Hi

Apologies, this was my fault.
Ten projects, 14 years, over 2,000 people in front of the camera and a couple of hundred behind it. **Crowd Theory** is a project that has sought to re-imagine a series of places in both Australia and the UK. The project began at the Footscray Community Arts Centre in Melbourne’s west, with the centre’s then-director Jerril Rechter.

The rules have been the same for each project. Those with an attachment to the site have been invited to participate. Following months of preparatory research, each event has been constructed as a one-hour ritual. Accompanied by a soundtrack, lighting, catering and a collective effort in co-ordination, the events have begun just before dusk and carried through until shortly after nightfall where ten frames are exposed on negative film with an 8x10 large-format camera, and one frame is chosen to become the face of the work. The results are a recording of a one-off gathering of these people in this place at this time.

In engaging with each site, the politics of place have become central to conversations surrounding the making of the works. Narratives of place have been characterised by conversations around who says who can gather; who or what people or organising bodies, local councils, residents’ groups, corporations or land owners have rights and final say over who does what and where. The aim of these works has been to invite anyone and everyone who has a connection to the place in question to simply be there.

This publication coincides with an exhibition bringing together all ten Crowd Theory images for the first time, at the Centre for Contemporary Photography, Melbourne. Inside are a range of responses and documents, including images and texts from the time of each event, as well as three newly commissioned essays reflecting on the project.

**Crowd Theory:**

- Footscray, 2004
- Braybrook, 2004
- Footscray Station, 2006
- Southbank, 2007
- Port of Melbourne, 2008
- Balfron, 2010
- Bow Cross, 2011
- Victoria Square/Tarnantanyangga, 2013
- Thamesmead, 2017

Centre for Contemporary Photography acknowledges the Wurundjeri people of the Kulin Nation as the traditional owners of the land on which CCP operates. We respectfully recognise Elders past, present and future, and acknowledge that sovereignty has never been ceded.
From:  
To:  

Hi

I’m around this morning if you want to talk through with me first.

Please just recognise it’s all coming from a place of good intentions!!

Thanks
CONTINGENT COMMUNITIES: SIMON TERRILL’S CROWD SERIES

Daniel Palmer

Fifteen years ago, Simon Terrill set out on a photographic experiment. Starting with a commission through the Footscray Community Art Centre, he began to produce a series of large-scale community portraits in modern urban spaces that he dubbed Crowd Theory, eventually extending from Melbourne to the UK.¹ I have been lucky enough to see several of the individual works when they were exhibited for the first time, within their local context. However, this survey exhibition is the first time the ten works produced so far have been exhibited together – and they really benefit from being viewed in the flesh. Whereas on the computer screen, or in the guise of a book or magazine, Terrill’s images could be mistaken for more conventional city landscapes, at full scale they absorb us into their worlds: we see the gatherings of people and become alert to their unexpected gestures and moves, we notice small self-organising groups within the general crowd, as well as certain continuities across the series (like kids on bikes).

Terrill works with dusk lighting. But unlike the work of Gregory Crewdson, which some of the images superficially resemble, they do not invoke a fictional mood or narrative. And unlike other well-known international photographers who produce gigantic images, such as Jeff Wall or Andreas Gursky, Terrill has no desire to control everything that happens in the frame, and his work involves little or no digital post-production. In this sense they remain documents of historical times and places, and, more specifically, of diverse urban communities in a state of change. What the photographs document is important: public space underlies all the gatherings of people – from a cricket oval in a working-class suburb in the west of Melbourne home to African communities, to social housing blocks in east London – and the people occupy that space in a non-everyday fashion. However, how they document is even more crucial. Terrill’s work involves a close engagement with the communities who live at a particular site – often one undergoing gentrification.² Each community is not only depicted in an image, they formed the event that generated that image, and remain part of the image’s ongoing reception.

The photographs begin with an invitation to participants, and dialogue ensues. Dialogue around the production of the images – the process by which they are made – has always been part of the work. Terrill’s spectacular final images embody one essence of the event, but they only tell part of the story. The artwork extends to include all the experiences of the participants involved who carry the memory of their encounters. This is why Terrill has included a new sculpture, Plato’s Bench (2018), as the setting for an extended public program at the Centre for Contemporary Photography: this gallery is a public space. By returning the photographs to the relative comfort of a public art gallery, Terrill wants to continue dialogue. We are reminded that the first work in the Crowd series was birthed at a similarly safe space – a public community art centre – before Terrill ventured to communities beyond, at a cricket oval, then a train station, to futuristic apartments and social housing estates. The jarringly sci-fi, digitally-generated park bench has been formed from an amalgam of images of an actual bench at Plato’s Academy Park in Athens – referring equally to public space, notions of democracy and glitzy digital images from Google Earth.

Terrill’s images are in many ways the antithesis to the photographs that most of us take and share on our phones, not just because an 8x10 camera produces an image so much larger and more detailed, but because they are so public and monumental. The images could not be further from the ephemeral and self-promotional ones shared among friends and followers on social media. Indeed, rather than isolated moments of intimacy, each of the Crowd Theory images has included as part of its exhibition history a reunion of participants involved in the presence of the final photograph. Historically, this is not unlike the unveiling of large-scale paintings – whether religious works or group commissioned portraits such as Rembrandt’s The Night Watch (1642). Terrill speaks of the production of each work as having a ritual-like quality, with a certain order of gathering at dusk and ten frames taken. Viewing his work, too, involves a certain ritual status, in Walter Benjamin’s terms, not because the object is unique (these are, in fact, newly mastered prints) but because of the performative demand on the spectator. The drama of the original encounter is replayed on each viewing.

Extensive documentation imagery reveals elements of the production of each image. Paradoxically, while the final, semi-choreographed large-format image distils an essence from the scene, this documentation comes to look curiously dreamlike. The lower-quality images (often video stills) feel transient, evoking surveillance footage. This documentation is nevertheless fascinating for revealing the real life behind the film-set staging: the participant registration process, the rudimentary catering, the DJ set up, the industrial lights and smoke machines, and of course the camera. Terrill’s background lies in sculpture but also in theatre, and the fact that each of the photographs tend to begin with a preparatory sketch by Terrill of the scene to underline their theatricality: a stage is being set up. The cricket oval in Braybrook is a proscenium arch of sorts, the train platform and bank of the Thames each another stage, and of course the apartment balconies throughout the images. Terrill writes about providing “the atmosphere of a film set”, and his interest in the use of space by bodies is apparent in each of the photographs. As he says, the actions of the people “on-site are left [largely] undirected and uncontrolled”. In a seemingly paradoxical phrase, Terrill has written of the “random orchestration of bodies in site-specific venues”. Terrill clearly has a desired overall result in mind, but at the same time relies in the contingency of details. Contingency is what makes the images historical documents, ensuring the photographs are, as the artist puts it, “evidence of encounters”.

Terrill began his Crowd series in 2004, the same year that Mark Zuckerberg unleashed Facebook. Ostensibly a tool, as its revised mission statement states, to “give people the power to build community and bring the world closer together”, Facebook now holds the largest facial dataset in the world, and has fueled and promoted divisive forms of identity politics in its bid to gain people’s private information for commercial gain.³ Terrill’s project can thus be understood as a counter-portrait of community in Australia and the UK during the first decade of social media, after the more homogenous, twentieth-century version of the public sphere associated with mass media. And what is so clear when the Crowd series are seen together is that Terrill presents a remarkably positive image of that physical community: indeed, his images are more or less utopian in their playful and occasionally carnivalesque depiction of diverse social relations. This makes his work a welcome contribution, not as some cliché of social harmony, but as an almost nostalgia-inspiring counterpoint to the current moment of rising social tension. While writing this essay, on Saturday 5 January, 2019, a group of far-right extremists gathered at St Kilda beach in Melbourne. Clutching Australian flags, the gathering of mostly white male nationalists, including well-known Nazi sympathisers, demanded an immediate return to a white Australia immigration policy. A Queensland Senator, elected on only 19 votes due to Australia’s obscure and apparently dysfunctional preference system, even travelled to the rally and spoke in support of the protestors (his business-class flight, controversially, paid by Australian tax payers). In the days that followed, politicians and public figures of all stripes lined up to express horror at such a public demonstration of intolerance – noting that Australia has been built on a proud tradition of immigration and condoning the

² John Lanchester, “You are the Product”, London Review of Books 39, no. 16 (August 17, 2017), https://www.lrb.co.uk/v39/n16/john-lanchester/you-are-the-product
divisive attitudes on display. Many made reference to fights against fascists in World War Two, and indeed the rally was countered by a larger group of anti-fascist protesters.

All around the world, demonstrations by right-wing extremists have gathered pace in recent years, sometimes translating into significant electoral support. This has been brought on by a perfect storm involving the failings of neo-liberal capitalism, ongoing refugee crises, outbreaks of terrorism and – crucially – populist authoritarian leaders such as Donald Trump in the US and Vladimir Putin in Russia, who tacitly and sometimes overtly lend support to white supremacy. Even Melbourne, widely considered the most progressive city in a successful multi-cultural nation, has proved vulnerable to this virus. Many commentators have made reference to inflammatory and racist reporting by some of the mainstream media in relation to African immigrant communities in the city. Others pointed out that each of the successive waves of immigration – from Europe after World War Two, Vietnam in the 1970s, and more recently from the middle East and Africa – have been accompanied by corresponding uprisings in racism. It should also be remarked that Australia has a long and unfortunate history of racism and white supremacy in relation to its Indigenous inhabitants.

Notably, the Melbourne right-wing rally occurred on a beach – a highly charged space, not least because it represents a symbolic site of national identity as a favoured Australian leisure activity, but also because it represents the island's literal borders. The beach was also the site of a notorious series of race riots and mob violence at Cronulla in Sydney, in 2005. But the beach is also a public space, and like all public spaces it is normally a site where different people come together as a contingent and temporary community, without necessarily having anything in common. This insight underpins Terrill’s work, and is why public spaces have been fundamental to any healthy democracy or notion of civic responsibility since the agora of Ancient Greece, and inseparable from concepts like the city and citizen. By contrast, right-wing extremists represent a crowd “that cannot imagine anything outside itself”, as Paul Carter has written of any “murderous mob” ii. Their desire for a place organised around sameness, aside from being dangerously nostalgic, signifies “the breakdown of any contract with the common place, the given, shared space of human coming together”? Instead, the beach is here a phantasmatic place for the projection of a “real” Australia – no more real than the tourist snap of Bondi – coinciding with an actual evisceration of public space and the increasing atomisation of social relations driven by neo-liberalism’s ideology of self-reliance. Facilitated by self-affirming social media, the result is a diminution of a shared sense of common good and a new form of identitarian politics that favours the fear of strangers over more cosmopolitan visions of the world. iii By contrast, Terrill’s photographs monumentalise a crucial link between public space and the democratic enfranchisement of the public.


v Ibid.

From:
To:

Hi

before I agree can you send me some more information about the project,

just need to know what I might be getting myself in for, and whether I might be comprised in any way...

, so I might be forced to decline...

Best
On 10 Apr, at 14:14, wrote:

Hi ,

Apologies if you've already received this feedback , but below are his concerns on the lack of information

Thanks,

From:
Sent: Monday, April 10, 11:50:42 AM
To:
Cc: 
Subject: RE:

Hi

, it is obvious from his separate email he has concerns that they have not considered all the potential risks adequately.

Thanks
A BALFRON STORY
Chantal Faust
Written to accompany the exhibition of Crowd Theory Balfron, 2010

LATER, as he sat in his studio looking at the work, Simon Terrill reflected on the unusual events that had taken place within this huge apartment building during the previous nine months. He had moved into the 21st floor of Balfron Tower, 10,496 miles away from his previous home. From this height he could see all of London without being seen himself. The view was extraordinary. Looking out from the windows, your eye-line was at the same level as the horizon. You could easily think that you were standing on the deck of a great concrete ship, if it weren’t for the squirrel that defied both gravity and sense by appearing on the balcony every so often. From his bed every morning he could see the angry traffic lining up at the entrance to the Blackwall Tunnel. Sitting at the kitchen table he saw London erupt on Guy Fawkes Night, watched the Eye change colour and a supermarket change hands. He kept time by looking out to the clock a few blocks away above the little market where he had purchased the phone that never worked and the earplugs bought to block out the traffic that had been stolen from the box so when he got home he discovered that all that was left were instructions. Standing on the balcony he could see the lights being turned on at the Brownfield Social Club and knew that they were open when the butt-filled bucket had wedged open the back door. It was a small veneered drinking spot, open every other night, growing out of the walkway to the tower and its inhabitants in 2010. The letterboxes in Balfron Tower had been built into the front door of each apartment, a vertical slit lined by a black bristled moustache. It was hard to push the A4 paper through some of the more tightly compressed hairs, and there was an incident on the 6th floor where he had inserted his hand into the slot to get the flyer inside and his finger was severely bitten by a dog. Simon invited his neighbours to visit him in his studio flat and answered questions about the event that was to take place in the coming months.

It wasn’t the first time he had embarked on such a venture. For the past six years he had been working on a photographic series called Crowd Theory that saw him focusing on specific sites like railway stations, ports, sports fields and other inner-city apartment blocks, meeting all involved with those settings and responding with a mural-sized photographic portrait of both people and place. Simon’s photographic shoots become stages complete with lighting and soundtrack but importantly, without choreography. Each body he invites to take part chooses to participate and they direct their own movement and placement within the image. It’s a little Brechtian, but instead of the audience being made aware of their critical role, it is the subject who is presented with their own character, as their world becomes a stage for the art. It was, however, the first time that Simon, as a Balfronian, belonged to the community that he was portraying. He had always struggled with the term “community”, seeing it as a manufactured attempt at coherence and belonging, and yet it was the idea of community that defined the work. Perhaps it was an artist’s fear of affiliation, like Groucho Marx not wanting to belong to any club that would have him as a member. In this instance, Goldfinger’s vision for Balfron Tower was probably more inclined towards Karl Marx in his dream of community fulfilment.

This vision infused Simon’s thoughts as much as it did the giant concrete block that remained standing as a testament to its belief. Living within the relic of a utopian dream, Simon was nonetheless part of a community of artists living amongst a community of Bengalis and East Enders. Together they formed the Balfron community.

As the November shoot drew nearer, he searched for the right place to situate the large-format film camera that was to capture the image on the night. It was the end of summer and the trees were mostly bare, except for the three that stood directly in front of the tower. The decision was made to shoot from the right, on the roof of Glenkerry House across the road. The whole thing lasted an hour. Ten photographs were taken. Vats of curry generously cooked by neighbours were wolfed down, followed by rounds of drinks at the Social Club. The negative was enlarged and the final print allowed for a view into every window. Despite its history of being portrayed as uncompromising and bleak, in this photograph Balfron Tower is majestic and futuristic still, as it glows with its people beneath a velvety bruised sky. For a while afterwards, the view from the balcony looked different to Simon. Something had changed, but he was still there in the tower; and from his home on the 21st floor he looked out towards the photograph of Balfron, four yards away.
ACTS OF APPEARANCE
Marianne Mulvey

Showing up. Whether willingly or begrudgingly, it’s something we’re expected to do for appointments, events, work, family and friends without too much thought or fuss. Sometimes I show up a little late, but figure that putting in an appearance is what counts. The Crowd Theory series contains multiple acts of “showing up”, both at the events and in the large-scale photographs documenting them. As the artist explains, “the process begins by inviting anyone and everyone who has an association with that place to be a part of the image”. But what does it mean to recognise Terrill’s invitation as addressing you, to show up at particular place and time to become part of an image? However small you might eventually appear? Discussion circulating around Crowd Theory in previous years has focussed on notions of “community” and the “promiscuous crowd”. Classic spatial, discursive models of public space might seem a natural follow-on, but feel rather un-applicable to these rather strange, epic crowd portraits. Instead I’d like to focus on how the multiple, embodied appearances that Crowd Theory facilitates come to matter beyond the images themselves.

During Crowd Theory events, ten photographs of people gathered in specific “public spaces” – a train station, a cricket oval, a school, tower blocks, etc. – are taken from a distance over the course of one hour. Chosen sites are enhanced with dramatic smoke, a soundtrack and stage lighting. With very few directions from the artist, the events themselves lack any overt choreography and participants make their own choices about how they wish to appear. As such, Terrill admits that the shoots tend to begin somewhat awkwardly, but from the people gathered interfacing with the disparate elements of production “something comes together”. That “something” is registered on a single, large-scale photograph produced to represent the event, later presented to the people who have taken part. Having never experienced one myself, I’ve had to imagine myself into one of the many large format group portraits I have pored over in Terrill’s studio. I keep returning to that illusive something that Terrill calls “exhibitionism”. Yet despite these ambiguities and dangers, people keep on showing up to Crowd Theory events, and by large and appear to be having a good time doing it.

The resulting print is something you may touch with your hands, but the feeling of being photographed is held by the body, repeatedly performed throughout a lifetime. I’m reminded of my father explaining how the “photograph smile” he developed to hide his protruding top teeth in family photographs eventually settled into a kind of showing off worth considering. Queen explains that the pejorative link between exhibitionism and deviant sexuality comes from a Victorian fear of inappropriate sexual behaviour in public. Given that this negative association still persists, it might seem a little incongruous to talk about “showing off” in relation to Crowd Theory, disrespectful even. But considering that many of the postures I see are in fact a kind of showy whether coming along to stand still, strike a pose, interact with someone else, hang a sign from the balcony or simply switch the living-room lights on and open the blinds – the merest gesture of showing up to a Crowd Theory event, for me at least, becomes a kind of showing off worth considering.

Despite the social imperative not to show off, Queen suggests that performing the self (in as many different guises as desired) is in fact an enriching human experience, something to be celebrated rather than admonished showing off: a philosophy of image (1945). As such, the act of performing oneself to be looked out – even if the only viewer is you – can be a transformative one. Her influential self-help book exhibitionism for the shy: show off, dress up and talk hot! (1995) describes how the feedback loop of performing and registering your viewer’s enjoyment enhances your own embodied experience of being viewed. Queen explains that the performative link between exhibitionism and deviant sexuality comes from a Victorian fear of inappropriate sexual behaviour in public. Given that this negative association still persists, it might seem a little incongruous to talk about “showing off” in relation to Crowd Theory, disrespectful even. But considering that many of the postures I see are in fact a kind of showy whether coming along to stand still, strike a pose, interact with someone else, hang a sign from the balcony or simply switch the living-room lights on and open the blinds – the merest gesture of showing up to a Crowd Theory event, for me at least, becomes a kind of showing off worth considering.

Photographic vernacular often puts the subject in the passive, particularly the phrase to have one’s photograph taken. What Barthes describes, however, is the subject’s active participation in “making” the photograph, alongside the uncanny experience of becoming an image. In one and the same moment he feels himself observed by the photographer, captured by the camera and judged by the photograph’s future viewers. Barthes foregrounds his internal wrangling between what he wishes to present: “If only I could ‘come out’ on paper… endowed with a noble expression – thoughtful, intelligent, etc.” and what he cannot control: “I don’t know how to work upon my skin from within.”

I begin scouring the photographs on my computer screen for interesting poses – a kind of WHERE’S WALLY? game. In CROWD THEORY: PORT OF MELBOURNE (2008), on a scrubby patch of wasteland set in front of colourful shipping containers and cranes at dusk, a man has brought along his trombone and it glints in the light. I wonder if he is playing, or miming? Further back, two women lean towards one another, their arms joined to make a heart shape; nearby stands a lone woman with a yellow umbrella, backlit and glowing. At the edge of the image, two men hold another horizontally aloft. With straight legs, one hand on hip and the other supporting his head, he plays the classic “pin-up” role. These jaunty poses pepper the image make for pleasurable looking. They also indicate that some have considered how they wish to appear and be recorded. Yet the majority simply stand still in small groups or alone, as if caught daydreaming, waiting, or carefully pondering their next step. Throughout the photographs these lone figures arrest me: something about them appears rather uncomfortable, but their simple postures are also the most accessible. With my feet rooted to the ground and body shivering slightly, dazzled by the lights, distracted by the music, I imagine holding my body still beside them. I cannot shake the palpable feeling of being observed and recorded – of becoming image.
least dramatic of all the portraits, what I’m drawn to most are the drifting bodies sparsely collected on the vast cricket oval at dusk. The long exposures used to make each photograph allow for some intentional obscuring, though most participants chose to hold still for the ten seconds, rendering themselves crisp on the resulting image. At the oval’s edge, the merest trace of a cyclist whizzing past makes a striking contrast to the ordinariness of the spaced figures in the foreground. Rather than a set of individual performances that I turned to Barthes, Queen and Andrews to unpack, it is this thin collection of almost-presences that, in Judith Butler’s words, start to “signify in excess” of the image. As she so lyrically puts it: “This movement or stillness, this parking of my body in the middle of another’s action, is neither my act nor yours, but something that happens by virtue of the relation between us.” Indeed what is happening here feels closer to her notion of “performative assembly” than the “promiscuous crowd”.

In this light, the gatherings gain a poignancy I find particularly resonant in Crowd Theory Balfron (2010), a site where Terrill was also resident during the project. Whilst inviting his neighbours to participate in making a portrait of the tower and its residents, they learned of plans to refurbish and develop their home. Making the portrait became contentious, since some saw Terrill’s project as contributing to the tower’s gentrification that would eventually displace them. But the Balfron Residents Committee resolved to go ahead with the project as an act of resistance: a chance to stake a claim on their home, to perform and document their presence in front of the tower, on their balconies or within their living rooms. Exercising, in Butler’s words, their “plural and performative right to appear”, I would suggest that through their particular Crowd Theory portrait, Balfron’s residents delivered a “bodily demand for a more liveable set of economic, social and political conditions”. Their demand might not have been met, but I sense in the tiny performances I can make out – particularly the group playing “Ring-a-Ring-o’Rosie” – an embodied experience of gathering and standing together that matters outside of any success or failure metric.

For those who have participated over the years, Crowd Theory presents the opportunity to perform and record one’s presence in a particular place, with and alongside others. Thus, what might seem like odd, theatricalised gatherings with no particular purpose come to show just how and why public gatherings matter. There is also another, more slippery, matter to attend to: there are some people that show up to the event, but not in the image, and there are the countless others who do not show up at all. Can we account for the uncountable? My opening remark about “putting in an appearance” flaunts an everyday privilege. I show up because I am able to afford the time and travel expenses, and above all, can afford to bodily appear in public and chose to be photographed doing it. For many, appearing in Crowd Theory might not be desirable, or it simply might not be possible. Because the privilege to appear in public and decide the terms of how one appears is presumed universal, it is ironically overlooked. But it cannot be underestimated. What also signifies “in excess” of the Crowd Theory gatherings and their photographic documents then, is that the right to appear in public and control one’s image is not evenly distributed. As such, Butler asks us to ‘reconsider the restrictive ways ‘the public sphere’ has be uncritically posited by those who assume full access and rights of appearance on the designated platform’

Crowd Theory’s blurry ghosts – the transparent bicycle circumnavigating the Braybrook oval – remind us to look again, not only for those who show up, but those who cannot.

vi Ibid, page 11.
To:  
From:  
Thursday, 24 July 12:53

Hi,

Given the daily duck and weave and minor skirmishes we have been going through to keep things on track, I am confident that on the night there will be problems.
Twenty years later, as the people gathered begin unevenly to disperse again, as the promenade empties, the nature of this meeting ground now becomes more apparent. As public spaces give way to privately owned squares, as the shared senses of publics erode, accurately imagining what gathering means becomes a necessity. We cannot capture community, or claim an overall understanding; but we can create contingent meetings, tense exchanges or wheeling mini-carnivals, where friends and fractures, known and unknown, are all part of the picture.

And I could say suddenly – because it became at some point noticeable, a single cartwheel drawing it finally to my attention, but it was far from sudden – the chilly spring air became thicker: the screams and laughter of a game of tag became that bit louder; the jokes firing between the empty spaces; a crying child following her mother as she dances along, who stops to angrily kick over a hapless bottle of water on the ground near her. The messers, those who fidget and switch and shout while the photos are being taken (ostensibly the reason we’re here), feel like they own the night. The woman on the sixth floor has by now decorated her window with fairy lights and is dancing exuberantly with a friend to “Vogue”, swinging around blinking bike lights; people down on the promenade wave, take pictures.

Somewhere, in this empty lakeside lot, a wider-ness has arisen between those of us gathered here. An event is simply a gathering of moments, one not unlike the next. And what actually makes up what you might call a carnival feel seems hard to pin down; there isn’t one group of people here, whether those who might live in Thamesmeade or nearby, or those like myself just passing through. But there’s a willingness to share, to exchange a little bit more freely within a time and a place. And just as soon as you might notice it, it’s gone again.

Landscape architect Dean MacCannell wrote in the 1990s about the figure of the tourist, the floating visitor who thought they could go anywhere in the world and understand it all. He wrote of this idealised travel as a fictional journey to an “empty meeting ground” that is actually “not really empty. It is vibrant with people and potential and tense with repression.” MacCannell was writing at a time when “multiculturalism” was coming into its own, a sort of flattening of differences between the wildly varied constituents of any place over time: he considered this the “postmodern community”, one which fancied itself as an enabling saviour of communities worldwide but was actually a form of soft fascism.
When Simon Terrill moved into Ernö Goldfinger’s Brutalist masterpiece, Balfron Tower, he unwittingly set foot inside one of London’s most contentious regeneration areas. Built in 1967 and intended as an outstanding example of social housing, by 2010 the Tower was in the process of being “decanted” of its original residents, in preparation for its conversion to luxury apartments.

“Decanting”, which is the process of moving people out of their homes, willingly or unwillingly, had begun a few years earlier. By 2010 when Simon arrived in the UK, the Bow Arts Trust, working with the housing association which owns the Tower, had rented many of the now empty properties to artists planning avant garde projects. The pop-up galleries, impromptu supper clubs and art events were described by Guardian architecture critic Oliver Wainright as a “kind of live gentrification jamboree”. He also described Bow Arts as a “well-meaning local arts organisation”, a designation contested by academic Stephen Pritchard who critiques the group as a leading light of what has become known as “artwashing”. This has become understood as the process whereby artists, commissioned by developers and other regeneration bodies, knowingly or naively create work which both masks the effects of regeneration and gentrification and brings a buzz to often post-industrial areas in the throes of change. The idea crystallised in the mainstream when artist Grayson Perry described artists as “the shock troops of gentrification”.

When Simon moved in, and for many years after, Balfron Tower was home to a volatile and creative mix of artists, property guardians – renting empty properties at lower prices but with few legal protections and often poor conditions – and original residents, many fighting eviction and displacement. When he presented his project to photograph the tower and the people who lived there, the Residents Association objected to the idea of being part of a celebratory image at such a contested time. Rather than a celebration, the Residents Association suggested the image should be a memento mori for the Tower and an elegy for Goldfinger’s intended use for it as a beacon of social housing.

Simon’s promise to create a memento notwithstanding, the resulting image is an important celebration of that community – and of a moment in time – when Balfron still retained an element of its essence, before the developers came in and the remaining residents and property guardians were swept away alongside the artists. By the time I visited in 2015, an artist showed my students around his flat, which he had turned into a museum to celebrate Goldfinger’s intentions. He and the last remaining residents would be leaving in the next few months. He could barely contain his fury as he told us how Goldfinger would be turning in his grave at the buildings looked.

Crowd Theory Balfron (2010) provides a lasting image of people proud to live in social housing which neither patronises the participants nor glosses over the coming changes. Aneurin Bevan, the founder of the British National Health Service who also paved the way for the UK’s post-war council house building programme, famously spoke of re-creating “the living tapestry of a mixed community”, where “the doctor, the grocer, the butcher and the farm labourer all lived on the same street”. Until the 1980s, council housing in the UK did provide homes for a wide range of people with different incomes and occupations. The Balfron communityTerrill lived in was also in a brief period a mixed community – albeit a contested one – and

Simultaneously the site of the vitality, contradiction and resistance reflected here. In the Tower of Balfron (2010), an apocalyptic companion piece which is part of the same project but not shown here, Terrill recreates Balfron as the Tower of Babel, symbolising the destruction of Goldfinger’s original purpose.

Crowd Theory Thamesmead (2017) is a companion piece to its Balfron counterpart. Completed just a year after Balfron in 1968, Thamesmead is another Brutalist icon, which found fame after its appearance in Stanley Kubrick’s A Clockwork Orange (1971), tarring the estate with an undeserved image of ultra-violence and dystopian modernism. In keeping with hundreds of housing estates across London, the majority of Thamesmead is to be demolished as part of a large-scale regeneration of the area – in contrast to Balfron, which is a listed building and cannot be demolished. In this case the housing association, the Peabody Trust, has promised that all the existing social housing tenants will be offered a home on the new estate; although redevelopments all over London are redolent of promises made to tenants only to be broken.

What is certain is that the area will change out of all recognition, visually and demographically. Forty per cent of the 1,500 new homes will be for social tenants, and 45 per cent will be what is euphemistically defined as “affordable” – which, under the present government, means up to 80 per cent of market value, which given London house prices is far from affordable for the majority of Londoners. Again, Terrill has captured a moment in time as the estate moves decisively from subsidised public housing to a real estate model underpinned by high property prices; it’s another memento for London’s Brutalist, collectivist housing history, fast slipping into the past as luxury apartments, aimed at investors and often left empty, redefine London’s skyline.

But unlike Balfron, Thamesmead has not put up a high profile struggle against the speculation-driven real estate industry and similarly the image tells a different story; it’s participative but more resigned, rather than the spurt of joy that emanates from Balfron, capturing the spirit of that community before it was destroyed. Apparently when Crowd Theory Thamesmead was exhibited at the community centre, local people, accustomed to a more negative view of where they lived, expressed surprise at how impressive the buildings looked.

And, whether by accident or design, there are fewer participants here, raising the question – pertinent to all the works – of who is and who is not included in the assembled crowds. Call outs for participation extend to all residents and relevant communities, but inevitably taking part in such a project will not appeal to everyone, for a variety of reasons from the personal to the political. Perhaps the invisible presence of those who have chosen not to take part is as important as those who are happy to be photographed in a choreographed representation. Terrill took inspiration from Bruegel’s famous characterisations of everyday life, but the crowd scenes Bruegel depicted did not require prior consent or this level of planning. Among the figures in the crowd in Crowd Theory Port of Melbourne (2008) are a political activist and a former advisor to the UK’s previous New Labour government, reflecting two very different types of political engagement and an apparent diversity of participants. But the question remains, who didn’t take part and why? Though unseen, they are also there in the image.

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2 @etiennelefleur, Dr. Stephen Pritchard Twitter account, https://twitter.com/etiennelefleur/status/100297767647335628


iv See, for example, the work of artist and campaigner Rab Harling.
The crowds of Bruegel’s 16th century were a feature of everyday life, but in the early part of the 21st century crowds in public places mainly congregate for shopping and entertainment, or demonstrations (where they are allowed). Today many everyday public places – streets, squares, parks – are sterile and largely empty as the increasing privatisation of public space encroaches on large parts of the city and imposes rules and regulations on access and behaviour. Policed by security guards and watched over by CCTV, the anonymity of individuals and crowds in privately owned environments, from finance districts to open air shopping malls, is called into question. In his influential study *Crowds and Power* (1960), Elias Canetti writes that there is nothing that man fears more than the physical touch of the unknown and that it is only in a crowd that he is free of this fear. When people encounter each other in a busy street or public place they unconsciously look out for each other without thinking and without stopping to touch or stare. It is this natural surveillance, which goes hand in hand with anonymity, which keeps us safe and enables the rhythm of public life to flow. But this naturally occurring collective action is being undermined by the external security which comes with private environments, which removes our personal and collective responsibility for each other.

The crowd scenes depicted here are sites of collective action but they are not anonymous. Instead, people have volunteered to be part of a theatrical scene, and while participating in a representation of a crowd they may behave in ways contrary to those of a real crowd, touching and speaking to each other and experiencing the sense of camaraderie engendered by a performance. Away from the prying eyes of the camera barriers no doubt fall further, highlighting how the gaze of the lens inhibits behaviour and raising powerful and pertinent questions about the impact of growing surveillance on our behaviour in public places.

In some of these works, potential participants will have chosen to self-exclude. But in parts of cities in the UK, the US and Australia, citizens are involuntarily excluded on the grounds of their appearance and activities. For example, in Liverpool One, a new shopping area that spans 34 streets in the heart of Liverpool, security guards and CCTV ensures that a range of innocuous behaviours are banned including skateboarding, rollerblading, filming and taking photographs. So is homelessness, begging, handing out political leaflets and holding political demonstrations. *Crowd Theory Victoria Square/Tarntanyangga* (2013) records the point just before the square in central Adelaide was renovated, begging the questions: what was lost and what came next? The site has been a gathering place for thousands of years. Is the square more sterile, regulated and commodified, or has it retained its status as an iconic public place for the city, open to all?

In the UK, towns and cities are now characterised by large-scale open air “malls without walls”, boasting high security and defensible space architecture. Replacing diversity with conformity, they look the same wherever they might be, creating a very different and far less democratic idea of the city and citizenship – although the growing use of surveillance is not just limited to private estates. Recently in London an anti-terror campaign on the transport network included a poster of a threatening looking, dark, bearded man photographing a CCTV camera; the image sparked outrage and claims of racial profiling.

Crowd Theory Braybrook (2004), one of the earliest images in the series, was photographed in an ethnically diverse suburb, addressing issues of inclusivity and the multi-cultural nature of the area. It feels, on the surface at least, to be one of the most relaxed and least choreographed of the works, shot in an unbounded green space with no evidence of any aspect of the built environment in sight. In contrast to this open space, many of the works take place in post-industrial settings, saturated with all the attendant political and economic complexities retained by the environment. Immigration is equally a defining feature of post-industrial societies, but the openness of the image challenges the ever-present narratives around the subject which decry the presence of minority “others”.

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Terrill chooses sunset, the hour between dusk and dark, to create these photographic and performance-based events. This is the moment of change from day to night, and similarly he is drawn to sites of change, where the shift from an industrial economy and society to a post-industrial financialised economy is reflected in the built environment. Contested and violent in places, the transformation of cities from the collective post-war consensus to today’s commodified, property based economy, particularly apparent in the UK, creates many of the sites of contestation shown here. Sometimes these contestations are less visible and sometimes more visible, but regardless the questions are embedded in these works.

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To:
From:
Re: Dear all

Dear All,

Just 4 weeks out, there are issues that are undermining both the project and agenda.

The project is an art project and it needs to be presented as the art project that it is.
CROWD THEORY
FOOTSCRAY
2004

Footscray Community Arts Centre (FCAC) Director:
JERRIL RECHTER
Community Coordinator/Dramaturge: DAVID EVERIST
Director of Photography: MATTHEW STANTON
Production Manager: JEN HECTOR
Assistant Production Manager: TAO WEISS
Soundscape/DJ: LYNTON CARR
Art Department: SIMON NUGENT
Lighting Director: PETER RYAN
Sound Technician: DEAN JACKSON
Video Documentation: TAMSIN SHARP
Dramaturge: VANESSA ROWEL
Photo Documentation: DAVID VAN ROYEN, JOHN SONES
Publicist: SAM HUNTER
Participants Coordinator: WENDY MORRISON
Catering Coordinator: LESLEY HALTERS
FCAC Tech: DAREEN GEE
Logistics FCAC: BERNADETT FITZGERALD
FCAC Volunteers Coordinator: MARY BEREUX
Catering Coordinator: LESLEY HALTERS
Volunteers: ANGELA MUDDORF, LUKE ISON, MARCEL HOAREAU, DI WHITTLE, ROBERT GRIFFITHS and THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF THE LATTER DAY SAINTS

CROWD THEORY
BRAYBROOK
2004

Footscray Community Arts Centre (FCAC) Director:
JERRIL RECHTER
Community Coordinator/Dramaturge: DAVID EVERIST
Director of Photography: PAUL KNIGHT
Soundscape/DJ: LYNTON CARR
Production Manager: JEN HECTOR
Assistant Production Manager: SIMON NUGENT
Video Documentation: EMILE ZILE
Publicist: WENDY MORRISON
Registration: EMMA MCMAHON
Registration/Classroom: MARY BEREUX
Catering: BERN FITZGERALD
Volunteers Coordinator: SARAH MASTERS
Volunteers: BRAYBROOK COMMUNITY CENTRE
Marshal: NICO HIRZEL

CROWD THEORY
FOOTSCRAY STATION
2006

Footscray Community Arts Centre (FCAC) Director:
JERRIL RECHTER
FCAC Program Manager: BIN DIXON-WARD
Program Coordinator/Dramaturge: MARTYN COUTTS
Director of Photography: MATTHEW STANTON
Lighting: PETER RYAN
Soundscape/DJ: DECLAN KELLY
Production Manager: JEREMY GADEN
Production Coordinator: DAVID EVERIST
Marshals: SIMON NUGENT, ROSS COULTER, SHERRIDIAN GREEN, DAVID EVERIST, SAH ROUTLEDGE, REBECCA HILTON
Video Documentation: EMILE ZILE
Stills Documentation: TANJA KIMME
Publicity: SANDY COOK, WENDY MORRISON

CROWD THEORY
SOUTHBANK
2007

Footscray Community Arts Centre (FCAC) Director: JERRIL RECHTER
Program Manager FCAC: BIN DIXON-WARD
Melbourne Inner City Management Apartments: DOROTHY LE CLAIRE
City of Melbourne Cultural Development Head: JANE CRAWLEY
City of Melbourne Program Manager Community Cultural Development: VICKY GUIGELMO
City of Melbourne Media: JEREMY GRONOW
City of Melbourne Place Management: TERESA GREALY
Director of Photography: MATTHEW STANTON
Dramaturge: DAVID EVERIST
Lighting: PETER RYAN
Soundscapes/DJs: LYNTON CARR
Art Department: SIMON NUGENT
Project Manager, City of Melbourne: SHERRIDAN GREEN
Production Manager: JEREMY GADEN
Assistant: KESSEY ZHANG
Element Rigging: ROB ERWIN
Unit Truck: LEE AMHITZBOLL
Catering: KEITH FISH
Event Management: MATT GRONOW
Traffic Management: SCOTT BELL, AMY FULLER
Publicity: SANDY COOK, WENDY MORRISON
Stills Documentation: TANJA KIMME
Video Documentation: JOHN PAUL TANSEY

CROWD THEORY
PORT OF MELBOURNE
2008

Footscray Community Arts Centre (FCAC) Director: JERRIL RECHTER
Project Manager: FIONA PRIDE
Program Manager: BIN DIXON-WARD
Director of Photography: MATTHEW STANTON
Lighting: PETER RYAN
Soundscapes/DJs: LYNTON CARR
Art Department: SIMON NUGENT
Production Manager: JEREMY GADEN
Project Coordinator: MARTYN COUTTS
Program Producer FCAC: BEG REID
Dramaturge: DAVID EVERIST
Unit Truck: LEE AMHITZBOLL
Publicity: SANDY COOK, WENDY MORRISON
Stills Documentation: MATT MURPHY
Video Documentation: SINGING BOWEL MEDIA
Community Relations Port of Melbourne Corporation: JENNY BYRGAME
Mission to Seafarers: REVEREND KEN CAHILL

CROWD THEORY
BALFRON
2010

Production Manager: BENN LINNELL
Production Coordinator: ROB CROSSE
Camera/Director of Photography: PAUL KNIGHT
Gaffer: REUBEN GARRETT
Sound Designer: CHRIS LETCHER
Documentation Stills: OLLIE HARROP
Timelapse video: TIM BOWDITCH, DAVE ANGUS, STUART WARD
Catering: ELLIE HOWITT, NILU BEGUME, RUTH SOLOMONS, HANNAH, SAN HISLOP
Afterparty: DJ PAUSE (aka CHANTAL FAUST)
Head of Estate Services: DEREK BARCLAY
Production and participant liaison: SAM OVERINGTON, JOE GRAHAM, VICTORIA HUNE, RACHEL NOBLE, SARAH BAYLISS, ELLA BRITTON, EMILY BENCH, FLORENCE ROSS, PIPPA CONNOLLY, OLIVER MARCHANT, LAURA COOPER, RACHEL BARCLAY, JEREMY CLARKE, FRAN LAWS, ROB SMITH, BECKY LEES, MICHAEL OUBEY, TILLY HODGEBE, CATHERINE MCKINNEY, ALEX ANTHONY
Production Assistants: ANNA SEXTON, ELLIE HOWITT
Bow Arts Trust: MARCEL BAETTI, JEREMY CLARKE, CATHERINE MCKINNEY
Project Website: NATASHA GIRAUDEL and EEKS LTD
Thanks to: MARCEL BAETTI, JEREMY CLARKE, JOE GRAHAM, JOHN WALTER, ROB CROSSE, SHANE DAVEY & DAVEY INC, BALFRON AND CARRADALE RESIDENTS COMMITTEE, BROWNFIELD SOCIAL CLUB AND CHANTAL FAUST
Thank you to THE TENANTS OF BALFRON TOWER
Crown Theory Balfron is dedicated to the memory of BENN LINNELL

CROWD THEORY
BOW CROSS
2011

Production Manager: ROB CROSSE
Camera/Director of Photography: ESTHER TEICHMANN
Camera Assistant: PETRA
Stills Documentation: OLLIE HARROP
Video Documentation: MAX SOBOL
DJ: DJ PAUSE (aka CHANTAL FAUST)
Gaffer: REUBEN GARRETT
Electrics: ADRIAN MACAY, IAN FRANKLIN, MATTHEW BUTLER
Catering: CHRIS FIELDEN
Estate Services Manager: JORGEN DYER
Bow Cross Caretaker: DEAN WOODLEY
PA: DAVE KINCHLEA
Crown Stewards: HALIMA ARNAUDD, PENNY STANFORD, MARK TOWNSEND, PAWEŁ SZOPINSKI, ANNA SEXTON, DAN ALEFUNDER, JANET SINHA
Video Editors: MAX SOBOL and SIMON TERRILL
Video Soundtrack: RYLEN AUDIO
Thanks to: TRESSA BATES, SYLVIA CLARK, OLLIE HARROP, CHANTAL FAUST, JULIA LANCASTER and JONATHAN HARVEY of ACME STUDIOS, ANNA SEXTON, JIM MCGAHEY, JORGEN DYER, DEAN WOODLEY, ROMMA ALL, ABUL HASSAN, ABUL HANMATH, ALL THE STAFF ON THE BOW CROSS ESTATE, AND ALL THE RESIDENTS OF BOW CROSS who feature in these works.
Crown Theory Bow Cross was made possible through an Acme Studios Artist Residency.
CROWD THEORY
VICTORIA SQUARE / TARNTANYANGGA
2013

Project Manager/ Curator: SUSAN JENKINS, Samstag Museum of Art
Director Samstag Museum: ERICA GREEN
Project Coordinators: ERIN DAVIDSON & ASHLEIGH WHATLING, Samstag Museum of Art
Production Manager: SIMON NUGENT
Camera/ Director of Photography: MATTHEW STANTON
Gaffer: ROBERTTO KARAS
Composer/Soundscape: DAVID FRANZKE
Project Assistants/Mentees: JESSICA MILEY, KRISTA JENSEN, STEFAN BRUNEDER, CHRIS HUNOZ (funded by Arts SA)
Volunteers: JO SIMMONS, KATE HOLDEN, CHRIS TIMCKE, JESS GUNN, KIRI BOMMER, MANAL YOUNUS, EMILY HAREN, JENNA HOLDER
Documentation Photography: TONY KEARNEY
Video Documentation: PAUL SLOAN
Video Documentation Samstag Museum: DANIEL LAWRENCE
Scaffold: TONY HALLIS, Australian Staging and Rigging
PA: TIM MARSHAN
Catering: BURGER THEORY, GIRO GELATO
Thank you: ROBERT LYONS, SUSAN JENKINS, ERICA GREEN and THE GREEN-WOLFE FAMILY, ERIN DAVIDSON, ASHLEIGH WHATLING, GREGORY ACKLAND, UNCLE LEWIS O’BRIEN and GEORGINA WILLIAMS.
Commissioned by the Samstag Museum of Art, University of South Australia.

CROWD THEORY
SOUTH OF THE RIVER, LONDON
2016

Project Manager National Portrait Gallery London (NPG): RUTH CLARKE
St Saviour’s & St Olave’s School Art Department: JONATHAN BISHOP and POPPY BISDEE
Project Assistant NPG: LAURA BLAIR
Stills Documentation: OLLIE HARROP
The Southbank Collective:
Production Coordinator: LISA DREW
Lighting & Production Assistants: TRIX CARVER, KATE CLEMENT, CAROLINE SCOTT
Time Lapse Photography: ARTURAS BONDARCIUKAS
Sound Technician: SAM TAYLOR
DJ: DJ PAUSE (aka CHANTAL FAUST)
Thank you: THE 180 STUDENTS FROM ST SAVOUR’S AND ST OLAVE’S SCHOOL WHO ARE IN THE IMAGE.
Commissioned by the National Portrait Gallery London, supported by the Pulley Family

CROWD THEORY
THAMESMEAD
2017

Producer: LISA DREW
Camera/ Director of Photography: FRANKLYN RODGERS
Camera Assistants: YASHODA RODGERS, CECILIA MAGIL
Dj: DJ PAUSE (aka CHANTAL FAUST)
Sound Tech: SAM TAYLOR
DOP (video): DANIEL ALEXANDER
2nd camera: ARTURAS BONDARCIUKAS, TRIX CARVER, CHARLOTTE HARTLEY
Editor: DANIEL ALEXANDER
Exhibition Text: CHRIS FITE-WASSILAK
Stills Documentation: OLLIE HARROP
Resident Liaison: MICHAEL MOGENSEN
Marshals and Lighting (The Southbank Collective): CHRIS ARRONDALLE (Lead), JOSIE LOVERIDGE, HANNAH TOINTON, ARONI LAMAR, CAROLINE SCOTT, ADRIANA MARQUES, ARIEL HAVILAND, LUKE CANDIDO, ANNA SCHMID, SAM SKINNER
Peabody Tower Block Wardens: MANDY and DOM
Peabody Head Warden: STEVE PIKE
Lakeside Centre Manager: MICHAEL SMYTHE
Thamesmead Culture Forum: ADRIANA MARQUES
Thank you: THE 180 STUDENTS FROM THE SOUTH NEWHAM SCHOOL WHO FEATURE IN THESE WORKS.
Centre for Contemporary Photography (CCP) is Australia’s leading gallery for the exhibition of contemporary photographic practice. We foster dialogue and understanding of contemporary life, through focusing on one of the central media of our age.

SIMON TERRILL: CROWD THEORY forms part of a rich history of presenting mid-career surveys at CCP, following Sonia Leber & David Chesworth (2018); David Rosetzky (2013); Simryn Gill (2009); and Anne Zahalka (2008), which have allowed for a longer look and deeper engagement with significant Australian artists.

CCP gratefully thanks Simon for working with us to present the current suite of ten mural-sized Crowd Theory photographs together for the first time, alongside a new sculptural work, this publication and a series of associated public programs and events.

CCP is grateful to the Australia Council for the Arts in supporting Simon in developing and presenting this exhibition; NETS Victoria for their support through the Exhibitions Development Fund, supported by the Victorian Government through Creative Victoria; and Sutton Gallery, Melbourne. CCP is supported by the Victorian Government by Creative Victoria, and is assisted by the Australian Government through the Australia Council, its arts funding and advisory board, by the Visual Arts and Craft Strategy, an initiative of the Australian, state and Territory Governments. CCP is a member of CAOA, Contemporary Arts Organisations of Australia.

Simon Terrill is an Australian artist based in London, working with photography, sculpture, installation, drawing and video. Recent exhibitions include Crowd Theory: South of the River, at the National Portrait Gallery London, 2016; Parallel (of Life and) Architecture, Andrew Brownsword Gallery, University of Bath, 2017; and The Brutalist Playground, a collaboration with Assemble commissioned by RIBA and touring internationally. He is currently a lecturer at London South Bank University and a Sutton House Studios Resident.

Dr Chantal Faust is an artist, writer and Senior Tutor in Arts & Humanities at the Royal College of Art, London.

Chris Fite-Wassilak is a writer and critic based in London. His short book of essays Ha-Ha Crystal (2016) is published by Copy Press.


Marianne Mulvey is a curator, writer and educator, currently researching public programming in art institutions as a Collaborative Doctoral Partnership award between the Tate and the Royal College of Art. From 2009-16 she was Curator, Public Programmes at Tate Britain and Tate Modern.

Daniel Palmer is Professor and Associate Dean of Research and Innovation in the School of Art at RMIT University, Melbourne. His books include Photography and Collaboration: From Conceptual Art to Crowdsourcing (Bloomsbury 2017); Digital Light (Open Humanities Press, 2015), edited with Sean Cubitt and Nathaniel Tancock; The Culture of Photography in Public Space (Intellect 2015), edited with Anne Marsh and Melissa Miles; and Twelve Australian Photo Artists (Piper Press, 2009), co-authored with Blair French.

Adam Harding, CCP Director
Madé Spencer-Castle, CCP Curator Exhibitions
Simon would like to thank:

Naomi Cass for initiating this exhibition, Made Spencer Castle
CCP Curator, Adam Harding CCP Director, Jason Tasker and
Metro Imaging, Sime Nugent for exhibition design and construction,
Ioanna Zouli, Nick Ryan, Dave Franzke, Rob Crosse, Phoebe
Boswell, Chantal Faust (DJ Pause), and thanks mum, Chris
Fite-Wassilak for his insight and oversight of both the catalogue and
exhibition, Steven Dickie for steering and shaping the 3D production
of Plato’s Bench and designing the catalogue. Catalogue authors Daniel
Palmer, Anna Minton and Marianne Mulvey; Daniel Alexander
as designer of the photobook and all the photographers who have
contributed images to the catalogue and photobook. Irene Sutton and
Kati Rule, The Centre for the Study of the Networked
Image, Footscray Community Arts Centre and finally to Jerril
Rechter with whom this adventure began.

Thank you to all who have been involved either behind or in front
of the camera throughout the making of these works.

Image Credits

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Published by the Centre for Contemporary Photography, Melbourne
2019


Published on the occasion of the exhibition Simon Terrill: Crowd Theory at the Centre for Contemporary Photography, 2 February – 31 March 2019. The exhibition was initiated by Naomi Cass.

Edited by CHRISS FITE-WASSILAK

Designed by STEVEN DICKIE | SQUAREBEASTS.NET

Artist and instigator: SIMON TERRILL

Authors:
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- CHRIS FITE-WASSILAK
- ANNA MINTON
- MARIANNE MULVEY
- DANIEL PALMER

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This exhibition SIMON TERRILL: CROWD THEORY has been assisted by the Australian Government through the Australia Council for the Arts, its arts funding and advisory body; NETS Victoria’s Exhibitions Development Fund, supported by the Victorian Government through Creative Victoria and The Centre for the Study of the Networked Image, London South Bank University.

CCP is supported by the Victorian Government through Creative Victoria and is assisted by the Australian Government through the Australia Council for the Arts, its arts funding and advisory body. CCP is supported by the Visual Arts and Craft Strategy, an initiative of the Australian, state and territory governments. CCP is a member of CAOA, Contemporary Arts Organisations of Australia.

Simon Terrill is represented by Sutton Gallery Melbourne.

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