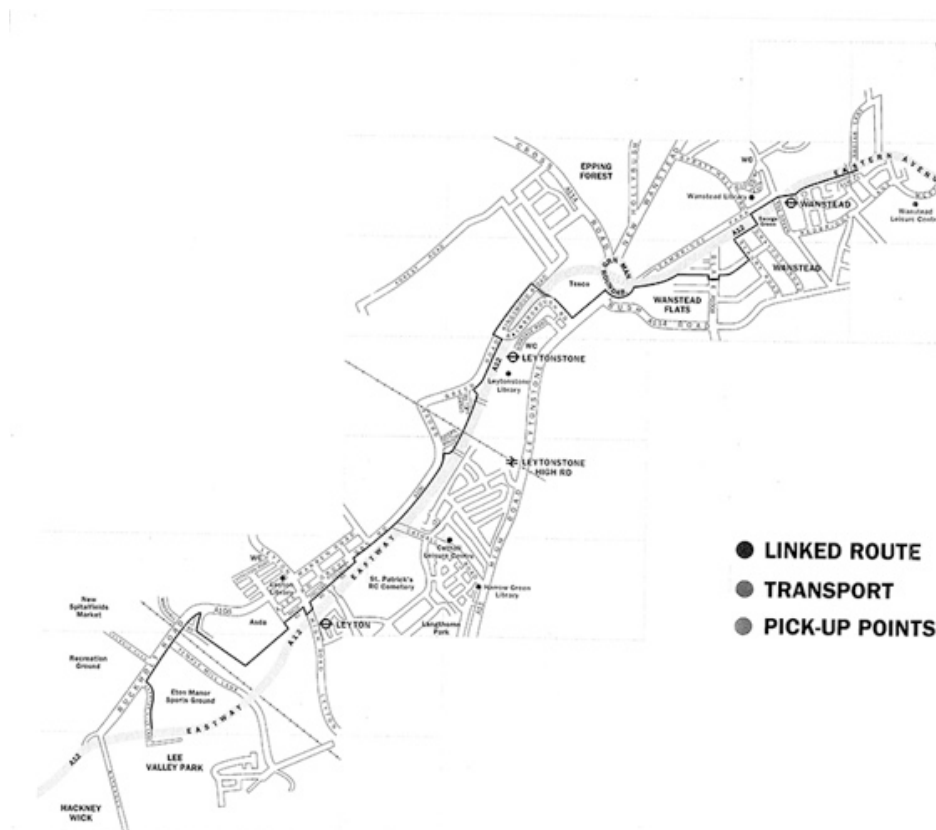voices still out there in the spaces turning over and over.

Figure 8 - Linked map in fold out supplement incl. receiver pickup locations

The process of entropy that is eroding *Linked* is not only in line with the technological failings. The experience of the walk used to require participants to engage more with the local area because you would pick up receivers from civic centres along the route. The original spaces an audience member could pick up receivers from were: Leyton Library, Harrow Green Library, Leytonstone library, Wanstead library, Cathall leisure centre, Wanstead leisure centre, Redbridge museum, and Vestry House museum. As time has gone on, especially with the austerity cuts made to funding such civic spaces, and the reduction in staff numbers, it has become less likely that staff will know about the receivers or the walk. A number of people who came on my organised walks suggested they had trouble obtaining the receivers from either the Museum for London or the spaces on route.

As the libraries no longer have the staff with the knowledge of the artwork, the producers Artsadmin are now the recommended place to go. They still have a large number of receivers that audience members can borrow in the same way. However, they're not in the area, so an audience member would need to be prepared to visit Toynbee Hall where the Artsadmin offices are to get receivers. It is not the most user-

friendly situation. More than once, walkers on my focus groups admitted to signing up to my group so they would not need to organise the outing. Since 2003, Godber estimates that probably around 1000 people have done the walk in total. This is a very small audience given the longevity of the project and represents the monthly visitors to a small museum in central London or the run of a short theatre performance. Many more people have heard or read about this work than walked it, so in many ways, *Linked* works as a piece of conceptual art, igniting in the mind of the listener or reader, whether they ever walk the walk.

This is the full list of transmitters with their working statuses as of 2016, including this list is useful to highlight the spaces and holes in this story and the site and the need therefore of a record to act as a provenance.

1. **(Missing – removed during Olympics) -** Stories about a night club that had been on this site - Hackney Wick, The Velodrome Centre in the Olympic Park in Hackney
2. **(Damaged – almost too faint to hear)** Stories about the railways during the war from a rail worker - Allotments behind TK Maxx – Marshall Rd, London E10 5NX
3. **(Working)** Stories about Richard Leighton's father during the Second World War contrasted with memories of the protest - Leyton Tube Station - High Rd Leyton, London E10 5PS
4. **(Working)** Stories about Richard Leighton's house and parents on the site where it was - Langthorne Rd, London E11 4EG
5. **(Working)** Fragmented memories of Colville Road - Colville Road - 47 Colville Rd, London E11
6. **(Working)** Stories of Claremont Road residents - Stub of Claremont Road –- 5 Claremont Rd, London E11 4EE
7. **(Working)** Stories including the old lady Dolly who had been involved in the protests - Grove Green Road –- 140-150 Grove Green Rd, London E11
8. **(Working)** Stories about the gardens that were once here - Linear Park no. 1 - 309 Grove Green Rd, London E11
9. **(Working)** The location of Miller's house, Cornelia Parker and her sculptures - Linear Park no. 2 – 268 Grove Green Rd, London E11 4EN
10. **(Working)** Memories of housing, flowers and tulips - Dyers Hall Road – 46 Dyers Hall Rd, London E11 4AE, UK
11. **(Missing)** Story about Francis – on the bridge at the back of the 491 Gallery
12. **(Space for a transmitter)** – Where one was planned but never placed - 456 Grove Green Rd, London E11 1SL
13. **(Working)** – Stories of Postmen - Kingswood Road 1 - 22 Kingswood Rd, London E11, UK
14. **(Missing)** Stories of 'the tribes' - 76A Kingswood Rd, London E11 1SF
15. **(Working)** Stories of Miss Peatree and The Mulberry Tree **–** Mulberry Tree Roundabout – (This is the only transmitter not to be on a lamp-post but is instead in roof of a house on this roundabout)
16. **(Working)** Stories of the Territorial Army headquarters - 2 Selsdon Rd, London E11 2QF
17. **(Working)** Stories of the Doctor's Surgery - 2 Seagry Rd, London E11 2NG

18. **(Working)** Stories of Jean the Lollypop lady and the Treehouse protestor – 1 Draycot Rd, London E11 2NU
19. **(Missing)** Stories of the Pro-Road family – Kingfisher Ave, London E11 2JL
20. **(Working)** Story of the old lady repeating 'the Past is the Past' - 11 Wigram Rd, London E11

This order shows the stories you will listen to if you walk from the south, near Leyton station, to the north, near Wanstead tube and this is the order that the soundscapes were designed to be listened to. Theoretically you can walk in either direction, but Godber suggested that there had been a narrative constructed roughly so that the 'last' transmitter in Wanstead, was the end point as he put it "the ebbing away of the project."[443] The *Linked* official website echoes this suggestion in the way that it numbers the transmitters which indicates there is a preferred way of taking on the route.

As indicated above, site no.12 has always been empty from the launch, outside Leytonstone Tube Station, at the half-way point. Miller had never felt he had the right stories or enough stories to do this site justice and so the empty transmitter is still sitting in Artsadmin's offices at Toynbee Hall, waiting for content to this day. Godber explained that although the idea for the twentieth transmitter was feasible, Miller never quite achieved the soundscape he wanted; "We had permission to put one near Leytonstone tube station, but we never got the stories Graeme was hoping for."[444] The team had always promoted it as having twenty because they planned to address this missing one.

The first lost transmitter lay at the furthest eastern point, which was in Hackney Wick, and the stories here told of a local estate pub and night club, called the Flamingo, this transmitter (#1) was taken down and returned to Artsadmin and is currently stored on top of a cupboard at Toynbee Hall as a result of the Olympic site development in 2011. The location is where the Velodrome is now in the Olympic Park. This first set of stories in the route might be disconnected from the site, but it still holds the potential to be broadcasting stories even though it is off-site. At the research talk on *Linked* that Miller and I gave at Middlesex in in February 2015, Miller suggested a plan to return the missing transmitters to the space on the ground by means of people carrying the technical equipment in backpacks.[445]

---

443   Godber, in conversation with the author October 2012
444   Godber, in conversation with the author October 2012
445   Graeme Miller, with Sarah Wishart and Carl Lavery "Immemorial - A performance seminar" Rescen Centre, Middlesex University, London, 3 February 2015

The next soundscape gap is the transmitter next along the route from the one removed due to the Olympics. This one still hangs on the lamppost, but has been weather damaged, and although it still is broadcasting, it is faint and can only be heard with some sort of boost to the reception of the receivers (such as placing the receiver on a larger metal frame – like a bicycle to broaden the stream available). The third missing transmitter originally hung at the back of the 491 Gallery, I believe this one was taken down due to water damage. The fourth missing transmitter was taken out of service when a car crashed into the lamppost, apparently council workers did not know the significance of the transmitter and it was destroyed completely. The absence of this one also means that audience members have a little way to go around some quite complicated road works to get to the next audible space at the Mulberry Bush roundabout. Finally, the last missing one is one near the end of the walk. This one is not referenced by Artsadmin in their list of affected transmitters on their website and I only realised it was absent while I was putting this list together. Mark Godber has since confirmed that the power source for this transmitter has been faulty and has been deteriorating over time.

This last missing transmitter is a significant loss to the whole narrative of *Linked*. This is because this soundscape is the only one to give voice to a section of the community who had actually wanted the road built. The content in this transmitter was around the misery the congestion on current roads that the link road promised to relieve, had made to their lives and then also about the resistance of local people to the protest. My focus groups and walkers have only ever heard fourteen of the nineteen transmissions that I first listened to in 2003.

The drive to re-invest in this project to resurrect all the damaged transmitters looks less and less likely. Whilst any installation has a finite existence, to re-ignite *Linked* in the local community and bring it to new audiences through the development work that is slowly beginning is a good opportunity. Although the original plans for a partnership with the Olympic Park have not yielded a result to date, there are still many redevelopment plans around the Hackney Wick area in process. This includes the creation of a new campus for UCL which will include a number of heritage partnerships with organisations such as the V&A.[446] Yet despite the falling away of the

---

[446]   UCL East, accessed 1 August 2015 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/ucl-east

available narratives, *Linked* is still a powerful experience that changes every time I have walked the walk.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

During our interview in 2012, Miller used a metaphor to describe the organic impact he wanted *Linked* to have on audiences:

> The old subway cars from the NY subway, cleared up of oil and toxic paints are sunk off the coasts of Delaware. This is a flat limestone shelf that goes out into the Atlantic and nothing much happens down there, in the way of species or fish, so they create these artificial reefs and if you swim inside, they still have all the seats in the subway cars and fish love it. So, this idea of the reef as a skeleton on which other things form, is what *Linked* is. It has a spine. It has nodes but really it is bait, it is a seeding, it's seeding something, and the stories are just a way of reseeding the damaged narrative tissue of that particular area.[447]

Miller wanted his artwork to behave expansively, to continue to grow, to swell the stories that came in and went out of the geographical site of *Linked.* I have shown that this happens both in relation to Miller's work and Deller's *The Battle of Orgreave* through the accumulation of narratives around the case studies explored in this thesis, in both the narratives around the production and the reception of the work. In turn *The Battle of Orgreave* started with a live non-repeatable re-enactment event that has been given an expanded narrative life through film, archive and continued acts of event-curation globally. This includes my own act of event-curation visited in this research, all of which indicates that the narrative expansion keeps on growing, it is not static or fixed, just as Miller has indicated. This is important because it is too easy for accounts of past performance events or still-current ones that are difficult to access to become reductive. This is particularly true in relation to the way historical assessments of such work are reduced to accounts of artist's intention or descriptions of still documentary images, rather than of actual experience for collaborating makers and spectators (who are also collaborators). By indicating how work like this has been created in collaboration, in the co-creation of the artwork with the production teams and the co-creation of meaning with spectators, this ties in with the concept of a provenance of performance. This is because like the process of provenance, it is a collation of as many different histories around an artwork as possible. My thesis looks at a provenance of performance as a method to collate the expansion of history through the transfer of knowledge. I have argued that this transfer, this handing on, happens through bodies.

---

[447]   Graeme Miller (Artist) In discussion with the author, Toynbee Studios 26 March, 4.30pm

In undertaking a close reading of how these artworks worked, how the artists had constructed practice and processes, and how the expansion of the histories has been handed on in different ways over time, I also became aware of the other audience members of those different pieces. This turned my research around from looking at the artwork to looking at the audience and then at how *they* look at the artworks. This process to understand how it worked has therefore been an incredibly varied experience. The collating of all those stories and hearing all those voices has added new layers to the social histories of these two artworks, capturing a wealth of perspectives and histories, creating a provenance of performance. The benefits of such a research process include why we need to expand our understanding of what pieces like this mean to people and how these memories might be kept alive performatively. Each piece is generating new responses through the bodies that experience it and the time period it is experienced in.

Why provenance is a useful idea

Creating a provenance of performance is to retain as much nuance and complexity in relation to these narratives. In undertaking an investigation into the 'found site' and the social history of both, I have tried to raise a more cogent understanding of the collaborations and connections these works had. I have also attempted to show how the works grew in different ways. In this way I have tried to show the *potential* that a provenance of performance has, and the way it might be used to retain full histories of an artwork.

In the process of undertaking an investigation into these artworks, I unexpectedly discovered the benefit of engaging with audiences, and in particular the means by which audiences are an underused aspect of recalling moments of the original performance. In this way, I've also seen how their memories or responses might be added to the way a work obtains a growing social history. A piece of live artwork has a relationship over time with the people who make it, who curate it, who re-enact it and who experience it as audience members. These relationships between the art and each collaborator can be captured to exhibit the way that narratives expand and collect around a work over time.

One of the discoveries was how perspectives shifted for the audiences, this might include political perspectives under consideration in the artwork, or considerations on the site shifted as a result of experiencing these works. One of the audience members

from the *Linked* piece for example has repeatedly told me that every time he exits from Leyton tube station, he begins to hear the refrain of the transmitter there playing in his head. This aligned with my own examination with how the works have changed me over the years I have walked the *Linked* route or talked to people about *The Battle of Orgreave*. I heard from many people how watching *Orgreave* had raised consideration of political moments they'd been involved in or enabled them to engage with memories of the strike. Whilst I found no evidence to suggest the works brought a cathartic moment for the involved miners, I certainly found evidence to suggest how they had wrought changes on the audience, even if that change was to forever hear a story as they walked through a particular street in East London.

The contribution of my research to the field

Whilst there's obviously a significant body of work on the relation to live art and how documentation works and is a core aspect of the form, my research has particularly considered the role of re-enactment but also the audience in relation to both documentation and the processes of re-enactment. My research has created a model for thinking about and documenting the accumulation of narratives around contingent performance works of this sort. It has also undertaken a specific art-historical work to enhance the understanding of these important and much-debated pieces. In doing so, I have some key discoveries about the both very different works. In the case of Deller, the drive of the re-enactment society to try to create a non-political piece of work, whilst bringing serving police officers into the performance, is an interesting aspect to engage with. With Miller's work, to be able to go into detail about the practices of interviewing and collaborative group work is a useful key to understanding how Miller had created the work.

In addition, this research suggests that it is worth capturing histories around the iterations of the work in as many expansive ways as possible. This is consistent with the work in recent years around how re-performance of historical art pieces enables new understandings and perspectives to be brought to them (for example, Abramović in her covering of important pieces of live art etc.). My focus on audiences is in line with the burgeoning field of audience engagement research in both theatre and live art. In particular I have considered audience both as collaborators in the creation in the activation of a piece of work – like *Linked,* or collaborators in the creation of the documentation of the work like the audience members who gave me new perspectives on the performance of *The Battle of Orgreave*. In this, the issue here is

therefore one of collaborating in perpetuating and elaborating on the memory of a historical piece.

Methods overview

In considering my methods, I want to look now at aspects of learning I took from the processes, which might be useful for other people conducting this sort of research in the future to know. In particular I want to consider the ways researchers can work better with producing organisations and institutions. Anyone seeking to apply a similar research particularly working with audiences and production teams in future should consider the following recommendations:

Access to audience/participants

- A greater focus into networking and establishing better relationships with the core agencies earlier on and with a much more nuanced understanding about legal issues (i.e. the data protection issues around audience data)
- Find a way to help the agencies (in my case Artangel and Artsadmin) with administrative processes that will assist the research but also assist the agencies.
- Undertake a consideration of *how* to contact and engage with as many participants as possible – create a project management plan and enable it to be an agile one! Don't be afraid to change tack if something is not working

Focus Groups

- Put together a plan about what kind of thing you want to obtain from audiences, and ensure you do a 'wash up' session afterwards to see if you've achieved these aims. Then slightly shift your focus if necessary, for the next one.
- Create a list of ideal participants in focus groups – this will help you consider how to find them and drives you to solve particular problems earlier in the day. (For example, the lack of Orgreave locals was a problem in my research because it affected the types of narrative being captured as in there was not a wide enough demographic. By knowing who you want to capture and seeing that you haven't been able to means that you can build in time to readdress the issue and come at it in different ways).

- Create a list of questions to rely on if groups hit tricky spots to get them moving again
- Consider ways you'll help the group if they find themselves disagreeing vociferously – it will give you a plan to move on from those moments.

Other organisations

Keep lists of organisations that come up repeatedly in your research beyond the ones you've identified as key. Often, they do not appear to be central to the project – but it can be the organisations that sit somewhat adjacent to the project that nevertheless hold some crucial narratives.

Knowing this at the start would assist a process to consider how a provenance might be constructed. In terms of how a provenance of performance might be constructed, I want to end my thesis by looking at the work I've been doing with the conservation teams at Tate in creating something that is in effect a working provenance of performance.

A future provenance of performance

The field of performance and contemporary art has been looking at issues around documentation of an ephemeral piece as long as performance has been happening. The shift in the ways that institutions are now collecting live art means that they are having to think of the ways in which they document a piece or store something they 'own'. For example, the recent Tino Seghal piece sold to the Tate as only a verbal description, so all contracts of sale for example are only verbal. In the conservation and representation of such a work, a provenance of performance makes sense as a way of thinking about this documentation. The Tate has been doing a lot of work around the way they curate live artwork as I explored in the work, they've been doing on research projects such as the Live List.

Provenance as conservation strategy – my work and Tate

In 2017 I was asked to present to a research group of conservators the ICON Contemporary Art Network about the issues around documenting live art. On a panel of three other artists, I talked about a number of different performance artists, but I concentrated on discussing the research I'd undertaken in this thesis. Following that presentation, I was approached by the head of conservation for the Time-Based

Media department at Tate, Louise Lawson. Lawson asked me to do a piece of consultancy around a document she was creating for the conservation team at Tate. She wanted my perspective on their nascent Performance Strategy document, which would form a series of processes for the conservation team in the way they looked after time-based artworks over the lifetime of the work. One thing that I was keen to embed in the strategy was the need to retain the complexities of a piece in the way that the team recorded and re-recorded the history of each iteration of the performance. This would effectively create a provenance for each artwork. I was key in driving the need to connect and collate the responses of audience within that document, but I also designed the template to move away from the kinds of forms that the conservation team were already using. This was a very straightforward questions and answers form that did not enable a more creative approach to content collation. I suggested instead a menu of ideas might work as the best solution to enable Tate's teams to think more creatively and widely about the work they are documenting. In the longer term, Lawson has ambitions to get this document transferred digitally onto an internal website, which will then take this process onwards, enabled further by technology to be a growing online archive pulling in as many aspects of an art event as her team can find.

The work I have been doing with Tate in assisting their conservation strategy around live art is creating one method for getting conservators and curators to think about the means at their disposal for recording enactments of live or ephemeral time-based work so that they can be enacted again. Conservators are used to listing the condition of an artwork and any iteration of conservation that they might undertake with it to ensure it is always displayed in a good condition, but in conserving performance, different aspects of context need to be taken into account. So as to attempt to capture as much detail as possible, rather than run the risk of each artwork or performance being logged in identical ways regardless of the requirements of the structure of the work, I am working collaboratively with the conservation team to develop a document that sets out the need to ask specific questions of the work that are significant and particular to that artwork. So, while the specifics of the information captured in each section will be useful, the real value of this template comes from the breadth of interdependent information captured. At the current time, significant aspects would include the following proposed thematic headings. I've also included a couple of examples of the questions that Lawson and I have created that are to assist conservators around the ways they might think about the particular issues with the work:

- **Space** (Where is the piece performed? Who chooses which space is used, and how? How flexible is the space in which the work can be performed?)
- **Time** (What is the duration of the piece? How flexible is the duration? How dependent is the duration of the work on the participation and presence of the audience?)
- **Physical Components** (Are there any physical components of the work? What objects are needed for the work? What status do the objects have?)
- **Logistics** (Who is responsible for each aspect of the performance? Does the artist need to be present?)
- **Documentation** (What documentation already exists? Where can this documentation be found? Who can access this documentation?)
- **Performers** (How many performers are needed for a single iteration of the work? How many performers are needed for the full duration of the work? How flexible is the number of performers?)
- **Audience/Viewers** (What is the demographic of the audience and is this relevant to the artwork? How do we deal with audiences beyond the museum visitor? What happens to the work if there is no audience present?
- **Previous enactments** (Who has performed the work previously? What was the artist's involvement with previous enactments? What is the relationship between the performance and documents of previous enactments?)
- **Future enactments** (How has the work changed over time? What causes the changes in the work? What are the essential elements of the work, which cannot be changed? How might the work change in the future?)

Figure 9 – Example of the suggested design for Tate Strategy document - 2018

My particular research on provenance and the important relationship it has in relation to capturing a piece of performance has been only a small aspect of what might be possible. However, in the documentation from *The Live List*, on the strategy for time-based media curation, Tate sets out a number of aspects that they would want to pick up further and in different forms. Therefore, I cannot conclude my research without considering how the practicalities of how such an archive might work for public consumption. I would suggest that enabling a wider access, engagement and expansion to researchers or research institutions would be a key aspect of its development for example. Tate are constantly developing and conserving their huge archives. They are already working on their own version of a provenance of performance, which contains amongst many other pieces of documentation, written narratives by layers of curators and conservators over time.

In addition, by using technology in this way, gives these provenances of performance the potential to look very different than a simple list of dates and could follow some creative formations to capture the data. For example, Deller created the wall drawing *The History of the World 1997 - 2004* to show a visual representation of his thinking around the influences and significant moments between Acid House and Brass Bands.[448] The shape of the artwork includes flows and arrows between different ideas. This shape oddly enough could work extremely well as a means to create provenances of performance digitally as the original website could resemble Deller's wall drawing, and the user could then enter into different portals that would contain a range of materials contributing to a provenance of performance. This could include the areas of consideration that Lawson and I have created in Tate's Time-Based Media Conservation Strategy document for example.[449] Below is a mock-up of what such a design might look like.

---

[448] "Jeremy Deller - The History of the World -1997–2004" Accessed 19 June 2018 http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/deller-the-history-of-the-world-t12868

[449] It is important to note that this is currently a working document under review with different teams at Tate, so this is in process rather than a finished product at this point
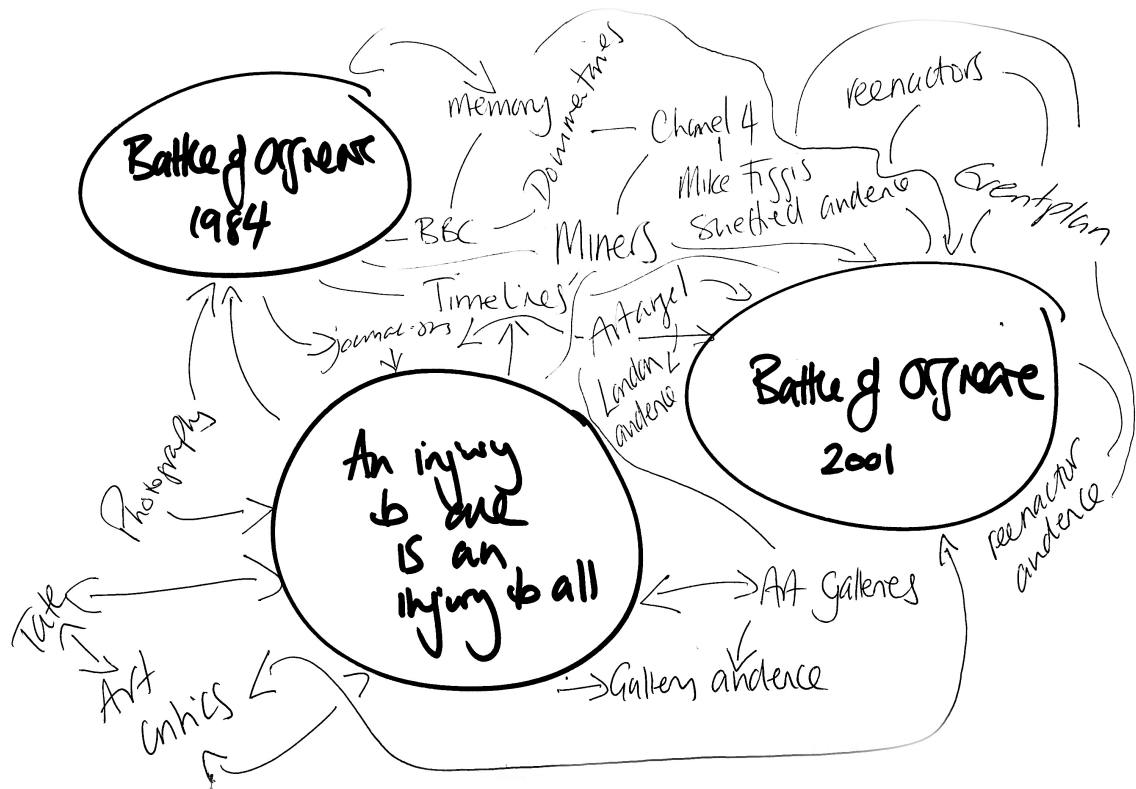
Figure 10 - © Sarah Wishart 2018 - The Provenance of Performance: Battle of Orgreave 1984 – 2018 (after Deller's A History of the World)

In conclusion, my thesis has created the beginnings of a more nuanced historical account of both Deller's *Battle of Orgreave* and Miller's *Linked*. It is only a beginning, but it has swelled the story of how the works were created and the account of how the performances worked and impacted on their audiences. The additional distinction upon the historical context around the making of each work indicates that creating this sort of historical engagement with the documentation of other socially engaged history or work dealing with political history may be useful. This would be a good for obtaining greater understanding of the processes of practice and the practical requirements that artists take on in creating big social works.

Bibliography

"12am and Looking Down", Forced Entertainment. Accessed 7 July 2015.
http://www.forcedentertainment.com/project/12am-awake-looking-down/

Aitch, Iain. (Journalist) In conversation with the author 22 March 2013.

Akers, Matthew. *Marina Abramović: The Artist Is Present* (2012) Dogwoof video
Accessed 12 September 2016 1:45:38,
https://genvideos.org/watch?v=Marina_Abramovic_The_Artist_Is_Present_2012#video
=L06M2lwRdYEMpZKx9_wPiNvihmyLRCkFSY-XMRPZJXQ

Arns, Inke ed., *History Will Repeat Itself: Strategies of Re-enactment in Contemporary
(Media) Art and Performance,* Berlin: Hartware MedienKunstVerein and KW Institute,
2007.

"Audio interview with Cornelia Parker" Museum of London. Accessed 22 October
2016 http://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/742197.html

Aufheben. "The No M11 Link Road Campaign" in *DIY Culture: Party and Protest in
Nineties Britain* ed., George McKay 100-128. London: Verso, 1998.

Bang Larsen, Lars. "Jeremy Deller: The Battle of Orgreave" *Art and Text* no. 75, Nov
2001-Jan 2002.

Barker, Garry. (Art lecturer), in conversation with the author 10 September 2012.

Barr, Sophie. email message to author, 16 December 2014.

Barthes, Roland. *Pleasure of the Text* Farrar, Straus and Giroux (originally published in
French as *Le Plaisir du texte 1973* Éditions du Seuil, Paris) 1975.

Battle of Orgreave focus group – Wharf Chambers, May 2012

Battle of Orgreave focus group – Sheffield University, February 2013

Beckett, Andy *When The Lights Went Out: What Really Happened to Britain in the
Seventies* (London: Faber & Faber, 2009)

Beech, Dave. "Jeremy Deller The Battle of Orgreave" *Art Monthly* (2001) 38-39.

Beech, Dave. "The Reign of the Workers and Peasants Will Never End: Politics and
Politicisation, Art and the Politics of Political Art" *Third Text* 16:4, (2002) 387-398.

Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations.* Translated by Harry Zohn New York: Schocken, 2007

Benn, Tony. *The End of an Era – Diaries 1980 – 90* London: Arrow, 1994.

Bishop, Claire. *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*
London: Verso, 2012.

Bitkina, Anna. (Curator) in conversation with the author, 16 March 2015.

Blackson, Robert. "Once More… With Feeling: Re-enactment in Contemporary Art
and Culture", *Art Journal*: Spring 2007: 66. 1, 28-40.

Bolland, Mark. Email message to author, 16 December 2014.

Bottoms, Stephen. "Authorizing the Audience: The conceptual drama of Tim Crouch", *Performance Research*, 14:1, (2009) 65-76.

Braid, Mary. "Miners Side with the Enemy as Battle of Orgreave Becomes Art," *The Independent*, June 18, 2001.

Brooks, Chris, ed., *K Foundation Burn a Million Quid*, London: ellipsis, 1997.

Buck, Louisa. "Mike Figgis' Battle of Orgreave." *Artforum International*. Volume: 40. Issue: 5 January 2002.

Butcher, Louise. UK, Parliament, "Briefing Paper, number SN01448, 10 August 2015, Strategic Road Network." Accessed 14 October 2016 www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/SN01448.pdf

Butler, David. "Battle of Orgreave" Artist's Newsletter. Accessed 8 October 2016 https://www.a-n.co.uk/resource/battle-of-orgreave

Butler, Toby. "Linked: a landmark in sound, a public walk of art" *Cultural geographies* 2005 12: 77–88. Accessed 22 October 2016. https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-0072142/document

Chapman, Peter. "Staying In: The Pit of Despair; Mike Figgis Looks Back to the Day Industrial Relations Turned Violent in Britain." *The Independent* October 19, 2002.

Charlesworth, JJ. Jeremy Deller's The Battle of Orgreave: Politics as Art Therapy" Accessed 23 August 2012 http://www.jjcharlesworth.com/articles/orgreave.com

"Collecting the Performative: A research network examining emerging practice for collecting and conserving performance-based art April 2012 – January 2014." Accessed 20 Feb 2015. http://www.tate.org.uk/about/projects/collecting-performative

Conn, David. "Hillsborough and Battle of Orgreave: one police force, two disgraces" *The Guardian* Thursday 12 April 2012 http://www.guardian.co.uk/football/2012/apr/12/hillsborough-battle-orgreave

Cook, John R. "Making the Past Present: Peter Watkins Culloden" in *Documenting the Documentary: Close Readings of Documentary Film and Video* ed., Barry Keith Grant, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press 2014) 217-237.

Cooper, Rosie. "Andy Warhol's 100 Campbell's Soup Cans 1962" Performance as part of *2053: A Living Museum*. Tate Liverpool 20 February 2016.

Correia, Alice. "Interpreting Jeremy Deller's, The Battle of Orgreave." *Visual Culture in Britain* Volume 7, Number 2, (2006), 93-112.

Cross, David. (Artist) in conversation with author, 26 February 2013.

Charles Darwent, "Here's Another One That I Wrecked Earlier", The Independent on Sunday (London, England) Publication date: February 26, 2012.

Davis, Barnaby. "Twenty years on from the Battle of George Green", *East London and West Essex Guardian*. Accessed 1 August, 2015 http://www.guardian-series.co.uk/news/localhistory/11490693.20_years_on_from_the_battle_of_George_Green/

Davis, Jim, Normington, Katie & Bush-Bailey, Gilli with Bratton, Jacky. "Researching Theatre History and Historiography" in *Research Methods in Theatre and Performance.* Edited by Baz Kershaw and Helen Nicholson. 86 -111 Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.

Dawson Scott, Robert. "K Foundation" Scotland on Sunday 28th Nov 1993 Review section. Accessed 24 December 2014. ftp://ftp.xmission.com/pub/users/l/lazlo/music/klf/news-reviews/kfoundation-19931128-scotlandonsunday-prize.txt

Deller, Jeremy. "Experience of the Open Call with Artangel and Orgreave", Artangel Open Call Meeting at Conway Hall, London. March 2013.

Deller, Jeremy. (Artist) In conversation with the author, Trevi café, Holloway Road 6 January 2015.

Deller, Jeremy. "Sacrilege - Inflatable Stonehenge." Accessed 31 December 2013 http://vimeo.com/47124630

Deller, Jeremy. *The Battle of Orgreave* directed by Mike Figgis, (Artangel; London, 2001) 62:37 min, DVD.

Jeremy Deller - The History of the World -1997–2004" Accessed 19 June 2018 http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/deller-the-history-of-the-world-t12868

"Doreen Massey on Space", Social Science Space. Accessed 8 October 2016 http://www.socialsciencespace.com/2013/02/podcastdoreen-massey-on-space/

Douglass, David. (NUM representative at Orgreave, and participant in Deller's Battle of Orgreave and Mike Figgis' film of event) In phone discussion with the author, 28 August 2013.

Douglass, David *Ghost Dancers* Hastings, Christie Books, 2010.

"Economy: Report of Nationalised Industries Policy Group (leaked Ridley report)" Margaret Thatcher Archives. Accessed 18 January 2013 http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/110795

Etchells, Tim. (Artist) Email conversation with the author, 2 March 2007.

Etchells, Tim. "Live Forever, in Fragments, A Text". Paper presented at the Tate Modern- as part of "Collecting the Performative". 25 November 2013.

EventPlan: Recreating the Past – accessed through WayBack Machine 2 May 2018 https://web.archive.org/web/20150717095301/http://www.eventplan.co.uk:80/

Farquharson, Alex. "Jeremy Deller, The Battle of Orgreave," *Frieze Magazine,* Issue 61 September 2001. Accessed 4 Jan 2015 http://web.archive.org/web/20141129022311/http://www.frieze.com/issue/review/jeremy_deller/

Feigenbaum, Gail, and Reist, Inge. "Introduction" in Eds. Feigenbaum, Gail and Reist, Inge *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art* Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2012

Fevered Sleep. 'Future Play'. Accessed 12 October 2016.
http://www.feveredsleep.co.uk/fpresources/

Figgis, Mike. (Film director, and director of the Channel 4 film of The Battle of Orgreave) In conversation with the author, 27 June 2013.

Freshwater, Helen. *Theatre and Audience* Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke: 2009.

Galbraith, Thomas. "Traffic Congestion (Leytonstone and Stratford), *Hansard Commons Debate 5th series (1909–80), 28 July 1965 vol 717 cc113-4W.* Accessed 14 August 2016.
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1965/jul/28/traffic-congestion-leytonstone-and

Gardner, Lyn. "Making a play: theatre needs risk-takers now more than ever", 27 May 2013. Accessed 8 July 2014
https://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2013/may/27/theatre-risk-takers-funding-cuts

Giannachi, Gabriella, Kaye, Nick and Shanks Michael, ed., *Archaeologies of Presence: Art, Performance and the Persistence of being* Abingdon: Routledge, 2012

Giannachi, Gabriella, and Westerman, Jonah. Eds., *Histories of Performance Documentation: Museum, Artistic and Scholarly Practices* Abingdon: Routledge, 2018

Gibbs, Jonathan. "Review of Linked" *Time Out* 23-30 July 2003.

Giles, Howard. (Director of EventPlan and organiser of the re-enactment aspect of The Battle of Orgreave) In conversation with the author, 21 June 2013

Gledhill, Stewart. (Re-enactor) email message to author 11 February 2015.

Gledhill, Stewart. in recorded conversation with Professor Steve Bottoms, February 2015

Godber, Mark (Artsadmin producer) in conversation with the author, Toynbee Hall October 2012.

Gray, Louise. "Our House (Was) in the Middle of Our Street; When His Community Was Destroyed by a New Motorway, Graeme Miller Retaliated with Art" *The Independent on Sunday* July 13, 2003.

Guide to the use of radio transmitters and the law, Ofcom, accessed 16 September 2016, http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/enforcement/spectrum-enforcement/law

Halliburton, Rachel. "Ghosts in the Pavement" *The Evening Standard* July 15, 2003.

Harvey, Jonathan. (co-founder of ACME) in conversation with the author, 26 March 2013.

Lynn Hershman Leeson and Michael Shanks "Here and Now" in *Archaeologies of Presence: Art, performance and the persistence of being* eds. Gabriella Giannachi, Nick Kaye, Nick and Michael Shanks, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

Higonnet, Anne. "Afterword: The Social Life of Provenance" in Eds. Feigenbaum, Gail and Reist, Inge *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art.* Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2012

Holder, Stephen. (Leeds City Council administration) Email message to author 7 February 2012.

Hollinshead, Richard. Email message to author, 18 December 2014.

Hughes, David, email message to author, 14 December 2014.

Hunt, Tristram. **"**The charge of the heavy brigade," *The Guardian* 4 September, 2006
http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2006/sep/04/features5

Integrated Circles website. Accessed 27 July 2015. http://www.integrated-circles.com/news/the-centre-of-new-enlightenment-short-listed-for-awards/

Introduction to Archaeology: Glossary, accessed 10 March 2018,
https://www.archaeological.org/education/glossary#p

"IPCC decisions on matters relating to the policing of events at Orgreave coking plant in 1984" Independent Police Complaints Commission Accessed 8 October 2016
https://www.ipcc.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Documents/investigation_commissioner_reports/Ogreave_Decision_12-06-2015.pdf

Jackson, Shannon. *Social Works: Performing Art, Supporting Public*s Abingdon: Routledge 2011.

"Jeremy Deller Curates All That is Solid Melts Into Air" Southbank Gallery. Accessed 11 January 2016
http://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/find/hayward-gallery-and-visual-arts/hayward-touring/future/jeremy-deller-curates-all-that-is-solid-melts-into-air

Jones, Amelia and Heathfield. Adrian *Perform Repeat Record: Live Art in History* Bristol: Intellect, 2012.

Jones, Matthew. "Missing Link"; Online news; New Civil Engineer. Accessed 17 January 2013 http://www.nce.co.uk/missing-link/851755.article

Kester, Grant. *Conversation Pieces: Community and Communication in Modern Art* London: University of California Press 2004.

Kitamura, Katie. "Recreating Chaos: Jeremy Deller's The Battle of Orgreave" in *Historical Reenactment: From Realism to the Affective Turn* ed., by I. McCalman and P. Pickering (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

Lavery, Carl l. "The Pepys of London E11: Graeme Miller and the Politics of Linked" *New Theatre Quarterly*, 21 (2). (2005) 148-160.

Leighton, Richard. (resident of Colville Road) in conversation with the author 5 March 2013.

Lingis, Alphonso. *The Community of Those Who Have Nothing in Common* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Lingwood, James. "James Lingwood on House." Artangel. Accessed 15 June 2015 http://www.artangel.org.uk//projects/1993/house/an_idea_without_a_name/james_lingwood_the_story

Lingwood, James and Morris, Michael. *Off Limits – Artangel* London; Merrell publishing, 2002.

Linked focus group – Leytonstone, 22 September 2012.

Linked focus group – Leytonstone, 23 September 2012.

Linked focus group - Southbank centre, May 2015.

Lloyd, Alison. (audience member at Deller's Battle of Orgreave) in conversation with the author 11 September 2012.

Loughton, Buckhurst Hill & Chigwell Guardian 23 Jan 2003 - Cutting from Artsadmin *Linked* archive.

Lubbock, Tom. "When History Repeats Itself Too Soon; If English Civil War Battles Are Suitable for Re-Enactment, Why Not Those of Our Recent Past? Tom Lubbock Reflects on Jeremy Deller's the Battle of Orgreave and the Reconciling Effects of Time" *The Independent* (June 19, 2001).

M11 protest, Twentieth Century Society, accessed 1 August 2015 http://www.20thcenturylondon.org.uk/m11-protest

Marchant, Alison. "Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994." accessed 13 November 2014 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

Martin, Carol. "Anna Deavere Smith: The Word Becomes You. An Interview" *TD*R, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Winter, 1993), 45-62

Massey, Doreen. *For Space.* London: Sage, 2005.

Masterman, Len. "The Battle of Orgreave" in Masterman, Len ed., *Television mythologies: Stars, Shows and Signs* London: Comedia Publishing, 1984. 99-110.

Maxwell Shore, Thomas. "The Battle of Orgreave 25 years on: Memory, counter-memory, re-enactment and translation" Accessed 8 October 2016 https://thomasmaxwellshore.wordpress.com/the-battle-of-orgreave-25-years-on-memory-counter-memory-re-enactment-and-translation/

Mendelsohn, Adam E. "Be Here Now: on the Ultimate High-The Retrieval of History through Re-Enactment." *Art Monthly*. Issue: 300 (October 2006).

Middleton, Nicholas. *Claremont Road* 2003

Middleton, Nicholas. email message to author, 15 December 2014.

Midweek", *BBC* Broadcast 2 July 2003.

Millard, Rosie. (Journalist who attended The Battle of Orgreave performance in 2001) In conversation with the author, 30 January 2012.

Miller, Graeme *Beheld*, Artsadmin Accessed 2 May 2018
https://www.artsadmin.co.uk/projects/beheld

Miller, Graeme. email message to author, 28 July 2015.

Miller, Graeme*. Feet of Memory, Boots of Nottingham* 1995, Nottingham.

Miller, Graeme. *Linked* 2003, East London.

Graeme Miller *On Air* Artsadmin Accessed 2 May 2018
https://www.artsadmin.co.uk/events/3104

Miller, Graeme, with Wishart, Sarah and Lavery, Carl. "Immemorial - A performance seminar" Seminar, Rescen Centre, Middlesex University, London, 3 February 2015

Miller, Graeme. (Artist) In conversation with the author, Toynbee Studios 26 March, 4.30pm.

Miller, Graeme. "Linked" in *Searching for Arts New Publics*. Edited by Jeni Walwin, London: Intellect, 2010.

Miller, Graeme. "Through the Wrong End of the Telescope" in *Performance and place*. Edited by Leslie Hill and Helen Paris. 104-113 Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Miller, Graeme. "Walking the Walk, Talking the Talk: Re-Imagining the Urban Landscape" *New Theatre Quarterly*. 21, pp161-165 2005.

Milne, Seumas. *The Enemy Within: The Secret War Against the Miners,* London: Verso, 2014.

Modrak, Rebekah and Anthes, Bill. *Reframing Photography*, Routledge, London 2010.

Moran, Joe. *On Roads: A Hidden History,* London: Profile Books, 2009.

Moran, Tracey. "Linked" *The Waltham Forest Guardian* 25 Sep 2003.

Morgan, Andy. (Production Manager, Artangel) email message to author 10 February 2013.

Morris, Michael. (Director of Artangel) in conversation with the author, at Artangel offices, 2 September 2013.

Morris, Robert. 'Untitled', Tate. Accessed 6 July 2015
http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/morris-untitled-t01532

'Musicland26' - Cutting from Artsadmin *Linked* archive -
www.musicland26.freeserve.co.uk

Nairne, Eleanor. (Curator, Artangel) Email message to author 20 February 2013.

Nairne, Eleanor. (Curator, Artangel) In conversation with author 20 February 2015.

Oddey, Alison. *Re-Framing the Theatrical: Interdisciplinary Landscapes for Performance*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

"Orgreave miners' strike handling referred to IPCC," BBC News 6 November 2012. Accessed 28 January 2013 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-south-yorkshire-20362002

Oxford English Dictionary, s. v. "catharsis", accessed 22 October 2012, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/28926?redirectedFrom=catharsis#eid

Oxford English Dictionary, s. v. "re-enactment", accessed 27 November 2009, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/250343?redirectedFrom=reenactment#eid.

Park-Fuller, Linda M. "Audiencing the Audience: Playback Theatre, Performative Writing, and Social Activism", *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 23:3, (2003) 288-310

Pearce, David *GB84* London: Faber & Faber, 2014

Pearce, David and Pattison, Keith. *No Redemption: the 1984-85 strike in the Durham Coalfield*, Northumberland: Flambard, 2010.

Pearson, Mike. *In Comes I* Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006.

Pearson, Mike and Shanks, Michael. *Theatre/Archeology* London: Routledge, 2001.

Phelan, Peggy. *Mourning sex: performing public memories* Abingdon: Routledge, 1997.

Phelan, Peggy. *Unmarked, the Politics of Performance*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Pih, Darren. "Barbara Kruger's Untitled (We Will No Longer Be Seen and Not Heard)" Performance as part of *2053: A Living Museum*. Tate Liverpool 20 February 2016.

Pih, Darren. "Paul Almásy: Making Absence Present" The Double Negative. Accessed 8 October 2016 http://www.thedoublenegative.co.uk/2016/01/paul-almasy-making-absence-present/

Pine, Joseph and Gilmore, Joseph H. *The Experience Economy.* Massachusetts: Harvard Business Review Press, 2011.

Pitts, Mike. "Looking at ourselves, looking back – interview with Jeremy Deller" *Archaeology – The voice of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond,* May/June 2012

Purves, Libby. "Ghosts voices remind Libby Purves of a new road's real cost" *The Times*, article December 2003, Artsadmin *Linked* Archives.

'Questionnaire about the participants at the re-enactment of 'The Battle of Orgreave' Survey Open Jan 2013 – Feb 2016 https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/participant_at_orgreave

'Questionnaire for anyone involved in the M11 road protest (at any level – including squatting empty spaces in the area' Survey Open April 2013 – September 2015

https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/m11

Read, Alan. "The Arithmetic of Belief" in *Linked by Graeme Miller, A landmark in sound, an invisible artwork, a walk*. London; Museum of London, 2003.

Reason, Matthew. 'Participations' Online journal, Volume 12, Issue 1, accessed 12 July 2015 http://www.participations.org

Reinelt, Janelle, Edgar, David, Megson, Chris, Rebellato, Dan, Wilkinson, Jane, Woddis, Jane. *Critical Mass: Theatre Spectatorship and Value Attribution: The British Theatre Consortium*, London, British Theatre Conference http://britishtheatreconference.co.uk

Rendell, Jane. (Academic who attended *The Battle of Orgreave* performance in 2001) In conversation with the author, 24 September 2012.

"Road: artists and the stop the M11 link road campaign 1984 – 1994", University of the Arts London, Research online, accessed 15 July 2015 http://ualresearchonline.arts.ac.uk/3098/

Roms, Heike. *What's Welsh for Performance (Beth yw 'performance' yn Gymraeg? -* Cardiff; Samizdat Press, 2008.

Rowell, Andrew. *Green Backlash: Global Subversion of the Environmental Movement* London; Routledge, 1996.

Santone, Jessica. "Marina Abramović's Seven Easy Pieces: Critical Documentation Strategies for Preserving Art's History" *Leonardo* 41, pp.147-152. 147 Accessed 17 November 2008 http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/leon.2008.41.2.147

Saul, Dan. (artist) in conversation with the author, 7 May 2014.

Rebecca Schneider, "Performance Remains Again" in *Archaeologies of Presence: Art, Performance and the Persistence of Being* eds. Gabriella Giannachi, Nick Kaye and Michael Shanks (*Routledge, Abingdon, 2012) 65

Schneider, Rebecca. *Performing Remains: Art and War in times of theatrical re-enactment*, London: Routledge, 2011.

Schneider, Rebecca "What Happened; or, Finishing Live" in *Representations*, Vol. 136 No. 1, Fall 2016; (96-111)

Sedgman, Kirsty 'Audience Experience in an Anti-expert Age: A Survey of Theatre Audience Research', *Theatre Research International*, vol. 42, no. 3: pp307–322

"Separating pub fact from pub fiction" Daily Mail Accessed 29 August 2016 http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-404395/Separating-pub-fact-pub-fiction.html

Shalson, Lara. "Enduring Documents: Re-Documentation in Marina Abramović's Seven Easy Pieces" *Contemporary Theatre Review* Vol. 23, No. 3, (2013) 432 – 441.

Smalec, Theresa. 'Not What It Seems: The Politics of Re-Performing Vito Acconci's Seedbed', *Postmodern Culture* Volume 17, Number 1 (September, 2006). 3. Accessed 17 November 2008 http://www.iath.virginia.edu/pmc/text-only/issue.906/17.1contents.html

Smith, John and Pook, Jocelyn. *Blight* 1997, accessed 1 August 2015
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yil33Hb9BpM

Smith, Melanie. (Artangel producer) Email message to the author, 30 May 2013.

Statman, Helen. (Artist) Hackney. In conversation with author, May 2014.

Stockdale, Sam. (Forced Entertainment producer) email message to the author, 12 January 2015.

Tang, Jeannine. "Future Circulations On the work of Hans Haacke and Maria Eichorn" in Eds. Feigenbaum, Gail and Reist, Inge *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art.* Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2012

Tate *Live Art Documentation Template* (forthcoming)

Tate *Strategy for the Documentation of Live Art: The Conservation and Preservation of Performance Based Artworks* (forthcoming)

Time Out – 9-16 July 2003, Artsadmin *Linked* Archives.

"Turner Prize 1993, 3–28 November 1993." Tate. Accessed 8 October 2016.
http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/exhibition/turner-prize-1993

Thompson, James *Performance Affects Applied Theatre and the End of Effect* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

UCL East, accessed 1 August 2015 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/ucl-east

Vason, Yvette. "The Battle of Orgreave" Accessed January 2015
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dn7DZSagDI4

Jonah Westerman, Catherine Wood and Pip Laurenson "Tate – London" Histories of Performance Documentation: Museum, Artistic and Scholarly Practices eds. *Histories of Performance Documentation: Museum, Artistic and Scholarly Practices* Abingdon: Routledge, 2018

"What Is Public Art" Association for Public Art. Accessed 9 October 2016
http://www.associationforpublicart.org/what-is-public-art/

"When Britain Went to War" *Channel 4*. Accessed 22 October 2016
http://www.channel4.com/programmes/when-britain-went-to-war/on-demand/36247-001

"Who is using Audience Finder?" Audience Finder Accessed February 2018
https://audiencefinder.org/clients/

Wilenius, Paul. "Enemies Within: Thatcher and the Miners" BBC. Accessed 19 June 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/3067563.stm

Winstone, Ruth, email message to author, 6 October 2015.

"Works to Know by Heart – The Imagined Museum" Tate. Accessed Friday 7 October 2016 http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-liverpool/exhibition/works-know-heart-imagined-museum