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**The Shifting Focus of the Traditional Centres of
Contemporary Art: Scotland's Evolving Position from
Periphery to Prominence**

Deborah Jackson

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"I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis; that the following thesis is entirely my own work; and that no part of this thesis has been submitted for another degree or qualification".

Signed

.....

Abstract

My thesis considers the distinctive characteristics of contemporary artistic production and display in Scotland from the 1960s to the present. The main objective is to make manifest the diversification of global sites of contemporary art away from traditional centres by examining less exposed aspects of art practice in Scotland. My methodology is driven by a set of case studies of artist-run initiatives (ARIs), which provide models of enquiry into alternative methods of production and display of contemporary art and that demonstrate the role of ARIs in *producing* art scenes, and not merely representing those that already exist.

I focus on counter-histories of self-organised ARIs and their legacies, and adopt a genealogical approach to examine how recent praxis and infrastructures came into existence and how their initial impetus intersected with their historical conditions. Anthony Giddens' structuration theory is employed to examine local forms of power and infrastructure, as well as the wider, global structures of the art world. The emphasis is on how ARIs and established institutions can and do negotiate with each other and in recognising the interpenetration of different scales of art institutions.

I apply a bifurcated approach in order to bring Scotland into dialogue with anthropological discussions of cultural globalisation. I ask how locality, nationalism and globalisation are configured in (visual) culture generally and as applied specifically to a Scottish context. This is underpinned by a consideration of Scottish Devolution as a disintegration of hierarchical domination, which correlates to the ideologies of artist-run practice.

Finally, I propose the eradication of top-down delivery in favour of horizontal distributions of knowledge and practice via self-organisation.

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Glossary

Art Institutions:

The term 'art institutions' generally refers to the socio-economic conglomerate of galleries, foundations, museums, institutes, educational facilities, magazines and councils that constitute the basis of the dominating understanding of art in a society (Jakobsen, J. 2006). Practically, the term **institution** describes an organisation that participates in the discourse of contemporary art. Larger museums and galleries are typically described this way, though smaller organisations, such as artist-run initiatives, can also be described as institutions. The term is a means of describing the whole of the organisation, rather than a single component (e.g. a building, the organisation's personnel, or the organisation's governance structure). On a conceptual basis, the term institution refers to the organisation as it is inscribed by structures of power. The concept of **institutional critique** is of particular relevance in terms of this definition. The central conceit of institutional critique is that established institutions are motivated by political, social, economic and aesthetic hierarchies.

Art world:

The term art world is generally undertaken with reference to a number of authors who have contributed to the evolution of the definition of that notion since the 1960s (Arthur C. Danto, George Dickie, and Pierre Bourdieu). However, I am specifically drawing on Howard Becker's notion of the Art World (Becker, H. 1984), which describes the networks of co-operative activities and mutually understood conventions that frame them. The term art world is employed to establish and interpret what constitutes art as practice, as theory and as a cultural institution. It encompasses the human actors, artists, collectors, curators, critics and so on, as well as the non-human aspects, ARIs, established institutions such as galleries, museums, biennales, Art Schools etc.

Bifurcated world:

The clash of centralising and decentralising tendencies. James N. Rosenau uses the expression bifurcated world to refer to the new world order created by the tensions that arise out of the clash of centralising and decentralising tendencies that are unfolding in all parts of the world and on every level of organised activity, from local organisations to the international system (Rosenau, J. 1999).

Centre/Periphery:

The notion of centre/periphery has most often been linked to debates around postcolonialism in the work of theorists such as Homi K. Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak and Edward Saïd. It is also employed to reflect on political and economical globalisation in the work of Antonio Negri and Paul Krugman, and is critical in urban sociology in Saskia Sassen and Mike Davis analyses. This thesis specifically applies the contemporary sociological theorising of Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens. Traditional centre/periphery models have tended to focus on either the economic, political or cultural dimensions of spatial relationships. However, with postmodernism a growing interest in the role of culture in social sciences can be seen to have developed, for example, in the field of postcolonial studies.

Creative Industries:

Creative industries is both an historical term and a policy term that has specific meanings in terms of the development of cultural, social and economic policy in the UK. Critical theorists Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer coined the term in 1944 in *Dialectics of Enlightenment* (Adorno, T. & Horkheimer. 1997) where they presented a critique of culture as a component of an evolving form of authoritarian oppression. From the 1960s the culture industry was again brought to the foreground to criticize the repressive functions of the mass media, this was linked to debates surrounding the knowledge economy as conceptualised by Peter Drucker in *The Effective Executive* (Drucker, P. 1993).

Cultural capital:

The term cultural capital can be attributed to Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, P. 1973) and in broad terms refers to non-financial social assets, for example educational or intellectual, which have the potential to promote social mobility beyond economic means.

Epistemology/Ontology:

Epistemology is the study of the rules for how we understand the world and what constitutes a valid explanation. In contrast, **ontology** is the study of what it means to say that something exists. The distinction between ontology and epistemology is fundamental in philosophy and anthropology.

Fordism/Post-Fordism

Fordism is a term coined by Antonio Gramsci and used by critical analysts to designate a specific 20th century corporate regime of mechanized production coupled with the mass consumption of standardized products. The transition to a **post-Fordist** just-in-time economy (Bell, Daniel. 1974) is indicative of a shift from an industrial to an information society. In other words, the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism embodies the shift from mass production to flexible specialisation.

Globalisation:

Globalisation is the mechanism that attempts to connect the world together, whereas **globalism** is an attempt to make sense of it or even counteract it.

Globalism, at its core, seeks to describe and explain a world that is characterized by networks of connections that span multi-continental distances. The difference between globality and **translocality** is very important. If globalisation means a transnational flow of global capital, translocality means putting the local issues in the global context and making it widely accessible.

Grassroots:

Grassroots movements are at the local level, driven by the politics/necessity of a particular community e.g. artists. The term implies that the creation of the movement and the group supporting it are 'natural' and spontaneous, highlighting the differences between this and a movement that is orchestrated by traditional power structures.

Habitus:

The mutual relationship of actions and structures is mediated by the habitus, a category that describes the totality of behaviour and thoughts of a societal group (Bourdieu, P. 1977).

Heterochrony:

The term heterochrony refers to changes, over evolutionary time, in the rate or timing of developmental events.

Human agency:

Where the social actor is a rational actor who has the ability to make decisions.

Initiative:

Initiatives are the first step, the first of a series of actions. An initiative is an enterprise, which relies on the readiness to embark on bold new ventures. In some political contexts, initiative is a form of direct democracy, a system allowing an immediacy of the decision making process.

Nation/Nationalism:

Nationalists argue that nations are timeless phenomena, whereas perennialists argue that nations take different shapes at different points in history, that is to say that the concept of nation is entirely modern and constructed. Nation states are an 18th century European idea that arose as part and parcel of colonialism, an ideological system, which is a way of

creating coercive power over territory and a means of wielding power over people who live in a place that is demarcated by boundaries. In addition to being ideological they have created a cultural impact upon which people structure their ethics and relations with others.

Portfolio careers:

The term was coined by Charles Handy c.1950 to describe the working pattern of following several simultaneous career pursuits at any one time.

Practice/Praxis:

Concept developed during the 1970s, under the influence of such thinkers as Bourdieu, Giddens and others, to denote acts that carry their own rules/limitations/structures within themselves.

Reflexivity:

This involves a self-consciousness on the part of the individual and an ability to monitor the on going flow of social life and, at least sometimes, take one's understanding of this flow of social life into account when considering appropriate action and deciding on a course of action.

Structure:

These are the patterns in the social world/ art world that affect individuals and are composed of rules, resources, and agency.

Support:

Support, whether financial or otherwise, notably does not offer a resolution but the possibility to further a project or an idea. In this sense, support therefore cannot take control or determine a situation or outcome. Support is discursive and is about establishing relationships of dependency and interdependency.

Introduction

The Shifting Focus of the Traditional Centres of Contemporary Art:

Scotland's evolving position from periphery to prominence adopts the centre/periphery spatial model as a metaphor for power relations, in order to examine the practices and structures behind cultural developments in Scotland since the 1960s. Historically the 1960s are commonly held to represent the apogee of opposition to mainstream culture. The socio-political turmoil of the late 1960s was a catalyst for an apparent paradigmatic shift when various forms of social revolt were endemic with widespread protests in Europe and the USA against the Vietnam War. One of the most significant intellectual shifts was a newfound scepticism about hierarchical structures of power resulting from the May 1968 Paris student uprising. With the overall aim of opening the art academies to the wider contemporary world around them, art students militated for the democratization of decision-making processes and for changes in the curricula and syllabi.

The cultural flashpoints of the 1960s are relevant because they heralded significant changes with contestations relating to, for example, institutional critique and pedagogical institutional reforms. Striving to challenge the conventions of art display, institutional critique was employed by a number of artists and galleries working in the period from the 1960s, and remains relevant to contemporary artists and institutions dealing with related modes of practice and concerns. Broadly speaking, artists examined their practices, considering them to be limited and conditioned by art institutions, and sought to take artistic activity out to the wider public and involve society as a whole. These alterations subverted traditional definitions of art and the institution and forced a new acknowledgement of art as social interaction (Holmes, B. 2009. p. 57). This interest in the forms and formats of presentations and exhibitions not only affected artistic production but also theoretical reflections. It is also important to acknowledge that in the UK institutions were denounced again in the 1980s, this time it was specifically education that came under scrutiny. Under a Conservative government the

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) carved her legacy with privatization, wholly and partly, of education and the Arts. Concurrently, there was widespread discontent with the pedagogical structures through which knowledge was disseminated. That is to say, with the forms of the transmission of knowledge, with the content of teaching and with the inequitable relations between tutor and student. This second wave of institutional critique, when the institutional framework was being critiqued, was also expanded to include the role of the artist as institutionalised (Sheikh, S. 2009).

In the 1960s artists had begun to attempt to reconcile their stance of opposition within the new politics of the decade and the increasing prominence of global market forces. The metaphor of centre/periphery is utilised in this thesis to describe the relations between shifting positions in power systems: that which is commanding, the centre, and those that are subjected to it, in a peripheral position. As such, the centre/periphery model is employed to describe a system based on inequitable power relations, and not merely as a category of spatial gradient or of geographical differentiation. Pierre Bourdieu's theory, and in particular his concept of the three basic forms of capital, are relevant with regards to centre/periphery relations. In particular, Bourdieu's concept of social capital and cultural capital is significant and was defined as:

The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition or in other words, to membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a credential which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, P. 1986. p. 248).

These three types of capital distinguished by Bourdieu are also the dimensions in which social status, power and hierarchy can be described. These correspond to the description of hierarchies between the central and the periphery, which are applicable to this thesis.

My decision to take the Scottish art world as a starting point may be considered as an act of exclusion, given that Scotland has a role, not only as a small north European nation, nested in the UK as well as with the rest of the European Union, but also globally. However, my intention is to posit the Scottish art world as a discursive space and to provide concepts and theories of decentralisation that are applicable to other nations besides Scotland. As such, a bifurcated approach is applied throughout the thesis. Theoretical questions relating to how locality, nationalism and globalisation¹ are configured in (visual) culture are explored generally and applied specifically to a Scottish context. Ultimately my thesis demonstrates that the structure of the centre/periphery is not stable but is perpetually mobile and can be reproduced in both macro and micro domains.

My specific focus on the relations between centre and periphery extends to take into account the global and local and established and alternative, as they relate to artistic production and display in Scotland. Conceptualising the relationship between the global and the local in simple terms means, that “in order to foreground something that it is necessary to have a backdrop, so that smaller things are revealed only in relation to and as part of larger ones” (Moore, H. 2001. p. 6). Therefore the local exists in so far as it is something that is defined in contradistinction to something that is not local, in other words, global. The local is associated with the empirical and the concrete, while the global is seen as more abstract, although both are abstracts since they are both models that act as framing devices. As such they are inherently perspectival.

The term alternative is also worth focusing on momentarily, since it is ambiguous epistemologically because it affords the possibility of relating unrelated ideologies, this is namely due to the etymological changes of the word ‘alternative’. The writer and curator Rebecca Gordon-Nesbitt identifies that the classification of alternative “has largely been rejected, as a label

¹ Globalisation is not a new phenomenon, seafaring European countries, such as Scotland, have been trading and exploring for many hundreds of years. Globalisation is another phase of the human diaspora and is linked with imperialism and histories of colonialism.

loaded with dated anti-establishment connotations. Systems of patronage exist upon which almost all of the initiatives under consideration rely” (Gordon-Nesbitt, R. 1996. p. 144). The term has been systematically replaced in both mainstream media and art journals. Significantly, as art critic Martin Herbert states, alternative has now come to mean ‘upcoming’:

Without wishing to overburden this tiny semantic footnote, the shift was symptomatic of what alternative culture in general has clearly become – a stepping-stone to the mainstream, or a larval stage prior to helpless co-option (Herbert, M. 2005. p. 13).

From a contemporary perspective of ARIs it is useful to consider that they are not necessarily opposed to established institutions. Rather, their method is often to work within existing structures in order to enhance their chances to be artistically, socially and economically relevant. The alignment of ARIs with established institutions forces us to rethink previous analyses about the impacts, possibilities, and contours of alternative structures. This debate is discussed within the framework of freedom and subordination, and horizontal or vertical power relationships.

Scottish ARIs can be seen to have developed in tandem with the processes by which centre/periphery binaries transformed and began to dissolve, the implication being that culture has no centre. This develops a genealogical critique of counter-cultural organisations in Scotland from the 1960s, which deconstruct the vectors of socio-cultural and political influences exerted by national and local government and their associated arts quangos² upon the Scottish art world. This identifies, more accurately, the legacy of ARIs in shaping Scottish contemporary art practice and provides self-reflexive knowledge of the first wave of ARIs in the 1960s and 1970s. Such counter-cultural activities included strategies that advocated and advanced ideas such as self-organisation and anti-hierarchical exigency. This was a prolific period of organisation creation in Scotland; the New 57 Gallery (1966); Richard Demarco Gallery (1966); Scottish Arts Council established (1967); Edinburgh Arts: Summer School (1972); Third Eye Centre (1975); Fruitmarket

² QUANGOS: quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations.

Gallery (housing SAC, the New 57 Gallery & Printmaker's Workshop) (1975); Forebank/Seagate (1976); WASPS: Workshop and Artists Studio Provision, Scotland (1977); and the 369 Gallery (1978). On the whole these were concerted efforts to affect established institutional specificities that had ignored emergent local practitioners in terms of exhibition opportunities. A momentum of radicalism was evident, which was a form of both critique and pragmatism.

Scotland has a long tradition of ad-hoc artist-collectives organising self-initiated ventures with artists creating opportunities, which sustain art communities and impact on the local, national, and international art world. The term art world refers to a structure where different ideological positions strive for power and sovereignty. The art world is not unitary, but rather it is a conflictual platform for different and oppositionary subjectivities, politics and economies (Ward, F. 1995). Sociological questions are raised throughout this thesis in order to explain the impetus as to how and why ARIs occur when they do and where they do. I contend that it has been the sustained approaches of ARIs in supporting artists that have propelled Scotland's art to a status of prominence and that this necessitates a revision of the traditional centres of contemporary art. This prominence is highlighted by, for example, Scotland's independent participation at the Venice Biennale since 2003. This is an example of Scotland gaining attention on the world stage, under its national flag, matching the nation's increasing status since political devolution from Westminster in 1997.

I consider the roles of ARIs in the production of culture, with a view to reconnecting them with the nation's contemporary politics. I engage with Scotland's recent history in terms of sociological and political accounts of its place within a unitary UK, to its current status as a devolved nation. By taking cognisance of the accompanying political and intellectual baggage of a unitary, but not uniform state, this thesis brings Scotland into dialogue with anthropological discussions of cultural globalisation.

Globalisation is a widely used term among art critics and curators for depicting recent tendencies in the art world, which are manifest through an increasing dependence on mobility. For example, the art curator, critic and historian Hans Ulrich Obrist describes how globalisation affects the exhibition making:

We are witnessing the emergence of a multiplicity of new centres. We live in a polyphony of centres now, which offer us so many different contexts: Hong Kong, Mumbai, Beirut, and Cairo. These centres need to be recognised on a 21st century cartography of art. Curators move freely around the world, and the museum landscape, as a consequence, is much more open. We need to avoid homogenized globalisation. The curator's role is to act as translator, but also to maintain the notion of difference while engaging in this global dialogue. When we take shows abroad, we are not just touring them, putting them in crates and shipping them around the world. That would be horrible. Each time a show tours I ask myself: What is the local context? What does the context need? In this way, the exhibition mutates and transforms (Bonomi, B. 2011).

This rapid movement of artists, artefacts and knowledge creates networks which have resulted in the art world being less bound to its traditional centres. Therefore, I propose that the activities that constitute the art world are indivisible from the activities of globalisation. Since the 1990s, the worldwide proliferation of biennials has provided the most obvious evidence of the radical changes that have been taking place in the global economies of contemporary art practice. Biennials have been emerging in sites not traditionally regarded as centres of contemporary art, for example in Istanbul, (1987), Johannesburg (1995), Liverpool (1999) and Prague (2003). Indeed the title of the inaugural Prague Biennale in 2003 was *Peripheries Become The Center*. Its reference point was an exploration of ideas related to the dissolution of socio-cultural boundaries, with a focus on the associated liberation of plurality in terms of both identity and artistic practice. *Peripheries Become The Center* also highlighted the fact that for every established institution located in an art centre, there are numerous ARIs active in peripheral areas. These are central themes of this thesis, which brings critical reflection to bear on Scotland's present historical conjuncture, which is characterized by emerging dynamics associated with the formation, representation and articulations of culture and identity in a globalising

world. However, it should be noted that this thesis is not a mythopoeic search for authentic culture, since it is clearly reductive to assert that there is one Scottish culture, not least because culture is a process rather than a permanent condition. Yet, it is taken into account that the persistence or resurgence of nationalism is another response to globalising tendencies. Politically, this is expressed by relocating or bolstering legitimacy and loyalties at the national level, for instance the Scottish National Party's (SNP) ambition for independence in Scotland.³

Nationalism, as a subjective perception of belonging to a distinctive community, is manifest in the revival of local cultural identities. This can be recognised as an attempt to recover an element of stability in times of rapid change, for instance, economic, ideological, technological, and cultural. It is also accurate to assert that globalisation and nationalism have both shaped and been shaped by each other. That is to say, that these forces cannot be assessed in isolation, they are relative to and overlapping one another. This has inevitably impacted on the art world. This is in part because globalisation re-characterises the terms of accessibility, and the centre no longer has exclusivity as *the* privileged site. Global networks characterise this intersection of mobility and place, and offer the capacity for local concerns to subsist alongside teleological or essentialist notions of culture. Art world networks are porous, and through practices and relations they enmesh peripheral sites through interdependency, connectivity and mobility. By extension this posits the concept of national cultural autonomy as a chimera because although national cultural autonomy may be an expression of self-determination, it only serves the interests of territorially based identities. Globalisation subverts the idea of national identities rooted in territories through the pervasion of exchange of cultural practices between different nations and artists as they interact. Of relevance here is the fact that sociological discourses of identities have been superseded with more diverse and complex frameworks of creolisation and hybridity (Bhabha, H. 1994).

³ Leader of the Scottish National Party (SNP) and elected First Minister of Scotland in 2007, Alex Salmond has set the date for a referendum on Scottish independence on 18th September 2014.

Scottish art is, like all cultural artefacts, the outcome of encounters and hybridisation. In other words, just as cultures develop as an adaptive response to specific geographies, cultural artefacts can be said to be responses to processes of exposure to otherness. This relates to globalisation and global networks, which transcend linear and closed communities that are informed by nationhood. That is not to deny that it is a local expression, but only inasmuch as any cultural expression is located in time and space. Whilst Scottish artists (i.e. artists who have been working, were born, were raised or made their profession and came to prominence in Scotland) are treated as part of a global frame of reference, they may demonstrate no conscious interest or significance attached to national identity, that is to say that their work does not directly address questions of national identity or indeed revel in the specificity of the location of the origin of the work.

The centre/peripheral metaphor is also invoked to explore the self-conscious marginality of artist-run practice, as it actively redefines the edges of dominant and established institutions. This is with a view to advocate the potential for reciprocal exchange between ARIs and established institutions, particularly because established institutions increasingly face uncertainty, since they are no longer the privileged arenas for the display of art. Taking into account the current financial and political climate, it is necessary for *all* cultural organisations to find alternate means of establishing the grounds for more lasting forms of cultural production, display, education, and research. It cannot be overlooked that since the global financial crisis of 2008 and the ongoing worldwide economic downturn, the recession has impacted and continues to effect support for the Arts. In relation to the current socio-political context in which art is practiced and presented in Scotland, the contemporary backdrop is the continuing diminishment of resources in the cultural sector. Announced in 2012 as part of a broader response to austerity budgets, the national arts agency Creative Scotland⁴ saw a £2.1m cut in its

⁴ The Scottish Arts Council was, until its dissolution and replacement by Creative Scotland, the main distributor for funding for the arts in Scotland. In 2010 Creative Scotland took over the functions and resources of Scottish Screen and the Scottish Arts Council.

funding from the Scottish Government⁵ from April 2013. Unable to meet the demands made of them, Creative Scotland have resorted to a form of cultural rationing and has responded by restructuring its spending. This essentially jeopardises the long-term survival and strength of many of the organisations that have now lost their core funding. Glasgow's Centre for Contemporary Arts (CCA) and Edinburgh's Stills Gallery are among the forty-nine organisations who have been put on short-term project funding, which means that they will be forced to compete on a project-by-project basis (Carrell. S. 2012). A number of art venues considered as alternative, publically funded spaces have already closed due to diminished funding streams, for example Sierra Metro, Edinburgh (2008-2011), The Changing Room, Stirling (1997-2013) and The Duchy, Glasgow (2009-2013). Faced with cross-partisan concerns of sustainability, a more open, co-operative and reciprocal cultural infrastructure is required. Such transformation could not be isolated in any one sphere of the Scottish art world and so this thesis explores the possibilities of combining the actions of self-organised initiatives with established, hierarchical institutions such as galleries, museums, art schools and funding bodies. ARIs are already connected to established institutions. For instance, Edinburgh College of Art (ECA), specifically the School of Art, is a nexus of activities that connect directly to the artist-run community generally, and the artist-run gallery Embassy specifically. A number of academic staff (including myself) have been involved with Embassy through curating, exhibiting, and critical writing. Furthermore, Embassy provides a Professional Practice programme to ECA. As such, the School of Art provides a support network of artists and cultural critics for ARIs, and vice versa, who are directly related to both the production of art and to artist-run activities.

⁵ The Scottish Government is the executive branch of the Scottish Parliament, which was formed in 1999, following the 1997 Scottish Referendum on Devolution. The Parliament of the United Kingdom at Westminster continues to constitute the supreme legislature of Scotland, but the devolved legislature of the Scottish Parliament was granted the power to pass laws, given limited tax-varying powers and assumed responsibility for education, health, agriculture and justice. There have been four elections to the Parliament (1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011), the first two were won by Labour. In 2007 the Scottish National Party (SNP) emerged as the largest single party, with Alex Salmond being elected First Minister in May that year, a post he still retains. In 2011 the SNP won with an overall majority.

This is a timely and vital opportunity to engage with current discourses in contemporary art in Scotland, from theoretical debates through to notions of governance, with regard to cultural investment and matters of public policy. Since Scottish Devolution in 1997 the question of self-organisation has once again become the central question of political life and cultural production. From this my critical focus emerged as being an exploration of structures that contest the established ideological models and prevailing structures and discourses of the art world. ARIs exemplify many of the conditions that enable challenges to production and display, and as the name suggests, they are the initial step in a series of actions. For that reason they can be considered as both provisional and as a form of direct democracy that allows for immediate responsiveness and innovative decision-making. This thesis scrutinizes the practical role that political philosophies have in shaping culture and the underlying attitudes to culture, as well as the conduct of politics. It also addresses the lack of agency afforded to practitioners and facilitators of ARIs and envisages a framework whereby their voices are recognised by established institutions, legislators, policy-makers, developers, and each another. It should be noted that it is not my intention to provide report-style recommendations or pragmatic directives. Instead I present philosophical perspectives with a view to foster attitudinal change towards the interrelations between ARIs and established institutions.

Amongst the Scottish Government's key priorities has been enhancing Scotland's profile and performance at an international level, with arts and culture playing a key role in attaining this objective. For example, in 2008 the Scottish Government announced that 2009 was to be The Year of the Homecoming. Essentially this was a major tourist marketing campaign organised around five main themes - Robert Burns, whisky, golf, great Scottish minds and innovations and Scotland's culture and heritage. The campaign was organised by Event Scotland and Visit Scotland, on behalf of the Scottish Government. In 2014 Scotland will stage a second formal celebration, Homecoming 2014, which Event Scotland claim will enhance

Scotland's "reputation as an active destination, a place of culture and creativity and a place of natural beauty" (Event Scotland. 2012). As the Scottish Government attempts to harness Scotland's cultures and creativity in order to promote Scotland's presence on the global stage, there are critical questions related to the identity of future Scottish art production as its local and international profile is magnified, and subsequently informs the policies of the new democracy. This not only suggests that creative practice is connected to democracy but it also raises the issue of how the Arts might also contribute to the public realm in the context of Scottish democracy. Culture and art have never been marginalised from power, however, in the last twenty years economic globalisation and market-based economies have regarded this field as increasingly significant.⁶

Ethnographic research was undertaken through a three-year tenure as a co-Director on the committee of Embassy in Edinburgh. Participant observation designated my conduct as an ethnographic researcher, immersed in this artist-run gallery within the Scottish contemporary art scene.⁷ Via this engagement with Embassy, I gained an understanding of the contextual meanings of its activities. This largely served to promote my active observation and participation, and the development of key skills within the sector of the contemporary art and the cultural economy. This in turn provided me with an understanding of the internal structures, as well as the external linkages of Embassy to the Scottish art scene as it sits within the UK, Europe and the international art world. Concurrently, I was conscious of the inherent difficulty of being the subject and the object, the one who acts and the one watching oneself acting, and I was aware that a level of objectivity had to be maintained in order to sustain a bifurcated analysis. Furthermore, it was imperative that normative and uncritical views be avoided by supplementing this practical research with a sociological examination. This

⁶ In the UK this became perceptible with the Blairite government in 1997 when it became a priority of public policy as it registered the global rise of the culture industries.

⁷ It is not my intention to lay claim to the possibility of a singular, holistic Scottish art scene, the term is intended to invoke an acknowledgement that it is an aggregation of multiple scenes.

involved considering related political and economic effects via a complex system of structural networks and artistic facilities and timeframes. There is recognition within the field of ethnography that it is not sufficient to merely explicate the lived experience. Theorists Norman Denzin and Yvonne Lincoln advocate that the researcher should be a 'bricoleur' (Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. 1998, p. 4) whose method is a construction "that changes and takes new forms as the bricoleur adds different tools, method and techniques of representation and interpretation" (Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. 1998, p. 4). They go on to stress that the bricoleur "understands that research is an interactive process shaped by his or her own personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and by those of the people in the setting" (Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. 1998, p. 6). Aware of this, my "history of relations" (Myers, F. & Marcus, G. 1995. p. 1) is manifestly transparent, and as such I do not expound my experience *ad verbatim* and I was all the while mindful to avoid what the cultural theorist Roland Barthes refers to as "the diary of disease" (Barthes, R. 1989, p. 359), or the construction of a reality through the interpretation of lived experience. With ethnographic fieldwork there are also issues relating to the legitimacy of research, which stems from a questioning of the authority of researchers to speak for their constituents (Denzin, N & Lincoln, Y. 1998). Whilst recognising these inherent issues I endeavour to adopt a critical attitude to my own research practice. I aim to break down the traditional sociological dualisms by linking the subjective and the objective analyses of the structures which frame, limit, control and influence ARIs, for example their aspirations, access to funding, abilities and government policies.

I adopt a heuristic approach in exploring the cultural epistemology and ontology of the art world in Scotland. My methodology draws from Howard Becker's theory of the art world (Becker, H. 1984), which conceives of it as being constituted by complex networks that emerge from an aggregation of micro or sub-communities. These networks are comprised of participants whose activities co-operate with, and impact on, mutually understood conventions. Becker outlines his concept of the art world as follows:

All artistic work, like all human activity, involves the joint activity of a number, often a large number, of people. Through their co-operation, the art world we eventually see or hear comes to be and continues to be. The work always shows signs of that co-operation. The forms of co-operation may be ephemeral, but often come more or less routine, producing patterns of collective activity we can call an art world. The existence of art worlds, as well as the way their existence affects both the production and consumption of art works, suggests a sociological approach to the arts. It is not an approach that produces aesthetic judgements, although that is a task many sociologists of art have set themselves. It produces, instead, an understanding of the complexity of the co-operative networks through which art happens (Becker, H. 1984. p. 1).

Becker's cultural sociology is employed to account for the complex interrelations between the constituents of the art infrastructures, relating to artists, ARIs, established institutions and government bodies, amongst others. The French sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu's Reflexive Sociology also informed my methods (Bourdieu, P. 1977, 1990). Bourdieu's Reflexive Sociology is rooted in post-Marxism and stems from a concern surrounding the power relations between the researcher and the researched, which ultimately rejects this division. Indeed, because I am writing from within my subject, as well as about it, from the vantage point of academia, my methodology constitutes in itself a deliberate devolutionary act. I supplement and combine a Bourdieusian approach with the application of a related theory, the British sociologist Anthony Giddens' structuration theory (Giddens, A. 1984). Methodologically Giddens states:

The points of connection of structuration theory with empirical research are to do with working out the logical implications of studying a 'subject matter' of which the researcher is already a part, with elucidating the substantive connotations of the core notions of action and structure (Giddens, A. 1984, pp. 30-31).

The action/structure relationship was relevant to my ethnographic research as I studied and analysed the Scottish art world, within which I am also embedded. Both Bourdieu and Giddens endeavour to reconcile the dichotomist concepts of agency and structure. Giddens' structuration theory develops a theoretical approach that focuses on duality (rather than dualism) of structure. Thus agency and structure are not conceptualised as separate entities but as being interconnected through practice. My application and

elaboration of Giddens' structuration theory endeavours to connect, rather than separate, the enabling capabilities of the agent, in this case ARIs, with the potentially constraining material properties of existing structures, the established institutions.

Fundamentally, Giddens' structuration framework is applied to describe the two-way process by which ARIs shape established institutions through their actions but are themselves (re) shaped by established institutions.

Structuration is applicable because it is broad enough to examine both local, particular forms of power and infrastructure, as well as wider, global structures of the art world. Bourdieu's Reflexive Sociology predates Giddens' structuration theory and there are a number of similarities, including conceptions of agency and structure and a concern for reflexivity. Bourdieu reminds us that it is the complex nexus of capital, field and habitus (Bourdieu, P. 1987) that determines social action and the constitution of power at any historical moment. Bourdieu advocates that theory must develop from participant observation, empirical research and reflexive sociology (Bourdieu, P. 1987). Additionally, he states that a theoretical analysis should take into account the socio-political conditions that, to some measure, construct the art world (Bourdieu, P. 1990). Therefore, in order to systematically educe the infrastructures of influence and interaction, a relational epistemological approach is adopted. In order to explore the potential for institutional reorganisation in the art world, a modified model of Giddens' structuration theory is advanced.

Giddens' structuration is posited on the concept that social processes are recursive, that is, repetition of the acts of agents reproduce structures. Giddens goes on to explain that social structures are formed both by individual acts and are also determined by social forces, and that they exist in a complex relationship. Therefore established institutions, traditions and structures can be altered and transformed when they are disregarded, replaced, or even reproduced in different ways. It is this capacity to adapt, change and create structures that is usefully applied to explore the triggering

factors and the required premises for the emergence of ARIs. Focusing on ARIs offers an opportunity to examine how agents or artists in ARIs transform situations and manoeuvre strategically. This transformative capacity is characterised by the conduct of artists in ARIs to intervene and affect a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events (Giddens, A. 1984). However, as Giddens correctly identifies, it is not merely a mass of micro level activities that determines structures, yet neither are structures governed and understood simply by macro level explanations. This approach focuses on spatio-temporal social practices rather than on particular artists or societal totality. It challenges the concept that social relations exist across a neutral continuum of time and space. Within a social framework of the ecology of the art world, applying structuration theory, I propose to increase knowledge of how ARIs contribute to the development of the cultural infrastructure in Scotland. There is a particular focus on examining the comparative conditions that influenced their evolutionary processes. Structuration is a useful framework here because it acknowledges that reflexivity influences the content of the structures, and this inherently includes culture.

Giddens' structuration theory is applied to analyse the Scottish art world because it encompasses interactionist sociology,⁸ specifically ethnomethodology, the premise of which is that cultural agency is profoundly influenced, *not conditioned*, by external conditions. That is to say, art organisational structures, be they ARI or established institutions, reflect a given socio-cultural and governmental pattern at a given time. In this sense, interactionist processes determine the significance that is assigned to art organisations in a spatio-temporal framework. Giddens' duality of structure can be applied to processes of social interaction to efface the split between agency and structure. The concept of the duality of structure is useful to

⁸ Interactionist perspectives are generally utilised for micro level sociological analysis in direct opposition to macro perspectives such as Marxism. Macro-sociologist Marx is the founder of the conflict perspective. Conflict Theory views society as a struggle for resources and power, and that some groups prosper at the expense of others.

analyse the levels of determinism and freedom in interactions in the art world. Giddens allows for the compartmentalisation of social structures and cultural agents' interactions within art scenes. Social structures denote the rules and resources that are institutionalised in the art world, and are simultaneously implemented and transformed by the participants across time and space. Cultural agents draw upon social structures through their actions, and at the same time, they replicate modified versions of the structures. New patterns are perpetually developing in response to new contingencies, negotiations, accommodations and conflicts. As such, structures do not exist independently of agency, but are both the precondition and (inadvertent) outcome of agency. Structures are therefore a set of enabling conditions that facilitate social transformation to take place. Giddens' approach recognises that circumstances, rules and resources are not equally or evenly distributed, which in turn affects power relations. This methodology also permits for the potential of resistance through what Giddens' terms as the 'dialectic of control' in social systems (Giddens, A. 1984. p. 16). This refers to the emergence of influence and authority through action as opposed to inexorable historical relations. Structuration is constructive in the analysis of the production, replication and transformation of cultural (infra) structures by the capacities of ARIs. Fundamentally, the structuration paradigm is applicable to social practices, rather than avowing the experiences of the individual or the assertion of any form of societal totality.

A diachronic analysis based on a genealogical approach provides an historical preface to the ethnographic topography of Embassy and contemporary ARIs. This was undertaken in order to explore the relationship between the ontologies of current Scottish visual art practice and the connections with its own historicity. The contention is that the retrieval of the multiple pasts of Scottish artistic counter-cultures offers a more nuanced and productive perspective, which in turn reveals a developmental heterochrony. This informs an examination of whether the cultural strata of the past can, and should, retrieve and recuperate its (resistant) potential without slipping

into a form of identification that fuses artistic practice with nostalgia. I explore three fixed locations at different time intervals: Edinburgh's (New) 57 Gallery and Printmakers, which evolved into the Fruitmarket Gallery; Glasgow's Third Eye Centre that then manifested into the CCA; and Dundee's Forebank/Seagate and their influence on the establishment of DCA. All three of these artist-run spaces were co-opted by the administrative management of the Scottish Arts Council (SAC). These precedents prompted an exploration of the potentialities of establishing a positive synergy between ARIs and established institutions, whilst recognising that essential differences and conflicts remain. Established institutions are considered in this thesis as contested spaces, which not only threaten ARIs, but also sustain them. Furthermore, a distinction is made between practices that adapt to the established institutional arrangements and those that contest them by occupying them differently. Therefore, this thesis offers a series of spatially and thematically specific case studies, which may be described as resistive, yet seem to continually break out of type. In all three cases it is vital to examine what it meant in the short and long term for ARIs that vehemently pursued an alternative and oppositional status to surrender to established institutional traditions. This is contentious because it would appear to contradict the politics of ARIs. However, there are lessons to be learned, which could forge the way for a new formalized coalition of mutual advocacy between ARIs and established institutions.

In their formative years the (New) 57 Gallery, the Third Eye Centre and Forebank/Seagate participated actively in the constructions of their locales within a continuum that served their purposes, even if they were unaware of potential future uses. Each of these three ARIs developed with no long-term strategies and aims and were subsequently commandeered by administrators intent on redirecting them towards becoming agents for promoting governmental policy. The case studies are investigations into the transformation of power relations between the ARIs and the established institutional organisations they were converted into. These organisations were selected to confront partisan arguments, which merit the contribution

of either ARIs or established institutions at the detriment of acknowledging the others' contribution. It is the foundation of this thesis that myopic arguments are not adequate to grasp contemporary challenges in the art world because they do not emphasise the reciprocal and nested relationships among participants and organisations. Thus, rather than considering fixed entities with clearly definable boundaries, the case studies were selected because they engender challenging, dynamic social processes. They challenge strategies of top-down rhetoric as well as revealing the possible consequences of interaction between ARIs and established organisational structures. As an analytical approach this exposes tensions and identifies institutional and professional inequities. In each case the complex layers of social stratification and local strategies are considered within their different socio-historical contexts. This enables me to develop an integrated perspective, which provides a coherent framework for understanding both the organisations and the theories that have developed around them. I therefore offer a critical analysis of infrastructures, focusing on established institutional structures as much as on artist-run culture.

Practically, the process of critically examining the emergence of contemporary ARIs through a genealogical approach involved the examination of archival materials, undertaking interviews and a literature review. The ephemeral nature of ARIs creates difficulties in documenting them, although this in itself is not a sufficient rationale to justify the lack of critical attention they have received to date. Inevitably, archival materials of the case studies comprised disaggregated information, that is, what had been selectively recorded and what had been fortuitously preserved. Whilst material was no doubt lost to posterity or has yet to be unearthed, enough strands existed to allow for potentialities and the capacity to make meaningful patterns of associations between ARIs from the 1960s to the present. In order to supplement the documentary material, and to avoid a narrative account from a single point of view, I undertook a series of interviews with artists and cultural practitioners. The playwright, Tom McGrath (1940-2009), who was active in the emerging counter culture of the

1960s, was consulted on his position as the first artistic Director of the Third Eye Centre. Another important figure in the alternative/counter-culture scene of the 1960s was Jim Haynes, who shared his motivations for, and experiences of, establishing Edinburgh's Paperback Bookshop and Traverse Theatre. Richard Demarco, also credited for his role in founding the Traverse Theatre, offered insight into the role of the Richard Demarco Gallery, which was pivotal in the artistic and cultural life of Edinburgh, Scotland and Europe. Alexander Moffat provided information and recollections about the 57 Gallery and his time as Chairman of the New 57 Gallery. The art critic and commentator Cordelia Oliver (1923-2009), who promoted Scottish contemporary art, provided useful backgrounds on Scottish art culture spanning from the 1950s to the 1980s. To pick up where Oliver left off and to gain a critical overview of current artist-run culture in Scotland I interviewed the critic and writer, Susannah Thompson. Having served on the committee of Embassy, an artist-run gallery, myself, I interviewed co-Directors past and present in order to substantiate and challenge both my experiences at Embassy as well as my pre-theoretical commitments, and my underlying assumptions and principles.

In order to provide adequate theoretical frameworks within which to place the vast array of ARIs, it was necessary to consult the prevalent voices and positions in contemporary discourse on ARIs in Scotland. My research into the historical and contextual moments of critical debate surrounding the Scottish art world has revealed evidence that there is a predisposition to overlook or dispense with conflicting narratives in favour of a neater teleological history. Historically, there is also a tendency to focus on a limited scope of artistic practices, meanings and institutions. For example, Transmission in Glasgow and the activities in and around it during the 1990s dominates discussions of Scottish ARIs. This situation can be attributed, in part, to the profusion of writing by the artists involved, most notably Ross Sinclair, who wrote:

Many of the shows in Scotland, which have generated this interest, have been initiated and organised by artists. Many have involved artists associated with Transmission Gallery in Glasgow.

Transmission is at this time, probably the most significant artist run space in the UK (Sinclair, R. 1994. p. 7).

Other notable text by Sinclair include: *Windfall '91*, Glasgow; *Bad Smells but no sign of the Corpse* (1991), *Guilt By Association* MOMA, Dublin Museum Keys - interview with Douglas Gordon (1992), Douglas Gordon, *Tramway Glasgow*, *Sociable Art of Douglas Gordon* (1993), *New Art in Scotland CCA*, Glasgow *Nietzsche*, *The Beastie Boys and Masturbating as an Art Form* (1994), *Transmission Gallery*, *10 Year Anniversary Book Scotland – A brief and Fractured Introduction to the History of the Period 1983 -2083* (1996). Sinclair's writings, published in *Art Monthly* and *Frieze* (London), *Art Press* (Paris) and *Kunstforum* (Berlin), to name a few, are also indicative of a shift towards artists influencing the reception of their work by infiltrating the reception apparatus, the art press. This was evident in particular in *Frieze* magazine, which commissioned projects by Transmission committee members Christine Borland and Douglas Gordon amongst others, and also provided a forum for these artists to promulgate what has become the habitually repeated historical account of recent Scottish art practice, which is almost exclusively posited around Transmission (Allen, J. 1991).

Transmission's legacy was consolidated in the self-published historical anthology, *1983-2003: A Celebration of Twenty Years of Transmission Gallery* (2004), which is a self-memorialising document that provides a privileged insight into the gallery's own history and existence. My thesis acknowledges the social, economic and political impact that Transmission has had in shaping the Scottish contemporary art world, whilst redressing the historical imbalance in order to present a more complete version of events by examining less exposed ARIs in Scotland. A key document, which provides an intersection into the dominant discussions of ARIs, is the accompanying exhibition catalogue for *Life/Live* (Obrist, H. 1996). *Live/Live* was curated by Hans Ulrich Obrist who notably coined the phrase 'the Glasgow Miracle' in 1996 during a talk he gave at Tate in London to describe the creative regeneration in post-industrial Glasgow, which flourished during the 1990s. Obrist's purported phenomenon has become the thing of

legend, yet it fails to attribute the accomplishments of Transmission and associated artists to, for example, the legacies of ARIs in Scotland, the gradual accumulation of artistic work over decades, and strategic funding policies since the late 1960s. The 'Glasgow Miracle' was again given a new lease of life with Alan Yentob's BBC documentary, *Imagine: Glasgow – The Grit and the Glamour* (2012), which reiterated the instantaneous transformation of Glasgow from a global capital for shipbuilding to one of contemporary art. The exhibition and catalogue *Life/Live* explores artist-run spaces in the UK and includes an essay by Rebecca Gordon-Nesbitt. Whilst Gordon-Nesbitt's text concentrates on the history of artist-run spaces in London (Gordon-Nesbitt, 1999), she employs Glasgow's Transmission as a case study. Gordon-Nesbitt's essay, and her writing more broadly, is key to this thesis because she debunks the 'Glasgow Miracle' myth by reflecting upon the causes and conditions that encouraged the renaissance of the visual arts in Glasgow since the late 1970s (Gordon-Nesbitt, 1995). Gordon-Nesbitt's contextualisation of ARIs within and counter to the infrastructures of the art world, its institutions, economies and hierarchies are useful to this thesis in facilitating the production of an expanding history, which contextualises, and looks beyond, Glasgow's ARIs.

Another key document in analysing ARIs' contemporary placement in the art world is the collected essays in *Occupational Hazard* (McCorquodale, Siderfin and Stallabrass, 1998). Again, the Scottish focus is on Glasgow with Malcolm Dickson's essay *Another Year of Alienation: On the mythology of the artist-run initiative* (Dickson, M. 1998). As curator, writer and Director of Street Level Photoworks (est. 1989) in Glasgow, Dickson's specific concern is with alternative spaces in Glasgow during the 1980s and 1990s. He interrogates how the idea of ARIs as alternative spaces has remained operative and asks whether or not the alternative has become mainstream.

The focus upon the 'artists' initiative' and the rhetoric of autonomy is very much symptomatic of its institutionalisation, where a hierarchy of spaces is allocated a slot regarding their proximity to, feeding into and replication of the cultural mainstream. The original impetus to establish the artist-run space was conceived as an ideological impetus to destabilise the hegemony of complacent thinking, and create a

contextual framework that made art more of a meaningful activity. The motivation now is more pragmatic and functional, revolving around the potential of 'making it' and the 'demand' to exhibit work. The notion of an alternative does not have the critical import it previously embodied (Dickson, M. 1998 pp. 82-84).

Dickson acknowledges that whilst correlations between historic and contemporary critical impulses are evident, that many of the current terms of engagement of ARIs are distinct from earlier points of reference.

A further significant text, which also negotiates this territory, is *Social Sculpture: The Rise of the Glasgow Art Scene* (2004) by Glasgow based writer and curator Sarah Lowndes. *Social Sculpture* presents a social history of independent practice, exhibitions and events, chronicling Glasgow's art and club scene. However, where Dickson's essay avoids homogenizing the characteristics of recent incarnations of ARIs, that is to say, basing conclusions on the ideological shadings of past agendas, Lowndes falls short of doing so. As such, Lowndes' account advances outmoded claims of liberal and egalitarian principles of contemporary ARIs without considering that their ideological basis may have shifted through time, for example their activities may have evolved into techniques and strategies for launching the careers of committee members. Lowndes' text contributes to the mythologies that have amassed in recent years surrounding artist-run culture, which have a tendency to relate to and reflect the agenda and position (explicit or otherwise) of those authoring these historical accounts, for example as in the case of Sinclair's aforementioned writing. Lowndes' text echoes Harrison C. White's (White, 1993) interpretation of social networks as a mechanism of art production. That is to say, the emphasis is on social contact and narrative reflections which establish and shape artistic style and content. Discussions of conflictual negotiations are avoided in *Social Sculpture*, yet my research testifies that the situation is not as neat as Lowndes' propositions uncritically assume. On the other hand, Lowndes' text is constructive with regards to consolidating the concept of an art scene or scenes. She navigates the reader through the extensive interconnected networks and alliances that comprise the grassroots cultural activity by exploring the crossovers between art and

music. I extend this line of thought, and consider how this convergence of activities can be seen as a foundation for much of Scotland's visual art based activities. By this, I am referring to the connections between art, artists, and the proponents, participants, audiences, funders, and infrastructures involved. It is a conglomeration of these elements, which are instrumental in creating scenes over a period of time.

Craig Richardson's *Scottish Art Since 1960: Historical Reflections and Critical Overviews* (2011) offers a chronological survey of Scottish art and artists, including Joan Eardley, Alexander Moffat, Douglas Gordon, Roderick Buchanan, Christine Borland and Simon Starling. Richardson claims that the work of these artists reflects an engagement with the nebulous conceit of 'Scottishness'. Like Lowndes, Richardson recognises that social interactions and collectivity have been operative in the production of art, however, his main objective is that locations are also essential in the formation of art. Richardson's analytical criteria for discussing Scottish art is problematic as it is dependent on an essentialist notion of a singular and coherent Scottish identity. Richardson's reliance on the anthropology of aesthetics necessarily employs aesthetics in the establishment of an indigenous evaluation criterion. His claim of a Scottish identity that can be visually manifest in the artworks produced is both restrictive and self-defeating. I reject aesthetic anthropology in favour of a critical anthropology of art (Marcus, G, 1995). A critical anthropology of art is distinguished from other disciplinary approaches, such as the anthropology of aesthetics, by exploring the boundaries and affinities between art, anthropology, representation and culture. Another of Richardson's aims is to trace a history of Scottish art through a history of Scottish institutions. He does so by examining the display conditions of artistic practice with a focus on a number of Scottish galleries, the National Galleries of Scotland, Richard Demarco Gallery, the 57 Gallery, Graham Murray Gallery, Fruitmarket Gallery, Third Eye Centre, Transmission and the Modern Institute. Of importance to my thesis is that Richardson recognises that ARIs are also institutions, since institutions can be defined as systems of recognised and prevalent social rules that structure

social interactions. However, Richardson represents a number of biases in the study of institutions, where institutions and characteristics of a particular type are overgeneralized to the set of institutions as a whole (Hodgson, 2006). This is unproductive because it reinforces an all too pervasive narrow understanding of what constitutes an institution whilst failing to propose any possible solutions. My thesis addresses Richardson's oversight by re-theorizing the relationship between established institutions and ARIs with a view to overcoming dualism (an either / or logic with no option between the two).

My literature research reveals that the standard history of artist-run practice that exists is one that neglects to acknowledge the extent to which the 1960s precursors provided vital precedents by testing strategies redolent of those deployed in contemporary ARIs. These historical omissions have resulted in limited information and academic research on Scottish ARIs thus far. In part, this is owing to the itinerant and ephemeral nature of a great number of ARIs. ARIs generally produce documentation and recordings of their activities, for instance flyers, posters, press releases, and increasingly they disseminate their paraphernalia via the Internet. However, whilst these artefacts circulate and accrue cultural capital (Bourdieu, P. 1986), the temporality and spontaneity of ARIs and their activities has meant that there have often been no permanent repositories for this material and no official cataloguing of their activities.⁹ A further consequence of this is that whilst ARIs have generated complex and sophisticated collective methods they have yet to be coherently harnessed for application by their own cultural agents, including the current and future participants in artist-run culture.

⁹ It is important to point out, however, that it was not my intention to produce an inventory of ARIs in Scotland in this study. However, as an extension of this thesis I am project co-ordinating the creation of archives of two key ARIs in Edinburgh, Embassy and Collective with the Postgraduate students in the MA Contemporary Art Theory programme at ECA. These archives are envisaged as kind of living histories of these initiatives, which will be insertion into the SNGMA's archival holdings, as well as augmented in a shared online resource.

Notably, Ross Birrell and Alex Finlay's *Justified Sinners: An Archaeology of Scottish Counter-Culture: 1960-2000* (2002), was productive in focusing the emphasis of my thesis on the construction of a historical genealogy of ARIs. *Justified Sinners* is a reader of counter-culture in Scotland, which lays no claim to presenting a complete archaeology. Rather, it explicitly provokes the further study of cultural histories of the period, which my thesis advances. However, my thesis eschews the emphasis on poetry and prose in favour of the visual arts and artist-run culture. Having identified gaps in both the assimilation and dissemination of the history of Scottish ARIs, and given the relatively modest quantity of serious analysis of contemporary Scottish culture, this thesis occupies a significant role in researching and distributing information. This is knowledge that otherwise would not be circulated despite the fact that it should be embedded in dominant art discourse and practice.

Chapter One: Institutions by Artists is a critical exercise in defining ARIs and established institutions. It is necessary to distinguish and explore the shifting definitions of what might constitute ARIs and established institutions and what purpose they serve, their contributions to the art scene and culture, as well as how they are positioned within the wider art world. The focus is on the relationships between these differing scales of institutions, which determine the significance that is assigned to art, art production and display at a given time and place. ARIs and established institutions depend on each other and so this thesis is particularly concerned with examining the terms of relations between them. This chapter therefore provokes the dilemma of how ARIs and established institutions, with differing principles and vocabularies, can co-generate more equitable, creative and critical infrastructures to support artistic production.

Chapter Two: The 57 Gallery further advances the examination of the relations between ARIs and established institutions by analysing the development of the 57 Gallery through to its subsumption into the Fruitmarket Gallery. Examination of the accompanying negotiations, accommodations and

disputes develops a context in which to understand how ARIs and established institutions pursue their interests. By unveiling the strategies of power that have informed the process of the mergers outlined in each of the three aforementioned case studies, it becomes apparent that there are underlying competing forces. However, there is also an implied paradox in conceptualising a situation that inscribes a relationship of interdependency between ARIs and established institutions. Inherent in this discussion are the attendant issues related to the establishment of the SAC during this period. Scotland is a nation with its own distinctive history of regional arts development. Since 1947, with the establishment of the Arts Council of Great Britain's Scottish Committee, the forerunner of the SAC, Scotland has experienced considerable autonomy over its arts policy. In essence this resulted in a situation whereby Scottish artists have been conditioned to SAC subsidies, which has had an impact on their practice and subsequently on the art of the nation. Through an analysis of the 57 Gallery and concurrent artist-run culture I explore how artists have negotiated these parameters and sought to challenge the ideological and representative social function of the SAC.

Chapter Three: The Third Eye Centre analyses the varied fortunes of this initiative under the charge of the paternalistic and at times autocratic SAC who envisaged it to be the Glasgow counterpart to the SAC's Fruitmarket Gallery in Edinburgh. The Third Eye Centre was progressive and experimental in its cross-fertilization of visual art, music, literature and poetry. It is essential to recognise the potency and legacy of these exchanges in fostering frameworks for greater interaction with other cultural practices. As opposed to being confined within a close-knit community and linked groups who subscribed to common ideals, the Third Eye Centre established close links with the local community and this was reflected in its inclusive programming. The SAC, directed by government policies, shifted the emphasis of their support from cultural production towards cultural consumption. This signalled a fundamental failure to support the production of the Arts, particularly in terms of artistic output. Furthermore, the SAC's

Gable End project saw art, culture, and to an extent artist-run culture, being ushered in from the margins toward the centre of governmental policies, particularly with regards to inner city regeneration. Whilst the SAC was, in this regard, dependent on the diverse grassroots facilitators and practitioners e.g. ARIs, what emerges is a dialectic of control in the relationship between the SAC and the Third Eye Centre. Notably, the vestiges of the Third Eye Centre continue to exist in the manifestation of the CCA.

Chapter Four: Forebank/Seagate/DCA focuses on the city of Dundee as an instance of a peripheral site being pushed toward the centre, or being fetishized into significance by an art world that perpetuates turnover. Tracing the mechanisms of cultural development in the city, as Dundee sought to regenerate itself, this chapter analyses how the artist-run Forebank/Seagate evolved into DCA. Particular attention is given to the rise of the creative industries, which saw culture and the Arts being elevated to the concerns of mainstream policy by the Scottish Government. Seagate opposed investment in a cultural infrastructure that was targeted predominantly at the consumer and their funding was withdrawn to make way for DCA. Whilst Seagate had been well placed to reformulate the scope of artists' responsibilities and challenge governments' conscription of art and culture as a social panacea, this incursion reveals the central paradoxes of control and consent in the extraction of value in the creative industries.

Chapter Five: Locating History in the Present explores Embassy's development and history in relation to the cultural conditions that motivated its founders and then proceeds to examine the changing aspirations and motivations of its subsequent committee members. My tenure as co-Director at Embassy brought together theoretical and material research on the structure, operation, purpose and implications of ARIs. By initially concentrating on the concept of ARIs as an ethos, it was evident that their identity and role has changed since the 1960s. As expectations and practices have shifted so too have the levels of critical engagement. I provide a counter to the illusion of a positivistic solidarity, indiscriminately propagated in the art media, by

questioning the wholesale subscription to such a straightforward reading of a non-hierarchical group spirit. This chapter also considers how artists subsist within collective structures and explores the strategies employed as they are increasingly confronted with bureaucratic mandates. It examines how concerns about institutionalisation, evident in discourse on ARIs, cross over or resurface in contemporary ARIs, such as Embassy. This chapter also gives critical addition to the discourse surrounding the professionalization of artists' practices and ARIs. Self-delineated and self-determined activities have played a role in forming Scotland's contemporary art scenes and supporting infrastructures, as such the interventionist nature of ARIs is posited as a form of counter culture comparable with other sociological groupings.

Chapter Six: Centre of Attention returns to the centre/periphery metaphor with relation to Scottish political and cultural devolution. This is the foundation for the hypotheses that identities should be released from the claustrophobic moorings of the nation state. A facet of this interrogation is the idea of flirting with the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. This chapter takes into account globalisation, which is the dominant paradigm in contemporary art management. Analytically, the focus on globalisation is a dialectic one since the local systems and structures are formed through a complex interaction between global and local occurrences. Central to this is the question of what it means to be a nation in an era of globalisation when there are expectations that the boundaries between the centre and periphery have become increasingly fluid and uncertain.

This thesis pivots around the tensions that exist between ARIs and established institutions, self-organisation and top-down decisions, local action and (inter) national goals and the periphery and the centre. The focus of the tension is that established institutions and governmental policy presume that their decisions represent an impartial standpoint that is equally in the interest of all. Therefore, it is this condition that the consensus is an expression of hegemony which is contested.

Chapter 1: Institutions by Artists

ARI is a diffuse term and to elucidate and articulate all the definitions, properties and values associated with it would be beyond the reach of this study, despite the upmost endeavour. However, it is not sufficient to rely on generic understandings, as this would not illuminate the specificities of what ARIs are and how they position themselves and are positioned in the art world. In the Scottish context, ARIs have proved essential in developing artistic practice, whilst negotiating the institutional, economic and structural obstacles that were historically perceived as barriers to creative and professional development. For example ARIs, unlike established institutions, provide opportunities for artists to exhibit irrespective of whether they are validated by funding bodies, gallery representation or an extensive C.V. In that sense, ARIs are an extremely effective way for artists to develop both creatively and professionally, whilst exercising a high degree of autonomy, debate, exhibition and promotion within a peer group context, as well as within a national and international framework. ARIs demonstrate through example that it is possible and feasible to live and work as an artist in Scotland, for a period at least. In this sense ARIs act like catalysts, nonetheless it is imperative to scrutinise the motivations of the committee members since they are fundamentally a union of various individuals, autonomous actors, who are temporarily identified by their collective actions. Whilst the underpinning factor is a commitment based not on personal gain, but on ensuring the continued growth of art infrastructures, it is undeniable that ARIs are also stepping-stones back to established institutions. This does not inherently undermine the ideological basis of ARIs. It does, however, become problematic if it encroaches upon working towards creating an alternative. Furthermore, ARIs should not be immune from scrutiny. They are often composed of various constituents and identities, which further complicate the assumptions upon which these practices are based and valued. They do not, nor should they, provide an inclusive, ameliorative and panacean resolution for the (artistic) communities involved. Indeed, they routinely maintain a different order of exclusivity and

institutionalism. Such a qualification is by no means intended as a slight, or indeed a rhetorical provocation; rather the intention is to redress what is an egregious oversight that underlines the lack of cohesive knowledge in this field.

Examined etymologically, historically and politically, the term 'artist-run' signifies various co-existing layers of meaning, which are both temporary and fluid. By extension, it is necessary to recognise that ARIs are highly diverse in their structure, intentions and ways of working, and that their impact cannot be presumed to be consistent and cohesive. In addition, across time the developing role of even a single organisation can be highly divergent or contradictory, a factor that art historian and critic John Calcutt noted in his examination of Transmission's archive:

Transmission's political and ideological allegiances have changed significantly in many respects over time – something that should come as no great surprise given the mobile nature of its committee members whereby each of the six committee members serves for a period of up to two years (Calcutt, J. 2009, p. 66).

My tenure as a co-director of Embassy was, as stated, guided by critical ethnographic enquiry. This fieldwork revealed that ARIs are a collective of diverse individuals who are required to navigate not only their differences, but also the at times repressive structures that they confront in many quotidian situations. I present a reality of ARIs, which dispels mythologies of cohesion that suppress their heterogeneity. Despite the fact that ARIs cannot be homogenised into a coherent phenomenon with collectively defined and shared agendas, there are, however, specific features that are implied when discussing them. In broad terms, the term encompasses a myriad of activities that exist outside the perceived remit of commercial galleries, public museums, and established institutions. ARIs encompass almost every conceivable type of organisational structure, from formalized institutions to ad-hoc relationships. They are testing grounds and springboards, intimate gatherings in apartments, pockets of activity that serve particular audiences at particular times, offering artists a provision that other entities do not or cannot adequately provide. Sometimes they are meant to be

temporary, and other times they can grow to become established institutions that a later generation of artists define themselves against. It is also important to clarify why the concept of 'artist' is exploited to denote a specific method of operation, although, the definition of artist is also wide-ranging in the uneven terrain of contemporary art. 'Artist-run' indicates that these organizations were developed and managed by artists, rather than administrators, and could consequently reflect their needs and desires. Notably, it is not exclusively artists that are included under the term artist-run; the term has expanded to include a host of cultural practitioners, including writers and curators. This is because artists are increasingly multi-taskers who balance a number of pursuits, gaining transferable skills and in doing so construct 'portfolio careers' (McRobbie, A 1998). Short-term contracts, part-time, working, freelancing, and self-employment characterises how the majority artists survive and function. Portfolio careers are not generally chosen and neither are they necessarily a positive because of the precarious labour conditions.

Analyses of creative labour as put forward by cultural theorist Angela McRobbie are useful in deconstructing ARIs in terms of the artists who facilitate them. They are creative workers who embody traits that are, entrepreneurial, networked, multivalent and flexible. McRobbie's critique of neoliberal working cultures recognises that claims towards increased freedom and creativity in work are countered by increased individualisation, self-reflexivity and uncertainty. The socio-historical shift towards apparently new forms of work and working experiences in late capitalism is credited to post-Fordist forms of production. Significant in relation to ARIs is the conceptual problem of celebrating freedom and autonomy, as espoused by post-Fordism in general and flexible specialisation in particular. This is because issues of increased precariousness are potentially obscured. The issue with regards to ARIs is that creative labour is aligned with developing and maintaining portfolio careers and this can be problematic. Whilst flexible specialisation seeks resilience via rapid adaptation it can, conversely, be responsible for entrenched insecurity, individualism and increasing

entrepreneurialism. Thus, instead of interpreting artist-run as being segregationist, it is increasingly relevant to employ the term as being descriptive of particular modes of operation that exist within a variety of structures and mandates. From this perspective, ARIs can be considered as tactical training centres because they represent a privileged space for research, experimentation and presentation. In this regard they are a parallel system with alternative approaches towards training emerging artists, curators and critics. Moreover, ARIs signify a self-starting mind-set, which refuses to wait for recognition or external validation from the established cultural gatekeepers. Indeed the term ARI itself has, within art historical and critical writing, been garnished with a variety of qualifying designations; alternative; self-initiated; self-organised; independent; collectives; co-operatives; DIY; not-for-profit; and so on. This is because the term artist-run can be deemed to be inadequate, which may originate in the dissatisfaction with the implied structure of centre and periphery that the term suggests. As curator Michael Stanley posits:

But there are clear dangers in positioning artist-led as the marginalised 'other' to British art in the past ten years. Fundamentally it suggests an oppositional ideological framework within which art is produced; the collective against the individual, the state funded against the commercial (Stanley, M. 1996).

Artist and curator Jason Bowman also maintains "there is no prohibition that prevents an artistic practice from engaging with and indeed traversing both contexts of 'artist-led' culture and 'institutional' culture" (Bowman, J. 2006).

Artist-run practice, as ideology, has historically been advocated as left-wing and related to practices of institutional critique and also to the legacies of anti-establishment and counter-cultural practices. Yet as Stanley's statement suggests, the centre/periphery, 'them and us' position is no longer tenable and it is a false dichotomy to assume that contemporary artist-run culture is against mainstream art practice. Art critic and writer Susannah Thompson extends the discussion about the relevance of right and left, and official and unofficial and questions the levels of critical engagement within the artist-led scene in Scotland (Thompson, S. 2005). Thompson highlights how the

identity and role of ARIs has changed as expectations and practices have shifted. The focus could now be said to have shifted toward more sophisticated art world manoeuvres rather than being politically and ideologically based, which clearly indicates a retraction of 1960s radicalism. This would suggest that the notion of alternative, with its anti-establishment connotations, what Thompson terms “a non-manufactured punk sensibility directly opposed to the commodification of art by the culture industry” (Thompson, S. 2005, p. 11), does not have the critical import it once had. Embassy is indicative of the paradoxes that constitute contemporary artist-run culture. It involves collective, self-organised practice, which echoes the spirit of punk and DIY culture, yet far from feigning dilettantism it also engenders levels of professionalism, the individual spirit of entrepreneurialism and engagement with economic forces. Whilst this suggests that the once-radical aspirations of artist-run activities have given way to a more individualistic and entrepreneurial spirit, the situation is far more complex and contradictory. Rather than surrendering the critical territory that their predecessors fought for, members of contemporary ARIs are often either unaware of the genealogy of ARIs or are consciously distancing themselves from the preceding generation. Whilst the contemporary successors may not be viewed as overt political and social dissidents, they do retain an air of the anti-establishment attitude that motivated their predecessors. For instance, ARIs such as Embassy can be considered as an example of a subversion of neoliberal conceptions of art and its established institutions. On the whole ARIs are not trying to model themselves as radical alternatives yet they do pursue the route of discarding established conventions and attempting new solutions. In short, they remain an alternative to the established institutions in the production and display of art. The flexible, adaptive and ad-hoc structure of ARIs means they can be created, maintained and dissolved with remarkable alacrity. However, as the three case studies illustrate, ad-hoc ventures have the capacity to become infrastructure and can also, after a critical period of transformation, become increasingly stable. An important corollary to this idea is that not all organizations, be they ARIs or established institutions, can or indeed should

survive. The focus is therefore on the blurring of boundaries between ARIs and established institutions, as the larger institutions subsumed the ARIs. Within the definition of ARIs is an acknowledgement that they operate as an alternative model to the mainstream commercial or established institutional art world, however it is hard to pinpoint where the notion of the alternative ends and the mainstream begins. This is because of the complex and tangled causal hierarchies involved in the existing frameworks of reciprocal exchange between ARIs and established institutions.

Established institutions were generally created under different rationales to ARIs and are largely defined by nineteenth century parameters, structurally, economically, nationally, and ideologically. For instance the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA), Edinburgh (est. 1826) was formed to serve as a place of knowledge and has played a role in democracy and nationalism.¹⁰ Sheila Watson described how National Museums and Galleries of Scotland, including the RSA, do this:

[They] play a role in civic nation building by demonstrating the importance and effectiveness of the Scots in a wider Britain and their contribution to the United Kingdom as a whole, while reminding them that they were independent in the past and, by implication, could be so again in the future (Watson, S. 2011. pp. 747-748).

The RSA's founding gave a welcome focus to national identity for a country that had lost its national sovereignty with the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. However, as the socio-cultural landscape has changed in relation to globalisation, such self-centric cultural or national paradigmatic views are increasingly problematic. It is not sufficient for established institutions to continue to promulgate a static canon of art and remain inimical to developments in contemporary art. Established institutions are also broadly characterized by strong hierarchical relations and are built on the principles of sovereignty concerning who is in charge with chains of command delineating responsibilities within the organisation. This is a clear distinction

¹⁰ Another important function of the RSA was as an educational institution for the training of students, however, since the late 19th century the RSA has shed its educational responsibility to the four regional art schools in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen.

with ARIs whose self-organisation shapes their artist-driven governance model. Art institutions generally, but to a greater extent established institutions, are cultural filters, which have, and have always had, the power to define what the public at large understands to be art. There is also evidence that established institutions have become increasingly interested in the activities of ARIs. Significant examples include Scottish Collective, the RSA's showcase of three ARIs from around Scotland in 2006, which was a series of consecutive exhibitions by Limousine Bull (Aberdeen), Generator Projects (Dundee), and Market (Glasgow). Young Athenians, also in the RSA, ran concurrently with Scottish Collective and was a major group exhibition showcasing a peer group of Edinburgh artists who were connected through Embassy. In the same year an artist-led study day was held at the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art (SNGMA), which was jointly coordinated by the British Council, SAC, SNGMA and Midwest.¹¹ Since 2012 Edinburgh College of Art and SNGMA have been working with Dundee's Generator Projects and Edinburgh's Embassy and Collective on a project to archive the primary source documents that have accumulated so far over each of these organisation's lifetimes. Furthermore, the University of Edinburgh's Talbot Rice Gallery has programmed an exhibition exploring ARIs in Scotland over the last 25 years for their Edinburgh Festival exhibition. The Talbot Rice Gallery's exhibition will take place in summer of 2014 when Scotland stages a nationwide cultural programme celebrating the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games and Creative Scotland's Generation¹² initiative that they describe as:

A major, nation-wide exhibition project and once in a lifetime celebration of the best and most significant art to have emerged from Scotland in recent years. The project will trace the remarkable development of contemporary art from 1990 to the present day through the work of artists whose careers have grown from Scotland during that period (Source: Creative Scotland Funding Guidelines).

To this extent it could be argued that ARIs are no longer in the margins but

¹¹ Midwest was an artist's development programme that ran from 2003 to 2008 in the West Midlands, developed by Jason E. Bowman, Rachel Bradley and Julie Crawshaw.

¹² Generation has been developed as a partnership between the National Galleries of Scotland and Glasgow Life, and is supported by Creative Scotland.

are officially celebrated, recognized and even sanctioned. The Scotland in Venice project, *Selective Memory* in 2005 was particularly significant as it specifically highlighted the importance of artist-led culture in Scotland within the international context of the 51st Venice Biennale and the domestic context of the National Galleries of Scotland. Curators Jason E Bowman and Rachel Bradley selected artists Alex Pollard, Joanne Tatham & Tom O'Sullivan and Cathy Wilkes, all of whom had been prominent in artist-led activity in Scotland. Pollard was a Transmission committee member (1999-2001). Tatham and O'Sullivan have exhibited extensively in a number of Scottish ARIs including exhibitions at Transmission; *Making out* (1995), *Art for People* (1996), *European Couples and Others* (1997) *The Glamour* (2000); *Generator Projects*, *Then There Is No Mountain Then There Is* (2000); Glasgow Project Room, *The Evil Eye* (2000); and *Magnifitat*, *Brainchild* (2004). Wilkes ran the art space 115 Dalriada from her council flat in Glasgow in the mid 1990s. Relevant here also is the fact that none of this official Scottish contingency are indigenous Scottish artists, yet their practice has been shaped by the nuances and the distinct Scottish context in which it has been cultivated with relation to, for example, education, funding, exhibition opportunities, the art infrastructure and the politics of the nation. In the accompanying catalogue essay Bowman and Bradley recognize that:

Scotland's cultural ecology is dependent on an infrastructure that includes both large institutions and small-scale organisations that encourage cultural development at a grass-roots level. Artists in Scotland have a history of moving comfortably between the two, attributing value to each and receiving support from both (Bowman, J. & Bradley, R. 2005, pp. 78-79).

This further emphasises that it is timely for the relationships with established institutions to be renegotiated in order to ensure that the perceived and actual constructions of authenticity and integrity of artist-run culture remain intact.

Established institutions have a highly visible role and exert considerable impact as custodians of culture. Consequently, individual exhibitions are often no longer their primary focus; rather the emphasis has shifted towards

the development of a clear and identifiable institutional, as well as international profile. For example, Karla Black's solo exhibition in the Scottish Pavilion at the 54th Venice Biennale was curated by the Fruitmarket Gallery, who were commissioned by Scotland & Venice to curate the Scottish presence in 2011. Scotland & Venice is a partnership between Creative Scotland, the National Galleries of Scotland and the British Council Scotland. This suggests that established institutions such as Fruitmarket Gallery, or institutions that are not self-organising may have a stronger dependence on other institutions and with this a requirement to enforce the accompanying internal rules of the art economy and established structures. The art critic J.J. Charlesworth argues for transparency to reveal the conditions that tightly bind established institutions into complicitous relations with the contemporary art economy. He accuses established institutions of hiding the power and partisanship that they wield behind false and inscrutable neutrality:

That power, however, is rarely alluded to explicitly. To a cynical observer of the art world, it can appear as if all institutions that 'present' are involved in a similar business of inclusion and exclusion. While the power of that business is an unspoken given; institutions appear merely as passive presenters of what is 'best' or 'most innovative' in artistic practice, while obscuring or hiding the fact that institutions make choices about what not to present, exerting power over how artistic practices are made visible (Charlesworth, 2008).

Established institutions are, to some extent, instruments for the management of culture at both economic and artistic levels.¹³ The collision of the financial economy with culture has seen many established institutions adopt corporate values with complicity as they strive for high turnovers and audience figures. For example:

Standard Life Investments intervened to have the title of a show they were sponsoring at the Fruitmarket Gallery, Edinburgh, changed to something more appealing to their brand image. And as they were sponsoring the Education Officer they participated in the selection procedure for the post, meaning they were also able to influence the

¹³ By disseminating the contingent policy (that changes with each administration) the UK has in a broader sense inherited a variant of the Keynesian Arts Council model that is about governance, national cohesion and purpose, social mobility and control.

actual reception and interpretation of the work (French, L. 2003).

Attendance figures and shifting definitions of external income are used to assess the modes of operation of all arts organisations. ARIs either evade such measures or tend to fall foul of performance indicators ill-suited to their strengths and particularities. This is because ARIs lack the resources, opportunities and compunction required to deliver on the same fronts as established institutions. In addition ARIs are often occupied with sustaining themselves so that to move beyond survival and into the kind of dynamic economies that are currently posited as offering a chance of achieving sustainability are beyond their reach (Thelwall, 2012). Artist-run spaces are avowedly social spaces for those involved, social interaction is part of their character. Not only is this social interaction central to the creation and consolidation of rigorous art scenes but it can also compensate artists for pursuing what can be at times a solitary line of work. They are fertile terrain for cultivating the reciprocity of social capital and as such contribute to the evolving and organic dialectic within the Scottish art world. They are spaces without public or commercial obligation where artists are free to experiment, break rules, push boundaries and sometimes (necessarily) make mistakes. This often results in exhibitions that defend the notion of esoteric art against bureaucratic calls for art's presence in the quotidian realm. The overriding corollary of this is a set of complex social relations, as Thompson explains:

Generally artist run spaces are intimidating and you get that whole politics of the gallery space if you're not part of the specific core audience. They are elitist, for different reasons; possibly better reasons but just as elitist in probably an intellectual way rather than a commercial way (Thompson, S. 2006).

This resistance is clearly incompatible with political aims, such as the need for art to be popular and for it to be accessible to all, or what the cultural commentator Michael Bracewell terms as "the sterilising grasp of cultural commodification" (Bracewell, M. 2003). ARIs are not motivated by target audience figures, which are the cornerstone of government policy, conversely many actively mitigate against larger audiences, with no ambition other than to attract their own constituency of artists, people who

always come to openings, exhibitions, performances and talks. Established institutions on the other hand increasingly compete in the leisure industry market with exhibitions that are competitively selected and directed to attract maximum visibility in the mediatised public realm. In the last two decades established institutions have been shifting towards an industrialisation of visual art exhibitions, akin to the Hollywood blockbuster or the musical box-office smashes. Their ambitions are set on broadening and growing their audiences through marketable and profitable exhibitions aimed at tourists that are prepared to pay substantial entry fees. Exhibitions at the National Galleries of Scotland such as, Impressionist Gardens (July-Oct 2010), Spain – Goya to Picasso (July-Oct 2009), Raphael to Renoir (July-Oct 2009), Turner and Italy (March-June 2009), and Tracy Emin (Aug-Nov 2008) are related to the cult of celebrity, which can be considered as an attempt to democratise established institutions in terms of accessibility. However, on the other hand, their programming reveals the manner by which these institutions represent an economic system that is based on an industrial idea that directly conflicts with prevalent patterns of post-Fordism. The ambitions and requirements of established institutions reveals their complicity in cultural neoliberalisation that sees the collusion and collision of institutional apparatuses of the state. As such the conduct of established institutions is often characterised as being inert and mired with bureaucracy.

Whilst divisions between established institutions and ARIs are logical on the surface, this does not reflect the complexities of their relations. ARIs presuppose the existence of an established structure against which to challenge their beliefs, values and representations. Correspondingly, the established structures presume the existence of alternative structures that critique their mode of practice and question their authority. It is this cycle of resistance towards the established structures that in time transforms their values and ideologies. As alternative methods are adopted by established institutions these become reflected in the broader cultural values. The impetus is to examine how ARIs can and do shift from being a scene to being a system. In the past thirty years distinct nodes of influence have been

exerted by galleries such as Market, The Chateau, Switchspace, Glasgow Project Room, Generator Projects, Rhubaba and Embassy, as well as more established spaces, for instance Transmission and Collective. On a larger and more established scale, the Fruitmarket Gallery, the CCA, DCA and Tramway are the next rungs on the hierarchical ladder. To a certain degree this network of galleries creates a sequential career route for particular artists that are enabled to navigate this ascendancy. For example, an exhibition at Market might lead to one at Transmission and then another at the CCA. One instance of this career pattern, which is by no means isolated, is Glasgow artist Karla Black who exhibited at Market in 2001, Transmission in 2004 and the CCA in 2005 before going on to represent Scotland at the Venice Biennale in 2011 and being nominated for the Turner Prize in the same year. This logical and ideal progression signals two important facets of Scottish art infrastructures. Firstly, it projects a progressive development, albeit attainable to the few, that has aided Scotland to an extent in retaining and attracting artists. Secondly, it suggests a construction of art scenes that implies interdependency throughout the structures. Whilst ARIs generally aim to challenge structures that reinforce inequities, it is clear that they do have a role as unofficial support mechanisms for established institutions.

At times the advocacy rhetoric, within the field of artist-run culture, has dictated exaggerated divergence between the ARIs and established institutions. One of the reasons for this is what Bourdieu terms art's 'inverted economy' (Bourdieu, P. 1992, 1996). This is when art and art structures are valued for their distance from the established measures of value: wealth, power, popularity, and so on (Beech, D. 2006). Examples of this polarity are can be identified in the use of terms such as community and network, which often function as reifying metaphors for ARIs and thus make claims of them being more connected to artists and audiences than established institutions. Whilst it is the case that ARIs are sensitive to the actual needs of the local scene, it should also be considered that ARIs could also be regarded as exclusive cliques, which exclude those who are not part of their peer group membership. To an extent, what distinguishes the established institution

from ARIs is their relative distance from the community of practising artists. Established institutions' programmes are not governed by a close association with groups of artists or mutually interested practitioners in the way that ARIs are. ARIs challenge the systemology of the established institution, not necessarily with the intention of making them more diverse, rather that they should be fit for purpose. For example national galleries of modern or contemporary art such as the National Galleries of Scotland are a contradiction in terms since their typology is centred on the idea of history, historicity and historicisation. Furthermore, established structures encumber their ability to recognise that art exists in the present and does not necessarily evolve within historicising context. Contemporary artist-run culture is no longer the scene of revolution, although it does remain a critical posture that assumes intrinsic yet shifting values. As such it is important to respond to the palpable shifts in artist-run ideology and the artistic landscape.

ARIs can also be considered as dialectical coalitions in themselves. This can have a positive impact because the divergences within them are potentially useful in defending against a descent into complacency. They are demonstrative of the complexities by which collectives and communities change and flow. Fundamentally, this suggests a more promiscuous narrative of ARIs which acknowledges the adaptability and porosity of their processes. However, since ARIs are dependent on the voluntary labour of artists their strategies and outcomes are highly variable. Theorist and curator Lisa Le Feuvre reflected on the paradoxes and parameters of institutional engagement:

Through habit and repetition certain beliefs come to be perceived as facts, and are oftentimes left unchallenged. However, if the institution cannot be avoided, it does not necessarily follow that to operate within a symbolic institution means a loss of urgency or agency. If the institution is to be considered an attitude, or set of attitudes, then it is imperative that ideas are constantly challenged (Le Feuvre, L. 2008).

ARIs have the potential to deliberately position themselves as both generative of counter-argument and responsive to existing orthodoxy with

the capacity to break established institutional conventions and challenge expectations. ARIs *produce* art scenes, whereas established institutions represent those that already exist. It should also be acknowledged that ARIs or alternative positions of peripherality (in the positive sense) only exist in developed contexts with established cultural institutions and extant infrastructures. Furthermore, as Malcolm Dickson accurately points out:

The drive to establish a new space based on democratic principles is nothing new. Scratch the surface of Scottish art and you find that most established galleries originated from artist-led initiatives. Before Fruitmarket there was the New 57 Gallery, run by an artists' committee; Seagate Gallery/Dundee Printmakers Workshop emerged from an artists' group in the city and preceded DCA; CCA in Glasgow superseded the Third Eye Centre, that had arisen in 1967 out of a whirlwind of cross cultural grassroots activity; Glasgow Print Studio and Street Level emerged from the need for production facilities for printmaking and photography practitioners (Dickson, M. 2002. p. 14).

Indeed, currently many Scottish ARIs find themselves at a crossroads. For example, Embassy is approaching ten years of continuous operation and Transmission has reached its thirtieth anniversary. At this point, they occupy the contradictory position of being professionalized, fully-incorporated institutions, which, despite their small scale physical size and budget and their voluntary committee members, often significantly resemble the established institutions they were developed to provide an alternative to. However, precarious negotiations of tensions should be sought in order to overcome the limitations of a concentration of power in the established institutions. As Bowman stated:

The role of the [established] institution is also in a constant state of flux and its ability to consume, appropriate and also represent the expansive nature of artistic practice has led to questions regarding the idea or ideal of the 'vanguard', 'cultural autonomy', 'the alternative' and 'counter-cultural', which have all been concerns in debates regarding artist-led culture and its political dimensions throughout history (Bowman, J. 2006).

Whilst any resolution or equilibrium between conflicting logics may be temporary, pragmatic and unstable, there still exists the capacity for convergence and pluralism through negotiated association. The intention of reaching this synthesis is to unite the most tenable aspects of various

methods of operation. This would establish an ontological basis for decentring particular facets of the art world's institutions, and establishing forms of participation with grassroots practitioners.

Chapter 2: The 57 Gallery

You might think that one small gallery, more or less, would make no difference. With many you might well be right; but the 57 Gallery might justifiably claim a special place in the Scottish, let alone the Edinburgh scene (Oliver. C. 1970b, p. 1).

Edinburgh's 57 Gallery (est. 1957) was a pioneer in ARIs and was the result of action taken by artists in the city to gain exposure and to control the conditions and meanings of their activities. The 57 Gallery was the first in a succession of key ARIs in Scotland, which were initiated by a wave of artists who were intent on transforming the hegemonic cultural value systems of the established institutions. This first-wave of ARIs included the Richard Demarco Gallery, Edinburgh (est. 1966), Glasgow League of Artists, Glasgow (est. 1971), Third Eye Centre, Glasgow (est. 1975), Forebank/Seagate, Dundee (est. 1976), 369 Gallery, Edinburgh (est. 1978), Transmission, Glasgow (1983), and Collective, Edinburgh (est. 1984). The founding of the 57 Gallery was part of a consensus among artists for the need to collectively form their own organisations, which was provoked by the fact that they were being rejected and neglected by established institutions, such as the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA). The critic Cordelia Oliver noted that at the time of the 57 Gallery's inception "the climate was unbelievably bleak for any talented non-conformist in his first few years out of art school" (Oliver, C. 1969, p. 2) as there was virtually no opportunities for young artists to show their work. This view was reiterated by John Busby, one of the original committee members (1957-1967), who noted in the catalogue, *15 Years of the 57 Gallery*, that:

With luck one might have a work hung in the Academy or other bodies, and if it successfully imitated the established style of 'Scottish Painting' it could gain an 'Award'. Edinburgh's only Commercial Gallery preferred, understandably, to show only proven money-spinners, rather than risk exposing the work of a serious young person (or older artist come to that), who explored new or unpopular ground (Busby, J. 1972. p. 2).

Furthermore, the Edinburgh International Festival (est. 1947) also overlooked home-grown contemporary talents preferring to foreground 19th century

French painting with a succession of annual exhibitions including Degas (1952), Renoir (1953), Cezanne (1954), Gauguin (1955), Braque (1956) and Monet (1957).

The 57 Gallery was conceived against this background with artist Daphne Dyce-Sharpe converting her studio at 53 George Street into an exhibition space. Dyce-Sharpe confirmed that “the character of the venture – the 57 Gallery” was dictated by the fact that there were “only two or three galleries in Edinburgh and virtually no shop-window for the controversial and/or very young” (Dyce-Sharpe, D. 1972. p. 3). The 57 Gallery was intended to be “a professional gallery for artists excluded from Edinburgh’s safe or modish RSA or commercial market” (Prince, G. 1992. p. 36). The 57 Gallery was based on the premise that it would be an independent space where exhibitions could be held at a very low cost to the artist and where artists could actively participate in the administration and policy forming of the gallery (Oliver, C. 1969). To support the idea an association was formed of subscribing members and a committee elected to run the gallery under the first chairmanship of Patrick Nuttgens. Nuttgens is credited as being the ‘architect’ of the constitution that outlined their policy (Busby, J. 1972. p. 2):

To exhibit the work of young artists in Scotland and also to foster interest in the arts by exhibiting the work of other artists (The 57 Gallery Association: Constitution. Appendix 1).

This statement of intent was perhaps somewhat undermined by the 57 Gallery’s opening exhibition, *Our Contemporaries*, which included work by well-established painters such as, William Gear, Donald Hamilton Fraser and Alan Davie (Oliver, C. 1957). As Oliver stated in her review of *Our Contemporaries*:

This is an exhibition of excellent quality to launch the gallery, but one may hope that when it gets into its stride with exhibitions of less well-known names the average of the prices will be somewhat lower so that the public particularly the interested public with the short purse – more taste than money, in “Vogues” phrase – may be encouraged to become not only visitors but patrons (Oliver, C. 1957).

In subsequent years the 57 Gallery did however exhibit many less established artists such as Gordon Bryce (1957), Charles Pulsford, Pat

Douthwaite and Alan Alexander (1958), Ian McKenzie Smith (1959); Rod Carmichael and Ian McCulloch (1960), Bert Irvin and Jack Knox (1961), Tom McDonald, John Busby, Bet Low, John Taylor (1961), Fred Bushe (1962), John Johnstone, Sandy Frazer and Neil Dallas Brown (1964). Alexander Moffat, who became Director of the New 57 Gallery (1968-78), wrote that the initial role of the 57 Gallery was:

To present a radical alternative in Scotland to the established galleries and institutions and to offer the serious artist, no matter how unfashionable his work may be, a space to show his work (Moffat, A. 1973, p. 9).

Moffat's use of the term radical is indicative of how he elected to describe the 57 Gallery's structure and programming, which implies that its focus was on transforming the cultural value systems of established institutions via revolutionary means. This embryonic artist-run gallery provided artists with an opportunity to show their work in a context that encouraged a critical dialogue in contemporary arts practice. This is pertinent because it illustrates how, in terms of Giddens' structuration model, that ARIs are socially constructed by a number of rationalities. The organisational structures of ARIs are shaped by both internal and external relationships that constituted their art world.



Fig. 1
Jim Haynes, second
left, watches the
burning of D.H.
Lawrence's novel *Lady*
Chatterley's Lover
outside his shop (1961)

Coinciding with the development of the 57 Gallery Jim Haynes'¹⁴ activities were significant in transforming the cultural climate of Edinburgh. In 1959 Haynes independently opened the Paperback Bookshop on Charles Street, next to the University of Edinburgh, which initiated events that were to culminate in the formation of the Traverse Theatre (est. 1963) and the Demarco Gallery (est. 1966). The Bookshop's opening was significant because, as the sign outside boasted, it was the first paperback-only bookshop in the UK, although this claim cannot be clarified. The Bookshop was also notable because it sold radical books, some of which (for instance Henry Miller's *Tropic Of Cancer*) were illegal due to censorship laws, or infamous, such as D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* for which the publishers were prosecuted under the Obscene Publications Act 1959.



Fig. 2. Jim Haynes' Paperback Bookshop (1959)

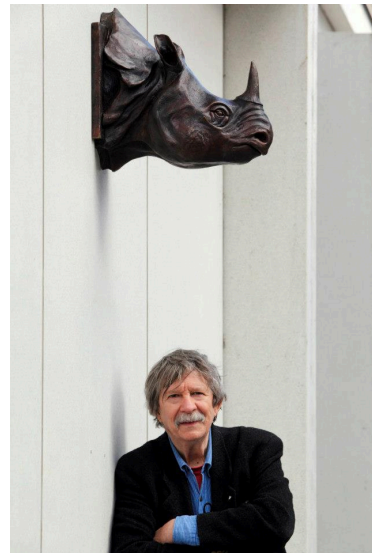


Fig. 3. Jim Haynes and a commemorative sculpture at the site of the Paperback Bookshop

The Paperback Bookshop fostered the idea of a Scottish counterculture and became a centre for avant-garde literati, radicals and anarchists in the middle of Edinburgh, the conservative, Calvinistic capital of Scotland. Writing in an

¹⁴ Jim Haynes was one of the central players in the counterculture movement; he went on to become one of the founding members of the underground newspaper *International Times* (est. 1966) alongside Tom McGrath who later became the first director of the Third Eye Centre in Glasgow.

anthology of the underground press, Nigel Fountain described Haynes' Bookshop as:

Open all hours, blending Left literature, the Beats, the new Absurdist, it attracted a clientele whose Scottish consciousness might repel them from London, the 'imperial capital', but attract them towards Paris, and New York, free of the effete-ness of English cultures (Fountain, N. 1988, p. 14).

Along with his associate Richard Demarco, Haynes became involved in the Edinburgh Festival Fringe. Haynes explains that the Paperback Bookshop became the unofficial centre of the Fringe:

The Fringe thing started really with the Bookshop when I started selling tickets for not only Bookshop productions but for other peoples' productions and put up posters in the Bookshop for everybody and then with a bunch of people we organised the first Fringe catalogue (Haynes, J. 2006).

The Paperback Bookshop co-hosted many bohemian gatherings and staged performances, happenings and exhibitions. These early productions led to the establishment of the Traverse Theatre Club based at 369 High Street in 1961. Co-creator of the Traverse Haynes explains how they employed enterprising manoeuvres to circumvent bureaucratic regulations:

The 369 High Street it became a club for three reasons, first there were no censorship laws on a club and you could say anything you wanted and no one could do anything, second you could have a drinking licence on a Sunday and third people joined and gave us money and we had no money. There was no resistance because all this happened quietly after it happened they thought we were a hotbed of communist, anarchist troublemakers and they were shocked and no one gave us any money, the Arts Council gave us nothing (Haynes, J. 2006).

The Traverse Theatre was a landmark for cultural advance and provided a link with work being done outside Scotland in the visual arts. This was exemplified by, for example, the 1964 Traverse Festival Exhibition of International Contemporary Art, which brought together the work of Mark Boyle (Scotland), Xavier Corbero (Spain), William Featherstone (Canada), Esther Gentle (USA), Olivier Herdies (Sweden), Allen Leepa (USA) and Abraham Rattner (USA).

The 57 Gallery, the Paperback Bookshop and the Traverse Theatre were collectively instrumental in starting to break down what was a very stratified society at that time. These various pockets of counterculture forced individuals into contact, coalition and confrontation and created a dynamic of interaction.

Scottish International Relations

Whilst Demarco had used the Traverse Theatre's bar as a gallery, the emergence of his career as a facilitator of art activities followed with the launch of his own independent gallery in 1967. The Demarco Gallery's inaugural exhibition included work by ECA graduates Robin Philipson and Elizabeth Blackadder alongside Argentinean artist Mauro Kunst. The Demarco Gallery was important in providing a much-needed platform to promote contemporary Scottish art, which played a formative role in the careers of many eminent indigenous artists, including Ian Hamilton Finlay, Mark Boyle and Alan Davie. However, Demarco's remit went beyond localised concern since his outlook and influence were truly international. Indeed this shared interest in fostering internationalism was progressed in the pioneering arts magazine, *Scottish International*, which emerged in 1968. *Scottish International* was a quarterly review of the arts that set the work of Scottish artists, architects, orchestras and theatres in an international context of both critical and creative work. The magazine was concerned not only with developments within the Arts but also with their context, within the social and political changes that were gathering momentum. At the core of these changes was the re-emergence of national movements and nationalism, as an ideology, as a means of addressing the perceived state engendered marginalisation of Scottish art practice. In a broader context, this period in Scotland was one marked by a clear adherence to ideas of centre-periphery relationships and identities. These concerns were given a forum in *Scottish International*, which advocated the desire to be both Scottish and international, as Robert's editorial comments in the first issue testify:

[The arts] are perhaps best seen against the sociological and economic background which determines to an extent what kind of culture we can have. Nor should one forget that the arts don't exist in a Scottish world of their own. A colourless or promiscuous internationalism is to nobody's advantage. But a self-conscious cultural nationalism can lead to bad habits of stereotyped thinking and unwillingness to look at the situation as it really is. Our policy is to look for what is really there, and to call people's attention to it. Everyone is aware, to a greater or lesser extent, of how cultures other than Scottish impinge upon us, through publishing and the mass media. It is important that this awareness should be sharpened and extended critically, so that more opportunity can be given to compare Scottish work with work done elsewhere (Tait, R. 1968).

Demarco provided an important platform in Edinburgh for avant-garde and progressive arts from Europe, South America and Africa. Writing in *Scottish International*, Oliver commended Demarco's recognition that it was important for Scotland's artists to be shown alongside their international peers:

What, then, did Demarco and his fellow directors, John Martin, Andrew Elliot and James Walker set out to accomplish? ...To show good Scottish painting cheek by jowl and, if possible, on equal terms with painting from all over the world (sculpture, also, in its many forms, and kinetic art, are usually to be seen) was only one of the good intentions (Oliver, C. 1968, p. 22).



Fig.4. Scottish International (1973)

The Demarco Gallery was significant in its impact because despite the International Festival, Edinburgh had in many ways remained fairly provincial, what Tait described as a “comparatively impoverished cultural situation” (Tait, R. 1968). Demarco was intent on redressing these conditions:

I realised that I wanted an Edinburgh where the spirit of the Festival was there all the time. I wanted that internationalism. I didn't want a locked down, inward-looking Edinburgh 11 months of the year (Demarco, R. 2012).

Whilst such notions of marginality suggests an introspective, insular position, this could not be further from the truth with regards to generations of Scotland's artists who ventured over the border and abroad in order to gain a higher profile for their work. As a result of Demarco's ambition for artistic and cultural exchange the gallery rapidly gained international significance. As Oliver reported in *Scottish International*:

In its year-and-a-half existence the Demarco Gallery has brought to Edinburgh group exhibitions from several other countries, a sizeable one from Italy, smaller collections from Poland, Nigeria and more recently Brazil. It has also sent a show of modern British painting (including several Scottish works) to Warsaw. A major event was the one-man show by the Columbian sculptor, Edgar Negret...that showed in London only *after* it had been seen in Edinburgh, an effective counter argument to those who declare, with intent to disparage, that the Gallery depends on the 'scrapings' of the London dealers (Oliver, C. 1968, p. 22).

The Demarco Gallery hosted many ground-breaking exhibitions and events in the 1970s and early 1980s, most notable perhaps was the seminal temporary artistic intervention *Strategy: Get Arts*. This ambitious exhibition, organised by Demarco, was in collaboration with the Kunsthalle Düsseldorf and ran for three weeks at Edinburgh College of Art in 1970 as part of the official Edinburgh International Festival. *Strategy: Get Arts* brought to Scotland the work of 35 Düsseldorf based artists, including Gerhard Richter, Sigmar Polke, Imi Knoebel, Daniel Spoerri, Blinky Palermo and Joseph Beuys, whose work Demarco first experienced in the spring of 1968 at the opening of the Documenta IV in Kassel (Demarco, R. 1970).



Fig.5 Strategy: Get Arts catalogue cover

Fig.6. Das Rudel/The Pack (1969) by Joseph Beuys, installed at Edinburgh College of Art for Strategy: Get Arts, August 1970.

Strategy: Get Arts presented an expansive range of work encompassing installation, performance, film and sculpture. Palermo painted his work *Blue/Yellow/White/Red* directly onto the neoclassical entrance hall of Edinburgh College of Art. After the exhibition the authorities of the co-opted art college site painted over Palermo's intervention despite protestation from Demarco, amongst others.¹⁵ Strategy: Get Arts occasioned the first of many collaborations between Demarco and Beuys. The latter's extensive contribution to the exhibition included his installation of *The Pack* in a corridor of the college. It consisted of twenty-four sledges equipped with 'survival kits', comprising Beuys' trademark animal fat, felt and a torch, cascading from the back of a Volkswagen van resembling a pack of dogs. In addition Beuys provided the climactic note to activities in ECA's life drawing rooms with a performance of his *Scottish Symphony, Celtic Kinloch Rannoch* for eight hours each day for seven consecutive days. This signalled the start of a long-standing relationship with both Demarco and Scotland. Beuys' visits to Scotland over the next ten years, eight in total, not only impacted on

¹⁵ In an attempt to reinstate Palermo's work ECA re-staged it in 2005.

the contemporary art scene that experienced his art but also greatly influenced the direction of his life's work.

In 1972 Demarco established the Edinburgh Arts Summer School, however it was by no means conventional. Demarco conceived of it as a negation of the accepted notion of summer schools and defined it as such:

Edinburgh Arts is a project presented by the Richard Demarco Gallery as an attempt to re-define the place of the artist and the art student within the Edinburgh Festival and to relate them to the highest level of international artistic creative activity in their chosen art forms (Demarco, R. 1974).

The Edinburgh Arts Summer School differed from traditional educational philosophy: its ethos was more closely related to Beuys' concept of the Free International University,¹⁶ which Beuys established proper in the autumn of 1972, a few weeks after the first Edinburgh Arts Summer School. Both Beuys and Demarco shared concerns about the state of education and although the summer school was not driven by any very clearly articulated theory, it was based on the belief that the ruling cultural elite should not be the custodians of knowledge and that education should be freely accessible to all, what Oliver called "a free intercourse of minds and talent" (Oliver, C. 1974). These were long standing views held by Oliver, given that she had previously been embroiled in a protracted debate within the pages of *Scottish International* where she criticised the Scottish art schools on a wide variety of grounds. This included: size, insularity, staff, 'inbreeding', and inflexibility. But at the core of her piece she was complaining that the Scottish Art School system inhibited fresh thinking about the changing concepts and functions of art and artists in the twentieth century (Oliver, C. 1970a).

Demarco considered dialogue with Eastern European artists to be crucially important and invited lecturers to the Summer School that included Marina Abramovic and Tadeusz Kantor. Demarco provided Edinburgh artists and students alike with an alternative to the genteel, staid way of working which was still prevalent within the established institutions. Significantly, Demarco

¹⁶ Edinburgh Arts was also close in spirit to Alexander Trocchi's 'anti-university.'

contributed to establishing Edinburgh, a city considered to be on the periphery of the contemporary art world at that time, as a recognised centre for art production and put Scotland on the international art map.

The New 57 Gallery

The establishment of the 57 Gallery was motivated by artists' strangulated with the status quo. By 1966, when the New 57 Gallery opened, it was against the backdrop of growing political activism. During the late 1960s the concerns of artists were increasingly directed towards a critique and transformation of the established institutions of art. Artists challenged the conventions of power which bound them to dealers, curators, critics and collectors and sought to participate directly in the advocacy, presentation, interpretation and criticism of their own work. Through self-organisation artists began dismantling the belief that the academies were the sole arbitrators of aesthetic standards, which began to disintegrate ideas and attitudes around the monopolistic authority of the established institutions. For example, Alexander Moffat and John Bellany, who had both studied in the Painting Department of ECA, were involved in interventions that questioned the authority, prestige and status of established institutions as they actively sought to reposition the role of the artist within a wider social context. During the Edinburgh Festivals of 1963, 1964 and 1965 Moffat and Bellany led protests against what they perceived as the conservatism of the RSA, which at that time was the inaccessible pinnacle of artistic reputation in Scotland:

Bellany and Moffat would not submit work for the R.S.A. because they could not accept it as a competent authority or as a useful institution (Bold, A. 1964, p. 2).

One of the functions of the RSA was, and still is, to annually exhibit the work of its members, the RSA Academicians and selected practicing artists. In many cases the RSA Annual Exhibition was the only opportunity that many artists had to present their work to the viewing public. Fuelled by both a Socialist agenda and the lack of Scottish representation at the official

Edinburgh International Festival, Moffat and Bellany held an Open Air Exhibition of their cerebral paintings that demonstrated their allegiance to Socialism as both a method and an attitude. Indeed their 1965 Open Air Exhibition was titled *A Kind of Realism* and in a review of the work the tradition of Socialist Realism was highlighted:

Too many people think that socialist realism is exclusively the official art of the Soviet Union. They should forget their notions of 'red heroes' and remember that the term covers representational paintings, which use a philosophical basis of dialectical materialism... The pop-artists and apolitical literati might consider it *infra dig* for an artist to paint workmen but then they know nothing of the conditions prevalent in the Industrial Belt of Scotland. However safe they may feel in the comfort of their private viewings they must realise that an art, which concerns itself with the interests and lives of the majority of mankind, is an art that cannot be ignored (Bold, A. 1965. p. 8).

Moffat and Bellany's work pursued a strand of Scottish Realism, so-called because of their social awareness and rejection of the decorative principles, which had defined much of Scottish art during the first half of the twentieth century. The politico-cultural agenda of Moffat and Bellany's Open Air Exhibition was outlined in an accompanying pamphlet *Rocket*, an angry, political literary and visual arts publication, written by the poet and proselytiser Alan Bold. 'The Big Three', as Moffat, Bellany and Bold designated themselves, frequented Milnes Bar in Rose Street, having met whilst Bold was studying at Edinburgh University and Moffat and Bellany were students at ECA. Bold outlined in *Rocket* that Moffat and Bellany had been motivated to mount the Open Air Exhibition by the "self-seeking insularity as the Selection Committee of the R.S.A" (Bold, A. 1964, p. 2):

These two painters [Moffat and Bellany] have said that they want a public, spacious and healthy art in contrast to a private, specious, and sick one, and this is the reason why the artists have chosen to exhibit in the open air and to have their site next to the R.S.A. and the National Gallery. They welcome comparisons (Bold, A. 1964, p. 1).

Moffat and Bellany wanted to use art as a vehicle for critical engagement with the contemporary Scottish experience. They displayed their large-scale figurative works which they thought would connect more directly with a wider public than the easel paintings they associated with the establishment:

Art-as-commodity has superseded art-as-experience. The paintings of Bellany and Moffat are unadorned with expensive frames, flattering lighting, or the glamorous ambience of the private art galleries. They are totally accessible and stand or fall as vivid realised images of contemporary life (Bold, A. 1964, p. 2).

In a strategic way Moffat and Bellany were attempting to demonstrate the capacity for change and in doing so implied that cultural power was not exclusive to the established institutions.



Fig. 7 & 8. Alexander Moffat and John Bellany and their Open Air Exhibition – The Mound, located on the railings adjacent to the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA), Edinburgh (1964).

Underlining both the Open Air Exhibitions and the 57 Gallery were issues concerned with the power relations within society and a critique of the cultural hegemony as perpetuated by a dominant class through cultural institutions including art schools, galleries, museums and collections.

The 57 Gallery moved from its initial premises to 105 Rose Street, Edinburgh in July 1966 with Bob Callender as Chairman (1966-1968). The New 57 Gallery continued to take responsibility for the support of contemporary art practices that renegotiated the constraints engendered by national, municipal and commercial venues in Edinburgh (Prince, G. 1992. p. 38). A new constitution was drafted that outlined their renewed objectives:

To promote, maintain, improve and advance education particularly by the encouragement of the study, practice and knowledge of the fine arts and to provide for the exhibition of works produced by artists and for the sale of any works and to formulate, prepare and establish schemes therefore provides that all objects of the Association shall be

of a charitable nature (Memorandum and articles of The New 57 Gallery Limited: Memorandum of Association. Appendix 2).

The incoming committee of the New 57 Gallery was composed of a group of artists who were engaged in institutional critique and social activism. This is reflective of the fact that the histories of ARIs inextricably belong to the socio-political contexts in which they have developed. For instance, from the mid 1960s artists across Europe and the USA were engaging in institutional critique with a view to challenging the conventions of art display. ARIs, as they were in these formative years, were not institutions if we take institutions to be defined as a set of conventions, assumptions and behaviours that follow a preordained set of values that become normalised and accepted over time. Institutions were characterised as unchanging structures, which were part of the state apparatus and that represented dominant repressive systems. In terms of artistic institutional critique, this essentially involved a critical analysis of the autocratic governance of cultural production and display. The intention was to add another dimension to the dialectical analysis regarding where art is produced and displayed and to highlight the cultural and socio-political significance of these structures.

Through its self-governance the New 57 Gallery was orientated towards strategies of change and possessed a decisive critical ideal that asserted that it was no longer sufficient to duplicate existing frameworks where the relationship between artist and gallery is regulated or delineated. Artists' capacity to construct their own organisational structures, which are not determined by the established institutional structures, is explained by Giddens' theory of structuration (Giddens, A. 1984, pp. 25-6). Giddens defines structuration as "the structuring of social relations across time and space, in virtue of the duality of structure" (Giddens, 1984, p. 376). Applied to the aptitude of artists to create their own organisational structures, structuration explains that artists are not driven by forces that are beyond their control. Rather than being overly constrained by existing structures and established institutions, artists forge systems and structures. Whilst they may be guided by the rules and procedures that are applied in the reproduction

of established structures they are not defined by them. That is to say, artists and ARIs are products, producers and reproducers of their circumstances and, by extension, of art infrastructures. In this sense the New 57 Gallery had an important role in challenging the conventional assumption that the direction and development in the Scottish art world was towards centralisation, hierarchy and the domination of established institutions.

The New 57 Gallery's constitution stressed their position as a pedagogical hub, which was reflective of widespread discontentment across Europe in the 1960s with the forms of the transmission of knowledge. In particular this chimed with the dissatisfaction amongst students with the content of teaching and with the inequitable relations between teacher and student. This led to students across Europe challenging the once quiescent status quo with pro-situ happenings that attacked expertise and notably reached its peak in May 1968 with the Paris student uprising when 30,000 students clashed with police. Significantly, French workers came out in support of the students carrying out a general strike that almost toppled the Government. These events profoundly and irrevocably changed social attitudes and resulted in a newfound scepticism of hierarchical structures of power. From a Marxist-Socialist position, the events of 1968 signified a renaissance of culture coupled with the re-emergence of the working class, after a post-war period characterised by the rebirth and expansion of capitalism. In Britain art students were in the thick of events in that period. By June 1968 sixteen British colleges and universities were adding their contribution to the summer of discontent, as a direct result of the events in Paris. Hornsey College of Art, the bastion of British student radicalisation, was occupied by students issuing Situationist¹⁷ inspired manifestos which demanded greater autonomy and an end to the paternalism of hierarchical regimes. Sharing the preoccupations of this tumultuous era with their French counterparts, the overall aim of the students was to open up the art academies and education

¹⁷ The Situationists were an international, Paris-based group whose writings fuelled the political theory and graffiti of many political movements. As documented in their document *Ten Days that Shook the University*, the SI were involved in the student occupation of Sorbonne University in May 1968.

to a wider contemporary (art) world. Students rebelled against the authoritarianism of the institution and militated for the democratization of decision-making processes and for changes in the curricula and syllabuses (Piper, D.W. 1973). The Hornsey affair resulted in unprecedented reprisals with all students, part time staff and administrative workers implicated in the revolt being dismissed. Students at the Scottish art schools were by no means immune to the climate of changing opinions and ideas that were emerging. The shared dictum of the political and artistic avant-garde included the re-affirmation of the importance of art, greater public access to art, as well as greater involvement in art activities and a belief in self-help and mutual aid to get things done, rather than passive dependence on experts and established authorities. The probing questions about the ethics of societal values and the legitimacy of political authority inevitably spread to scrutinizing the established rationales that governed the art world, casting doubt on the neutrality and ethical status of established cultural institutions. As a result, the political and artistic avant-garde mounted an open revolt against authoritarian complacency and were a catalyst for one of the most significant intellectual shifts, the destabilising of concepts such as authority and objectivity in traditional art historical methodologies.

The events of 1968, compounded by the expansion in art school provision during the 1960s, resulted in artists questioning not only their position in society but also their possible means of making a living. Enmeshed in this anomalous situation artists were forced to reconsider their role and reacted by subverting the established institutional systems of knowledge and power. This had a profound effect on artist-run culture. As a direct result, the Scottish art scene began to benefit from the input of younger artists who were politically motivated and this was manifest in their self-organised activities. Significantly, artists' self-organising can be considered in terms of an intervention into the art-system's division of labour in the Marxist sense. Accordingly, self-organisation arose due to alienation from the results of artists' labour that has repeatedly been appropriated by mediators, institutions and government policy. This is most evident in successive

governments' arm of cultural agency, in the paternalistic employment of art as instruction and/or as a commodity.

Also concurrent with The New 57 Galley's activities, amendments were being made to the centralised power of the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB). The ACGB had been established as part of the post-war welfare settlement in Britain as an arms-length funding agency, designed to be free from government interference. In reality the government had asserted an irrevocable position in intervening in the arts. While the ACGB had the freedom to make individual funding decisions without intervention from government, it also had to be accountable for these decisions to government, parliament and the public. Harold Wilson's Labour administration was elected into Westminster in 1964, pronouncing a commitment to culture and Scottish-born Jennie Lee was appointed the first Arts Minister, a tenure that lasted until 1970. Significantly, it was under the aegis of Lee that the ACGB established regional offices, and separate nations within the UK gained greater autonomy (Arts Council England. 2010).

In 1967 the infrastructure of the ACGB was devolved and reconstructed, resulting in the formation of the Scottish Arts Council (SAC). Lee advocated an arms-length principle for funding and expressed her apprehension about the prospect of the Arts becoming politicised:

Political control is a shortcut to boring, stagnant art: there must be freedom to experiment, to make mistakes, to fail, to shock – or there can be no new beginnings. It is hard for any government to accept this (Arts Council England. 2010).

The SAC's mandate was twofold, firstly to directly support artists in advancing their careers through financial assistance in the form of awards and bursaries. Secondly, the SAC was directed towards widening the availability of contemporary art to the general public. This was to be realized through funding ARIs and other non/semi-commercial galleries. The aim was to increase opportunities for artists and to encourage interest in the visual arts in Scotland by the wider public. The decentralisation of Arts Council funding contributed towards persuading artists to stay in Scotland

because they anticipated that it would foster a more direct and responsive environment with regards to support.

The New 57 Gallery benefited from the SAC's 'arms length' funding and a tangible outcome of this support was that the gallery was aided in promoting and exhibiting art that was not shown by established institutions or seen as viable within the narrow commercial sector operating in Scotland.

Nonetheless, reflecting on the fifteenth anniversary of the 57 Gallery, Alexander Moffat bemoaned the lack of financial support from the SAC. He cited that the 57 Gallery's policy of "consistently and defiantly" "specialising in the uncompromising young artist" was in part responsible:

The Gallery has always struggled to survive, as artists of little reputation usually make little money. Until 1968 the Gallery at no time received more than £100 per annum from the Scottish Arts Council – a remarkable fact considering what was being spent elsewhere. On looking over Gallery files one finds hundreds of letters – requesting, pleading, and begging for some kind of financial assistance. And today, when the annual grant from the Scottish Arts Council tops the £1000 (only just), the Gallery is still by no means financially solvent. The battle continues... (Moffat, A. 1972. p. 1).

As Moffat attests, the New 57 Gallery exhibition programme was inflected by a consciousness of debates concerning the production and display of art:

We really got this idea of young artists taking responsibility for organising things and presenting the new face of Scottish art, giving people a chance that wouldn't normally get one, and trying to extend the whole idea of what art could be at that stage as well, moving away from conventional painting to other areas like photographic, quasi-installation, sculptural things and these too were really successful shows (Moffat, A. 2006).

At this time the SAC was considered to be a catalyst for change because it provided an independent means for artists to circumnavigate the traditional routes for exhibiting their work. Jim Birrell, Chairman of the New 57 Gallery 1978-1983, stated that the SAC and its exhibitions programme offered an:

Alternative to the RSA, the Scottish Gallery, and Art School. The SAC was independent of that...and what they did was very different from the kind of culture that was cultivated in the RSA circle...In that sense, it did open up a perspective that wasn't there before (Prince, G. 1992. p. 40).

With the establishment of the SAC, artists in Scotland inferred that a decentralised structure would be able to support greater diversity of practice. For a period this did, in part, assist in creating the economic conditions in which an independent artistic microclimate might grow. Whilst the New 57 Gallery welcomed SAC funding, the minutes from their Annual General Meeting in 1968 reflects a growing concern by the committee that they were regarded merely as a subsidized feeder for the commercial sector:

The object of the Gallery is to exhibit the work of young artists in Scotland and also foster interest in the Arts by exhibiting the work of other artists. No other gallery in Edinburgh has so consistently exhibited the work of young artists. Other galleries do show young artists, but generally only if they look like a commercial proposition and we feel that this should not be a necessary consideration, if the work is of real value. After one, or sometimes two, exhibitions on the unbiased platform offered by the New 57 Gallery the young artists matures and may develop sufficiently to spread his wings and require premises rather more spacious than ours. This is the way it should be. We have helped him, but little or no credit is given to the New 57 Gallery for providing the purely commercial galleries with an artistic filter from which they may draw ready-made talent. Our list of past exhibitions is impressive, especially when one considers that the great majority of them had their first one-man show (New 57 Gallery AGM Minutes. 1968).¹⁸

Indeed, the New 57 Gallery was distinctly radical in eschewing the dominant aesthetics of the established institutions, such as the work of the *belle peinture*¹⁹ school of Scottish painters that the RSA promoted. The New 57 was radical, not in that it was iconoclastic with a desire to obliterate the past, rather in that it aimed to support alternative interpretations to the prevailing and unrepresentative examples of Scottish art. Moffat explained what he considered to be the benefits of challenging centres of cultural authority such as the RSA to the Scottish art world:

¹⁸ 29.01.68 AGM; Chairman, Robert Callender; Treasurer, Roger Askam; Secretary, Dorothy Ryle; Exhibitions officer, Gordon Bryce, David Evans, Ian Gordon, Dr WJ Herbert, Alexander Moffat and Ian Paterson. Archive held at the Dean Gallery, Edinburgh.

¹⁹ The Scots *belle peinture* School of modern Scottish painting was steeped in rural nostalgia, presenting a one-sided, distorted view of life in Scotland. Work by artists such as W.G. Gillies, William McTaggart and John Maxwell was symptomatic of the continuing crisis in Scottish identity in the first half of the 20th century.

The idea of presenting an exhibition of young Scottish painters is in many ways, new, and should enhance the reputation of Scottish Art in general during such an important International Festival (Moffat, A. 1969, p. 1).

In 1969 as an extension of the gallery policy of introducing the work of emerging artists, and motivated by the fact that The Edinburgh International Festival was invariably lacking in Scottish direction or interest, the New 57 Gallery mounted a group exhibition, 20x57: Twenty Young Scottish Artists, which included a number of the gallery's committee including Moffat, Michael Docherty, Ian Paterson, Ian McLeod, Kirkland Main and Jim Fairgrieve. In addition to giving a number of Scottish artists their first exhibitions, the New 57 Gallery also introduced to a Scottish public the work of Peter de Francia (Disparates, 1969), John Heartfield (Photomontages, 1970), Max Beckmann (Retrospective 1885-1950, 1970), R.B. Kitaj (Pictures, 1975), John Stezaker (The World Made Flesh, 1979) and Duggie Fields (Solo exhibition, 1980).



Fig.9. Hugh MacDiarmid opening the John Heartfield festival exhibition at the Appleton Tower, Edinburgh University (1970)

Fig.10. Installation view of John Heartfield festival exhibition at the Appleton Tower, Edinburgh University (1970)

The New 57 Gallery also proved to be crucial in establishing connections between Scottish contemporary art and some of the more overtly politicised European art of the 20th century. A breakdown of the gallery's exhibition programme suggests that their ethos was very much interwoven with the

politics of the work that they facilitated and exhibited. Not only did they valorise Scottish Realism, other notable exhibitions included Revolutionary Romanticism, an exhibition of contemporary Chinese posters (1975), a posthumous exhibition of Marcel Broodthaers' work (1977), the artist who is considered to be a founding father of institutional critique, Modern History (1979), an exhibition of the American photographer Sarah Charlesworth, which deconstructed newspapers to examining the process by which news, and in effect, history, is processed, ordered, and contextualized, and a solo exhibition of Jorg Immendorff (1983), which reflected the political upheavals of Germany. In 1970 the New 57 Gallery secured a touring exhibition of John Heartfield, the exiled Jewish-German artist. Heartfield was a German Communist who made anti-Hitler artwork, and Scotland's elder statesman Hugh MacDiarmid opened the exhibition. This reflected the gallery's tendency towards social awareness and ideological allegiances, whether the ideology was stylistic and/or political. At that time MacDiarmid represented a crucial line of resistance for many Nationalists that sought Scotland's cultural and political independence. These exhibitions helped to raise the profile of the New 57 Gallery and consequently those of the Scottish artists it exhibited. Given that the insistence on a Socialist agenda did not bode particularly well with Scotland's commercial galleries the New 57 Gallery's independence from commercial concerns and established proprieties, and its ability to nurture communities of artists, made it crucial in the development and promotion of new art in Scotland.



Fig. 11. The New 57 Gallery Committee (1972)

The 1968 committee's earlier documented frustration at being regarded as a filter for contemporary art was growing and was now aimed directly at the SAC. An excerpt from the New 57 Gallery's Chairman's Report of 1971 (Moffat, A. 1971) expounds a call for recognition and an underlying atmosphere of exploitation:

It was interesting to notice how, during '71, the larger galleries continued to keep looking to us for talent spotting. The SAC's 'SPECTRUM' Exhibition for example contained around 70% of exhibitors who had originally exhibited (mostly their first one man show) in the 57 Gallery.

The document proceeds to outline that the New 57 Gallery had faced financial issues through the past year and had sought to make their case to the SAC on the basis that they were a special case with a unique role in the visual arts in Scotland. The report explained:

What we mean by this is briefly:

1. That the 57 Gallery was the pioneer and the first of all the non-commercial (avant-garde if you like) galleries in Scotland.
2. That the (New) 57 Gallery does what no other gallery in Scotland does in terms of an exhibition policy. We specialise in young (unknown) artists (apart from the Festival) totally. It goes without saying that we make no money from the commission from most of our exhibitions.
3. The (New) 57 Gallery is run by a voluntary committee who all give large parts of their own time in order to run the gallery.

The grant of £680 the Gallery receives from the SAC is a derisory sum when considering what the Gallery has done, is doing, and could do in the future for the Arts in Scotland. (SAC's 60%:40% financial ruling) (Moffat, A. 1971).

This burgeoning hostility to the SAC is further articulated in the notes of the New 57 Gallery committee meeting in June 1971 where it is stated, "the committee feels that it is within our rights to protest publicly about shabby treatment" (Prince, G. 1992. p. 39). The (New) 57 Gallery's initial period of support from the SAC had benefited from the lack of competition from other Edinburgh galleries, notably the Demarco Gallery. It was noted in Geraldine Prince's text, *Early Years of the 57*, written in 1992, that "the money allocated to Demarco in particular still rankles" (Prince, G. 1992. p. 39). Funding issues began to dominate the evolution of the New 57 Gallery as Jim Birrell testified, "there were meetings but they were more gripes about the Arts Council not giving them money rather than meetings about art issues" (Prince, G. 1992. p. 40). Artists associated with the New 57 Gallery regarded the Demarco Gallery as something to compete with rather than a context to embrace, despite the fact that they saw their primary target to be the conservatism of the RSA. To the New 57 Gallery both Demarco and the RSA represented the establishment since both were major recipients of SAC awards, grants that seemed to elude them. The SAC accounts (Scottish Arts Council. (1974a) in the 1970s show that the Demarco Gallery was receiving large subsidies while the New 57 Gallery was, in comparison, rather poorly supported. For example in 1972-3 the Demarco Gallery received £17,000 in grants (the largest award given in that year) compared with the more modest £1,250 awarded to the New 57 Gallery.

Broader tensions regarding funding and provision were also surfacing in the Scottish art community at large. The SAC, as a distribution arm of the state, was considered to be exploiting its role in developing and regulating the Scottish arts infrastructure through the asymmetrical access to and manipulation of its resources. In 1974, the year prior to the Fruitmarket Gallery being opened to accommodate the New 57 Gallery and Edinburgh Printmakers Workshop, an un-authored document was circulated titled

Scottish Arts Council Patronage of the Visual Arts. The document discloses a clarion call to the art community to challenge the ever-apparent inequities of funding:

Arising from a general dissatisfaction with the system of Scottish Arts Council Patronage of the visual arts, a group of Scottish artists has arranged a meeting in the Drummond Hotel, Drummond Place, Edinburgh on Sat 7th December at 3pm. In the present economic climate, a recommendation to halt present policies of the SAC seems appropriate. Any belt-tightening by the SAC should be exercised by the Arts Council on its self-interested practices. While the Artist is clearly the authority of art, the SAC's system of funding and aberrant concern with its own private fantasies is stifling the availability of support for the living Scottish art. In order to create policy to deal with the problem, your attendance and recommendations at this meeting are very important (Scottish Arts Council. 1974b).

The meeting was documented by Stan Bell in the Glasgow League of Artists' (GLA)²⁰ newsletter, under the title Mutiny over the Bounty. The document outlines that statements were read out by Ken Duffy and Alexander Moffat, Graeme Murray of the Ceramic Workshop read a letter of support and request for assistance from Ian Hamilton Finlay²¹ (Bell, S. 1974). The newsletter goes on to state that a discussion followed, which was generally critical of the patronage given to the Visual Arts by the SAC:

Two motions emerged from the discussion, one was a motion of no confidence in the SAC's present method of supporting the Visual Arts.

²⁰ The Glasgow League of Artists (1971-1981) was "founded in 1971 as an artists co-operative designed to overcome some of the difficulties encountered by the artists working in isolation. By pooling resources, and with the assistance of the SAC, they were able to provide workshop facilities and studios at 45 St Vincent Lane, Glasgow." The group saw themselves as "a framework within which artists have been able to exchange ideas and information, and from which lines of communication have been opened between artists and the public." The GLA exhibited frequently in Scotland and also exhibited in England, Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany, and Canada, often facilitating exchanges from other host countries. Founding members included Ronald Forbes, Stan Bell, George Docherty, and Gregor Smith. Members included several GSA graduates and staff, but there were also graduates of ECA, and Duncan of Jordanstone, and other British Art Schools. There were usually no more than twenty members at a time (Glasgow League of Artists.n.d.). The GLA changed its name and identity in 1980 to the Scottish Association of Visual Artists (SAVA). "SAVA was conceived to redefine the groups aims and objectives" (Glasgow League of Artists: Minutes 22nd Oct. 1980).

²¹ Ian Hamilton Finlay (1925-2006) had a well-documented protracted battle with the SAC and Strathclyde Regional Council over the commercial or the non-commercial status of his garden temple at Little Sparta (Stonypath). Finlay fought with the local authority over taxation and with the SAC over their policies and their lack of support in solving the dispute with Strathclyde Regional Council.

The GLA representatives abstained from voting on this. The other motion was a proposal to establish an organisation which was representative of all the artists in Scotland and which could articulate their needs and objectives. To this end a steering committee has been formed to formulate proposals (Bell, S. 1974).

The steering committee comprised Stan Bell, John Nelson, John McColl, Ian McMillan, Callum McKenzie and Gregor Smith. In response to the burgeoning hostility that artists in Scotland felt towards the SAC, a subsequent meeting took place on 5th January 1975 and the Federation of Scottish Artists (FSA) was formed. The FSA's membership comprised around two hundred artists, made up from members of the New 57 Gallery, the Ceramic Workshop, the Printmakers Workshop, Glasgow Print Studio, Glasgow League of Artists and artists from Dundee and Aberdeen. The steering committee ratified the constitution and clarified the aims of the Federation:

1. To give a voice to the artist in all decisions affecting the Visual Arts in Scotland.
2. To represent artists within a democratic framework established by the membership.
3. The membership shall be open to professional artists living in Scotland.
4. That the organisation should aim to represent Scottish contemporary art to public bodies and the public in general.
5. To give the Visual Arts greater control over those conditions which affect this work.
6. To claim through elected representatives the right to direct the distribution of public monies made available to the Visual Arts
7. To act as a consultative and advisory body to liaise between the artist and individuals, organisations and institutions both as public and private, as its committee deems fit.
8. To consider the organisations through which patronage is given to the Visual Arts by both public and private bodies, and society at large (Federation of Scottish Artists. 1975).

The catalyst for the formation of the FSA was the SAC's withdrawal of funding from the Ceramic Workshop, which resulted in its eventual closure. Moffat described that this incensed the grassroots arts community and culminated in them joining forces to confront the SAC:

The arts council was funding its own shows and ignoring and not funding a lot of people who were doing a lot of good things. And it all came to a head when the arts council refused to continue funding the

embryonic Ceramic Workshop that had started up in 1971 and it made a very good beginning. So there was a bit of an explosion and we all got together (Moffat, A. 2006).

Whilst there is little doubt that the perceived events around the closure of the Ceramic Workshop were the catalyst for artists galvanising in opposition to the SAC, the foundations for their dispute do not stand up to scrutiny. It is necessary to outline the brief history of the Ceramic Workshop and its relationship with the SAC. The Ceramic Workshop foundation had reflected a desire by artists to question existing creative structures and seek solutions on their own terms. The founders of the Ceramic Workshop, Marilyn and Alan Smith, Graeme Murray and Bob Callender (Chairman of the 57 Gallery between 1966 and 1968 when it metamorphosed into the New 57 Gallery), like so many others, had come independently to the same conclusion and were urged into action (Oliver, C. 1971. p. 5). The SAC was held responsible for the cessation of this enterprise, not least by Oliver who wrote a scathing indictment of their actions in *The Scotsman* newspaper. The SAC, however, maintained that they had acted responsibly and in good faith. The SAC records outline their position with regards to being responsible for the closure of the Ceramics Workshop within the terms of the general principles that governed their aims, policies and assessment of grants. The SAC had provided the initial cash injection of £4,500 towards the cost of premises, conversion, a kiln and other resources. This was provided with no guarantee of revenue grant as it was intended that the profits from the commercial side of the Ceramic Workshop would be sufficient to finance the artistic activities. When this did not prove possible in 1972/73 the SAC gave a revenue of £1,000 and then in 1973/74 a further £1,500. The Ceramic Workshop was by this time attracting both national and international artists and they mounted the exhibition *Earth Images* (1973). This exhibition, however, was very costly and made heavy demands on time and energy. Consequently the business side suffered and by March 1974 the Ceramic Workshop had an overdraft of about £3,000. Despite requests for estimates for 1974/75, none were forthcoming, but nevertheless the SAC offered the Ceramic Workshop a grant of £1,650 and paid the first quarter's instalment.

After a three months' gap a letter of application was received in mid June by the SAC that requested a revenue grant of £4,000 and an additional £1,000 to repay a loan as well as £800 for repairs and equipment. The Ceramic Workshop wanted the SAC to increase its grant by 240% and almost totally subsidise the artistic side for a year, and stated that unless the SAC did this, it would close. Whilst the SAC minutes state that they considered the matter carefully, ultimately the needs of the Ceramic Workshop had to be examined alongside the claims of the other clients. They decided to offer £2,000 to the Ceramic Workshop for the financial year ending 31st March 1975. It was suggested that they should raise the balance from other sources or, if this proved impossible, suspend the art side for six months to concentrate on developing the commercial aspects of the business. The Ceramic Workshop rejected this offer and decided to close and to sell the premises.

The FSA, a quasi trade union, was specifically formed in an attempt to protect artists through collective action and to assert a voice in matters affecting them and their practice. An FAS confidential policy document stated:

Whilst it may be felt that the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) provides an adequate service for the public through other media, many visual artists in Scotland are extremely dissatisfied with the SAC's activities in the area of visual art (FSA Policy Confidential Document. 1975).

The policy expressed in the FAS confidential document was adopted at an open meeting of the FSA at the Drummond Hotel, Edinburgh on June 14th 1975, where it was presented to the SAC. The document states that the FSA's criticism of the SAC fall into seven main areas: public accountability, selection of SAC council and panel members, role of the SAC Officers (Staff), SAC's own projects, amount of funds allocated to active art, applications for grants and social rights for artists. The FSA's accusation regarding the SAC's own projects noted that:

The FAS has become intensely disturbed by the extent to which the SAC initiate their own projects. These tend to be extremely costly. In channelling into their own projects almost half of public funds the SAC make available to the visual arts, they are moving towards a SAC

monopoly of the visual arts in Scotland. When the SAC competes successfully for its own patronage, then this partiality must be questioned. It reduces the already inadequate funds available for external, and especially new, applications (FSA Policy Confidential Document. 1975).

The Director of the SAC, Alexander Dunbar, responded in writing to the FAS Chairman, Moffat, six months later on 23rd December 1975. Dunbar's response disputed the New 57 Gallery's accusations:

Some artists think that the Council spends too much on its own exhibitions or its own projects, and too little on artists or on other people's exhibitions or projects. In fact, of the total expenditure on the visual arts of £225,000 roughly half (£113,000) was given in grants to other people, £77,000 net (35 per cent) was spent on Council exhibitions and the balance (£35,000) on Third Eye and miscellaneous. Analysis of this expenditure shows that £36,000 was spent on direct help to artists, and a further £77,000 was spent on exhibitions of living artists' work, half promoted by the Council and half by other organisations (Dunbar, A. 1975).

In response to the accusation that the SAC deliberately sought to monopolise the Scottish art scene Dunbar wrote:

The SAC has never claimed or wanted a monopoly of the visual arts in Scotland. It is conscious that the more it does to help, the more likely it is to be accused of such tendencies...In short, the SAC has done an enormous amount to encourage others to mount exhibitions, and far from monopolising the situation, it has diversified it (Dunbar, A. 1975).

Reflecting on the ramifications of this exchange between the FSA and the SAC Moffat noted that:

Although the SAC has refused to act on any of the FSA's proposals, the very existence of the FSA has made a positive contribution to the relationship between the artist and the SAC. In the past year the SAC has shown a new sensitivity and understanding towards applications from artists and organisations (especially where FSA members are known to be involved) and has shown an eagerness to 'appear democratic' in listening to and seeking out the opinions of artists (Moffat, A. 1976a. p. 19).

Fruitmarket Gallery

The New 57 Gallery continued in its unique role of providing Scotland's artists an opportunity to introduce their work to a Scottish audience. Whilst the gallery benefited from an enhanced profile, this also generated more attention for the home-grown talent that it continued to promote. The main cell of the gallery remained in Rose Street until the lease expired at the end of 1973 as rents rose due to the gentrification process of Rose Street. The New 57 Gallery and the Printmakers Workshop decided to make a joint effort to acquire new premises in Edinburgh, as Moffat explained:

The Fruitmarket had been lying empty for a few years but one or two people had used it for various things, there had been a show of tapestry and that revealed its potential as a gallery space. We spoke to the Scottish Arts Council and they were interested, but the Arts Council was a law unto itself, it was a bunch of bureaucrats fancying their power, but we surprised them and we approached the Gulbenkian Foundation who got behind us and said show us your plans. We wanted to develop the top half of the Fruitmarket with the Printmakers Studio on one half and the 57 on the other and I think that really stunned the Arts Council, that the Gulbenkian Foundation were going to come up with big money, £50,000 or something, and that forced their (the SAC) hand so they realised that they'd obviously got to do this (Moffat, A. 2006).

The Fruitmarket Gallery at 29 Market Street, originally built as a fruit and vegetable market in 1938, was converted for the visual arts and the premises opened in March 1975. The premises were initially shared between the SAC on the ground floor and a tenancy for the New 57 Gallery and the Printmaker's Workshop on the upper level. From its new premises the New 57 Gallery continued to gain a reputation that spread far beyond Edinburgh and Scotland. In the first year the New 57 Gallery exhibitions included a William McCance retrospective, Bernd and Hilda Becher's photographs, and the Edinburgh Festival exhibition of R.B. Kitaj's paintings, which focused international attention on the Gallery.

It was during this period that the relationship between the New 57 Gallery and the SAC began to break down, having been strained since the start of the decade. The New 57 Gallery's Chairman's report for the year 1975-1976 was

completed after one year in the Fruitmarket Gallery premises. In the report the SAC were charged with mounting lavish and expensive exhibitions and therefore commandeering a large proportion of public money and the report explained the repercussions of the SAC's self interest:

The Arts Council support remains small in comparison with their own exhibition spending and unfortunately their exhibition patronage puts pressure on the New 57 Gallery as many artists are now only prepared to exhibit in Arts Council exhibitions in which all financial outlay is covered by the Arts Council. Obviously this is a complex issue and one which may take time to resolve, but it is now a very real issue with two Arts Council galleries operating in Edinburgh (Moffat, A. 1976b).

Fundamentally, this situation arose directly from the SAC's maintenance of their own galleries. By the mid 1970s the SAC was not only the bureaucratic arbiter of funding and taste but it was maintaining two galleries of its own, notably the Fruitmarket Gallery in Edinburgh, which grew out of their HQ in Charlotte Square, and the Glasgow Arts Centre in Blythwood Square, which would form the basis for the Third Eye Centre on Sauchiehall Street. As such, accusations persisted that the SAC's system of funding was stifling the availability of support for Scottish art and artists as the SAC funnelled finances towards galleries that they directly administered and curated. The New 57 Gallery and the artists' community, the FSA, were opposed to the fact that the SAC were clearly in breach of their arms-length mandate. In terms of the SAC's role in funding other galleries, they did allow them to appoint their own directors and administer their own programmes, however they also maintained close bureaucratic control over them. The SAC required outputs from those it sponsored and enforced demanding and time-consuming regimes of accountability. As such the SAC were generally regarded with suspicion, and furthermore what had been anticipated as a decentralised and responsive Scottish division of funding was met with disappointment. There was little attempt to respond to the need for regionalisation in the decision-making and distribution of funding.²² The

²² In 1978 the Scottish Arts Council attempted to respond to the need to regionalise the arts with innovations such as the Travelling Gallery; a bus converted into a gallery that would tour the whole of Scotland. In 1997 The City of Edinburgh Council was the successful applicant in taking over the Travelling Gallery from the SAC. However the Travelling Gallery receives

SAC revealed itself to be aligned with central government just as the ACGB was. The SAC were an instrument of state power in the field of art and culture and the cultural gatekeepers by virtue of being part of state bureaucracy. They were manifestly part of the circuit of a political system, from whose framework they drew their authority and power. Moffat in particular considered the arts in Scotland to suffer from centralised English ascendancy:

The Scottish Arts Council was a completely anglicised, it was Anglocentric and they weren't interested in doing anything for Scotland. They would decide what the great international shows that were coming to Edinburgh were so that we could be re-educated and brought into line with whatever people were saying in London. It was English public school taste, they considered us to be a bunch of savages and they were coming up here to introduce us to 'proper' culture (Moffat, A. 2006).

There was clearly an appetite to deepen the democratic culture through decentralisation, de-concentration of power, finances, resources, capabilities and capacities. This was demonstrable, for example, through the Kilbrandon Report,²³ which was published in the autumn of 1973 and that led directly to the SAC's Regional Development Inquiry, which published a document called Regional Development Consultation on 28th Oct 1974 (Scottish Arts Council. 1974c). The Inquiry was charged with examining:

- a) The ways in which the SAC, in conjunction with Local Authorities and others concerned, can most effectively assist in the development of the arts and improve its services to the arts, artists and the public on the ground throughout Scotland.
- b) Whether it is desirable and feasible to establish Regional Arts Associations or other alternative means.

Foundation Funding status from the Scottish Arts Council of £140,000 per year. The City of Edinburgh Council supports the running of the service in kind.

²³ The Kilbrandon Report was the outcome of the Kilbrandon Commission: "In 1968, the Government, worried by the upsurge of nationalism in Scotland and Wales, and discontents and a demand for more participation in the English regions, appointed a Royal Commission on the Constitution...The Commission unanimously concluded that directly elected assemblies ought to be established for Scotland and Wales to meet the legitimate desires of their people for greater control over their own affairs" (Dunbar, A. 1975). Significantly it was not until 1994 when there was restructuring of the funding systems under John Major's Conservative government (1990-97) that relative autonomy was granted. The Scottish (and Welsh) Arts Councils were removed from the nominal remit of ACGB and moved to a direct funding relationship with the Scottish and Welsh Offices with ACGB becoming the Arts Council of England.

- c) How best the Council can encourage local government and the private sector to do more to encourage support in the arts (Scottish Arts Council. 1974c).

Whilst this demonstrates that the SAC were considering ways to devolve power the central issue remained, which is that decentralised structures are ineffective when they merely replicate centralised structures at a local level, inasmuch as the SAC was considered to do. There was no consideration of the idea that whilst the ACGB had been criticised for being too centralised and perpetuating a paternalistic approach, the SAC's foothold was considered as having been re-centralised in Edinburgh.

The New 57 Gallery also reflected on its own transformations since its inception in their Annual Report of 1977/78 (New 57 Gallery: Annual Report. 1978). The report outlined that the pursuit for adequate funding, coupled with fact that by the late 1970s the New 57 Gallery had become so well established, meant it could not maintain its original structure, and by extension its policies. Most importantly the 57 Gallery and New 57 Gallery's fundamental policy of providing artists with their first exhibition was eradicated by the shift in exhibitions policy. The exhibition policy had now moved more rapidly towards the concept of a programme of invited exhibitions. It was noted that, "the days when an artist could hire the gallery for a small fee and pay for a show had gone forever." This was accredited to the fact that "the SAC's own exhibition programme had set a new standard of excellence for all galleries and artists in Scotland. The Gallery's new policy merely reflected this marked change in the conditions, which now existed on the Scottish art scene" (New 57 Gallery: Annual Report. 1978). This defection toward the promotion of more established artists, in part, was to lead to the formation of the gallery, Collective, in 1983 by another group of young artists, that included Iain Patterson, a former committee member of the New 57 Gallery.

In 1978 Jim Birrell succeeded Moffat as Director of the New 57 Gallery. Birrell continued with the gallery's remit of supporting home-grown talent with, for instance, the exhibition Four Artists, which featured the artists

Michael Davey, Gareth Fisher and Thomas Lawson, alongside Birrell's own work. Birrell's inclusion of his own work in the exhibition continued a level of self-interest that had underpinned the 57 Gallery. This suggests that their claim to represent Scottish artists generally might actually have meant one small clique of Scottish artists.

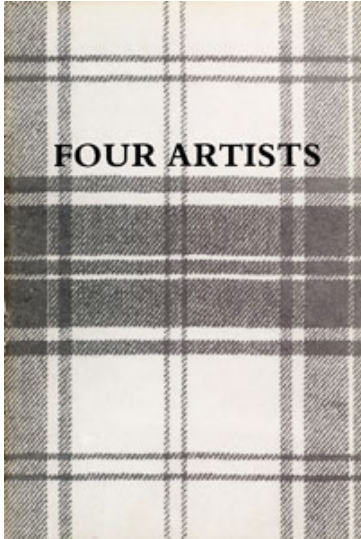


Fig.12. Catalogue for Four Artists exhibition: James Birrell/Michael Davey/Gareth Fisher/Thomas Lawson

Fig.13. Installation view of Four Artists at The New 57 Gallery (1979)

Moffat's continued involvement in the New 57 Gallery proved to be crucial in the promotion of graduates from GSA where he was now a lecturer in the Painting department. For example, *Expressive Images* (1982) held at the New 57 Gallery brought recent graduates Murdena Campbell, Steven Campbell, Simon Fraser, Alastari Hearsam, Scott Gilmour, Mario Rossi and Andrew Walker to the attention of the Scottish public. *Expressive Images* was shown concurrently with the SAC organised *Scottish Art Now* downstairs in the Fruitmarket Gallery complex, an exhibition which was dominated by the (New) 57 Gallery's past exhibitors, Jack Knox and Ian McKenzie Smith, as well as the former committee member Michael Docherty. Despite the relevance of the New 57 Gallery the decision was taken by the SAC to redevelop the Fruitmarket Gallery into an independent space with a board of directors, which included George MacBeth Menzies (Solicitor), Paul Stirton

(Lecturer), Isi Metzstein (Architect) and Moffat. In effect the SAC was running both the Fruitmarket Gallery and the New 57 Gallery. At the end of 1983, after years of being organised and curated by the SAC, they relinquished their management of the building. The Fruitmarket Gallery was transferred from the SAC management to a separate steering committee with Mark Francis as Director. Francis had previously worked at the Whitechapel Gallery in London under the direction and influence of Nicholas Serota, by then at the Courtauld Institute, and had come to Edinburgh to work on projects with Demarco. When Francis was appointed Director of the Fruitmarket Gallery he inherited some of the New 57 Gallery staff that were eager to remain involved in the management of the organisation. This included Fiona McLeod, who had been the administrator of the New 57 Gallery and was to go on to be Francis' successor seven years later. The Fruitmarket Gallery was registered as a charity although its core funding continued to be provided by the SAC. Under the directorship of Francis the Fruitmarket Gallery introduced international artists to Scotland such as Jean-Michel Basquiat, David Salle, Julian Schnabel and Lawrence Weiner. There was also a major exhibition of Steven Campbell's paintings, however, on the whole their programme contentiously neglected Scottish talent. Iain Irving,²⁴ who was a gallery assistant at the Fruitmarket Gallery during this period, prior to becoming the Exhibitions Manager, recalled:

This was new work in Scotland at the time (mid 1980s), the cutting edge of international contemporary work, much was of high value and maybe contentious to the Scottish artists who came to see the work of Basquiat, Salle, Schnabel and Cucchi. Why are you showing us this stuff? Where is the Scottish art, the local talent? (Irving, I. 2011).

In this sense the Fruitmarket Gallery's exhibition programme threatened to undermine the New 57 Gallery efforts towards developing the conditions for producing and exhibiting art in Scotland, which had, in part, been responsible for retaining artists as well as attracting artists to study and work in Scotland. What was important about the (New) 57 Gallery was that the impetus came from the grassroots; they identified what was required in the

²⁴ Iain Irving was Gallery Assistant between 1985-1988 when he became the Exhibitions Manager of the Fruitmarket Gallery until 1991.

particular Scottish situation at that time and responded with their self-initiated project. They established the blueprint for a model that was systematically organised and maintained by successive groups of unpaid artists who contributed sweat equity to the initiative. The (New) 57 Gallery advanced an intellectual curiosity that is more difficult to achieve in organisation with sanctioned roles and responsibilities. In the period of their self-regulating capacity they were able to maintain relative sovereignty from politically led administrations. They generated their own projects that were ingrained in the Scottish locale whilst simultaneously extending their reach towards connecting with the international art world.

Chapter 3: Third Eye Centre



Fig.14. Edinburgh Arts group outside Third Eye Centre (Cordelia Oliver, far left) (1979)

Scotland, and in particular Glasgow, has numerous multiple-artform spaces, for example the Arches, Tramway and the Citizens Theatre. In many ways this is linked to the logistics of funding in Scotland, where spatial and financial limitations encourage a mixture of art, music and performance. However, the “breakdown between the compartments in the arts” (Oliver. C. 1994, p. 14) can also be directly traced to the opening of Glasgow’s Third Eye Centre in May 1975. The Third Eye Centre was directed by the Italo-Scot musician, poet and playwright Tom McGrath. McGrath established the foundations of the Third Eye Centre with the intention that it be a resolutely polymath institution, as Robert Livingston, the Exhibitions Coordinator, recounted:

Note that it was not the Third Eye Arts Centre. Both Tom, and his successor Chris Carrell were quite clear on that point. Nothing so pre-defining or limiting. To open your Third Eye is to gain access to new forms of wisdom and insight. That is what Tom was dedicating the new Centre to (Livingston, R. 2007).

During the mid 1960s McGrath had been associated with the emerging UK underground culture, participating in Alexander Trocchi’s cultural revolution, Project Sigma, and becoming founding editor of the International Times, an underground paper, which started in 1966 and was based in central London. McGrath’s return to Scotland was a great catalyst for a

burgeoning transmedia approach to art practice, one that combined radical politics, media and performance. However, there had been initial resistance to McGrath's post as Director, not least there were numerous debates between McGrath and the SAC over programming and administration in the planning stages of the Third Eye Centre. This discordance eventually culminated in what McGrath described as the SAC having "sold the ground from under my feet" (McGrath, T. 2006). Indeed McGrath's grievances had accumulated during his Directorship at the Third Eye Centre. In order to fully understand this situation it is necessary to go back beyond the Third Eye Centre's inception to its roots in the SAC's previous gallery, the Glasgow Arts Centre at 5 Blythswood Square.

Glasgow Arts Centre

The Scottish Arts Council, firmly based in the New Town of Edinburgh and run, like most institutions of the time, by a coterie of the great and good, had decided that it was time to establish a presence in Glasgow. They chose for the purpose an elegant building in Blythswood Square, the former premises of the Glasgow Society of Lady Artists (Livingston, R. 2007).

The Glasgow Arts Centre had previously belonged to the Glasgow Society of Lady Artists (GSLA). Originally established in 1882 by eight of the first female students to study at the Glasgow School of Art, the GSLA purchased the property in 1895 and remained there until 1971 when the GSLA was disbanded due to financial pressures. It was revived in 1975 as the Glasgow Society of Women Artists and is still in existence (McGrath, T. 2006).

McGrath described its historical significance:

The thing was that the Glasgow Society of Lady Artists had been a very vibrant thing when it was first founded by women artists way back at the start of the century and Charles Rennie Mackintosh had been involved and he had opened a sale of work in order to allow them to buy these premises, and they had bought the premises for about £200 way back at the turn of the century (McGrath, T. 2006).

The GSLA had a gallery that housed touring SAC exhibitions. McGrath became acquainted with the venue because his mother worked in the kitchen at GSLA and for a period of time lived at the premises on the top floor:

Then the Arts Council bought the premises from the GSLA, the SAC had been paying rent to get use of gallery spaces but then they bought the building, it was forced onto the GSLA because they were running out of cash. So the next thing was that the Arts Council now owned these premises in Glasgow and they called an open meeting to see what people in Glasgow wanted to be happening to these premises, now I didn't go to the meeting, but apparently the overwhelming feeling was that it would be good to have an arts centre in Glasgow in those same Blythswood premises (McGrath, T. 2006).

Motivated by positive responses, work was soon underway at Blythswood Square to create an Arts Centre. McGrath returned to Glasgow to take up the post of Director of the Glasgow Arts Centre:

I had come back from London where I had been involved in the psychedelic scene and everything and I had started running poetry readings with some of the local writers who were very good, Tom Leonard and Alan Spence. And I'd been getting money from the Arts Council to put these on properly and pay the poets and do posters for it, and also they gave me the use of premises at Blythswood Square, so I had done about two or three poetry readings at Blythswood Square with music. And I had this whole concept going on in my head, which I definitely inherited from being brought up in Glasgow of all the art forms happening simultaneously (McGrath, T. 2006).

McGrath began transforming the SAC Blythswood Square premises into an unlikely centre for all that was radical, peripheral and oppositional in the Arts. McGrath described his, albeit partial, insertion into the institutional art establishment as one of growing tension:

I was also sitting in on the SAC Visual Arts meetings of their Visual Arts committee and learning about how all of that worked and getting to know more and more people in the visual arts scene and learning procedures about working with artists. I took it very seriously, what I was doing, although I don't think anyone else took me seriously, I didn't have much credit on the visual arts side and there was quite a faction in Glasgow who were actively against me and used to say I wasn't a visual arts person. It was coming from a lot of the smaller galleries that I had a lot of respect for and was quite fond of, and they kind of resented me coming in the midst of it. And also what I would call the frostier side of the bourgeois visual arts scene, they didn't like it, a whole lot of them had got a petition up that Emile Coia should become the director of it, he was an artist and caricaturist, very nice

man, Glasgow Italian, and the strange thing is I'm a Glasgow-Italian too. He was a very artistic man and much more to their taste whereas I was very artistic too but by their standards I was very offbeat and erratic and jazzy and anarchic (McGrath, T. 2006).

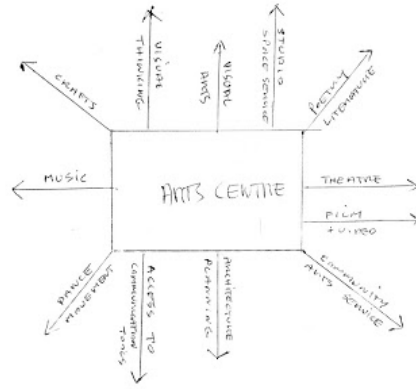
There was further resistance from Roger Billcliffe who was the Keeper of Art Collections at the University of Glasgow, and who objected on conservation grounds to any disruption of the Mackintosh interior (McGrath, T. 2006).

McGrath described how events, which he organised, such as a Baroque ensemble playing classical music called Cantilena and two readings by the poet Allen Ginsberg, were also met with disapproval:

The main thing about it was that it just seemed too precious and it wasn't an easy venue to attract people to in Blythswood Square because it was associated with the Royal Automobile Club, very posh on one hand, and on the other, it was associated with the street girls (McGrath, T. 2006).

McGrath was however supported by a Directors Committee comprising of Glaswegian constituents who would work both with him and the SAC. Furthermore, Cordelia Oliver was also a member of the Directors Committee and became an active participant serving on the Third Eye Visual Arts Subcommittee. Oliver interviewed McGrath in run-up to the Third Eye Centre being established at its premises on Sauchiehall Street:

You ask what I mean to do at Third Eye? Everything I see that seems valid, 'Put into Place and let it happen': I think I'll have that quotation put above the door. The interesting thing is the coexistence of different cultures, even different approaches to the same culture. At Blythswood Square [previous site of Scottish Arts Council Glasgow Gallery and offices] we had art shows, concerts of baroque music, poetry readings, jazz, folk, and they all had completely different audiences. I'd like to see some cross-fertilisation. Third Eye may well settle in with one particular audience, but not till after I've left it...Let's say I'm interested in a breakdown between compartments in the arts. I'm interested in an international present and a local situation. I can't see the outcome – that's what makes it so exciting (Oliver, C. 1975).



1 This chart shows what an arts centre should offer to the community. Ideally it should offer this all of this 24 hours a day.

Thinking being far from ideal, this is not always possible - more is it always possible to house all of these functions within the same building. It should, however, be possible to house these within the same city. In Glasgow, for example, studio space for artists is being catered for somewhere other than the Third Eye Centre. Film is adequately provided by the Glasgow Film Theatre and various television. There is, however, some point in providing alternative television but only so long as the main TV companies.

Fig.15. Tom McGrath's Arts Centre Plan (1974)

A reconnaissance trip to Holland was organised by Sandy Dunbar, who was Director of the SAC at that time. McGrath, Dunbar and the new Visual Arts Officer, Robert Bream, went to Amsterdam and Rotterdam to look at arts centres. Previously they had been considering other models such as the Arnolfini in Bristol that had opened in 1961. Ultimately, McGrath consciously based the model of the Third Eye Centre on the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) in London, with a remit to encourage visual art, theatre and music to exist in the same space. The ICA had been founded in 1947 to provide a space outside the stultifying confines of the city's Royal Academy, where artists, writers and scientists could actively engage with one another.



Fig.16. The Opening of the Third Eye Centre, Saturday 10th May 1975

The opening of the Third Eye Centre was to coincide with the Glasgow 800 programme of events in the city. This was a festival held in May 1975 to commemorate the 800th anniversary of the Glasgow's burgh charter being granted in 1175. A hand-written memo outlined McGrath's intentions for the opening ceremony and revealed, in part, the identity he sought to forge for the Third Eye Centre, as a place that was to be distinct from the established institutions:

1. Opening of centre and exhibition will be tied in with Glasgow 800 opening. Sir Bill will lead 800 processors up to entrance then cut tape. Hopefully Balfour at entrance. [Lord Balfour of Burleigh chairman of the SAC].
2. No free booze or private view situation. Instead musicians and actors.
3. Invitations will be very public, including a general media invite and special invites to particular groups (supplemented by letters and phone calls).
4. Private party with relatives at CTTEE members house an hour or so after the opening.
5. Would Edinburgh let private view list know that we are not issuing private view cards. (McGrath, T. 1975.)

Clearly an informal and public sense of community was to be fostered. This was indicative of a post 1968 reflexive process regarding public response, action and critical thought that were engendered by a generation of artists active in the 1970s. McGrath, in an article titled Notes for Glasgow: Art in

Transition, described the 'main appeal' of the Third Eye Centre as "somewhere public in the city where people can meet and relax in an art/ideas context" (McGrath, T. 1976. p. 15). McGrath sought to engage with community and public art projects and educationally motivated relational processes, which introduced new levels of participation in art that were egalitarian and non-hierarchical. Recorded in the minutes of the second meeting of the Third Eye Centre's Interim Management committee in 1975, McGrath raised the issue of the conflicting ideologies that were being asserted:

There were two distinct ideas regarding the Third Eye Centre's policy that had never been clearly discussed. The SAC sees the Third Eye Centre as primarily a visual art centre but the Glasgow Committee, past and present, has always tended to favour a multi-arts centre with a definite community emphasis (Third Eye Centre's Interim Management Committee. 1975).

Alongside the visual arts programme, from the beginning, the Third Eye Centre developed and supported a significant schedule of live theatre performances, presenting local and national theatre groups, such as Traverse Theatre Group, The Royal Lyceum Theatre Company, Scottish Youth Theatre and Moving Being. The Third Eye Centre also regularly hosted performances by students from Glasgow's Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama. Minutes of the second meeting of the Third Eye Centre's Interim Management committee reveal that at this time the SAC rejected the Third Eye Centre's request for additional funding to appoint a Community Arts Officer, citing the reason being that the SAC had given the Third Eye Centre a grant of £80,000 for its year's work as a whole and this sum was a substantial increase on the previous year's grant. Also, the SAC felt that they could not increase its grant before they knew Third Eye Centre's income from local government, claiming that the Third Eye Centre was asking them to increase its grant before local government had 'made its hand known'. The SAC suggested that the Third Eye Centre should alternatively aim to secure funds from the Government's Jobs Creation Programme as other, similar organisations, such as the Arts Working Group in Dumbarton and the Glasgow Arts Centre, had succeeded in doing. The SAC also advised that the

Third Eye Centre should employ a person on a short-term contract for three months, therefore resulting in less expenditure. McGrath continued to pursue the preferred model for a multi-arts centre, which caused further disagreements with the SAC. For instance, McGrath suggested that as a method of relieving the critical shortage of theatre space and outlets for new plays, the Third Eye Centre should revive the practice of having regular script readings by professional actors on a weekly basis. Furthermore, McGrath was pushing for the emphasis on community, for example, he initiated Arts Intercom, a regular lunchtime gathering of representatives of Glasgow arts organisations, arts groups and the media. The purpose of such gatherings was essentially one of informal exchange of information, news and ideas. However, the SAC endeavoured to interfere in programming policy, remaining intent on steering the Third Eye Centre towards a more traditional visual arts gallery. It was agreed that the Third Eye Centre exhibitions programme should continue to take priority over community programmes and that more activities and events with a visual interest should be presented alongside the exhibitions. McGrath warned this could eventually result in all of the Third Eye Centre's efforts being devoted exclusively to the visual arts. Despite this concern for the future of the programme, McGrath ensured that the Third Eye Centre was managing to maintain a strong visual arts programme in conjunction with a community programme and music and drama. Their visual arts programming included exhibitions by Robert Rauschenberg, Stanley Spencer and John Byrne.

Against the backdrop of this growing dissent and the impending 1976 Reform of Local Government Act, the SAC announced an inquiry into the way in which the Arts were provided for within Scotland. Announcing the decision to carry out the inquiry, the SAC's Chairman, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, stated that the first priority was a comprehensive survey of the artistic needs of the different regions, and methods of meeting these needs. Balfour continued:

One of our main objectives is to make the arts more accessible to everyone, wherever they live. We believe it is time to look at ways of decentralising our responsibilities and sharing them more with local

authorities, artists and people working on the ground. The involvement of the new local authorities with their wide areas of responsibility will be crucially important. At this stage my greatest need is to gather as much information and as many ideas as possible from people with grass roots experience of the arts all over Scotland (Scottish Arts Council. 1974d).

The Reform of Local Government Act precipitated the SAC to constructively consider the issue of developing arts activity in the regions of Scotland. The reorganisation of local government, which took effect in May 1975, imposed a specific connotation of the term 'region' as the largest unit in local government. By extension the term 'regional' gained two important associations, firstly to denote an area of Scotland with a distinct sense of identity, larger than purely local but smaller than national. Secondly it implied that the SAC would necessarily have to engage with geographical areas beyond the centre, beyond Scotland's main cities. Attendant upon this was the remit of accessibility to cultural facilities and opportunities to the widest possible public. Increasing the accessibility of the Arts to the public was therefore laid down on the SAC charter as one of its main objectives. Reporting to the SAC, the Regional Development Consultant, Anthony Phillips, explained the context and necessity of the inquiry:

I think I ought to say a little about why the decision to examine the possibilities of developing the arts regionally rather than by expanding the central organisation has come at an opportune time...The devolution, decentralisation and sharing of responsibilities is today's most urgent political and administrative theme. The reorganisation of local government is going to bring about for the first time local authorities with wide powers over areas and populations large enough to overcome the fragmentation of policies and resources inevitable under the old system. A partnership with the local government is thus for the first time possible, and it is significant that the Local Government Act (Scotland) 1973²⁵ goes a good deal further than either previous legislation or the equivalent Act in England or Wales in making the provision of cultural facilities an obligation of cultural authorities (Scottish Arts Council. 1974e).

Whilst considering how best to increase and improve the provision of the arts away from the main centres of population in Scotland, the SAC also

²⁵ The Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973 (1973 c. 65) is an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom that reformed local government in Scotland, on May 16, 1975.

considered this as an opportunity to harness and coordinate the untapped resources that existed in the regions of Scotland:

There is imagination, talent, grassroots management experience and money. So far when and where these resources appear (and of course there are countless examples of them) they are fragmented because there is no framework within which they can coordinate, grow in strength and reach more and more people (Scottish Arts Council. 1974e).

They identified that resources were fragmented because there was no framework within which they could coordinate, grow in strength and be disseminated.

Socio Aesthetics

Concurrent to the establishment of the Third Eye Centre, the SAC began a major public/community art programme in Glasgow in 1974 when the SAC set up a pilot scheme for four gable end murals by local artists. McGrath was involved in the selection and commissioning of the gable end murals, seeing it as an opportunity to create a distinct emphasis on participation and community arts. Motorway planning had ripped through the heart of Glasgow, often cutting into rows of gable ends. When the mural scheme was launched, the SAC's Director, Bill Buchanan, saw it as a means "to get art off gallery walls and onto walls where people can see it as part of their daily lives" (Scottish Arts Council. 1974f). According to the SAC's records, the original idea of the murals came from New York where a group of seven artists calling themselves City Walls Inc. painted numerous skyscrapers and other buildings, mainly with large abstract murals (Scottish Arts Council. 1974f). However, unlike the USA muralists, who were absorbed with the politics of ethnicity, class and poverty, the SAC scheme was relatively apolitical with the emphasis being on visibly improving run-down urban areas. Rather than engaging with the social issues affecting Glasgow in the 1970s, the SAC's mural scheme was an example of artists being utilised to fulfil governmental agendas of cultural revitalisation. The initial pilot project for Gable Ends in Glasgow paid a fee of £500 to each artist for his work painting the gable. The first mural to be completed, John Byrne's *Boy on Dog*

Back (Blue Sky against Grey Sky) was finished in February, however it attracted graffiti and this initially exasperated the artist. Byrne painted it out only to return to find a new inscription which read, 'The artists work is all in vain, Tiny Partick strike again' and 'Painter put your brush away Tiny Partick are here to stay.'



Fig.17. John Byrne, *Boy on Dog (Blue Sky against Grey Sky)*, 30 Annandale Street, Govanhill (1974)

Fig.18. Graffiti on *Boy on Dog (Blue Sky against Grey Sky)*

Stan Bell's silver abstract Hex was completed in April and John McColl's Klah-P II marked the end of the pilot scheme. McColl encouraged participation with local children signing their names, the intention of which was to discourage graffiti by giving a sense of local ownership. This is the strength of murals when they are based on attempts to consider the needs and location where they are executed and they involve a considerable amount of consultation with the local population where the work is sited, often to the point where the wishes of the people most likely to view the finished mural play an instrumental part in shaping its form and subject. The murals were intended to draw attention to community spirit as well as being a visual improvement. However, the pilot project focused on buildings due, in most cases, for clearance. As such the brief existence of the murals led to suspicion that a gable end painting was a signal for demolition. This highlights the fact that murals have long seemed, to local authorities, as a cheap way to camouflage an environment without looking at the more complex social problems and in turn this is one reason why murals have become associated with run-down areas. Furthermore because the buildings were due to be demolished this indicated a lack of commitment to the murals. Ultimately, however, McGrath acknowledged that there had been

reciprocal exchange and positive repercussions on the Scottish art infrastructure:

The Arts Council's Gable End Scheme, which put large wall paintings by local artists in public spaces, has helped to suggest a whole new direction for local artists. Already two, Stan Bell and Ian McMillan, have initiated an organisation called Art in Context, which offers a service in environmental art. A Chicago muralist, Beth Laing recently completed a mural in Barlinnie Prison Special Unit. Sculptor Bob Laing works with children in the Possil district, employed by the Department for Environmental Improvement. David Harding, Glenrothes's town artist, who is also one of the main moving forces behind the rapid development of public art in Scotland is also a frequent visitor to Glasgow...The School of Art is expected to undergo changes related to upgrading the status of their diplomas (McGrath, T. 1976. p. 14).

The project was extended in 1978 with the Garnethill project that employed ten artists to paint two gable murals and culminated in an exhibition at the Third Eye Centre.



Fig.19. Back on the Map - The Garnethill Exhibition The Third Eye Centre (1976)

On August 3rd 1976 the Third Eye Centre attained its Limited status, which granted it official recognition as an organisation distinct from the SAC. However, McGrath described what he considered to be the intention of the SAC as, from the offset, maintaining a direct hand in running the Third Eye

Centre (McGrath, T. 2006). The minutes from the first meeting of the Third Eye Centre (Glasgow) Limited record that Bill Buchanan (SAC) and Dr Isobel Spencer (SAC) were in attendance. Buchanan stated that he had been appointed as Artistic Assessor and that either Spencer or himself would be in attendance at all the Third Eye Centre Board Meetings (Third Eye Centre (Glasgow) Limited. 1976). Contrary to McGrath's concerns there is evidence that the SAC demonstrated their arms-length support of the Third Eye Centre's activities. The Third Eye Centre's staging of the play *A Private Matter*, one of the first plays to feature a full-frontal male nude, and an exhibition of sculptures by the convicted and imprisoned murderer Jimmy Boyle²⁶ had provoked criticism from Glasgow City Council. Archival correspondence shows that the SAC wrote to the then Lord Provost of Glasgow, the Rt. Hon Peter McCann, to state their position:

It is an essential feature of the British system of public patronage that these organisations (some 400 or 500 artistic organisations) are independent and autonomous, even though they may receive public subsidy from the Arts Council or local authorities. Simply because the SAC gives a grant does not mean that we agree or approve of events, thoughts or ideas expressed by these organisations and indeed it would be almost impossible to guarantee that this was so (Scottish Arts Council. 1976).

McGrath completed his Directorship in 1977 and left to devote himself to writing. Chris Carrell succeeded McGrath as Director of the Third Eye Centre (1978-91) and continued his commitment to the principles of equality, inclusion, outreach and partnership working as well as community engagement.

The Third Eye Centre was also pivotal in the careers of numerous emerging artists, to an extent GSA was supported by artists and the Third Eye Centre

²⁶ In 1976 McGrath was introduced to the infamous convicted murderer Jimmy Boyle. In the same year the Third Eye Centre exhibited Boyle's early sculptures, and Boyle would become co-author of McGrath's play, *The Hardman*. This was whilst Boyle was an inmate of Glasgow's Barlinnie prison Special Unit. The Special Unit, through the use of creative arts, enabled the rehabilitation of some of Scotland's most violent prisoners, particularly Boyle. In 1980 the Third Eye Centre curated a comprehensive exhibition of *The Special Unit, Barlinnie Prison: its evolution through its art*, accompanied by a book of the same name edited by Chris Carrell (McGrath's successor) and Joyce Laing.

serviced them. Ronald Forbes, lecturer at GSA (1979-83), described the role the Third Eye Centre played in the arts community:

When I was a member of staff at GSA, from 78-82, teaching Steven Campbell, Adrian Wiesnewski and Ken Currie among others, Third Eye was a vital and influential gallery and meeting space (Forbes, R. 2012).

Under Carrell's direction, the Third Eye Centre gained a reputation for supporting Scotland's artists at the start of their careers with exhibitions such as *Built in Scotland* (1983), *New Image Glasgow* (1985), which included the core group of Neo-Expressionist painters who became known as the New Glasgow Boys, Stephen Campbell, Ken Currie, Peter Howson, Stephen Conroy and Adrian Wiszniewski, and *Scatter* (1989) that included Louise Scullion, Gareth Fisher and Callum Innes. This relationship with emerging artists, many of whom came from GSA, was central in creating Glasgow's international reputation. The visual arts were the most prominent part of a multifarious programme. Under Carrell the Third Eye Centre continued to balance the needs of a very varied clientele, from specialist art enthusiasts to the multi-cultural local community. Carrell had a commitment to ensuring that the Third Eye Centre was inextricably integrated with its community in the widest sense (Livingston, R. 2007). McGrath's *Garnethill* exhibition (1976) had set the template and Carrell mounted a major exhibition on the theme of unemployment (1981), which included early work by Ken Currie. The exhibition was "based around communities and individuals affected by unemployment" and included "historical material, documentary surveys of individuals and their backgrounds, and examination of provisions and schemes for the unemployed" (Advertisement. 1981). The Third Eye Centre was mounting between 25-30 exhibitions a year and around 150-200 performances, lectures and readings. Other notable exhibitions were, *High Frontier* (1979), an exhibition about space travel, and *Scottish Football 1872-1914* (1983).

The apotheosis of this extraordinary diversity came in 1983 when Andrew Nairne²⁷ became Exhibitions Director. Nairne purposefully created a Glasgow scene in the early 1990s by showing group shows such as Self-Conscious State, which included Douglas Gordon, Christine Borland, Roderick Buchanan and Kevin Henderson, who would become associated with neo-conceptual concerns. In the years immediately preceding its collapse, the Third Eye Centre turned in on itself and became more specialised, less inclusive, with the support and collusion of the SAC (Livingston, R. 2007).

After fifteen years the Third Eye Centre ran into financial difficulties and was closed in 1991. Under the directorship of Carrell together with Nairne as his assistant the Third Eye Centre was accused of financial mismanagement. Subsequent investigation into the Third Eye Centre's accounts revealed that the expenditure significantly exceeded the grant funding, which was £220,100 from SAC and £15,000 from Glasgow District Council per annum. Furthermore the Third Eye Centre's ledgers and bank account had not been updated or reconciled since 31st March 1990. Despite this they had a reported profit of £4,618 for the year ending 31st March 1991. In reality they were trading at a loss of £242,873 and were declared insolvent with assets at £106,000 from which to meet current liabilities at £578,000 (Anderson, M. 1998). The Third Eye Centre was certainly in financial difficulty and the deficit being cleared was dependent on the SAC providing a bridging payment, which they refused to do. The SAC confirmed that they would "provide a dividend fund for the benefit of unsecured creditors", which amounted to £125,000 (Anderson, M. 1998). Given the problematic relationship McGrath had with the SAC during the inaugural years of the Third Eye Centre he reflected on this as having been a strategic choice on the part of the SAC (McGrath, T. 2006). From McGrath's position the SAC had seen an opportunity for a centrally controlled, instrumentalised venture in

²⁷ Andrew Nairne was the Visual Arts Director at the Scottish Arts Council and for eight years he was the Exhibitions Director at the Centre for Contemporary Arts in Glasgow. He was Director of Dundee Contemporary Arts, and in 2009 became the Executive Director for Arts Strategy at Arts Council England.

place of the Third Eye Centre. McGrath's recollection and subsequent surmising of the situation overlooks the fact that the SAC had enabled the sustainability for the Third Eye Centre, and that it had been the personnel and institutional agenda of those charged with running the Third Eye Centre that ran up debt and created an unsustainable situation. The SAC publicly abandoned the Third Eye Centre, citing over-reliance on public subsidy. Subsequently, the Third Eye Centre went into administration, in an instant wiping out the Third Eye Centre's marketing, education, curating, directing, career and status-making endeavours. Within the SAC itself Lindsay Gordon, the Visual Arts Director, who had the responsibility for the Third Eye Centre, was held accountable. Gordon successfully took the SAC to an industrial tribunal for unfair dismissal, however in an opportunistic move, Andrew Nairne applied for, and was given, Gordon's vacant position.

Centre for Contemporary Arts

After the Third Eye Centre was dissolved the SAC took direct control of the premises at 350 Sauchiehall Street. There was an eighteen-month period of relative inactivity whilst a new board took over the building and a new Director, Jo Beddoe, was appointed alongside a team that included Mark Waddel as the Performance Director and Margaret Ritchie as the Programme Assistant. In December 1992 the building reopened, discreetly, as the CCA, supported by a reported £350,000 from the SAC and a grant of £100,000 by Glasgow District Council (Fowler, J. 1993). However, it was not until ten months later, in October 1993, that the CCA announced its formal launch with a tour of the premises by the Danish performative duo, Per Flink Basse and Leise Dich Abrahamsen, entitled *The Visualised Story of the Grecian Chambers*. The opening of the CCA was mis-reported in *The Glasgow Herald* newspaper, implying that the building had been inactive for a longer period. This was despite the fact that the same newspaper had reviewed events in this interim period, such as *Experiment in Contraprojection* (December 1992) and *Night after Night* (May 1993). The CCA was soon restructured by the SAC and a second Director, Penny Rae was appointed

along with Nicola White as Exhibitions Director. A key exhibition in this period was *New Art in Scotland* in 1995, which was selected by Douglas Gordon (artist), Jane Lee (art historian) and the CCA's Nicola White. The exhibition demonstrated a significant feature of art in Scotland at that time, that Scotland in general, but specifically Glasgow, had become somewhere that artists not only wanted to stay, but also wanted to move to (Brown, K. 1995). This was evident in the fact that of the thirty artists involved in the exhibitions, more than half were not born in Scotland.

In 1997 the CCA was again under a new Director, Graham McKenzie, who was in post until 2006. During this time McKenzie oversaw a £10.2 million conversion, extension and renovation of the CCA, notably £7.5 million of the funding for the revamp was from the SAC Lottery Fund.²⁸ The premises at 350 Sauchiehall Street closed for three years and decanted to the McLellan Galleries at 270 Sauchiehall Street. When the CCA re-opened in 2001 it was critiqued on both its programming, which was perceived to exhibit a London/Nordic bias, and the restructuring of the CCA building, which was seen to prioritize the accommodation of corporate ventures over exhibitions (Dunlop, G. 2002). The refurbished CCA comprised of a gallery space, cinema, performance spaces, a central café and space for cultural tenants.

Vivienne Gaskin,²⁹ who had previously held the position of Director of Live Arts at London's ICA, gained the post of CCA's Head of Artistic Programming and Education in 2001. Gaskin's appointment underpinned accusations that the CCA was "recycling the wares of Scandinavia and London's ICA" (Mulholland, N. 2003). Many local artists felt that the CCA was parachuting in artists and that this was a "patronizing slight on their

²⁸ The National Lottery is the state-franchised national lottery in the United Kingdom, established in 1993 under John Major's Conservative government. Of every pound sterling (£) spent on National Lottery games, 28 pence goes to 'good causes' administered by The National Lottery Distribution Fund (NLDF), part of the government's Department for Culture, Media and Sport. Source: National Lottery Distribution Fund Account 2011-12 (Annual Report 31 March 2012).

²⁹ Gaskin established Vivienne Gaskin Cultural Management (VGCM) in 2006 as an agency for the development of contemporary arts practice and creative businesses.

own international reputations" (Mulholland, N. 2003). However, this criticism failed to recognise that, rather than being at the expense of Glasgow artists, instead the CCA formed reciprocal relationships that created opportunities for Glasgow artists to exhibit abroad. Together Gaskin and McKenzie shifted the CCA towards being an audience-driven, leisure facility, analogous to DCA. CCA's directive was aimed at retaining funding by meeting the complex educational and economic requirements enforced by government rules and imposed by the SAC. Accountability and value for money were high on the SAC's agenda with regards to their stewardship of public funds. Furthermore the CCA began charging for talks and events, which was interpreted as a sign of exclusion. In response artist Lucy McKenzie initiated free Flourish Nights at Flourish in Robertson Street, Glasgow, which consisted of performances, music and art.

From 2006 the CCA again took a new direction. Under the Directorship of Francis McKee the CCA promotes art created locally with, for instance, the commissioning of *The Dirty Hands* by Alex Pollard and Clare Stephenson, and *Direct Serious Action Is Therefore Necessary* by Tatham & O'Sullivan. The CCA has continued to introduce art from other countries to Scotland, such as Anja Kirschner and David Panos' *The Last Days of Jack Sheppard* (2009) commissioned in partnership with London's Chisenhale Gallery, and Abraham Cruzvillegas' *Autoconstrucc'on* (2009). Beyond its core exhibitions programme the CCA has encouraged a much broader use of its spaces by other organisations, individual artists and independent programmers. For example, the CCA supported the launch of Glasgow's only specialist contemporary art bookshop, *Aye-Aye Books*, in its foyer and supports this enterprise with a rent-free agreement as an ARI. McKee also founded the CCA's music programme in 2006 and the venue is mostly suited to small concert audiences and has played host to a number of alternative and emerging acts, such as *The Pastels* and *Richard Youngs & Luke Fowler*. The CCA also began hosting an annual book fair, which supports independent publishing in Scotland. Beyond the gallery the CCA is involved with artists' residencies, exchange programmes and outreach programmes. For example,

the CCA initiated art and gardening programmes in every primary school in the Drumchapel area and, with support from the Royal Society for the Arts, the CCA acts as a catalyst to develop a community garden in that district. In this sense the CCA is beginning to echo the polymath vision of an institution that was initially proffered by McGrath:

This means that CCA effectively operates as an umbrella organisation and creative hub for a range of other smaller groups and independent artists. It has developed a flexible approach, where the level of support provided is dependent on the existing funding available to those it chooses to collaborate with. CCA benefits from the broader programme spectrum available to its audiences in the building, and its collaborators benefit from a high profile platform for their work that may not otherwise be available. In doing so CCA has opened the building to a much wider stream of activity and crucially, to a much broader series of audiences (E-flux – CCA, Glasgow. n.d.).

McGrath's intentions for the Third Eye Centre could hardly be more relevant to current debates about the role of the arts and culture within our society. As one of only four such contemporary spaces in the UK, including ICA (London), Arnolfini (Bristol) and Chapter Arts Centre (Cardiff) the CCA has a clearly stated national role within Scotland's cultural infrastructure.



Fig.20. Alex Pollard and Clare Stephenson. The Dirty Hands (2009)



Fig.21. Joanne Tatham & Tom O'Sullivan. Direct Serious Action Is Therefore Necessary (2010)

Returning to the centre/periphery metaphor, the transformation of the Third Eye Centre into the CCA reveals complex systems of linkages within and between ARIs and established institutions. The centre/periphery model denotes a reciprocal, unbalanced relationship of the flow of, for example,

power, information and resources. As such, the centre reproduces the conditions for its centrality and the periphery does the reverse, this is known as an auto-regulated system. Structuration theory considers the centre/periphery model as explicative of the continuous reorganisation that results from this interaction between structures (Giddens, A. 1990). This is useful to provide a perspective on the logic of exchange. By investigating central and peripheral structures, established institutions and ARIs, an understanding of the potentials of them as agents of change and/or anchors of stability and coherence, emerges. It also suggests that in facing contemporary challenges in a global art world that a hybrid or collaborative model would be the most effective in producing structures or forming policies that are receptive to grassroots, local concerns.

Chapter 4:

Forebank/Seagate/Dundee Contemporary Arts (DCA)

In the UK, since at least the 1960s, there has been a mutual inquisitiveness between art and governance, as well as a mirroring or even a confluence of strategies. Through transformations of the organisational structures, ARIs in particular have endeavoured to influence governmental decision-making processes. However artists' activities have often been subsumed into successive governments social inclusion and urban regeneration policies. Culture-led regeneration, with its emphasis on art and culture, is problematic for artists because, as has been repeatedly demonstrated, there exist little sustainable advantages to them. Successive governments have formed policies and projects with the intention to manage socio-economic problems by temporarily transforming the physical environment and thus enhancing an area's public image, attracting tourism and investment. The closure of Dundee's Seagate Gallery can be considered a casualty of successive government policies, which failed to establish support systems that would foster sustainability for grassroots ARIs. There also exists an ambivalence whereby artists do not actively engage or resist this process, which can result in their initiatives being exploited in a process of development that does not serve their interests. However, the situation is not as clear-cut as it first appears.

Dundee's determination to re-invent itself and escape severe post-industrial decline was driven by many folk, not least Dundee City Council who initiated the arts strategy which identified the need for a new arts centre as a priority. Remembering my first 1981 visit to its precursor, Bob McGilvray's tumbledown Forebank Studios, and later Seagate, and knowing the tenacity and persistence of forerunners Dundee City Art Centre Ltd plus Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art, it doesn't surprise me that the Lottery actually gave more cash (£5.4m) than it requested (Henry, C. 1999).

This triumphalist statement regarding the development of highlights a debt to the city's pioneering art practitioners, namely Bob McGilvray,³⁰ who founded the Forebank Studios in 1976, together with other recent graduates of Duncan of Jordanstone (DoJ), Jack Morrocco, Barry Mitchell, Peter Gibb and Pete Horobin. Crucially, however, Claire Henry's commentary fails to acknowledge the contentious process through which DCA came into being, overlooking a series of events, which disregarded and denied the requirements of Dundee's ARIs. Furthermore, it does not acknowledge the fact that the Seagate Gallery, which Forebank Studios had by that time evolved into, was forced into closure as a result of state-led, engineered regeneration. Henry also credits National Lottery³¹ funding for the establishment of DCA. However, again this celebratory tone glosses over the realities of Lottery funding since its distribution is also accompanied by an extensive set of legislative rules and ministerial direction, monitoring systems and an exaggerated culture of accountability. Of course it would be erroneous to imply that patronage, be it public or private, has ever been free from conditions or restrictions, and as such there is an implicit acceptance that artists are accountable to those that fund them. Whether it is public investment or corporate sponsorship they have articulated expectations of the value they require to be evidenced as a return. However, government policy in particular stipulates a tangible manifestation of instrumental impact. Writing in 2009 on the tenth anniversary of DCA, art critic Moira Jeffrey, who worked briefly at the SAC, evaluated DCA's success in terms of its pertinence to the economic development of Dundee:

The centre's birth was not without controversy but DCA proved that by developing a close and trusting relationship with your audience, you can take them to new places. Economic research also established it was an engine for wider change, a key plank in city strategies for creating employment and changing perceptions of a city whose

³⁰ In 1975 Bob McGilvray completed two gable-end murals commissioned by the Scottish Arts Council and Dundee Housing Association. These were some of the first contemporary public art pieces commissioned in the city. Bob McGilvray has worked in public art in Dundee since this time and also works at Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art & Design.

³¹ In 1995 the government regulations stipulated that a percentage of funds from the newly created National Lottery should be divided between five 'good causes', one of which was the arts.

reputation was once founded on jute, jam and journalism. On reflection it has been 10 years to be pretty proud of (Jeffrey, M. 2009).

The DCA is a manifestation of how the creative industries discourse of economic and urban policy emerged in the midst of declining industrialisation in Scotland. McGilvray described how the site of so many defunct or underused industrial buildings and areas became the focus of a concerted effort to attract commerce and industry:

This new phenomenon happened in a city where the traditional industries – textiles, engineering, and shipbuilding – had already succumbed to growing competition and were well into irreversible decline. Dundee, which in the nineteenth century had been the jute and linen capital of Britain and whose population had grown six-fold in seventy years, became an example of unmitigated urban depression with mass unemployment...Dundee is a very different city now. It has a strong developing cultural base, including a cultural quarter and an arts centre of international repute, as well as a progressive identity. The city fathers are now convinced of the value of the arts in enriching the social, cultural, and economic future of Dundee, for its inhabitants and for its visitors (McGilvray, R. 2007. p. 37).

In an attempt to lure cultural tourists and businesses alike, cities, such as Dundee, began to be promoted globally as 'creative'. The marketing of culture was in response to the effects of globalisation that had, in part, been responsible for contracting industrial bases and had contributed to the erosion of the traditional competitive assets of cities. The creative industries were embraced with the expectation that culture should have a direct and measurable effect on economic growth and economic regeneration with negligible regard for artists or ARIs. The rise of the creative industries signalled a blurring of the boundaries between culture and business, in particular it saw a shift from supporting to promoting. This tendency towards the role of promotion has become increasingly pivotal to the reproduction of contemporary neo-liberal society and culture. With regards to Dundee it is, as Henry notes, important to highlight the debt to Dundee's pioneering art practitioners for the wealth of art and culture that has come to be an economic asset to the city. To a degree this is illustrative of the reciprocal roles played by artists and their cities. It demonstrates the contribution of the artistic community in economic development by

generating initiatives that are ingrained in the local community, and the implications and ramifications of this in a city's composition. However, it is also demonstrative of the asymmetric power relations and forms of exchange between ARIs and established institutions.

The establishment of Forebank/Seagate in Dundee in the late 1970s can be regarded as an artist-led, ad-hoc form of gentrification. At this time Dundee's traditional industries of textiles, engineering and shipbuilding were in irreversible decline and the city had become an example of unmitigated urban depression with mass unemployment. In *A Story of Art Development* (Marshall, A. 1998) the artist and curator Marshall Anderson documented the trials and tribulations that befell the Seagate Gallery's eventual³² absorption into DCA:

After a period of consultation followed by a duplicitous development when artists were not informed as to what was being discussed behind closed doors a partnership representing the interests of powerful organisations within Dundee, with the complicity of SAC, railroaded through a vision that failed to address the needs of local artists. The resulting institution will enhance the career prospects of those who were directly responsible for its development and further the careers and status of an exclusive minority who operate within its studios and laboratories (Anderson, M. 1998).

Clearly, it would be unproductive to duplicate Anderson's detailed overview here. However, a brief assessment of events is required as preface to picking up on the realities of DCA's existence and in particular to reveal the tendency whereby established institutions duplicate and dominate ARIs. In Dundee this was by manipulating a confluent relationship, which saw the demise of Seagate and the creation of DCA. Furthermore, the evolution of DCA demonstrates that governments acknowledge the importance of culture and symbolically upgrade artistic practice, albeit with a sense of precariousness, only when it coincidentally facilitates their statutory obligations and objectives.

³² Peter Horobin changed his name to Marshall Anderson in 1990 (Birrell, R. & Finlay, A. 2002. Letter 6, para 4).

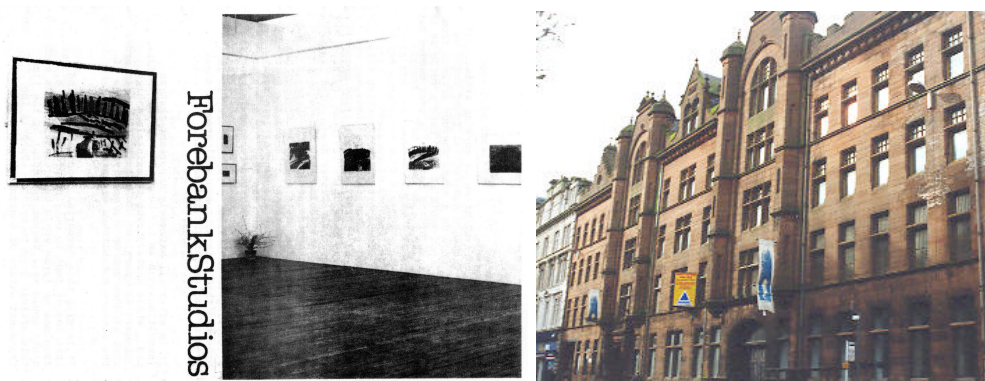


Fig.22. Forebank Studios
Fig.23. Seagate Gallery

In 1976, after graduating from the Drawing and Painting department at Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art & Design (DoJ) Bob McGilvray founded the Forebank Studios. Analogous to other ARIs it was constituted as a charitable company under the title The Dundee Group (Artists) Ltd. This provided them with eligibility to apply to the SAC for funding in an attempt to ensure a level of security to develop their cultural venture. McGilvray explained that as recent graduates their motivation for banding together was one of mutual support and self-preservation, and what he regards as a ‘quiet revolution’:

Until the mid 1970s, there were very few artists practicing in Dundee. Graduates from the local college, Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art, would migrate south to Glasgow, Edinburgh, or London – anywhere that would offer the possibility of success. In 1976, a handful of graduates were determined to stay in Dundee. With some assistance from the Scottish Arts Council, they acquired an old school building and set up Forebank Studios, the first independent studio in Scotland, providing workshop and studio facilities for approximately thirty artists and crafts people (McGilvray, R. 2007, p. 29).

Thereafter Seagate gallery was established and a programme of exhibitions and exchanges with artists throughout the UK was developed. The establishment of Seagate was a means to conduct artistic activity in the city at a self-organised level, motivated by the ideals of active participation.

Soon a gallery was established, and a program of exhibitions, including exchanges with other artists throughout England, Wales, and Northern Ireland, was underway. The Dundee artists formed a charitable company the Dundee Group (Artists) Ltd in order to secure regular funding from the Arts Council and ensure the security and growth of this new cultural endeavour. Dundee now had a healthy

artistic resource from which to expand and develop an artistic tradition. Perhaps the most significant event came in 1986, when the Dundee Group and another newly formed arts organization, the Dundee Printmakers Workshop (McGilvray, R. 2007. p. 30).

Recognising the collective as a method by which to encourage collaboration, McGilvray identified this union as a pivotal moment. Vitally this was how the foundations for a Dundee arts centre were laid:

The community of artists were no sooner occupying their spacious premises than they were looking to improve their position within the city. An arts centre, a greater ideal, would provide them with a more prestigious stage from which to launch their careers and too might extend the range of facilities for artists independent of the art college. Most importantly it was something for the collective consciousness to aim for (Anderson, M. 1998).

However, the SAC intervened in the pursuit of an arts centre that was to be a progression of Seagate Gallery and Printmakers Workshop. The SAC asserted a paternalistic authority by insisting that a full-time director be appointed; the duties of which had been until this point shared by McGilvray as Exhibitions Organiser and Anne Ross, the part-time administrator. Artist Dave Jackson was appointed in April 1993 on a salary of £17,000, whereby McGilvray had received £500 per annum for his part-time post. Jackson's appointment made McGilvray's position untenable, which caused a certain amount of animosity. McGilvray:

The unique partnership that had been developed in Dundee proved resistant to abdicating local decision making to a national bureaucracy run by the Arts Council (McGilvray, R. 2007. p. 34).

The restructuring of the organisations had very real implications for artists, audiences, funding and assessing criteria in terms of the shift of economic ownership and control, as well as the cultural implications of the shift in control over culture production. Furthermore, having identified that mutual support, autonomy and space for innovative art forms were significant to the formation of Forebank and subsequently to Seagate Gallery and Printmakers Workshop, McGilvray contested that they had relinquished their autonomy. As Anderson records:

He (McGilvray) remains highly critical of Jackson who, by uniting the printmakers' with the gallery under the banner, Seagate Ltd, ultimately sacrificed it to DCA Ltd (Anderson, M. 1998).

Jackson endeavoured to raise the profile of locally based artists and Seagate Gallery and he achieved this through active engagement with other galleries, for example Pier Arts Centre, Orkney and the Saatchi organisation in London. He also sought to exhibit international contemporary artists and so established an international residency scheme. Fundamentally, though, Jackson considered the gallery to be an interface with the public and concentrated on its image in order to increase attendance figures (Marshall, A. 1998). Jackson's shift of emphasis from art production to cultural consumption was in one sense indicative of the expanding realm of the creative industries and the marketing of culture. Publicly funded art organisations were under considerable pressure to prove their utility through their cost-effectiveness. Subsequently the sphere of culture, which had self-consciously opposed itself to the terms of the market, was now called upon to conform.

It should be noted that considering artists' practices to be a part of the cultural industries was not a new phenomenon, however the junction where the creative industries discourse was taken up by policymakers clearly intersects with the development of neoliberalism in the UK. Neoliberalism can be seen to emerge profoundly under Margaret Thatcher's administration and was a distinctly anti-Keynesian movement, which sought to dismantle Keynesian institutions and policies such as the welfare state. The neoliberal project was advanced across the UK with the election of Tony Blair's New Labour in 1997. Blair sought to reap both the economic and cultural rewards of independent creative workers. This can be attributed to New Labour's 'cultural turn' dictate, which indicated that culture could be the determining factor of a nation, not just the economy.³³ Contrary to Blair's claim in his 2007 valedictory speech at Tate Modern (Blair, T. 2007) that he had presided over

³³ New Labour progressed this shift from economic to cultural explanations of the economy that had been established by an earlier Labour administration under Harold Wilson (1964-7).

the 'golden age' in the arts in the UK, evidence based analysis shows the impact of government policy and their cultural achievements since 1997 to be less tangible for grassroots artists. Under the Blair administration culture was bound up in its economic return and this was transparent in the language within which policy was couched. For example, increased expenditure on culture was framed as a financial investment rather than a subsidy and was to be repaid via indirect economic benefits such as tourism, prestige and urban regeneration. Whilst New Labour visibly exploited this relationship, the increasing subordination of art to the economy can be more accurately traced to the 1980s.

Jackson was made redundant in March 1997 despite being employed to take Seagate Ltd forward as an arts centre. He took Seagate Ltd to an industrial tribunal who found the company guilty of unfair dismissal. Discrepancies also arose between the expectations of the artists who had envisaged Seagate Ltd as an independent venture that would represent their interests. Seagate Ltd was overshadowed and eventually excluded by the project's major partners when the District Council and the SAC sought to engineer a financial and ideological partnership with Duncan of Jordanstone. Both the District Council and the SAC subsequently withdrew their financial support from Seagate Ltd, £8,000 and £80,000 respectively, citing that to continue to subsidise them would result in duplication since they would be providing funding to the proposed arts centre (Marshall, A. 1998). This was despite evidence that Seagate Ltd was financially viable, earning up to £30,000 a year. Notably, Nairne, Visual Arts Director of the SAC, did not intervene in the plans to sacrifice Seagate Ltd. The development of DCA serves to underline the fact that cultural value serves different masters: artists and other cultural stakeholders, government, institution and audience. The dissolution of Seagate Ltd indicates that the institutions that have the backing of local and/or central government are generally more forceful agents than ARIs. In this instance it made clear the demarcation between those who regulate and those who are administered and resulted in a takeover that developed in line with Government policy. Driven by

economic benefits, tourism, access and inclusion, a Steering Group that included Nairne as the SAC's representation was formed. This demonstrates once more that despite their mandate of arms length administration that the SAC took an active role in developing and structuring the arts centre project. This is problematic since it further reduces the cultural distance between the State and the art institution. The establishment of DCA demonstrates the neutralising or recuperating effect that can be exerted on ARIs. Indeed this highlights the danger faced by ARIs when aiming to confront and undermine prevailing dominant ideologies, that they may become subsumed by that which they oppose, which by extension implicitly reinforces the strength of the system they seek to dismantle and disable (Hardt, M. & Negri, A. 2000). Once more this suggests that is not sufficient to suppose a strict determination of grassroots ideology and its paradigms, but rather that interaction between dominant institutional rationalities and artistic practice should ideally be sought.

What had been the original intentions of Seagate Ltd, to create an arts centre that would promote, first and foremost, the work of contemporary Dundee-based artists, had been usurped by the aspirations of corporate arts and tourism. DCA's first Director, Nairne, underlined this in his articulation of it as more of a visitor attraction rather than an arts centre, such as Glasgow's Third Eye Centre where he had programmed exhibitions. Furthermore, Nairne's suggestion that DCA was not a gallery for local art only served to further disenfranchise local artists:

Further, he has offended and incensed Dundee's artists with talk of his vision. Dundee-based artists, says Nairne, will be shown only "if they fit the vision of what we're trying to do in the centre."
Understandably there is a deep concern that such a statement heralds a policy, which will exclude artists who have invested their working careers in the city (Anon. 1999).

The appointment of Nairne was a contentious choice because it was seen as a direct insertion of SAC administration, both in ethos and in practice:

In general the broader community of artists in Scotland does not trust Nairne for he is perceived as being partly responsible for the bankruptcy and subsequent closure of Glasgow's Third eye Centre. In

Dundee it is believed that he used his position as a Scottish Arts Council representative on the DCA Steering Group to leap-frog into his new post (Anon. 1999).

Whilst wanting to avoid a conspiratorial assessment of these developments, Nairne's involvement in the entire process was highly questionable, particularly his failure to assume responsibility in contesting the SAC's abandonment of Seagate Ltd and his subsequent appointment as the Director of DCA. Anderson succinctly identifies:

That the welfare and interests of the local community of artists was sacrificed by DCA's perspicacious and career-blinded developers in favour of a corporate vision...the keystone to DCA's existence is its claim upon the territory of tourist and economic development (Anon. 1999).

Rather than the original programme of integration that was originally envisaged, a strategy of centralisation has been overtly exercised in Dundee. Rather than the original programme of integration that was originally envisaged, a strategy of centralisation has been overtly exercised in Dundee. The DCA has assimilated the University of Dundee's Visual Art Centre; the former Seagate Print Workshop; Dundee Public Art Programme and Dundee City Council's Art & Heritage Department under its roof alongside the main galleries. Each is an entity in itself, but the centralisation of what visual arts resources there were pre-DCA is undeniable.

Upon opening in 1999, DCA³⁴ accommodated virtually every so-called independent visual arts organisation in the city, with the exception of Generator Projects. Established in 1997, Generator Projects, has been impacting on the Dundee art scene whilst organisations like DCA appear to be going in an opposite direction to younger artists who are seeking to establish alternative strategies for producing and displaying their art.

³⁴ Dundee Contemporary Arts accommodated a Visual Research Centre, Print Studio, Activity and Meeting Rooms, Cafe, Shop, Cinemas and Galleries. It also housed the offices of Arts & Heritage, Dundee Public Arts Programme, and Health Care Arts.

Capitalising on Culture

Additionally this leads to a fundamental issue to do with cultural entitlement. Although political interest in democratising the arts is not new, neither is it statutory to provide culture. Despite this, since Labour's victory in the 1997 UK General Election, the UK as a whole has become accustomed to the idea of art as an instrument of public policy. The first Labour government for 18 years was elected into office in 1997 and Tony Blair elevated the importance of the Arts and the broader culture industries. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS)³⁵ was created with Chris Smith as the new Secretary of State for Culture, a senior cabinet post. Blair, in his endeavour to relaunch the UK as entrepreneurial and creative in order to attract tourists and investment, hijacked the Arts whilst simultaneously cutting its budget. New Labour made a number of commitments in the cultural field including a shift towards more regional and local decision-making. This has affected how the social and cultural ambitions of ARIs and established institutions alike, are arbitrated by funding and governmental policy.

Returning to discussion of the creative industries, more recently the term was utilised by the US author and academic Richard Florida in *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Florida, R. 2002), which espoused the view that a city's main asset is its cultural capital, as appropriated from Bourdieu. In Florida's celebratory accounts of the new creative class, it is his assertion that the creative class is a causal mechanism of urban regeneration. It is this blurring of the distinction between the causal and consequential relationship between culture and the economy that has come to dominate. Whilst investment in culture can produce positive economic outputs, it should not be the intention. Instrumental policies that seek to use culture/creativity to achieve non-cultural ends should be avoided because cultural or creative production

³⁵ The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) was established in July 1997. It is the government department responsible for government policy on the arts, sport, the National Lottery, tourism, libraries, museums, galleries, broadcasting, film, the music industry, the press, licensing, gambling and the historic environment.

is and should be recognised as anterior to cultural policy. Florida's claim regarding the creative economy is that human creativity is the ultimate, inexhaustible source of economic growth. This has, in part, been realised in Scotland and the UK through concepts of access and distribution and has increasingly been described with reference to the population as consumers. As a consequence our understanding of art, education and culture has been transformed. Florida discusses how the shaping of place and identity is reliant on the transnational movement of highly skilled professionals and that this is dependent on how value is produced and extracted in the creative labour process. However, Florida's position overlooks the complex geographies and histories that produce and impact on cultural politics and which problematize reified assumptions about cultural production. Florida's study of labour relations and processes in commercial cultural production appealed to urban and economic planners alert to the danger of cities' distinctive characters becoming indiscernible. There is an increasing tendency for urban development to be increasingly standardised and simplified because these projects are paid for by global money. A diagrammatic view of many cities reveals an increasing similarity, from the airports, to the business districts, to the shopping areas.

Whilst Florida's initial discussion was confined to the USA it was rapidly fabricated as a model for Europe as a whole. The concept of the cultural industries is now firmly placed on the agenda of European Union cultural policies as they seek to preserve the intricate contingencies and specificities of their cities whilst exploiting them as global urban 'contact points'. Despite the criticism directed at Florida's reductive appropriation of creative culture and the creative classes, his thesis gained currency in this period both in the UK and the USA. In the UK the culture industries policy gained renewed prominence as it was exploited as a key concept of the New Labour Party's Blairite cultural policies in a somewhat misconstrued, distorted manner. For instance, Blair's New Labour Government used the term creative industries

in 1997 in the rebranding of the UK as 'Cool Britannia',³⁶ and the Department of National Heritage was renamed the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS).

New Labour's aggressive promotion of the 'Cool Britannia' brand was a neo-colonial venture that exhibited an ascendancy of British nationalism and a return to the centre in an international marketing fight for survival of the fittest. Subsequent governments, both in Scotland and Westminster, remain directed towards creating profiteering opportunities within the global cultural arena, and as a result creative work is measured from the standpoint of value creation. In a keynote speech delivered in April 2013, the UK Government's Culture Secretary, Maria Miller reinforced the idea that British culture should be presented as a 'commodity' and 'compelling product' to sell at home and abroad. Miller also told arts organisations that they should "demonstrate the healthy dividends that our investment continues to pay":

I would argue that culture should be seen as the standard bearer for our efforts to engage in cultural diplomacy, to develop soft power, and to compete, as a nation, in both trade and investment...The arts world must make the case for public funding by focusing on its economic, not artistic, value...When times are tough and money is tight, our focus must be on culture's economic impact (Miller, M. 2013).

The application of cultural activity to the ends of inward investment and economic and social regeneration can also be identified across Scotland. This instrumentalised approach to culture can be found in cities, such as Dundee and Glasgow, aiming to reinvent themselves after years of industrial or social decay.

In critically exploring the antecedents of Scottish ARIs, to configure contemporary activities, it is essential that it is not an exercise in melding the imaginative representations of the past with the practicalities of the present. This would result in little more than a resurgence of a mythical nostalgia,

³⁶ Cool Britannia was coined in the 1990s and was a short-lived media marketing campaign that was engineered by New Labour's press agents, or spin-doctors. It was aimed at promoting Britain to an international audience by exploiting the popularity of 'Brit Pop' bands and the contemporary notoriety of 'Brit Art', the young British Artists (yBas).

which would serve only to complicate our understanding of the contemporary. Within each historically specific moment, theoretical debates unfold, which signal the development of ARIs. The analysis of modalities through which rules and resources influence interactions and the typologies of institutions are useful to conceptualise the social relations of the art world. Delineating these three gallery spaces: Forebank/Seagate, the (New) 57 Gallery, and the Third Eye Centre, allows for exploration of the contestation of distinct strategies. Each could be considered as custody battles involving the SAC as it elected to demonstrate control over independent spaces. Broadly speaking, these takeovers all resulted in institutional sites which developed in line with government policy. In all three cases it is vital to examine what it meant in the short and long term for organisations that vehemently pursued an alternative and oppositional status to surrender to established institutional traditions. It is contentious because it would appear to contradict the politics of ARIs, however, could lessons be learned that could forge the way for a new formalized coalition of mutual advocacy? The case studies presented can also be considered to exemplify organisations that have survived and evolved by adopting, to an extent, a hybrid form.

Elements of these historical stagings can be seen to repeat themselves in contemporary scenes, as such it is important to understand these case studies beyond their immediate ramifications and place them within a larger framework. For instance, the 57 Gallery's independent example spawned numerous ARIs in Edinburgh including: 369 Gallery (1978), Collective (1984), Arial (1994), Out of the Blue (1994-ongoing), Embassy (2004-), Aurora (2003-), Magnifitat (2001), Cell 77 (2003-2005), Total Kunst (2003-2011), OneZero (2004-ongoing) and Standby (2006-ongoing), as well as Glasgow's Transmission (1983-ongoing), Switchspace, (1998-2003), Mary Mary (2006-ongoing), and Dundee's Generator Projects (2001-ongoing). What this demonstrates, with relation to structuration theory, is that artists have drawn upon the organisational structure of the 57 Gallery, together with their particular social structures, cultures and the polity in which they subsist, in order to initiate their own projects. Simultaneously, they reproduced the

same or slightly amended structures that then became established as the new conditions that enable the next cycle of the structuration process. This is useful to recognise because it demonstrates the interdependence of the organisations within the field and through these interactions the influence of power relations can be identified. These establish the rules that govern relationships between the constituents, and the values incorporated in these rules that in turn form the art world infrastructure. Furthermore, examination of the exhibitors at the New 57 Gallery during the 1960s reveals a pattern whereby a number of them became lecturers at the four Scottish Art Schools such as Phillip Reeves (1965) at GSA, George McPherson (1965) at ECA, Gordon Bryce (1966) at Grays School of Art in Aberdeen, Dai Evans (1967) at ECA, and Will McLean (1968) at Duncan of Jordanstone in Dundee. A number of the committee also went onto teaching posts, for example Moffat at GSA and Glen Onwin at ECA.

Whilst 1960s critique may no longer be effective, countercultural organisations in Scotland from that period have left a lasting legacy by shaping Scottish contemporary art practice. Elements of the first wave of alternative or self-organised practice of late 1960s and early 1970s can be seen to repeat themselves in contemporary scenes. Contemporary ARIs are linked to the re-evaluation of the legacy of the spirit of '68, firstly in terms of whether it has a lingering influence and continued currency, and secondly with regards to the multifaceted issue of resistance. As such, it is relevant to examine the extent to which contemporary projects are articulations of a fidelity to May '68. Although not accompanied by declarations and a plethora of manifestos, artists subsisting within ARIs are taking a stance that is in the spirit of '68. Individual artists that explore the operative approach of choosing to join a co-operative, rather than go-it-alone, reflect the choice of a social rather than personal practice. Collectives opting for an organisational structure, which is democratic and collective rather than hierarchical, who share a belief in self-help and mutual aid to get things done, and who overcome passivity through their own DIY strategies, rather than depending

on experts or established authority, share the utopian tenor embodied in the spirit of '68.

Evidently there have been shifts within the cultural connections of the art world since the late 1960s. It is conclusive that the critiques that were symptomatic of the political debates amongst the '68 generation lacks the same imperative for contemporary practitioners; namely anti-capitalist criticism of the Fordist working model, division of labour and passive consumerism. Whilst the 1960s clearly contained an insistent element of conflict with the dominant value systems, a deeper examination reveals that artists involved in ARIs were not the cultural iconoclasts they were generally perceived to be. This becomes most evident when considering the paradox between 1960s counterculture, which opposed corporatism and institutionalism, coupled with the concept that those involved also wanted to preserve high culture and extend its access and benefit to all. Furthermore, analysis reveals how this legacy was reduced to consumerism and marketeering (under Thatcher's Conservative government in the 1980s), and policy-driven inclusiveness (under New Labour in the late 1990s). Nonetheless, underlining these projects were issues concerned with the power relations within society, which critiqued cultural hegemony as perpetuated by a dominant class through cultural institutions, art schools, galleries, museums and collections, and challenged their ideological and representative social function. This was conducted by artists whose critical method was their practice, for example, through artworks, interventions, critical writing and activism. There is a gap in tone and ambition between contemporary ARIs and those stemming directly from the activist politics of the 1960s. However, many contemporary ARIs, as well as contemporary established institutions, often employ the surface iconography of the revolutionary ideology. So too, numerous corporate structures embrace a superficial ideal of egalitarian self-management. What this demonstrates is that new structures of organisation and working, in themselves, do not change cultures. Rather a symbiotic relationship with cultural inquiry and reassessment needs to be formulated.

Chapter 5: Locating History in the Present

The founding members of Embassy were motivated by a mutual desire for a support network in response to a lack of opportunities available to graduates in Edinburgh. They recognised that the most effective and satisfying way of addressing these inadequacies was to set up an independent venture.

Embassy stemmed from a core group of ECA graduates who, after setting up temporary exhibitions in a domestic property (Magnifitat), a disused shop (Win Together, Lose Together, Play Together, Stay Together), and public spaces, opened a three-room gallery in central Edinburgh.



Fig.24. Exterior of Win Together, Lose Together, Play Together, Stay Together



Fig.25. Installation view

When we first started this (Embassy) we couldn't see any options for staying in Edinburgh really, we could see options in Glasgow, which isn't so far away, that we thought why can't things like that happen here and so I guess we just followed in the footsteps of how the Glasgow small artist-run spaces started. I guess there were artist-run spaces but so far in the past but there wasn't information available on them so that we could follow what they had been doing. But I think that we all felt a bit disgruntled at the college after leaving as well (Owens, K. 2006).

Whilst Embassy founding member Kate Owens explains the impetus for the gallery as one of despondency with the available opportunities, her statement also reveals that, unaware of the undocumented histories of Edinburgh ARIs, they looked to emulate Glasgow's Transmission. The organisational structure implemented by Transmission, of an unpaid committee of practicing artists and an egalitarian membership, is a formula

that has been adopted by various artist-run spaces. Notable examples include Generator Projects in Dundee, Catalyst in Belfast, Limousine Bull in Aberdeen, and Embassy. Indeed, discussions of alternative activities within Scotland generally begin with one of the longest running initiatives, Transmission, as exemplified by Malcolm Dickson:

Transmission is seen to be the most significant gallery in the history and development of this sector in Scotland, and in Britain as whole [not to belittle its international scope] (Dickson, M. 1998. p. 84).

Therefore, at this juncture it is appropriate to turn to Transmission because its constitution was a direct influence on the founders of Embassy.



Fig.26. Transmission

Founded in Glasgow in 1983 by GSA graduates, Alistair Magee and Alistair Strachan, Transmission is considered to be *the* superlative ARI. Whilst by no means understating the importance of Transmission the inevitable outcome is that of an incomplete version of events and it is also one that tends to focus on a history of exhibitions. Transmission's artist-run activities occurred against a backdrop of numerous insolvent galleries closing their doors. In Glasgow the Third Eye Centre was closed down (re-opened in December 1992 as the CCA) and in Edinburgh the Fruitmarket Gallery temporarily closed its doors in 1992 to undergo major refurbishment. In the same year the Richard Demarco Gallery closed, awaiting another short-lived re-incarnation as the Demarco European Art Foundation in 1992, and the 369 Gallery also closed.

Transmission's cultural investment can be observed by tracing the lineage of artists and work that it has promoted. Broadly speaking, in the 1980s Transmission exhibited the figurative work of the neo-expressionist painters Steven Campbell, Adrian Wisniewski, Peter Howson and Ken Currie. From the mid 1980s the gallery concentrated on showcasing installation, performance and video work (a key video exhibition was *Come in, We are Open, This is Art and This is Free*, featuring work from established video artists such as Kevin Atherton and David Hall alongside student's work from Duncan of Jordanstone) (Dickson, M. 1986. pp. 28-29). It should be noted that the profiling of video work in this period was not to the total exclusion of painting. In the 1990s they showcased Scottish neo-conceptualism of GSA's Environmental Art department graduates Christine Borland, Roderick Buchanan, Jacqueline Donachie, Douglas Gordon, Ross Sinclair et al, tagged the 'Scotia Nostra' by Douglas Gordon in his 1996 Turner Prize acceptance speech. And in the 21st century, New Formalism associated with Claire Barclay and Jim Lambie took precedence.

Transmission is also partially responsible for establishing an indigenous and largely non-commercial infrastructure by supporting individual practice and promoting collective practice in work by Elizabeth Go, an all-women music and performance group active from 1997-2001, which comprised Victoria Morton, Sarah Tripp, Sue and Hayley Tompkins and Cathy Wilkes and in the work of Henry VIII's Wives, a collective of artists founded in 1997, which include Rachel Dagnall, Bob Grieve, Sirko Knupfer, Simon Polli, Per Sander and Lucy Skaer, and also with exhibitions such as the Beagles and Ramsay-curated *Dub'L intROOder* (2001) featuring Bank, Beagles & Ramsay, Bob & Bob, David Burrows with Bob and Roberta Smith, Paul McCarthy and Mike Kelley, and Muntean and Rosenblum.

In its formative years Transmission was modelled on Alexander Trocchi's anti-university (1967-69) and Joseph Beuys's Free University model (1973-1988). There were also crossovers with the Free University Glasgow (1987-

1991), which had been established, as Malcolm Dickson³⁷ stated “in recognition of the potential in cultural activity to push things along and make connections between people. It was about breaking down isolation and people linking up with one another” (Birrell, R. & Finlay, A. 2002. Letter 6, para 4). In other words “the spirit was of a grassroots sharing of ideas that seized, if not the means of production, then certainly the theoretical keys to those means” (Cooper, N. 2011). For Transmission this fundamentally meant that it was based on auto-didactic, bottom-up, self-organisation and the building of social networks and relationships, which allowed artists to collaborate and to take risks together.

Transmission initially relied on sporadic fundraising and sponsorship before it secured regular subsidy from the SAC and Glasgow City Council (Gordon-Nesbitt, R. 2006. pp. 52-56). In the 1980s Transmission was faced with Conservative Government policies that aimed to defund and delegitimize art that shunned the market. In 1990 the gallery was put in jeopardy due to the misguided funding priorities of the European Capital of Culture, an annually designated brand bestowed by the European Union to a city during which the local government organises a series of cultural events. Once more the SAC, and by extension the UK Government, were identified as the adversaries of ARIs. They reduced Transmission’s funding by ring-fencing financial support for this urban spectacle, thus manoeuvring funding beyond the reach of the grassroots organisations (Gordon-Nesbitt, R. 2006. pp. 52-56). Despite the rhetorical references to the economic and social benefits that this cultural pageant claimed to provide, there is little evidence that it made a tangible contribution to local cultural or economic development (Booth, P. & Boyle, R. 1993). Grassroots projects were neglected by the city’s modernisation continuum as the SAC and the City Council prioritised marketing Glasgow over rooting long-term growth in the local community. Ultimately the attempt to fuse culture and the policies of urban regeneration was consolidated in a programme that enforced the city’s tourism strategy.

³⁷ Malcolm Dickson: Transmission committee member (1985-87), founding editor of Variant magazine (1987-1994) and Director of Streetlevel Photoworks (1995-present).

In the 1990s, with an increased awareness of the art market, the Transmission committee, which included Toby Webster (who went on to establish his commercial ventures the Modern Institute and Toby Webster Ltd) reached international audiences and developed links by participating in many of the prominent art fairs such as Art Basel (2011, 2012, 2013), Frieze Art Fair (2011, 2012, 2013), Hong Kong International Art Fair 12 and Independent 2013 (Gallery Locator. 2013). Their widening exhibition and promotion programme revealed both a shift from a preoccupation with local concerns to an internationally respected, publicly-funded, gallery space. This also demonstrated the capacity for transformation of ARIs that respond to external socio-political circumstances, as well as illustrating the sequential tendencies and preferences of the changing committee members. Most importantly, it conveyed how the art world interacts with the business world and the larger economy. Transmission, Mary Mary and The Modern Institute have taken on a role of international ambassadors for Scottish art. They also look towards an international market, through a visible presence at Art Fairs, in order to survive both in terms of their reputation and financially.

The valorisation of Transmission is part of an expounded Glasgow-centric view, which has helped secure Glasgow's history in the established meta-narrative of Scottish art and which has inadvertently excluded and suppressed the legacy of ARIs elsewhere in Scotland (Bracewell, 2003). Also contributing to this bias is the historically important, but all too familiar account of the 'Glasgow Miracle', the phrase coined by Hans Ulrich Obrist to describe a purported cultural renaissance in the city. Another accumulative factor in this prevalent meta-narrative, which focuses artistic activities within Scotland in Glasgow, is the Turner Prize. A disproportionate number of artists either based or born in the city have been shortlisted for the prize including Karla Black (2011), Lucy Skaer (2009), Cathy Wilkes (2008), Nathan Coley, (2007), Jim Lambie (2005), and Christine Borland (1997), with a further five winners Susan Philipsz (2012), Martin Boyce (2011), Richard Wright (2009), Simon Starling (2005) and Douglas Gordon (1996). This has led to a plethora of articles and editorial musings on the source of this apparent

phenomenon, such as Glasgow's Turner connection: Why does Glasgow Keep Producing So many Turner Prizewinners and Nominees? (Higgins, C. 2011) and How Glasgow Conquered the Art World (Brocklehurst, S. 2012). Glasgow will be rewarded for this record of providing winners and nominees in 2015 as the Turner Prize exhibition and award ceremony will come to Scotland for the first time. In part the decision to make Tramway in Glasgow the host of the Turner Prize is worth celebrating, as it shifts the focus of the international art world to Scotland. Yet it does of course corroborate the view that Glasgow is the only locus for contemporary artistic practice in Scotland.

Undeniably, the original Embassy committee built on the sense of independence from established institutions that was advanced by both Transmission and Collective in Edinburgh, as well as benefiting from first-hand knowledge of their fluctuating fortunes. Edinburgh's Collective, although devoid of the auto-didacticism that intellectually underpinned Transmission throughout the 1980s is, nonetheless, its closest homologue. Collective was established in 1984 by graduates and tutors from ECA, including lecturer Iain Patterson, who were frustrated by the lack of exhibition opportunities for emerging artists in the city. In 1994 Collective's tenth anniversary celebrations spawned the seeds for a plethora of artist-run activities, not least the forgotten Cracker Factory group exhibition in a studio complex in Newington. Other notable activities are the pro-situ events organised by ECA students John Ayscough, Robert Montgomery and Elaine Spears. They were provoked by the general ignorance surrounding Beuys' activities, which had taken place twenty years earlier in the art college, and so they organised a series of exhibitions in ECA's sculpture court (Mulholland, N. 2009. p. 47). This led directly to Ayscough, Montgomery and Spears being given free rein of the 369 Gallery's exhibition programming for six months, which in turn generated Aerial, an ambitious citywide exhibition. With contributions from twenty-six artists Aerial was a three-week-long public event spread across diverse locations throughout

Edinburgh. This was a particularly fertile period, which has however, generally been overlooked.

Whilst the structural blueprint of artist-run galleries such as Embassy are routinely attributed to Transmission they are actually more accurately indebted to the (New) 57 Gallery, which is demonstrative of the inequity of recognition of activities outside of Glasgow. On Transmission's own website they credit themselves as "providing a model for other collectives like Catalyst in Belfast and Generator in Dundee" (Transmission. 2013).

Many ARIs have slipped below the radar of artist-led history of Edinburgh. In addition to the (New) 57 Gallery, the Richard Demarco Gallery (est. 1966) and the Edinburgh Arts: Summer School was the aforementioned 369 Gallery. Edinburgh artist Andrew Brown and a group of artists founded the gallery in 1978 with the express aim of promoting and exhibiting young Scottish graduates. The 369 Gallery was located at 369 High Street, once the site of Haynes, Demarco and Calder's Traverse Theatre Club. The 369 Gallery was initially run without public funds until it received charitable status in 1982 and was supported by the SAC with an annual revenue grant. For the first seven years the 369 Gallery operated from the High Street but the ever-increasing scope of its operations demanded a larger, more flexible space. In 1985 the 369 Gallery acquired a Georgian warehouse, sited in Edinburgh's Cowgate, which provided both a space and a platform for other art forms including poetry and theatre. The new premises comprised of a ground and first-floor gallery with an adjoining studio theatre, an education room as well as artists' studios and an exhibition space (Henry, C. 1985). The 369 Gallery also had a policy of promoting women artists and by the early 1980s a group of female artists had become closely identified with it, and were dubbed the Edinburgh Girls (Caroline McNairn, Fionna Carlisle and June Redfern). The 369 Gallery went on to become a leading gallery at the forefront of Scottish culture, launching the careers of Scottish painters, alongside other artists, such as David Mach, the sculptor and installation artist. The 369 Gallery pursued a policy of forging links with artists' groups

and galleries abroad, both in Europe and the United States. In less than a decade the 369 Gallery became an international dealer and promoter of contemporary Scottish painting and contributed significantly to the growing international reputation of Scottish art (Anon. 2003).

Thus, a considered and impartial look below the surface reveals a substantial history of artist-run activity in Edinburgh that has weaved in and out of documented history. Due to their brief and fragmented histories, these activities may appear to be peripheral, however, they were crucial in challenging modes of operation that questioned the parameters of art production and display by scoping out an alternative.

Embassy

Embassy was established in May 2004 with a rolling committee of between five and seven co-directors who work on a voluntary basis and are responsible for all aspects of the gallery. This ensures a built-in ability for the gallery to regenerate every few years because with periodic changes in personnel there is a constant turnover of new influences. However, as founding Embassy member Tommy Grace pertinently identified, there are potentially fundamental differences between the founding committee and those who inherit the organisation, not least the fact that the subsequent committee members are generally less closely affiliated:

I thought we would combust after the first three shows but we didn't. It's testament to the fact that we had around five years' worth of friendship and camaraderie before us. Whether a new committee can work and abide by one another remains to be seen, but I am certain that the opportunity should be provided and that they will maintain the gallery to a level of professionalism that we had (always hoped to) achieve. (Grace, T. 2006)

In addition to this, the committee-membership model allows artists to maintain control of the space as well as over the art programming and to develop with minimum interference or regulation. Increasingly ARIs are generally more sophisticated about articulating themselves, however, a

corollary of this is that in order to assert themselves they are in danger of, inadvertently, replicating the bureaucratic structures and established institutional value systems that they were set up to supersede. Founded on principles analogous to Transmission, Embassy represents a direct, intuitive and pragmatic response on the part of individual artists to create opportunities in their city in an attempt to stem the tide of departure by graduates. Indeed, Embassy's constitution is a carbon copy of Transmission's constitution:

To advance the education of the public generally and in particular the inhabitants of Edinburgh and its environs by securing and maintaining premises for the purpose of presenting the arts in all their forms. In particular the works (in the widest meaning) of persons who under normal circumstances would be denied a platform for expressing their artistic ideas, so long as such ideas expressed through their work are not subversive of all religion and morality (Appendices 3 & 4).

Embassy arose as a direct consequence of a perceived gap in the city and a genuine ambition for Edinburgh. The founding members' aim was, on this basis, to encourage artists to stay and work in the capital and to allow the rest of the country to see a vibrant artist-run gallery developing. Embassy holds a yearly programme of exhibitions and events and exhibits at off-site projects. Each year Embassy also coordinates the Annuale festival, a presentation of grassroots artistic activity in various venues throughout the city.

Embassy could be considered as an example of a subversion of neoliberal conceptions of art and its established institutions and production. However, the situation is far more complex and contradictory. Embassy is indicative of the paradoxes that constitute contemporary artist-run culture. It involves collective, self-organised practices, which echo the spirit of punk and DIY culture, yet far from feigning dilettantism it also engenders levels of professionalism, the individual spirit of entrepreneurialism and engagement with economic forces. Embassy was set up as a permanent venture, intent on avoiding becoming advocates or victims of short-termism. However, in keeping with most long term gallery projects, sustainability depends not

only on whether it can continue to develop its programme of exhibitions, but also if it can consolidate its funding position and grow in reputation as an autonomous exhibition space. That is to say, reconciling pragmatism and idealism in such a way as to protect creativity. Akin to other not-for-profit organisations, Embassy was and is financially vulnerable because revenue is concentrated from limited sources, namely Creative Scotland.³⁸ Furthermore, Creative Scotland funding allocation is restricted inasmuch as it can only be used to finance certain purposes, for instance, only selected and curated exhibitions and not Embassy's members' exhibitions, additionally project funding does not include rental and associated costs of the premises. Typical of most non-profit, artist-run spaces Embassy is a company with charitable status. Registering as a charity set-up for the promotion of art practice, particularly within their local area together with a committee, is a strategy that can offer crucial support to an organisation's long-term development. However, the administrative running of an artist-run gallery is a burden due to both the lack of financial resources and business skills. It is a weakness of ARIs that the focus of those running them is at times required to shift from making, exhibiting and curating towards maintaining premises and ensuring the survival of their organisation.

Up until the formation of Creative Scotland the SAC was the main distributor of funding for the Arts in Scotland. However, numerous contradictions afflict this mutually reliant system. With little alternative there is a relative position of reliance on public funding of the ARIs, but not total compliance. Under the patronage of Creative Scotland, and SAC before them, ARIs endeavour to negotiate a balance that does not jeopardise their funding or position. ARIs operate whilst remaining vigilant to criteria that could potentially subordinate aesthetic judgement to political judgement. They employ a sophisticated repertoire of strategies of resistance to safeguard them from being subsumed within a formal embrace and protect ARIs' ability to retain their critical potential thus avoiding administrative

³⁸ Embassy also receives funding from Edinburgh College of Art Trustees, and received the Young Scot Award. They are also supported by annual membership subscriptions.

pitfalls, which caused many of the first-wave ARIs to either stagnate, dissolve or be subsumed. In place of direct confrontation, artists increasingly commune with funding administrators. Kate Owens describes a situation whereby there is an understanding that the arcane guidelines laid down by the SAC were irreconcilable with ARI's innovative activities:

The Scottish Arts Council only fund our projects and we apply for each exhibition, we don't have any core funding at the start. I have just been typing up a report and they ask you how the project benefited the public, your sector, you and your organisation. We tell them what they want to hear and they're happy with that. I think they have an understanding of that, I think that Wendy Law³⁹ does, she knows that she has to help us get money (Owens, K. 2006).

Contemporary artists are certainly politically aware, albeit in a quieter and more personal way than they were twenty or so years ago. This is necessitated by the fact that the funding situation has become increasingly difficult as artists and ARIs are being expected to do more for their money. Funding often comes with ideological and economic strings attached, with requirements for galleries to put interpretive material on the wall to fulfil social inclusion or education remits, for example. There are inherent risks of following funding agendas rather than fulfilling creative criteria as invariably this can lead to raising money rather than standards and expectations. Artists continue to spend an inordinate amount of time on funding applications and competition obviously comes into play that may fracture what had been an integrated network of co-operation and support. The desire for a position of financial stability, together with the inadequate funding available from Creative Scotland, inevitably leads to a desire to be independent of public money and free from Government's quango endorsement. Furthermore, this position becomes more pertinent when Lottery funded superstructures attempt to professionalize ARIs. However, private funding comes with its own innate agendas since artistic and commercial values are not necessarily synonymous. Private sponsors are eager to invest in exchange for the credibility they may gain but usually with the stipulation that corporate material is displayed that would invariably

³⁹ Wendy Law, then Visual Arts Officer at the Scottish Arts Council.

interfere with the work and threaten the integrity of the gallery. Contrary to this there is of course the argument for ARIs remaining small and surviving on a low/no budget. This suggests that by cutting out the middleman not only are ARIs free to produce their work in terms of content, form and display but that this is the advantage of them because despite the struggle more interesting work comes out of it. This is by no means intended to propagate the age-old myth that claims that art can only be produced by half-starved artists shivering in leaky garrets.

Embassy's broad overall artistic programme from its inception has been intrinsically bound with its selection process, insomuch as there is no specific manifesto. However, the founding committee could be seen to have had a more cohesive faux neoclassical aesthetic that was fashioned around the constituents of Scottish identity, with regards to the moniker of the nation's capital Edinburgh as the Athens of the North. Admittedly, this was evident more so in the marketing than in the curation. That said, their publicity material and the branding of Embassy reflected an aesthetic thread that runs through the founding members' own artistic practice. This culminated in an exhibition in 2006, *Young Athenians*, in the RSA.⁴⁰ This was a group show of artists from Edinburgh, curated by Tommy Grace, Jenny Hogarth and Kim Coleman, three of the founding committee.

⁴⁰ The RSA also exhibited work from Glasgow's Market, Aberdeen's Limousine Bull and Dundee's Generator Projects, in tandem with *Young Athenians*.

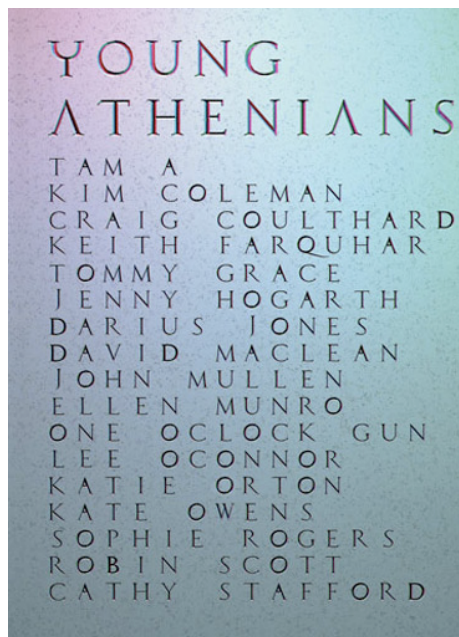


Fig.27. Young Athenians publicity poster designed by Embassy founding member, Tommy Grace.

Young Athenians was comprised of artists who had exhibited or been associated with Embassy since its inception. As one of the curators, Tommy Grace, described:

Young Athenians is a major group exhibition showcasing, in context, a peer group of artists whose work has developed in Edinburgh from grassroots over the past five years. Referring to Edinburgh as the Athens of the North, Young Athenians attempts to stress themes and styles prevalent in the work of artists currently living and working in Edinburgh (Grace, T. 2007).

The Young Athenians' work was connected primarily by a utopian neoclassical sensibility as well as an interest in ritual, myth and heraldry. The exhibition was hosted in William Playfair's⁴¹ RSA building, the archetype of the neoclassical style in Edinburgh, and attempted to use Edinburgh's classical inheritance as a means of deconstructing the stereotype. As Catriona Black noted in her review of Young Athenians:

With a twinkle in their eye, the Young Athenians play around with neoclassical ornament, pastiching the pastiches of the 19th century. They relish the naughtiness of being where they shouldn't, thumbing their noses at the seriousness of it all (Black, C. 2006).

⁴¹ William Henry Playfair (1790-1857) was one of the greatest Scottish architects of the 19th century, and designed many of Edinburgh's neo-classical landmarks in the New Town.

The staging of this exhibition in the RSA, “the bastion of conservatism” (Thompson, S. 2006. p. 140) had attendant ideological underpinnings in terms of ARIs’ institutional critique with relation to the authority, prestige and status of the RSA being challenged. However, Black stated that Young Athenians did not “present any real threat to the status quo” and suggested that:

Perhaps, after all, they don’t want to upset the status quo. What they really want, like the frustrated artists of the late 18th century, is to be accorded their place in Edinburgh’s intellectual continuum. (Black, C. 2006).

In an article, entitled *Establishing Emerging Art*, Isla Leaver-Yap considers Young Athenians and the concurrent Scottish Collectives exhibitions at the RSA and calls attention to what she calls:

A puzzling dichotomy, the behemoth establishment embracing supposedly maverick galleries that have, in participating in the RSA collaboration, admitted to certain willingness to add a bit of institutionalism to their usual dissent (Leaver-Yap, I. 2006. p. 89).

Leaver-Yap goes on to suggest that:

Whether these young galleries are jumping the railings of the RSA is simply raising the critical bar – this institutional showcase might indeed kill off the context within which the artworks tend to thrive (Leaver-Yap, I. 2006. p. 89).

Fully aware of the accompanying contradictions and the historical baggage, Jenny Hogarth, founding member of Embassy and one of the curators and exhibitors, dismissed obtuse insinuations that they were joining the establishment, yet contradictorily neither did she lay any claims to them asserting a revolt or razing the academy:

The RSA is a traditional, stuffy institution. Young Athenians reacts to this, and the conservative nature of many of Edinburgh’s art galleries and institutions. Just because a project is artist-run doesn’t make it liberal or avant-garde (Bain, A. 2006).

Hogarth’s statement underpins the subtle interplay of power relations that both Embassy and the RSA were engaged in. Ideologically this would seem to suggest both a non-oppositional and non-teleological stance that self-consciously acknowledged the double bind of a ‘them and us’ situation. However, rather than being absorbed by the RSA, Young Athenians

employed a critical analysis of the RSA in order to understand the limits and possibilities of it with the intention of using these contexts for their own purpose and encouraging the RSA to temporarily facilitate them. In this sense Young Athenians exemplified an exploitation of the established institution for the exhibitions' own purpose rather than an overt criticism of the context.

Through its various manifestations of co-directors, Embassy has endeavoured to curate a diverse exhibition programme at the gallery. This has been achieved, not always successfully, both through the specialisation of individual committee members who actively seek interesting artists, and through considering proposals from open submissions.

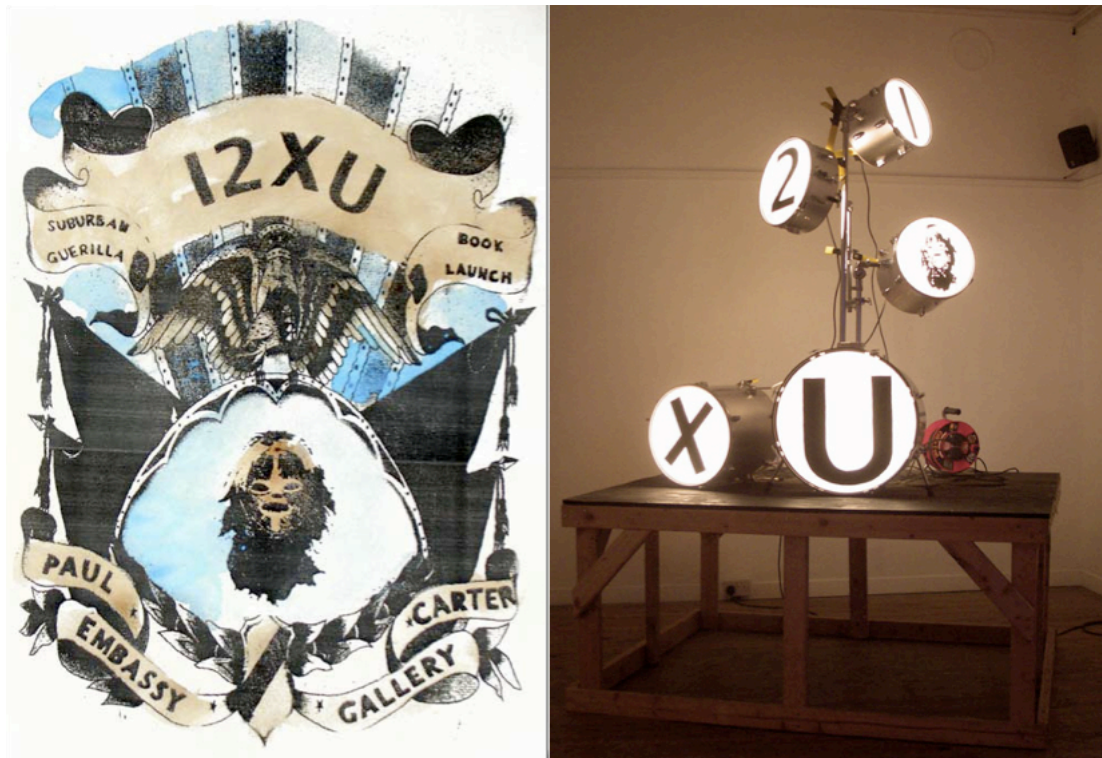


Fig.28. Paul Carter exhibition poster
Fig.29. Installation of 12XU in Embassy (2006)

Embassy exhibits the work of emerging artists and also that of more established artists and the differential boundaries are not always clear. In part this is a deliberate strategy towards encouraging discussion and comparison between artists at different stages of their careers, with a view to

show that creative development is a continuous and wide-ranging progression. For example, the first Embassy committee curated a solo show by Paul Carter,⁴² I2XU, in 2006. Notably, Carter had held a solo exhibition of his work, *The Edge of Darkness*, three years previously at the established Fruitmarket Gallery. However, Carter's I2XU exhibition was a manifestation of the reciprocal investment that Embassy has in artists and vice versa. This demonstrates Bourdieu's exchange of capital where the artworks take on a mediating role in the social process in a relational transaction (Bourdieu, P. 1977). Within this system of exchange the increasing commodification of art is contested, which consequently impacts on the socio-cultural conditions of art production. This exchange also reiterates the fact that artists generally do not exclude ARIs over established institutions, because an exhibition in an artist-run gallery at any stage of an artists' career is crucial in terms of peer validation. The programming of Carter's exhibition at Embassy was significant because Carter, at that time, taught at ECA and as such had mentored a number of Embassy committee members both formally and informally. The exhibition demonstrated a deliberate validation from both parties and, in Giddens' terms, reveals a cyclisation of influence and interaction. Giddens roots this form of mutual and circular causality and recursivity in the praxis of motivation, knowledge and reflexivity. Therefore providing a theory that combines structure and agency by explaining how structures and art scenes are reconstituted (Giddens, A. 1984).

Embassy has maintained its stance of providing exhibition opportunities to recent graduates, for example CUT / PASTE graduates show (2009) and *Wayout is the Wayout* (2009). Embassy also recognise that it is important to show the work of more established artists who have not been given warranted exposure in Scotland. The second Embassy committee consciously advanced this agenda with an exhibition pairing together Alasdair Gray and Stuart Murray in 2006. Gray graduated in Design and Mural Decoration from

⁴² Scottish artist, Paul Carter (4 March 1970 - 12 August 2006) was a student at Edinburgh College of Art (1989-93), (where he later taught), and Glasgow School of Art (1993-95).

GSA in 1957⁴³ and Murray also graduated from GSA some forty-four years later in 2001. One of the intentions and benefits of such cross-generational exhibitions is that they present various stages of practice development, as artists develop, influence and are influenced.

The Annuale

Additionally, Embassy is significant in its contribution to the strengthening of Scottish art infrastructures because it established and coordinates the Annuale. The Annuale is a month-long festival that promotes grassroots activities throughout Edinburgh and aims to change the way the relationship between art practices, institutions, localities and social relations are understood. The Annuale was established in Edinburgh in 2004 as a means to reconceptualise what biennials mean for a city's artists and constituents. The Annuale was intended as a retort to the "multitude of high-budget, high-profile international biennials - which increasingly fill the calendar and that pay lip service to site-specificity and inclusiveness whilst promoting broadly the same band of well-travelled artists" (Annuale. 2009). The Annuale was proposed as a means to subvert these global biennials with a local annual festival and to critique the homogenising of investment-driven biennials and the prioritisation of public funding towards institutional representation at spectacles, such as the European Capital of Culture or the Venice Biennale. Art writer Jack Mottram stated that the Annuale "reverses the standard practice of the rest of the festivals, showcasing local talent instead of importing it" (Mottram, J. 2006a). In swapping the role of international host, the agglomerative nature of the Annuale is conceived of as a clarion call to

⁴³ Gray has painted seven large murals in public buildings (two of them in a church and synagogue since demolished) and is working on a long-term scheme of decoration in a Glasgow venue, the Oran Mor. His art is chiefly known through twenty-three books designed or illustrated since 1975, nineteen written by himself. Embassy's exhibition was a selection of paintings from 1951 to 2006, most of them lent by private owners. This was his most comprehensive exhibition since 1986, and led to him being represented by Glasgow commercial gallery Sorcha Dallas. Although Sorcha Dallas gallery space closed in October 2011 Dallas continues to represent Alasdair Gray.

unite Edinburgh's ARIs to champion grassroots operations and offer them a platform for greater visibility:

Unlike its fellow festivals, or the big bucks Biennales across the world, though, the *Annuale* does not aim to draw the best of the world's talent to Edinburgh, preferring to reverse the rubric and present local art to an international audience (Mottram, J. 2006b).

In coordinating the *Annuale*, Embassy have taken responsibility for facilitating links between Edinburgh's ARIs and practitioners and, inadvertently, for encoding these relations. Significantly, Embassy does not curate the *Annuale* in the conventional sense of the term. An open call for submissions is made, together with a commitment to support participants, provided that support is not financial. In providing a platform for artists from where they can independently showcase their work, the *Annuale* not only avoids the rigorous process of selecting artists or an imposed thematic continuity, but it also maintains a clear commitment to artistic plurality. However, it is also notable that the characterization of the *Annuale* as a democratized forum for unencumbered display may in actuality either propagate the low/no budget condition of artist-run projects or is reliant upon artists and ARIs that have the resources and financial ability to participate.

Fundamentally, the *Annuale* was initiated to acknowledge the contribution that ARIs make to the infrastructure of the city, insomuch as it "creates a loose association between artist-run activities extant in the city all year round" (*Annuale*. 2009). Clearly most residents and visitors to the city would be aware of the established institutions and even the commercial galleries, however the profile of the ARIs remains in their shadows. There is an element of contradiction here regarding a naïve notion of inclusivity. Often the tension that exists between the centre and the margins, between established institutions and ARIs, is purposefully maintained as a means of resistance. For instance, Embassy openly resists the grand(er) narrative of the

Edinburgh Art Festival (EAF), which co-incidentally was piloted in 2004. The *Annuale* was predictably misrepresented as being adjunct to the EAF⁴⁴:

Every gallery in Edinburgh pulls the stops out in August. Last year, for the first time, the main city galleries publicised their shows together under the banner of the Art Festival. Not to be outdone, the artist-run initiatives got together under their own banner, the *Annuale*. The title was ironic, a good-humoured nod towards the great Biennales of the contemporary art world. But the *Annuale* has gone from strength to strength and has returned this year with an elegant printed programme and its own website, taking in a month of exhibitions, performance events, film screenings and publication launches. So the official Art Festival has its own thriving Fringe (Mansfield, S. 2005).

Although listed as a series of fringe events to the EAF in 2004, the *Annuale* was conceived of independently and received no financial or organisational support from the EAF. In 2005 Embassy received funding from the SAC to produce a catalogue of the contributing ARIs and events in the *Annuale*. Committee member Kim Coleman was keen to assert that they had no connection to the official EAF and that the *Annuale* was by no means the supporting act:

I saw it in that Herald review that they had said something like the *Annuale* and the Edinburgh Arts Festival started at the same time and all of the artist-run galleries got together and are showing their own thing and it isn't like that. And also it wasn't done with awareness or an interest in the Edinburgh Arts Festival, it wasn't done to make a Fringe to the Edinburgh Arts Festival at all, we weren't even aware of it last year, it has nothing to do with us (Coleman, K. 2006).

In the intervening years since its inception the *Annuale* has distanced itself from the EAF by purposefully shifting its dates from August to June and thus avoiding positing the *Annuale* as an awkward 'Other'. In 2009 the *Annuale* "moved outside the clamour of the busy festival period in order to clarify its core position as a yearly snap-shot of Edinburgh's low budget, self-managed artistic activity" (*Annuale*. 2009). However, Embassy can be seen to be complicit in the festivalisation of cultural production, which

⁴⁴ Endeavouring to create a specific visual Arts festival the Edinburgh Arts Festival launched in 2004 as the official arts representation during the festival month of August. Supported by the Scottish Arts Council, The British Arts Council, and The City of Edinburgh Council all in all over thirty gallery spaces were represented including The Fruitmarket Gallery, the Royal Scottish Academy, and WASPS Patriohtall Gallery.

increasingly dictates the conditions for art practice. In addition to the EAF, Glasgow has its own festival of contemporary visual art, the Glasgow International (GI). Inaugurated in 2005, GI was the brainchild of curator Francis McKee, who took up his post at the CCA the following year. GI, although on a larger scale, is akin to the Annuale inasmuch as it grew out of the existing infrastructure in the visual arts in Glasgow, rather than global artists being parachuted in. The programme highlights a number of internationally significant artists who are based in the city and it also supports a range of grassroots activity, highlighting the many emerging artists that Glasgow continues to produce and sustain.

The main differentiation of the Annuale is that, unlike biennales, the EAF or indeed GI, it does not strive for spectacle or to pull in large, mainstream audiences. Generally ARIs do not prioritise fostering inclusion, however Creative Scotland funding comprises remits for audience development and tackling exclusion. Public funding requirements are underpinned by inert policy requirements that value art and artists in terms of their benefits to social welfare and education. This has impacted directly on support for ARIs as well as established institutions.

It is also necessary to consider the difficult relationship between transparency and equity, not least because struggles, conflicts and tensions also exist at grassroots level. Embassy recognised that artist-run activity is interconnected at a practical level, rather than aesthetically, esoterically or conceptually. This admission of competition reveals a lack of an intimate or overt allegiance between ARIs. In this sense the Annuale pays heed to the notion of a grassroots community without boundaries and casts doubt on the prevalence of the purported utopia of co-operation, collaboration and support. Clearly factions exist within these communities. Evidently the situation is considerably much more complex and suggests that competition and collaboration are not mutually exclusive. This approach can be extended in order to empirically analyse competition within the art world. For example, grants are competitive and artists (individual and collaborative)

and organisations compete for funding, students compete for a place in art school, tutors compete for limited art school tutoring positions, artists compete with artists for exhibitions and prizes and they conceal opportunities from their peers as a way to get a heads-up on the capital-driven competition, gallerists compete with gallerists, curators with curators; artists who sell their work compete for the attention of a limited number of collectors who in turn compete with other collectors to acquire the work of artists and so on. As such, the Annuale may proffer an experiential interconnectedness and camaraderie that cannot or does not exist. Fundamentally the Annuale can be considered as a renegotiation of the terms of representation and equitable visibility of extant ARIs in the city. If visibility is a function of exposing and disrupting the established primacy in the art world, the challenge for the Annuale is to create the associated capacities for visibility in its assembly of grassroots artists and ARIs.

Professional Practice

The function of artist-led spaces is pragmatically grounded in the psychology of self-assertion and self-improvement – attributes commonly acquired after the de-education of art school (Dickson, M. 1998, p. 84).

Malcolm Dickson's statement is an acknowledgement that ARIs can be considered as tactical training centres for artists because they represent a privileged space for research, experimentation and presentation. In this regard they are a parallel system to art schools with differing approaches towards training emerging artists, curators and critics. Moreover, ARIs signify a self-starting mind-set, which refuses to wait for recognition or external validation from the cultural gatekeepers (Dickson, M. 1998). ARIs have traditionally enabled artists at the start of their careers to establish their professional practice, as well as offering access to resources and contacts. Dickson's statement also implies that the pedagogies involved in training artists within art schools does not prepare burgeoning artists for the realities of flexible, casualised, (mostly) self-employed work (McRobbie, A. & Forkert,

K. 2009). The synthetic environment of art schools cannot fully expose students to the mechanics of the art world, it would be unreasonable to expect so, as is the expectation that students will transform into professional artists over the duration of their degree studies. Nonetheless, collegial critique is often epitomised by its lack of connection to the real world, a realisation that comes to the fore soon after graduation. Indeed, former Embassy co-director John Harrington reflected on the inadequacies of his ECA education with relation to knowledge transfer, industry-links, placements and so on:

What I have done is become hugely in debt, entirely de-motivated, and completely disillusioned with creative practice in general. I don't really know how or why, perhaps I spent too long thinking that I was here to be educated. But you know, I don't think I was asking too much, I'm aware that what we are training for is a career which requires no specific identifiable skills; earns no money; involves no management structure, employee hierarchy or co-workers; sets no targets; and is entirely free from any form of security or commitments (Harrington, J. A. 2008).

Embassy has endeavoured to address such shortcomings by co-ordinating and presenting a Professional Development Programme at ECA. This comprises a series of professional practice events, which puts an emphasis on the realities of being artists beyond ECA. For example, in 2012 as part of Embassy's Professional Development Programme they delivered lectures and workshops exploring what it means to set up and manage an artist-run space, as well as the roles ARIs play in supporting artists. In return ECA provide some much needed funding towards Embassy's core costs. The Professional Development Programme has been particularly constructive in its focus on inviting contemporary artists such as Keith Farquhar, Torsten Lauschmann, Dave Sherry and Neil Clements to deliver artists' talks to students about their experiences after art school. Significantly Embassy's insertion into ECA can be read as an attempt to reconcile dualisms, as advocated by Giddens' Structuration theory. Giddens' concern is for the engagement of all institutions within plural and overlapping systems and so a stucturationist account projects an art world that is multidimensional (Giddens, A. 1990). Giddens posits the intersections and tensions between

these dimensions, e.g. ECA and Embassy, as creating possibilities for reflexivity and knowledge exchange.



Fig. 30. Embassy's Professional Development Programme posters

Embassy's Professional Development Programme is an instance of how ARIs contribute primarily through the value their input brings to the social field (Bourdieu, P. 1986). By extension, the underlying principle embodied in Embassy's incursion into ECA is that of a profound shift in thinking, away from value creation of tangible assets and towards the management of experience and knowledge sharing. This is aligned with a Post-Marxist view, in terms of artists seizing the methods of distribution and dissemination of their work. This position rejects a top-down teleological world-view and allows for the art world to be considered as an open-system that allows for continuing paradigm shifts.

Another corollary of Embassy's Professional Practice Programme is that it recognises shifting relations that challenge, transform and expand artists' roles in a neoliberal society. For example, as artists have taken on the creation of ARIs or have turned themselves or their practices into institutions, their roles have expanded to encompass the work of a curator, administrator, critic, educator, publicist and so forth. In this sense ARIs are fertile training grounds for many young artists, with a spell on a committee serving as serious work experience for visual arts professionals.

Whilst the majority of artists do not actively promote their own work through the ARIs they are involved in running, their involvement often results in increased visibility of their own practice. ARIs and artists have tended to define themselves in opposition to market values, even if what they produce are saleable objects, which results in a situation whereby artists' practice or cultural production, sits in an ambiguous relationship with that of work and the economy. ARIs act as conduits, which artists move through whilst utilising the paradoxical models of entrepreneurialism and self-determination. ARIs therefore have a complicated relationship with professionalization because it is generally equated with careerist or opportunist tactics. From that position, professionalization is seen as no more than an expansion of the dominant values of capitalism, and as being synonymous with businessification.⁴⁵ With regards to art production this represents a shift from small-scale cottage industry production to an immersion in the cultural industries sector.

There has been some unease that by embracing the processes of professionalization, ARIs have erased their perceived functional and ethical distinctions. This is further complicated by the fact that professionalism may also be considered as recognition by the field. ARIs are regarded as important operations, which hold creative processes above profiteering.

⁴⁵ Since the 1990s the 'businessification' of art has extended most visibly to the realms of curating, that has become a viable and distinguishable career option. It has become established as part of art school education, and this enables institutions to efficiently process works and deliver audiences to exhibitions.

However, it is a misconception to presume that all contemporary ARIs are established to counteract highly individualised art career models, or that they signify a concerted effort to circumnavigate the conventional structures of the art world, as Dave Beech explains:

Consider artist-run spaces. It is clear that a number of artist-run spaces are set up for no other reason than to catch the attention of the market and art's large public institutions in the spirit of entrepreneurial enterprise. Such spaces may be funded and run as independent concerns, but they are in no way ideologically or culturally independent. A stronger brand of independence would entail some substantial divergence from business-as-usual. In fact, we could even go so far as to say that spaces which fail to promote this stronger brand of independence are not artist-run spaces at all; the artists involved are agents for those that they address (Beech, D. 2005, p. 16).

Undoubtedly there exists a motivating facet of self-interest for many artists, yet this does not necessarily deny the original mandate of ARIs, which aims to counter cultural hegemony. In Embassy, for example, claims of profiteering are belied by the fact that, akin to all ARIs, their main source of support is the unpaid time and labour of their committee members. It is therefore important to examine the complex, dialectical and innate relationships that posit around the critical alterity, which arises from the multivalent roles identified and undertaken by these progenitors. This is often overlooked in favour of a triumphalist narrative where the artist is hailed as an unqualified and unsupported multitasker (or the artist as deejay) and the instability and precariousness of ARIs is arbitrarily celebrated. The traditional idea of an artist as a specialist producer has mutated into the concept of cultural workers or 'culturepreneurs'. ARIs are often associated with the term amateur, in opposition to the professionalism and guaranteed authority of established institutions with professional, paid administrators. Yet ARIs can be seen to challenge the art professionals' role as art custodians. From the standpoint of those who value democratic culture this is affirmative, on the other hand it is a position that is also considered problematic, since it contests the roles of the artist, gallery, curator and critic. It is this dissolution of boundaries between defined roles, which has begun to de-legitimise the necessity for dominant and centralised voices. This

theoretical position can be seen as part of a larger project of radical democracy and is one that maintains the governmental mandate of professional, rather than enthusiastic, amateurs. A political motive for the professionalism of the art world is that it contributes to the dismantling of arguments for government subsidy the Arts. This contemporary late capitalist era is characterised by a call for an all round mobilisation of artists' abilities, as the demarcation between professional fields is absorbed by new understandings of the relevance and interconnection of all fields to each other. In *Beyond the Disciplines: Art without Borders* (Gablik, S. 2004) Suzi Gablik discusses the relegation of specialisms and advocates a transdisciplinary approach founded in 'integralism and intersubjectivity', which no longer depends on the primacy of the dealer-collector-critic-curator network, but replaces it with decentralised network structures:

Strategic changes are happening in which the individual artist becomes an integral component of a larger social network. Specialization may still be the most general trend we know, but a significant number of artists have extended artistic activity into social and environmental domains, transcending disciplinary boundaries. Not surprisingly, established institutions have begun to follow suit. The key metaphor here is that of the network, both as a new pattern of organization and as a generative creative force (Gablik, S. 2004).

In an online survey in 2010 the international art periodical *Frieze* asked "Is the art world too professionalised – or not enough?" (Thorne, S. 2009). This discussion is indeed timely because there is an overwhelming consensus that the art world has become more professionalised in recent decades. The *Frieze* discussion recognised that the art world remains hierarchical and operates under tacit codes of conduct, which presuppose that so-called professionals do not make mistakes, whilst taking risks and potentially making mistakes is the currency of progressive art practices and ARIs. If professionalization implies collusion with the established institutions then it is pertinent to ask who benefits from the professionalization of artists and ARIs. The professionalization of the artist, arising as a consequence of ARIs blurring the professional roles inherent in their activities, invariably limits artistic production in that artists take on increased administrative and organisational responsibilities. While the polyvalence of contemporary artists has enriched

established institutions any reciprocity remains subject to debate.

Institutions without enemies

In May 2010 Embassy took part in the Festival for Independents: No Soul For Sale (NSFS) held to commemorate the tenth anniversary of London's Tate Modern.⁴⁶ NSFS congregated seventy international ARIs in Tate Modern's Turbine Hall and was the brainchild of Maurizio Cattelan, Cecilia Alemani and Massimiliano Gioni. The concept of institutions without enemies is an elaboration of Giddens' 'state without enemies' (Giddens, A. 1999) and is demonstrable in examining NSFS. Tate Modern posited itself in the position of an art institution without enemies in claiming to operate as facilitators for the construction of a critique of the establishment. However, Tate Modern's hospitality obscured the underlying economic disparities and antagonisms that exist within the art world, since all art institutions are beset by a range of uncertainties and conflicting demands. A productive discussion emerges here from analysing the relationship between ARIs and established institutions, which is not limited to a co-optation of ARIs. Shona McNaughton, Embassy co-director between 2009-2011, recalled that when they were invited to participate that the role of Tate Modern in the proceedings was merely as a venue. The request had come from No Soul For Sale who had described their collective as a grassroots initiative. McNaughton explained that Embassy retrospectively felt hoodwinked by the rhetoric that NSFS employed because it was deliberately conducive to ARIs and she recalled that NSFS stated:

We want to turn the Turbine Hall into a souk, a temporary sprawl of open creativity where we can celebrate the independence and freedom of organizations like yours...we want to turn the Turbine Hall into a site of participation and forced coexistence, a market where nothing will be for sale (McNaughton, S. 2010).

⁴⁶ Tate Modern is a modern art gallery located in London, England. It is Britain's national gallery of international modern art and forms part of the Tate group (together with Tate Britain, Tate Liverpool, Tate St Ives and Tate Online).

This would seem to propose a critique of the idea that the market elides significant debates within the established institutions particularly with regards to the Tate brand, because of its interaction with the commercial sector. Regardless of this rhetoric, there were growing concerns over the objectives and positioning of the whole event in its actuality, caused by the Tate Modern's function in the proceedings. According to McNaughton, participants were uncertain of whether NSFS were colluding with the Tate Modern or colluding with the ARIs, or perhaps they had another strategy? (McNaughton, S. 2010).



Fig. 31. No Soul For Sale, Tate Modern's Turbine Hall (2010)

The role of the NSFS was clearly undetermined and whilst Embassy refute claims of exploitation there is a sense that they felt on display as symbols of artist-run culture and, to an extent, manipulated by the agenda of cultural provocateurs:

On arrival however the NSFS team became a kind of floating unaccountable entity, setting up this ethical conundrum tempting the poor publicity-hungry artist-run initiative with the lure of EXPOSURE. Its title, No Soul For Sale, surely being a knowing tongue in cheek nod to this conundrum or a sincere celebration of the non-commercial? (McNaughton, S. 2010).

Evidently ARIs and established institutions, such as Tate Modern, have been and are evolving at different rates and in different directions. Therefore how can the self-organised and the instrumentalised converge in a manner where the established institution recognises its role as a responsible actor opposed to a mere facilitator? Tate Modern can be seen to proffer a socially acceptable form of institutional, neoliberal hegemony. However, ARIs are not simply to be read as coexistent forms of neoliberalism due to their associations. Neoliberalism supports free markets, free trade and decentralised decision-making. Broadly speaking, neoliberalism seeks to transfer control of the economy from state to the private sector. Retrospectively, the participation of ARIs at NSFS can be read as endemic of the pressures of networking and careerism that ARIs engage in as a survival strategy under the conditions of neoliberal governance.

McNaughton admitted that there was apprehension about participating at the event from a number of the contributors because of the inferred complicity with the established, institutionalised art world. This was manifest mainly in the circulation of emails by the Leeds based ARI, Black Dogs.⁴⁷ They attempted to provoke participants to clearly position themselves in relation to the terms artist-run, not-for-profit or independent:

Perhaps you believe that independent art activity exists in harmony with institutions like the Tate? Maybe you think that autonomous art production is fatally compromised through its associations with the market-led art world? (Black Dogs. 2010).

⁴⁷ Black Dogs describe themselves on their website as follows: "Formed in Leeds in 2003 as a means to conduct artistic activity in the city at a self-organised level, Black Dogs subscribes to a DIY ethos of not-for-profit motivation and ideals of active participation. The group's activity is guided by a commitment to context-responsive, conversation and debate-led working methods and artistic experimentation with modes of life that contribute toward a working alternative to capital-driven society. The free sharing of information, knowledge, skills and experience underpins the actions of the collective as a method by which to encourage collaboration both within the group and with the audiences and public who experience Black Dogs' output. It is the group's aim, through its artistic activity, to understand and facilitate a transformation from a passive-consumer 'society of extras' through to a stronger, more participative form of social organisation." <http://www.black-dogs.org/index.php?/projects/what-is-black-dogs/>

McNaughton regards Embassy's identity to emanate from its model rather than the content of its programming. The programme is ever-changing since it is determined and reconstructed by each new committee:

Embassy is an artist run initiative in the most 'pure' model. It is non-profit, it has rolling committee structure, it is voluntary – there are no paid positions, it has charitable status, it offers membership and is accountable to members by holding Annual General Meetings, and being transparent etc. The Tate is one of the largest institutions in the country. As an artist-run initiative we are at the other end of the scale. In terms of visual art hierarchies, they are at the top and we are at the bottom. We are where an artist starts their career; the Tate is where it ends (McNaughton, S. 2010).

Immediately after the NSFS event an open letter criticising Tate Modern was widely disseminated by an anonymous collective, who described themselves as a discussion group of Arts professionals currently active across the UK, called Making A Living. They challenged the asymmetrical character of the relationship between ARIs and the Tate Modern, claiming that the creative value of ARIs had been discounted. Making A Living contested the contributions of the host institution:

Tate describes this situation as a “spirit of reciprocal generosity between Tate and the contributors”. But at what point does expected generosity become a form of institutional exploitation? Once it becomes endemic within a large publicly funded art space? (Making A Living. 2010)

The participating ARIs received publicity and the CV kudos that accompanies exhibiting at Tate Modern and Embassy recognised and accepted that the potential benefits of the opportunity outweighed the discomfort of exhibiting at Tate Modern:

Embassy gained immeasurably from contact with organisations from all over the country and internationally, who you would ordinarily not have met. This subsequently fed into the Annuale, Embassy's festival of independent practice, with several organisations from all over the UK contributing projects, many facilitated through meetings at NSFS (McNaughton, S. 2010).

On one level, Embassy's participation could be considered as a form of hacking the traditional systems and resources. Therein lies the potential, which invokes the subversive artistic politics that runs through histories of social and cultural organisation. In truth the potential of critical intervention

was seriously circumscribed by the institutional conservatism of Tate Modern. Furthermore, NSFS brought to light the variation of ARIs, together with the problematic notion of a single shared ideology. Different models of organisations were included: some were side projects to established projects, some were vanity projects, some were funded by the state in their home country and some were entirely self-funded, evidently the definition of artist-run was stretched. This is indicative of the exploitation economy that also exists in most biennials, especially more recent, emerging ones or those on the fringes. They increasingly have a porous membrane that outwardly creates little distinction between commercial and non-commercial activities. This provokes the dilemma of how ARIs, with differing principles and vocabularies, can co-generate more equitable, creative and critical infrastructures to support cultural production. Whilst Embassy maintains its directive as a divergent path, McNaughton explained how their participation at NSFS prompted them to assess and reassert their identity and ideological stance:

One of the positive outcomes of the event was a necessary reflection on our position as an artist-run initiative. I think because the kind of ideology that the artist-run was founded on is mostly forgotten or taken for granted, we are somewhat de-politicised. Being put up against representatives of similar models, in a forced comparison, made more apparent our position as Embassy and the values that we represent, and got us thinking about what who we were (McNaughton, S. 2010).

Embassy was therefore intent on confirming their commitment to collaborative processes and non-hierarchical structures, although this is yet to be enshrined in a revised constitution. After their participation at NSFS they decided to (re)define Embassy as not-for profit in the utmost sense of the word, which means it intended to completely disassociate itself entirely from the commercial market. This reassessment of Embassy has been carried over to the present committee who state that “the status of artist-run initiatives is a key conversation at the moment within Embassy, and also in conversations we have shared with Transmission and Generator” (Embassy. 2013).

Whilst it is certainly laudable to challenge the economies of the art world, it also reinforces the idealist convention of artists being dependent on subsidy, which furthermore endangers their sustainability. What this serves to highlight is the limitation of strategies both available and deployed in order to fund artistic endeavours. Increasingly the concept of structures that exist outside the market is no longer tenable. Evidently the motivation for ARIs is not and should not be financial, but it is perhaps inadequate not to confront the fact that the art world is part of the wider economy. Whilst Embassy's stance is manifestly not an apolitical strategy, it may be superficially regarded as an apathetic response to the economic attitudes of the art world. Refusal should not be the only means to assert their integrity because it is possible to circumnavigate the laundering of art money by creating alternative means to self-finance by for example generating income from letting studios. Another example of alternative funding is an artist-run credit league that operates like a ménage and has been actively adopted by a Chicago based collective InCUBATE.⁴⁸

Of course established institutions do not operate without financial investment, a fact that did not go unnoticed by the participants at NSFS. There was tangible resentment towards Tate Modern because the event was projected as being conceived of and supported by them. In actuality the participants had to pay their own way, thus leaving them out of pocket whilst Tate Modern no doubt benefited through increased audiences and retail revenues. This can be considered to further propagate the myth that it

⁴⁸ InCUBATE (*The Institute for Community Understanding Between Art and the Everyday*) is an experimental research institute and residency program that develops alternative arts funding models and promotes art administration as a creative practice. InCUBATE supports non-conventional cultural institutions such as ARIs, which operate outside the traditional funding models used by commercial galleries and the non-profit sector. InCUBATE initiated the Artist Run Credit League (ARCL) which is a rotating credit association for ARIs in Chicago. The ARCL's format is derived from the tanda, a practice involving a core of participants who agree to make regular contributions to a fund, which is then given to each contributor in rotation. It acts as a collective savings account and micro-credit line, based on a mutual trust and a shared faith in the value of keeping the community networked. (InCUBATE. n.d.)

is a positive thing for emerging artists to struggle. Thus, how does Tate Modern's claim of reciprocity stand up to scrutiny? On one hand, art world relationships that involve exchanges of benefits are clearly not transactional in the terms encountered in the marketplace. On the other there is a danger of uncritically celebrating participation under the concomitant expectation of unremunerated work (analogies to recent challenges to unpaid internships are evident). Clearly it is disingenuous for Tate Modern to claim that their position is comparable to grassroots activities that depend on reciprocal generosity for sustenance. Making A Living's letter also condemned the event for proliferating outmoded assumptions surrounding artists:

The title No Soul For Sale re-enforces deeply reductive stereotypes about the artist and art production. With its romantic connotations of the soulful artist, who makes art from inner necessity without thought of recompense, No Soul For Sale implies that as artists we should expect to work for free and that it is acceptable to forego the right to be paid for our labour (Making A Living. 2010).

The fundamental issue is more complex than Tate Modern's lack of remuneration to the participants.⁴⁹ Clearly a discrepancy exists that reveals the culture of hierarchy that is embedded in the art world. For example, established artists and visiting speakers at Tate Modern receive either a fee, travel expenses and/or accommodation costs. However, in the case of NSFS, Tate Modern were continuing the tacit acceptance of artist practice as unpaid labour, rather they should have measured the financial viability of the event with, at least, the incorporation of reimbursing the participants' costs. Comparable to the budgets that the participants operate on, Tate Modern's exhibition budget is large enough to reimburse *and* remunerate them. It is evident, however, that distinct from not-for profit organisations and ethical institutions, Tate Modern was unable to differentiate between profiteering and the reimbursement of costs.

⁴⁹ The cost to Embassy for attending NSFS was £3181.43. This included accommodation for four in a youth hostel, return train fares between Edinburgh and London, daily public transport costs and equipment rental. Cost supplied by Embassy.

On the whole, the premise, manifestation and subsequent discontent surrounding NSFS revisited debates about the potential of oppositional practices such as ARIs. It highlighted the ease by which divergence is accommodated and/or marginalised by prevailing systems. This position would seem to support a rejection of ideological formations that fetishize interactions with established institutions on the basis that ARIs are subsumed and resultantly reinforce the established institution's position. Fundamentally, it could be argued that established institutions exist to perpetuate themselves and this is yet another instance of them co-opting dissent by inviting it in. Counter to this evidence, which demonstrates the ability of established institutional systems to subsume and harness radical tactics into new forms of control, is the charge that the ARIs were compliant in their part. Instead, the ARIs could have worked within the paradox of institutional critique by simultaneously enhancing their reputation and that of Tate Modern, whilst actively raising questions about the power relations. The participants' mutual dissent was galvanised in a petition criticising the perceived lack of support. Paradoxically this critique was only subsequent to the event itself, so it was inadvertently through NSFS and Tate Modern that ARIs were actually congregated to marshal their dissent. Prior to NSFS the invited ARIs could have collectively considered how the relations involved in the event could have been formalised to ensure that their interests were safeguarded. Potentially the solution may have been to organise an alternative event, which was independent of Tate Modern, since any critique of established institutional values was irredeemably complicit as the ARIs were turned into new forms of spectacle.



Fig.32. Parade: Public Modes of Assembly and Forms of Address

Significantly, a concurrent event was occurring during NSFS that demonstrated the latent potential that was embedded in the original intention to occupy the Turbine Hall as an agora. Parade: Public Modes of Assembly and Forms of Address,⁵⁰ was a project undertaken by a cluster of artists, researchers, and academics that operate under the banner of Critical Practice at Chelsea College of Art and Design. Parade was a participatory event that extended Critical Practice's investigation into art, public goods, spaces, services and knowledge. It was a programme of events held in a temporary structure intended to replicate an agora or souk. With an assembly of international contributors Parade explored diverse and contested conceptions of public spaces. One of the organisers and contributors, Neil Cummings, described the purpose of Parade:

Parade challenged the lazy, institutionalised model of knowledge transfer - in which amplified 'experts' speak at a passive audience. Our modes of assembly, our forms of address and the knowledge we share are intimately bound (Cummings, N. 2010).

⁵⁰ Parade took place in London in May 2010 at Chelsea College of Art and Design, a constituent college of the University of the Arts London.

This sets a more cohesive and critical precedent than what NSFS achieved. With regards to adopting an alternative strategy Lars Ramberg, contributor to the 1999 symposia *Changing the System?*, articulated an applicable analogy regarding issues relating to cultural circulation, as opposed to production:

A new understanding of how art is presented and communicated may possibly lead to a compensation system along the lines of what is found, for example, in the music business. Since many artists do not produce 'goods' in keeping with the industrial norm, a comparison with musician or composers is perhaps relevant. A musician or band is not expected to sell an original work at a concert. Rather, one pays for an experience without needing to own the rights. This is already the case for museums, particularly with major exhibitions. Yet the conservative view linked to the selling of commodities remains from the time when everyone made paintings or prints (Nacking, A. 1999, p. 84).

On one hand this suggests an addition to the insufficient options of the market and governmental support/subsidies. On the other, it highlights the variable and tacit rules implicit in the visual art world compared to music, theatre and film where artists are generally paid for the time they devote to projects.



Fig.33. Embassy's installation of *Broadcast Yourself* at *No Soul for Sale* (2010)

At NSFS, Embassy exhibited an elaboration of a recent project, *Broadcast Yourself* that presented artist-selected YouTube videos on monitors alongside a selection of publications. Embassy had contemplated presenting videos from Tate Modern's collection, sourced illegally from the Internet. Retrospectively the committee recognised that they could and should have exploited the opportunity and actively challenged the inherent contradictions faced by exhibiting at Tate Modern. Another of the participants, FormContent,⁵¹ demonstrated the undercurrent of subversion by challenging the Tate Modern's curatorial activities. FormContent endeavoured to negotiate the situation created by the perception of Tate Modern taking ownership of the NSFS event and therefore sanctifying the ARIs. They presented clandestine, alternative tours around Tate Modern's permanent collection. There is a questionable efficacy of such an intervention in altering relations and alleviating their immediate situation, or even ameliorating their conditions. Yet it does illustrate the double bind of ARIs that engage with the established institutions. Furthermore, it reveals a shift from the rebellions of the late 1960s, which aimed to disable the established institutions, towards a reconsideration of the compositional potential of their associations. A corollary of this is that in order to avoid being integrated into cycles of legitimation, ARIs have self-institutionalised (Jakobsen, J. 2006). In part this was due to a realisation that institutional critique had not resulted in established institutions becoming more diverse, instead it ensured the consolidation and concentration of power within an ever-narrowing system.

Ultimately the challenge faced in negotiating established institutional structures can be instigated by rethinking the existing relations and by acknowledging that associations are not stable or fixed. This is exemplary of the New Institutionalism, which emerged in the late 1990s, in that the focus is on developing a sociological view of how institutions interact and how they affect society and culture (Docherty, C. 2004). Clearly the premise of New Institutionalism is significant in terms of the relational capacity of NSFS

⁵¹ FormContent is a non-profit art space founded in 2007 by Francesco Pedraglio, Caterina Riva and Pieternel Vermoortel in London's East End. ⁵¹ FormContent's artistic programme focuses on exploring and challenging curatorial and artistic practices.

and the potentiality of theoretical discourses and social networks emerging from the event. New Institutionalism is differentiated from institutional critique of the 1960s and 1970s, in that it provides a means to analyse institutions beyond the traditional debates centring on economics and exclusion. It allows for critical questioning of the relationships between programming, commercial enterprise, production, display, participation and influence. NSFS demonstrated the implicit paradox whereby established institutions internalise the critique directed toward them by superficially incorporating new structures. After being interpolated by relevant critical opposition they continue to operate under the same rules as before and the critique is recuperated and neutralised. In order to ensure that inclusion is not merely a means to put a positive spin on the neutralisation of opposition Dave Beech advocates 'collaborative independence':

Treating art's existing institutions as contested spaces gains independence by virtue of *doing something else* even if it is in the same space. The first condition of art's independence is not art's isolation but its re-occupation of the cultural field, whether that be in setting up alternative spaces or by doing alternative things in existing spaces (Beech, D. 2006).

The word independent indicates an autonomy that does not correspond to the actual working conditions of ARIs. Both ARIs and established institutions are dependent on a wide range of external support, including professional and social networks and financial collaborators. However, in examining the insertion of ARIs into established cultural institutions, such as in NSFS, it is important to recognise that it is necessary to accommodate the expression of conflicting interests and values (Mouffe, C. 1998). From a contemporary perspective ARIs are not necessarily engaged in institutional critique and as such do not automatically situate themselves as a radical alternative. To do so would be to misrepresent ARIs' principled practices as having no content other than the negation of the established institutions. Moving beyond critiques that see absorption of ARIs as merely co-option, debate shifts towards decentralised practices that are dependent on negotiation.

The Art of Not Being Governed

Independence, resistance and dissent have to be manufactured. Flight from trouble is not always an effective technique for generating radical independence. Establishing a physical distance from the existing institutions often turns out to be a red herring, failing to guarantee independence in a fuller sense (Beech, D. 2006).

As the above statement from Beech suggests, it is a timely debate to consider how independent positions are defined in the contemporary art world. The term independence when related to art practice and presentation indicates autonomy from existing organisational paradigms. However, it is a rather spurious term since it is increasingly difficult and irrelevant to maintain an independent position from, for example, public or private capital. The fundamental point of independent galleries is that their programming is not determined from above. In this sense they can be considered independent in a comparable sense to the freedom of the press, in that they can assert an editorial stance, that is to say their direction and philosophy. Fundamentally, staking an effective independent position has become increasingly difficult in an interconnected system that valorises contingent relations, flexibility and co-operation over singularity. Independence is associated with theories and reference points that are no longer significant; it is no longer synonymous with alternative or not-for-profit since both self-organised projects and established institutions depend on a wide range of complex support systems, ranging from funding to networking. Artists and ARIs possess an awareness of hierarchies as a result of dependencies on the existing systems of mediators, cultural agencies and established institutions. ARIs engender a degree of emancipation but this does not necessarily constitute independence. Levels of support, financial or otherwise, establish relationships of dependency and interdependency.

When artists take on the management and constraints that come with running an ARI they are faced with the structural realities. The initial momentum of spontaneous self-determination of an ARI is redirected towards a level of bureaucratisation by arts funding applications that demand a written constitution, bookkeeping and so on. On the other hand

self-organisation is often lamented and considered a failure as it is argued that self-organisation produces inconsistent results and therefore the state should administer control. There is, however, an intermediate position, a mixture of self-organisation and administrative command characteristics. In essence the aim is to implement a reciprocal system rather than imposing a common purpose, by allowing connections to form within the internal logic of the system. ARIs have the capacity to grow and diversify, such as with the (New) 57 Gallery, Forebank/Seagate and the Third Eye Centre. However, as evidenced, the complex discovery process of the ARIs that relied on local knowledge and insight was ultimately compromised by the time they reached their current incarnations as the Fruitmarket Gallery, DCA and the CCA. As ARIs they existed precisely to support and promote the arts and significantly what was engendered in their decentralised position was the use of abstract rules rather than policy directives. The key is for a framework with a feedback loop that comprises ARIs and established institutions, which helps to co-ordinate artists and actions within the art world. In essence this refers to a reciprocal relationship that is neither limited to discussions of a co-optation by the established institutions, nor to a simple redistribution of resources.

ARIs may well orient themselves in self-organised complexities but the art world is still acutely governed; in fact on closer inspection self-organised systems are themselves rule-governed and interact with wider cultural and economic conditions. This suggests that the mechanism for cultural inheritance is not replication but transformation. So, given that mutation is the default case in processes of cultural diffusion the stasis of established institutions is untenable in a globalised cultural landscape. Individual decisions are both simultaneous and aggregate over time, so generations of ARIs replicate the basic structure. Even as the individuals and initiatives change they constitute patterns over time. However these accumulative, self-organised complexities interact with engineered organised complexities that interrupt these patterns. For the self-organisation of local interactions to productively create a macroscopic structure, additional conditions need to be

met. Fundamentally, interconnectivity must be facilitated across the different scales, that is from ARIs to established institutions. This feedback creates a circular system of dynamics where resources and relations become locked in reciprocal exchange. By extension it follows that where this mutual relationship between the actions of the ARIs and established institutions exists, that the conditions for new phenomena can emerge, in other words deterritorialisation creates its own cultural space. Clearly then, the empowerment of self-organisation is not posited on independence or creating a position that is somehow deemed to be external. On the contrary, it is about consolidating relationships with the established institutions through interdependence. It is at these interfaces that nodal points emerge where a reciprocal relationship that is not based on antimony can find ways to work critically. Such a holistic view also conceptualises the interaction and feedback between culture and the economy. Bourdieu defines these integrative systems where the relevant cultural and economic variables are accounted for simultaneously as 'cultural value' and the related term 'cultural capital'. It is also relevant to acknowledge the dynamic interaction between planning and spontaneity. ARIs' structures enable their transformations e.g. a rolling committee. Distinct from ARIs, established institutions resist increased rates of organisational change, however, this is an increasingly untenable position in a globalised world.

Chapter 6: Centre of Attention

The centre/periphery model assumes the existence of a central core of cities, which produce and maintain the development of an art economy that is determined by market forces in terms of production, distribution, consumption and exchange. In this context the global art economy can be observed through the relationships between the art centres and the subordinate peripherals. In terms of the art market, Scotland can be marked as peripheral to London with regards to the commodity chain that envisages a centre/periphery structure between producers and consumers. This situation has prompted commercially viable artists such as Christine Borland, Callum Innes and Alan Michael to have a London gallery in addition to their Scottish counterpart as a prerequisite to gaining greater international commercial attention. However, Scotland's positioning in the art market cannot be attributed to deterministic processes, insomuch as it was not an automatic outcome of natural processes, yet neither was it simply defined by external forces. The situation is the accumulative result of deliberate choices that were guided by specific motives and interests. Private patronage and commercial gallery endorsement were actively circumnavigated in Scotland to a great extent from the mid 1980s, when a high proportion of art produced was geared towards addressing a public audience. This was exemplified by practices that were more concerned with environmental display, such as site-specific work, which can be deemed to be an iconoclastic choice to reject the commercialism of the commercial gallery system.

As stated, in the UK the concentration of market power is categorically in London, where commercial art activities are manifest in the profusion of private dealerships, galleries and art fairs. In terms of commercial galleries Scotland has historically had an extremely conservative art market, which is also reflected in the nation's museums and private collections. However, since the 1990s there has been evidence of a gradual change in the attitude to the contemporary art market with a growing cohort of artist-curators,

curator-critics and dealer-artists emerging. In Glasgow the Modern Institute and Toby Webster Ltd, Mary Mary and Sorcha Dallas established themselves, and in Edinburgh, doggerfisher, and The Ingleby Galley emerged in the contemporary commercial scene. That said, the commercial art economy in Scotland remains negligible with both doggerfisher and Sorcha Dallas closing their doors in 2010 and 2011 respectively. However, in Scotland artists and galleries are of course implicated and bound by economic systems, irrespective of whether they are commercial galleries, museums, not-for profit, privately funded or subsidised by government-directed Arts Councils or Creative Scotland. Historically ARIs have tended not to engage with the art market for fear that commercial forces would sully their integrity. This is because, generally, their principal aim is the desire to offer a viable alternative by providing platforms where less-established and non commercially driven artists can exhibit without the need to rely on the resources of art dealers and commercial galleries. In 2005 the SAC joined the concerted efforts of the UK's Arts Councils⁵² to stimulate business with the introduction of their Own Art scheme, which offers interest-free loans of up to £2,000, to be repaid over ten months, for individual to purchase artworks. This stimulus, by a government public-funding body, was intended to address the irregularity of the local art market, which is very limited in terms of new work.

There is also a distinct absence of art fairs in Scotland, the only contender being the now defunct Glasgow Art Fair. Established in 1996, The Glasgow Art Fair was a Glasgow City Council initiative. Glasgow City Council provided £80,000 annually to the Glasgow Art Fair (Anon. 1999). However, in the years from its inception to its demise in 2010, the Glasgow Art Fair failed to establish itself as a noteworthy date in the ever-expanding international art fair calendar. Indeed, Richard Ingleby, Director of Edinburgh's Ingleby Gallery, identified the major discrepancies between the Glasgow Art Fair and, for example, London's Frieze Art Fair and New York's Armory Show:

⁵² Own Art was been initiated by Art Council England. The Scottish Arts Council became a partner in the scheme in 2005.

For us to be in an art fair anywhere in the world, whether it's Scotland or anywhere else, its got to be of a quality where we feel being involved is going to be the right context for us and our artists...Beyond that its got to be an environment where we will meet interesting people who we wouldn't meet anywhere else. Certainly the Glasgow Art Fair as it exists doesn't meet either of those criteria (Cornwell, T. 2005).

This underlines the fact that a presence at one of the international art fairs is vital for setting up links and alliances since the economy to support artists in Scotland does not exist on a comparable scale.

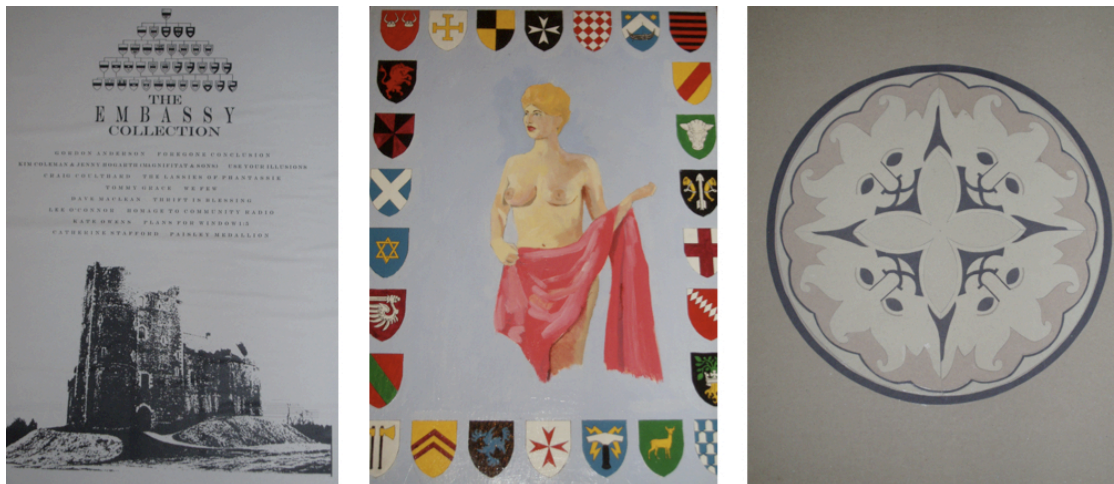


Fig.34. The Embassy Collection: 10 limited edition boxes produced by the committee for *EXTENSION* at Glasgow Art Fair (2004)

In its eighth year the Glasgow Art Fair introduced a separate, hived off tent, *EXTENSION*, to showcase contemporary emergent Scottish and International artists associated with ARIs. Amongst the exhibitors were Aurora, Switchspace, Lapland, Collective, EmergerD, The Changing Room, Volume, Limousine Bull, Embassy, Generator Projects, Glasgow Sculpture Studios and Market Gallery. However, year on year the participation of these galleries diminished as artist-run galleries elected not to associate themselves with an art fair that had become synonymous with staid mediocrity.⁵³ The art critic and historian Duncan MacMillan advanced this accusation in 2010:

⁵³ Barely worth a footnote is Edinburgh Art Fair, established in 2004. It is essentially a platform for Edinburgh's Dundas Street conservative commercial galleries, for instance *The Scottish Gallery*, *The Torrance Gallery*; and *The Open Eye Gallery*, all of which cater to traditionalist tastes. Notably, the group responsible for The Edinburgh Art Fair also coordinates the new Glasgow Art Show.

There were no major London Galleries and not even any significant Edinburgh galleries, except Demarco, and there was an awful lot of "office-furniture art" and some pure kitsch... (MacMillan, D. 2010).

In 2012 The Glasgow Art Show superseded The Glasgow Art Fair. In this new incarnation only fourteen of the forty-plus galleries taking part were based in Scotland. Each of the participating Scottish galleries represented a stable of innocuous corporate-friendly art, including work by Peter Howson and by Guy Portelli, the sculptor who appeared on the entrepreneurial television programme *Dragon's Den*. No ARIs participated. This may also be evidence that ARIs are further retreating away from mandates that view the art worlds' contribution through the mercurial lens of business. Art and business, two seemingly disparate worlds, have become increasingly intertwined to the extent that it has become orthodoxy to consider them as operating together in a very general sense. Indeed business values and the free-market ethos have come to permeate, even dominate, the sphere of the Arts. This instrumentalisation of the art world through the internalisation of corporate values is expressed in the obtusely management-speak ridden rhetoric of the culture industries. Culture has become industrialised as governments have injected the principles of the free-market into public arts agencies. Processes of regulating cultural policies have increasingly become part of the capital apparatus, as art is judged to be a means of releasing capital, since it can be traded from capital. The blurring of the boundaries between public and private has helped to facilitate the emergence of art-corporate relationships. On one hand, corporations have integrated themselves into the infrastructure of the art world by, for example, the funding and organisation of awards and the accumulation of contemporary art collections. On the other hand, large established institutions, such as Tate, operate like global corporations. As such this highlights an important caveat - that global businesses and established institutions can subsume local communities and, by extension, the risk is that established institutions jeopardise local culture and undermine funding for grassroots ARIs.

Devolution not Revolution

Scotland is a microcosmic art world and would appear to possess all the right conditions to be coherent and cohesive, yet it is not. This is largely due to the evolution of a Scottish cultural infrastructure through a process of 'just-in-time' responses, stemming from successive UK Governments lurching from one cultural agenda to the next. Devolution asserted that a piecemeal approach is no longer viable, nor is it acceptable or tenable to work within parameters and agendas set by the centre. That said the Scottish Government has contributed to the acceptance of the concept that cultural infrastructures are an unlimited resource from which the maximum value should be extracted.

Devolution is a bureaucratic concept. Independence is a state of mind (McMillan, D. 1976 pp. 12-13).

As McMillan correctly identifies, devolution is about power, more precisely the transfer of power to make decisions. It is a process of decentralisation in which power and responsibility is moved outwards and downwards. In the Scottish political context devolution refers in particular to the creation in 1999 of the new Parliament. Devolution within the Union came about as a result of a long period of political development and it is an expressed disavowal of centralised power. The creation of the Scottish Parliament was part of a larger policy of devolution instituted by the Labour Government after its election victory in 1997. However, the UK Parliament still has, as a matter of law, the power to legislate for Scotland on devolved as well as reserved matters. Thus, policy in Scotland remains under the authority of central Westminster Government. In truth Scottish Devolution is a means of delegation, of governance being leased without constitution.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, Devolution has diffused political and administrative powers for decision-making and the implementation of cultural policy from Westminster to Holyrood. Significantly, this has formally conferred the power to determine cultural policies, and by extension, for Scotland to compose its own culture, a

⁵⁴ This differs from federalism for example whereby countries within a unitary nation remain independent in internal affairs and a distinction exists between them and central government.

culture constructed from, for instance, aspirations, identifications, lifestyles, politics, imaginaries and beliefs. This is by no means to suggest that the lack of legislative power has historically impeded artists and cultural producers. Scottish Devolution can be understood in the context of what preceded it, namely Scotland's transition from an independent nation, often in rivalry, if not open conflict, with its larger and more powerful southern neighbour, to a component nation within the United Kingdom. In this sense, Scottish Devolution is the political outcome of cultural processes that were part of a wider disintegration of hierarchical domination. This suggests that for the periphery, conventional hierarchical macro-structures are increasingly inadequate.

The concerted and sustained efforts to gain devolution for Scotland indicates that Scotland lacked a voice within the Union and that there was a necessity to re-appropriate a sense of control through localised solutions. A prominent voice within discourses surrounding globalisation and decentralisation is the curator and critic Maria Lind, who postulates that the centre/periphery structure debate remains relevant. Lind's theories are predicated on the idea that liminal zones exist between the centres, against which the peripheries are defined:

It is also said that many smaller centres have replaced the large few: that Glasgow, Copenhagen, Vilnius, Ljubljana and Vancouver have acquired a new importance. This is true, but rather than see it as a paradise of equality, I would retain and reformulate the older paradigm of centre-periphery that makes visible the geopolitical power structure which, despite all, still prevails, not least economically. The fundamental centre-periphery structure remains, but some of the peripheries are less peripheral and the centres are less central – everything has become relative (Lind, M. 2001, p. 30).

As Lind's statement suggests, the centre/periphery debate is persistent, having been widely discussed since the late 20th century, however, it no longer maintains the same ideological import in our globally networked climate of relativisation of universals, creolisation, hybridisation, global migration and nomadism, globalisation of economy and culture and the Internet. This shift is constitutive of a new dynamic of circulation, which is

not constructed by borders but through sustained networks of human inter-relationships. By extension this new dynamic of circulation valorises shared information and advocates the advantages of collaborative working methods. The remit employed for discussing collaboration goes beyond the customary interpretation of two or more people working together in a harmonious interaction, instead it lays claim to a process of reciprocal activation, which metabolizes a dialectical interaction.

ARIs are examples of the dialectical nature of change and flow, exemplifying the subversion of neoliberal conceptions of art and its institutions and production. This is fundamental in interdependent networks more generally as it creates a productive sense of empowerment among the various constituencies via sustained interconnectedness. It should be noted that this reciprocity defines an interdependency that is not monetised, however, the language remains monetised and is therefore loaded with monetary signifiers, such as sweat equity, which implies that there is an expectation of a return on that investment.⁵⁵

Flexibility and variance are the default in dialectical coalitions, for example between ARIs and the SAC/Creative Scotland. However, there is also an inherent instability that accompanies the improvisational working models of ARIs, for example ARI's resourcefulness, or the sweat equity of their enterprising volunteers is often seemingly exploited as a justification for persistent lack of financial assistance. Sweat equity is a term used to describe the contribution made to a project by those who contribute their time and effort and it can be contrasted with financial equity, which is the money contributed towards the project. It follows, then, that it is important to acknowledge the challenges that self-initiated projects provide to the inflexibility of highly rationalised organisational models, such as the SAC/Creative Scotland, which descended from the European Enlightenment, and as such are rooted in categorical thinking. The

⁵⁵ This is related to the concept of the 'gift' as conceptualised by Marcel Mauss (Mauss, M. 1966) as possessing an assumed debt relation, whilst the gift is a potent social binder it is also exploited as a lubricant for a post-industrial economy.

alternative, on the other hand is not categorisable, there are many alternatives. Categories are defined by boundaries and so categorical thinking limits the ability to integrate and combine practices across categories. In other words, a category-based approach to arts funding is a limiting feature because artists' practices can encompass a synthesis of seemingly irreconcilable opposites: professional and amateur, elite and popular culture, tradition and innovation, and the local and the global. Furthermore, this reveals the anxieties of cultural administrators in terms of their lack of control over the increasingly blurred lines between sector divisions of labour that non-hierarchical, collaborative structures of ARIs embody. In ARI structures all participants engage in all segments and aspects of projects, for example the organisation, decision-making processes, and research.

A bifurcated notion of devolution, of Scotland within the UK, but also cultural devolution within Scotland itself, reveals the challenges to internal institutional and cultural hegemonies. In Scotland these shifts of power and permutation of boundaries can be attributed to the doctrine of devolutionism, which advocates the centralisation of strategic control whilst simultaneously devolving tactical responsibilities to the local context. Devolved power highlights the important potential of horizontal interdependencies and makes it increasingly difficult to delineate traditional categories. ARIs advocate overturning the concept of centrally driven, top-down deliveries and replacing them with horizontal distributions of knowledge and practice via self-organisation. In terms of the art world, explorations of notions of decentralisation have been discussed with reference to Scottish artists that allegedly endeavoured to resist artistic centralization.

However, it is important not to propagate a myth of Scottish insularity. Rather the issue is that of maintaining a sustainable infrastructure north of the border. London is part of the international circuit so for Scottish artist to bypass it entirely would be erroneously limiting. In addition to employing

decentralisation as one of the criteria of creativity and participation, it is important to consider the development of cultural and political decentralisation in arts funding within the context of the major shifts in governance since Scottish political Devolution. Since Scotland devolved the arm's length approach to arts funding in Scotland has truncated further, as arts policy was brought closer to Scottish politicians and the arts policy function became more politicised. Early in the history of the Devolved Government Scotland's then First Minister, Jack McConnell, announced his intention to make "the development of our creative drive, our imagination, the next major enterprise for our society".⁵⁶ As Gordon-Nesbitt notes, artists in Scotland have long been dealing with substantive ideas and consideration of their socio-economic context (Gordon-Nesbitt, R. 2008).

As the case studies of Forebank/Seagate, the (New) 57 Gallery and the Third Eye Centre demonstrate, this is not a recent phenomenon. In terms of cultural creativity Scotland's cities have acted as crucibles for innovation, not only in art but also in other disciplines, such as architecture, dance, film, literature, music and design. Having prominently emerged some thirty years ago on the periphery of the main art centres, today Scotland compels recognition in the world of international contemporary art. Globally, it is the political, cultural and postmodern constructs of the 20th century that have challenged and begun to restructure the established centres of power. Framed within the project of globalisation as well as political, economic and cultural decentralisation the attendant shifting of power and the blurring of distinctions between centre/periphery perspectives is underway. The proposition of decentralised forms of organisation in the distribution of power and resources is led by the pursuit of democracy in the art world that stems from a desire for more inclusive decision-making. This necessitates alternative operational solutions based on new forms of funding and new ways of working together that melds the configurations of the various art world structures e.g. ARIs and established institutions. This also suggests that regurgitations of the revolutionary mandates of the 1960s are redundant

⁵⁶ First Minister Jack McConnell, MSP; St Andrew's Day 2003.

and therefore may offer limited potential other than creating a dialectical impasse.

It's not where you come from, it's where you are coming from

One may wonder if this is not advantageous: we can call Scotland a relative centre but it is more of a relative periphery – a place situated geographically on the edge but with constant contact with both other relative peripheries and relative centres. Which at the same time is self-aware and able to make use of the advantage of standing a little to one side (Lind, M. 2001).

As Lind's statement suggests, contemporary artists have increasingly had to contend with the conditions of art under the circumstances of globalisation. Globalisation produces complex systems of linkages within and between the centre and periphery and the global and the local. It is both spatial and synergetic, extending beyond national boundaries and creating social relations across institutional levels. Identity, nationhood and power are being altered by processes of globalisation and, as a result, multi-dimensional debates can be seen in the work of a number of scholars, including Giddens. According to Giddens it is not possible to separate identity, nationhood and power or to give precedence to one over another, rather all these factors must be taken into consideration simultaneously (Giddens, A. 1990). This observed globalised perception is articulated through the anachronistic ideologies of nationhood being relegated as obsolete within the celebrated global village. Yet the nation-state still commands allegiance and influence. As a result it is fundamental to consider the relevance of thinking in terms of national identities in the current integrationist world economy. With regards to national monolithic institutions which seek to express singular ideas of Scottish identity the manner by which cultural selectivity is maintained and contested is significant. For example, it has been demonstrated that until the late 1960s relatively little changed in the chain supply structure, however since then the

roles of artists, critics, curators, producers and consumers have been significantly restructured.

It is also relevant to determine whether cultural identity relates to the idea of nationhood and if so how ARIs and established institutions, cultural policies and art forms project a nation's sense of self. This is from a perspective that culture should not be reified and institutionalised through a series of political prescriptions. It has become commonplace to see globalisation as a homogenising, universalising model which absorbs cultural differences and therefore seemingly rejects them. This is particularly evident in discussions around art biennales:

Biennials produce press releases and catalogues that constantly recycle the same buzzwords, 'exchange', 'dialogue' and 'hybridity' among them. What they don't say is that in the profusion of the biennial these terms become almost meaningless. In Venice, diversity comes across as dispersal, as flattening out (Verhagen, M. 2005. p. 2).

It can also be argued that much of what is considered local or having the nature of the localised or traditional culture and that is put forward as worthy of preserving, is actually based on the same foundations, on the myths of unmediated social relations and cultural essentialism. Whilst globalisation provides a challenge to national identities, decentralisation has been posited as having the capacity to provide an answer for the protection of such identities. This is because decentralisation can pull in different directions; it can act as a check on centralising forces and it can also accommodate divisive tendencies. Globalisation has also contributed to the revival of local cultural identities and can be considered as a prominent motive for Scotland seeking more independence in the UK.

In the decade or so prior to Devolution in 1997, the construction of Scottish identity was being scrutinized as is evident from the publication of seminal texts such as *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (Beverage and Turnbull, 1989) and *Scotland the Brand* (McCrone et al. 1995). These texts were part of a broader exploration of the nuances and the distinct context in which Scottish art practices have been cultivated with relation to identity, nationhood and

power. Significantly, artists rooted and working in Scotland are from diverse origins, from disparate political and aesthetic standpoints, as such it is recognised that identities are never a pre-given but are always the result of processes of identification and are discursively constructed. That is to say, discussions of national identity are always a matter of political myth making.

A purported project of internationalism has inaccurately been accredited to the generation of artists that came out of Glasgow in the early 1990s, including Douglas Gordon and Roderick Buchanan, who were referred to as Neo-Conceptualists. This was namely because their work was deemed to be aiming for an artistic universalism and, as such, an international appeal. However, as Scotland's profile has increasingly become elevated abroad, artists such as Lucy McKenzie, responded to globalising tendencies by demonstrating that they were less concerned with universal themes or aesthetics and instead dealt with the local and the global.

As examinations of the (New) 57 Gallery, Forebank/ Seagate, the Third Eye Centre, the Demarco Gallery and Scottish International testify, artists subsisting in Scotland have consistently responded proactively to the situation of finding themselves in a position subservient to the dominance of a centralised art world. They have simultaneously reacted to the absence of exhibition opportunities that restricted their exposure, both on national and international levels, by initiating their own projects, galleries, workshops and publications. Through their creative self-determination artists have sought to make the marginal more central, rather than see their geographical position as a limiting factor. As McKee states, artists have turned supposed drawbacks to their advantage:

The most radical gesture in contemporary Scottish art may not lie in any one work but in the unspoken collective agreement to dismiss London as the inevitable capital of art in Britain. This may be part of the larger global art movement in which the 'marginal' is now considered as vital as the traditional art centres but has a peculiar resonance in Scotland where the new Executive is still finding its feet (McKee, F. n.d.)

Implied in McKee's statement is the idea that discussions of the peripheral

should also be considered as a self-defined position, which subsequently invokes ideas relating to the prospect of the parochial as a strategy for emphasising unity, identity and difference. This is an approach that is reflective of an attempt to retain a local context whilst simultaneously aiming to access global perspectives. Furthermore, this suggests that Scotland's real and imagined historical identification should be re-placed and repositioned on the map of global capitalism. Admittedly there is perhaps a concomitant need for Scottish artists to identify, name, claim, preserve and disseminate cultural artefacts of specificity in light of overwhelming global realities. However, it is evident that contemporary Scottish artists do not appear to be beholden to the politics of representation that reverberated throughout much of the 1970s. Contemporary artists do not engender the nationalistic fervour and rampant expressions of jingoistic patriotism that MacDiarmid's cohort could be said to have expounded. Instead it is generally recognised that there is potential space for transformation, thus rather than attempting to maintain fixed cultural representations instead they can be challenged and reinvented.

The notion of national identity in Scotland produces a situation full of contradictions. For instance, in terms of artists staying or gravitating to Scotland, outright national identity has been replaced by a group identity. This creates a social capital, in an organic sense, and it is not tied in strict terms to being Scottish in national terms (Bourdieu, P. 1986). It is not a productive objective to frame particular artists or artworks within national boundaries or to impose limitations on their reading by subsuming them into a nationalistic critical agenda; to restrict discussion within a native context would exclude them from the universal rules of criticism and so would result in compounding a historically marginal position.⁵⁷ In considering the critical potentials of ARIs it becomes clear that that there has been a concerted attempt not to cement national identity but to question it. ARIs are not benign agents with altruistic, nationalistic sentiments and interests, which

⁵⁷ This myopic view has been sufficiently covered by, for example Murdo MacDonald (MacDonald, M. 2000) in which he asks: What makes Scottish art Scottish and what are the threads that bind it into a single tradition?

would neither reflect their strengths or potentials, they work internationally and have an international perspective.

Conclusion

Historically, the visibility of ARIs, both in the art world and to the general public, has always been negligible. This is in part due to both the dominance of established institutions, but significantly can also be attributed to the inherently dispersed ownership of ARIs, which means that the associated documentation is particularly vulnerable to being lost, or exists only in the minds of those who experience it. This thesis has provided a genealogy and a critical précis of ARIs in Scotland since the 1960s, which contends that the existence of ARIs is justified by their persistent commitment to their roles as pedagogical hubs and epistemic communities. Furthermore, ARIs have forged strong international networks reaching out of Scotland. Significantly, artists have instigated projects in different times and places, for a myriad of reasons and with diverse desires and needs. However, the determining qualities that emerge are those of a mutual interest in self-determination and the capacity to articulate and facilitate a pace of development and transformation greater than their established counterparts. An analysis of underrepresented and excluded alternatives which confronted, resisted and undermined arbitrary and ideological limitations demonstrates the means by which ARIs have informed and stimulated contemporary practices. By reinstating determinate, historical content and the wider social relations to which artist-run culture in Scotland belongs, this research is intended to stimulate the development of fresh theoretical perspectives through which to think through the potentials of collaborative approaches in the art world.

ARIs continue to be undervalued and overexploited by successive funding bodies, established institutions and governments. This indicates that there is a disjuncture between the neoliberal economic credo, which increasingly determines public sector support of art, and the progressive cultural

practices of ARIs. This is fundamentally because policy-driven inclusion and participation is directed towards secure and measurable outcomes. From this position the focus is on effectiveness, with little regard to content. On the other hand, ARIs promote risk-taking and invest in the speculative potential of artists and their work. In other words, public sector art funders need to align themselves with ARIs in terms of accepting the inability to predetermine the outcomes. This ambivalent process could be addressed through collaboration, which should be understood as being far more than merely acting together because collaboration extends towards a network of interconnected approaches and efforts. From the point of view of ARIs, collaboration is driven by the desire to exchange knowledge independently of (hierarchical) borders and overcome scarcity and equality through direct access to resources. That is not to deny that art structures are organised and that governance emerges whenever there is a deliberate organisation of interactions between individuals. In other words, it is the case that artists have always experienced their labour as individualised and collaborative, competitive and hierarchized, and marginalised and elite.

In envisaging a model of expansion that differs from closed, hierarchical structures I therefore do not assume the complete absence of hierarchy. The issue, then, is whether the tactic that has the greatest potential is to create new structures rather than infiltrating existing structures. This posits the question of whether it is possible to create alternative frameworks beyond the established rules of the art world. The potential to do so lies within the ruptures and breaks that arise within the current systems of relationships, which will allow for the possibilities of hybrid collective-pedagogical-structures. Evidently this necessitates a means to reconcile the contradictory elements of ARIs' counter-tendencies with those of mainstream established institutions and vice versa. This is challenging because both the discursive and the material conditions need to be established in order to structure the potential relational capacity of this reciprocal association. Furthermore, both ARIs and established institutions have a tendency towards defending their respective positions.

Existing exchanges between established institutions and ARIs are constituted by a set of paradoxical relationships and occur as an effect of necessity. That is to say, mutual dependency arises largely through the pursuit of their own agendas. The contradictory nature of formalising these relations is apparent, not least because collaboration occurs in unpredictable ways and defined out of emergent relations. However, it is precisely the working through of such contradictions that will generate a transformative framework. In collaboration with established institutions ARIs would, necessarily, have more than a reformist function and their critical or oppositional possibilities would be assured.

It is the case that established institutions are rewarded for adopting populist programming, which is promulgated by cultural policies via funding remits. The return for established institutions for creating stable expectations is that it embeds them in the art structures as consistent and durable forces. However, whilst this may attract legitimacy it does not necessarily always translate into secured financial support. Therefore the apparent difference between ARIs and established institutions is no longer presented as an intentional provocation. This is because in reality such a simplistic dichotomy does not stand up to scrutiny, since both established institutions and ARIs both engender transformative and/or restrictive practices and structures. In terms of co-operation between ARIs and established institutions what must be taken into account are the implied and stated social relations. One example are the obligations dictated by funding bodies, so implicit in my argument is a case for minimal government interference. The objective would be to establish a hybrid framework for engaging with the pragmatic necessities of ARIs, such as the capacity for innovation, together with the established institutional know-how. In questioning the economy of power the opportunity emerges for a relationship between ARIs and established institutions which does not involve a co-optation of ARIs or merely a redistribution of resources. The combining of the two systems could yield the possibility of cultural and institutional bifurcations. Importantly, the objective is not to force an abstract, arbitrary compromise. Ideally, a

bifurcated conceptual framework would enable each system to evolve along different reinforcing trajectories of both cultural traits and organisational forms.

As the boundaries between the marginal and dominant cultures are blurring, a space between institutionalisation and independence, where negotiated, equitable structures can exist, becomes a distinct possibility. This then necessitates a revision of the conditions that delineate the interaction and involvement between ARIs and established institutions with a view to develop an infrastructure that is credible, transparent and workable. It is of utmost importance that artists' deliberations and their results should inform the making of cultural policy and not vice versa. Currently a discursive division exists between political terms and contemporary art practices. For instance, Scottish art infrastructure is overlaid and underpinned by government policies and funding requirements that increasingly enforce the necessity for artists to be capable of managing multiple strategic agendas. However, what has been revealed is that besides the vertical hierarchies of national culture policies, horizontal networks have emerged. Negotiations with all the agents in the field that facilitate private and public economies of production, mediation and articulation are called for. The subsequent and potential consequences of relational adjustments on, for example, policy, training and the art-market can then be incorporated into the overall infrastructure. In other words, a model that refocuses towards cultural innovation and production rather than on the distribution of culture.

Giddens' structuration theory provides an inductive approach that avoids the deductive angle that is endemic in existing limited discussions of artist-run culture. Structuration is applicable to the grassroots micro-level of ARIs, to the established institutional meso-level and the macro-level of policymakers (Giddens, A. 1984). This is because Giddens' theory of structuration subscribes to interactionist sociology from the premise that there is a constant and profound flow of influences between the participants and their circumstances. This engenders a framework for interaction whereby the interactionist processes in the Scottish art scene are structured

through a series of conflicts, affirmations, negotiations, accommodations, modifications and disputes. For Giddens structure encompasses the patterns of social relations that are visible in the rules and resources that participants interact with and that they actively produce, reproduce and transform.

Furthermore, Giddens recognises that structures both enable and constrain:

Systems' (*Social systems*- refer to reproduced practices) and institutions (Institutions- refer to reproduced rules and resources) do not exist independently of individual activity rather they only exist insofar as they are continually produced and reproduced via the duality of structure (Layder, D. 1997, p. 140).

Taken together these structures constitute the art world, which provides a context within which ARIs and established institutions pursue their objectives. Structures also determine the significance that is assigned to all art institutions and modes of practice at a particular time and in a specific place, in terms of what is produced and disseminated and what is transmitted and approved. In addition, all levels of organisational structures can be considered to reflect their given cultural and governmental circumstances at a particular time. Yet, as Giddens suggests, it is reductive to consider ARIs and established institutions as merely a reflection of a society's artistic infrastructure. This is because they are perpetually developing in response to new, internal and external contingencies and are therefore temporary outcomes of evolving processes through which conventions are sustained, modified, transformed and/or abandoned.

ARIs have emerged as crucial frameworks that exploit a multiplicity of connections by addressing the limits imposed by existing infrastructures through seeking new ways to structurally organise. Furthermore, established institutions are at a crossroads whereby they need to reform and revise the boundaries of their role and remit. The growing realisation is that established institutions must become more complexly collaborative and progressively critical in order to retain or regain a meaningful role. Therefore a framework with no centre, which branches off at various desire lines in directions that are not prescribed by bureaucrats or administrators is proffered. The art infrastructure creates its own needs, however, a transitional framework may

be necessary whereby neither ARIs nor established institutions are accorded special authority or integrity. ARIs can be regarded as a means of augmenting a community of interests through the exchange of ideas related to shared interests and objectives. More generally, artist-run culture expands these allegiances because borders, whether geographical or institutional, do not impound a community of interests.

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Appendix 1

THE 1957 GALLERY ASSOCIATION

CONSTITUTION.

- 1) Name

The name of the Association shall be the 1957 Gallery Association.
- 2) Objects

To exhibit the work of young artists in Scotland and also to foster interest in the arts by exhibiting the work of other artists.
- 3) Membership

Membership is open to all interested in the arts.
- 4) Management

The affairs of the Association shall be administered by a Committee consisting of a Chairman and Six members. The Committee shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting. The Committee shall have the right to appoint a Manager responsible to the Committee, to run the day-to-day affairs of the Association.
- 5) Finance

All monies received by the Treasurer shall be lodged in a bank approved by the Committee, retaining in hand such sums as are considered necessary for current expenses.

Income will be in the form of subscriptions, donations, subsidies and commissions on sales and hiring of works of art. The income of the Association whencesoever derived, shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the objects of the Association as set forth in this Constitution.

The Committee shall determine, according to circumstances, what proportion of the costs of an exhibition shall be paid by the artist.

At the end of each financial year, accounts shall be prepared, audited and submitted to the members at the Annual General Meeting.

In the event of the association being wound up, any remaining assets shall be devoted to an object similar to that of the Association.
- 6) Meetings

There shall be at least one general meeting of the Association each year.
- 7) Subscription

The subscription and the dates on which it is payable shall be fixed at the Annual General Meeting.
- 8) This Constitution with the exception of Clause 5, Finance, can be revised or amended at an Annual General Meeting.

Drawn up by the Committee of the
1957 Gallery Association, March
1958, and approved at a General
Meeting of the Association,

Appendix 2

MEMORANDUM AND ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE NEW 57 GALLERY LIMITED

Memorandum of Association:-

1. The name of the Company - (hereinafter called "the Association") is:- "THE NEW 57 GALLERY LIMITED".
2. The Registered Office of the Association will be situate in Scotland.
3. The Objects for which the Association is established are:-
 - (a)(1) To promote, maintain, improve and advance education particularly by the encouragement of the study, practice and knowledge of the fine arts and to provide for the exhibition of works produced by artists and for the sale of any works and to formulate, prepare and establish schemes therefor provided that all objects of the Association shall be of a charitable nature.
5. The liability of the members is limited.
6. Every member of the Association undertakes to contribute to the assets of the Association, in the event of the same being wound up while he is a member, or within one year after he ceases to be a member, for payment of the debts and liabilities of the Association contracted before he ceases to be a member, and of the costs, charges and expenses of winding-up, and for the adjustment of the rights of the contributories among themselves, such amount as may be required not exceeding one pound.

Articles of Association:-

2. The number of members with which the Association proposes to be registered is unlimited.
6. The Association shall hold a General Meeting in every calendar year.
7. All General Meetings, other than AGM shall be called Extraordinary.
9. Twenty-one days notice should be given of AGMs.

Proceedings at General Meetings.

11. All business shall be deemed special that is transacted at an Extraordinary Meeting and at an AGM.
12. No business shall be transacted unless a quorum is present; if a quorum is not present the meeting shall be adjourned.
14. The Chairman of the Council shall preside at every General Meeting.
16. At all General Meetings a resolution put to the vote of the meeting shall be decided on a show of hands by a majority of the members present unless a poll is demanded.
19. In the case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall be entitled to a second or casting vote.

Votes of Members

21. Every member shall have one vote.
23. Votes may be given on a poll either personally or by proxy.

Council of Management

28. Until otherwise determined by General Meeting, the number of members of the Council shall not be less than five nor more than twelve.
31. No person who is not a member of the Association shall in any circumstances be eligible to hold office as a member of the Council.

Secretary

The Seal

Disqualification of Members of the Council

Rotation of the Members of the Council

39. At the AGM one-third of the members of the Council shall retire from office.
41. The Association may, at the meeting at which a member of the Council retires fill up the vacated office by electing a person thereto and in default the retiring member shall, if offering himself for re-election, be deemed to have been re-elected.

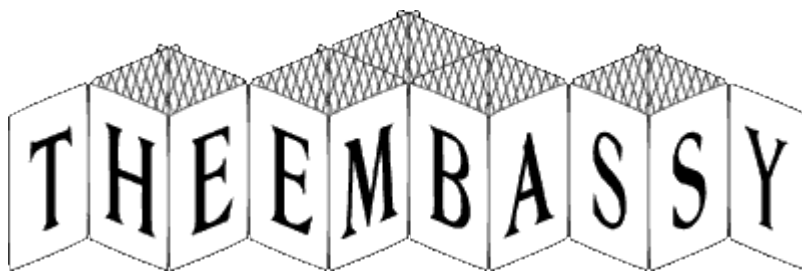
Proceedings of the Council

45. The Council may meet together for the dispatch of business, adjourn and otherwise regulate their meetings as they think fit, and determine the quorum necessary for the transaction of business.
47. The Council shall from time to time elect a Chairman.
51. The Council shall cause proper minutes to be made of all appointment of officers made by the Council and of the proceedings of all meetings of the Association and of the Council.

Accounts

53. The Council shall cause proper books of account to be kept.

Appendix 3



EMBASSY CONSTITUTION

NAME: The name of this association shall be Embassy.

OBJECTIVES: To advance the education of the public generally and in particular the inhabitants of Edinburgh and its environs by securing and maintaining premises for the purpose of presenting the arts in all their forms. In particular the works (in the widest meaning) of persons who under normal circumstances would be denied a platform for expressing their artistic ideas, so long as such ideas expressed through their work are not subversive of all religion and morality.

MEMBERSHIP: Membership shall be open to anyone over 18 years of age who supports the Objectives. Embassy reserves the right to refuse membership by a majority vote of the Committee if there is reasonable doubt surrounding the applicant's support for the Objectives. The applicant in such cases will then have the right of appeal to a General meeting of members. A meeting called for this purpose will require at least 14 days' notice and the applicant must have the support of at least two thirds of the membership present. The decision of such a General Meeting would be final.

GENERAL MEETINGS: An Annual General Meeting (hereinafter AGM) shall be held in September each year. Office bearers will present their reports for the year ending March 31st, at the AGM, the financial reports having been audited. Special General meetings may be called at any time on the request of 10 members to the Secretary. Voting at all General Meetings will be taken on a show of hands and shall be on the basis of one vote per member, a simple majority deciding. The Chairperson of the meeting shall have a deliberative and casting vote. Any member may attend General Meetings, provided they have paid their annual subscription.

COMMITTEE: At the AGM the association will approve a Committee to administer the day-to-day affairs of the association. This Committee shall comprise of a Chairperson, a Secretary, a Treasurer and at least 2, but not more than 4 other ordinary members. The maximum period allotted to

members of the Committee being two terms (2 years). Any casual vacancy arising may be filled by the Committee. The Chairperson will preside at all meetings of the association, and in the event of their absence the Committee or the association, as the case shall be, shall appoint one of their number.

QUORUM: The quorum for the meeting for the association shall be one third of the full members and all Committee Members.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS: The Committee will meet monthly to discuss all aspects of the Gallery's business.

COMMITTEE VOTING: Voting at all meetings of the Committee shall be on show of hands, a simple majority deciding; the Chairperson shall have a deliberative and casting vote.

NOTICES OF MEETINGS: All General Meetings require 14 days' notice. The Chairperson may call an emergency meeting of the Committee. In the event of any member of the Committee being unable to attend a meeting they forfeit their vote.

MINUTES: Minutes shall be kept of all meetings of the association and of the Committee meetings.

RECORDS: Proper books of accounts and copies of official correspondence shall be maintained by the appropriate office bearers and shall be open to inspection by any member at any reasonable time.

AUDITORS: One or two auditors, who shall not be office bearers, shall be appointed for the following year at the AGM and shall have the responsibility for auditing the annual income, expenditure account and balance sheet. They shall also check the books of account at such intervals as they deem appropriate.

CONTRACTS: Contracts shall be signed on behalf of the association by the Chairperson, the Secretary and the Treasurer.

LEGAL RIGHT: Nothing contained in this Constitution shall supersede the legal rights of any member.

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION: Alterations of the Constitution shall receive the assent of not less than two thirds of those present and eligible to vote at a properly convened General Meeting at which 28 days' notice has been given, including the business to be discussed.

COMMISSION: The association shall charge a 15% commission on all works of art that are sold within the Gallery. Such moneys shall be accrued for the administration costs of the association.

EXHIBITION: The Committee shall make all decisions regarding the exhibition and presentation of works in the Gallery by both members and non-members. Non-members who are invited to use the gallery shall be encouraged to become members of the association. The entire Committee shall be responsible for the operation of the Gallery. Members have the right of appeal on the Committee's decisions.

FINANCE: Embassy shall have the power to raise money by any appropriate means other than those which would adversely affect its charitable status. The income and property of Embassy from whatever source derived shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the purposes of Embassy as set forth in the, and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred directly or indirectly way of dividend, bonus or otherwise, nor by way of profit to any members of the Committee; provided that nothing therein shall prevent the payment in good faith of reasonable and proper remuneration to any officer or servant of Embassy, in return for any services requested by and rendered to Embassy, or the repayment of out-of-pocket expenses; such members shall have no voting rights in relation to these matters. No members of the Committee shall be appointed to any salaried office at Embassy or to any office of Embassy paid by fees and no remuneration or any other benefit in money or moneys worth shall be given by the Gallery to any member of such governing body except reimbursing out-of-pocket expenses. The Gallery's financial year shall run from April 1st to March 31st. The accounts shall be audited by one or more independent auditor(s) annually.

DISSOLUTION: Embassy may be dissolved by a resolution passed by a two-thirds majority by those present and voting at a properly convened General Meeting, of which 28 days' notice has been given, including the business to be discussed. Such resolution may give instruction for the disposal of any assets held by or in the name of Embassy, provided that if any property remains after the satisfaction of all debts and liabilities, such property shall be given or transferred to such other charitable institution or institutions having objects similar to some or all of the OBJECTIVES of Embassy, as the General Meeting may determine.

TRANSMISSION

G A L L E R Y

CONSTITUTION

NAME The name of the Association shall be Transmission.

OBJECTS To advance the education of the public generally and in particular the inhabitants of Glasgow and its environs by securing and maintaining premises for the purpose of presenting the arts in all their forms to the public in Glasgow ~~XXXXXXXX~~: particularly the works (in its widest possible meaning) of persons who under normal circumstances would be denied a platform for expressing their artistic ideas, so long as such ideas expressed through their work are not subversive of all religion and morality.

MEMBERSHIP Membership shall be open to anyone over eighteen years of age who supports the 'Objects'. Transmission reserves the right to refuse membership by a majority vote of the committee if there is reasonable doubt surrounding the applicants support for the 'Objects'. The applicant in such cases will then have the right of appeal to a general meeting of members; a meeting called for this purpose will require at least fourteen day's notice and the applicant must have the support of at least two thirds of the membership are present. The decision of such a general meeting would be final.

GENERAL MEETINGS An Annual General Meeting (hereinafter referred to as A.G.M.) shall be held in June each year. Office Bearers will present their reports for the year ending (31st of March) at the A.G.M., the financial report having been audited. Special General Meetings of the Association may be called at any time on the request of ten members to the secretary. A General Meeting shall be held quarterly. Voting at all General Meetings will be taken on a show of membership cards and shall be on the basis of one vote per member; a simple majority deciding. The Chairperson of the meeting shall have a deliberative and casting vote. Any member may attend General Meetings, providing that they have paid their annual subscription.

COMMITTEE At the A.G.M. the Association will appoint a committee to administer the day to day affairs of the Association. This Committee shall comprise a Chairperson, a Secretary, a Treasurer and a Gallery Manager and at least four, but not more than eight ordinary members. The maximum period allotted to membership of the committee being two terms (two years). Any casual vacancy arising may be filled by the committee. The Chairperson will preside at all meetings of the of the committee or the Association, and in the event of their absence the committee or the Association, as the case may be, shall appoint one of

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TRANSMISSION

G A L L E R Y

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continued

their number to preside.

QUORUM	The quorum for a meeting of the Association shall be one third of the members and for the committee six members
COMMITTEE VOTING	Voting at meetings of the committee shall be on a show of hands, a simple majority deciding; the Chairperson shall have a deliberative and casting vote.
NOTICES OF MEETINGS	All General Meetings require fourteen days notice. The Chairperson may call an emergency meeting of the committee in the event of any member of the committee being unable to attend a meeting they forfeit their vote.
MINUTES	Minutes shall be kept of all meetings of the Association and of the Committee meetings.
RECORDS	Proper books of accounts and copies of official correspondence shall be maintained by the appropriate office bearers and shall be open to inspection by any member at any reasonable time.
AUDITORS	Two auditors, who shall not be office bears, shall be appointed for the following year at the A.C.M. and shall have the responsibility for auditing the annual income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet. They shall also check the books of account at such intervals as they deem appropriate.
CONTRACTS	Contracts shall be signed on behalf of the Association by the Chairperson, the Secretary and the Treasurer.
LEGAL RIGHTS	Nothing contained in this constitution shall supersede the legal rights of any member.
AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION	Alterations to the Constitution shall receive the assent of not less than two-thirds of those present and eligible to vote at a properly convened General Meeting of which twenty-eight days notice has been given, including the business to be discussed.
COMMISSION	The Association shall charge a fifteen per cent commission to members on all works of art that are sold within the Gallery, such monies being accrued for the administrative costs of the Association.
EXHIBITION	The Committee shall elect an Exhibitions Sub-committee which shall make all decisions regarding the exhibition and presentation of 'works' in the gallery by both members and non-members(it should be noted that non-members who are invited to use the gallery will automatically be expected to become members of the association).

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TRANSMISSION

G A L L E R Y

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continued...

The elected exhibitions sub-committee will be made up of practicing artists, writers, musicians and/or any other creative medium. The Gallery Manager shall be responsible for the operation of the Gallery. Members have a right of appeal on the sub-committee's decisions.

FINANCE

Transmission shall have the power to raise money by any appropriate means, other than those which would adversely affect its charitable status.

The income and property of Transmission from whatever source derived shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the purposes of Transmission as set forth in the Constitution, and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred directly or indirectly by way of dividend, bonus or otherwise by way of profit to any members of the committee, provided that nothing therein shall prevent the payment in good faith of reasonable and proper remuneration to any officer or servant of Transmission in return for any services requested by and rendered to Transmission, or the repayment of out of pocket expenses; such members shall have no voting rights in relation to these matters.

No members of the committee shall be appointed to any salaried office of Transmission or to any office of Transmission paid by Fees and no remuneration or any other benefit in money or money's worth shall be given by the gallery to any member of such governing body except reimbursement of out of pocket expenses. The gallery's financial year shall run from 1st April to the 31st March. The accounts shall be audited annually by one or more independent auditors.

DISSOLUTION

Transmission may be dissolved by a resolution passed by a two thirds majority of those present and voting at a properly convened General Meeting, of which twenty eight days notice has been given, including the business to be discussed.

Such resolution may give instructions for the disposal of any assets held by or in the name of Transmission, provided that if any property remains after the satisfaction of all debts and liabilities, such property shall be given or transferred to such other charitable institution or institutions having objects similar to some or all of the objects of Transmission, as the General Meeting may determine.

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