

Cultural Value Project

Measuring the Cultural Value of the Royal Scottish Academy New Contemporaries Exhibition as a Platform for Emerging Artists

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(Stirling Management School, University of Stirling)



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Executive Summary

We carried out a case study analysis of the cultural value associated with the Royal Scottish Academy New Contemporaries exhibition. The relevant literature was appraised, before considering the role of the RSA in shaping emerging artists careers through the exhibition. This involved investigating the process of selection for the exhibition itself, and viewing the exhibition as a platform for launching the careers of the exhibiting artists. To provide structured insight, we considered the role of the intrinsic and instrumental value dimensions involved. We did this using face to face interviews and focus groups with representatives of the various stakeholder groups, and also developed and analysed a visitor survey which assessed the expected versus experienced value of the exhibition, the value of the individual artworks and perceptions as to the 'true' value of artworks more generally. We also carried out a travel time and cost analysis of the exhibition. Key themes addressed in the report include impressions of the exhibition, quality issues and the value of the exhibition to its stakeholders, including the exhibiting and other artists. Price setting and the art market mechanism were also examined. We also considered how the NCE itself could be enhanced to add more value. In addition to examining the specific cultural value of the NCE, we also assessed how the NCE can impact on the future career paths of the artists. In addition, we also captured thinking on the 'true' value of art more generally. Detailed methodological insights are presented in an appendix. Summary and key conclusions are presented, in addition to an overview of outputs achieved so far, together with planned future outputs.

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Key words

Cultural Value; Intrinsic Value; Instrumental Value; Emerging Artists; Transition; Exhibition; Platform; Art Market

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Introduction

Background of Our Project

The Royal Scottish Academy (RSA) New Contemporaries Exhibition (NCE) is the only platform, other than their degree show, in Scotland for newly graduated art school students to help them progress in the early stages of their artistic careers. We position this research within the wider Scottish Creative Industries, an important contributor to the economy. Governments and policy makers concerned with the allocation of scarce resources, and the demise of traditional economic drivers for development, have turned to these sectors as areas of potential growth. The arts and related cultural phenomena represent activities that now have value and benefits for government. The problem is in defining and measuring all the possible permutations of value. It is possible to separate *instrumental* benefits from *intrinsic* benefits. Instrumental benefits are those that pertain to social, economic or policy outcomes. The intrinsic benefits of the arts are less obvious. The ability of arts and cultural experiences to transform people is of central interest of cultural policy and practice. Non-financial outcomes shaped by intrinsic benefits have been under-researched and, since these are related to instrumental outcomes, also need to be investigated so that we understand more why and how they contribute to cultural value. Cultural value differs from economic value in that it has many dimensions which are difficult to assess using quantitative and qualitative measures, is unstable and contested (Throsby, 2003).

Value can be instrumental in that it contributes to economic, social and policy outcomes (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008) or it can be intrinsic in that it refers to the value of the art in its own right (Oliver and Walmsley, 2011). Assessing the cultural value of the visual arts has been problematic so far, due to the limited research which exists (White et al., 2008; Walmsley, 2011). However, some insight can be gained from the existing literature. Slater (2007) investigated the motivations of visitors to galleries, concluding that, in addition to the role of personal and social factors, psychological factors such as beliefs, values and motivations should also be acknowledged. White et al. (2009) use service-dominant logic (Vargo and Lusch, 2004) to explain how art experiences are shaped through co-production and co-creation activities. Since art is experience based (Boorsma, 2006), this has a role in determining cultural value. Slater and Armstrong (2010) found that value was expressed through involvement. Chen (2008) found that collectors of art and visitors to art collections express different desires based on their perception of value.

The subjects of value and valuation are not straightforward; there are many competing approaches. This is particularly the case for unusual or non-standard assets such as works of art where the ‘fundamental’ or underlying value of individual artworks is often regarded as something not only distinct from, but totally divorced from the market, exchange or other financial value which may be attributed to the asset. At the same time, there is some suggestion of a perception that there is a reluctance to make judgements about value and quality in the context of contemporary culture. Geiger (Kjellberg et al., 2013) calls for a new conception of valuation which does not necessarily assume that all values can be expressed in terms of a common metric, accounting instead for the ‘collective, non-linear, multi-dimensional character of valuation’.

While the UK standard (ASB, 2009) dealing with accounting for such assets indicates that tangible assets with ‘artistic qualities’ should be recognised at cost or value, it is stated that ‘valuations may be made by any method that is appropriate and relevant’ (ASB, 2009, p.21) and that ‘there is no requirement for valuations to be carried out or verified by external valuers’ (ASB, 2009, p.22). Additionally, ‘value’ is not defined thus, *prima facie*, at least the possibility of non-market or financial valuations appears to be acknowledged even within the context of mandated financial accounting practice.

While the concept of value is problematic generally, this is the especially the case for asset and investment classes such as art and other cultural assets which are often regarded as having a distinctive worth, sometimes referred to as ‘*intrinsic*’ or ‘cultural’ value, and quite distinct from their market, or other financial, values. It is commonly recognised that the arts and ‘cultural goods’, generally, have peculiar characteristics and that, unlike ‘normal’ goods, their value is not, for example, a relatively straightforward reflection of price as regulated by demand and supply (see e.g. Throsby, 2001).

Generally, economic and other financially based approaches, with the exception of ‘pure’ economic approaches grounded in discounted future cash flows, are predicated on one or more dimensions of *price*, typically historic cost (‘price’), replacement cost (‘price’) or net realizable value (‘net selling price’). Despite the privileging of such so-called ‘objective’ measures, it is acknowledged that valuations are socially constructed (Kjellberg et al., 2013). Thus, even generally, ‘the way in which economic models conceive of value is seen as particularly troublesome’ (Kjellberg et al., 2013). The valuation of artworks, as well as of cultural goods more generally, however, is one area where the economic paradigm is particularly problematic.

Art and artworks, therefore, appear to constitute a suitable arena in which to challenge the ‘dominance of economic value in contemporary society’ and the perception that

“valuation” seems to be, first and foremost, about money’ (Haywood et al., 2014, p.73). Quattrone (2014) has recently argued that as far as the domain of accounting practice is concerned the focus of valuation has only recently (in the 1980s) become purely financial and representative, “*having spent 500 years as an exercise for questioning the morality of spending, based on practices of invention and mediation*”. Such a suggestion highlights a distinction between *value* as the outcome of an individual valuation effort, or in the sense of valuing something, and *values* as the standards, rules, norms or ideals on the basis of which *valuations* are predicated.

Traditionally, as symbolised by ‘Parson’s Pact’ (see e.g. Stark, 2000) *value* has been the domain of economics, and subsequently of disciplines such as accounting and marketing; *values* that of sociology and ‘ethical’ disciplines such as philosophy and theology. The distinction may be of particular relevance to art as an area in which it may be especially difficult to conflate various values into one measure of value.

One way of conceptualising the problem of valuing artworks is in terms of the relatively well known distinction between *intrinsic* and *instrumental* value. Instrumental value may be understood as ‘that quality of a thing according to which it is thought as being more or less desirable, useful and important (Van den Braembussche, 1996). This is not a straightforward dichotomy. In the first place, the view that all valuations are socially constructed has resonance for both intrinsic value and market value; in terms of the former, the philosopher John Dewey (1939) believed that things only have intrinsic value in respect of particular situations; essentially believing, therefore that intrinsic value has a relative, but not an absolute, quality. Market values of cultural goods, however, may also be socially constructed. Thus it is far from straightforward to conceive of either intrinsic or instrumental value as an absolute.

A further complication relates to the relationship between financial or market values and instrumental value. These are different in principle and instrumental value cannot necessarily be equated with financial value in terms of market price at a particular point in time. Instrumental conceptions of value are not necessarily dependent for their measurement on market price at a specific time. Economic approaches, and economics grounded accounting approaches based on market price, constitute, rather, one very specific case of instrumental value. The various incarnations of *economic* or *accounting* value usually depend respectively on measures of discounted cash flow or *price*, e.g. replacement cost (price), selling price or historic cost (price) paid. The fundamental feature of instrumental value, however, is that it is related to specific and utilitarian purposes which while being, in the present context, for example, quite distinct from individuals’ *aesthetic* experiences of art, cannot necessarily be equated with market price.

The concept of intrinsic value, in contrast to instrumental value, generally, in addition to specifically price-based measures, involves *evaluating* something "in itself" or "for its own sake". This understanding of intrinsic value reflects Kant's (see Kant, 1951) view of aesthetic experience as 'disinterested' and of beauty as '*purposiveness without purpose*'. Something with intrinsic value may be regarded as an *end* or, in Kantian terminology, an *end in itself* (De Gennaro, 2012); that is, excluding any applied purpose.

This perspective sits uneasily with the contention of some commentators (see Bakhshi et al., 2009) that the intrinsic value of art can be *measured* according to economic or financial criteria. Such writers take issue with those who argue that economic criteria can only value art on the basis of its non-artistic (i.e. *instrumental*) effects. The arguments of Bakhshi et al (2009) are predicated on the belief that intrinsic value is concerned with such variables as the public's own valuation of the arts. Thus intrinsic value, from this perspective, is dependent on personal or public opinion in distinction to a perspective based on Kantian ethics. The assumption in cultural economics that intrinsic value is measurable reflects the common assumption in economics more generally that the intrinsic value of an economic good reflects the process of producing the good and the costs involved in that process. This resonates with Marx's concept of intrinsic value (see e.g. Kilman, 2000) and the common understanding that this reflects a 'labour theory of value'. Kilman (2000) argues, however, that (mis)understanding of Marx's approach to intrinsic value is widespread and that in *Capital* (Marx, 1972) he was primarily concerned with establishing the concept of intrinsic value as something distinct from exchange value. In the context of this project, this reflects the perception that as far as artworks are concerned intrinsic value is in principle unrelated to market, or other financial, value and that any relationship between the two is coincidental.

Marx's notion of *commodification* can be used to argue that market and financial value, on the one hand, and intrinsic value, or related concepts of value such as aesthetic, artistic or critical value, on the other, are not easily reconcilable. Hence 'capitalism has overtaken contemporary art, quantifying it and reducing it to the status of a commodity.' 'Ours is a system adrift in mortgaged goods and obsessed with accumulation' (Armstrong et al., 1989, p.10). More specifically, it has been argued that any market exchange, and therefore, by definition, any market or financial value, would alienate artists from their labour, art and public, harming the emotional and intimate relationship which artists enjoy with their work.

'People get used to buying what they find in stock at the art dealer's and begin to regard the work of art as just as impersonal a commodity as any other.....the artist....becomes accustomed to working for unknown, impersonal customers, of whom he knows nothing' (Hauser, 1951, p. 469).

This is similar to the view of critics (see e.g. Adorno and Horkheimer, 1944; Burger, 1974) who have argued that, in capitalist societies, customers for artwork are more responsive to *extrinsic* factors, such as the perceived standing and signature of the artist rather than *intrinsic* qualities such as inherent artistic or critical qualities.

Such perceptions of a growing disconnect between the value(s) attributed to works of art by the investing and educated general public on the one hand and by those in the art world itself on the other are not restricted to Marxists and other critical commentators. Thus the prominent art dealer, Michael Findlay, in explaining the motivation to write his semi-popular work on the 'The Value of Art' (Findlay, 2012) states that '...there seemed...a growing divide between people within the art world.....and the reasonably well-educated general public (which was)more and more seeing the art world through a prism of financial terminology, and this ended up with people getting their information about works of art in economic language'.

Velthius (2007), writing on the architecture of the art market, suggests, from a slightly different perspective, two alternative models. The first he characterises in terms of (two) 'Hostile Worlds'; this highlights the (non) relationship between the domains of the capitalist and the artists; for these market price and intrinsic value might serve respectively as approximate metaphors (Velthius, 2007, p.24). The second is a 'Nothing But' model which portrays the art market as no different from any other; one where artworks are economic goods, the value of which can be measured by the market (see Grampp, 1989). Grampp argues that all aspects of the value of art, including the aesthetic, can be reduced to the economic (Grampp, 1989, p.20-21).

Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory of symbolic goods (see Bourdieu, 1983; 1993) incorporates similarities to a 'Nothing But' model and may be viewed, in fact, as a more moderate version of it. Bourdieu argues that works of art are both economic commodities and symbolic objects. In terms of the latter construction, Bourdieu suggests that actors, by believing that they enter the art market 'for the sake of art' rather than money, accumulate symbolic capital in terms of a recognized name or a reputation. Ultimately, however, economic interests also drive the accumulation of symbolic capital since this often represents a sound economic strategy in the long run. Bourdieu, in a fact, defines symbolic capital as 'a kind of "economic" capital denied but recognized, and hence legitimate' (Bourdieu, 1992, p.142). Similarly, Velthius (2007) suggests that 'prices (*i.e. financial or market values*) are not just about works of art, but also about the people who produce and consume them (Velthius, 2007, p.8). Thus the distinctions between both intrinsic and financial value and between intrinsic and instrumental value are many nuanced.

The 'austere quality' or 'moral appreciation' dimensions of art quality *do* appear to demand some appreciation on the part of the consumer; but George Sand was among the many who have been critical of 'art for art's sake' asserting that artists had a 'duty to find an adequate expression to convey it to as many souls as possible' (Sand, 1872) ensuring that their works were accessible enough to be appreciated. So there is a belief that art should not merely cater to the elite but should permeate all strata of society as much as possible. Thus Sand's belief that art should be accessible and capable of being conveyed to 'as many souls as possible' is echoed by Guest's statement that 'great art, like other forms of intellectual endeavour, enriches our community from top to bottom' (2002, p7).

These statements appear to imply that intrinsic value reflects art's accessibility. Such a perspective, however, may leave much 'high' or 'museum' art, which only a minority of the 'public' may be capable of appreciating, in an invidious position. There is also an implied connection between the intrinsic *value* of an artwork and the *values* of the artist, the appreciators of the artwork or both.

The perceptions of actors in the art market as to intrinsic value and its relationship with financial or market value may reflect particular segments or 'circuits' of the art market distinctively. This Bourdieu (1992; 1993) distinguishes as 'traditional' and 'avant garde' circuits within the art market. These opposing circuits may be distinguished on a number of levels; broadly speaking, however, the former is associated with established artists catering to the existing demands of a relatively large market, economic power and (arguably) less cultural capital; the latter, in contrast, with less well-established or recognized artists, less economic power and (arguably) more cultural capital. Bourdieu's conceptualization of the 'avant garde' circuit has some resonance with the focus of this project on emerging, and, largely, as yet unrecognized artists. Bourdieu's thesis does not so much argue that the 'avant garde' eschews economic success but that a longer run view of economic success is taken than in the case of the 'traditional' circuit. There may also be an emphasis on supply for artists and other insiders rather than for a broader public.

Objectives of Our Project

Our objectives are to:

1. Utilise a case study analysis to measure the cultural value dimensions associated with the RSA New Contemporaries Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA) as a platform for newly graduating art school students as emerging artists.
2. To advance combined methodology of qualitative and quantitative techniques based on primary and secondary data, emphasising the importance of non-economic valuation, psychological influences, and interdisciplinary interpretations in moving forward from existing understanding of cultural value.
3. To highlight the role of the RSA and comparable institutions, both in the UK and internationally, as leaders and supporters of the arts.
4. To enhance emerging artists' understanding of the commercial art market and to provide guidance in terms of their pricing and valuation of their art works.
5. To highlight art as a viable alternative investment and, thereby, to indirectly contribute to the sustainability of the art sector and the creative industries.
6. To utilise the findings from the case study analysis as a representative lens for understanding the potential for similar events across the United Kingdom in assisting new graduates to begin a career in the visual arts.
7. To stimulate debate in the wider creative industries, government bodies and consumer society in terms of thinking in novel ways about cultural value creation.

This report draws on both the qualitative and quantitative primary data collected during the research process. Although it is not possible to report everything here due to its extensive nature, the report contains representative insight from a number of key parties in contributing to the cultural value of the RSA New Contemporaries exhibition. Further dissemination will occur in future publications and the feedback workshop.

About the Royal Sottish Academy

Background and history of the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA)

The Royal Scottish Academy was formed in 1826. Its remit covers painting, sculpture, printmaking and architecture, with artists working in any media. Until 2007, the RSA held the annual Student Exhibition where all graduating and postgraduate students at the Scottish schools and colleges of art could exhibit one work of art. In 2008, the format altered to become the RSA New Contemporaries, showing the work of around sixty quality graduates in Scotland. The aims of the RSA today are: to encourage and support emerging artists and architects; to uphold the best practice in contemporary art and architecture; to maintain a collection, archive and library relevant to the history and activities of the Academy and make these accessible to the public and to inform national debates on a range of visual, cultural and educational issues. The RSA is an independent membership-led organisation, with over one hundred Academicians and thirty honorary members. The General Assembly is the most senior decision-making body within the RSA. Below this are The Council, The Standing Committee, the General Purposes Committee and the Exhibitions Committee. The President, Secretary and Treasurer are elected annually.

Background of Arthur Watson, Current President of the RSA

He originally attended Gray's School of Art as a student in the Department of Design where he studied printmaking and textile for a Diploma in Art followed by a post-diploma. When he left college he worked at Peacock Printmakers for 21 years before moving to Dundee to take up a post as Senior Lecturer and course director for the Masters Programme in Fine Art. He became an Associate of the RSA and then a full Academician. He became RSA Secretary 6 years ago, before becoming its President. Arthur was involved in the rationalisation of the RSA Collection. Its core is the Diploma work deposited by members on election to full Academician status.

Background of Colin Greenslade, Director of the RSA:

Following the refurbishment of the building and the reorganisation of the RSA itself where new roles were identified, Colin arrived in January 2003 as programme co-ordinator, later to become its Director in 2008. He has helped form the momentum for developing change, achieved in part through relationships with Creative Scotland, residency partners and others across Scotland so that the RSA now interacts more widely with the cultural sector.

Background of Alan Robb, Convenor of the RSA NCE 2014

Alan Robb is the convenor of this year's New Contemporaries exhibition. He has considerable experience of art as a practitioner and educator. He was Head of Fine Art in Dundee where he arrived in 1982 to set up a new School of Fine Art. He spent 25 years as head of school. He was elected as a member of the RSA, and then became involved as the convenor of the NCE.

Marion Smith, RSA Secretary:

She has been an Academician for about 17 years and Secretary for a year and a half, succeeding Arthur Watson. She had previously been Chair of the General Purposes Committee and also has considerable experience of the core exhibitions.

Andrew Goring, Gallery communications co-ordinator:

Andrew Goring the gallery communications co-ordinator. He supervises up to ten gallery assistants in terms of setting up and taking down exhibitions, as well as their day to day running. This is also shared with other members of the programme team. Andrew has particular responsibility for sales along with another team member. He is also responsible for communication, including the use of social media, press releases and the development of relationships with the media.

Alisa Lindsay, Programme co-ordinator:

Alisa has been employed by the RSA for ten years. When she started, there were only three people employed there. Her role initially involved the development of the programme beyond the existing two exhibitions per year at that time. This also concerned the revitalisation of the Academy and making it more relevant to contemporary audiences. She liaises with artists and is involved in the planning and administration of the exhibitions. She also oversees the awards programme for artist scholarships. In addition, she produces graphic design for the RSA.

Changing culture of the RSA

In 2004/2005 the RSA began reassessing its internal systems with a view towards modernisation. The dual system of having Academicians and Associates was streamlined to Academician status alone. The structure and entrance into the Academy is now more open, with no need any more for artists to have Scottish residency, only that they be born in Scotland. The remit of the RSA was also widened:

...the Academy changed from being the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Printmaking and Architecture to the Royal Scottish Academy of Art and Architecture and that was the big constitutional change which meant that we could have Academicians who were photographers, film makers, performance artists, multi-disciplinary artists...

Colin discusses the culture of the RSA and its staff before organisational change occurred:

At the time the staff was a mature staff with predominantly civil service background, so they weren't an art background, most of them, pretty much all of them, apart from the collection staff who had art history backgrounds.

In terms of the exhibition programme, the reorganisation of the RSA presented opportunities to re-invigorate it beyond its original Victorian model, as well as develop relationships with the art community:

...Everyone thought they knew what the Academy did and they imagined that to be a Victorian model and it was just re-investigating all of the elements of what the Academy was doing... you know how it supported artists and then start to put in an exhibition programme that would engage with different types of artists and different age groups of artists...What we decided to do was look at the relationship development from early career onwards and so over the last 11 years we have really focused on maximising all of our relationships and be they with customers, with the arts community, with other galleries and then...with residency providers, with the art schools and university departments and also with emerging artists and artists therefore throughout careers.

This changing culture at the RSA impacted on the format of the annual student competition. Alisa evaluates the changing nature of the RSA New Contemporaries Exhibition as it emerged from its earlier inclusive format by becoming more engaged with the art schools and the artists:

...I think it was Colin who really brought on board a conscious effort to really make the RSA relevant for contemporary artists and to increase the programme into that kind of thing. So I came in while that was all happening, so it's been really great to see how much more involved we are with the art schools, with younger artists and how we can support them through the scholarships, through the awards that we do, which are a lot more now and through the development of the exhibitions like the New Contemporaries. The student show when it started, I mean it was great because you have one work from every artist in Scotland, like nearly every graduate. But the exhibition itself to visit, you know it didn't really do any justice for the artist because they were so full, the galleries were stacked. So to actually develop the exhibition into something like this where it's a much more kind of professional and sort of a beautiful

show to come and visit, it's not such a mix of work...really gives 60 odd artists a really nice kind of platform. So, it's been really nice to see that kind of develop and especially in the last year or two and how much it has been you know with the Flemings and new awards come on board, that its really taken route and kind of grown into something quite special.

Perception of the RSA

Marion considers the purpose and role of the RSA, and the confusion sometimes by the public between it and the adjacent National Galleries:

...there is a little bit of confusion about its identity with the National Galleries as well. I think it bolsters its position and its public perception to be so publically associated with promoting with young artists but it was what it was set up for originally as a teaching institution that predated the art schools. So it's very, very important to what the Academy is about.

The externally displayed promotional banners help to break down the barriers between the perceived formal, traditional structure of the building in relating in a contemporary way to the art being exhibited. Social media is now being used by staff to communicate and engage with the artists and the audience:

...younger members of our staff are engaged with using Twitter and Facebook and I think we have quite a big Facebook following. I think I do these things a little bit so you can check up on what's going on. I don't post anything or whatever but I can see that we're all interlinked and you know recently somebody on twitter had said that they'd got a Kinross Scholarship to go away and then it was retweeted by the RSA so that's really good that all that kind of thing is going on. There are definitely a lot of young people engaged with what the Academy is doing.

The confusion among the public in distinguishing the RSA from the National Galleries and what it actually does also has its benefits as Colin explains:

...I don't know if this is an Edinburgh thing but of course the Government fund a lot of art activity in Edinburgh and we are in a building, sharing a building, and the exhibition spaces with the National Galleries which are entirely funded by the Government on a huge budget and the public perception of what we do is still very low key. Because they assume that we are part of the National Galleries and even within the business community they assume we are part of the National Galleries, because that clout has been there. But the history of the Academy in our development of the National Galleries is almost like a forgotten history and we are working for a show in 2017 that talks about that, is very public about that, about our gift to the nation of our collection

to start on our collection and how all of the directors until the 1950s of the National Galleries were Academicians...The public perception of what the Academy is, they think the Academy is the building, they don't know what the Academicians do. The art community know what the Academy is and there is a perception that we've tried to overcome there by saying look it is relevant to you all, now we are looking at how we do that to the wider remit. I think culturally within the wider public...that we get people from all over Scotland, all over the world, lots of people from Edinburgh of course and people travel to come and see shows. But [some] people are so used to engaging with culture and some people aren't and never will. In Edinburgh it is an odd one because people are involved, you know they have culture all the time around them, somebody will have said to me I have never been in that building, I've lived here all my life, I've never been in that building.

Even if people decide not to enter the building, but they notice and remember the externally displayed publicity banners as they walk by or go past by bus, car or tram, they are engaging in some way. The RSA also impacts positively on the wider local area, as Colin explains:

...we have had to get over this quite long standing...problem really. People have assumed that the Academy is stuffy old guys that are in a big stuffy building in Edinburgh with not really much clue about what's going on within the sector or anything outside of the centre of Edinburgh which was totally untrue. And so to dispel that we had to do lots of things that were not going to be moneymaking performances, performance weekends, films, you know all of the things we were working with but we didn't have a public face for, and lots of those were not money making ventures. Partnership has brought in money. Having a much more commercial direction from having a sales team, rather than a seasonal sales person has meant that that's developed further our sales...The avenues for artists to show in the building and to sell are much greater than they have probably ever been with the Academy. I think that is probably had the knock on effect with the galleries around us, because you they've had that quite good for quite a time. Of course what is good for them is also good for us and vice versa. We've utilised avenues to try and bring in financial backing and to support artists by making sales but it hasn't been the primary driver because we do have funds...and we are able to be independent, well we are independent. And so we are able to take risks that other venues can't take because they are core funded and it might be just too risky for their funders. So it's a bit of a balancing act.

Colin was asked if perception might change if the location of the NCE was altered, for example by moving to Glasgow with a wider social base of people interested in art:

...it feels more grass roots in Glasgow... but of course in Glasgow what space would it be in in Glasgow? I think some of it is about where it is and you know we are really

lucky, we are really prominent on the street here, it's got a great frontage to get people in whether they can cope with the stairs or whether the forest of columns is just too much for them, too terrifying, we don't know. I think it would be taken in, possibly culturally, taken in under the Glasgow life kind of way more than it is here. I think there is a lot of culture in Edinburgh, there is a lot of things that are high in culture in Edinburgh that it fights with. In Glasgow it's, since 1990 people are engage with it and expect it and its all kind of, I know that not everybody in Glasgow goes to see art, I know people are really not that interested, but there is a wider community of people who are.

Accessing an artists' community is easier in Glasgow than in Edinburgh in terms of knowing where they work, as well as utilising their networks. However, location isn't the essential requirement it used to be:

There are lots of opportunities for emerging artists here... and it's perpetuated by people saying oh yeah Glasgow, yeah, yeah that's the place to be because everyone is engaged there and everyone is more accepting. But I don't think that's the truth, it's just the perception which is then, it's kind of pushing that on. When I was in Aberdeen everyone wanted to come to Edinburgh and Glasgow because that is where they thought the career option was, but in fact everyone wanted to go to London and then Glasgow...But you know in Aberdeen why wouldn't you stay here and make this happen here, why do you feel that you have to go where everybody else is, why don't you just do it, you can do that here, you don't have to be sited somewhere to have an international career. People don't live in New York and have ... you can live in Scotland and have an international career without having to go to New York to do it.

Benefits of emerging artists mixing with established Academicians

Rather than working in isolation, the RSA enables experienced and less experienced artists to meet and interact, creating value with respect to artistic practice, philosophy and debate.

So that we're kind of dealing with emerging artists at one end and yet or seen by others as the kind of ultimate establishment body but then we're all artists and architects, we're all creative and some of the older ones would give the young ones a real run for their money and it's interesting when the students start to come up against some of the Academicians that are involved in organising it and think wait a minute, these guys are actually, some of them are quite sharp (Arthur).

By being able to interact with older established artists, this maintains their motivation levels and pushes them creatively:

...that's been the case right from the beginning of the Academy because so many of the Academicians in some way taught and I would still think that maybe certainly half the Academy, you know, at some point in their careers would have.... but...not all of them have ever gone into teaching but will do visiting things. So...they're all used to seeing young artists, seeing students. Often they'll have a dealer which will have, you know, senior artists and younger artists so it's pretty, it's a pretty wide church I think (Arthur).

The origins of the RSA New Contemporaries Exhibition

Arthur describes how the opportunity evolved:

quite early on that we started to interrogate was the student competition because we'd had, we'd had a couple of versions of that. It was the remnants of our, you know kind of formal contact with students because we ceased to be a teaching institution with the foundation of Edinburgh College of Art because we predated the College of Art...So from that, from that point there was a student competition so when I was at Art School I wasn't gonna obviously ehm allowed to go into that because I was a design student but it was really painters and sculptors, but mainly painters and 3 students from, selected by each college would come to Edinburgh for a week, come into this building and, and make work which would then be judged as a competition by the Academy and prizes given.

Around the late 1970s- early 1980s the student exhibition took its place:

...when that started it just meant that every graduating student in fine art subjects, you know, which would have been printmaking, painting, sculpture at the time, could send one work to the Academy which would be hung, you know, and a team of Academicians took a week...So as the fine art areas in the colleges got bigger and the nature of fine art practice changed, you know, bringing in film, installation, performance, it was becoming more and more of an anachronism that certain kinds of work lent themselves to this kind of what had become really a kind of visual jumble sale, you know, things being hung right up at the top of the wall just to get them all in and a number of us but as Associates were getting very ehm unhappy about this, particularly those of us who were teaching in colleges because it wasn't a kind of level playing field...(Arthur).

It was at this point that an early form of selection emerged once the RSA Academicians had access to the current building on the Mound in Edinburgh. There were some objections to the change in policy:

...there were a number of Academicians who were at that, how can I put this, who were teaching in some of the more conservative colleges in Scotland who opposed this because they liked this way the older students got a showing in Edinburgh and all the rest of it and were very worried that if it became selective, you know, they wouldn't get. So we, we tested the water with that and it failed. A few years later, now as I say once I'd become Secretary I put this to the Assembly again and they were quite, you know, they were a lot more enthusiastic and there was a wonderful, because people would naturally assume in an operation like ours where you know the youngest members are in their 30s and the oldest members, well our oldest member just died recently and he was 101 and still painting, that you'd expect the more senior members to be the conservative ones and of course it's often the opposite (Arthur).

Arthur then talks about 'future proofing' the exhibition, achieved in part by the democratising the proportion of artists from each college:

So say we'd take one in six, there were always gonna be more from Glasgow School of Art because it's biggest; currently Edinburgh and Dundee are the same size. Aberdeen's a little smaller and Moray has one or two places a year. So that's worked out wonderfully well.

Selection for the RSA NCE

Alan Robb, the convenor of the selection panel for this year's NCE has extensive experience as Head of School of Art, and as an RSA. He explains how the process works, including the fairness of the process as they travel to each of the degree shows:

...I had one member of the Academy who I invited to join me at each of the visits so we ended up as a team of 4 and that team of 4 then would hang, hang the exhibition, as we did. A very happy arrangement and the people who joined me, we got on terribly well, it was a very, a very creative thing that we got involved in, particularly once we got into the Academy with all the work and it seemed to go down very well with members as a show and I think the press treated it very well as well. The rules of engagement as they were explained to me were that on a ratio of 1:7, so for every 7 students in a final year in each academy one student would be selected. So we ended up with a number of 13 places in Edinburgh and 13 in Dundee, 17 or was it 19 in Glasgow and 2 up in Moray College, a very small college, not been around for very long but included and also Aberdeen on I think 8, 8 places. So we ended up with a total number of students I think in the region of 65 or 66, increased slightly by the fact that a number of duos were in operation, students very much in the current mode of forming partnerships and making teams and so on, so 2 or 3 of the group, 2 I think of the groups were, were duos and final winners.

There are no detailed rules laid down by the Academy, apart from an outline of the process. So the convenor adopted an intuitive approach to selection, allowing for the assessors to respond to the work as they saw it on the day of the visit to each art school. The selection panel visit each degree show 'blind' as they do not know the academic history of each of the artists. This ensures that bias is limited when selecting the exhibiting artists, with the selection panel itself consisting of experienced experts of various ages:

what we are sure of is that all the people who are involved in that selection are visually very honed up and they're not all from one area, not all from one geographic area or one conceptual area. Because we've drawn...on people in the selection you know from the 30s to their maybe 70s or 80s we're getting a very broad and of course some of these people have taught for 50 years on an arts course near enough...So that there can be...maybe 150 years' experience on any panel and I think that's kind of reassuring. Also, it's not just the RSA, there are always 2 members of staff from the Arts School we're looking at who can say ..."this maybe isn't showing so well here but that's because she's got work somewhere else at the moment" you know, so it's, it's not just a kind of you know a group coming from here, it changes all the time... (Arthur).

The selection sticker located next to the student's art work serves as an early marker in the artist's career in terms of perceived quality and differentiation. This perceived quality can vary across the art schools:

when we do the selection at the various colleges there are little ehm labels saying "this student has been selected for RSA" that go up before because we always go before the shows open so on the opening night of the shows all these things are on the work of the students and they appear on the prize lists for the colleges (Arthur).

According to Alan, this quality manifests itself in terms of the artist's personality and the art work having an original twist, rather than pure originality. Arthur feels that being selected for the NCE is a prize in itself, irrespective of whether or not any actual prizes are awarded to the artist. There is also no direct relationship between the academic achievement and grade awarded to the artist and the act of being selected. The selection process itself is blinded to avoid bias:

it starts to kind of identify them and where it becomes really interesting is that there will always be very good artists who are not just quite so enthusiastic about the written aspects of courses at universities so they may not get a first. I mean I've just had, I've just been through this where a number of our students you know move from the first class that they've had for studio down to a 2:1 because the essay wasn't that hot because they would rather be in the studio...we will not be shown the marks when we go into any college...We go in blind and...the members of college staff who join [the selectors] are told "do not tell the team who got firsts and who got thirds, we'll

make the decision on the basis of what's on the walls" because you know it's not something that we're very careful to avoid it but I know it has happened in other places where somebody's been a real pain in the neck and it's very difficult sometimes for staff to give them a good mark or somebody's been an absolute delight and get a better mark than they should have...(Arthur).

Marion is a selector for next year's NCE and gives her interpretation of the benefits of the selection process, including being able to take risks in decision making:

...and the thing is we're not getting students on the recommendation of their tutors, we're going in blind and we're selected people because of the quality of their work. It's because of what we see in front of us not what we're told by somebody else and the involvement of Academicians changes every year so it's not the same Academicians' taste which is dictating what the show looks like because it's revolving. The selection of the curatorial panel is different every year and maybe when the students are at art school they get suggested for scholarships or something and they have a recommendation or endorsement from their tutors. So the tutors are picking the people who have been consistent and who they can trust. We're possibly in a position where we can take more risks because we're not asking about what their art history marks were in first year. They might have failed art history in first year but it doesn't actually matter because the work that they're producing in fourth year is knock-out, it's outstanding.

Next Wednesday is Dundee. It's very, very full on because at first you have to go round the whole of Fine Art and look at everything as a group and so in that process you are trying to see things that catch your eye that you maybe want to go back and talk about later. But there is not time to discuss things because...there is a lot to get round and then fine art students tend to put things in unusual locations and you might not find everything. So at that early stage you're taking round... by someone in the college because they know where all the students work is. ..So it's important that the college staff are involved in that process but they're not in any way directing us or telling us anything about quality. They're not saying 'you must go and see this. It's the best thing in the show. This is a star student.' They're responsibility is just to show us everything and then we go round and probably take notes and then have lunch and we might discuss one or two people, but informally not decision making or anything. Then we would go round again and go round different spaces because usually in rooms you'll have half a dozen artists or whatever and you'll go 'right is anybody interested in anybody in this room?' and sometimes it's unanimous and everybody likes one person. If anybody shows any interest in anybody we'll look at it and start to discuss them...

Although bias is limited in the selection process, an experienced selector can identify a particular art school style in the work.

Value of the RSA NC Exhibition discussed by the Organisers

The value of the RSA NCE

Marion explains the benefits of the NCE as a launch pad to the future careers of the exhibiting artists:

I think for those artists who are selected it's really helpful because it's a massive step into professionalism from art school...

Several years after exhibiting, some of the artists still maintain close contact with the RSA while others are dispersed more widely, thanks in part to further awards:

...some of the New Contemporaries artists go off to other countries, we may not see them for long enough. Others are in pretty close contact with the Academy...maybe some of them are taking part in our residencies programme, some are doing scholarships in other ways. Others are sending...to the open exhibition but most of them are kind of keeping Colin and his staff in touch with what they're doing, so it's great bringing back...one of the first New Contemporaries...he came in as a performance artist and is now making performances all over Europe...There's another artist who we showed I think 3 years ago who was an Edinburgh graduate and had a splendid big composite piece taking a whole wall and just 2 weeks ago Colin was sent this beautiful hard-backed book from his new dealer, you know, prior to a big show opening. He was showing me it, we were looking through it, we get to the last page and the last page is the installation shot of his work in New Contemporaries because that's where his career started (Arthur).

There are also opportunities for Scottish artists to develop links overseas; for example with engagement with Polish and Japanese art communities.

Colin reflected on the process of selecting previous NCE artists for Open Dialogue, part of Generation, the largest cross Scotland exhibition of contemporary art ever held. It showcases the work of one hundred artists spanning the past twenty five years in around fifty venues. The RSA exhibition also contains the work of one artist from each of the previous NCEs:

I've looked at the C.Vs of all the previous [artists]. It took a long time to develop...the Open dialogues exhibition for Generation. I did that mainly through the website and whether some of them are just not working any longer or whether they just don't update their website, it's difficult to work that out... But looking at how artists respond

to us when we send out calls for residency that also gives an indication of where they are and what they are doing. Also, looking at what other galleries are showing, where other galleries are picking them up, we quite often we see them featuring in other spaces and that's always an interesting benchmark as to what they do. I don't think that all 60 of them...each year will be continuing as artists, it's a difficult market to move in....For me it was looking about where people ... I could see people had big careers in Scotland or emerging, prominent careers in Scotland, the whole thing with Generation was I wondered who was picking them up and we didn't all know where everyone else was showing. What I looked at in the C.Vs was the spread of what they were doing. So, if people had really amazing international C.Vs but maybe two shows in Scotland that kind of told me that they were on an international platform. Someone had an amazing Scottish C.V, with very little international engagement, I didn't discount them but it made me think, it made me look at it and say well, do you know somebody else is going to pick this artist, somebody is going to...The group that we have selected have all had really good international C.Vs...So, it's really about...the impact of their career ... where they are engaging with other countries, other artists, other residences, other initiatives to sustain them as working artists.

Colin uses the example of an artist and the importance of an up to date curriculum vitae as an indicator of international development and growing reputation of NCE artists:

...we hadn't heard of [him] for a while really...I flagged up his C.V because it was all over Europe. I knew that he was still doing performance work because I could see that on his C.V. We selected him for it and wrote to him about it and he was interested, he said yes immediately and then the Scottish Art News came out with a full article about his work and the work that he was doing on the Beaching cuts up in the North East of Scotland. So there was the Scottish Art News picking somebody who we hadn't really heard much about but was he was working away doing it, doing amazing things, internationally and within Scotland. When you start speaking to him about what he has done ranges enormously, still as a socially engaged performative work. Without going through those C.Vs I wouldn't have been able to see that development. Some of them might never have updated their C.V on their website and so they have missed out on that opportunity.

Marion considers the value of the NCE to the public, in terms of providing a focal point for experiencing current emerging talent. It also serves as a platform for teachers and tutors to familiarise themselves with current techniques and practices:

Well I think the exhibition is given a centralised platform in Edinburgh from artists throughout the country so it's centralising all the different art teaching institutions with their hinterland of the students that come to the colleges so it's providing this kind of slot in the calendar where you can come and see, anybody can come and see a snapshot of emerging artists from across Scotland at one stage. So it could have a lot

of value too, for example senior school pupils who are thinking of going to art school. So instead of going to all the art schools across Scotland they can come to the RSA and see the cream of those selected for that show and also as a resource for teachers at secondary schools and also probably for tutors at art schools to see what's going on at the other art schools because there is not often a lot of interaction between them.

Value of the NCE to the exhibiting artists

Colin explains that the NCE serves to validate the emerging artists who are selected to exhibit at the NCE, as well as accessing new audiences for their work:

I would say that the value to them is endorsement at this level. Also...they are able to platform to a wider audience, with London in the mix now even though not all 60 are in London. Being able to kind of have something to work towards at the end of the degree show that is not institutionalised...it's almost like...there is a support network...they are all working towards the same goal. They have the support from us to do it. They have, not monetary support but they have sort of support from the team here to encourage them and talk them through different elements of what they are doing...they still have that bounce back between us and with each other, so there is an element of just your being endorsed from the Academy from your degree show because that little plaque goes up in your degree show, that should help sales at your degree show and help guard our interest in the degree show and then from their platforming at the show and then from their any opportunities that we have or any opportunities that we can nurture for them. It's an alumni that we can send out information to them. There is probably lots of other values that I'm not thinking of at the moment but I think the most, the impact is endorsement at that stage in their career really.

Alan agrees with the notion of a platform, presenting an historical perspective of how successful artists have emerged from the art schools and the Royal Scottish Academy. This also assists the artists in positioning their work in the art marketplace.

Value of the NCE to other artists

Marion considers the impact of the NCE on other artists:

Well I think it's a kind of like a circular thing. I think if you are an artist who seriously engage in what they do, you need to see what the next generation is coming up with because there is lots of links between different things and I think it is encouraging for mid-career or established artists to see what is going on now, what's happening now and I think they learn as much from what these emerging artists, you know it's a

beneficial thing to them that encourages them that encourages their continuation of their practice to see what is going on. Well that is personally how I feel about it. I find it quite refreshing, reinvigorating to see what is going on.

There are also wider value benefits of being a selector for the NCE:

Well I think it keeps you on your toes. It makes you aware of what's going on it reconnects you because as a practicing artist. A lot of practicing artists' lives are very singular; the artist and their work, and you have to work, work, work all the time and you work on your own and sometimes if you have a big project on all you do is your big project and you don't have an outer world. So to go into art schools and see a younger generation of artists producing a set of work...it's reinvigorating. It also helps you connect perhaps with a younger self and it exposes you to new methods of producing work. So for example new technologies so say for example people using 3D printers and things like that... I suppose keeping abreast of new technology through seeing the work that artists produce...

Internal impressions of the NCE: leading to intrinsic versus extrinsic value evaluation

Arthur feels that momentum is growing in terms of generating wider interest in the exhibition:

You know, that we're getting a lot more interest in the exhibition. We're getting a lot more people travelling to see it, you know, galleries coming up from the south and checking out what's happening in Scotland because it used to be very easy when all the college degree shows were in the same fortnight but now they're spread out over about 5 weeks so nobody can come up and do them all in a oner.

Colin reflected on the success of the current NCE, both in financial terms and from visitor numbers, publicity and word of mouth. The additional partnership with Fleming Wyfold also served to heighten the impact of the artists' work:

...even though you select the artists you don't really know what they can come up with by the time that the show comes round. They all have different flavours. This year was a very sculptural year, very performative year, it did very well. It did reasonably well from a financial point of view it kind of washed its face really. But I think for me the impact that it had through the press and the impact it had with people coming through the doors is always the tell-tale as to what's being said about it, you know Facebook the activity that happens around it. The beauty of something like that is you have 60 artists that are all talking about it as well. This year we obviously had the initiative with Flemings and that's still ongoing and still bringing people to us as to how

they make me involved for the future, and I discussed with somebody yesterday about prize for the future. So, the impact this year has been greater, but has built year on year, it's felt that each year it has been as step closer. Now it feels like it's getting to the point where we are having lots of people coming to us with opportunities who want to be part of this.

Colin talked about the risk element involved in running the first NCE but this has paid dividends in the longer term, particularly with the involvement of NCE artists in the Generations show in Edinburgh during the Commonwealth Games and Edinburgh Festival.

You know it was a big risk to do it in the first year because we have gone from being really democratic and saying everybody gets a shot to suddenly picking 60 people, there is a little bit of a wobble there as to know how do you do that and be fair, but of course now it has settled in, people want to be in the show. So each year it has always felt that we've reached a new milestone. And looking at Generation and how... [it] has been received... artists who are established over the last 25 years. Our artists have emerged in the last six years but they are...by no means established. Having said that, that's been well received, that's an opportunity and we are giving that opportunity.

Marion felt that this year's exhibition went really well, with good publicity in the National papers. She thought the show looked really exciting. Impressions of the NCE were based around intrinsic value rather than extrinsic, commercial dimensions:

...it's an idea you see and it does have value because there are different ways of valuing work...because it is intellectual property as well isn't it? It's their idea. So that's a different kind of value...

The Exhibition and artist information

What seems to set the RSA apart from the Scottish National Galleries is that their gallery staff are all practicing artists with relevant knowledge, compared to the NG's staff with ex-police or military backgrounds. Some RSA staff have been working there for ten years while others move on after a shorter time period. Arthur sees this as another way of supporting the artists. Marion talks about the need for thinking about the art work, unencumbered by labels and other information:

...I think if you introduce a lot of written information into the exhibitions...if you actually put in more text panels, explanation panels then it can kind of spoil the elegance of the show because as well as hanging the work you need a bit of space around the work to think, you need a bit of space between the works.

The submitted artists' statements could have been utilised to provide information on each artist for visitors but their main purpose was to help the artists focus on what they were trying to achieve. Marion suggests other ways of enhancing which avoids promoting one point of view:

the work should be speaking for itself. I think perhaps the way to address this issue to deal with information is maybe through seminars or talks or something like that. I'm not keen on personally on explaining art work through text because the interpretation of art work is subjective.

Colin highlights concerns about the quality of the information provided by some of the artists, with a lack of verbal communication competency. This would impact negatively on visitors to the exhibition. So this means that, aside from the artist's name, where they graduated from and any awards they have received, artists' texts are not currently provided at the exhibition. This might be improved if an experienced third party wrote the narrative or the artists themselves could easily contextualise what they create.

Quality issues

Colin is not confident that the best artists are always being selected, due in part to the democratic, proportional way in which artists from each school are chosen. There is also the issue of degree of fit of the art with the exhibition space, in physical and other terms:

...it's a democratic process that's selection and you know there are people who I've really wanted in the mix and they haven't made it because that democratic process, you know there is probably 6 people making those votes and we don't know the marks, we don't want to know the marks and quite often artists who are, you know they've maybe got a third and the opportunity that is given to them to respond to showing here really makes them look, you know they just haven't engaged in that final year to get that first or second or whatever. But the time it comes here and I've had tutors say to me, I never thought they would pull that out of the hat and that is amazing, and you don't want to miss that. There is also things that people do within schools that will never translate, they may be an amazing student with a first and their work will not translate into a gallery because it needs an enclosed space, it needs to be on its own, it needs to be outside, there is lots of different things you see... I know that we won't have got everybody who's going to make a name for themselves but it's a snapshot of across all of the 5 colleges, it's a snapshot of what's happening. If you are only picking say from Aberdeen, you are only picking 8 students out of 48, then you are never going to pick the top 8 that are only going to be the stars and you know there is going to be people that really great careers that you didn't pick.

Alan views quality in terms of the ideas behind the work. Marion explains how she situates quality alongside diversity of the work and that art should be capable of asking questions. There is also an issue with preconceived perceptions and expectations about what the exhibition should be like in terms of representing traditional tastes. But the art should not be pedestrian. Quality is also related to professionalism:

...there were one or two artists selected who I just didn't like any of their work at all but that is what you'd expect in a mixed show....I think it might be to do with people's perception of terms like Academy. People's perceptions are really traditional so they think that paintings are going to be on the wall or sculptures are going to be on plinths and it's going to be figurative or whatever and I think the quality of the New Contemporaries is a kind of consistency across a diverse range of making work, diverse media. So there is film, there is installation, there is work painted directly on the wall, there is work that is perhaps a little bit risqué or difficult, is it art or is it pornographic? Art is to do with not giving all the answers but maybe posing questions that are unanswerable questions.

Explaining the role of quality as a determinant in the selection process, Marion also identifies its subjective nature:

but it is subjective particularly in the art world because I've been asked to be on selection panels...for giving them opportunities and prizes and I find it really, really difficult and often when you're on selection panels you all have different ideas of what is the best thing or what is the good thing and there can be quite a lot of different opinions that come into play about what is the best thing and what is good quality and it's not quantifiable to do with things like the amount of time that is spent making something and I think that can be a criticism that is pitched. I would say people of my parents generation came to see the show who will be very dismissive of things when they say things like 'it's just a pile of photographs' or 'happy snaps' or whatever...

Marion explains this further by contextualising the rationale for 'liking' a particular art work, balanced by the artists' competencies:

but if you look at [the] artists' body of work in the New Contemporaries show there is consistency of their approach to materials, using natural materials. It's quite kind of quiet, contemplative work and if you live in an urban context you don't have that kind of earthy feel for mud and stubble and seeds and that kind of thing and it brings into the city for the viewer to see. So that is a skill of that artist to try to curate their work to have a certain feel or consistency of approach.

What is important in terms of understanding and judgement of quality is being able to appreciate the art production process, from the concept through to the output.

The dealer relationship

Arthur explains how the artist/dealer relationship works:

Well it's kind of varied, it's kind of varied...for a start we're often working with the dealers of some of our members because I mean until he died very recently Alan Davies' work would always be sent from his dealer, you know, because he just didn't handle his work, you know, a very eminent dealer who he'd worked with for 50 years. John Bellany also would be the, the dealer he had in Edinburgh would send his work into us, you know, the ones that John wanted sent. Some of the younger artists now of course also have dealers which is, which is great.

However, problems can emerge when the dealer begins to exert too much power in the relationship through, for example, the organisation of rival exhibitions:

Where we probably have a slight problem with dealers is that there might be, you know, we might be doing a show in here and a dealer will do a parallel show, you know, which opens the week before to try and capture the sales so they can be scamps...(Arthur).

Price setting of the art work

The RSA Director Colin Greenslade can provide advice, but only when approached. However, this is probably something which should be embedded in degree programmes so that a fair and reasonable price is being applied. Some emerging artists are very market aware, while others are not. Also, the particular form of art often dictates price, and even if it can be sold. He notes that artists at all stages of their career need assistance with pricing:

Artists who are Academicians, you know really established artists, still come and want advice on pricing. I don't think that's something that's just for emerging artists but I do think that in contemporary practice within the arts schools there should be something there, because if you look the degree shows some of the artists are pricing themselves out of the market at their degree show. They are selling at their degree show because people are thinking well that's the going rate and they are not making sales thereafter because out in the world, galleries are just saying we cannot sell this. Now, we've had discussion with some artists who really have been putting crazy prices on their work about whether they should rethink that, some of them take that kindly, some of them don't. So what I have done is say that if you come to us and ask us individually we will talk to them about pricing, but we won't do a blanket, it's not something that is for everyone. Some people aren't selling their work and are never going to sell their work into collections. So, how do you put a price on what they do and we've talked a little bit about that with some of the performance artists where they are pitching for applications for residencies and how do that with that with their time and it really is about their time, for all of the artists it's about their time, if they

value some time that they make the work against what somebody would pay for it, they would just never add up. It is interesting I think contextual studies within the art schools could do a lot more work on that and I would quite like to do a lot more work on that with the art students at that level, because by the time they get to the...degree show and prices that people are buying, some of them are out of the water already. Then others who are really very well priced make lots of sales and do very well because they've got it right from the start...

Arthur goes on to discuss the factors involved in the artist deciding on a price for the work, comparing expectations of the emerging artist to those of the much more established artist:

...but it's not up to us to kind of impose a pricing structure on anyone. It was funny, one of my students "oh I got a really good feedback from Colin on how I should price my work" and I said "oh yeah, I always ask him before I put anything into the exhibition here as well". I mean I used to do a lot of that when I ran a gallery myself, you know, I was very up on people's pricing structures but now I don't, I'm a bit loose about it and yeah, the best thing is to take some advice because there is no, there is no ready reckoner for it. I mean often people who I used to, because I taught printmaking quite a lot of the time I used to find that the most common problem that my students had would be to see you know any print they made as a unique object and I remember one girl who was doing printmaking and she said, she said "well yeah, I'd like some advice on pricing" and I said "well let's start off with what price you would put on it" and this was a black and white etching. "So I think about £300". I said "well do you know John Bellany?" "Oh yes, yes". "Well a John Bellany etching that size costs £150 and he's in every major collection in the world". "Oh but I couldn't possibly sell it for that, it took me ages to do". I said "yeah, but it took you ages to do because you'd never done it before and you were learning how to do it from scratch, you know, in 6 months' time you'll be able to do these things in a couple of hours, you know, and that's how you price it". You can't price for incompetence, in the nicest possible way. So also there's a kind of, there's often a kind of crisis in confidence where they think "I can't, I can't sell this unless it's for a huge amount of money because I might never make one this good again". Of course they will and you know as you get older you're kind of happy to maybe you won't publicly price something low but if somebody wants it, it would be quite good to get space in my store, you know. So it, it is the most imprecise science (Arthur).

Marion Smith also offers some insight into price setting, comparing experiences as an emerging artist with more experienced artists. The level of commission levied also plays a part:

...I think when you're an art student it is really difficult because when you have your degree show if you have some level of success and somebody picks you up you might be selling your work for quite a lot of money, you know once you get rubber stamped

by association...say if Saatchi picked up your work then you could be selling your work for £15,000 for a painting whereas a person in the space next door to you in the degree show might be selling their painting which is the same size for £150 because they just want a little bit of money to try and make back the money they've spent making their work. And even when you're more established, you know I've got friends who have been practicing art longer than me and they'll sell their work for very little money and because maybe if you make work that is not commercial that is just what you want to make and it's got your own kind of visual language in it. Often people buying your work are other artists and you know I have a friend who makes really beautiful work but her work will only be £400-500 each or even less and it's really cheap and you would say it's too cheap. Also one of the other things that needs to be taken into consideration is commission and I'm not 100% sure what commission is in the New Contemporaries. For example for the annual exhibition I've just been in the commission is 35% something like that plus VAT on the selling price so I always think it's actually about half of it is commission. So I think it's a big learning curve but it's also something that is very, very difficult to offer advice on.

She explains that many artists are not that numerically competent. However, there is a reasonable lead time between selection from the degree show and the NCE itself. Artist contracts are issued, which should signal awareness of pricing issues and how to break down the various cost elements. Pricing should be taught as part of the degree. Alan accepts that there is a notion of market value for the art work, with generally sensible views from the artists on this. Selling the NCE work is important to the RSA, and if this is a growing market, helped by sponsorship, then this is even better. The art market in Scotland is viewed as problematic by him in that the prices set more generally to be low in European terms.

Andrew also explains how the artists set their own price, although there is potential for the RSA to enhance their role:

Well first of all the artist set the prices themselves, for the contemporaries, we don't give advice generally speaking on that. If they do contact us for advice we explain to them how the breakdown works. So if something sells on the wall we take a certain percentage, the government then receives a certain percentage from that percentage, that's VAT, and then the artist gets the remainder and those calculations are not always clear to someone who has just spent four years investigating philosophical practices in relating that to their art practice, the hard finances that are not always very obvious so there is quite a lot of explaining there to be done. But generally speaking they don't ask for advice really on what price we think something would be. I think if we offered it, they would be really interested to hear it.

There are time constraints in terms of discussing pricing issues with the artists and other interested parties. However, Andrew admits that this would be useful but also problematic due to its intrinsic dimensions:

...it is also a difficult area because the price of the work on the wall from an artist doesn't necessarily present that's what they think they will be able to get for it. It can quite often represent more than that, because quite often the emotional aspect ...

He explains that his advice to the emerging artist would be to price as low as possible, but also ensure that artist is happy with this amount, while also being reasonable at the same time. This should also be balanced against the work of more established artists:

You know, I mean this is their creation, this is their baby. You know this is something they have toiled on, they have put a huge amount of thought into...in some cases they might not even be keen to sell it, others they are keen to sell. And, in terms of the pricing from the buyers point of view unfortunately my advice would always be price it as low as you can, more or less, within the realms of you being happy and also from the realms of being reasonable. You know we are not going to flog something really, really inexpensively that is completely undercut on their standard sort of price brackets for that kind of work on the wall. If you can get it to the lower end of that bracket then that will make it attractive to the buyers, because they know these guys are guys who just graduated a year ago. They'll expect, possibly, that the work will be more expensive than it would have been at the degree show but from the buyers point of view there is certainly advantages to having bought from New Contemporaries instead of buying from a degree show, I would argue. It's definitely, they are young artists in terms of their careers and the prices would reflect that generally. Upstairs, just a few days ago, we had works on sale from Academicians. Some of them are very established, some of them Royal Academicians, as well as Royal Scottish Academicians, OBEs and CBEs and all the rest of it. With long, long careers and their works sell for a lot more than your average contemporary artist. So I think there is a bit of a bargain hunt mentality sometimes for new contemporary arts but not to the same extent as you would find at a degree show.

There is also the potential for symbolic value to play a part in price setting, resulting in higher positioning in the art marketplace:

I think there are certain institutions, I am talking international sphere, international art market, there are certain places that will have the reputation and the clout and the market to be able to introduce a new artist and have prices at a certain level, potentially higher than another institution. They will probably talk to the artist quite a

lot and have a few discussions about how best to do that. But, it is not something that we do really.

Alisa confirmed that the RSA tend not to advise on pricing but instead offered to guide the emerging artists towards the prices set by other artists in terms of covering the basic costs involved in producing the work.

In terms of actual sales at the NCE, Andrew revealed that a similar amount is achieved in each of the exhibition, 'give for take a few thousand'. This would account for less than 10% of the work being exhibited. The amount will also vary by artist and medium. He also thought that, even if the RSA had provided more information on each artist that this would not have impacted to any great extent. Andrew explains the importance of sales at the NCE and the RSA more generally, with a balance needed between high and low value items:

We do have a sort of more detailed aspect at times when there is a higher footfall in the building where we are selling small items like catalogues and maybe the RSA publications going through the years and we recently had a RSA tote bag that we were selling for £3 that we were trying to flog. I am not great on those things I have to say. Probably a bit of a miss for me, I find it difficult to concentrate on stock taking and you know selling £3 bags when usually I am trying to sell a £10,000 painting.

He sees value in enhancing buyer relationships, since the RSA is uniquely placed in Scotland in terms of its connections with buyers and collectors in Scotland and further afield. Andrew considers the reasons why art work is purchased and collected. These include the emotional, intrinsic attachments to the art. There is also the relationship between the art and the hanging space to be considered. Financial motives may also play a part. There is also an element of risk involved in buying a piece of contemporary art in terms of making the 'leap':

I think reasons vary. I think the main thing is people start buying contemporary art and it becomes quite an addictive thing. I'm one of them, I buy work as well and have a small collection in the house and it's just a case of having nice things on the wall. I think when you move away from having...posters or reproduction art...when you move away from that and you actually have something on that is made by a living person, it is actually their toil that is on a canvas...You start to build up a real emotional response to that work and that really enhances, I think, a quality of life and the quality of your sort of domestic situation and your enjoyment of your home or your office or where ever it is that hanging these works...Mainly there is also, maybe a speculative element from a financial point of view but it's not something I talk to people often about. It is certainly never a way for me to try and hard sell to people's paintings or works at their home. There is a little bit of sometimes handholding, you know or talking people through it. So talking about where they are going to hang it, how that is going to look

in their home, if they have requests for more information about the work itself, how it was made, about the artist and their career and their CV and their biography, if they are looking for more information about the art they see or simple things like how to collect the work and can we arrange delivery, all these sorts of things I'm on hand being able to answer these things, very quickly provide as much information as they want. Maybe also talk about how that artists work fits in with tradition of contemporary art movement and Scottish contemporary art if they are interested in that extra bit of information. But saying what would be a good buy because of these views of these things, x, y and z this could increase in value over the years I pretty much wouldn't say those things. If someone engages me in a conversation like that, I will happily chat away about these things but it is not something I really use. I think the primary reason for people to buy work, I think the primary reason people should have to buy work is because they have genuine affinity with what it is they are thinking of buying. That is important, I think that you will fall in love with something, if you don't have that initial, a comment I hear almost every day from people, is regret from having not bought something. This just happens all the time, all of the time, people come in and say I saw something that could go back years, it could go back decades and that memory of something that they wanted and that had an effect and had an emotional response to is still there and it's like this raw thing, and it is a small thing in the scale of life, but it's something that's still there and they still talk about it and they will mention it to me, a relative stranger, that they have this regret about having not acquired something. That is really a fascinating thing for me and it ties into that emotional thing for me.

Selection for the NCE means that the artist has already been validated and so the risk element has been lowered to a degree. With the partnership with Flemings Wyfold, this risk is mitigated further for the exhibiting artists. In saying this, Andrew also believes that the buyer demographic for the NCE differs from many other exhibitions in that they may be young first time purchasers. There is also dealer interest in the New Contemporaries artists, with any sales made at the NCE also heightening their attention. In terms of the financial return for the RSA from the NCE, this tends to be lower than for its other exhibitions.

Enhancement of the NCE

Arthur was asked if there were any plans for further development of the NCE in the future:

...I would like to be able to give the artists a little more support to do it ehm but you know dealing with 60 people, that would, that would require a lot of money but it may be that we could, you know, if we could get a little sponsorship coming in, you know, and we do have sponsorship coming in already but maybe some targeted sponsorship. There is, there is one eh funding body that we're gonna approach to see if they'll fund us taking off the entrance fee because widening access is one of their new priorities...

Colin explains that with more finance available, the RSA would be able to support the artists with subsidised transport for themselves and their work, an artist fee for developing the work, and a mentor to work with the artists as they develop their work for the exhibition. At the moment the RSA carries the cost of the NCE, although there is some support from one funder:

...I think working with a smaller group of artists and building that relationship would go into it with all of that information upfront so that they aren't expecting a big artist fee and their work to be picked up and delivered. Not that they always read all that information and don't take it all in because we still get people asking us at the last minute when the show is. It's just being able to keep track of that a bit more and of course that's about staff resource and it's about resources that you can then give away to artists.

Interest in the NCE has been increasing each year, helped now by the connection with Fleming Wyfold and the initial Stevenson award. In terms of enhancing the financial value of the NCE, Colin mentions future sponsor plans, although the reasonably short time span of the exhibition impacts on the process:

...the money side really is about trying to engage with those partners really to underwrite what we are doing. We would hope that eventually be able to give that out soon, we would be able to offer exhibition free to the public...but that really needs to be underwritten by somebody. We would like to offer transport to artists that we would need to be underwritten by somebody. Because the show is on for such a short time it's really difficult to get that support because it has to be really high impact for a short time and it's getting it to that level of impact and it's getting there but if you've got a kind of medium impact show that's on for three weeks then its funders are going to want a longer term a bigger impact, and three weeks just isn't long enough for them to get that.

Although the quota selection system seems to be working, the convenor suggests that, due to variation on quality of the work from each school that consideration should be given to adjust for this.

The NCE entry fee and the role of Marketing

At the moment, unless you are a Friend of the RSA, a £4 or £2 entrance fee is payable, depending on status. There is some current discussion, however, concerning sponsorship initiatives which might enable free entrance for all, thereby raising the potential for further widening of access. If entry to the NCE was free for everyone, this would be extremely valuable to the RSA. Experimenting with admission prices has taken place at the Annual RSA exhibition:

but then it's a great marketing tool, it's a great catch tool to say to somebody, the value you will add to this show is you will be the people that made it free to everybody. That's the hook. Having somebody do that would be amazing because everyone can come and do repeat visits, it's a lot to take in. Big show like this is a lot to take in in one visit....it's really been the Annual Show that we've ran the exhibition benchmarked on because we have had different price strategies for the annual show and it's now free. We used to have season tickets for the annual show so if you spend price of two tickets, I think it was about £8 or something or £7, that would be a season ticket for the whole duration of the show. We sold so few of those because people were one hit wonders, they wanted to come in and see it once and if they liked it they might come back, if they didn't like it then they've only spent £4, however if they spent £7 they could have come in and out as much as they wanted over that period.

There have also been opportunities, but also issues with relationships with Government funding bodies in terms of inability to plan for the longer term and hurdles put in place once any funding is secured. It also seems to come down to the need for an evenly balanced relationship, rather than an overbearing pressure to produce to a funder's requirements:

...that always gets sent through Creative Scotland. Creative Scotland as you know have been very flux so it's about allowing that to settle and then discuss with them. I think what we do is offer something that no other Creative Scotland funded or government funded venue is doing. It doesn't have any impact on me about losing our independence if we go down that route it...for me the worry of doing that with the government organisation is that we can't buy into it long term, we have to apply, we have to go through a series of the same ask each year, they can never commit to a 5 year like a business can.... we have in the past worked really extensively with Creative Scotland and one of our initiatives it puts so many restrictions on we felt that it wasn't in the interest of the artist so when they asked us to apply for the money, we said no we don't want your money. That put us on the back foot because we would have to try and then afford to do that initiative on our own and they helped us with the initiative in the first instance but then they put so many restrictions on, not on us but on the artists that were getting the money. We said look in the interest of the artists we don't think that you are the right partner for this. We do think they are the right partner but they have to realise that what they get from that small amount of money is actually huge value to them...I do all of the allocation, I do all of the evaluation, I do all of the writing of that and I also...do all of the management of team who administer all of those projects, so it's really about thinking long term. With business you can get more of a commitment...and New Contemporaries is just coming out of its pilot process, it's only 6 years old...

Colin admits that more needs to be done in terms of marketing the NCE by encouraging wider engagement and understanding, but it comes down to the available budget:

I think really the marketing that we need to engage with, and we have never really the marketing budget, I should point that out, the marketing really need to engage with is letting people know what RSA actually is because one of the things that always annoys people is when you start abbreviating they just go that means nothing to me, unless you are BBC. On the whole the marketing of that is really, it's about getting the right, for me it's always been about getting the right image, the right amount of text that explains what you are doing and getting it out there. Within the arts community everybody knows what the RSA is, some people in Edinburgh know what it is but for the wider community they don't know and probably don't care. The main push for that was really try and differentiate our shows from the National Gallery shows, so if we were showing something, if they were showing Monet for the summer, we would have RSA projects and then a list of artists so were saying RSA residency artist Delia Bailey, we just had RSA projects Delia Bailey, this is her dates so and so, Victoria Crows this is her dates, so we weren't trying to just go for ... we were trying to package it with it so it could be marketed more easily.

Marion also talks about future aspirations on free admission:

...for every man on the street you can come and see what contemporary artists are making now and they can come and buy work which is affordable but I think unless you love the show is the fact that you have to pay to come and see it and I think an aspiration of ours is to make it free. We would like it to be free so then we could encourage as many people as possible to come and see it.

However, without any local or central Government funding, the RSA is limited in its ability to raise awareness of what it does. There may be possibilities through the next version of Creative Scotland but the issue there is the potential power imbalance in the relationship. There is also the reporting requirement and other elements from these public bodies once any funding is secured which can inhibit intrinsic artistic development:

One of the, the reason that we parted from them on the residencies scheme which they started out co-funding was because they then wanted us to put in all these additional hurdles for the artists. We wanted residencies that allow artists kind of clear thinking time or making time or time to do what they needed to do that they couldn't normally do whereas Creative Scotland wanted those artists to also be doing children's workshops, to be writing reports, to be doing feedback. We said "no, we don't want your funding, sorry, we want our artists to have clear, clear space". Now they will all do stuff as a matter of course with one of the centres they're doing the residencies with, but we're not gonna insist they do it (Arthur).

So securing additional sponsorship funding seems crucial if widening access through free or reduced entry is feasible. Transport for the artists and their work is also being considered, as is how to overcome art work storage problems:

...and it may be that while we couldn't arrange individual transport for every artist we could perhaps with some of the transport companies that we already work with say "look, we can have a pickup point here, here, here and here in Scotland and if you can get your work to there then it can all come down and come back" you know, which would be good. It's always the problem we have virtually no storage in this building although we are looking with the National Galleries rather the National Galleries are looking with us, I mean they're very much the leaders on this at establishing an enormous storage facility with research facilities and all the rest of it where I think a considerable number of their staff will be based and also some of our staff which are currently based at the Dean (gallery), the collection staff would go to this new place and that would allow us to keep more work in Edinburgh...(Arthur).

This storage capacity would then allow for the possibility of a touring version of the exhibition around the art schools in Scotland without the work having to return to the artists after each show.

Colin would personally like to have the NCE held for a longer time period, in order to make the most of the hard work carried out by the artists, the RSA staff and others. Also, securing a major fund and increasing the amount of high level impact awards and other initiatives would be valuable. Being able to look back and reflect on how the RSANCE has impacted on the artists and the wider community over a number of years would be meaningful:

...it's not just the artist, it's the community that they are working within and the venues that they work with to make the work. They are all engaged in the production of that show. It sounds like I am going for global domination, but it's really just about how the impact of that isn't just about our relationship with the artists. It's about the wider spheres of that works in and looking back at that retrospectively over ten or twenty year period. Just how many people have engaged with the show that's here through sending out those publications, talking to the artists, helping make the work and the artists moving forward and talking about that year in, year out. A little bit of experience of that with the Kinross initiative because with Kinross it's been going for forty years, lots of artists have been given money to go to Florence for the summer and on...it's something that never drops of their C.V. and we would hope that New Contemporaries never drops off of the C.V. Keep that really prominent ... That's what I would like to look back and that's what that did, it's just engage with so many people other than that 60. The fact that we all go to degree shows and look everyone's degree show is actually a major thing, because New Contemporaries in London, Bloomberg New Contemporaries you have to apply and then the panel will look at your slides and select you. We are going round very single degree show and the fact

that everybody has been seen by this prominent group it should be a real boost to them that their work has been seen by the selector, the fact that people are going and seeing it, especially Glasgow and Edinburgh get a lot of traffic, but Elgin does not get a lot of traffic, and that a real kind of kick to them that they are part of this show and they are being seen by people and there is lots of opportunity out there, not just from us.

The RSA John Kinross scholarship enables artists to travel to Florence for between six and twelve weeks to help them develop their practice.

Further career paths

We discussed the likelihood of the exhibiting artists reaching the status of Turner prize winners, given the number of this year's finalists with a Glasgow background. This seems to be helped by the funding mechanism for art in that city, as well as their undergraduate pathway. The identity and background of these artists is also blurred, with some Glasgow branded artists actually having been trained elsewhere:

...I think the Glasgow thing is very interesting. Very good publicity machine in Glasgow. Also an enormous amount of local authority money goes into supporting visual art. You know, far, far more than in Edinburgh because Edinburgh Royal and the National Galleries to do it all for. Also, the Glasgow phenomenon is not much to do with their undergraduate programme, it's to do with one undergraduate pathway that was run by a man called David Harding, you know, who was a very, very bright man who almost stopped being an artist and just dedicated himself to building up this what was called environmental art you know, so it wasn't painting, it wasn't sculpture, it wasn't printmaking, it was just a whole, you know, new way of looking at art and then a contemporary of mine, Sam Ainsley who ran an amazingly good Masters programme and a lot of these people that have come out of Glasgow and done very well have been students from all over the country who have come to Sam's Masters programme so they've only really been there for as a finishing school. Glasgow also are wonderfully good at taking credit for people at other colleges. Suzi Philips who got the Turner prize 3 years ago was, I mean came from Glasgow, came to Duncan of Jordanstone, did 4 years as a sculpture student, did her Masters in Belfast taught by Alistair McClement who was a painting graduate of Duncan of Jordanstone and is now a major performance artist and she was claimed as being a Glasgow student (Arthur).

It is also much less expensive to live and work in Glasgow than in Edinburgh and elsewhere.

The Fleming opportunity

For the first time, there is now an additional exhibition in London for some of the prize-winners, giving an opportunity for these artists to experience a different audience in a different location:

so that it may be that, you know, we've got it arranged now with for the initial 3 years with Flemings that you know just the week after the show closes here the work goes down to them so but it's not, it means that there could be other new contemporaries off-shoots if we had somewhere to store the work so that it didn't have to you know because putting it back to the artists and getting it back and so there's maybe the potential that there could be a kind of touring version of new contemporaries (Arthur).

Marion sets out the benefits of fostering the Fleming relationship:

I think the involvement with Flemings has been great. I haven't been down to see the show in London but I suppose to a certain extent it seems to come as some sort of recognition for us to get that kind of help. I think it's helped with our publicity, I think it's raised the profile of the exhibition that engagement with Flemings. Possibly it's because of the monetary value of the prize given but then there's the acknowledgement of the development of young artists as well so it's kind of like commitment from both parties; both from the RSA and Fleming to support and encourage artists to flourish in Scotland.

Brunswick Arts is an international communications consultancy dedicated to promoting and managing the reputation and interests of the arts and is currently working with the Fleming Wyfold Foundation to help raise their educational purpose. Katie explains the reason for their relationship:

...the purpose is to give them a new platform and audience outside of Scotland. It's very difficult, you know, that year when an artist graduates is the hardest year when they're trying to transform from being an artist into having a proper career and that's, and that's becoming more and more prevalent to the arts sector that that's where they need the support as in you know those formative years when you're trying to establish a career. So with the whole our relationship with RSA was really two, sort of two-fold. The bursary which of course was a significant amount of money but attached to that was this mentoring programme that really helped the artists understand how to use those earnings to forward their next project, to really build their career, their networks, you know, how to enter a gallery. So we have a very talented woman who is working with the artists and teaching them all that...they're just working on...their next proposal for their next project right now but the key that is that we brought the show of these you know the top artists in Scotland to London

which was a phenomenal platform for them, you know, we had great media coverage, we'd a really great launch party, and so, you know, it's very unique because normally people would have to come to Scotland to see those kind of works so, so you know the Fleming Collection operates as an embassy for Scottish art outside of Scotland.

The value of this relationship is in heightening awareness in London of what is happening in the Scottish contemporary art scene. The Fleming exhibition of the selected New Contemporary artists creates a new audience for their work. It offers a different type of exhibition space to that at the RSA and so impacts differently on the audience. Scotland can be viewed as an incubator for artists since it attracts an international audience. Mentoring is what emerging artists require and that is what the Fleming Wyfold bursary offers for the successful artists.

Opportunities relating to the Art in Healthcare prize

As one of the awarders of prizes at the NCE, Trevor Jones explains the background and purpose of the organisation:

...It used to be paintings in hospitals in Scotland, started up about 24 years ago to put artwork in the hospitals and care homes and hospices, all types of health facilities around Scotland just to improve the working environment and the space for staff and patients and visitors. So yeah, that's what we've kind of done over the years. We've now diversified into our various workshops, art workshops and cluster management but our main focus is the art collection that we own. So basically a public collection and we, I think this is the third, coming up fourth year now where the Hope Scott Trust has actually given us £2,000 a year to purchase artwork from the Royal Scottish Academy from the New Contemporaries Exhibition which is why we've purchased for the last 3 years.

The selection criteria for the award winners have to be fairly risk averse, due to the nature of the organisation and its remit. Much of the New Contemporaries work is not appropriate for a hospital environment, due in part to the subject matter or the materials used in the construction of the art work. One of this year's award winners, Matt Wilson readily satisfied the criteria:

with Matthew's it was a bird, a print with a gold circle around it and birds are said to be really, really popular with art collections so I saw that and I thought "yeah, that's definitely".

Their selection panel involves four people: Trevor, the Art in Healthcare collection manager, an Edinburgh University History of Art lecturer and an artist. The value in the Art in

Healthcare prize is not just in financial terms to the artist but also in intrinsic dimensions for patients and other parties:

...what we're trying to do is with artwork is we can quite easily and cost effectively and quickly transform the healing space to create something more, more familiar, less threatening...I mean everybody has pictures in their home and so, you know, I've travelled all across Scotland to different hospitals and I see first-hand, you know, which ones take a real interest in art and which ones don't and you know, it's not just for patients or the visitors but very much for the staff as well. There's a lot of ehm, you know, information about how the space, the working space will improve morale...it stimulates conversation...Something that you know has that, those intrinsic values and original artwork as well and also we collect Scottish based artists and there are people who've been working in Scotland so there is that culture value I think is very important and you know I think that the work that is being produced by the young contemporaries, you know it's the young Scottish artists, it has a significance and a relevance to where they live and grow up and their thoughts and ideas and so I think that's important, whether the views in hospitals and care homes you know immediately recognise that or not; for example Addi's work last year we purchased 3 of the prints and they have this strange kind of connection between Africa and Scotland and they're brilliant and I think you know they're just exceptionally well done as well so people really enjoy looking at them and there's that immediate connection they recognise spaces or places within, within Scotland where he's created them but also you know all these unusual, surreal scenes that are taking place within that space.

Other opportunities for the emerging artists include developing their practice in the Edinburgh Sculpture Workshop. This body offers a one month supported residency which includes free work space in the form of a studio or a larger project space, as well as accommodation if required. Alistair Clark, the Assistant Director of the Edinburgh Print Makers explains how they also offer a prize at the NCE where they look for an artist whose practice contains an element of print making. The successful artist then builds up additional skills at the workshop. The added value in taking part include being able to 'raise their game' and to be able to showcase themselves in a more professional manner.

Funding issues and widening access more generally

There are implications for art appreciation more generally and attempts to widen access when considering the educational system of each country:

It's the big difference between the American university system and the British university system where the liberal arts degree in America means that your highly paid dentist, your doctor or your surveyor will probably have done at least some kind of module in visual art at some point during the time and often in studio. So it's why I think that whole business of people endowing museums, gifting collections is so

commonplace in America and so rare here that, that people at a certain level will be a lot more visually educated than in this country and I think the recent attempts by Gove to drop any kind of visual or indeed creative subject from his baccalaureate was, you know, was the final straw for a lot of us (Arthur).

The convenor sees potential in the use of social media in increasing awareness of the NCE and the RSA more generally. With each exhibiting artist, there is great networking potential to spread positive communication about the event and the subsequent benefits. Visual communication can be key in communicating with younger people as this connects with their interest in popular culture.

A Future Wish List

Arthur was asked what his vision for the future for the RSA and the NCE might be, focusing on the unencumbered ability to express themselves artistically at a high level:

Okay, if I had a wish list it would be enormous and that is for somebody to give us the money to endow a new college, a new college at which nobody paid fees, nobody wrote a word and they came and studied at postgraduate level purely the practice of art and if you like, architecture but without any notion of professional qualification or hoop jumping or examination but just coming and studying at a really high level...

Alan's wish list includes the separation of all the art schools from the universities in Scotland, with an accompanying increase in funding. The current attachment to universities is viewed as problematic, due in part to the administrative and bureaucratic requirements of this relationship.

The true value of art

Marion considers the intrinsic value of art more generally by being able to engage with it either instinctively or intellectually:

It's a really difficult question. It's to engage with an individual's intellect so that they can step into the work so it's not like something that is on a platform or something. So it's like what you were talking about this building maybe being a little bit austere or whatever possibly so I suppose it's engagement. The true value of art is personal engagement. ..Engaging on just a gut feeling is important as well. Just personal engagement with it on any level, intellectual or visceral or whatever. Just being able to have a reaction from it I think.

Alan sees the value of art in terms of historical and political dimensions, and also in relation to the value of art education. This accounts for both economic and cultural value of art. He believes that the term investing in art is problematic and that we should think more in terms of buyers wanting to live with the art they buy by taking risks.

Value of the RSA NC Exhibition captured from the Public

Introduction to the RSA NCE Visitor Survey

The sixth annual RSA New Contemporaries exhibition (NCE) took place from 15th February to 12th March 2014, attracting over 7,000 visitors (based on the ticket sales and invitations for the opening). A survey of NCE visitors was conducted for around 5 hours each day over the last 12 days of the exhibition, from 1st till 12th March, by the project investigators together with a research assistant. A total number of 675 surveys was completed; which includes also those with missing values for some questions. The majority of the data was collected on-site at the RSA in a face-to-face format; an on-line survey was also made available via a private link for those who preferred to participate at a time of their choosing. An initial pilot survey indicated an expected time for participants to complete the survey of about 10 minutes. The survey was made accessible to RSA visitors only.

A note on the visitor survey

We included in our survey a range of questions seeking to elicit participants' general interests in the arts and their previous art experiences including those of the RSA NCE itself (Q1-Q5). To assess the relative value created on or after visiting the exhibition from the personal point of view of visitors; we compare participants' expectations before coming to see the RSA NCE to their experiences after viewing the exhibition (Q6-Q7). We include a series of questions (Q8-Q14) with the intention to measure the different aspects of value of the artworks in the exhibition.

The social value created by arts organisations is not adequately measured by market value (Nicholls, 2007), so alternative means of calibrating social effects have been sought. Some studies have tried to assess how audiences for the performing arts or visitors to museums and galleries interpret their experience in a social or community context. For example, Newman and McLean (2004) looked at the museum services of two UK local authorities which actively used museums to enhance social inclusion; they found evidence that museums and galleries could ameliorate the effects of social exclusion on certain groups in the community.

Organisations can innovate along a path that is consistent with ‘business as usual’ by incremental means, a strategy likely to suit the preferences of existing customers. Although current audiences may eventually accept radical new works, Voss et al. (2006) suggest that this sort of innovation tends to target emerging rather than existing market needs. However it is done, it appears that product innovation of the ‘content-creation’ type is more common and widespread in the cultural industries than is innovation in the economy at large (Handke, 2008; Stoneman, 2009).

Employing both economic and cultural value measures, we seek to assess the value of the exhibition itself from the gallery visitors’ point of view (Q15-Q24). This requires us to develop several contingent valuation approaches including travel cost methods as well as willingness-to-pay (WTP) and willingness-to-donate (WTD) valuations.

Background of Survey Participants

A set of questions evaluating the participants’ socio-demographical backgrounds is also included. As presented in Table 1, based on the collected data, the gender of visitors are closely balanced. The majority of visitors are from the age groups 18 to 34 (52.11%) reflecting an apparently high interest of this younger population in emerging artists and their work. Exhibiting at the NCE, which showcases the artworks from selected recent graduates from the principal art colleges, is recognition of outstanding achievement, as the RSA is one of the most prestigious galleries in Scotland. Thus, the NCE attracts a high number of friends or fellow students of the exhibiting artists as well as prospective and current art college students. Also, the exhibition being contemporary art could be the factor attracting this younger demographic.

Considerable numbers of visitors have art-related occupations evidenced by over 40% who are either art college students, artists, or who work for art and cultural institutions. 28.59% are professionals, the next most substantial sub-group of the participants.

The majority of individuals who complete our survey have either a university degree (39.81%) or a postgraduate degree (21.52%). 26.77% report that their gross annual household income is less than £10,000, which reflects the relatively high proportion of visitors who are students and younger generation artists.

By contrast, we also observe that about 5% of visitors reported gross annual household income in excess of £100,000. Most visitors are from the Edinburgh area (47.07%), or from elsewhere in Scotland (32.72%).

This exhibition was ticketed; £4 for adults with a £2 concession. Those who are *Friends of the RSA* enjoy free admission to the exhibition, along with a guest. The annual rate for *Friends of the RSA* starts from as little as £20 and increases to £150 for the premium membership fee which also allows the benefits to be enjoyed by their immediate family. Of our survey participants, 7.72% are Friends of the RSA.

General information on Survey Participants

From Questions 1 and 5, as reported in Table 2, we observe that the majority of exhibition visitors have an extensive interest in art. 25.93% attend visual art exhibitions more than once a month and 21.04% attend about once a month. Those who indicate their interest in the visual arts as greater than 3 in the scale (5 being 'very intense') are as high as 74.52%.

Table 1 Demographical Background of the RSA NCE Visitor Survey Participants

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| Gender | Total N: 609 | Education | Total N: 618 |
| Male | 50.57% 308 | Secondary school | 12.46% 77 |
| Female | 49.43% 301 | College diploma | 9.06% 56 |
| | | University degree | 39.81% 246 |
| Age | Total N: 609 | Postgraduate degree | 21.52% 133 |
| Below 18 | 1.62% 10 | Professional qualification | 12.94% 80 |
| 18-24 | 27.51% 170 | Technical qualification | 2.91% 18 |
| 25-34 | 24.60% 152 | Other | 1.29% 8 |
| 35-44 | 11.97% 74 | | |
| 45-54 | 13.92% 86 | Household Income | Total N: 538 |
| 55-64 | 12.30% 76 | Less than £10,000 | 26.77% 144 |
| 65-74 | 7.44% 46 | £10,000 to £20,000 | 16.17% 87 |
| 75+ | 0.65% 4 | £21,000 to £30,000 | 13.94% 75 |
| | | £31,000 to £40,000 | 12.83% 69 |
| Job | Total N: 619 | £41,000 to £60,000 | 14.31% 77 |
| Student | 14.22% 88 | £61,000 to £100,000 | 10.78% 58 |
| Art college student | 18.90% 117 | More than £100,000 | 5.20% 28 |
| Artist | 16.80% 104 | | |
| Worker for a cultural institution | 5.33% 33 | Place of residence | Total N: 648 |
| Skilled manual | 6.62% 41 | Edinburgh area | 47.07% 305 |
| Professional | 28.59% 177 | Elsewhere in Scotland | 32.72% 212 |
| Retired | 7.92% 49 | Elsewhere in the UK | 12.65% 82 |
| Other | 1.62% 10 | Outside the UK | 7.56% 49 |
| Friends of the RSA | Total N: 609 | | |
| Yes | 7.72% 47 | | |
| No | 92.28% 562 | | |

Table 2 General Background of Visitor Survey Participants

| | |
|--|---------------------|
| Q1. In general, how often do you attend visual art exhibitions? | Total N: 675 |
| 1) More than once a month | 25.93% 175 |
| 2) About once a month | 21.04% 142 |
| 3) Between 5-8 times a year | 21.78% 147 |
| 4) Between 1-4 times a year | 18.37% 124 |
| 5) Less than once a year | 8.30% 56 |
| 6) This was my first time | 4.59% 31 |
| Q2. Please indicate on the scale below how you would describe the extent of your interest in the visual arts. | Total N: 675 |
| 1) 1 - No real interest | 0.74% 5 |
| 2) 2 | 5.19% 35 |
| 3) 3 | 19.56% 132 |
| 4) 4 | 41.48% 280 |
| 5) 5 - Very intense | 33.04% 223 |
| Q3. What was the main reason for your visit today? | Total N: 675 |
| 1) To see this particular exhibition | 67.26% 454 |
| 2) To make a regular visit to the gallery | 9.48% 64 |
| 3) To visit the gallery for the first time | 15.11% 102 |
| 4) Other reasons | 8.15% 55 |
| Q4. Have you visited previous RSA New Contemporaries Exhibitions? | Total N: 675 |
| 1) Yes | 47.56% 321 |
| 2) No | 52.44% 354 |
| Q4_1. If YES, how many times? | Total N: 321 |
| 1) 1 time | 25.23% 81 |
| 2) 2 times | 29.28% 94 |
| 3) 3 times | 21.50% 69 |
| 4) 4 times | 8.72% 28 |
| 5) 5 times | 15.26% 49 |
| Q4_2. If NO, how did you learn about the NCE? | Total N: 354 |
| 1) Media/Press Review | 4.80% 17 |
| 2) Advertisement | 5.93% 21 |
| 3) Banner on the RSA | 19.21% 68 |
| 4) RSA website | 1.98% 7 |
| 5) Word of mouth | 47.74% 169 |
| 6) Other | 20.34% 72 |
| Q5. Did you visit the NCE alone? | Total N: 675 |
| 1) Yes | 28.59% 193 |
| 2) No | 71.41% 482 |

Over 67% report that the main purpose of their visit to the exhibition is to specifically view the 2014 NCE. Around 50% of visitors have visited previous RSA NCEs; of those, about 15% had attended all five previous exhibitions. About half of those who attended this year for the first time heard about the exhibition by word of mouth (47.74%) and 19.21% were attracted by the prominent banner advertising the exhibition mounted outside the RSA. The RSA website was the least effective medium in attracting new visitors (1.98%). About 30% of visitors came to see the exhibition on their own, while the rest came with others. This rate reflects the level of volition from those visitors coming to the exhibition alone.

Expected vs. Experienced value of the exhibition

We attempt to elicit what visitors expected of the exhibition before visiting, and what they subsequently felt about it once they had actually experienced it. In Questions 6 and 7, participants are asked to report on the extent to which they expected to experience a variety of outcomes before seeing the exhibition and also to the extent to which they experienced the same outcomes after viewing the exhibition.

Participants' responses are based on a 5 point Likert scale. With an intention to assess whether comparative or relative cultural value was created as result of consumers' visits to the exhibition similarly to Bakhshi and Throsby (2010), we ask them to revisit their expectations as well as to judge their experiences. First of all, we asked the survey participants to assess the extent to which they expected an *emotional* experience prior to the exhibition in Q6. We then compare this to the actual level of emotion experienced during the exhibition, as reported in Q7.

Emotional value

If the exhibition had an emotional impact on the visitors, they would feel as moved, excited, and affected both in terms of attraction (positive) or repulsion (negative), consistent with what they expect from their previous arts experiences (Guest, 2002). From the results reported in Table 3, we find that there is no significant difference between visitors' levels of emotional expectation and their actual emotional experience. We consider these relative values; comparing frequent visitors with first time visitors to the RSA NCE. Those who had come to previous RSA NCEs had less satisfying emotional experiences than expected, at the 10% significance level, perhaps as a result of comparison with previous RSA NCEs. By way of contrast, we find no significant relative difference between expectations and experiences on the part of the first time visitors.

Creative value

In a similar manner to the emotional value compared, we assess the relative *creative value* expected and experienced by the visitors to the exhibition before and after visiting the exhibition, respectively. Exhibitions may generate new ideas and inspire viewers. The originality, inventiveness and imaginativeness of the artworks and the themes that artists present at exhibitions and similar events may also stimulate viewers to be productive and creative (Locher, 2014).

A priori, we might expect that this particular exhibition featuring the work of emerging artists might generate a high level of expectation of novelty. We observe a significant difference (at the 10% significance level) between the visitors' expectations of creative value and that which was actually experienced, with visitors expectations as to their creativity being stimulated being greater than what was actually experienced. It may be that visitors' expectations were set unrealistically high.

Informative value

Visitors' expectations regarding the exhibition's ability to improve their understanding both of emerging artists and of visual art, its *informative value*, were both high. However, we observe no significant relative value created from their experiences as the visitors' responses after their visits were generally scaled lower than their responses as to their expectations (all at the 1% significance level) regardless of whether or not they were first time or frequent visitors to RSA NCEs.

Social value

The only relative value in which actual experience was scored more highly than expected was in respect of the *social value* of the experience (significant at 1% level). Visitors were able to discuss the exhibition afterwards with others more than they had expected. They appeared to be able to create and experience the power of sharing and building collective knowledge. Societal dialogues are known to maximise the impact of experience (Belfiore, 2002; 2004), but this significant difference was observed regardless of whether they had attended the RSA NCE previously or whether they had come alone (see Q5).

Given the peculiar nature of the exhibition, with 64 emerging artists from different Scottish art colleges, the exhibition clearly must have created an altogether exclusive experience for each visitor.

Table 3 Expectation vs Experience before and after seeing the exhibition

(The significance levels are denoted by asterisks: *** - 1%, ** - 5%, and * - 10%)

| Q6. - Q7. To what extent did you expect (experience) each of the following before (after) seeing the exhibition? | Means RSA:NCE All visitors (1-Not at all to 5-Very much) | | | | Means RSA:NCE Frequent visitors (1-Not at all to 5-Very much) | | | | Means RSA:NCE First time visitors (1-Not at all to 5-Very much) | | | |
|--|--|-------|----------|-----|---|-------|----------|-----|---|-------|----------|-----|
| | Before | After | Paired T | N | Before | After | Paired T | N | Before | After | Paired T | N |
| Questions (Q6. / Q7.) To have (I had) an emotional experience. | 2.82 | 2.81 | 0.47 | 667 | 2.89 | 2.80 | 1.94* | 317 | 2.76 | 2.81 | -1.09 | 350 |
| To stimulate (The exhibition stimulated) my own sense of creativity. | 3.50 | 3.26 | 6.83*** | 669 | 3.67 | 3.27 | 7.63*** | 317 | 3.36 | 3.25 | 2.25*** | 352 |
| To improve (The exhibition improved) my understanding of emerging artists. | 3.62 | 3.37 | 6.27*** | 670 | 3.76 | 3.45 | 5.39*** | 317 | 3.50 | 3.30 | 3.59*** | 353 |
| To improve (The exhibition improved) my understanding of visual art. | 3.31 | 3.00 | 8.48*** | 667 | 3.35 | 2.94 | 7.68*** | 316 | 3.28 | 3.05 | 4.48*** | 351 |
| To be able to (I can) discuss the exhibition afterwards with others. | 3.26 | 3.58 | -8.51*** | 650 | 3.44 | 3.72 | -5.17*** | 309 | 3.12 | 3.46 | -6.85*** | 341 |

Table 4 Measuring value of artworks at the RSA NCE

(1- Not at all to 5- Very much)

| Q8. Please indicate the level of your agreement on the scale with each of the following statements. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3< | N |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-----|
| 8.1 I felt an emotional connection with the artworks. | 14.81% | 29.17% | 32.72% | 20.22% | 3.09% | 23.31% | 648 |
| 8.2 The quality of the artworks was high. | 2.78% | 10.49% | 31.17% | 37.35% | 18.21% | 55.56% | 648 |
| 8.3 I engaged with the artworks intellectually. | 5.43% | 18.63% | 36.18% | 33.70% | 6.06% | 36.76% | 644 |
| 8.4 The artworks made me think of new ways of seeing things. | 8.29% | 19.05% | 27.96% | 32.87% | 11.83% | 44.70% | 651 |
| 8.5 Talking about the artworks with other people was enjoyable. | 5.71% | 11.58% | 27.41% | 35.89% | 19.41% | 55.30% | 613 |
| 8.6 Some artworks in the exhibition disturbed me. | 29.52% | 23.34% | 21.02% | 18.39% | 7.73% | 26.12% | 647 |

Value of Individual Artworks

In Question 8, participants indicated their level of agreement with several statements relating to various value dimensions of the art works featured in the exhibition. These statements are listed in Table 4 and are assessed on a five point Likert scale.

Throsby (2001) describes numerous features of the cultural value of an artwork which represents different dimensions the artwork including aesthetic quality, symbolic meaning, spiritual resonance, social value, and educational value. We similarly assess the values carried by the individual artwork as distinct from that of the exhibition itself.

When artworks create value for visitors, they feel an emotional connection, appreciate the quality that artworks encompass, develop an intellectual engagement, and experience inspiration (Throsby, 2001; Guest, 2002; Bakhshi and Throsby, 2010). By talking about the artwork with other visitors, they can further create value as a result of being socially connected (Newman and McLean, 2004). Even one or two memorable pieces of artworks can determine the whole experience or memory retained from the exhibition, regardless of their pleasantness or unpleasantness to a particular viewer.

We assess the values of artworks presented at the RSA NCE, and report the percentages of participants who agree with each statement listed in Table 4 on the basis of those who scored their agreement with each statement as greater than the medium value of 3. On that basis, we observe that only about 23% of participants felt an *emotional connection* with the artworks, while over 55% thought the *quality of the works* were high. About 37% reported that they had engaged with the artworks *intellectually*, and about 45% indicated that the artworks made them think of *new ways of seeing things*. The reported *social value* created by artworks was high; 55.30% of participants reported that talking about the artworks with other people was enjoyable. 26.12% indicated that they had found some artworks disturbing. Collectively, the individuality of each artwork contributes to the formation of the viewers' experience of the whole exhibition.

True value of artworks

As presented in Table 5 from Q14, we evaluate the perception of the survey participants about the intertwined relationship between the selling price and the 'true value' of an artwork. Then, we discuss the specific financial value of the RSA NCE exhibition and of the related artworks (Q9 - Q13). Firstly, we elicit perceptions as to these relationships for visual

artworks generally, and secondly, we do the same in respect of the specific artworks in the RSA NCE. Those participants who agreed that the selling prices reflect the true value represented less than 17% of the total number of survey participants.

This result stands both in general and for the particular artworks exhibited at the NCE. Generally participants appear to believe strongly that selling prices fail to reflect the true value. Nevertheless, when we ask whether the selling prices at the NCE are set at the correct level, nearly 70% chose to score this question at 3, thereby expressing the view that prices are set neither low, nor high. What determines the price of an artwork or the true value of an artwork is question which has been the subject of much debate at both the academic and popular level. Findlay (2014) also defines that, at auctions, the price could be socially constructed; however, it is unlikely to directly reflect the value of the work or the true value of the work.

We have observed how vulnerable the art market is, swayed by the trends of fashion as well as by external factors (Findlay, 2014). The value is inseparable from the valuator, thus it is bound to be subjective. However, when the artist is well enough known to have built a reputation, or has an extensive *oeuvre*, the process of valuation may be easier than for those who are unknown to the market and who have uncertain career prospects (Findlay, 2014). Most of the artists at the RSA NCE are exhibiting for the first time after their degree shows; this alone makes it harder for buyers to value their works.

In Q15, we asked the survey participants as to their understanding of the ‘true value’ of an artwork as an open question. 417 participants provided us with responses, and we categorised these as below with examples.

Table 5 Participants’ perceptions on true value of art and its prices

| Q14. Please indicate your responses to the following three questions on the scale. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3< | N |
|---|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------|--------------|----------|
| | Not at all | | | | Very much | | |
| 14.1 Do selling prices for visual artworks, <i>in general</i> , reflect their ‘true’ value? | 21.58% | 28.07% | 33.86% | 13.68% | 2.81% | 16.49% | 570 |
| 14.2 Do selling prices for artworks, <i>at the NCE</i> , reflect their ‘true’ value? | 15.25% | 28.37% | 39.54% | 13.12% | 3.72% | 16.84% | 564 |
| 14.3 Are selling prices <i>at the NCE</i> set at the correct level? | 1.26% | 5.95% | 69.91% | 17.48% | 5.41% | 22.89% | 555 |

1) Production value (94 persons/22.54%)

This was the most popular answer from the participants. Often their responses include very detailed list of extrinsic factors as determinants of the value of an artwork such as materials costs, labour, transport costs, taxes, and commission to the gallery, training, research and development costs, as well as reputation of the artist.

2) Personal value (86 persons/20.62%)

Many people acknowledge that the true value of an artwork is a subjective concept. The value is in 'the eyes of the beholder'. One wrote that '*the value of an artwork to each person will vary depending upon their personal connection and experience of the artwork*'. This concept of value could be applied to many stakeholder groups regardless of whether the individuals referred to are artists, investors or viewers.

3) Monetary value (70 persons/16.79%)

The third most popular response was financial value at the point of sale. The participants noted that the true value is determined as what 'someone is willing to pay'. Collectable or resale value of an artwork was also mentioned.

4) Originality, Creativity & Quality (47 persons/11.27%)

Originality, creativity and quality as well as artistic merit, aesthetic appeal, and the 'intellectual challenge' were designated as important factors determining the true value of an artwork. The participants also noted that quality can be determined not only by the skill and craftsmanship of the artists, but also by ideas which the artworks communicate with the public.

5) Emotional value (40 persons/9.59%)

Emotional impact, experience or 'connection' with the artwork, or the 'sentiment' of the buyer, which is known as 'emotional currency', contributes the value of an artwork. The participants expressed that this may be expressed simply, as the pleasure the artwork brings to the viewers.

6) Intrinsic value (30 persons/7.19%)

Although the word 'intrinsic' is rarely used by survey participants, or used in a different sense from Guest's (2002) interpretation of it which highlights the 'sacred' quality of art, a number of respondents indicated that the true value of an artwork is 'beyond' financial value or is non-monetary. In addition, a small minority of respondents noted that the value of an artwork cannot simply be determined by the material costs involved, or the time spent on the work by the artist. Also, one or two respondents noted that value should be understood in terms of philosophical value.

7) Unable to answer (50 persons/11.99%)

About 12% of participants responded that they were unable to comment on the question as some of them found it too difficult to answer or too vague; others responded to the effect that they did not understand the concept of true value in art.

Financial values created by the RSA NC exhibition

In Table 6, we present the survey results for Q9-Q11. The questions ask survey participants as to (1) whether or not they purchased the RSA NCE catalogue, (2) whether or not they are aware that most artworks are available to purchase and (3) whether or not they have actually purchased one or more artworks.

Catalogue sales

The RSA produces a catalogue for the New Contemporaries exhibition which includes general statements from each art college together with full-page pictures of artworks for each artist categorised by the colleges from which they have graduated. The catalogue sells for £3. Of the participants in our survey, about 18% purchased the catalogue, based on their responses to Q9 as shown in Table 6. Whether or not the catalogue provides a financial return to the RSA is questionable given the high production costs; these also include the time spent in collecting the information and in editing. However, the catalogue can play a significant role for the RSA in terms of public relations, as a gateway for artists to gain publicity for their works and for themselves, and for the public as a guide, souvenir, and collectible object. One resource which the RSA most lacks is an online catalogue enabling public access to the artists' works and to their personal websites. The availability of an online catalogue could open up the world of information.

Artwork Sales

As already mentioned, the RSA is a private gallery, and not a public institution, and one of their major sources of cash inflows is artwork sales. Their commission rate is 40%, and additionally 20% VAT is applied to all sales. The RSA provides a list of artwork prices for the exhibition to every visitor. The list presented over 350 artworks prices from around 60 artists at the RSA NCE2014. The price for an artwork started from £4 and the maximum price was £25,000, with average price of £1,125 and median price of £450 showing positive skew of the price spread. About 50% of the artworks were priced at £500 or below. About 15% of artworks were not priced or indicated as not-for-sale (NFS). During the whole period of the exhibition 62 artworks were sold which belonged to 18 artists. The average price of the sold works was £372 with the median of £205, while the highest price of the artwork sold was £2,000. Total gross return made by the RSA was £23,064.

Based on the responses to Q10-Q12 as shown in Table 6, most of our survey participants are aware that the artworks were available to purchase (90.76%), although the percentage of those who actually made a purchase is a very low 1.72%; those who intended to make a purchase at the time they completed the survey accounted for 13.28% of respondents (Q11).

Purchasing an artwork

Table 6 Financial aspects of the RSA NCE

| | | | | |
|--|---------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Q9. Did you buy the RSA NCE catalogue? | | Total N: 647 | | |
| 1) Yes | | 18.08% | 117 | |
| 2) No | | 81.92% | 530 | |
| Q10. Are you aware that many artworks are available to purchase at this exhibition? | | Total N: 649 | | |
| 1) Yes | | 90.76% | 589 | |
| 2) No | | 9.24% | 60 | |
| Q11. Did you purchase any artwork(s) at the NCE? | | Total N: 640 | | |
| 1) Yes, purchase made | | 1.72% | 11 | |
| 2) No, but I am considering a purchase | | 13.28% | 85 | |
| 3) No, I am not considering a purchase | | 85.00% | 544 | |
| Q12. If you made, or are considering making a purchase how much did you spend/are you considering spending in total (£ maximum or £ range)? | | | | |
| Mean | Median | Standard Deviation. | Maximum | Total N |
| £666.86 | £300 | £1283,58 | £10,000 | 79 |

In Q12, we asked those who consider purchasing an artwork, how much they would be willing to spend. The average price they indicated was around £667 with a median value of £300. The distribution is extremely right-skewed, with a few outliers; the maximum price being as high as £10,000.

Main reason for purchasing an artwork

In Q13, we asked those participants, who had expressed an intention to purchase an artwork from the RSA NCE as to their main reason for contemplating a purchase. Over 75% indicated that the reason would be for the love of the work. Just below 10% indicated that their main reason would be to support the artists. Purchasing works from emerging artists is often regarded as risk taking (Plattner, 1998); as such, less than 3% indicated that their main purpose would be for the potential financial returns.

Travel time & cost analysis

In measuring the value of the RSA NCE, we assess visitors' travel time and costs incurred in visiting the RSA. In environmental economics, the 'travel method' is often applied to measuring the value of the site or the services provided as the computed travel cost is argued to reflect how much people might be willing to pay to enjoy the amenity or facility being considered (Champ, Boyle, and Brown, 2003). This method reflects the 'revealed preference' of individuals; this enables the estimation of individuals' demand for goods or services at different prices based on their response to hypothetical indicated changes in travel costs (Brown and Mendelsohn, 1984). In addition to the question which identify visitors' locations of residence, we also enquire as to whether visiting the NCE was the main reason for the trip, their incurred travel expenses, time spent on their 'round' trip and, finally, the time spent by them at the exhibition.

Table 7 Reasons for purchasing the artworks

| Q13. What would be your main reason for purchasing the artwork(s)? | Total N: 209 | |
|---|---------------------|-----|
| 1) I just love the work | 75.12% | 157 |
| 2) Reflect my tastes | 7.66% | 16 |
| 3) Suits the décor in my home | 0.96% | 2 |
| 4) For the potential financial return | 2.87% | 6 |
| 5) To support the artist(s) | 9.09% | 19 |
| 6) Other reasons | 4.31% | 9 |

Table 8 Travelling cost and time value

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| Q16. Was visiting the NCE the main purpose of your trip today? | Total N: 642 |
| 1) Yes | 66.67% 428 |
| 2) No | 33.33% 214 |
| Q17. What are your total travelling costs relating to your visit to the NCE today? | Total N: 639 |
| 1) Less than £5 | 63.69% 407 |
| 2) £6 - £10 | 10.95% 70 |
| 3) £11 - £20 | 13.30% 85 |
| 4) More than £20 | 12.05% 77 |
| Q18. How much time will you spend on your round trip to see the NCE today? | Total N: 641 |
| 1) Less than 1 hour | 24.34% 156 |
| 2) 1 hour to 2 hours | 55.69% 357 |
| 3) 2 hour to 3 hours | 9.83% 63 |
| 4) More than 3 hours | 10.14% 65 |
| Q19. How long has your visit to the NCE lasted? | Total N: 614 |
| 1) Less than 30 minutes | 3.26% 20 |
| 2) 30 minutes to 1 hour | 42.02% 258 |
| 3) 1 hour to 2 hours | 49.19% 302 |
| 4) More than 2 hours | 5.54% 34 |

As reported in Table 8, 66.67% indicated that visiting the exhibition was the main purpose of their journey on the day of their visit. The value of the exhibition is likely to be more appreciated by those whose main purpose was coming to view the exhibition specifically. It can be difficult to apportion travel time and costs to various purposes; if their trip had more than one purpose the value of the exhibition may be evaluated as relatively less (Loomis, Yorizane, and Larson, 2000). Given that the majority of visitors are from the Edinburgh area, most people spent less than £5 for their trips (a one-day ticket from the local bus company costs £3.50 in Edinburgh), while 12.02% spent more than £20, which represents a considerable amount of travelling cost in comparison to the locals. In the case of 48% of those respondents who spent more than £20 on travel, visiting the NCE exhibition was their main purpose in making their journey.

An estimate of how much the exhibition was appreciated by individuals can be also estimated by the time spent in travelling as well as the time spent at the exhibition itself. Over 50% spent up to two hours travelling to see the exhibition in terms of a 'round' trip, while about 10% spent more than three hours. According to Q19, about 50% of respondents spent up to two hours at the exhibition and 42.02% between 30 minutes to an hour. Visitors would of course have had various competing options instead of coming to see the RSA NCE.

Thus, the real costs involved in coming to see the exhibition could be greater if we account for the opportunity costs of travelling time and costs as well as time spent on the site (Smith, Desvousges and McGivney 1983).

Admission costs and the Randomised Controlled Trial (RCT) analysis

We ask the participants how much they paid as an entry fee. As presented in Table 9, about 49% were charged £4 (the standard adult rate) and 46% were charged £2 (the concession rate) as an entrance fee to the exhibition. About 5% of respondents entered 'for free'. Free entry is allowed mostly to *Friends of the RSA* members. One of our novel approaches in designing our visitor survey was employing randomised controlled trials (RCT) to undertake a Contingent Valuation (CV) approach based on both 'willingness-to-pay' and 'willingness-to-donate' model (Thompson, Berger, Blomquist, and Allen, 2002; Throsby, 2003).

To evaluate how individuals perceive cultural value, we employ a behavioural economics approach, taking account of psychological effects. In contrast to expected utility theory, psychologists have argued that individuals perceive questions differently depending on the framing of the problem and the presentation of outcomes (Kahneman and Tversky, 1984). In this survey with gallery visitors we assess whether or not the stated preferences of individuals varies depending on the manner in which the questions are presented.

We designed two different versions of in respect of our eliciting perceptions as to whether the entry fee charged was 'too little', 'about right' or 'too much'. Version A respondents are treated as a control group and version B respondents as a treatment group. As presented in Table 9, extra information is incorporated in version B to the effect that the RSA gallery is an independent, privately-funded institution not receiving any core local or central government funding. Utilising these two versions enables us to test the effect of information provision on respondents' WTP. The relative responses to versions A and B respectively allows us to identify whether or not informing people that the RSA is a private gallery and that the NCE exhibition receives no public funding increases their WTP.

In the case of version A, 86.75% thought that the fee charged was about right, while 5.36% thought it was too little and 7.89% thought it was too much. In the case of version B, 86.82% thought that the fee charged was about right, while 9.32% thought it was too little and 3.86% thought it was too much. Comparing the responses to the two versions, we observe that in the case of version B a much greater percentages of individuals reported that the fee charged was too little compared to version A.

Likewise, in the case of version B a much smaller percentages of individuals reported that the fee charged was too much as compared to version A. These differences are significant according to the Kruskal-Wallis equality-of-populations rank chi-squared test with ties at a 1% significance level.

Willingness-to-Pay (WTP)

Consequently in Q23_1, we ask the participants how much they would be willing to pay (WTP) as an entry fee to this exhibition. Due to considerable observed outliers, data above the 95th percentile are winsorised at the 95th percentile. The reported WTP for the entry fee ranged from £0 to £10. Based on all participants, the mean value reported was £4.27 with a median value of £5.

Based on the extra information provision in version B, we hypothesise as below.

Hypothesis 1: Given the extra information provided in version B in Q23, indicating that the RSA is a private gallery and that the NCE receives no public funding, we hypothesise that version B respondents will be willing to pay a higher admission fee than are version A respondents.

$$\mu WTP(\text{version A}) < \mu WTP(\text{version B})$$

As shown in Table 9, participants reported that the average (mean) admission fee they would be willing to pay as £4.27 (median £5). When we compare responses between participants who were randomly allocated to versions A and B of the survey, there is only a £0.05 difference in their mean values while the difference in their median values is £1. However, these differences both in terms of their mean and median values are statistically insignificant (not reported). Thus based on our RCT, we reject our hypothesis that there is a significant treatment effect resulting from the information, included in version B of the survey, to the effect that the RSA is a private gallery which does not receive government funding, on their WTP in terms of admission fee.

It was also noteworthy that the reported average WTP for the admission fee of £4.27 is very similar to the actual standard adult fee of £4 charged for admission to the RSA NCE. When we consider WTP in terms of an entry fee, it is critical to take account of one of the key behavioural concepts; *anchoring* (Kahneman and Tversky, 1972; Tversky and Kahneman, 1974).

The most relevant factor as a reference point in determining the participants' WTP in respect of the entry fee is arguably how much they actually paid for entry to the exhibition. Thus, we also compare their stated WTP for the entry fee with the amount which they actually paid. As indicated in Table 9, respondents' WTP in terms of admission fees is very similar to the entry fees which they actually paid.

Furthermore, the differences in WTP between those groups who respectively paid £2, £4 or another amount for entry are significant at 1 % according to the Kruskal-Wallis equality-of-populations rank chi-squared test with ties. Thus we claim that our findings on participants' WTP are anchored by the admission fees charged by the RSA.

Table 9 Admission fees and WTP

| | | | | |
|---|-------------|---------------------|------------|----------|
| Q22. How much did you pay today as an entry fee? | | Total N: 628 | | |
| 1) £2 | | 45.86% | 288 | |
| 2) £4 | | 49.04% | 308 | |
| 3) Other | | 5.10% | 32 | |
| Q23. Version A) What is your opinion of the entry fee charged? | | Total N: 317 | | |
| 1) Too little | | 5.36% | 17 | |
| 2) About right | | 86.75% | 275 | |
| 3) Too much | | 7.89% | 25 | |
| Q23. Version B) The RSA is an independent, privately-funded institution not receiving any core local or central government funding. What is your opinion of the entry fee charged? | | Total N: 311 | | |
| 1) Too little | | 9.32% | 29 | |
| 2) About right | | 86.82% | 270 | |
| 3) Too much | | 3.86% | 12 | |
| Q23_1. Willingness to pay for the admission fee | | | | |
| By versions | Mean | Median | S.D | N |
| All | £4.27 | £5 | £2.13 | 467 |
| Version A | £4.24 | £4 | £2.22 | 222 |
| Version B | £4.29 | £5 | £2.04 | 245 |
| By price paid | Mean | Median | S.D | N |
| £2 | £3.82 | £4 | £1.83 | 214 |
| £4 | £4.84 | £5 | £2.19 | 233 |
| Other | £2.45 | £2 | £2.35 | 20 |

Willingness-to-Donate (WTD)

In similar fashion to our WTP questions, we investigate how much individuals are willing to donate to support the RSA NCE exhibition. We again employ a RCT to identify individuals' Willingness-to-Donate (WTD) in order to evaluate how individuals perceive the value of the exhibition, taking account of the psychological effects of their loss aversion which is defined according to *Prospect Theory* (Tversky and Kahneman, 1991) as the propensity of individuals to be more sensitive to their losses rather than to their gains.

Prospect Theory (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979) conceptualises two stages in an individual's decision-making process, *framing* and *valuation*, as a combination of mental accounting and loss aversion. When individuals activate their 'mental accounting', they apply 'narrow framing' in that they tend to define each transaction separately.

The *value function* of Prospect Theory (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979) is presented in Figure 2; this is defined visually as an S-shaped graph with a 'kink' at the origin. The kink indicates that people are very conscious of even marginal changes from the perspective of their respective reference points. The slope of the model is identified as concave for gains and convex for losses, and displays diminishing sensitivity in both directions. However, the slope is steeper for losses than for gains.

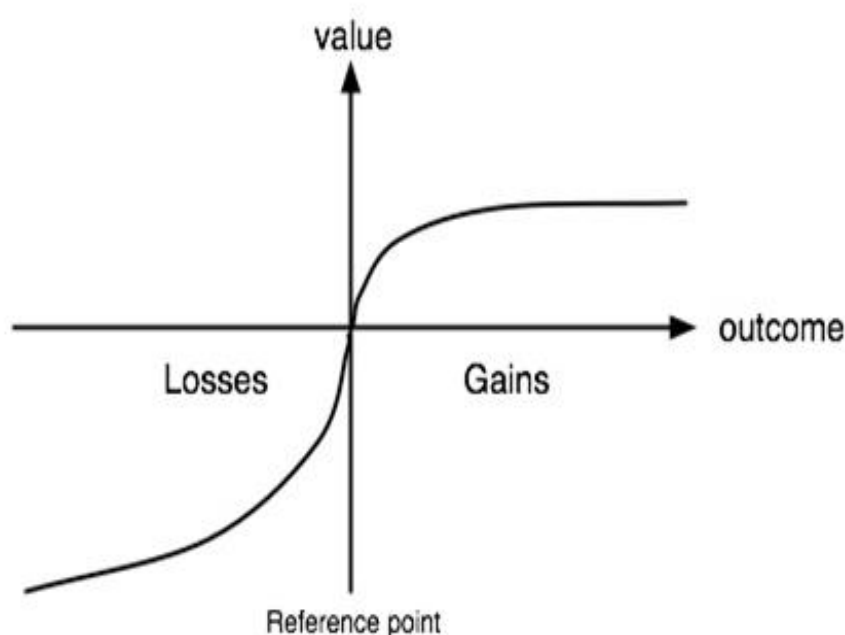


Figure 1 Value Function in Prospect Theory (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979)

This difference in slope is a reflection of individuals' underlying loss aversion. The slope for losses is about twice as steep as that for gains, suggesting that people experience the pain which results from losing a given amount at a level which is more than twice that for the pleasure experienced by gaining the same amount.

Utility is defined in terms of gains and losses rather than in terms of the individual's final wealth position. As in Prospect Theory, we are interested in identifying 'changes in value', rather than 'absolute value'. Changes in value are more accessible, as they are more easily appreciated by individuals than is absolute value as discussed in standard utility theory.

Based on the propositions of Prospect Theory, we introduce three hypothetical scenarios. Version 1, which is used for a control group, represents the *Status Quo*, the reference point which defines the individual's current position. Version 1 acts as a control condition and it merely asks for a donation highlighting that the NCE is the only available platform showcasing the artworks of Scotland's emerging artists. Version 2 is one of two 'treatment' groups and seeks to elicit individuals' WTD in order to enjoy 'one more' event similar to the NCE. Version 2 supposes that, through fundraising, there exists the possibility of having *two* platforms similar to the RSA NCE. Version 2 moves utility from the Status Quo to the *Domain of Gain* as explained in Prospect Theory. Version 3, as another treatment group, moves the *Status Quo* to the *Domain of Loss* by introducing the hypothetical scenario of raising funds in order to prevent an outcome whereby there is no such platform similar to the RSA NCE available to consumers.

As individuals are loss averse, they feel a greater amount of pain when they lose something compared to when they gain something of the same magnitude; we therefore expect the scenario which postulates losing the RSA NCE to give rise to the highest WTD of the three. The wordings of all three versions are as below.

Q24 Version 1 – Control Group

NCE is the only exhibition showcasing the artworks of Scotland's emerging talent. Supposing the RSA was raising funds to help support the NCE, how much would you be willing to donate?

Q24 Version 2 – Treatment Group: Gain-Framed

*NCE is the only exhibition showcasing the artworks of Scotland's emerging talent. Supposing that the RSA is raising a fund to provide **another platform similar to the NCE** for emerging artists within Scotland, how much would you be willing to donate?*

Q24 Version 3 – Treatment Group: *Loss-Framed*.

*NCE is the only exhibition showcasing the artworks of Scotland’s emerging talent. Supposing that the RSA was in a position where **it had to discontinue the exhibition because of financial constraints**. How much would you be willing to donate in order for the RSA to be able to continue with the exhibition?*

These three versions allow us to test whether or not the difference in WTD stems from diminishing marginal utility of consumption; intuitively, there may be a considerable benefit accruing from the first NCE, but a second may be less beneficial.

Hypothesis 2: Based on the propositions of Prospect Theory, we hypothesise that the average WTD is highest for the loss frame (version 3), then for the gain frame (version 2), followed lastly by the control group (version 1).

$$\mu \text{ WTD (version 1)} < \mu \text{ WTD (version 2)}$$

$$\mu \text{ WTD (version 1)} < \mu \text{ WTD (version 3)}$$

$$\mu \text{ WTD (version 2)} < \mu \text{ WTD (version 3)}$$

For Q24, people’s WTD can also be affected by the varying conditions experienced hypothetically when answering Q23. The results in Q24 can be confounded by the respondents’ prior exposure to answering Q23.

Thus to test the hypotheses in Q24 independently of the hypotheses in Q23, we create a total of 6 versions of the survey:

$$2(\text{Q23 version A, version B}) * 3(\text{Q24 version 1, version 2, version 3})$$

These six versions are classified as A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, and B3. To take one specific version as an example, in version B3 we assess the effect of the information that the RSA is a self-funded institution, together with individuals’ WTD under the hypothetical scenario of possibly losing the RSA NCE. The reported WTD ranges from £0 to £500. Due to considerable outliers observed in individuals’ WTD in Q24, any data above the 95th percentile are winsorised at the 95th percentile, which is £100. Table 10 presents the results in respect of Q24 as well as for the six different versions. The reported average (mean) WTD over all participants is £12.04, although the median of £5 indicates that the values are positively skewed. We present descriptive statistics of the responses for Q24 in Table 10 as well as t-test results comparing the average WTD reported by participants for different versions.

Table 10 Testing for Statistical differences in WTD between Six Versions

| Q24. Willingness to Donate for the Exhibition Descriptive Statistics and T-test results | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| Version | Mean | Median | Standard Deviation | N |
| All | £12.04 | £5 | £19.24 | 323 |
| 1 | £8.74 | £5 | £12.70 | 99 |
| 2 | £15.08 | £5 | £25.24 | 99 |
| 3 | £12.23 | £8 | £17.73 | 125 |
| Each version | Difference | T-test | Sig. | Result |
| VA – VB | -2.40 | -1.11 | 0.261 | VA=VB |
| V1 – V2 | -6.34** | -2.23 | 0.027 | V1<V2 |
| V1 – V3 | -3.49* | -1.73 | 0.085 | V1<V3 |
| V2 – V3 | 2.85 | 0.98 | 0.350 | V2=V3 |
| Six versions | Difference | T-test | Sig. | Result |
| A1 – B1 | -3.50 | -1.31 | 0.197 | A1=B1 |
| A2 – B2 | -1.09 | -0.21 | 0.833 | A1=B1 |
| A3 – B3 | -0.92 | -0.29 | 0.776 | A2=B2 |
| A1 – A2 | -7.28* | -1.80 | 0.080 | A1<A2 |
| A1 – A3 | -4.70** | -2.17 | 0.033 | A1<A3 |
| A2 – A3 | 2.57 | 0.59 | 0.559 | A2=A3 |
| B1 – B2 | -4.87 | -1.17 | 0.244 | B1=B2 |
| B1 – B3 | -2.13 | -0.59 | 0.554 | B1=B3 |
| B2 – B3 | 2.74 | 0.65 | 0.514 | B2=B3 |

The previous RCT allocation in Q23 between versions A and B produces no statistically significant results in terms of individuals' WTD. A vs B is compared, as well as A1 vs B1, A2 vs B2, and A3 vs B3, and none of them show statistical differences in their mean values.

As presented in Table 10, significant differences are identified only when we compare version 1 to *both* versions 2 and 3, as well as when we compare version A1 to both versions A2 and A3. Under both the gain and loss frames, individuals' WTD is significantly higher than under the control group, which introduces no additional hypothetical conditions. We find that participants appreciate more 'changes in value', rather than 'absolute value', in terms of the number of RSA NCE type events regardless of whether the scenarios is gain-framed or loss-framed. This is a reflection of participants under the two 'treatment' conditions reporting significantly higher WTD for both these hypothetical scenarios than the WTD reported by the control group.

However, there is no difference in participants' WTD between gain and loss frames. As opposed to the propositions of Prospect Theory which suggests that losses weigh more than twice gains of a similar magnitude, we find that our participants value both hypothetical scenarios equally. Although we find no significant loss aversion effect, an important aspect

of our findings is that visitors to the gallery value the prospect of enjoying 'one more' event similar to the NCE as much as they do the prospect of losing the existing exhibition. It may be that we need to understand the value of cultural experience as conceptually different from more general changes in utility as explicated in prospect theory. Art consumers appear never to value the prospect of having more cultural experiences as a declining variable; as they become frequent consumers of art events, the value created may continue at a given level but it never appears to diminish.

Another noteworthy finding from the RCT experiments is that there is no significant difference between versions 1-3, when groups are under RCT WTP version B of Q23. This result is particularly interesting as it indicates that when extra information is provided to the effect that the RSA receives no core funding, participants realise that their support is critical to the RSA. As a result there is no significant difference between the three points of prospect theory incorporated within the scenarios i.e. in terms of whether or not one, two or no such RSA NCE events are postulated.

Thus, we reject our second hypothesis that loss aversion determines participants' WTD. However we also find that participants value the prospect of having one more event as much as that of losing the same event when no additional factors are incorporated.

Table 11 Value created from the RSA organisers

| Q20. Please indicate the level of your agreement with each statement using the scale below. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3< | N |
|--|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------|--------------|----------|
| | Not at all | | | | Very much | | |
| 20.1 The layout of the exhibition was helpful. | 3.39% | 11.15% | 33.28% | 38.29% | 13.89% | 52.18% | 619 |
| 20.2 The presentation of the exhibition was satisfying. | 2.27% | 6.80% | 23.30% | 45.31% | 22.33% | 67.64% | 618 |
| 20.3 There was sufficient information provided at the exhibition about the artworks and artists. | 20.48% | 31.77% | 23.55% | 17.10% | 7.10% | 24.20% | 620 |

Value created from the RSA NCE organisers

One component of the value that the RSA or the organisers can provide to visitors may be the way in which the exhibition is presented to the public. Curating the exhibition and communicating with the visitors in terms of what the exhibition is attempting to achieve does require expertise.

As indicated in Table 11, over 50% of visitors to the exhibition believed that the layout of the exhibition was helpful, and nearly 70% indicated that the presentation of the exhibition was satisfying. Only 24.20% thought, however, that there was sufficient information provided at the exhibition about artworks and artists.

Indirect and long-term value created from the RSA NCE

The dispersive effect of the exhibition was evaluated as a mean of assessing its long-term effects in terms of impact on the exhibition visitors' cultural experiences. As reported in Table 12, nearly 60% of visitors reported that they would recommend the exhibition to others. Over 70% indicated that they would like to attend more exhibitions in general. About 60% indicated a willingness to enhance their understanding of the visual arts.

Over 50% intended to introduce others to the visual arts by inviting them to exhibitions or other events. About 30% are hoping to take a course of art study. We are, however, aware that our survey participants are self-selected groups who are comfortable with cultural engagement. Thus, the dispersive effects of the exhibition may be limited (Kawashima, 2006).

Table 12 Indirect and Long-term Effects of the Exhibition

| Q21. As a result of visiting the NCE today, do you plan to do any of the following? (Please indicate on the scale) | 1 Not at all | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 Very much | 3< | N |
|---|-----------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------------------------|--------------|----------|
| 21.1 I would recommend this exhibition to others. | 5.29% | 9.78% | 25.00% | 36.06% | 23.88% | 59.94% | 624 |
| 21.2 I'd like to attend more exhibitions in general. | 3.39% | 5.01% | 20.36% | 42.00% | 29.24% | 71.24% | 619 |
| 21.3 I'd like to enhance my understanding of the visual arts. | 4.04% | 8.72% | 27.14% | 37.80% | 22.29 | 60.09% | 619 |
| 21.4 I'd like to introduce others to the visual arts by inviting them to exhibitions or other events. | 6.32% | 11.51% | 30.79% | 29.50% | 21.88% | 51.38% | 617 |
| 21.5 I'd like to undertake a course of art study. | 29.90% | 17.74% | 21.11% | 14.70% | 16.55% | 31.25% | 592 |

Value of the RSA NC Exhibition discussed by the Public

External impressions of the NCE: leading to Enhancement

The visitor survey included an opportunity for respondents to give their qualitative comments on what they felt was the true value of art. Some thought that this was a personal, subjective evaluation while others mentioned that value was created through the validation process involving other people feeling that they had gained something from it. Often respondents felt that the intrinsic benefits were a more important value than any monetary dimension. True value was even defined as a form of emotional currency. A number of respondents adopted a functionalist approach to assessing true value by stressing the need to account for the time taken to make the art work, as well as the cost of the materials. For some, true value equated to how much someone was willing to pay for the art work. For others, a more reflective stance was taken where time, thought and the skill processes involved were evaluated, in addition to any communication of interesting concepts or ideas. However, the idea itself also contains value. Interestingly, one respondent noted that, through the construction and exhibiting of the art work, the message has been successfully conveyed to the audience and that this was where the value lay. The experience of the art work also relates to its true value as an intrinsic dimension. True value can be dynamic rather than a static concept. It also relates to the impact or changes it as made on the viewer and others, including society and the wider art community. One respondent summed up the ingredients of the true value of art in stating that it involves intellectual value, intrinsic value and true market value dimensions.

Public reaction to the RSA NCE

Visitors to the exhibition reflected on their experience. For many it was deemed to have been very positive overall. Terms such as ‘really fantastic and proud of all the artists’ and being ‘in awe’ encapsulates the positive reception of the exhibition. The exhibition was deemed to have been a valuable opportunity for the artists. There were some observations on how the visit could have been improved, rather than any criticisms of the exhibition itself. Some wanted to have access to more information about the work in general as they felt that it was sometimes hard to engage with. Written insight from the artists themselves was also thought to be a good idea. There were a number of expressions of disappointment;

for example, not being able to photograph the work. However this can be explained by the emergent nature of the work and the felt need to protect the artists' ideas at this stage. A few respondents expressed negative sentiments about the quality of the work and its perceived derivative nature. Underpinning this was the notion that the idea behind the work was being promoted over technical skill and artistry.

During one of the focus group interviews, an older lawyer with a traditional perspective reflected back on what he viewed as the original meaning of art and how this has now broadened. This also mirrors the development of the RSA itself. He also questions the funding of this type of art:

I think that there was a time when art was either paper, paint, canvas, steel, bronze, now its performance and it's bleeding into theatre and theatre bleeds into art and yes, what is art? I think art, people who funded these buildings, they intended it to be art using certain traditional tools as it were i.e. canvas and paper and brush, whatever and I don't think they necessarily would have intended it to be what it is now. If people want that, get somebody else to fund the thing and they can show that stuff there.

There were a few observations from visitors to the exhibition that they would have liked more information on the artists, and that clearer guidance for negotiating the show would have helped.

A visitor to the exhibition was an art collector who had attended a number of previous NCEs and degree shows. He raised concerns about the quality of some of the work in general but thought that this year's exhibition was better, stimulating him to buy one of the art works:

but this year was very interesting in the sense that I thought that the quality was overall much higher than I've seen and because of that, you know, there was one of the pieces that I bought, so, and that was quite, you know, that was encouraging. It was nice to see something where you go "right, I can see there's some real quality going on here, some real craftsmanship for want of a better word" and I think previously I was left to think the single thing that I felt has been most lacking where you look at, you look at work and it's almost like there's no, there's no ehm craft gone into the work so, you know, people haven't in the 4 years that they've been studying they haven't learnt how to apply paint in any kind of meaningful way, they haven't learnt how to even display their works in a method, in a way that suggests they've even cared about what they're presenting (regular attendee).

For this individual, the technical skill behind the production of the artwork was what impressed him the most. Here the quality of the work was where the value lay. The lawyer in the focus group interview explained his expectations and subsequent experiences of the current NCE:

My expectations were of more representative art and what I saw wasn't the kind of stuff I would hang and therefore it didn't get me excited, enthused, there was no way I would go to that exhibition and to the people that I know would I say "you've got to go to that" but that's because I've a very narrow set of tastes.

He goes on to consider whether the RSA is in touch with the wider audience, explaining that his expectations as a traditionalist were to see something 'nice':

I don't think they're catering to the wider audience as such. I don't think they necessarily recognise that some people may just be reactionary and they want reactionary stuff. I've yet to see something like a nice bronze bust or a nice landscape or a nice portrait but okay, I may be just a wee bit sad but sad people are out there and it is supposed to be catering for us...

For the retired engineer, this was an unplanned visit, resulting in a positive impression of the exhibition, although he had little inclination to make a purchase:

Ehm it was a very wet day and I was passing ehm, so I went in ehm, I really was expecting to see...what is in the market in the way of Scottish...I was overwhelmed by the sheer scale and for me it became far too much after a while and the rain had stopped. I didn't get to see it all but I was impressed by what I saw. I wouldn't say I would have bought very much if I'd had the money....

He considers the role of the market and how people define art as influences on what is being produced. Not all art can be innovative and that realistic expectations also impact:

I think that...artists have to live and...there are market forces and presumably artists want to sell their work generally ehm they need to live. So ehm there is definitely a place for ehm art which is not completely cutting edge but it's better than buying a reproduction in the shop down the road. So I think we have to be very careful here about how we define what art is all about and I'm sure there are loads and loads of books about that. I don't think art has to be cutting edge because artists have to make a living and not everybody wants ehm some weird thing on their walls basically and you know, I think you can't ask an artist whether they're just doing what they do because they want to be cutting edge. I don't think so.

In stating this, however, he also recalls the work of a performance artist at the exhibition. Even though it was not to his taste, he demonstrated evidence of thinking about and engaging with the performance:

What I remembered about that was thinking ehm that guy has a lot of guts to sit there all day doing that. That's what I remember about it and thinking "I couldn't do that" and "what's it all about?", what's it all about anyway but I admired his, I admired his character and guts for doing it but I, this is not recommending you fill that place with people like that.

He thought that the experience of the exhibition would have been improved for him if he had been able to talk with some of the exhibiting artists. The young artist also agrees with this, stating that more information on the artists would have improved the visit.

In stark contrast, the older lawyer with traditionalist views saw this as being inappropriate and that:

You wouldn't buy that and put it in your house. You wouldn't have it in the office, so what's the point of it?

He goes on to consider the effort required to understand some art forms where the development of ideas should not be the end of the matter and that a more transferable value should result. Even though his reaction is negative, it still demonstrates evidence of engagement. He continues by explaining how he makes sacrifices in order to buy art that he likes:

...I will inconvenience myself to own a nice object that's...what I choose, I choose not to live a large property of what you will...I have no creative talent, I envy the creative and somewhere there will be some curious psychology thing whereby my means of treating myself as being more creative is buying creativity, or buying an example of the work that somebody has. I've got a great, great uncle who was a Royal Academician but eh I don't have that.

He associates the higher price paid for an art work with higher value and greater appreciation, but admits that this is not always the case:

you will treasure something typically more if you have paid more, then there are other things you acquired for a song and you think "that's one of the things that I would seize if the place was on fire" type of thing so it's not all, it's not all money.

The retired engineer suggests that performance art is ephemeral art, and yet he remembered it. For the young artist who had exhibited her own work at the NCE two years previously, she already had some knowledge of the art being exhibited, through her proactive engagement with the degree shows. There she had acquired some experience of judging or evaluating the art being exhibited:

Well I kind of knew what to expect because I'd been round three of the degree shows and I knew who'd kind of been picked so I was kind of waiting to see whether it was gonna be the work that was in the degree show or if it was gonna be new stuff. So there was like artists that I'd quite liked when I'd went round to see it, it was kinda looking to see if it was gonna be something new or if it was just gonna be a sort of repetition of the same thing which I actually don't mind, I don't mind going to see it again like the following year and I expected a lot of variety which there was, there usually is...I can remember certain parts and there will be ones that I kind of can't actually remember which one it was in so but yeah, I mean there's always some stuff that I'll go round and see at these sort of exhibitions and I won't have as much time for certain pieces as I would for others. I have my own tastes the same as anyone else's but at the same time I like that there's so much to look at even if I don't like it all. So, yeah.

Another visitor to the exhibition, now retired but now an active abstract landscape painter himself harbours expectations that the NCE will improve but he sees little merit in the product of today's art colleges. He reflects back on one of the exhibits he remembers in terms of the value it offered to him:

...I think this might have been this year but again I can't really remember was 5 canvasses in a row all box canvasses, all above eh 15 inches square; one in the middle was framed, the other two were just box canvasses and they were matt black, every one of them. They were each for sale for something like £2,000 each and there was a little sticker on them saying that they were painted with peat from some Outer Hebridean Island and again you know that just, it passes me by. I cannot understand for a minute why anyone would do that. I can't understand why it is shown in an art gallery. I can't understand why anyone would pay that sort of money for a blank matt, black canvas ehm and you know I'm sorry, I'm beginning to rant. I'll stop.

He admits, however, that although he is a trained artist he doesn't understand much of the work being exhibited. He views quality in terms of technical competence in relation to colour mixing, colour contrasts and depth of colour.

Technical skills of the exhibiting artists

This technical skill dimension was also discussed by three focus group respondents - a young artist, an older lawyer and a retired architect. They discussed the removal of drawing classes in the art school curriculum. The lawyer felt that this was an essential building block in training to be an artist, while the young artist noted that students often have to fight to get life drawing classes. This flags up a skills or competency issue. The lawyer felt that execution and implementation of traditional skills is vital, otherwise poor delivery will result.

Visitor thoughts on pricing of the work

This same respondent gave some insight into the price of an art work, making it clear that it should not be the only element of value. He places long term pleasure from the art over any investment interests:

...value and price are two different things for me...there's the value that I will get out of it over time so you know for example my Neil McPherson oil, you know, 15 years ago whenever I bought that cost me £1250 which was a lot of money at the time...but if you think that I've had 15 years' worth of pleasure from that picture and I still like looking at it and seeing things that I haven't seen before or seeing it in a different light which you know makes the oils shine in a different way. So there's that value that I, personal value that I extract from it. Whether that painting has any financial value in terms of you know is it an investment, that's not really something I, I don't buy the things as an investment because and I think you know unless you're operating in part of the market, you know, where you're dealing in very high profile artists in which there's quite a liquid market and where there is information about pricing and whatever else then you're kind of daft to invest in, daft to buy things on the basis that you might be able to sell them 10 years down the line which I mean I tend to buy things because I like, I like the thing, whatever it is, and I gain pleasure from having it on my wall or on my table. So as I said, there's two different things there. What I might think might be the right price for something then that's a different kind of evaluation I suppose (regular attender).

He viewed the asking price for the work he bought as very fair and expected subsequent works by the artist to increase in price over time. In fact, he was so impressed by his work that he introduced the artist to several of his colleagues who run a gallery in the Cotswolds, indicating the potential opportunities for the artist arising from a buyer's network. This then serves as an example of the NCE as a platform for developing the value of an artist's work. The older lawyer stated that he doesn't buy art for investment, but acquires it with a view to it not losing value:

I acquire with a view to it not losing value. I don't, I don't buy art for investment. I know a lot of people think that's what you would do but it's, it's not but you just want

to think “I’ve got value”. If I came to sell it, okay I might get a third or a quarter of whatever I’d paid for it, but no, I am prepared to spend money on, on art.

In terms of the pricing of the emerging artists’ work, he thought that this was generally the acceptable pricing level for this type of work, even though he holds a traditionalist view. He considers pricing levels and value for the buyer:

I mean you don’t go into a gallery and say “now I want to look at the pieces that are priced between X pound and X pound because those are the pieces I’m going to buy, I’m going to be interested in”. You look at a piece, do you like it, then at that moment of “what are they asking?”, “oh right”. So money isn’t the determinant for your liking of art, it just determines whether you buy it or not, or can afford to buy it or not.

He goes on to promote the economic, instrumental value approach to pricing the art work:

It’s not cost, it’s what the market will bear, what’s fashionable, what’s been paid elsewhere, what’s comparable to that, what price does it attract and a whole pile of typical economic factors like that.

The retired engineer from one of the focus groups breaks down his thoughts on the rationale for price setting, considering both tangible and intangible dimensions:

...but the difficulty is how do you cost the thought process and you know...you can look at a work of art and say “that is really beautiful, that must have taken a long time, very high quality materials but ehm there isn’t much thought to it” and that, there must have been theses on this, how to cost art, how do you cost thought process and the imagination in a work of art, and that’s the difficulty I think. So I tend to go for materials and ehm the quality of the work first and that sets an idea in my head as to what this work might be worth but, but I’m afraid as an engineer I don’t value properly the thought process.

The young artist who has exhibited previously at the NCE doesn’t tend to think about price while creating her work, noting that this is the last thing on her mind when making something.

Visitor thoughts on the prices charged by the artists

For the regular attender, the majority of the prices set were reasonable, given his concerns for the quality of the artistry and craft contributing to the art work. Another determinant is the lack of commercial awareness of many of the exhibiting artists compared with well-known successful artists who exhibit market awareness and are able to develop market

segmentation strategies. An appreciation of the factors behind market creation and market following would also be a good idea:

...I think an understanding of how the market works and what people might be looking for would have value to them...some artists will be doing their thing because that's what they want to do, they want to explore a particular media or they've got something that's driving them and they're not really interested in whether anybody buys it or not that the act is about creating, creating the work and that's...perfectly okay, you know, I don't have any problem with that, it's very much if the artist wants to be able to earn a living from doing that as well then some commercial awareness is absolutely essential I think. You know particularly in today's you know in today's internet focused world where things can take off overnight and then disappear, you know, equally, equally as fast. If you look at, say look a Tracy Emin, you know, she's got...her own website and that's...selling things that are at the lower end of her market but which make it accessible to Joe Public so you can buy a teacup with, you know, a design on it or...the print that she did for the Queen's Jubilee and they're you know several hundred pounds rather than tens of thousands. Equally, you can...go to White Cube and probably pay an absolute fortune for that. So...she shows a very good commercial awareness as does someone like Damien Hirst, you know, where he's making money from so many different outlets in terms of what he's trying to do...(regular attender).

There was some discussion by respondents on the issue of charging the artists commission on their work, in the same way that commercial galleries operate. What was not so clear to them was that the RSA is an independent organisation, not supported by the tax payer. On considering the longer term nature of price setting by the artist, this was thought to depend on the particular career aspirations of the artist and the frequency of making the art. The retired visitor who is also a painter and Friend of the RSA offers the example of an established Scottish artist, comparing his prices to that of the New Contemporary artists:

[Charles MacQueen is] a moderately well-known Scottish painter and he sells, he's an established artist, he sells his work for £2-£4,000, very abstract, but wonderfully constructed work in my opinion and people pay that for his work. I can't see people wanting to pay the same sort of prices for students who have just graduated from art college

Visitor thoughts on exhibition entry price

For a regular attender, the £4 entry charge is reasonable, although a joint entry and catalogue price might be more attractive where some information on the artists is available. The older lawyer felt that the entry price was fair, although there was a case for concessions

for those on a limited income. He also raised the prospect of corporate sponsorship and its ability to reduce the entry price. This has also been considered by the RSA itself.

Visitor thoughts on prices charged by galleries more generally

Commercial galleries have a vested interest in making money, with price escalation practices and the related availability of the artwork often shaping price setting. Galleries seem to be trying to influence the market price by giving the impression of scarcity of an artist's work, whereas the reality is often the opposite. The regular exhibition attender explains his thinking:

I would say that it's quite easy for galleries if somebody has a good show...for them to suddenly ramp up the pricing because they think there's this wider demand for the work...and so...if they've been selling the unique pieces of an artist for £3,000 then and they've sold well and then the next show they're £8,000 each then ehm £8,000 for a single work is, it's not a whim purchase, you know...one you've got to have the money for it and for two you've got to not mind about spending £8,000 on a piece of art. So as I say, there's a lot of stuff out there that's probably overpriced. I think galleries sit on portfolios of work as well and so for example you may have works by an individual artist where actually they're sort of looking for 25 grand, 50 grand for one piece but actually if you look into the availability of works then you can see that you know there may be tens of work still available from previous shows and years by that artist but what they're trying to do is set the market price at a very, at a certain level but you know in some respects it's at a level where there isn't a great market at that price for...for that person's work. It's a difficult one without knowing because I can only say what I can observe or interpolate from the information I have but that's the feeling that I end up with for some artists.

Visitor thoughts on how the RSA could widen their audience engagement

Visibility of the NCE to the wider public is an issue, due in part to the finances of the RSA. However, due to the location of the RSA, it is unsurprising that some visitors are tourists who just happen to come across the exhibition as they walk along Edinburgh's Princess Street:

...tourists are maybe a bit more open to coming in let's say you know I suppose you could say well how many of the people that come to the show are in that, in the young age bracket, under 25 and unemployed...is there any way that they even know the show exists. So in that sense I know that these shows exist because I visit several of the shows each year and it's the kind of thing that I'm interested in. I wonder how

much visibility there is of its existence for people that don't know...I think it does have value so in answer to your question for the wider community and I mean any exposure for art, a lot of it is just about the pleasure that it can give for standing in front of something that excites you visually or in some other way and makes you think about something that you haven't thought about or ask a question that you may not have had before...I suppose with these things you know there isn't going to be a massive marketing budget for that type of show so the extent that...you can raise awareness in those communities I don't know how, you know, what that is like (regular attender).

Compared with some other exhibitions this visitor has attended, he feels that the NCE does not have the intimidating atmosphere surrounding 'fantastically expensive valuable works', complete with security guards. With high end commercial galleries, visitors can be ignored unless they physically find somebody to ask a question. There tends to be a lack of customer orientation and poor accessibility for most in high end commercial galleries. He will definitely return next year, since he perceives that the overall quality of the exhibition has risen. This is tempered by the views of the abstract landscape painter who feels that art should be for all and that the more extreme examples of art being exhibited might put some people off. Making the art work more understandable is also a priority for him. He suggests addressing the needs of the audience through customer orientation if a sustainable income is to be generated from the exhibition or to instead create a market for the work.

Visitor ideas for improving the NCE

As with the qualitative findings from the visitor questionnaire, the face to face interview with the buyer of the art work discussed above also uncovered the desire for consistent presentation of background information on the artist, perhaps with additional contextual information:

...You know quite often it will be just a series of works and a name and in the catalogue you see the price that's attached to the work but there is very little other information and unless you go and do the research yourself you may or may not find out more information about those particular artists. So having some more consistent information present which is there for all artists, irrespective of what they're presenting, you know, so if that artist has a web site then they should be, they should be showing you that information...it's interesting they're presented as the best, the cream of the crop so why did their tutors think that they were the best from Dundee or what is it about what they're done that means that they, you know like Matt, he got a couple of awards. Why did the bodies that made the awards for him, what did they see in his stuff that made it interesting? Surely that's, that's something that I as a viewer would be interested in, you know, so having a little bit of context and background about the artist, something that says what on earth is driving them (regular attender).

By not being able to access this type of information, this may impact on the perceived value of the visitor experience at the exhibition. For the respondent above, the value created is in the relationship between the artist and the idea. If the viewer perceives this to have substance, then the value is heightened. If there is a perceived lack of content, then the value dimension decreases. Once selected for the NCE, artists are invited to put together their artist statements about themselves and their work. These could be utilised in providing additional information about the artists at the NCE but they often are seen as problematic, as the older lawyer points out:

But the problem with that is that people's skill may lie in art, it may not actually lie in articulatory. You do read some astonishing bollocks by people who are incredibly talented but they are clearly not masters of language.

The retired engineer thought that the NCE could have been enhanced by having fewer artworks on display, together with better presentation and feedback from the artists themselves.

Further enhancement of the NCE

The regular attender discussed funding of the exhibition, as well as wider funding issues. He also considers its wider societal benefits:

...I think it would be dreadful if funding was removed...because art has a big role I think for promoting discussion, for just providing pleasure for people, providing a physical social context for doing things; it's not an...online thing. You can go to something with other people and have a, have a social experience of seeing how other people relate to something, see things which would just blow your mind that you wouldn't have expected so, you know, going in seeing say Hockney's show in London...

He suggests some ways in which to engage with the public, including publicity, performances and interactions with passersby on the street outside, in addition to the promotional banner.

Longer term support for artists in Scotland

The older lawyer was in favour of the encouragement of a supply chain of support, but that this should come from private sources. The young artist in the focus group is in favour of more support for artists on leaving Art College as they attempt to begin their career. This could, for example, come in the form of more exhibition opportunities.

Value of the RSA NC Exhibition discussed by the Exhibitors

Artists' impression of the NCE

We carried out a number of focus groups with the exhibiting artists, and also with those who had exhibited in previous years. A young artist who had exhibited several years previously sees the NCE as a platform or stepping stone in furthering her career:

It was good to have something to work towards after the degree show. I mean like when you finish you think "oh gawd what am I gonna do?" and then this was like something to work towards because I created a few new pieces as well and had my original work that I had in the exhibition. So certainly having something to work towards was great. It just kept you going...

She explains that, subsequent to exhibiting at the NCE and the expectations rose in doing so, she and her colleagues have had various degrees of success, with some not having sold anything. The feedback from tutors and others is important in terms of providing ideas for subsequent art creation. For her, there are clear benefits of attending the NCE as an artist:

Sometimes I felt as if I went round, I could remember certain artists that I'd liked in the degree shows and I knew that he'd been selected so I went along to go and see what he had done and he'd created new works and even I might go round and look for like techniques or different things that I might want to look into and processes, aside to just getting a feeling back from it I'll look for something else as an artist that I can maybe look into...

She feels that it has been beneficial for her in participating in the NCE, since she is in contact with the RSA about future opportunities. The publicity for the event itself has had some impact on the artists, although this has its limitations, unless the individual is one of the specifically named artists.

Another focus group was held with three more artists who had exhibited at this year's NCE: a printmaker and two sculptors. The printmaker found that the exhibition was very beneficial to him, in that he made some sales of his work and was awarded several prizes, including being selected for the Fleming show in London. This was in addition to receiving a large amount of positive feedback. One of the sculptors felt that the NCE had been very positive for her:

It was a really good opportunity to be able to in a space like this and to be involved in an exhibition of this scale as well because just understanding how an exhibition like this comes about, like curating, working with the curators and the set up and the hanging process was quite interesting and problem solving like with logistics of fitting to a space a like this. Yes, I would say a really good opportunity. I really enjoyed it.

The RSA staff were praised by the artists for their assistance with installing the work, with the second sculptor stating that nothing was a problem to the RSA staff, helped by the fact that they are artists themselves. However, she felt that her type of work would not sell at an exhibition but it was the ability to keep in contact with buyers and their support network which was important. Following the degree shows, the NCE is seen as an avenue of further encouragement, with the exhibiting artists able to talk about their work and maintain their motivation levels. The NCE succeeds in introducing the artists to a different and wider audience, compared to their degree show, as the first sculptor points out:

It felt like quite a different audience I think so what I have been used to. I think it is quite interesting for people, certainly I have got a few friends who didn't go to art college and for them this exhibition was really interesting. They are just like what do you guys do? To kind give the public a more open view of kind of young Scottish artists is important. We are basically just coming out of art college so it's like the degree show in a way, but the degree show is so institutional that it is kind of limited to that institutional thing, whereas this is way more public.

For one of the artists in another focus group, she felt that the RSA venue matched the requirements of her work which might not 'fit' elsewhere. Another artist also reported her very positive experience which kept her motivated to keep creating:

Well I've loved it. I've loved having it here, I've loved coming to visit Edinburgh a lot just to walk into the gallery and see the stuff your stuff hanging there it's great. I think before the show I'd built it up like 'if I don't get this then what will I do next' but I've realised now that I've got lots of friends who were in the show or weren't in the show and they're still making. It doesn't stop you or it shouldn't stop you but the whole experience has just pushed me more. It's given more confidence that you're doing ok, that you're allowed to make what you want to make and people will accept it.

It is also worth noting that both these artists were also award winners who were selected to exhibit at the Fleming Wyfold Collection. In another focus group a painter talked about the value of the NCE in terms of shaping his future career. He is more concerned with the intrinsic benefits of his work, rather than any financial return:

If you talk about the value of RSA New Contemporaries for me and for the artists I would say for me as an artist who has never really made work that could sell I would say that I would more likely want to become a gallery artist and I'm really sure of the financial, how that even works and I'm not actually sure if it does work, but I just naturally don't make work that is what people want. My work is more performatory, it's maybe too big or something or maybe just not very good, but I would say for me as that type of artist what I stood to get out of it or planned what I thought would be the value of the exhibition was never monetary so I thought the value was to be able to have the space, to be able to be showing in such a prestigious place, the excitement of this news base and being able to tell people I knew or to tell people that I met to come along to this thing and being able to get these kind of images and being able to get it on my CV and also from the short time that I was there I tried to be there as much as I could but for the short time I was there I was really excited to get feedback from people and a new audience that I would never have got to. I think the RSA seemed to bring in a different audience and people. I'm used to the art school settings and artist run spaces and being mainly artists crowds. I did an exhibition on artists from space which was basically everybody who was there was an artist or had been at art school at one point and that's a really different crowd who came to the RSA new contemporaries which I found a lot more exciting.

Artists' discussion of the NCE selection process

The young artist from the focus group talks about potential selection themes, although discussion with the selection panel suggests that there are no themes involved:

And they don't seem to go for like a theme or anything do they when they're selecting works because I went to one of the talks last year and it was the Principal at Edinburgh College of Art and he's actually broken it into themes that he thought they could all fit into but that was, looking back on it, so it's not a way that they go about selecting it, it seems, but you can still certainly fit them into themes, he seemed to think anyway.

The first sculptor from the other focus group was aware that the selectors did not know what course marks the artists had been awarded as part of their degree. Evaluation and selection is made purely on the impact of the work rather than academic achievement. She also expressed her feeling of excitement at being selected. This was balanced by the costs incurred on being selected in preparing for the exhibition.

One of the artists from another focus group summed up the selection process as a lottery, noting that the academic marks secured at art school bore no relation to the actual work being selected.

Insight into how the artists set their prices

The second sculptor in one of the focus groups asked for pricing advice from her boss who she worked for in a Glasgow art gallery:

...he kind of has a much more a clue about pricing works than I do. I had a really low price to start with and then found out that if it did sell I would make a loss because of they take money off and all that. So, I had to ask advice and the price that I put on it at the end was so ridiculously high and I was embarrassed and I should have said not for sale, but that wasn't an option.

For others, price setting was more of a last minute decision a few days before the exhibition opening, although experienced sources were consulted, such as experienced printers at the Printmakers Studio:

I asked for a lot of advice, of the guys that have worked in the print making a lot in college, like my tutors and the technicians as well. I think they all had tutors and all that, they had the emotion, don't out price yourself, this is more about getting noticed than anything. So, that was kind of what I wanted. I looked at other works, what other people, maybe at my level or at a higher level would be selling theirs for. It was probably easier to price stuff there just because you didn't have to take commission into account (print maker).

He even considers the impact of the medium and the degree of originality of the work in affecting how he sets his prices. He also pays attention to how his work is perceived in the marketplace; for example, he doesn't charge high prices at this stage since he is concerned with getting his work noticed.

Compared to the degree show where all the income from each sale goes to the artist, consideration of commission at the NCE must be made. This resulted in many of the artists raising their prices. One of the sculptors from the focus group explains how she applied a rational approach to pricing her work:

To start off with I just kind of see how much my materials cost, so that exhibition probably cost about £1,200 just on material cost. And then I kind of go on times, like how much time it takes. Actually it was probably more that £1,200. The time it takes to make each thing, I do a lot of casting, it is really process heavy so time consuming. Use of facilities, like workshops, I have to make things in sculpture workshops and things like that. I just try to take into account everything and then pay myself a little bit back, but not a huge amount. But then this one ended up being so expensive because I did the same thing as you I priced it up and then totally forgot that they take

like 40% and then there was VAT on top of that and I have just been making a loss as well so I had to re-adjust my prices. I also priced each element of my whole exhibit individually, even though it was kind of one installation.

One of the artists from the first focus group doubled her prices for the NCE, compared to the degree show, to account for the commission being charged. Another artist identifies the need for developing an understanding of both the craft and business side of art in assisting price setting:

It's very interesting because obviously when you're in art uni and...studying there isn't that kind of work on the business side because that's not what their focus is. You're working on your craft but you're trying to figure out what your voice is, what you want to make and maybe at the end they'll have a daylong thing where it's like out serviced, like postgraduate. It's like maybe a lecture; it's like a day or two. It's not part of it because you're working on your dissertation and your studio work.

As the artists become more experienced and collectable, then it seemed more justifiable to them to increase their prices. There is also a trade-off between pecuniary and non-pecuniary outcomes, with this same sculptor believing that nobody goes to art school to make money. The second sculptor even expresses ethical concerns about her price setting:

I think the price that I was putting on my work I was actually quite embarrassed about, I was like it's too high people must think I am good but that I've got a big ego why is this number so big, like it is almost wrong to profit just now because people don't like paying artists.

Wider benefits other than exhibiting at the NCE

By being selected for the Flemings exhibition, the value is in introducing the artist to an entirely new audience, as the printmaker indicates:

It was a whole different crowd really. It was in Mayfair, so it was different, big money. That wasn't why I went there thinking they are rich. It's London, it's such a huge audience to appeal to and it's a different audience as well. I think that's the main thing that excited me about it. Like in the same way as this, it's a whole different kind of exposure and so is that, even though it is smaller venue but it's a different group of people seeing it I guess. That's the most important thing.

The benefits are not just in financial terms but also being able to exhibit in another show.

One of the sculptors identified the networking benefits of the NCE, while also suggesting a communication vehicle for artists to interact with each other:

The other thing that I think that would be really nice, one thing that I liked about doing the exhibition was meeting my fellow emerging artists from other art schools. I think that's really important creating that network across Scotland of contemporaries, but you only do that if you are just not too shy and go up and start chatting to people when you're installing or whatever but other than that there is not really ... I don't know how you could do it but some sort of way to get all of us to talk to each other...So many good things can spark from that from meeting people who work in a similar way to you. But there is not much chance for that to happen, unless you try to find the person whose work you like to know more and go up and introduce yourself...

This improved networking could also have the potential to result in collaboration between some of the artists. There is also an issue with differences in location between Glasgow and Edinburgh. The former tends to have more artist run studio spaces, while Edinburgh has more established galleries. So the NCE is an opportunity to increase emerging artist exposure in Edinburgh. Other value is created through relationships established via social media, as one of the award winning focus group participants indicates:

I'm gauging it by my social network I've got 30 new followers on my Facebook, Instagram and twitter and it sounds really shallow but you have to notice things like that. My twitter feed was totally inactive before the show and now I've got things happening, people talking and some random girl tagged me on twitter saying the show was great and stuff. So things like that people know your name and then find you on whatever to look at your website.

Her fellow focus group participant makes an astute observation when she talks about herself as a brand, thereby enhancing her reputation and identity.

Thoughts by the artists on the NCE entrance fee

There was some discussion on the level of the entrance fee, with consideration of a balance to be met between the charge and the quality of the art being exhibited:

...it felt a bit, I don't know, it's like maybe if it was another exhibition would be charging £10 because it [is] very famous, kind of thing. It felt a bit like these are recent students, we are trying to get them to be good artists so we are going to charge but we are not going to charge very much. It was a bit funny, I felt like charge or just let it be free, I don't know.

It was even felt that the entrance charge could be increased to counterbalance the commission charged to the artists.

Improving the NCE

Even though there is a good relationship between the artists and the RSA, it was felt that more contact leading up to the NCE itself would have helped, subsequent to being selected to the show. There was some discussion among the artists about the need for written information about them and their work:

I think for me I thought the no text thing definitely makes sense, I mean like say at an institutional environment, or like an environment where you know the majority of the people are going are artists or from an arts background. Because it is a language and if they are used to speaking that language they have immediately much more access to what's going on in their work. The wider public they don't, that's the feedback I have got from people like my mum's friends who I know have come to the exhibition here, not from a creative background at all and they just don't have a clue what's going on. Which is fine (Sculptor).

So the amount of textual information required may depend on the audience, with less information for those from an artistic background and more for those outside this domain. Although the artists valued the prizes awarded at the NCE, it was thought that smaller prizes might be of greater benefit to the artists than the smaller amount of larger ones.

Thoughts on the value of art more generally

One of the sculptors views art as providing her with a lot of value in making things. Instead of feeling self-centred about her art making, she now feels that there is a much wider value to the public, to culture and to the country. The value of the art has the potential to increase, not just as the result of the artistic competences of the individual but, for some, also through the process of *celebrification* of the artist. The value also lies in the feeling or sensory experience of the viewer of the art. One of the sculptors thought it would be valuable if everyone went to art school for a year in order to experience the deeper impact of developing their thought processes. This would also assist in the wider public appreciation of art.

Longer term ambitions of the artists

There was a sense of the need to make art that the artists are happy with, while also being able to help others make their own work as well. For some, acquiring additional qualifications was seen as a way of helping their career path. One of the artists from the first focus group considered the possibility of being able to live from the proceeds of being an artist, as she reflects on her upbringing in the USA to the present day in Scotland:

That would be amazing but I think well for me that could encompass a lot because there is a large spectrum because I don't just make work that is on the wall. So I'm mature, I'm 33, when I was working after 5 years at a grocery store in Pittsburgh and feeling quite annoyed with the work, I mean it was lovely most of the people I worked with but it was very hard and I would just squirm away my spare time and any spare money to make art and then I decided that no I'm going to do art for what I want to do because I've been doing it forever and that was a huge decision and very scary and also scary in the US because there isn't the likes of social safety nets and support for art, which is a whole other thing but anyway my now husband got a job in Scotland so that when I decided to finish a degree and to come and try to do art. So it was quite a change in my priorities. This thing I loved that I would try and do it which for me was very frightening but is amazing to get the responses we've been getting with the RSA with the Fleming this thing that we care about but it is this daunting aspect 'can artists make money off of their art?' is that a thing and is that only for certain kinds of art like Damien Hirst or Jeff Koons and there is so many scary questions. Of course I want to just make art all the time, it's like I'm most happy when I do that and it feels great and I feel like it's challenging and learning.

One of the focus group artists hopes to make art that is capable of sustaining himself, rather than his current situation of having several income streams, including teaching. In terms of further validation and development of her art, a female artist thought that working with other artists would be beneficial.

By comparing and contrasting the viewpoints of the various stakeholders, heightened insight into the dimensions of cultural value can be obtained.

Synthesised findings on Intrinsic vs. Instrumental Value of Art

Synthesised findings on *Intrinsic Value*

One RSA member of staff argued that the intrinsic value of the arts was not something which could be defined:

I think that is why the arts struggle so much because it is not something which you can quantify or measure [Alisa].

An emerging artist, who did not exhibit at the NCE 2014 but who visited it highlighted the emotional and subjective aspects involved in consumers' own perceptions of the intrinsic value of artworks:

It's the feeling it gives me inside.....that makes me smile. So it's the intrinsic feeling. I enjoy it and for me personally it needs to be something....that creates a positive feeling in me

Here this artist who speaking as a consumer of art; the same artist, however, articulated the inherent problem involved in conceptualising the intrinsic value of a piece of artwork resulting from the distinctive, and not necessarily congruent, perspectives of the consumer and the artist herself:

I find the value of art is what the artist places it at. The value they have on it. The only way I can explain it I've got a piece and it doesn't really mean much to me and someone said they would offer me a certain amount and I said 'no, no it doesn't mean much to me'. It took me a couple of hours and I didn't have that attachment but I've got other pieces that I've spent a lot of time on, a lot of research and a lot of concept, that would be a higher price.

Thus the intrinsic value of artwork might from at least some consumers' perspective be highly dependent upon their emotional connection with the work whereas the work and effort, however measured, may be an important consideration for many artists in this regard. The question in the NCE visitor survey which elicited perceptions as to the 'true' value of artworks identified, however, that many consumers of artwork regarded variables such as 'visual quality', 'creativity' or 'craftsmanship' as being significant ingredients intrinsic quality.

One interviewee, a mature practicing artist, highlighted a disconnect here between consumers' perceptions as to what constituted intrinsic value and the dominant discourse and practice in contemporary art colleges:

That's the way the courses are set up in the colleges now so, you've dismantled departments of printmaking, ceramics, all those things that were craft centred and you've replaced them with an overall department of fine art. If you were doing printmaking 20 years ago you would have had a tutor who was excelling in printmaking. Essentially now.....you have that replaced by a system in which a fine art tutor who would be overseeing what students were doing and they would be perhaps working in a variety of media including print making, and the tutor, as I have heard from Dundee, says to the student, it's not my field, talk to the technician, and the technicians are rattled because they are not paid to be the mentors or tutors. So, that's changed. Actually the whole idea of lecturers and tutors has given way to the idea of mentors and that the mentors are by and large conceptually based artists.

This interviewee also suggested that the emphasis on conceptual art in academic art colleges suggested that emerging artists were being 'nudged' in a particular direction thus exacerbating the disconnect already referred to:

So, inevitably there is consolidation of worth as seen by those colleges which appointed those artists with the conceptual tendency, that consolidation leads to, not a freedom for students in a way but a sort of expectation that the students must follow this particular course. That is conformist in a way; I think it's very interesting that something that looks like huge freedom has become in itself a sort of conformity.....these people (i.e. newly emerging artists) are having to find a way of rationalising what they have been doing in a way that the public can deal with.

A significant proportion of the NCE visitors to whom we spoke clearly prioritised 'traditional' qualities such as 'craftsmanship' in their understanding of intrinsic value. One interview, a committed art collector, articulated his understanding of quality in an artwork:

It comes down to craftsmanship and being able to show that the artist is providing an example of a method of working, so whether that be working with wood or painting or sculpture or whatever, there is a quality to the finished work. I'm not interested in seeing a ball of screwed up school graph paper wrapped in brown masking tape and presented for somebody's final work, that's the kind of thing that annoys me because it has no merit in a craft sense and that's what I mean by quality...it's about seeing something where you can see that the person that's made whatever it is, whether it be a bronze or a piece of wood or an oil or a print, that some care has gone into it and also that they know that they are able to demonstrate that they have command of the technique and quite often that's what's missing.... if I look at the things that I buy typically then they are good examples of a skill and you see in how the work is

presented that the person that has created it cares intensely about what they are creating

Another visitor to the NCE, while largely subscribing to this traditional view of quality and of value, at the same articulated a limitation in the approach:

the difficulty is how do you cost the thought process?..... you can look at a work of art and say "that is really beautiful, that must have taken a long time, very high quality materials but there isn't much thought to it"..... there must have been theses on this, how to cost art, how do you cost the thought process and the imagination in a work of art, and that's the difficulty I think. So I tend to go for materials and the quality of the work first and that sets an idea in my head as to what this work might be worth but, but I'm afraid as an engineer I don't value the thought process properly

Given these seemingly different perspectives on intrinsic value the part of consumers and the art establishment (if not emerging artists themselves), respectively, it was interesting that another interviewee, who was both a visitor to the 2014 NCE and an art student, observed that in order to come to a view on the 'quality', an important value component, of an artwork, face to face engagement with the artist was desirable if not essential:

I think that (i.e. engagement with the artist) is very important. Maybe even without talking (explicitly) about quality it's really important not to miss something the artist would say

This individual, although an art student, is here articulating the importance of connection between artist and consumer from the later perspective. Some of the 2014 NCE exhibiting artists, however, argued for the importance of this connection from the artist's own perspective; viewing the emotional reaction which their work produced in others as an important, perhaps the vital, ingredient in its intrinsic value:

In terms of value it is much more the value I get from making it. That's what I do and I enjoy that and for me the value is if I can somehow inspire or invoke a feeling in somebody elseI am much more about enlightening someone else

One interviewee, who was very much involved with the RSA, articulated a view which attempted to reconcile the competing perspectives of the 'conceptual' and more traditional conceptions of quality or value; majoring on qualities such as 'craftsmanship'.

I think the quality of the work as a whole is that it is produced to a certain level of professionalism and I think that is because the emerging artists that we are engaging with are serious about the opportunity the emerging artists want to show the best of their work that they can

An example was then given of one artwork that:

...looked like stubble that had been grown against a wall.... I think that that work is interesting because I can see it relating to other works in recent art history.... if you look at that artist's body of work in the NCE there is consistency of their approach to materials, using natural materials. It's quiet, contemplative work and if you live in an urban context you don't have that kind of earthy feel for mud and stubble and seeds and that kind of thing and it brings that into the city for the viewer to see. So that is a skill of that artist to try to curate their work to have a certain feel or consistency of approach

Thus the view expressed here is that the conceptual and the technical are not necessarily confrontational in their approach to quality and value but that individual contemporary work can accommodate both.

Relationship of intrinsic and financial values

The survey suggested that, in general, this constituency did not believe that the selling prices of artworks at the exhibition reflected their 'true' value. Less than 17% of visitors to the exhibition appeared to believe that the selling prices of artworks, both generally and those exhibited at the NCE, reflected their 'true' value. Seemingly slightly inconsistently with this, however, almost 70% of the NCE visitors suggested that the NCE prices were set neither much too high nor much too low. With this background we proceeded to explore this issue in more depth in the interviews and focus groups.

One emerging artist suggested that artworks which sold at the highest price levels were, in general, those of the highest intrinsic values on the basis that intrinsic values reflected audience appeal; this reflects a particular understanding of intrinsic value:

art that is priced at the highest price is probably that because it's actually art that reaches the largest number of people - it is something that people get intrinsic value out of going to see

This, however, was a minority view and a perception on the part of one visitor to NCE 2014, that galleries set prices for some artists at levels far above those which would 'clear the market, was more representative of our interviewees. In effect, galleries were attempting to protect the perceived status of the artist.

In general the emerging artists interviewed did not view the underlying, or intrinsic value of their work as closely linked, if at all, with its market or financial value. Not only that but intrinsic value might be personal to the individual:

The value isn't monetary, I don't think, because it's an emotional, more spiritual connection that you have with a piece that can't be quantified and it's so personal to everyone who looks at it. When I make work I don't think about that aspect (i.e. its financial value). If I put that into my thinking I don't think my work would be affordable in any way because there are some pieces that I spend three months on....and I mean, like, eighteen to twenty four hours a day for three months! I try not to think about the amount of time. I just make the works and compare them with what I've sold before

Alan the convenor suggested however that artists emerging from Scottish art institutions were becoming commercially more aware in their attitude to pricing based on his experiences of the 2014 NCE:

There seems to be an idea of market value. Whether they're getting sharper at that or whether they're getting advice from tutors or a bit of both I thought that nobody was selling themselves short just for a few quid....

On the other hand, one of the exhibiting artists at the 2014 NCW acknowledged that she had:

.....never really thought about the external market. It's not something I've thought of. Two emerging artists exhibiting at the 2014 NCE, and who both participated in the same focus group, articulated the often pragmatic, or even on occasion, haphazard nature of the pricing decisions made by emerging artists, particularly when newly graduated from college:

I had to think really hard about how I priced my work.....because we're new.....hopefully I'll be able to maybe sell one of my larger pieces but it's very tricky to work out prices. You don't you don't want to undersell yourself either. I find it really hard because a lot of my materials I found and are quite cheap to make. I make my paint because it's cheaper than buying it and I like the texture. So it's hard for me to sit and say how much did this cost or whatever but then you have to think about the time, but I find it hard to say it took me hours and I should get £10 an hour or whatever...

For some artists exhibiting at the NCE such difficulties were compounded by virtue of the fact that as highlighted above proactive advice on pricing was not given by the RSA whereas any advice given to graduating students by their academic institutions appeared to be ad hoc and unsystematic. The experience of one artist exhibiting at the 2014 NCE was that:

....they looked at the work I had on the walls and said 'well, I wouldn't sell that for less than so and so, is that an original print one off? Well, you should charge £200 for that'. I said 'well I've worked out how much it is going to cost me and I wouldn't sell it for

less than £800' and he said 'well that's probably okay'..... So that's the advice I've had up until now

Some of the 2014 NCE exhibiting artists interviewed were more explicit in suggesting that there was a space for more proactive advice on pricing. One reason given for this was the perceived random and haphazard nature of the ticket prices of many of the exhibited works, as two of the exhibiting artists explain:

I think with this exhibition it would have been helpful for them to have maybe given us some support in pricing because...., when you looked at the price sheet, that person's is £100, this person's is £9000... because we were just pricing (our work) ourselves and a lot of us don't have much experience in selling work or pricing it, at this stage maybe if they had given a bit of guidance we would have more ...[.....of a level playing field]

Another recently graduated emerging artist reiterated the apparently random and even casual nature of the pricing decisions made by his peer group by an illustration from his own experience. With regards to one specific art work:

I guess the value (i.e. selling price) reflected what I'd be willing to let it go for really.....I needed to benefit financially for me to think that it was worth letting go, when I quite wanted it. So it was either 'I get paid quite well or I get to keep it'. With both outcomes I'm happy!

At the same time, some artists are clearly reasonably realistic in terms of pricing their work and of their expectations.

I priced (my work) by looking at other people's and just being around Scotland and thinking, well I'm a student, and also in terms of where I was showing it because some places I showed only wanted 10% while somewhere else it was 40% or 50%, so it's very hard to price yourself with any kind of understanding. (NCE 2014) is the first time I have had to seriously think about how to price my work. The thing that I felt was the most valuable is a piece of advice; it was that if someone went to an art fair, one of the big ones, they could pick up a piece of work by someone like Francis Elise, say ... I looked at the prices in the galleries that represent him and they can pick up something from him that's definitely got an established institutionalised monetary value, so why are they going to pay that much for me when this realistically is the first big show I have done in three or four years? or even this is the biggest show I have ever done, so why are they going to pay £600 for one of my photos if they are not paying that for Francis Elise?

There was a strong sense on the part of the artists interviewed in this focus group that the work of some exhibitors was clearly under-priced, perhaps due to a lack of advice:

there was a pair of artists and I just could not believe it; they had these beautiful, beautiful architectural models and they were just amazing sculpturally as well and they were around £100, which meant they would be getting £50 (each) and there is no way you could produce that for that amount of money; I was flabbergasted by that. Because of the difference from person to person - they just asked for a price it meant - it was really not level (i.e. there was a lack of consistent pricing).

Summary and Conclusions

The Royal Scottish Academy has proven to be a rich site for data collection of cultural value related information. In particular, the interrogation of the New Contemporaries exhibition has resulted in the uncovering of a high quality insight into the many tangible and intangible dimensions of cultural value. It is evident that the competencies of the President, Director and other key staff have helped to reshape the purpose of the RSA more generally and, specifically, the impact and direction of the New Contemporaries exhibition.

Some of the artists were clearly aware of the art market structure, while others seemed either not interested or unaware of how it operates. This also connects with the issue of price setting of the art work by the artist. At the moment, there is an informal opportunity for the artists to discuss potential price setting.

Revisiting our objectives we aimed to utilise a case study analysis to measure the cultural value dimensions associated with the RSA New Contemporaries Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA) as a platform for newly graduating art school students as emerging artists. We have now carried out this measurement in both qualitative and quantitative ways, adding to both the existing instrumental approaches involved in assessing cultural value but also developing more in-depth qualitative assessments using face to face interviews and focus groups involving the various stakeholders of the RSA.

We also aimed to advance combined methodology of qualitative and quantitative techniques based on primary and secondary data, emphasising the importance of non-economic valuation, psychological influences, and interdisciplinary interpretations in moving forward from existing understanding of cultural value. This we have achieved through the triangulation and comparing and contrasting of our qualitative and quantitative findings. It is clear that the incorporation of a qualitative perspective as part of the overall methodology has uncovered insightful information on the intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of cultural value relating to the RSA New Contemporaries exhibition. The quantitative data collection and analysis has further strengthened our understanding of the issues. Also, the mixed methods approach has been extremely beneficial in helping to uncover and understand the issues.

Although the RSA has been the focus of our attention in carrying out the research, the conversations which we held with the various stakeholders clearly point to the wider implications of the cultural value located in the New Contemporaries exhibition. From the way in which the RSA has actively engaged with its emerging artists to the ability to use the

NCE as a platform in furthering the careers of these artists, the good practice found here can readily be transferred to other comparable institutions in the United Kingdom and beyond. One active example of this occurring already is the case of the principal investigator working with colleagues at the University of Tasmania in preparing a research proposal to assess the cultural value attached to the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery.

Through the focus groups and face to face interviews with the emerging artists, and those artists who have exhibited at the RSANCE in the past, it is clear that some have a good grasp of pricing and an idea of the art market structure. For others, this is not the case. We intend to work with the artists, first of all through the feedback workshop and then in various follow up meetings, both physical and virtual, to assist in enhancing this understanding. The project team have key skills in marketing, accounting and finance which can assist this development further.

It was clear that, for some visitors to the exhibition, that time effort and money were being spent by them to not only invest in an art work but to also enjoy it in more intrinsic terms. However, for the majority of the visitors to the exhibition, no purchase was made. This can be explained in part by the types of art being shown and the attitudes towards risk taking of the potential purchaser.

We also envisaged utilising the findings as a representative lens for understanding the potential for similar events across the United Kingdom in assisting new graduates to begin a career in the visual arts. This, of course, remains to be seen, but with the dissemination of our findings in its various forms to academic and practitioner audiences we hope that this can occur. We also intended that our project would stimulate debate in the wider creative industries, government bodies and consumer society in terms of thinking in novel ways about cultural value creation and we are confident that the findings of our study will certainly contribute to this.

Principal Findings

Our principal findings in respect of these objectives may be summarised as follows:

- The main cultural value created by the RSA NCE in respect of the exhibiting artists themselves is perceived to be its value in terms of high-visibility publicity and exposure. Related benefits such as the potential of the RSA NCE for building career-enhancing networks were also emphasised. These aspects were consistently emphasised by the exhibiting artists themselves as well as by other interviews. Other benefits, such as realized sales, were seen as much less important and, in fact, were argued to be of marginal importance according to some artists.
- Despite attaching importance to the importance of publicity and exposure for their work in terms of the cultural value created by the exhibition artists did perceive that the value of the RSA NCE as a platform for their work might be enhanced in several key respects. These include scope for a more informative and educative exhibition presentation and also for a more proactive role for the RSA in terms of advice to artists in terms of pricing.
- In terms of the value created for visitors to the exhibition the results of our visitor survey clearly indicate that the RSA NCE constitutes a significant cultural experience for many visitors.
- Nevertheless there are caveats to this conclusion. Firstly, the results for our survey indicate that for many visitors the realized cultural experience when visiting the exhibition did not live up to their a priori expectations. Secondly, for a significant proportion of visitors, the intrinsic value of many of the artworks exhibited was only moderate, at best; arguably however, this was due to the controversial nature of many of the exhibits; this does not necessarily negate, therefore, the creation of a significant cultural experience for these visitors.
- In terms of wider cultural value, clearly the RSA NCE, given its strategic location in Edinburgh and the relatively large number of visitors to it, plays creates significant cultural value in terms of educating the community on the work of contemporary emerging artists. This, however, is subject to the caveat that the visitor demographic appears significantly skewed in the direction of, firstly, higher socio-economic groups and, secondly, the artistic community itself. There appears to be limited engagement with a wider demographic.

Recommendations

Our research leads us to make several recommendations:

- There may be scope for the RSA to provide more proactive advice to graduating emerging artists in terms of advice on pricing and related marketing and financial matters.
- In the context of limited available public support for the arts and arts events thought might usefully be given as to how the NCE, and other 'elite' arts events, might achieve greater engagement with a wider demographic.
- In practical terms, more effort needs to be made to help differentiate the RSA and the National Galleries to limit confusion among the public and other stakeholders.
- There is potential to have a travelling version of the NCE around Scotland. This would serve to facilitate wider impact of the cultural value associated with the exhibition. This is, of course, dependent on available resources.
- An ongoing visitor survey (to be carried out every year or two) to assess the continued reactions of the public and other visitors to the exhibition. Attitudes and behaviours can change over time and so a longitudinal perspective would help address any issues not identified in this report.
- Consideration of provision of some form of artist information, including information of the artworks themselves. This could be in hard copy or in virtual form.
- We have already initiated the early stages of the construction of an artists' led website. This has the potential to be used to inform emerging artists about price setting issues and wider art market mechanisms.

Outputs to date

- University of Stirling research seminar
- University of Tasmania research seminar
- Paper presented at the 13th International Colloquium on Arts, Heritage, Non-Profit and Social Marketing, "Understanding impact in arts, heritage, social marketing and nonprofit marketing". Wednesday 3rd September 2014, Birmingham Business School.
- Commissioned to write a paper on our project for a special issue on Cultural Value in *Cultural Trends*.

Planned future output

- Feedback workshop at the University of Stirling in October 2014.
- Dissemination of our Cultural Value report to other interested stakeholders.
- Publication of academic journal articles in marketing, accounting and finance and other relevant journals.
- Construction of website to help artists communicate with each other and help understanding marketing issues such as pricing.

Appendix

Methodological approach

To address our research questions, we develop a tripartite conceptual framework (see **Figure 2**) with The Platform, the initial value creation point, and three major value recipients (*The Exhibitor*, *The Organiser*, and *The Public*) within value creation channels. These three parties not only receive value from The Platform, but also create value to, within and between the parties, and over time to other communities and stakeholders. In our case study, the **three parties** are defined as below:

The Exhibitor: Current and previous selected emerging Scottish artists at the *RSA New Contemporaries*.

The Organiser: The RSA, as the platform provider. Professionals from the RSA include the president, programmer, curator, the selection panel, sales and public relations managers.

The Public: Gallery visitors, individual investors, institutional investors, other gallery programmers or curators, awarding bodies, funding bodies, up-market artists, and current art college students.

As featured in **Figure 2**, Equation (A1) below indicates the Total Value (TV) created by each channel, accounting for both intrinsic and instrumental values in domains of Direct Value (DV) and Indirect value (IV). Also, it represents primary and secondary effects created by the platform and between three parties over Time (T) in terms of both short and long-term returns.

$$TV_{(t)} = (a_1DV_{1(t)} + a_2DV_{2(t)} + a_3DV_{3(t)} + \dots) + (a_1IV_{1(t)} + a_2IV_{2(t)} + a_3IV_{3(t)} + \dots) \quad (A1)$$
$$t \in t_1, t_2, t_3, t_4$$

Direct Value (DV) is created by those who physically experienced the *RSA New Contemporaries* exhibition, and Indirect Value (IV) is created for those who did not physically experience the exhibition. Short-term is defined as *during*, and long-term as *after*, the exhibition.

Based on the conceptual framework, a mix of quantitative and qualitative methodologies is applied. The approaches specified are indicative only of those applied.

Although we base our analysis mostly on traditional nonmarket valuation methods, we enhance our approach by **1)** expanding our research design including focus group and in-depth interviews with value creators and recipients; **2)** accounting for psychological influences within individuals' valuation process; and **3)** employing interdisciplinary interpretations of our findings to capture not only instrumental but also intrinsic value as described in our conceptual framework, **Figure 2**.

1) Qualitative research approaches

In order to understand intrinsic cultural value, we apply a non-economic perspective in placing the experience of the individual at the centre of our evaluation. We examine how emerging artists set their initial benchmarking price given that there is no historical value of their own work as reference points and how important this particular exhibition and role of cultural institutions are for them. A series of focus groups is undertaken to gain insights from those value creators and recipients. In-depth interviews are mostly undertaken with practitioners and professionals. The gatekeepers are representative of a particular social sector, and their valuation approach will add further insights.

2) Psychological Influences – Randomised Controlled Trial (RCT)

Public policy should reflect understanding of values from recipients' points of view. To evaluate how individuals perceive cultural value, we employ a behavioural economics approach, taking account of psychological effects. In the Prospect Theory of Kahneman and Tversky, utility is defined in terms of '*changes in value*', rather than '*absolute value*'. Changes in value are more accessible, as they are more easily appreciated by individuals than is absolute value as discussed in standard utility theory. Prospect Theory determines two stages of an individual's decision-making process, *framing* and *valuation*, as a combination of mental accounting and loss aversion. When individuals activate their 'mental accounting', they apply narrow framing in defining each transaction separately.

Loss aversion is the propensity of individuals to be more sensitive to their losses rather than to their gains. Utility is defined in terms of gains and losses rather than in terms of the final wealth position. In contrast to expected utility theory, psychologists have argued that individuals perceive questions differently depending on the framing of the problem and the presentation of outcomes.

Based on the propositions of Prospect Theory, we apply a randomised controlled trial (RCT) to a Contingent Valuation (CV) approach based on willingness-to-pay model. We use the survey with gallery visitors and broader stakeholder groups to identify whether or not the stated preferences of individuals varies depending on the manner in which the questions are presented. Controlling for mental accounting and loss aversion effects, we investigate how valuation depends on question framing.

3) Interdisciplinary Interpretations

Further, the interpretation of our findings is from a holistic perspective drawing on compatibility and interdisciplinary viewpoints including those of auditors, investors, marketers and psychologists.

Research Design

In addition to the RSA NCE visitor survey, we carried out a series of face to face individual and focus group interviews with artists as exhibitors, employees of the RSA (including the President and Director), members of the public and other stakeholders of the RSA New Contemporaries Exhibition. The tables below outline the qualitative data collection activities which have been carried out.

The primary objective of the research was to measure the cultural value of the RSA NCE as a platform for emerging artists. This involved investigating how the value of the NCE impacted upon several key stakeholder groups including: the exhibiting artists themselves, the RSA itself, visitors to the NCE and the wider community. An extended series of 7 focus groups 18 individual interviews and was major focus for the research and was applicable to each of these stakeholder groups (see Table A1).

The survey of visitors to the exhibition was of particular relevance to that constituency. In addition to its primary focus on the NCE, the research explored several additional related issues. These additional issues included how different concepts of value (e.g. intrinsic, financial) are positioned to one another in the context of art and artworks, especially those typically exhibited at the NCE, and the value to emerging artists of exhibiting at the NCE, and the relationship with the RSA which flowed from that, in terms of career enhancing advice and benefits.

Table A1 Number of Focus Groups conducted

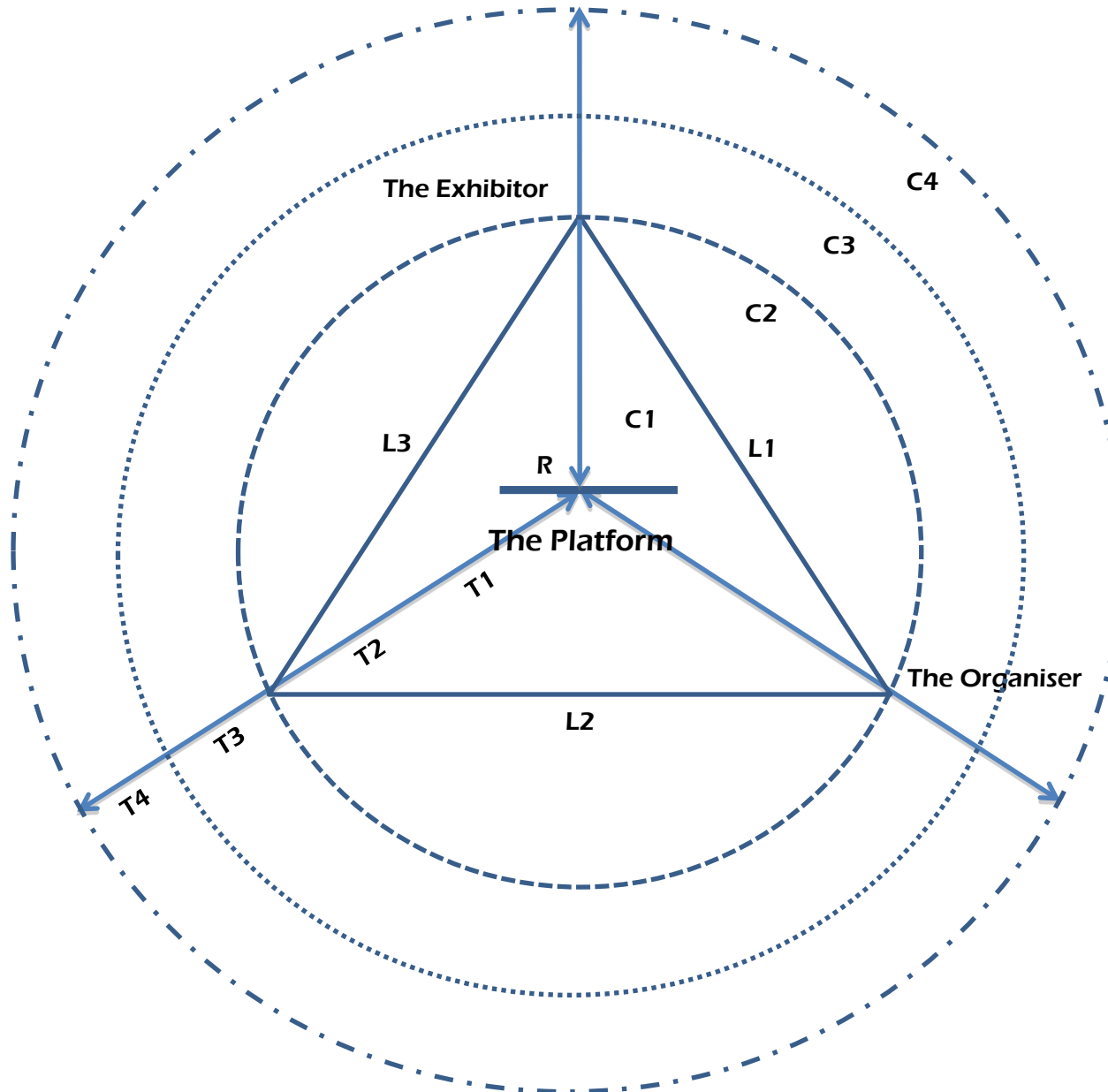
| Category | No of Focus Groups | No of Individuals Involved |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2014 RSA : NCE Artists Focus Group | 3 | FG1 – 2 FG2 – 4 FG3 – 3 |
| 2014 RSA Generation Artists Focus Group | 2 | FG1 – 3 FG2 – 2 |
| 2014 RSA:NCE Public Focus Group | 2 | FG1 – 3 FG2 – 2 |
| Total | 7 | 19 |

From the RSA staff, we interviewed the President Arthur Watson, the Director Colin Greenslade, the gallery communications co-ordinator Andrew Goring and Alisa Lindsay. We also interviewed Marion Smith the RSA Secretary and member of the RSA selection panel and Alan Robb the RSA NCE convenor. In addition, we interviewed personnel relating to the Fleming Wyfold Collection and other prize givers, including Trevor Jones from Art in Healthcare (see Table A2).

Table A2 Number of One-to-One Interviews Conducted

| Category | No of Individuals Involved |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| RSA Staff | 4 |
| RSA Selection panel | 2 |
| Fleming Collection | 2 |
| RSA:NCE Prize givers | 3 |
| Artists outside RSA:NCE | 2 |
| Public | 5 |
| Total | 18 |

Figure 2 Conceptual Framework of Value Creation Channel



Intrinsic & Instrumental Values are created by and between the Platform and all three parties in all Ls, Cs and Ts

Main recipients of the value created from The Platform are

- 1) **The Exhibitor**
- 2) **The Organiser**
- 3) **The Public***

*The Public includes visitors, investors, other gallery programmers or curators, and awarding bodies.

Direct value – Straight lines

Indirect value – Dotted lines

Primary effect – C1, C2

Secondary effect – C3, C4

Short-term return – T1, T2

Long-term return – T3, T4

^Short-term is 'during' and long-term is 'after' the exhibition.

R – The reference point

L1 – Exchange between the Exhibitor and the Organiser

L2 – Exchange between the Organiser and The Public

L3 – Exchange between the Exhibitor and The Public

C1 (T1) – Primary effect and Short-term return created from the Platform

C2 (T2) – Primary effect and Short-term return created from the Platform and three parties

C3 (T3) & C4 (T4) – Secondary effect and Long-term return created from others in addition to the Platform and three parties

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