Historic England

Murals and the Community Arts in England 1968–86
A Thematic Study

Geraint Franklin

Discovery, Innovation and Science in the Historic Environment

Research Report Series no. 19-2023

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ISSN 2059-4453 (Online)

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SUMMARY
This thematic study profiles the murals, particularly painted exterior murals, which were completed in the last quarter of the 20th century as part of the community arts movement. Part one provides an overview of community arts, framing the subject in terms of the interaction between professional artists and members of the community in which they worked. An account is provided of the cultural contexts behind the emergence of the community arts movement in the late 1960s and its subsequent development. Part two examines processes of collaboration between artists, members of the community and others in the production of murals. The urban context, audiences, techniques and themes of exterior murals are also considered. A concluding section considers the different ways in which murals were valued by those who made and enjoyed them, and the ways in which these values might change over time. Three inter-related cultural values provide a framework for the discussion of this topic.

CONTRIBUTORS
This report was researched and written by Geraint Franklin. Unless otherwise noted, the photography is by Chris Redgrave, Steve Baker and James O. Davies. Unless otherwise credited the photography is © Historic England Archive.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
I am grateful for the help of the following colleagues at Historic England: Michael Bellamy, Simon Buteux, Emily Cole, Sean Curran, Victoria Ellis, Emily Gee, Sarah Gibson, Hannah Kennedy and Posy Metz. James O. Davies and Chris Redgrave are thanked for taking new photographs at short notice in difficult conditions, as are Elain Harwood and Rebecca Lane for editing the report. Eva Bryant kindly supplied several images from the Art and Architecture Collection at the Historic England Archive, while Nicky Cryer at the Historic England Library is thanked for procuring several publications. Carol Kenna, Stephen Lobb, François Matarasso and Ben Wiedel-Kaufmann kindly read the report and made many helpful suggestions. I am also grateful to Hazel Atashroo, Alan Howard and Lynn Pearson for discussing aspects of the subject with me.

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DATE OF RESEARCH: 2020-21

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INTRODUCTION

This thematic report was commissioned by Historic England's London and South East Region to provide context to the High Streets Heritage Action Zone in Reading, which includes the Black History Mural at the former Central Club, 36–42 London Street, Reading (1989–90, project director Alan Howard). A national overview of late 20th century community art in England was requested, with particular reference to exterior murals. This research complements Historic England's earlier work on post-war public art, which included *Public Art 1945–95* in the Introductions to Heritage Assets series and *Post-War Public Art: Protection, Care and Conservation*.[1]

Late 20th century community murals form a relatively under-researched asset type. While various projects have documented individual practitioners and collectives, an understanding of the community arts movement in late 20th century Britain has been hindered by the lack of critical or scholarly overviews of the subject. Furthermore, the artworks themselves – above all painted exterior murals, which form the focus of this report – have been little studied as cultural artefacts or as heritage assets. By making this report publicly available it is hoped that it will help to inform those seeking to better understand or make decisions concerning surviving examples of community art, especially murals, from this period.

The report falls into two parts. The first provides an overview of the community arts movement in England; it considers the definitions and scope of community arts before outlining the cultural contexts behind the emergence of a community arts movement in the 1960s and its subsequent development. The second part profiles practices of mural making, examining the principal types of protagonist, collaborative processes and finally the murals themselves. A conclusion considers different types of value which may be attached to surviving community murals of this period and offers suggestions for further research.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic it was possible neither to investigate examples of community art in the public realm nor to visit libraries or archives. Instead the research was wholly desk-based and included the consultation of the published sources, theses and online resources detailed in the bibliography section. Additionally a small number of practitioners and subject experts discussed aspects of the topic or commented on a draft of this report. The report is illustrated with new photography from Historic England's photographers, as well as an archival image from the Art and Architecture Collection at the Historic England Archive. This important photographic collection was compiled in the late 1970s by Graham Cooper and Doug Sargent as part of their research for a touring exhibition and publication entitled 'Painting the Town'.[2]

SCOPE AND AIMS

This report aims to provide a context for understanding a group of murals completed in England in the late 20th century as part of the community arts movement. This group (henceforth referred to as 'community murals') can be defined for the purposes of this study as works which resulted from a site-specific collaboration between professional artists working in a particular community setting and members of that community. This definition emphasises the engagement of the community through a range of participative practices which are examined in more detail in Part II. Community murals can be understood as a sub-category of public art but one which excludes, for example, a mural created by a professional artist in a community setting but without such a process of collaboration. By the same token, street art or graffiti created by an individual without the participation of the wider community fall outside of the scope of this study.

Murals are taken to mean fixed artworks directly executed on a wall (sometimes prepared beforehand by the application of a substrate such as a render coat). While the vast majority of community murals are painted (in many cases due to the accessibility of materials and tools), mosaics, ceramic tile murals and reliefs in cement and other media have also been documented. As with the overarching category of public art, community murals are usually exterior works sited in the public realm, in semi-public or privately-owned public space, or within public, civic or institutional buildings.[3] The date range of this study is broadly the last quarter of the 20th century, a formative period in the community arts which is further examined in Part I. It is recognised, however, that there are earlier examples of participative practice in public art and that community murals continued to be produced down to the present time.

While the geographical scope of this study is England-wide, it is acknowledged that the distribution of the featured examples is heavily weighted towards London and does not reflect the regional diversity of the production of community murals during this period. The report does not provide a comprehensive list of examples of community art projects, nor does it ascertain the survival and or condition of any murals mentioned in the document. The inclusion of any examples in this document does not connote a judgement on their value or significance as surviving examples of community art.

PART I: THE COMMUNITY ARTS MOVEMENT

> The approach used in community arts enjoins both artists and local people within their various communities to use appropriate art forms as a means of communication and expression.[4]
>
> Greater London Arts Association, nd

> It is our belief that community arts activities should aim towards a situation where everybody's right to artistic expression is recognized, where people participate in all the creative and decision-making processes involved, and ultimately, where they control and are responsible for their environment and the issues that affect their lives.[5]
>
> Cathy Mackerras and Graham Woodruff, 1978

> We believe that people have the right to create their own culture. This means taking part in the telling of the story, not having a story told to them.[6]
>
> Shelton Trust for Community Arts, 1984

> • Community arts provision entails active participation in artistic and cultural production by non-professionals.
> • It addresses socially marginalized groups (defined in terms of age or ethnicity, for example), and/or takes place in economically disadvantaged areas.
> • It often has broadly social or political aims, as defined through notions such as empowerment, democratic participation and community action.
> • It typically entails collective or collaborative ways of working, and informal, learner-centred pedagogic methods.[7]
>
> David Buckingham, 2015

What is community art?

There is no single, widely-accepted definition of community art, even if the context is narrowed to late-20th century England. Nevertheless, in examining the quotations above several themes and preoccupations emerge. Many of the extracts mention wider social or political objectives, such as empowering marginalised groups or deprived communities. The predominant principle, however, is the right to creative self-expression. This end can be realised through the interaction of professionals and non-professionals.[8] The second part of this report examines various forms of collaboration or participation between artist, community members and any third parties. While it is recognised that other interpretations are possible, community art is an activity contingent on the involvement of the community in some way in the creative process. It could be summarised as art made *by* or *with* the community, and not merely *for* or *in* the community.

'Community' is itself a loosely constituted term, stemming from the Latin *communis* meaning common or shared. Definitions of community usually revolve around a

body of people with common identities or interests, often (though not necessarily) sharing the same place. In multi-cultural societies especially, community identity is complex, multi-layered and self-defining; it can be formed through ethnicity, nationality or shared religious, political or cultural beliefs. Communities may be open or closed (examples of the latter include the armed forces, religious orders and prison service); they may have a formal or informal character. Most communities have focal points: spaces for socialising or self-expression; these may be temporary or permanent, private or public, consensual or contested.

Late 20th-century community arts embraced a wide range of activities and media, often in combination, giving rise to multi-media or interdisciplinary processes. Apart from murals, popular modes of expression included carnivals, festivals, street-theatre, music, print making, writing groups, media (photography, video and radio production) and environmental projects.[9] Different activities were frequently combined: murals were sometimes accompanied by environmental improvements such as the creation of community gardens, while the completion of a project might be celebrated with street theatre or an opening party.[10] Many projects sought to engage children and young people, partly because this was seen as a gateway to 'harder to reach' adults in their community.[11] The emphasis was on the creative process as a social catalyst; the creation of a lasting end-product was often (although not always) deemed to be of secondary importance.

Community art has been described as 'a complex, unstable and contested practice'.[12] One constant is that there has been little agreement about the scope and boundaries of the subject. Not all external murals, for example, were the outcome of a collaborative process and not all muralists saw themselves as part of the community arts movement.[13] The fact that a range of perspectives have developed on the subject was perhaps inevitable given the diverse and decentralised character of the movement, its divergent aims and, on occasion, conflicting strategies. Contradictions and creative tensions can perhaps be regarded as an inherent part of community arts practice, often centring on certain dichotomies such as process versus product; collective authorship versus individual expression; and local issues versus universal values. Some of these topics are taken up in the second part of this report.

Cultural contexts

The community arts movement in Britain started with a generation of artists who began their careers in the 1960s and 1970s.[14] It is described by Carol Kenna as 'a healthy co-existence of many different philosophies and attitudes and ways of working'.[15] This loose grouping of individuals can be considered a movement on the basis of their broadly shared ambitions and affiliations. Another defining characteristic was a critical level of collective organisation and coordination, with networks and advocacy bodies representing artists at regional and national levels.

The development of the community arts movement in this country was influenced by a broad range of social and political contexts. A number of background factors could be put forward, reflecting the diverse motivations and viewpoints of those who became involved in community art:

- an expansion in educational opportunity, particularly further and higher education, bringing people from working- and lower middle class backgrounds into the arts and humanities

- state patronage of the arts and differing notions of cultural democracy

- the rise of the 'New Left', a broad political movement which advocated for social issues such as feminism, civil rights and gay rights[16]

- the growth of alternative cultures or counter-cultures, anti-establishment in character and challenging received norms

- experimental forms of art practice, including conceptual art, performance art, and environmental art, which explored participative practice and non-gallery settings .[17]

The community arts movement is often framed in terms of a particular perspective on the role of the arts in society. A unifying principle was the belief that people should be given the opportunity and the voice to express their own culture in their own way. This stood in stark contrast to the cultural assumptions underpinning post-war public arts policy. These could be exemplified by two institutions founded in 1946: the BBC's Third Programme (now Radio 3), which commenced with a broadcast entitled 'How to listen'; and the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB), whose cultural mission was characterised as the cultivation of 'few [flowers], but roses'.[18] Both were motivated by the patrician and essentially moralising mission to bring high culture to a mass audience.

Similar motives underpinned the installation of contemporary art in the public realm by progressive authorities such as the London County Council and Harlow Art Trust. Community artists generally opposed what they saw as the cultural elitism of the arts establishment, which included fine artists, architects and funding and commissioning bodies. When, in 1974, the newly-founded Association of Community Artists (ACA) staged a demonstration outside the ACGB's offices, one of the placards read 'never mind the roses, fund the dandelions'.[19] Many in the community arts movement rejected the traditional role of the public as passive consumers of the arts in favour of fostering the active engagement, both socially and creatively, of those with whom they worked.

The development of community arts can be located within broader cultural contexts. One was the desire to give voice to working class experience. This was directly manifested in Mass Observation, the social research project founded in 1937 to record the everyday lives of ordinary people in Britain through diaries and questionnaires.[20] Interviews with working people formed the source material for Charles Parker's radio documentaries, including his *Radio Ballards* of 1958–63. A seminal influence on community art practice was the theatre director Joan Littlewood, whose Theatre Workshop attempted to reconcile radical theatre forms and direct engagement with local communities. The desire to uncover marginalised

voices led to the development of a revisionist approach to history characterised as 'history from below', which influenced the formation of the oral history movement in the UK in the late 1960s.[21]

The poet and playwright RG Gregory described community arts as 'a love child of alternative arts and community action'.[22] The latter often comprised grassroots organisations which sought to advocate on behalf of deprived urban communities for the reform of housing, education, youth services and town planning. Campaigning organisations included community groups, tenants' associations, voluntary organisations and political movements, while community activists were a mixture of local people and 'outsiders' such as local government professionals, community workers, students and academics.

A separate but parallel trend was the enlargement of opportunities for public participation in the decision-making processes of the democratic state, especially public consultation on local services, resources and environments. Statutory public involvement in development planning was introduced in the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act, while the 1969 report of the Skeffington committee into public participation in planning recommended giving citizens an opportunity to help shape policies and proposals at a formative stage.[23] Such reforms created a favourable climate for the growth of the conservation lobby and the community architecture movement but also prompted some artists to 'work in a more public and accountable way.[24]

Disagreements about strategy, often relating to funding and cultural policy, contributed to the weakening and fragmentation of the movement in the second half of the 1980s amid a shifting social and political landscape. The period saw dramatic changes in cultural policy and to structures of arts patronage. Community arts did not stop there, however; it is practiced today in a variety of settings and media. The aims and approaches of the formative period continue to resonate, but it is difficult to identify a present-day movement *per se*, at least in the form in which it was initially constituted.[25]

Development of the community arts in England

Most historical accounts of the community arts movement in Britain start with developments in the 1960s. But that generation drew upon earlier attempts to develop a social role for the visual arts, such as the 20th-century mural movements of Mexico and the United States and the Artists International Association, an organisation founded in London in 1933 which organised both travelling exhibitions and public murals.[26] Continuities also existed with the communitarian strand of the Arts & Crafts movement, which heeded the call of William Morris for 'an art made by the people and for the people'.[27] Self-directed creativity was also a strong element of child-centred pedagogical approaches which became influential in state schools after 1945. However, of the many thousands of public art commissions for post-war schools in England, only a small proportion appear to have involved pupils in the design or execution of the works.[28] Yet it is easy to overlook the precursors of the movement in the form of projects whose design or execution involved the creative

interaction of professionals and non-professionals but whose outcomes were not categorised on this basis.

In the 1960s some 'alternative' venues combined the functions of a contemporary arts centre with a community centre. Perhaps the most influential albeit unrepresentative iteration of the multi-purpose, flexible community venue was the unrealised 1961 proposal by Joan Littlewood and the architect Cedric Price for a Fun Palace. Most community centres were improvised around social networks or workers' cooperatives and opportunistically occupied under-used historic premises. This included organisations such as The Blackie which was established in 1968 by Bill and Wendy Harpe at St George's Church in Liverpool (so called because of the chapel's grime-darkened exterior). It was a small-scale and diverse organisation which combined experimental arts with social engagement.

One influential model was The Arts Lab established by Jim Haynes at Drury Lane in 1967. This represented 'many things to many people', including a cinema, a theatre, a gallery, a place for socialising and an information exchange.[29] Like many such projects it was short lived but it provided a model for alternative venues elsewhere in London, such as UFO and Middle Earth, and in other English cities. The American theatre director Ed Berman established Inter-Action in Camden in 1968. It was a multi-faceted organisation which hosted several community theatre initiatives with the shared aim of promoting 'art where it's least expected'.[30] The Inter-Action Centre of 1974–7, designed by Cedric Price for Berman, applied the principles of the Fun Palace on a smaller scale.

A second thread in the movement's origins relates to the idea of the artist in residency with either a private or a public sponsoring body. The Artist Placement Group (APG) was formed in 1966 by the conceptual artist Barbara Steveni 'to place fine artists with suitable companies, in this way extending the opportunity and educational development of the younger artist and at the same time bringing his talents to bear on the dynamics of industrial society'.[31] While it is commonly acknowledged that the post-war new town development corporations were important patrons of public art, they were also the locus of 'town artists' schemes, some of which involved a community arts component.

Su Braden suggested a three-fold classification of possible relationships between the community artist and the commissioning body.[32] The first was where the artist was directly employed by the local authority or equivalent, exemplified by David Harding's role as town artist at Glenrothes, Scotland between 1968 and 1978. Harding lived and worked in the town, using readily available materials to create artwork for and sometimes in collaboration with local residents.[33] Artists could also work with development corporations in shorter-term projects under the aegis of a third-party organisation. In this way the American artist Liz Leyh commenced a residency at Milton Keynes, funded by an Arts Council bursary and with housing and materials supplied by the Development Corporation. She started weekly workshop sessions with both children and adults and created play areas and gardens in cooperation with local residents.[34]

In Braden's third category, a long-term residency is combined with partial integration with (but a measure of independence from) the local authority. Telford Community Arts (TCA) was set up in September 1974 by Cathy Mackerras and Graham Woodruff, supported by grants from Telford Corporation and the Arts Council. Influenced by French ideas of 'cultural animation' (Mackerras had studied under the theatre director Roger Planchon at Lyons University), TCA aimed to help people express themselves and in so doing contribute 'towards the development of a society where there is no exploitation, where the majority of people have greater control over resources and where everyone can participate more fully in decision-making, regardless of race, sex, religion or social origin'.[35]

Community arts is commonly categorised as a progressive movement, but such assumptions risk mischaracterising the breadth of its political span, which ranged from social reformism to revolutionary socialism, including libertarian strands and affiliations with the labour and co-operative movements.[36] Links were forged with movements for social justice such as civil rights, LGBTQ+ rights, disability rights and women's liberation.[37] Some histories of the community arts movement adopt a narrative of 'radicalism to remedialism' in which an early 'heroic period', characterised by collective activism and a partisan political stance, was subsumed by professionalisation, closer relationships with funding agencies and political neutrality.[38] With such generalisations comes the risk of stereotyping the diverse spectrum of viewpoints at any one time. Yet a long-term trend from collectivism to professionalism can clearly be identified, and in the 1990s some practitioners began to use the term 'participatory arts' to signal a critical distance from the values and ideologies of the founders of the community arts movement.[39]

A central debate and a source of internal dissent for the community arts concerned public funding and its implications. In response to an increase in applications from small community-based organisations, ACGB established a New Activities Committee (1969), later replaced with an Experimental Projects Committee (1970–3) whose remit conflated performance art and community arts. A working party chaired by Professor Harold Baldry recommended setting up a dedicated funding stream for community arts but the ACGB took the position that regional arts associations were best placed to support this activity within their geographical areas.[40] During the 1980s much funding was devolved to regional arts organisations, many of which appointed community arts officers. Some urban local authorities sponsored substantial programmes of community art, notably the Labour-controlled Greater London Council (GLC) in 1981–6 and the six metropolitan county councils (Greater Manchester, Merseyside, South Yorkshire, Tyne and Wear, West Midlands and West Yorkshire) until the abolition of these bodies in 1986.[41]

Funding from third sector organisations such as non-profit and voluntary bodies became increasingly important. Particularly influential was the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation which supported an apprenticeship scheme for new community artists.[42] The enactment of the National Lottery in 1993 provided important sources of project-based cultural funding.[43] Alison Jeffers identified the presence of 'hidden subsidies': aspects of the welfare state which indirectly supported community artists. This included government-funded programmes such as the job creation scheme of

the Manpower Services Commission and the Urban Aid and Youth Opportunities Programme; in-kind assistance from local authorities; and the welfare benefits system ('the dole'), which provided community artists in precarious employment with a degree of financial security.[44]

By 1982, 135 community arts organisations were recorded as receiving public funding in England and Scotland.[45] Grant-in-aid helped the community arts movement to consolidate, specialise and professionalise. But funding came with strings attached; the agendas, priorities and cultures of community-based practitioners were not always aligned with those of the funders, and the balance of power inevitably shifted over time. Some organisations adopted charitable status, which constrained their freedom to take part in campaigns or political messaging. Funding bodies generally required relatively formal management, employment and reporting structures. Carol Kenna recalls that 'funding from these sources was hard won, demanding detailed development plans, budgetary control and a commitment to the requirements of the funders'.[46]

A sea-change in arts policy was evident by the mid-1980s. The ACGB's 1985 prospectus *A Great British Success Story* made the case not for arts subsidies as a social good but for investment 'for the good of the British economy'. Its language – 'a small increase in public funding will bring quick and sizeable returns' – suggested that cultural activity was not being regarded as an end in itself, but as an economic instrument or commodity.[47] Some commentators have identified an 'economic turn' in late 20th century cultural policy, in which arts funding was based on the case for local economic growth and urban regeneration.[48] The 1990s saw the adoption of a 'cultural industries' model by regional and national governments, utilising the arts to help address industrial decline, unemployment and social inclusion. Community arts practitioners were well placed to catalyse community 'buy-in' to regeneration schemes but the trend was towards target- rather than process-orientated funding, with a focus on 'metrics' in the form of measurable social outcomes.[49]

A contraction in arts funding from 1983 obliged some organisations to seek supplementary sources of income such as sponsorship or introducing charges for certain services. Some community arts pioneers decided to become self-employed for the greater autonomy it offered, while others left the field. Competition for funding was intensified as larger cultural institutions which began to develop community access initiatives in the 1990s.[50] Larger groups such as Greenwich Mural Workshop were in a better position to cross-subsidise their community arts projects with more commercial work such as public commissions.[51] Despite these changes, the idea of community participation had been absorbed into mainstream UK public art practice by the end of the 20th century.[52]

PART II: MAKING MURALS

Mural painting is the highest, most logical, purest and most powerful form of painting. It is also the least selfish, for it cannot be turned into an object of personal gain or be hidden for the enjoyment of a privileged few. It is for the people, it is for everyone.[53]

José Clemente Orozco, 1924

This section falls into three parts. The first sketches out the principal categories of protagonists involved in the creation of community murals: the community artist, participating members of the community and other parties. The second part examines the creative process in terms of the interaction of those protagonists and different processes of participation, collaboration and co-creation. Part three assesses the murals themselves as cultural artefacts.

Protagonists

A community mural could be defined as the outcome of a site-specific collaboration between artists working in a particular community setting and members of that community (Figure 1). The artist – some referred to themselves as art workers – might be an individual or a small group; professional or volunteer; member of the community or outsider. Most community artists would define their principal role not as self-expression but in terms of the facilitation of a collective mode of expression. In this respect they are mediators, seeking to establish dialogue or compromise between different aesthetic ideas, different stakeholders and different sections of the community.[54] In relinquishing much of the traditional territory of the artist, including notions of creative control and authorship, community artists could be compared to the self-denying attitude of socially-committed architects. A representative attitude

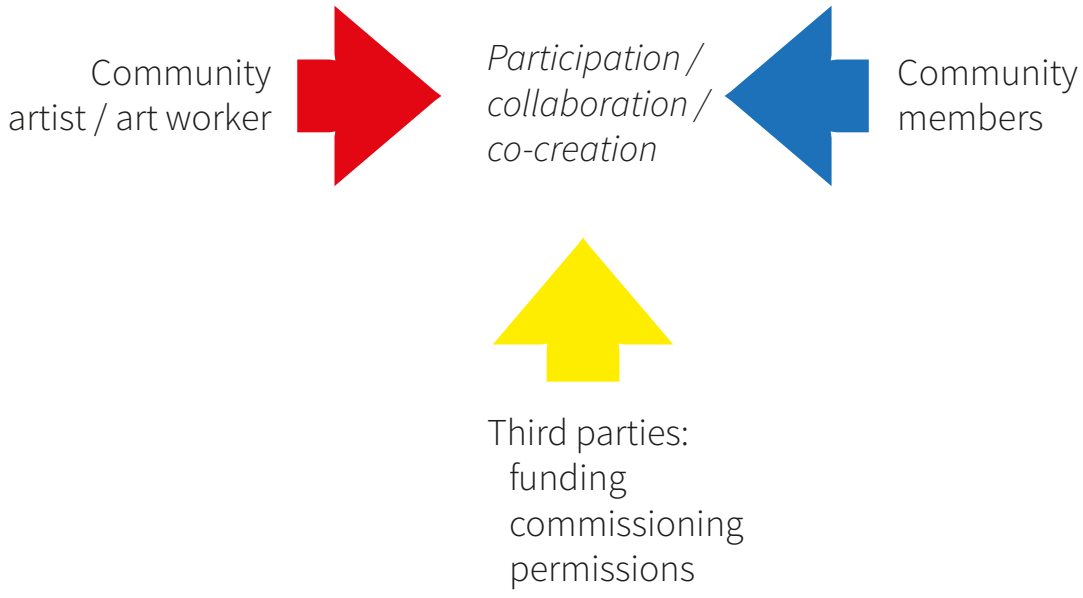

Figure 1: Diagram illustrating productive relationships between protagonists in the community arts.

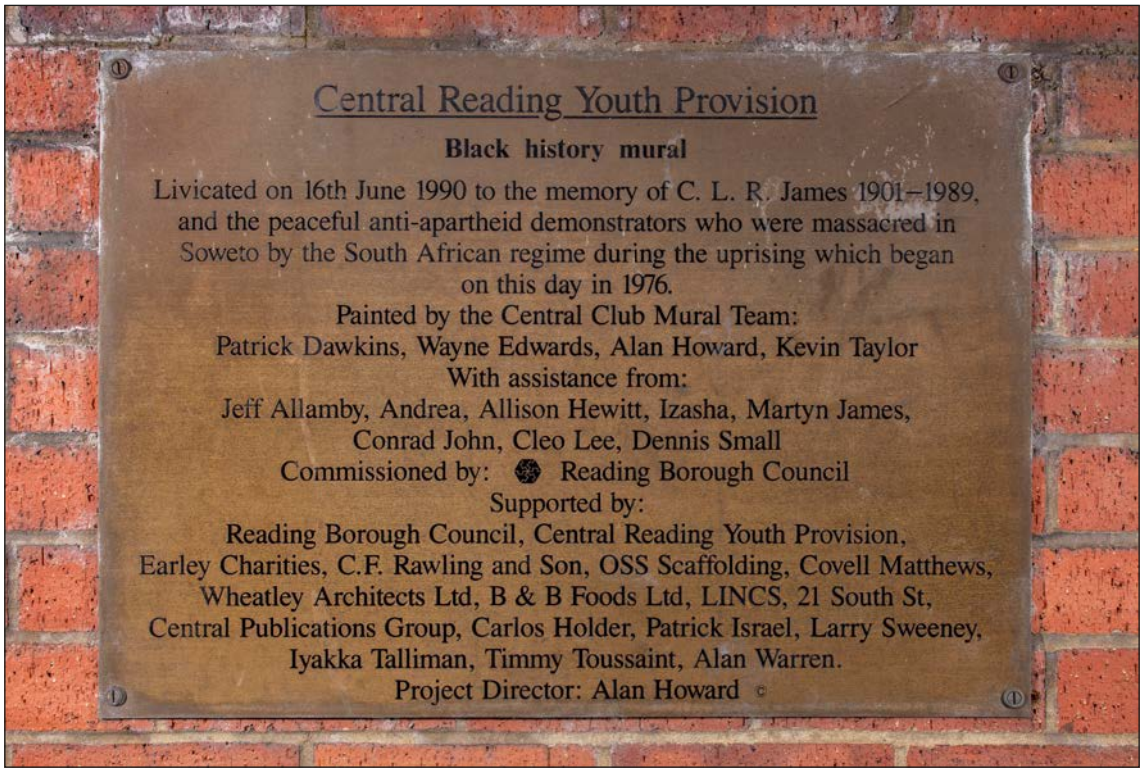

Figure 2: Commemorative plaques were sometimes installed next to exterior murals to record the contributions of artists, community organisations, funding bodies and others. This example is sited underneath the *Black History* mural in Reading (DP275522).

was summed up by the community artist Brian Barnes: 'I would really like to teach people how to do these things themselves. I want me to become redundant'.[55]

Another starting point for evaluating a community mural would be to seek an understanding of the roles and motivations of participating members of the community. On occasion community members individually or collectively instigated mural projects, effectively acting as a patron, while in other cases they were drawn in as volunteers or consultees. Murals could be vehicles for the expression of the identities, beliefs, ambitions or conflicts of the wider community in which they were situated. Yet other murals are of historical interest for the way in which they gave a voice to minority groups and under-represented individuals, particularly at times of widespread social or political change. This raises questions of representation and selectivity; partiality and inclusion.

In many circumstances, a third party or parties exerted a significant influence on a community mural project (Figure 2). Approval or support might be required from a funding body, local authority, regeneration agency or the owner of a building on which the mural is planned. In some cases the commission or initial impetus came from a third party. The power balance between any third party, the community artist and participating members of the community determined the scope and nature of the former's influence.

Figure 3: Murals at the Laycock Primary School in north London (project directors David Cashman and Roger Fagin). They were painted in 1975 as part of the Islington Schools Education Project, a two-year partnership between the artists and the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) (DP264986).

Participative practices

Community arts practice was generally viewed by its protagonists as 'an approach to the arts rather than an art form in its own right'.[56] Community artists developed a set of working practices based on the principle of co-creation, in which people with different skills and skill levels cooperate as a team. Central to the community arts, Carol Kenna wrote, was 'the involvement of local people in all the decisions related to the placing of an art work or performance in their locality'.[57] Those decisions might range from the funding and siting of a work to its medium, content and form.

Finding a collaborative means of production required a set of working practices. At the heart of them was the development of techniques of group working. A key challenge was how to devise a creative framework which was capable of accommodating each participant's contribution while maintaining aesthetic integrity or artistic standards in the finished design:

> [Community artists] were devising methods of working which were based around groups, and they were trying to develop ways in which the groups could draw upon the strengths rather than the weaknesses of the people involved, and in which every member could make a contribution without feeling debarred by the stronger or more confident members. They were also wrestling with some success with the problem of the artist's contribution to the group; of how the artist could make a contribution without their skills and experience coming to dominate the group's work.[58]

Certain media or techniques were sometimes chosen because they provided a framework for everyone, whatever their skill level, to actively participate in the making of the mural. Painted murals were often executed in a graphic style, using flat planes of colour which allowed participants to block in outlined areas of a design under supervision, although some criticised this as a 'painting by numbers' technique which did little to harness the participants' creativity.[59] Collage techniques were developed by the women's co-operatives Brass Tacks and London Wall, while the Hackney-based group Free Form used mosaic techniques to facilitate a collective and inclusive approach to group working.[60] Mosaics could be assembled in sections in a workshop space or individuals could take home their own piece to complete. In a mural scheme for the walls of the Laycock School in Islington (1975, project directors David Cashman and Roger Fagin), pupils' designs were painted on panels of brickwork where each brick was painted a single colour, creating a pixel-like effect (Figure 3).[61]

Workshops represented both a structured working technique and an accessible space where experts and non-experts could exchange ideas and skills (Figures 4 and 5). They became a core part of community mural practice as is reflected by the names of some of the earliest groups: Public Art Workshop (founded in 1972 in Chicago), a separate Public Art Worksop (founded *c*1974 in London), Greenwich Mural Workshop (1975) and Wandsworth Mural Workshop (1976). It is significant that the term is borrowed from the crafts tradition. In larger-scale projects the gap between expert and non-expert could be bridged by skills training. Apprenticeships were incorporated into more ambitious projects such as the *Black History Mural* in Reading (1989–90).

Consultation allowed project workers to represent or engage members of a wider section of the local community. Consultative techniques were

Figures 4 and 5: Photographs of the painting of a circus-themed mural for Rossendale General Hospital, Lancashire by local sixth formers. This 1989 project was led by John Upton (foreground, Figure 4) and commissioned by Mid Pennine Arts . Upton (1933–2005) was a self-taught artist who between 1965 and 1991 produced around 50 murals in Brighton, Dudley, Leicester, Burnley and elsewhere. Progress photographs such as these document the nature and extent of community participaton. © Mid Pennine Arts.

used by community artists at different stages to achieve different goals: to engage local people by introducing them to their approach or techniques; as a critical method of canvassing suggestions for themes or compositional elements; or for the critique or refinement of existing proposals. Alternatively, an arts project could be used to generate dialogue or debate which could be further explored through processes of public consultation.

For many community artists, consultation supplemented rather than subsumed processes of direct participation and co-creation. Carol Kenna of the Greenwich Mural Workshop explained that 'the design [of a mural] would have been designed and redesigned until the final design not only communicated the aspirations of that particular community, but did so in the most exciting way possible'.[62] Others maintained that the extent of participation was not always so clear or relevant. Some murals were wholly designed and executed by professional artists, although incorporating the results of research and consultation to represent aspects of a collective memory or self-identity. For the *Battle of Cable Street* mural in east London (based on the 1936 confrontation between the Metropolitan Police, members of the British Union of Fascists and anti-fascist demonstrators), the muralist David Binnington conducted oral history interviews with those present as well as archival research.[63] While the content of the mural responded to local people's ideas and recollections, it was executed by Binnington and other professional artists.

Figure 6: *Bicycle Wall* mural. A tile mural project of 1979-80, directed by the artist John Watson and involving pupils from the neighbouring Stantonbury Campus, a community school serving the new town of Milton Keynes (DP235476). It was re-sited a short distance away when the building was redeveloped in 2020-21.

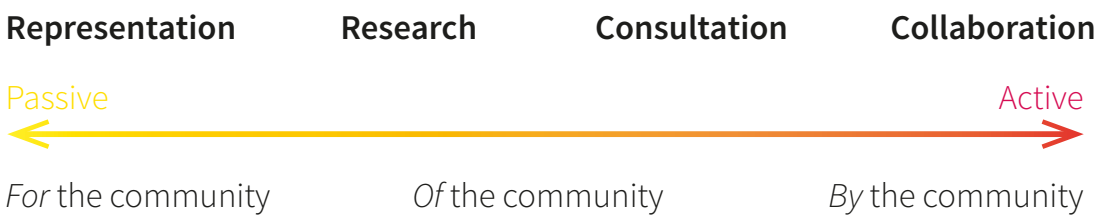

Figure 7: In this diagram processes of interaction between community artists and community members are located along a spectrum which ranges from a passive community role (left) to an active community role (right).

Participants could also be 'included' in community murals in a near-literal sense. It was relatively common to depict recognisable individuals in murals as a means of engaging members of the community, celebrating their achievements and attachments to a place and signifying their 'co-ownership' of the work (Figure 6). Considerable personal significance may be attached to such portraits by the friends and family of those depicted. Other forms of community art experimented with the representation of individuals: Kevin Atherton's *Platform Piece* (1985-6, Grade II) is a group of three life-size bronze sculptures, positioned across three platforms at Brixton Railway Station and depicting three local people, Peter Lloyd, Joy Battick and Karin Heistermann, each of whom had a particular connection to Brixton. In Atherton's earlier *A Body of Work* (1983), ten bronze casts of the hands, feet and other parts of pupils and staff were integrated into the boundary walls of Langdon Park School, east London.

These processes of co-creation, consultation and representation can be grouped along a spectrum which ranges from a passive to an active community role (Figure 7). By directly engaging in the commissioning or the execution of an art work, for example, members of the community are assuming an essentially active agency. A more passive or indirect role is likely when community self-expression is mediated or interpreted by an artist using a consultative or research-based approach. When such processes of engagement are cursory or absent the result cannot meaningfully be described as participatory. In such situations the mural may be felt to project aspects of community identity but the voice of the community is a wholly passive one. In practice, processes of co-creation, consultation and representation were not mutually exclusive and were frequently combined in community projects of this period.

Murals: setting, form and themes

Community murals have been relatively overlooked, both in art-historical surveys of late 20th-century public art and in studies of the late 20th-century community arts movement.[64] Several explanations can be offered for this imbalance. In the first place, some (although by no means all) community artists themselves stressed the primacy of process over product.[65] For this reason and others, such as cost and the difficulty of obtaining the necessary permissions, a relatively small proportion of community arts projects were structured around the creation of permanent works of public art. Murals constitute the most commonly-encountered medium, although reliefs,

sculpture and 'environmental' projects (such as landscaping or the creation of play areas) are sometimes encountered.[66] Hundreds of exterior murals were created; and those that survive remain the most characteristic traces of the community arts movement of which they formed part.

Issues of identification, documentation and survival loom large in the study of community murals. Most public art can be readily recognised and assigned to broad categories, although classificatory schemes will inevitably vary. Commemorative statuary, for example, will rarely be confused with abstract sculpture, and the difference between a concrete relief and a mosaic mural will be self-evident. Yet it is not so straightforward to identify examples of community art. While most definitions of community art are framed around a participatory approach to its design and execution, such a process is not necessarily legible in the resulting art work. Moreover, most murals are poorly documented, making it difficult to recover information about working processes and authorial intentions that may assist in identifying them as community murals. The survival rate for painted murals of this period appears to be low, partly due to the lack of understanding and recognition, with losses resulting from redevelopment, over-painting and vandalism.

Community murals are interpreted through their immediate physical surroundings. Murals, painted directly onto a substrate, are in a literal sense closely integrated with their sites. But in a wider sense many community murals represent a direct artistic response to their social and cultural contexts. The community artist Owen Kelly emphasised the connections between location, intended audience and content. He made a distinction between murals painted on the internal or external walls of communal or semi-public venues (such as

Figure 8: *Equality–Harmony* (c1986-7, Gülsün Erbil) is a mosiac mural wrapped around three sides of a refuse chute at Tangmere House on the Broadwater Farm Estate in north London. It was commissioned by the Broadwater Farm Youth Association and Haringey Council as part of a package of environmental improvements to the estate in the aftermath of the Broadwater Farm Uprising of October 1985. [DP371029]

community centres or youth clubs) that function as a collective statement of group identity for a known audience; and murals in the public realm which may be non-site-specific, communicating a universal message to all comers.[67]

Community murals often appeared in urban areas undergoing change, either commissioned as temporary measures in areas destined for clearance or to signify the regeneration of inner-city areas as an alternative to rebuilding and dispersal. The palliative nature of such projects was criticised by some commentators as 'a kind of social sticking plaster; where there is a riot the money is found for a mural and the problem of the quality of life in the area is deemed to have been addressed'.[68] A more activist-based approach can be seen in the temporary photo-murals coordinated by Loraine Leeson and Peter Dunn of the Docklands Community Poster Project, which worked with local tenants and action groups to campaign for the rights of the local community in the redevelopment of the docklands.[69] Many murals painted as environmental improvement schemes have been lost as a result of subsequent redevelopment or regeneration.

Many early community murals used household emulsion paints. These were inexpensive and readily available products which required little preparation, but the results have tended to fade, peel or crumble with the deterioration of the paint binder over time. In the mid-1970s Desmond Rochfort and David Binnington were amongst the first muralists to experiment with colourfast paint systems.[70] Although expensive and technically complex to prepare, the German Keim system of silicate paints was favoured for its stability and longevity, which was a result of chemical bonding with a specially-applied cement render substrate. In some cases an impermeable coating was applied to improve the mural's resilience to weathering, vandalism or graffiti, although these can inhibit the migration of moisture through the wall. While the conservation of outdoor painted murals lies beyond the scope of this report, materials conservation challenges include the identification of substrates, paints and coatings; diagnosis of the causes of deterioration; and the agreement of appropriate treatment options.[71] Just as the creation of a community mural was a collaborative act, the same is true of its conservation, which may require funding and necessitate the consultation of a variety of parties including conservation specialists, the original artist(s), the building owner, local authorities and community groups.

Mosaic or ceramic tile murals represented an alternative to paint media; they had the advantage of durability and could be prepared off-site but presented technical challenges of fabrication and installation. John Watson's *Bicycle Wall* mural (*see* Figure 4) was a panel of ceramic tiles produced with the pupils of Stantonbury Campus with the use of the school's crafts facilities. Other murals were made from glass mosaic tesserae, such as *Equality–Harmony* (c1986-7, Gülsün Erbil, Grade II) at Tangmere House on the Broadwater Farm Estate in north London (Figure 8). An alternative was the 'trencar' technique, popularised by the Catalan architect Antoni Gaudí, of creating mosaic forms from broken glazed ceramic tiles or plates. It was widely used by the Hackney-based Freeform Arts Trust.[72] Mixed-media works usually took the form of relatively small panels. Philippa Threlfall's early murals, such as *Evolution of Life in the Sea* (1963, Loftus County Secondary School, Yorkshire), combine fossils and pebbles collected by schoolchildren with ceramic

Figure 9: The *Battle of Cable Street* mural on the flank wall of the former St George's Town Hall in Shadwell, east London. It was commenced in 1979 by David Binnington and completed in 1983 by Paul Butler, Ray Walker and Desmond Rochfort (DP264962).

Figure 10: The *Riders of the Apocalypse* mural of 1983 on the gable wall of No. 1 Sanford Walk, New Cross, London. The project director was Brian Barnes of the Wandsworth Mural Workshop (DP264937).

elements, placed into a cement render layer. The mural was re-sited in 2009 to Doorstep Green Park in Skinningrove.[73]

Many murals exhibit a two-dimensional graphic style which could be taught to an unskilled participant and was capable of conveying a narrative, scene or message to the public with clarity and immediacy. The imagery of popular culture or vernacular art, such as graffiti, cartoons, advertisements, popular music, folk literature and mythology provided a ready-made and accessible visual language. It was a genre where fictional characters, stereotypes, symbols and abstract elements could freely mix with real places and local people. Social commentary often took the form of parody or satire, in which a semi-realist manner is subject to a degree of caricature, with certain characteristics exaggerated and others simplified.

Other forms of expression were possible, including the visual language of the western art tradition. Community artists with fine art backgrounds sometimes adopted a figurative visual language, often accompanied by perspective and tonal contrast. *Trompe-l'œil* was a popular technique for murals, in which new openings or even entire façades could be painted on blind walls (Wolsey Road Mural, Newington Green; 1981, Carolyne Beale) or inhabited interiors revealed (*Inside Out*, No. 53 Derby Street, Rochdale; 1977, Walter Kershaw, lost).[74] Less common were murals borrowing from the formal techniques of 20th-century art movements such as Constructivism, Cubism, Surrealism or Pop Art.

In compositional terms, a distinction can be made between a unified scene or ensemble; and composite forms involving the combination of different elements. The *Battle of Cable Street* mural in east London is a sophisticated example of the former, using multiple viewpoints and perspectival distortion to portray the chaos of a street confrontation (Figure 9). A montage or collage technique was often favoured for larger works as it allowed multiple subjects or motifs to be assembled with formal freedom. Early examples include *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*, Battersea (1976-8, Brian Barnes, 1976-8, lost) and the *Fitzrovia Mural*, central London (1980, Mick Jones and Simon Barber, restored 2020). In some murals, grids or panels were used as a structuring device. An inventive example was the mural for the Wallsend Arts Centre, North Tyneside by Duncan Newton in which semi-abstract details of everyday scenes are juxtaposed in a gridded layout.[75]

Surveys of late 20th century community murals illuminate a broad array of subject matter.[76] Some of the most celebrated murals of the early movement are characterised by an overtly political or social message. In many cases, collective action in support of a shared cause is portrayed through the device of a tableau or crowd scene. This permitted the simultaneous representation of the unity of a community and its diversity, whilst allowing the depiction of recognisable individuals.[77] In *The People's River* (Greenwich Mural Workshop, 1975, lost), a diverse community takes possession of the Thames. The same collective's *Floyd Road Mural* in Greenwich celebrates the victory of local residents in their campaign for the refurbishment, rather than the redevelopment, of their homes.[78] A comparable approach was used in the depiction of historical moments of community activism, such as the *Battle of Cable Street,* the Peasants' Revolt mural on Bow Common Lane,

Figure 11: The *Hackney Peace Carnival* mural of 1983 on the gable wall of No. 15 Dalston Lane in Dalston, east London (DP264971).

Mile End (1981 by Ray Walker, lost) and the *Tolpuddle Martyrs'* mural at No. 183 Copenhagen Street, Islington (1984 by Dave Bangs).

An important subcategory of murals responded to the international threat of nuclear war at a time of renewed cold war tension. These murals are the most visible legacy of the activism of the British peace movement and the related campaign for nuclear disarmament.[79] They often draw upon the imagery of political cartoons, using symbolism and visual metaphor. An early and influential example is *Nuclear Dawn*, at No. 387 Coldharbour Lane, Brixton (1981, Brian Barnes and Dale McCrea). It anticipated the formation of a collective, London Muralists for Peace, to create a series of murals on the theme of 'peace through nuclear disarmament' for the GLC Peace Year of 1983.[80] Barnes's contribution was *Riders of the Apocalypse*, Sanford Walk, New Cross of 1983, in which Ronald Regan, Margaret Thatcher, Michael

Heseltine and Yuri Andropov are caricatured as horsemen of the apocalypse astride nuclear missiles (Figure 10). *Winds of Peace*, No. 269 Creek Road, Greenwich (1983, Greenwich Mural Workshop, lost) depicted a circle of people, their fists raised against a phalanx of nuclear missiles. The *Hackney Peace Carnival* mural of 1983 is commemorated in a striking mural at No. 13 Dalston Lane, designed by Ray Walker and completed after his death by Anna Walker and Mike Jones (Figure 11).

Racial identity and the struggle against racial oppression were prominent themes in urban areas shaped by post-war immigration but facing economic inequalities in the 1980s. During its anti-racism year in 1984, the GLC commissioned murals

Figure 12: *People of Greenwich Unite Against Racism* , a mural formerly on the gable wall of No. 108 Woolwich High Street. It was commissioned in 1984 by Greenwich Action Committee Against Racism and painted by Stephen Lobb, Carol Kenna and Chris Cardale of Greenwich Mural Workshop. Long the target of racist graffiti, it was overpainted by the building's owner in 2008 (DP135005).

Figure 13. The *Black History* mural on the north wall of the former Central Club, Nos 36-42 London Street, Reading. The mural was executed in 1989-90 under the supervision of Alan Howard (DP275528).

from Gavin Jantjes, Keith Piper, Shanti Panchal and Lubaina Himid, intended to be installed at sites in Brixton, Shadwell, Southall and Notting Hill. In 1985, Jantjes, working with Tam Joseph, created *The Dream, The Rumour and the Poet's Song* at No. 50 Railton Road, Brixton. This significant work, now lost, employed an allegorical, allusive style influenced by Picasso's *Guernica* to portray issues related by young black residents interviewed by the artists, including police harassment, immigration, racist violence and the Brixton Uprising of 1981. Panchal and Dushlea Ahmad's 1985 mural *Across the Barrier* at a former school in Lowood Street, Shadwell depicts a Bengali family subjected to racial prejudice from their white neighbours.[81] In 1984, Greenwich Mural Workshop completed a mural at No. 108 Woolwich High Road (since overpainted) entitled *People of Greenwich Unite Against Racism* (Figure 12). In the *Black History* mural at Reading's Central Club, the project director Alan Howard was influenced by the Mexican muralists Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco and David Alfaro Siqueiros and the muralists of Chicago.[82] Like William Walker's 1967 *Wall of Respect* mural in Chicago, the Central Club mural comprises an aperspectival montage of black heroes or role models. A consistent graphic language is used to combine historic and contemporary figures, mixing international personalities with members of Reading's Black community (Figure 13).

Murals can mark sites of unrest and conflict, the most obvious example of which is the mural tradition of Northern Ireland.[83] Public art works emphasising shared cultural heritage or identity were sometimes commissioned with the aim of bringing about social reconciliation or the re-establishment of a sense of place in inner-city communities fragmented by social unrest, depopulation or comprehensive redevelopment. Gülsün Erbil's *Equality–Harmony* mural at the Broadwater Farm estate in north London was commissioned in the aftermath of the events of October 1985. It celebrates the cultural diversity of the neighbourhood as well as its collective achievements. Racial harmony is also emphasised in Stephen Pusey's *Children at Play* (1982) on the Brixton Academy, one of a series of murals funded by Lambeth Council after the Brixton Uprising of 1981.

Aspects of local or regional character, including shared history, traditions, places, activities or personalities, represent the predominant subject matter of community

murals as they do the wider category of public art during the late 20th century. They sometimes served to commemorate lost aspects of everyday life: murals commemorating local industrial heritage responded to the de-industrialisation and regeneration of the industrial heartlands of the north east, the Midlands and London's docklands. An example is the *Golden Lion Bridge* mural in Swindon, painted in 1976 by Ken White with the support of Thamesdown Community Arts and the government's Job Creation Scheme.[84] It depicts a historic street scene, including the eponymous bridge which formerly crossed the Wilshire and Berkshire Canal (Figure 14).

Figure 14. The *Golden Lion Bridge* mural on the end wall of No. 6 Medgbury Way, Swindon, painted in 1976 by Ken White. White restored the mural in 2009, altering elements of the composition in the process (Historic England Archive, AAA02/01/S0582, © Graham Cooper and Doug Sargent, reproduced under licence).

CONCLUSION

This conclusion considers some of the different values which people attach to community murals from this period. Values are neither static nor universal: they change over time and are construed in different ways by different people. Exterior murals also change over time; types of physical deterioration, damage and intervention lie outside the scope of this study yet these factors clearly bear upon the ways in which murals are perceived and valued. Three broad and inter-related cultural values provide a framework for the consideration of this topic: communal value, historical value and aesthetic value.[85]

Communal value is attached to places of collective experience or identity. People may relate to a community mural through some personal connection or they may identify with its subject matter or underlying character. Many murals, such as those created through collaborative processes or those which carry a collective meaning, constituting a link between art and society.[86] They symbolise shared causes and identities or commemorate past lives and episodes in a way which continues to resonate in the collective memory. Some murals may represent the focal point of a community in a way which may not be readily apparent to others. At the same time, different individuals will derive differing meanings and interpretations from the same work.

The historical value of a community mural derives from its ability to illustrate aspects of a shared history. It may provide insights into the intentions of its co-creators or a collective experience at a particular moment in time. A mural may represent a historical event, movement or cultural context and that association may be strengthened by its setting or contextual relationship with a particular place. It may relate to the times in which it was created, testifying to an aspect of social history. Related to the historical value of a mural are concepts of rarity and integrity. Rarity may be determined through comparison with surviving examples of its kind, while integrity is connected to the way in which an artistic work sustains the intentions of its creators. The retouching or restoration of a mural does not necessarily impair its integrity or authenticity and may demonstrate its continuing relevance or meaningfulness to a community.

An artwork's aesthetic value relates to the ways in which viewers derive sensory or intellectual stimulation from it. As a form of communication, visual art is dependent on both transmission (i.e. production or artistic expression) and reception (the way in which it is experienced and interpreted over time). Aesthetic value pertains to qualities of visual design (such as composition and style) and execution (technique and materials). While aesthetic values are the product of a particular historical and cultural context, appreciation of them is not culturally exclusive.[87]

An understanding of the intentions and priorities of the original authors can change the ways in which a community mural is valued. By definition, community murals can be considered to lie outside the framework of values and aesthetics applied within art galleries and auction houses. It was common for community artists to work outside the conventions of the western art tradition, adopting instead the

aesthetics of vernacular, popular or non-western cultures. Many artists attempted to represent the cultural values of the community with whom they were working; in other cases it was necessary to mediate between the different aesthetic values of, for example, a sponsoring body and different sections of the community.

* * *

As this report is by necessity limited in its scope and depth it closes with some recommendations for further work. It is hoped that these suggestions will be of use to anyone planning further research, whether focussing on community murals or the broader category of community art works; local or national in coverage; for the purposes of academic study or as part of an assessment of a heritage asset or assets. In the first instance a systematic review of publicly-available archival and secondary sources is required. This could be could be used to create a synthesis of the available literature on the subject which would set the murals in as full a historical context as possible. Secondly, desk-based scoping work could assist in the identification of potential surviving community murals, which could populate a working gazetteer. Secondary literature, fieldwork, information from community artists, archives and social media engagement all have the potential to identify possible surviving examples.

A coordinated programme of fieldwork would help to build a more detailed picture of the appearance and condition of known murals. A photographic recording element, suitably archived at the end of the project, has the potential to contribute to the documentation of an asset type which is particularly vulnerable to change and loss. It is recognised that existing research on community murals has been weighted towards examples in London. Regional research and recording would help to correct this distribution bias by highlighting the work of community artists elsewhere in England.

Oral history is a research methodology with strong potential to yield primary evidence about techniques, themes and participative practices in community art of the late 20th century.[88] A model study in this regard is 'For Walls With Tongues', an oral history of the mural movement in the UK. As part of this project recorded interviews were conducted with some 30 muralists active in the period 1966 to 1985.[89] In the course of interviewing community artists and others the opportunity may arise to access other types of sources, such as private papers, photographs and drawings otherwise unavailable to researchers.

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ENDNOTES

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2 Cooper and Sargent 1979. Their exhibition of the same name visited over 30 venues in the UK from 1977 and was then revised and appeared in 30 countries as part of a British Council tour.
3 Pearson 2016, 1.
Rodríguez 1969, 492.
4 Cited in Kelly, 1984 R2016, 13.
5 Cited in Jeffers and Moriarty 2017, 251.
6 Cited in Morgan 1995, 24.
7 Buckingham 2015.
8 The interaction of professionals and non-professionals are elements of the definitions of community art and participatory art set out in Matarasso 2019, chapter 3.
9 Free Form became associated with environmental projects, and established a Design and Technical Aid Service which helped local people to improve their environment through small-scale interventions (Crehan 2011, 76-7).
10 Carol Kenna, pers.comm., 16 November 2020.
11 Jeffers 2017, 4.
12 Matarasso 2013, 215.
13 Wiedel-Kaufmann 2019; I am grateful to Ben Wiedel-Kaufmann for his comments on this subject.
14 https://arestlessart.com/2018/03/08/a-very-short-history-of-the-british-community-arts-movement/
15 Carol Kenna, pers.comm., 16 November 2020.
16 Shaw and Shaw 1992
17 Crickmay 2003.
18 This is a quotation from a classical anthology compiled by the Greek poet Meleager of Gadara who, in the introduction, assigned the names of flora to the names of the contributing poets. The translated phrase is 'of Sappho few, – but roses' (Headlam 1890, xi). The use of a classical reference was doubtless intended to demonstrate the writer's erudition.
19 Moriarty 2017.
20 http://www.massobs.org.uk/about/history-of-mo
21 Smith 2013.
22 Jeffers 2017, 3.
23 Ministry of Housing and Local Government 1969.
24 Broome 2012, 68.
25 The relationship between the late 20th century community arts movement and contemporary community arts practice is considered in Bishop 2012, especially pp.187-191, and Matarasso 2013.
26 Rochfort 1998; Cockcroft *et al* 1977 R 1998; Radford 1987, 73.
27 Anon 1879, 133.
28 Philippa Threlfall realised a number of ceramic relief murals in this way in the 1960s, and further post-war examples are likely to exist. https://www.philippathrelfall.com/
29 Cited in Kelly 2017, 224.
30 Bishop 2012, 180.
31 Hudek nd, http://www.ravenrow.org/texts/43/
32 Braden 1978, 40.
33 Harding nd, https://www.davidharding.net/?page_id=37

34 Braden 1978, 45-9.
35 Ibid, 54-60; Moriarty 2018, https://communityartsunwrapped.com/2018/04/10/the-cultural-democracy-conference-reflections/. Techniques of socio-cultural animation developed in France in the 1960s to foster social adaptation and integration in newly urbanised communities (Ahearne 2018, 95-6). Others rejected the implicit assumption that a community needed an external stimulus to express itself, suggesting that what was needed was resources and facilities (Carol Kenna, pers.comm., 16 November 2020).
36 Matarasso 2013, 216; Wiedel-Kaufmann 2019.
37 Hatherley 2013, 10-12; Jeffers 2017, 9-10.
38 Matarasso 2013, 216; Kelly 1984 R2016.
39 Jeffers 2017a, 137-8.
40 Arts Council of Great Britain 1974.
41 Atashroo 2017; Wiedel-Kaufmann 2019.
42 Jeffers 2017, 15; Hewison and Holden 2006.
43 Anderson 2002.
44 Jeffers 2017, 13-7.
45 Jeffers 2017, 2.
46 Carol Kenna, pers.comm., 16 November 2020.
47 Cited in Marwick 1996, 373.
48 Bloomfield and Bianchini, cited in Jeffers 2017a, 143.
49 Jeffers 2017a, 152.
50 Jeffers 2017a, 135.
51 Morgan 1995, 23.
52 Pearson 2016, 14.
53 Rodríguez 1969, 164.
54 Crehan 2011, 187.
55 Barnett 1984, 487.
56 Kelly 1984 R2016, 164.
57 Kenna 1984, 21.
58 Ibid, 36.
59 Matarasso 2016, https://arestlessart.com/2016/05/30/822/
60 Kenna, Lobb et al https://www.forwallswithtongues.org.uk/artists/london-wall/; Crehan 2011, 101. I am grateful to Ben Wiedel-Kaufmann for drawing my attention to the work of Brass Tacks and London Wall.
61 Kenna, Lobb *et al* https://www.forwallswithtongues.org.uk/artists/islington-schools-education-project/
62 Kenna 1984, 21.
63 Wiedel-Kaufmann 2019, 211-6. I am grateful to Ben Wiedel-Kaufmann for this observation.
64 An example is the database of post-war murals maintained by Lynn Pearson: https://independent.academia.edu/LynnPearson
65 ACGB 1974, 7-8.
66 For environmental projects see Crehan 2011, 76-7.
67 Kelly 1984 R2016, 171-4.
68 Kelly 1984 R2016, 164.
69 Kenna, Lobb *et al* https://www.forwallswithtongues.org.uk/artists/dr-loraine-leeson-docklands-poster-project/
70 Kenna, Lobb et al https://www.forwallswithtongues.org.uk/artists/desmond-rochfort/
71 Rainer 2003.

72 Crehan 2011, 88
73 https://www.philippathrelfall.com/1960s-murals/entry1011-evolution-of-life-in-the-sea.html?sid=0bca9ebd12784a32a23ad73ed856c85c
74 Cooper and Sargent 1979, 31; http://londonmuralpreservationsociety.com/murals/wolsey-road-mural/
75 Cooper and Sargent 1979, 46.
76 Matarasso 2013, 216; Kelly 1984 R 2016.
77 I am grateful to François Matarasso for this point.
78 Kenna, Lobb et al https://www.forwallswithtongues.org.uk/projects/gmw-floyd-road-1976/
79 LSE nd, https://www.lse.ac.uk/ideas/projects/peace-security/cnd-archives
80 Atashroo 2017, 146.
81 Ibid, chapter 5.
82 Alan Howard, pers. comm, 30 September 2020.
83 Rolston, 'Northern Ireland', in Kenna, Lobb et al https://www.forwallswithtongues.org.uk/artists/northern-ireland-an-essay-by-professor-bill-rolston/
84 Atkinson 2019, 19-21.
85 Drury and McPherson 2008.
86 Powers 2013.
87 Drury and McPherson 2008, 30.
88 Guidance and training on conducting oral history interviews can be obtained from the Oral History Society: https://www.ohsorg.uk/
89 https://www.forwallswithtongues.org.uk/

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ISSN 2398-3841 (Print)
ISSN 2059-4453 (Online)