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Employment relationships in arts and culture

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Sectoral
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Working papers are preliminary documents circulated to stimulate discussion and obtain comments

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Preface

This paper, written by Gijsbert van Liemt, considers the occupational characteristics of cultural workers and their employment relationships and income, the role of the State in cultural and creative industries, and to what extent arts and culture set the trend for the rest of the labour market. It provides an overview of technological, business and financial changes occurring in recent years in the live performance, arts and culture subsector in some OECD countries and how these have affected employment relationships. He assesses whether employment is becoming less secure, if freelance work is increasingly prevalent, and whether social dialogue is addressing the challenges of the industry. The arts and culture industry is undergoing significant change, and information and communications technology has already had a major effect on the composition of the sector and on employment relationships within it. He notes that most arts and culture workers have a high level of commitment to their work, have fragmented and often unpredictable employment patterns, are often underemployed, and tend to work fewer hours than they would like to. They typically earn a modest income from their primary job compared to similarly educated people in other sectors. Many have a secondary job to help make ends meet. Self-employment is frequent.

Cultural workers have in common an above-average drive, motivation, persistence and inventiveness and are not easily dissuaded. The arts and culture industry has always had more than its fair share of "atypical" workers, including freelancers of various kinds, but it appears that recent years have seen a shift away from traditional employer-employee contractual relationships.

The responsibility for opinions expressed in this paper rests with the author, and publication does not constitute an endorsement by the ILO of the opinions expressed in it.

This is one of two research studies prepared in 2013 for the Sectoral Activities Department (SECTOR) on employment relationships in the media and culture sector. The other paper, on *Employment relationships in the media industry*, written by Andrew Bibby, discusses how changes in the media business and information and communications technologies in recent years have affected employment relationships and the composition of the media subsector in general.

SECTOR promotes decent work by addressing social and labour issues in various economic sectors, both at international and national levels. By tackling challenges for specific sectors, the International Labour Organization (ILO) assists governments, employers and workers to develop policies and programmes that generate decent employment and improve working conditions in each sector. SECTOR's integrated approach links up with the entire Decent Work Agenda, allowing the ILO to respond comprehensively to specific needs of the sectors in relation to employment, social protection, labour rights and social dialogue issues.

John Myers

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ABN	Australian Business Number
AEC	European Association of Conservatoires (*Association Européenne des Conservatoires*)
BBZ	Social Assistance Programme for the Self-employed (*Bijstandsverlening Zelfstandigen*)
BKR	Visual Artists' Regulation (*Beeldende Kunstenaarsregeling)*
ECJ	European Court of Justice
EIM	Economic Institute for Small- and Medium-Sized Companies (*Economisch Instituut voor het Midden- en Klein Bedrijf)*
ERICArts	European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research
EUROFOUND	European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions
EU	European Union
EUROSTAT	Statistical Office of the European Union
FDK	Performing Arts Fund (*Fonds Darstellende Künste*)
FIA	International Federation of Actors (*Fédération Internationale des Acteurs*)
FIM	International Federation of Musicians (*Fédération Internationale des Musiciens*)
FNV	Dutch Trade Union Federation (*Federatie Nederlandse Vakverenigingen*)
GST	Goods and service tax
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ISCO	International Standard Classification of Occupations
KSK	Social security fund system for artists and journalists (*Künstler Sozial Kasse*)
NACE	Statistical Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community (*Nomenclature Statistique des Activités Economiques dans la Communauté Européenne*)
NAPK	Dutch association for performing arts (*Nederlandse associatie voor podiumkunsten)*
NEA	National Endowment of the Arts
NMA	Netherlands Competition Authority (*Nederlandse Mededingingsautoriteit)* Now: Netherlands Authority for Consumers &Markets
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAO	Principal artistic occupation
ROI	Republic of Ireland
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SEO	Economic Research Foundation (*Stichting Economisch Onderzoek*)
SBKV	Swiss Performing Artists Association (*Schweizerischen Bühnenkünstlerinnen- und Bühnenkünstlerverbandes*)
SOD	Retraining Programme for Dancers (*Stichting Omscholing Dansers*)
TNO	Dutch Organization for Applied Scientific Research (*Nederlandse Organisatie voor Toegepast Natuurwetenschappelijk Onderzoek*)
UK	United Kingdom
VAV	Association of Flemish Authors (*Vlaamse Auteursvereniging*)
WIK	Temporary Assistance for working artists (*Wet Inkomensvoorziening Kunstenaars)*
WWIK	Law on work and income for cultural workers (*Wet werk en inkomen kunstenaars)*

1. Introduction

People who are professionally active in the arts and culture industries (cultural workers) have in common a high level of commitment to their work. To them, the border line between working time and non-working time is often vague. Many have fragmented and often unpredictable employment patterns. Self-employment is frequent. Having and maintaining a good network is vital for finding a job. Many are underemployed; they work fewer hours than they would like to. They typically earn a modest income from their primary job compared to people in other sectors who have the same number of years in education. Many have a secondary job to help make ends meet. This secondary (art-, or non art-related) job typically offers social security and can be a main source of income.

Chronic oversupply of (skilled) labour is behind the high levels of un- and underemployment in these industries. In nearly all sub-sectors, in nearly all occupations, in nearly all countries there are simply too many people trying to fill too few positions.

For sure, attempts are made to limit this supply, for instance, by limiting the number of places in art and performing arts schools. However, cultural workers have in common an above-average drive, motivation, persistence and inventiveness and are not easily dissuaded.

With the growing internationalization of labour markets, as exemplified by the EU's single market that allows workers to move freely from one (European) country to another, it has become difficult to limit the number of people seeking a job at the national level. Some 70% of professional dancers in the Netherlands are born outside the country.

In addition, in several occupations (writers; visual artists) the number of self-taught people is considerable. In others (e.g. photographers; designers; film makers) the availability of sophisticated, off-the-shelf computer software has dramatically lowered the threshold for aspiring professionals.

Together, these factors explain why -in many countries- working conditions in these industries have not seen much improvement in the last few decades. The 2008 financial crisis and its aftermath is another factor but, on the whole, the stagnating, if not worsening trend in performing arts and other parts of these industries predates this latest crisis.

This paper provides an overview of, and discusses some key issues related to employment relationships in arts and culture. This is no easy task because, first, the boundaries of the cultural industries are ill-defined: some use a narrow definition, some a broad and some a very broad definition. Second, the industries are characterised by a broad variety of different employment relationships which exist in parallel and in combination with each other. Or, as Feist (2000, p. 14) put it, "Neither the term 'cultural sector' nor the concept of 'employment' are easily defined". Moreover, the field has been changing rapidly for a whole range of technological, business and financial reasons, not least as a result of dwindling, post-2008, government support. The employment relationship has many characteristics but we will concentrate on just some of them: employment patterns, incomes, hours of work, length of the employment relationship, and location where the tasks are performed. But, as the rest of this introduction will explain, due to differences in definition and data gathering, systematic international comparisons are next to impossible to make.

The paper will give more attention to the situation in OECD countries than in non-OECD countries because the former has been the subject of more systematic research. The paper will also focus more on the publicly-funded part of the art and culture industries because that is where "classical" employment (employer-employee) relationships are

found. The downside of this focus is the risk of sounding overly gloomy since it is that sub-sector in these countries that has been more than proportionally hit by crisis-related budget cuts. While, for example, in the Netherlands museums close for lack of public funds and art galleries disappear for lack of customers the situation in China is quite different. There, cities and provinces try to outshine each other through building more and bigger museums. Arts and culture receive generous public funding for their contribution to the country's 'soft power'.

The paper is organised as follows. The rest of this introduction discusses definitions. Statistics on cultural workers and international comparisons are problematic and a short note on measurement explains why this is so. Chapter two – about employment – also looks at age, gender, spatial concentration and education levels. Chapter three discusses some dimensions of cultural workers' income. Chapter four considers the role of the State in cultural and creative industries. Section 4.4 gives some examples of concrete measures to support cultural workers. Another section (4.5) looks at the role of the state in arts and culture in the Netherlands. Chapter five briefly discusses worsening incomes and shorter contracts, and chapter six asks to what extent arts and culture set the trend for the rest of the labour market. The paper ends with a summary and conclusions section.

The paper will not deal with new technologies, nor with structural shifts in demand, even though their effects on the employment relationship can be substantial. The effects of new technologies can be both positive and negative. Where once the cinema made thousands of actors redundant, and the gramophone did the same to many musicians, today's threats and opportunities include simulcasts (opera performances being shown live in hundreds of theatres around the world), digitalisation and the internet. Nowadays, ambitious musicians must have their own website with some videos of their work. These can be costly to make but they can also lead to commercial success[1] in addition to job offers. Digital recording techniques have reached such high levels of perfection that for music lovers home listening in a comfortable surroundings has become a serious alternative to the inconveniences associated with travelling to a concert venue with uncomfortable seating. Many visitors to classical music, theatre and opera performances are in the over fifty age group. They can afford to go these performances because they have both the time and the money available. But what will happen in another ten or twenty years when this group is too old and high ticket prices have dissuaded younger performing arts lovers from stepping in and taking their place?

Method. The paper is based on a large number of secondary sources, including surveys of cultural workers in several countries. These have been complemented by semi-structured interviews with practitioners and officials in the Netherlands and Sweden. The list of people interviewed is attached as an annex.

1.1. Definition: Who is a cultural worker?

Attempts to describe the characteristics of cultural workers and to measure their number are hampered by the fact that so many different definitions are in use. For

[1] A good illustration of this is the world-wide little known musician Psy who, singing in a little known language (Korean), became world famous thanks to a music video that with 1.834 billion viewings became Youtube's most watched video.

example, to Hibernian[2] (2010, p.6) professional artists are "people who are active in pursuing a career as artists and who view arts work as their main profession or career, even if not their main source of income and regardless of their current employment status".

But is self-assessment sufficient? If so, how to distinguish the professional from the amateur? One may wish also to take into account the amount of time spent on artistic work within a reference period, or the amount of income derived from artistic activities (Galloway et al., 2002)[3]. But, argues Throsby (2010, p.218), to use a financial criterion as sole discriminator is inadequate "because of multiple job-holding amongst artists and because some professional artists may receive little or no remuneration over significant time periods in their working lives." In his view professionalism "subsists in a complex set of attributes, none of which on its own is a sufficient condition for professional status, but not all of which are necessary conditions. Significant amongst these characteristics is a commitment to, and achievement of, standards of work judged as acceptable by some appropriate peer-review process".

In their Australian survey Throsby et al (2010)[4] cover "serious, practising professional artists. The seriousness is judged in terms of self-assessed commitment to artistic work as a major aspect of the artist's working life, even if creative work is not the main source of income. The practising aspect means that we confine our attention to artists currently working or seeking work in their chosen occupation. The term professional is intended to indicate a degree of training, experience or talent and a manner of working that qualify artists to have their work judged against the highest professional standards of the relevant occupation" (Throsby et al 2010, p.7).

Frey and Pommerehne (1989) (in Feist, 2000, p.10) devised eight possible criteria by which artistic employment might be defined:

- The number of hours spent on artistic work
- The amount of income derived from artistic activities
- The reputation as an artist among the general public
- Recognition as an artist among the general public
- Recognition among other artists
- The quality of the artistic work produced
- Membership of a professional artists' group or association
- A professional qualification in the arts
- A subjective self-evaluation of being an artist

[2] The data from Hibernian et al. cited in this paper are based on a 2009 survey of 865 Irish professional artists

[3] The data from Galloway et al. (2002) are based on an extensive analysis of existing survey data, together with a range of "focus group" interviews with six groups of cultural workers in the UK

[4] The data from Throsby et al. (2010) are based on a 2009 survey of professional Australian artists

This list shows that many different criteria can be (and are being) used to measure cultural employment. Depending on the criteria used, this could lead to a wide range of different estimates of the number of cultural workers by country (Feist, 2000). The fact that so many different definitions are being used makes international comparisons using the same definition impossible. The next section expands.

1.2. A note on measurement

Attempts to measure the number of people active in arts and culture (and their incomes) run into a host of problems. For one, different countries use different approaches to measuring cultural employment, the creative work force etc.

Many cultural workers have multiple jobs inside these industries (actors who dance; musicians who compose and composers who play music).

Many have a secondary job inside, or outside the cultural industries. Census and labour market surveys classify people in the occupation in which they worked most hours in the reference week. For example, artists who teach in schools are classified as teachers or professors and are thus not counted as artists even if they identify themselves as artists.

Sectors, industries, or occupations? Is an electrician or ticket seller working at the opera to be counted as a cultural worker?

Casey (1999 in Feist, 2000, p. 11) lists three components of cultural industries employment:

- Those who have artistic or cultural occupations and work within a cultural industry (a musician working in an orchestra or a sculptor working in her studio)
- Those who do not have a cultural occupation but work within a cultural industry (for example, an accountant working in a theatre or a projectionist working in a cinema)
- Those who have artistic or cultural occupations but who work outside the cultural industries (for example, a harpist working in a hotel or a writer working with inmates in a prison).

Eurostat (2011) distinguishes employment in the cultural *industries* from employment in cultural *occupations* and it is in the process of combining these two data sets. It includes among the cultural industries five NACE divisions:

- NACE 58 — Publishing activities;
- NACE 59 — Motion picture, video and television programme production, sound recording and music publishing activities;
- NACE 60 — Programming and broadcasting activities;
- NACE 90 — Creative arts and entertainment activities;
- NACE 91 — Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities.

Among the cultural occupations, it focuses on two groups composed entirely of cultural headings:

- ISCO 243 — Archivists, librarians, and related information professions;
- ISCO 245 — Writers and creative or performing artists (authors, journalists, sculptors, painters, composers, musicians, singers, choreographers, dancers, actors, directors and other related artists).

How do these two approaches fit together? Take the example of writers and authors. An analysis of their distribution across economic sub-sectors or industries shows varying patterns across countries. At EU-27 level, 67 % of writers and artists work (in their main job) in one of the five cultural sub-sectors presented above (NACE 58, 59, 60, 90 and 91), with the highest share (36%) in the 'Creative arts and entertainment activities' sub-sector. The remaining 33 % of writers and artists were distributed in activities related to the production of cultural content, e.g. advertising, education or public administration. In Belgium and Sweden, more than half of writers and artists work in sectors other than those defined as cultural. This proportion was also high in Denmark, Finland and Ireland (Eurostat 2011).

Job classifications change and new jobs emerge (website designer; computer graphic artist; multimedia producer; computer games maker). However, these new fields may not be cultural professions in the classic sense and are thus not covered by cultural statistics. Moreover, it can be difficult to make clear demarcations in these activities in which "artistic, cultural and technical expertise can be separated only with difficulty" (Ellmeier, 2003, p. 10).

But even among media and cultural occupations in the classical sense, all is not as obvious as it may look at first sight. Take the occupational group "Authors and writers". In the Canadian census this group includes a broader range of writers than simply novelists, poets and other 'artistic' writers. In fact, a broad range of writers are included in this classification. "Authors and writers plan, research and write books, scripts, storyboards, plays, essays, speeches, manuals, specifications and other non-journalistic articles for publication or presentation. They are employed by advertising agencies, governments, large corporations, private consulting firms, publishing firms, multimedia/new-media companies and other establishments, or they may be self-employed" (taken from Hill et al. 2009, p. 3)[5].

Internationally, different sources may define the creative industries/the media and culture sector in different ways. But even within the same country the sector or industries can be approached in different ways (see for example Box 1 on the Netherlands).

[5] The statistical data on Canada in the Hill et al (2009) paper are based on the 2006 census.

Box 1. Measuring creative workers and creative industries in the Netherlands

Statistics Netherlands suggests approaching the creative industries from two angles. The demand angle considers sectors and sub-sectors, and asks which production units to include, their size, their number, their legal status and their place in the classification. The supply perspective looks at the relevant professions and their share in the total labour force. *TNO*, the large national research organisation, uses the demand approach and divides the sector or industries into clusters: arts and cultural heritage; media and entertainment; and creative business services. It excludes distribution because it considers that creation, production and exploitation are the core of the creative industries. The *Economics Ministry* focuses on the role of the government in the sector/industries. It uses the TNO cluster approach but the content of their clusters differ from that of TNO's. In contrast to TNO, the Ministry does include retail trade and distribution. The *Economic Institute for Small and Medium-sized Firms (EIM)* uses the TNO approach but has added knowledge-intensive business services (software development; research and development; consultancy services). The *consortium SEO (Economic Research Foundation)/ Atlas (Local Government Cooperation)* uses a definition that is comparable to that of TNO but then divides the different subsectors into: initial creation; production; and retail/distribution. Lastly, *SENTER/NOVEM (the Government's Sustainable Development and Innovation Promotion Centre)* uses the SEO/Atlas Consortium approach but is mainly interested in sectors of clear commercial importance such as fashion, industrial design, entertainment, architecture, games, media, advertising and less in arts (Braams 2011).

In sum, people who are professionally active in arts and culture tend to have fragmented and unpredictable employment patterns. Self-employment, un- and underemployment are frequent. Nonetheless, many people are attracted to the sector and this chronic oversupply has hampered efforts to improve their primary and secondary working conditions. Definitions of who is a cultural worker vary by country and even within individual countries. This makes it difficult to make international (and even national) comparisons of their number and their characteristics.

2. Cultural workers: Employment

2.1. Introduction

People who work in the arts, culture (and entertainment) industries do not form a homogeneous group. They range from musicians in major symphonic orchestras (with good salaries and tenured positions) and actors in permanent national companies to visual and plastic artists such as sculptors and painters who live on income levels well below what their many years in education and training might lead one to expect.

Some groups, such as dancers, retire early because their jobs are so physically demanding that beyond a certain age their bodies no longer have the strength and flexibility required. Other groups, such as authors, continue to work well past retirement age -not infrequently because they *have* to continue working due to inadequate savings or insufficient old-age pensions (a recurrent problem for many in these industries).

What they have in common is a great commitment to their work; a comparatively low incidence of regular employment and a high incidence of self-employment, unemployment, underemployment and some combinations of these.

This chapter looks into typical employment patterns in arts and culture on the whole and for different sub-sectors and professions. Special sections look into gender differences, age, education and the spatial concentration of cultural workers.

2.2. Employment patterns

It is hard to generalize across countries, occupations and sub-sectors but on the whole it is fair to say that people in arts and culture are less likely to be in a "traditional" full-time employment relationship and more likely to be self-employed, employed part-time, or in a combination of employment and self-employment. In fact, many in these industries have what has been called "portfolio careers"[6]. These "portfolio workers" mix different types of employment status, usually because they have no choice (for instance because they are asked to perform for one concert, or to act in one film project). In the span of a week, month or season, they can be part-time employed, self-employed, unemployed (with or without unemployment benefit) and engaged in unpaid activities such as volunteer work, retraining, study and family life.

In the Netherlands on average 57% of people active in the arts are self-employed (compared to 12% for the labour force as a whole). People in other creative professions are also more often self-employed (20%) but much less than people active in arts. The highest percentage self-employed are found among creative artists (70%) and among writers and translators (79%) (Schreven et al., 2011). In Ireland, self-employment is extensive among actors, entertainers and directors – about 60% of this group is self-employed in their main job – averaging 40% among all cultural occupations. Self-employment is far lower among non-cultural occupations (11%) (Galloway, 2002). In the US, artists (broadly defined) are 3.5 times more likely than the total US workforce to be self-employed (NEA, 2011).

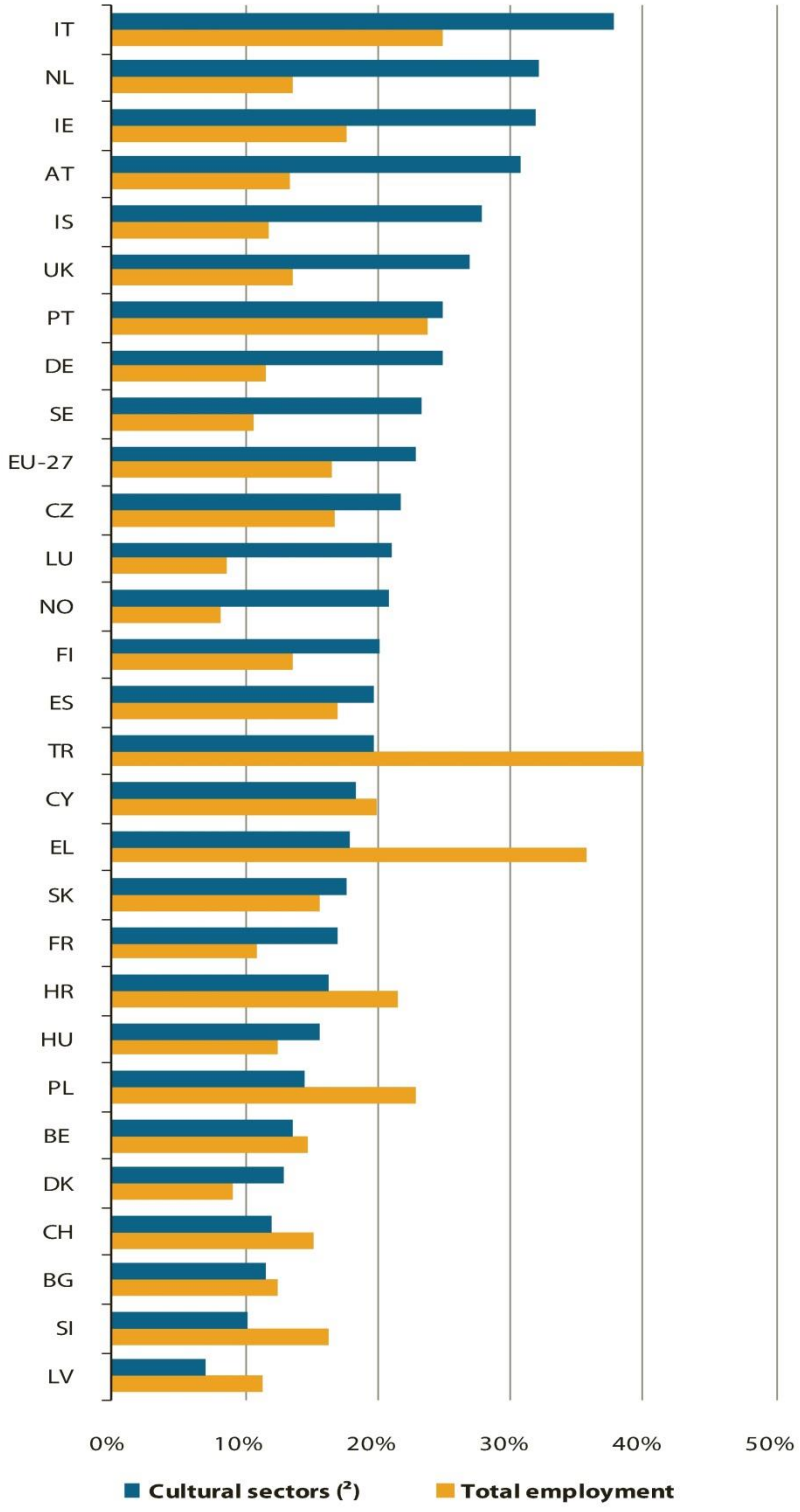
[6] In Germany the term "patchwork careers" is being used. In Sweden, portfolio workers are known as *Kombinatörer* (combiners), individuals who combine self-employment with eage-earning employment

Figures 1 and 2 on self-employment and part-time employment give data for all EU countries. Figure 1 shows that in the EU (on average -but not in all countries) the percentage of self-employed and family workers (what Eurostat calls “non-employees”) is higher in the cultural industries than it is in total employment.

Figure 2 shows that in virtually all EU countries the percentage of people employed having a part-time job is higher in the cultural industries than it is in total employment. On average, EU part-time employment in the cultural industries was 25 %.

Working at home or having more than one job can also be considered as specificities of the cultural industries. At EU-27 level, the share of people working at home was twice as high in cultural industries (26 %) as in total employment. Holding multiple jobs was also more frequent in the cultural industries (6 %), than in total employment (4 %) (Eurostat 2011)

Figure 1. Percentage of non-employees among all persons employed, EU 27 plus Croatia, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Turkey, 2009



(1) Non-employees = self-employed and family workers.

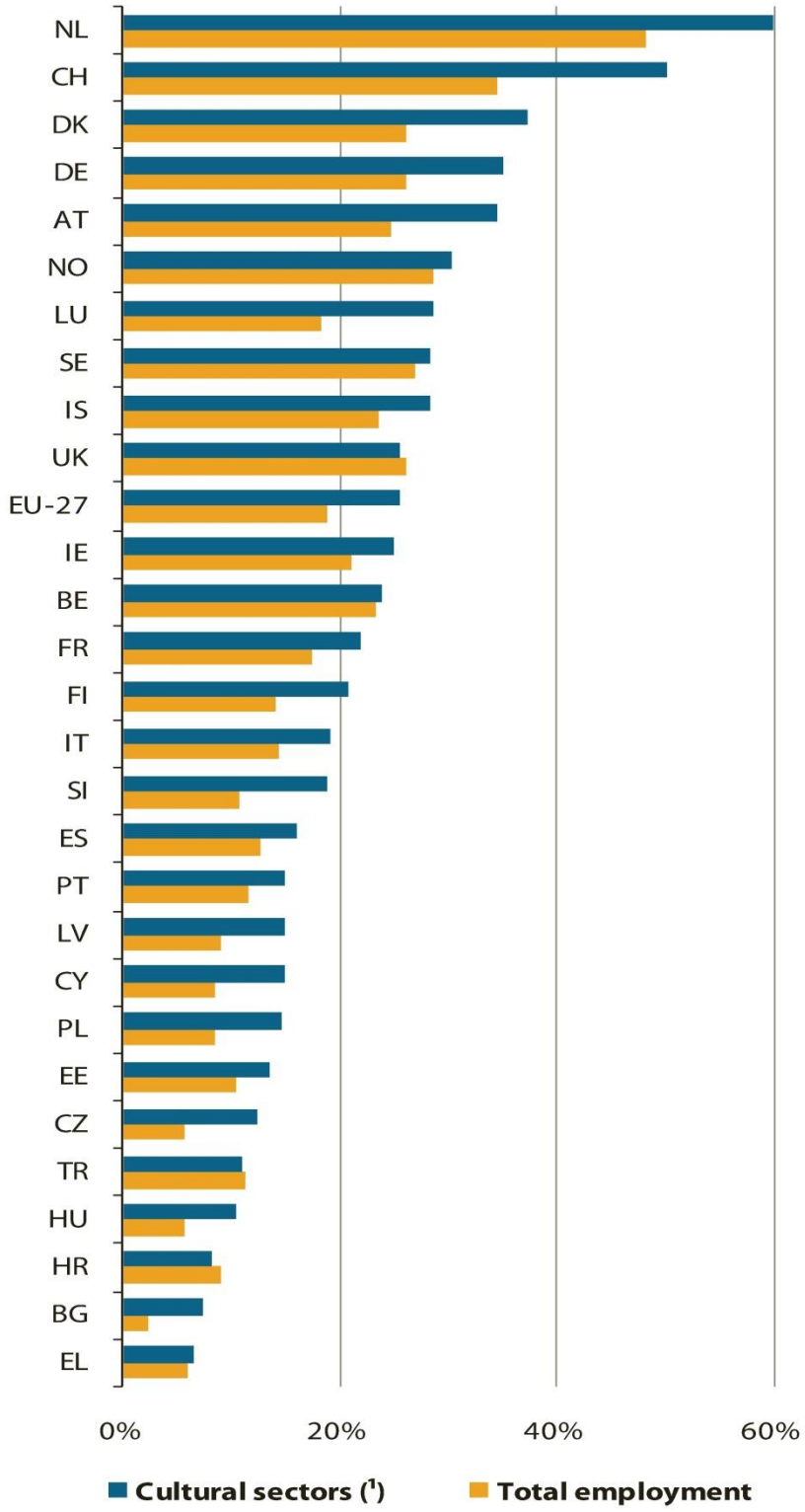
(2) Cultural sectors comprise the following NACE Rev.2 codes: 58, 59, 60, 90, 91.

Data lack reliability due to reduced sample size but are publishable: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia and Turkey

Data for cultural sectors are not published for Estonia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania because of lacking reliability due to small sample size.

Source: Eurostat 2011, *www.ec.europa.eu/eurostat* and type in: KS-32-10-374-EN.pdf, figure 4.5, p. 72.

Figure 2. Percentage of persons employed having a part-time job, EU 27 plus Croatia, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Turkey, 2009



(1) Cultural sectors comprise the following NACE Rev.2 codes: 58, 59, 60, 90 and 91.

Data lack reliability due to reduced sample size but are publishable: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, Greece and Slovenia

Data for cultural sectors are not published for Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovakia because of lacking reliability due to small sample size.

Source: Eurostat 2011, *www.ec.europa.eu/eurostat* and type in: KS-32-10-374-EN.pdf, figure 4.7, p. 74

The above figures on differences in employment patterns vary not just by country but also by occupation and sub-sector, and even within each sub-sector. For instance, the live performance sub-sector labour market is highly fragmented. Many pop and jazz musicians may go from "gig" to "gig" with a whole range of employment and remuneration arrangements from one venue to the next; however, in some traditional, large cultural establishments owned or funded by the State, musicians may be employed on regular, long-term employment contracts, which guarantee them stable social protection (Eurofound 2013).

Interestingly, both Ball et al. (2010) on the UK and Galloway (2002) on Ireland found that, despite the uncertainty and insecurity (securing contracts for work, chasing payment for work done), most cultural workers interviewed preferred being self-employed because of the freedom and flexibility it offers. Recent graduates welcomed the opportunity to work with different companies without making a long term commitment, and to meet and build relationships with new people (Ball et al., 2010). However, graduates do worry about a lack of career and salary progression "and anticipate a serious effect on later careers as their incomes do not progress in line with financial commitments, lifestyle changes and family needs" (ibid p. 72).

Many cultural workers have a secondary job in either an arts- or non-arts-related field**.** These secondary jobs supply cultural workers with a primary or additional income. Possibly as important, however, is that these secondary jobs provide a degree of (social) security such as sick leave, maternity leave- and holiday pay.

The percentage of people in an employment relationship is typically higher in their secondary employment than it is in their primary job. Throsby et al. (2010) found for Australia that around 60% of artists work as employees rather than freelancers in their arts-related secondary job, and almost three-quarters of artists engaged in non-arts work do so as employees (Throsby et al. 2010, p.9)(see table 1). Schreven et al. (2011) for the Netherlands confirm this picture of many cultural workers being in employment in their secondary job.

Table 1. Australia: Employment status of artists in principal artistic occupation (PAO), arts-related work and non-arts work (a) (per cent)

	in PAO	in arts-related work	in non-arts work
Salary/wages –permanent	14	30	40
Salary/wages – casual	14	30	32
Freelance/self-employed, not incorporated, no ABN	9	5	1
Freelance/self-employed, not incorporated, with ABN	57	32	22
Freelance/self-employed, incorporated	6	4	6
Total	100	100	100
Registered for GST (goods and services tax)	20	5	5

Source: Throsby et al 2010, p.54, available at www.australiacouncil.gov.au under "Do_you_really_expect_to_be_paid-1.pdf"

What kind of secondary jobs are cultural workers active in? The cliché of waiting tables seems at most partially true. In Ireland, 41% of artists work as teacher/lecturer/educator when not working as artists; 22% work as arts administrator/manager or do other arts work (not teaching); and 5% are in retail/sales work (Hibernian 2010). For Australia, Throsby et al (2010) found that "writers are strongly represented amongst copywriters, editors and journalists, visual artists work mainly as

designers, drawers and illustrators. Craft practitioners also work as designers, drawers and illustrators but also as craft workers or engineers. Acting skills are being applied in corporate training or role play. Dancers use their skills to instruct fitness, yoga and gymnastics classes. Musicians and composers compose and produce music for commercial purposes, with a few musicians also working as arts therapists or specialised music retailers" (see also appendix tables 1 and 2).

2.3. Gender

It is hard to say anything precise about the gender balance in arts and culture as this varies by sub-sector and occupation concerned. The overall view is blurred by the composition (or, if you will, the definition) of the cultural industries.

Empirical studies present a mixed picture. In most EU countries, the proportion of women is higher in the cultural industries than in total employment, but these discrepancies are not substantial (Eurostat 2011). In the Netherlands, more men than women are active in arts (55%) and other creative professions (62%) but this could well change as the share of women graduating in creative secondary vocational training and tertiary vocational education (60%) is higher than that of men (Schreven et al., 2011). On the other hand, an Irish survey of artists found that a majority of respondents (52%) was female, as opposed to 44% of the wider labour force. The authors of the Irish survey offer as possible explanations for these findings the flexibility of artists' work, the high proportion that is self-employed, and possibly "a tradition of low gender discrimination" (Hibernian 2010). In Australia there are as many male as female artists (see table 2). In Canadian arts occupations there were slightly more (53%) women than men (Hill et al., 2009).

Women are typically overrepresented in the dancing profession but composers tend to be predominantly men. In Australia and Ireland more than two-thirds and in Canada 56% of visual artists are women. In these three countries and in the US the majority of actors are male. In contrast, most Australian and Canadian writers are women (see table 2); in Ireland there are in majority of men.

In Germany, typical female professions were found to be (cultural) public sector jobs (76%); dance-, theatre-, and music teachers (72%), and assistant directors (69%). Other areas such as lighting design and theatre musicians were dominated by men. A comparison with the situation in 1973 showed that professions previously considered typically male (e.g. directors) have seen a strong increase in female participation (Keuchel, 2010).

Table 2. Gender distribution of Australian artists (per cent)

	Writers	Visual Artists	Craft practitioners	Actors	Dancers	Musicians	Composers	Community cultural develop. Workers	All artists (a)	Labour force (b)
Male	38	37	21	62	24	68	73	28	49	55
Female	62	63	79	38	76	32	27	72	51	45
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(a) Numbers for all artists are weighted to represent Australia's artist population.

(b) Australian Bureau of Statistics (2009) 6291.0.55.001 – Labour Force. Australia. Detailed – Electronic Delivery. Dec 2009. Table 1. Oct 09

Source: Throsby et al, 2010, p.22, available at www.australiacouncil.gov.au under "Do_you_really_expect_to_be_paid-1.pdf".

Table 3. Percentage of U.S. artists who are female, 2005-2009

Total labour force	46.6%
All artists	46.0%
Actors	42.7%
Announcers	21.2%
Architects	24.9%
Dancers and choreographers	77.9%
Designers	54.0%
Fine artists, art directors, and animators	44.9%
Musicians	35.4%
Other entertainers	47.1%
Photographers	44.8%
Producers and directors	36.8%
Writers and authors	56.8%

Source: NEA 2011, p.11

The gender distribution of employment, working time and earnings is influenced by the question of who looks after the children, and how domestic responsibilities are being distributed. Throsby et al. (2010) found an interesting gender difference in this regard. "...women artists point more strongly than men to problems such as their restricted ability or time as an artist when looking after children, the energy demands of child care, and the effect on their ability to concentrate. A male artist by contrast is more likely than a female to interpret the difficulty as one of having to work outside his own field in order to support the child" (Throsby et al. 2010 p74). Social reasons are another explanatory factor (see Box 2).

Box 2. Women and the Electric guitar: Whatever happened to Erica Clapton and Jenny Hendrix?

The lack of great female electric guitarists is largely due to the fact that few women get a foot on even the bottom rung of the rock career ladder. So why do so few women set out on the career of electric guitarist? *asks Mavis Bayton*.

She argues that the reasons are mainly, though not exclusively, social. Learning to play the electric guitar forces a young woman to break with the norms of traditional "femininity". Long, manicured fingernails must be cut down. Women do not sweat.

Boys are another obstacle. "...there are few formal settings in which to learn to play rock. Thus the informal friendship groups within which rock music-making occurs are of crucial importance as learning environments. However, teenage women are not often welcomed in male music-making cliques and thus do not generally get the insider information and tips which are routinely traded between them".

Guitar shops are also 'male' terrain; they rarely employ women as assistants, and the customers are overwhelmingly male.

Technology is yet another barrier. Women are often alienated from the technical aspects of rock. Young women may be drawn towards the electric guitar but they are "put off by the multitude of electronic and electric components, which are a basic requirement for a rock performance".

Lastly, given the shape of the female body it can be uncomfortable to play the rock guitar as currently designed. "The electric guitar was designed for men, by men, and it has thereby functioned to exclude women....if it was mainly women who played electric guitar the shape of the instrument would have changed by now...[for instance]...their design [would] make allowances for the fact that women have breasts".

Source: Bayton, 2012

2.4. Age

Table 4. US: Median Age by Artist Occupation: 2005-2009

Total labour force	40
All artists	40
Actors	36
Announcers	37
Architects	43
Dancers and choreographers	25
Designers	39
Fine artists, art directors, and animators	44
Musicians	44
Other entertainers	34
Photographers	38
Producers and directors	38
Writers and authors	44

Source: NEA 2011, p.11

The question of the average age of cultural workers has similar problems to those encountered with the gender balance. Much depends on the sub-sectors and occupations included and on the relative weight of each. It explains why Menger (2006; and others such as Feist, 2000) conclude from a large sample of studies on artistic labour markets, that artists as an occupational group are on average younger than the general work force whereas Throsby (2010); Hibernian (2010); and Hill et al. (2009) find that artists are on average older than other workers (see also table 5).

Both Throsby et al (2010) and Hibernian (2010) give two reasons why artists are on average older. On the one hand, it takes time for an artist to become recognized because of the time it takes to be educated and trained and to become established professionally. On the other, artists have a greater propensity to continue working after retirement (often forced to do so because of inadequate pensions, savings and healthcare). Some artists continue to work until they die, and "with royalties from copyrights they can continue earning even beyond the grave" (Towse, 2006 p. 879).

Dancers are the youngest group in all countries. This reflects the fact they both start and retire at a low age. Actors are also comparatively young. In Australia and the US, writers, visual artists, musicians and singers have a relatively high average age in comparison with other artists (Throsby, 2010; NEA, 2011- see table 5). Keuchel (2010) found that German playwrights tend to become professionally active later in life.

Table 5. Mean and median age of Australian artists

	Writers	Visual Artists	Craft practitioners	Actors	Dancers	Musicians	Composers	Community cultural development Workers	All artists (a)
Mean age (years)	52	50	46	39	36	50	48	45	48
Median age (years)	52	52	47	37	37	52	47	47	47

(a) number for all artists are weighted to represent Australia's artist population

Source: Throsby et al 2010, p.22

There are clearly more single and separated people among actors and dancers than among the population in general. The special professional circumstances -low income, constantly changing places and irregular, "anticyclical" working times - of actors and dancers seem to preclude lasting partnerships and perspectives of a married and family life (Keuchel, 2010).

2.5. Spatial concentration

People active in arts and other creative professions generally like to live and work in main urban areas because of 'network externalities' or 'agglomeration externalities' (Throsby et al, 2010). It is there they find fellow cultural workers and arts institutions, their audience, the spaces to perform in, support services (make-up artists, musicians, lighting and sound technicians, etc.), and their (private or public) sponsor. Staying close to one's peers is important for creating opportunities; for combating the isolation of solo working; for inspiration and support; and for finding work. Collaboration provides opportunities to discuss work and seek feedback to progress with creative practice. It offers opportunities to share costs, for peer learning, and for giving and taking criticism (Ball et al., 2010)

In the Netherlands cultural workers make up almost 4% of the Dutch labour force. But in the Amsterdam area their share in the total labour force is 7% (Schreven et al, 2011). In Southern Africa major performing arts activities are mainly situated in densely populated centres: Gaborone (Botswana); Maseru (Lesotho); Blantyre and Lilongwe (Malawi); Lusaka and the Copper Belt (Zambia), Johannesburg/Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban (South Africa), and Harare and Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) (Lebethe, 2003). Australian artists are drawn to live and work in proximity to major or capital cities because that is where the symphony orchestras, major theatres, principal dance companies, state and commercial art galleries, recording studios and art training institutes are (Throsby et al 2010). Two-thirds of Irish artists live in cities and towns (Hibernian 2010).

However, not all cultural workers are attracted to urban areas; indeed, many cultural workers may prefer to remain close to their cultural roots. Artists in the audiovisual and performing arts generally work in collaboration with others and in a generally fixed location; their work is characterised by high levels of mobility and varying employment status. Visual artists, composers and writers, on the other hand, generally work alone and in a location decided upon by themselves (Ericarts, 2006).

In the US, the states of New York and California have the highest numbers of artists. Yet, on a per worker basis, several other states also surpass the national average. These include Oregon and Vermont where writers and authors are especially prominent; Nevada, where many dancers and entertainers are active; and Hawaii, where fine artists, art directors, and animators are overrepresented. Mississippi has an above average concentration of musicians. Maine has a relatively high concentration of fine artists, art directors, and animators, while Virginia has a high concentration of writers and authors. Among major cities, the employment concentration in the theatre industry is twice the United States average in the Seattle, Minneapolis, and San Diego areas. It is 50 per cent above average in Baltimore. The Richmond concentration of workers in dance companies in Virginia is 3 times the national average (NEA 2011).

2.6. Education

Cultural workers are highly educated. In the UK, more than half of the artist population has first or higher degrees, compared with one quarter of the general population. In the US, artists are twice as likely to have a university degree compared to the general labour force (Hibernian 2010)[7]. In Canada, 39% of artists hold a university degree (compared to 21% of the labour force), yet these graduates have earnings round half that of other university-educated workers (ibid.p.24).

In the EU, the percentage of persons employed with tertiary education was much higher in the cultural industries than in total employment. The difference in education level between cultural and total employment averaged 24 percentage points on average and ranged from 34 percentage points in Slovakia to 4 percentage points in Malta and Switzerland. However, the shares of people with tertiary educational attainment differ significantly across countries. In Spain, for example, 68 % of the people working in the cultural sector/industries have tertiary education, while in Malta this was the case for only 23 % of cultural workers (Eurostat 2011).

Many observers find it puzzling that, despite the oversupply and the associated likelihood of ending up in intermittent employment, periods of unemployment and low earnings, so many highly educated people are attracted to a career in arts and culture. Some cultural workers will work for practically nothing to showcase their talent. Some budding actors would be willing to pay for a chance to perform on one of the better-known stages.

Is it "psychic income", i.e. the sheer satisfaction in playing an instrument or acting, dancing or singing in front of an audience (Baumol et al, 1966)? Is it because they derive satisfaction from the process of work itself and not just from the income it earns (Menger, 2006)? Are they motivated by personal commitment and calling in a way "that defies normal criteria of professional work and obstructs normal mechanisms of adaptation of the supply of artistic work to the conditions of demand" (Beckman, 2001, p.157)? Are they simply misinformed young people (Hibernian, 2010)? Or are they risk-lovers, willing to partake in a lottery knowing full well that only a very tiny minority will ever manage to attain 'star status' with its concomitant earnings, bargaining power, wealth and celebrity (Sand, 2000, p. 1)?

Many explanations have thus been put forward but it is unlikely that a single one can adequately capture why artists follow their careers.

Moreover, it is likely that with increasing age the downside of the cultural career may start to weigh heavier. Performers offer many examples of a 'career-line vulnerability to aging'. As they get older, they "appear to be increasingly sensitive to job insecurity and to the steady strain of searching for jobs, of gathering information about new projects and of manoeuvring repeatedly to remain visible in a highly competitive labour market" (Menger, 2006 p. 779).

[7] But there are differences by occupation. Architects, writers and authors, and producers and directors are among the highest educated (and best paid) with over 70% holding a bachelors' degree. In contrast, dancers/choreographers, other entertainers and photographers had much lower rates of college education (NEA, 2011, p. 9).

2.7. Uncertainty

In addition to low and intermittent earnings (see chapter 3), the uncertainty that is inherent in many cultural sector industries is another potential source of stress. This lack of control over one's working life (characterised as 'waiting for the phone to ring' by Galloway, 2002, p.51) has several dimensions (ibid, p.15)

- Variable length of contracts and commissions
- Variable terms and conditions of contracts
- Short notice of engagements and commissions
- Delays in the start of a production, e.g. film, television
- Sequential stop/start patterns of employment
- Concurrent projects and contracts
- The need to be available at all hours for work offers
- Seasonal employment
- Unsocial hours of work/unpredictable locations of work
- Unpredictability of work offers and consequently variable income
- Vulnerability to changes in fashion, in broader cultural trends and 'market' preferences.

In sum, self-employment is common among creative artists (writers, sculptors, painters) but many performing artists are also self-employed. Partly, this is because of the nature of the work; for instance, concerts and film productions are often one-off undertakings. Partly, it is because cultural workers prefer it that way. And partly, it is the result of them being pushed into self-employment. There are no great gender differences among cultural workers although some professions are in majority female (dancers; visual artists; music teachers) whereas others are in majority male (actors, composers, playwrights). Dancers and actors are comparatively young; writers, playwrights and musicians are older than average. Cultural workers, particularly actors and musicians, are overrepresented in urban areas but this is less true for visual artists and writers who generally work alone.

3. Cultural workers: Income

Data on earnings of cultural workers are notoriously unreliable. These workers typically have different sources of income. In addition to earnings from regular jobs, there are within-family transfers and income from self-employment, which is not always registered. Payment for single performances may be an arbitrary lump sum payment by the operator of the venue from the proceeds of a gig rather than a pre-arranged and negotiated fee. Payment in the informal circuit may be far from a wage or salary arrangement, with payment in kind, tips and other forms of payment. This chapter attempts to throw some light on the different sources of income of cultural workers. It will give particular attention to gender and age dimensions.

3.1. Introduction

How do cultural workers cope with irregular incomes and uncertain employment patterns? Cultural workers typically have a secondary job that may or may not be related to their primary artistic activity. Many receive support from family and relatives. Often they have a spouse or partner with a regular income. Awards and private and public sponsoring are other sources of income. But given the willingness of many to accept a modest lifestyle, the largest subsidy to the arts may well come from artists themselves.

Cultural workers earn comparatively little in their primary job. According to Rengers (2002) this finding is robust over several countries and holds for almost all art disciplines. In Canada, the average earnings of artists in 2006 was CAN$ 22.700 which is 37% less than the average for all Canadian workers, and slightly less than what data-entry workers and janitors earned. The cultural labour force -which, *inter alia*, also includes librarians, archivists, graphic designers, translators and architects -earned 9% less than the average (Hill et al. 2009).

But many have a secondary job that provides them with additional income and (often) a degree of (employment related) social security (see chapter two). Of the total yearly income of actors and dancers in Germany in 2006, 65% came from their main artistic job, 24% of activities related to their art, and 11% from activities not related to their art (Keuchel, 2010).

Low earnings, gaps between jobs and partly reduced working times imply that cultural workers have few opportunities to save money for retirement. As a result, modest earnings during their active careers are followed by modest earnings in retirement (which may not really be retirement).

A peculiar feature of the earnings model of creative visual artists is that where people in other professions have the option of producing more when they need more income, this option may actually lead to lower earnings for this category of artists. “If their income is low, because of low demand for their work, a simple increase in production through more work may have no effect and an increasing supply of the works for sale may not trigger an equilibrium process, since the price acts as a signal of quality and a decrease in the pricing of a contemporary artist will promptly be interpreted negatively” (Menger 2006 p. 787).

The distribution of income from different sources can vary considerable depending on the occupation or sector considered. Flemish illustrators were found to derive no less than 31% of their income from subsidies and fellowships (with 49% from honoraria and royalties; 9% from author’s rights; and 11% from other sources, including literary awards-VAV, 2012). In Ireland, at 48%, the proportion of income from salaries and wages was lowest for writers. For performing arts and film, and for visual arts it was in the 75-80% range. Income from grants and awards, on the other hand, was an important source of

income for writers (23% of the total). For people active in the performing arts and film (13%) and visual arts (11%) groups this was a less important source. Incomes from royalties, advances and other copyright earnings were also much higher for writers (24%) compared to the performing arts and film (4%) and visual arts (1%) groups (Hibernian 2010 p.139).

Tables 6 and 7, which compare secondary and primary income sources for different occupations roughly confirm this picture. Australian writers depend to a significant extent on other arts- and non-arts related activities. For dancers on the other hand, non-arts related income is only a minor source of income.

Table 6. Mean earned income of Australian artists in the financial year 2007/08 (a) ($)

	Writers	Visual Artists	Craft practitio-ners	Actors	Dancers	Musicians	Composers	Community cultural develop. Workers	All artists (b)
Creative income	11,100	15,300	22,000	27,100	17,300	19,300	25,900	24,400	18,900
Arts-related income	8,100	7,800	7,800	4,700	12,300	10,800	11,900	16,800	8,800
Total arts income	19,200	23,100	29,800	31,800	29,700	30,100	37,800	41,200	27,700
Non arts-related income	21,300	11,800	8,500	12,800	5,000	13,400	13,500	5,700	13,500
Total income	40,500	34,900	38,300	44,600	34,700	43,500	51,200	46,900	41,200

(a) excludes artists whose total income exceeded $250,000 in the financial year 07/08.

(b) numbers for all artists are weighted to represent Australia's artist population

Source: Throsby et al 2010, p.45

Table 7. Median earned income of Australian artists in the financial year 2007/08 (a) ($)

	Writers	Visual Artists	Craft practitio-ners	Actors	Dancers	Musicians	Composers	Community cultural develop. Workers	All artists (b)
Creative income	3,600	4,500	10,000	15,000	7,900	7,200	8,100	14,600	7,000
Total arts income	8,000	10,000	18,000	20,000	23,400	25,000	17,800	44,400	17,300
Total income	30,100	25,800	30,500	36,600	27,600	40,900	43,800	48,000	35,900

(a) excludes artists whose total income exceeded $250,000 in the financial year 07/08.

(b) numbers for all artists are weighted to represent Australia's artist population

Source: Throsby et al 2010, p.45

In Canada, producers, directors and choreographers were the best-paid artists, followed by conductors, composers and arrangers. Dancers had the lowest incomes, followed by visual artists, musicians and singers (Hill et al., 2009).

In short, people in arts and culture earn income from a variety of sources. It is common to distinguish:

(1) *primary income*, i.e. income from the main artistic activity,

(2) *income from other, art-related activities*, and

(3) *income from other, non-art related activities*.

Other sources of income are:

(4) *stipends and grants*;

(5) *income from copyrights and authors' rights; "residuals"*

(6) *social and unemployment benefits* that are tailored to the specific needs and income streams of people in the culture industries

(7) *support from family and relatives*. In the Netherlands cultural workers' *family* income (i.e. adding income from family members) was found to be roughly in line with that of the average worker (Schreven et al., 2011).

Lastly, an important, but often overlooked "source of income" is the willingness of many artists to lead a modest life style so as to minimize their financial needs. The earnings foregone by artists working in their primary occupation may well be the largest single subsidy to the arts (Ross 2012; Rengers 2002).

They sacrifice having children because of not having a guaranteed income.

A German survey found that more than two thirds (68%) of actors and dancers had no children. Among those younger than 30 this percentage was 90%. The main reasons given were financial: inadequate earnings (54%), poor long-term income prospects (48%), followed by irregular working times, oft-changing places of work, and the fact that repetitions and performances often take place at night. Yet only 13% of all actors and dancers stated that they consciously decided to have no children. Much more important were inadequate earnings and irregular working times (Keuchel, 2010, pp. 158-162).

3.2. Gender

Do women cultural workers earn less than men? At first glance this seems indeed to be the case. Throsby et al (2010) found that in Australia the gap was considerable, but narrowing rapidly. In 2002, the total income of male artists was 57% higher than that of female artists, but by 2009 this percentage had dropped to 38%. In Canada, the earnings gap was 28% in 2005 which was lower than the earnings gap for the labour force as a whole (Hill et al. 2009). In Ireland, male artists were found to earn twice as much as female artists from their work. Interestingly, at the level of the household after all sources of income have been taken into account, these gender differences all but disappear (see table 8). In the US, among full-year, full-time artists, women earn 81 cents for every dollar earned by men artists.

Table 8. Artist incomes by gender, Ireland, 2008 (Euro)

	Male Artists		Female Artists	
	Average (Mean)	Median	Average (Mean)	Median
Income from work as an artist	€20,501	€11,148	€9,789	€5,952
Income from other work and sources	€10,213	N/a	€10,634	N/a
Total Personal Income	€30,715	€23,473	€20,423	€17,000
Total Household Income	€48,559	€39,000	€46,452	€35,963

N = 325 (males) and 375 (females). N (household income) = 266 (males) and 289 (females)

Note: Figures relate to income after allowable deductable expenses and before tax

Source: Hibernian, 2010, p.11

Two caveats apply though. As before, such averages are sensitive to the gender distribution across different categories of workers. Similarly, earnings differentials are best considered *within* each sub-sector or occupation, as figures for the industries as a whole are influenced by its composition. For example, when a low-paying occupation such as dancing, that pays comparatively little and attracts mainly women performers, is overrepresented in the total, this will drag down women's average earnings[8].

In Canada, women earned less than men in all nine arts occupations with the gap being particularly wide among conductors and composers (45%). The gap was smallest among producers, directors and choreographers (6%) and authors and writers (11%) (Hill et al. 2009). Hibernian (2010) found that the earnings gap between male and female artists in Ireland was particularly wide in the visual arts and writers group. In the US, women musicians and "other entertainers" were found to earn slightly more and women writers and authors were found to earn slightly less than men (Nea 2011 p.10).

Of course, in many cases allowance must be made for differences in the number of hours worked[9]. In countries where women do most of the household chores and look after children they are unlikely to work as many hours as do male cultural workers.

More generally, the notion of hourly rate is difficult to establish. Many cultural workers are engaged in unremunerated activities among which some should definitively be counted as work. These un remunerated activities include training and professional development, time spent on proposals and auditions, meeting sponsors and promoting new work.

> "It is very difficult to say what the rate "per hour" is if you're a musician. If you have spent 50 hours practising something you then play in five minutes, you're not really getting paid just for the five minutes, are you?" (Solo instrumentalist and band leader; in Galloway 2002 p. 81)

Ball et al. (2010) also draw attention to a major new development over the past ten years: the willingness of graduates to undertake unpaid work to gain necessary work experience (Ball et al. 2010 p. 5)[10].

[8] In turn, one reason why dancers are paid little is because they are all on average younger than other performers

[9] The difference between male and female artists' incomes may also reflect different gender approaches to the negotiation of rates or fees (Hibernian 2010, p.128).

Gender distribution in Sweden[11]

Flisbäck (2012) examined female artists' net income as a percentage of that of male artists by artists' group in Sweden. The median net income of the female artists studied was 95 per cent of that of the male artists. This compares favorably to the gender gap for the labour force as a whole. She found considerable differences by sub-sector though. Female artists working in Film had an eight per cent *higher* median net income than their male colleagues. In Visual Arts & Design and in Music the median net income of women was, respectively, four and three per cent higher than that of men. In musicals, on the other hand, women's median net income amounted to only 91 per cent of men's net income.

Table 9. Women's Net Income as Percentage of Men's Net Income, Artist Group Studied, Aged 20 to 64, Sweden, 2007: Median Value and Values for the Lowest and Highest 10 and 25 Per Cent of Income Earners.

	Women					
	Number	p10	p25	Median	p75	p90
Musicals	260	97,1%	97,5%	90,6%	88,6%	88,2%
Word & Literature	1,148	102,7%	101,8%	99,7%	99,5%	94,8%
Music	1,614	110,5%	107,8%	102,5%	102,1%	100,7%
Dance	584	120,8%	99,0%	95,1%	95,5%	95,4%
Visual Arts & Design	3,097	136,1%	108,5%	103,7%	98,8%	97,2%
Theatre	1,664	99,6%	96,4%	92,7%	95,0%	95,8%
Film	455	124,5%	110,6%	107,7%	96,6%	97,9%
Total	8,822	93,4%	97,6%	95,4%	95,0%	95,5%
Total Population	2,625,153	99,6%	88,2%	84,0%	83,2%	79,2%

In the total labour force, women's net incomes were consistently lower than those of men, with the gender gap widening as one moves towards the upper net income brackets. "Among the lowest 10 per cent net income earners in the total population, the difference in the net income of women and men was virtually non-existent, whereas among the highest 10 per cent net income earners women earned no more than 80 per cent of what men earned". She observed a similar tendency among the artists studied, although it was less pronounced. Among the highest 25 per cent net income earning artists, Music was the only art field in which women's net income was higher than men's. In all other fields, "men's net income surpasses women's net income as we move to the highest quartile, and even in Music the difference in net income is at its largest at the lower end of the spectrum, then gradually evening up until becoming virtually non-existent among the highest 10 per cent net income earning Music artists" (Flisbäck, 2012, p.61).

3.3. Ageing and income

In Ireland, artists' incomes were found to go up with increasing age. Artists aged 45 and over earn more from their work as artists than do artists aged under 45. Hibernian

[10] It can get worse. Recently graduated air pilots participating in "pay-to-fly" programmes have been found to pay up to Euro 50,000 to certain airlines for the privilege of gaining experience and keeping their skills up-to-date

[11] This section is based on Flisbäck (2012)

(2010) among others argue that, first, this may reflect an exit by artists who do not have high earnings from work as artists after a certain number of years, and, second, that those who stay in the profession establish a reputation over time and this may have a positive effect on earnings.

Hill et al. (2009) confirm this picture for Canada of artists aged 33-54 earning more than their younger (and older) colleagues. But they add that the gap between those in the arts professions and the overall labour force actually increases over time. Between age 35 and age 44 cultural workers earn 33% less than similarly aged workers in the overall labour force; between 45 and 54 years of age the gap is 41%; and artists over 55 earn 51% less than similarly aged workers in the overall labour force. Schreven et al. (2011) found a comparable picture in the Netherlands: increasing incomes with age but also an increasing gap between those who have followed a cultural tertiary education and those who followed a non-cultural tertiary education.

3.4. Canada: Self-employed workers vs. Workers in paid employment

Hill et al. (2009) for Canada compared earnings of the self-employed and those in paid employment. Overall, those in paid employment earned nearly twice as much as the self-employed. Producers, directors and choreographers in paid employment earned more than twice as much as their self-employed colleagues. Self-employed dancers and actors, in contrast, earned more than their colleagues in paid employment.

In sum, cultural workers have several sources of income: (1) primary income, i.e. income from their main artistic activity, (2) income from other, art-related activities, (3) income from other, non-art related activities, (4) stipends and grants; (5) income from copyrights, authors' rights and residuals; (6) social and unemployment benefits; and (7) support from family and relatives. Whether women earn less than men is best considered for individual sub-sectors since particularly poorly paying professions (e.g. dancers) tend to drag down the average when these are overrepresented in the total. Allowance must also be made for differences in hours worked. Artists were found to earn more as they got older but there is also evidence to suggest that with age the earnings gap with non-artists of the same age group gets wider.

4. Cultural workers, creative industries, and the State

> "A nation that cares about art will not just be a better nation. In the early 21st Century it will be a more successful one" (from former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair's speech given at the Tate Modern, London, 6 March 2007)

Outside support is important for many arts and culture industries. For some, e.g. opera, it is essential. The subsidized sub-sector is usually also the place where traditional employer-employee relations dominate and where working conditions are set by collective agreement.

Why do States support arts and culture, and cultural workers? How do they decide on the *level* of support (in absolute terms, and compared to other spending items)? How do they distribute the total funding available among different sub-sectors and occupations? Which types of support do they chose and why? What is the role and scale of private sponsorship? A thorough discussion of these questions falls clearly outside the scope of this paper but we will briefly deal with some of them.

4.1. Types of support

There are many ways in which governments support arts and culture. They fund -in whole or in part, directly or through special funding agencies -exhibitions, museums, the opera, ballet, orchestras, theatres and festivals. They provide working space for visual artists, build venues for performing artists, and provide support for purchasing material. They offer tax rebates to individuals and corporations that support the arts. They offer deals to art collectors to persuade them to keep their collections on national soil. They provide support for international cultural exchanges and for cultural manifestations on foreign soil. They finance a great deal of arts education. They make it more attractive for individuals to buy art or to attend performances through reduced VAT rates. They offer awards, prizes and fellowships.

Beckman (2001, pp. 157-160) places support to arts and culture in five categories:

1. *Artist-directed support.* This includes tuition and training, travel opportunities, housing, and networking; Income support through grants and awards; teaching jobs; special social security systems, special taxation rules and special pension status; prizes and honorary titles;

2. *Production-directed support.* This includes support for materials, workspaces, technical equipment; subsidies for the acquisition of fine musical instruments; investment subsidies; subsidizing the production costs of publishers, music producers and film producers; production loan guarantees;

3. *Distribution-directed support* focuses on ways to bring art to the public: operas, theatres, concert halls, libraries, museums, festivals, expositions, schools; also, the international dissemination of art, subsidizing translation costs, representation at international festivals;

4. *Support for art consumption and demand* includes public commissions and buying of art products like books, symphonies and sculptures; rules requiring property developers and builders to devote a percentage of construction costs to artistic purposes; reduced VAT rates, favourable taxation rules when buying objects of art;

5. *Support for other supportive institutions* such as voluntary associations; foundations, public subsidies for artistic activities and interests.

4.2. Reasons for support

Many reasons have been given for why governments support arts and culture. These range from the essentially defensive "Government supports agriculture, industry and many other sectors so why not arts and culture..."; to the idealistic goal of making arts and culture accessible to a broad audience; to the prosaic "catching up with other countries"; for use "as a weapon of ideological welfare" (Baumol et al. 1966 p.357); to the economic goal of attracting tourists[12] and making the country a more attractive place to live and do business in.

> Eikhof et al. (2007, p.527) see public funding as a kind of contract between the beneficiary and the state. Theatres fulfil cultural and educational functions just like schools or universities do. "In return for public funding, theatres are expected (i) to stage dramas of artistic and educational, rather than purely entertainment value (i.e. Goethe, Miller and Jelinek instead of *Starlight Express*), and (ii) to offer a different drama every night, drawing on a standing repertory of 15-20 plays for a season (repertory system)".

A compelling reason for government support to live performances is related to their labour intensiveness and the near-impossibility to raise productivity. The playing of an instrument or the acting of a role remains today largely what it has been for centuries. As Baumol et al. (1966, p.164) put it "...whereas the amount of labor necessary to produce a typical manufactured product has constantly declined since the beginning of the industrial revolution...no one has yet succeeded in decreasing the human effort expended at a live performance of a 45 minute Schubert quartet much below a total of three man-hours". In live performances, the work of the performer is usually an end in itself, rather than a means for the production of some good (though recordings of concerts can become very successful products). Assuming that the string players perform as often as they did the previous year and that they successfully resist erosion of their relative incomes, any increase in wage rates, however modest, must lead to a corresponding increase in costs. "Moreover, there is nothing in the nature of this situation to prevent the cost of a performance from rising indefinitely at a compound rate" (ibid). State support seems thus essential to keep live performances affordable to more than just a small elite.

More in general, Baumol et al. (1966 pp. 382-384) identified four reasons for state support to art and culture. The first is prestige. A country's public image is enhanced as it shows the rest of the world that it is interested in more than materialistic things, not only devoted to profits and consumer goods. The second is essentially an economic argument: the availability of cultural activity has a positive effect on surrounding businesses and can be important as a tourist attraction. The third focuses on arts' importance for future generations: "...we have all met people who admit they have never themselves learned to enjoy a particular art form, but feel it important that such an opportunity be available to other members of their families...". The fourth is a practical argument that stresses art's educational contribution: "...how can drama be taught if there is no drama available for the student to experience? What can the teaching of music mean if no one can hear or see performances of professional quality?".

[12] A recent U.S. Department of Commerce report noted that the percentage of foreign visitors who had visited art galleries and museums during their trip had grown to 24% (from 17% in 2003), while the share attending concerts, plays, and musicals increased to 17% from 13% in 2003 (Kushner et al 2013 p.3). The Netherlands Minister for Culture noted that in 2009 11% of foreign visitors to the Netherlands said that they were on a culture vacation and 8% mentioned visiting museums as their main goal; 40% of all foreign tourists visited at least one museum.

More recently, in 2001 Beckman (Beckman 2001 p.155) identified five sets of motives for supporting the arts: (1) One set relates to the intrinsic value of art ("The beautification of the world and the enhancement of sensibility and expressiveness"); (2) It is supported for "the glory of patrons"; (3) because it is a public good contributing to democracy, freedom, identity, cohesion, participation, diversity, empowerment and other noble things; (4) because of market failure in cultural goods production. "The market cannot bring such things like opera and art music concerts to the consumer and therefore this failure must be corrected"[13]; (5) because of its contribution to economic development: supporting arts and culture is a kind of infra-structural investment that makes regions attractive for habitation, work and investment; it contributes to the formation of general creative skills.

More often than not these arguments are being used simultaneously -although the weight of each may vary over time (see section 4.5 on the Netherlands) and by country. Beckman (2001) noted that over the years there has been an accumulation of motives[14]. But nearly everywhere the weight of economic arguments (attracting investment, generating taxes, promoting tourism, stimulating innovation) has gone up. Increasingly, arts and culture are placed at the heart of the discussion on the need to promote 'creative industries'.

4.3. Creative industries

Creativity enjoys growing interest among policy makers. For many of them it is approaching the popularity level of new technologies, not so much because of its inherent merits, but because of its assumed high growth potential and its contribution to economic growth and development.

Arts and culture are widely considered to be a central component of the creative industries, but beyond that there is no great deal of agreement on what to include and what not to include among these industries. There is also no agreement on the appropriate name for the industries or the activities referred to: cultural sector, creative industries, content industries, copyright industries, creative class.

Weckerle (2007 pp. 10 ff), who reviewed the development of the creative industries around the world since 1970 notes that "from a global perspective, the variety of terminology and different concepts of the creative industries are astonishing".

An extreme case is Richard Florida's "creative class", which, by his own definition, includes roughly one-third of the US labour force:

> "...the super-creative core of this new [creative] class includes scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects, as well as the 'thought leadership' of modern society: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and other opinion makers...Beyond this core group, the creative class also includes 'creative professionals' who work in a wide range of knowledge-based occupations in high-tech sectors, financial services [sic], the legal and health care professions, and business management. These people engage in creative problem solving, drawing on complex bodies of knowledge to solve specific problems....according to my

[13] Adding that the "sceptical companion to this type of argument is the theory that public art support is mainly a matter of subsidizing elite group consumption"

[14] With clear signs of opportunism, "in the sense of effortless shifting of motives when the conditions of the times change" (Beckman 2001, p. 156).

estimates, the creative class now includes some 38.3 million Americans, roughly 30 percent of the entire US workforce" (Florida 2003 p.8).

A well-known way of presenting the relation between arts and culture and the creative industries is Throsby's model of concentric circles with the creative arts at its core, surrounded by the industries that derive their cultural content from the creative core. In its basic form the model comprises four circles (Thorsby 2010, p.92): the first (inner) circle contains the core creative arts (literature, music, performing arts, visual arts); the second, other core cultural industries (film, museums, galleries, libraries, photography); the third, wider cultural industries (heritage services, publishing and print media, sound recording, television and radio, video and computer games); and the fourth and last, related industries (advertising, architecture, design, fashion).

Along similar lines, but taking a more business-economics approach, Weckerle (2007) suggests three "observational models": The first of these is characterized by a close relationship to artistic and cultural production and comprises self-employed workers and companies whose main business is culture in the broadest sense. Examples are music ensembles, sound studios, publishing houses, sound storage producers, book and music shops, art dealers and galleries, concert agents, film actors, film producers, architects and designer studios, author and journalists' offices, and agencies for cultural services.

The second model focuses on the concept of intellectual property -i.e. the intellectual or immaterial components of products and services that are produced by the creative industries. Creative industries means here creative branches that go beyond the art and cultural models and include radio, television, and the media;

The third model is more generally related to the term "creativity" and includes products and services from other industries that have an element of creativity in their production, "including pharmaceutical industry, electronics, ICT, chemistry, space travel, and the automobile industry"(Weckerle, 2007, pp. 21-22).

4.4. Concrete measures to support cultural workers

The current debate on the need to promote 'creative industries' is, despite overlap on some key points, only partially relevant for our subject: employment relationships in arts and culture. This debate takes place in the context of a dynamic, economics- and business-centred world, and concentrates on the question 'what are the creative industries'? But this debate can be miles away from the subject of this paper that deals with the question 'who are the creative industries?' (Weckerle, 2007).

For governments and for the public debate, it is important to recognize that support to cultural workers can be framed in different ways, depending on whether one wants to emphasize arguments related to cultural policy, social policy, labour market policy or economic/industrial policy. When the reason for supporting artists is because art is valuable and worth supporting we are in the domain of cultural policy. Supporting artists because they are poor, which they typically are, is the domain of social policy. When the focus is on their particular work relations we are talking labour market policy. "If the motive is a matter of justice and efficiency in terms of legal economic status, property rights, taxation, etc. then the context of support is that of economic and industrial" (Beckman 2001 p.154).

Cultural workers benefit indirectly when their industries are supported for cultural and economic policy reasons. But they benefit directly when social and labour market considerations are the principal reasons for support, and the focus is on their concerns and interests, and on aspects of their special employment status such as intermittent

employment, self-employment, underemployment, irregular earnings, multiple forms of engagement and multiple social security and tax statuses.

Social and labour market measures that benefit cultural workers can be of a generic type, i.e. not tailored specifically for use by cultural workers but useful to them in view of their particular employment relationships; and they can be measures created specifically to accommodate the relationships typical for cultural workers.

Examples of the generic type are measures that recognize cultural workers' variable patterns of earnings. This happens e.g. with the possibility of 'income averaging' that allows them to spread their income over a specific period of time—usually between two and four years. Such regulations are important for e.g. authors and composers who work over longer periods of time on an individual piece of work and are paid lump sums once their work has been produced (Ericarts, 2006), usually in the form of an "advance payment against royalties".

Also important are generic measures that provide clarity on whether, how, and to what extent grants, awards, scholarships and advance payments are subject to taxation and in which year; clarity on the extent to which research, development and training costs are tax deductible, and on the extent to which taxation, social security (health care, contingencies such as accident, disability and retirement), and unemployment insurance accommodate the fact that cultural workers have temporary, short-term contracts with different employers, mixed with periods of self-employment and even unemployment.

The rest of this chapter provides some examples of arrangements created specifically for cultural workers.

4.4.1. The Netherlands Law on Work and Income for Artists

The Law on Work and Income for Artists (WWIK) came into being on 1 january 2005 and was abolished in 2012. It was successor to the 1999 WIK (*Wet Inkomensvoorziening Kunstenaars*) and the WIK's predecessor BKR (*Beeldende Kunstenaars Regeling*). The Law aimed at providing a supplementary income to recent arts graduates and to established artists in case of a temporary drop in income. The WWIK was available to both creative artists (e.g. sculptors and choreagraphers) and performing artists (e.g. dancers, actors). In 2010, 3500 people professionally active in arts and culture made use of the WWIK.

The WWIK offered artists a basic income at 70% of the social assistance level. As an exception to the social assistance rules, WWIK beneficiaries were allowed to earn an income as long as it did not exceed 125% of the social assistance level. In order to continue to benefit from the WWIK, beneficiaries had to show that every year they earned more than they did the year before. Artists could make use of the WWIK for a maximum of four years out of a total of ten.

WWIK beneficaries were either:

- Recent arts graduates who applied within a year of graduating from the arts academy to help them become professionally active, or

- Established artists who had been professionally active in the 12 months prior to applying and had earned at least Euro 1200 from their artistic activities in those months.

In order to continue to be eligible for the WWIK, beneficiaries had to show that each year they made more money in their professional activity than the year before. The minimum levels were:

- Euro 1200 to become eligible
- Euro 2800 to remain eligible after 12 months WWIK (step 1)
- Euro 4400 to remain eligible after 24 months WWIK (step 2)
- Euro 6000 to remain eligible after 36 months WWIK (step 3)

In 2012 the WWIK was abolished because the government considered that there was no reason to have separate rules for professional artists. Social assistance should only be available to people who are incapable of earning a living. In addition, the Government pointed out that professional artists have the possiblity to apply for the Social Assistance Programme for the Self-employed (BBZ-Besluit Bijstandsverlening Zelfstandigen) that provides financial assistance, under certain conditions, to the self-employed faced with a temporary drop in income and to those who start their own company (Source: various)

4.4.2. The German Social Security System for Artists and Journalists

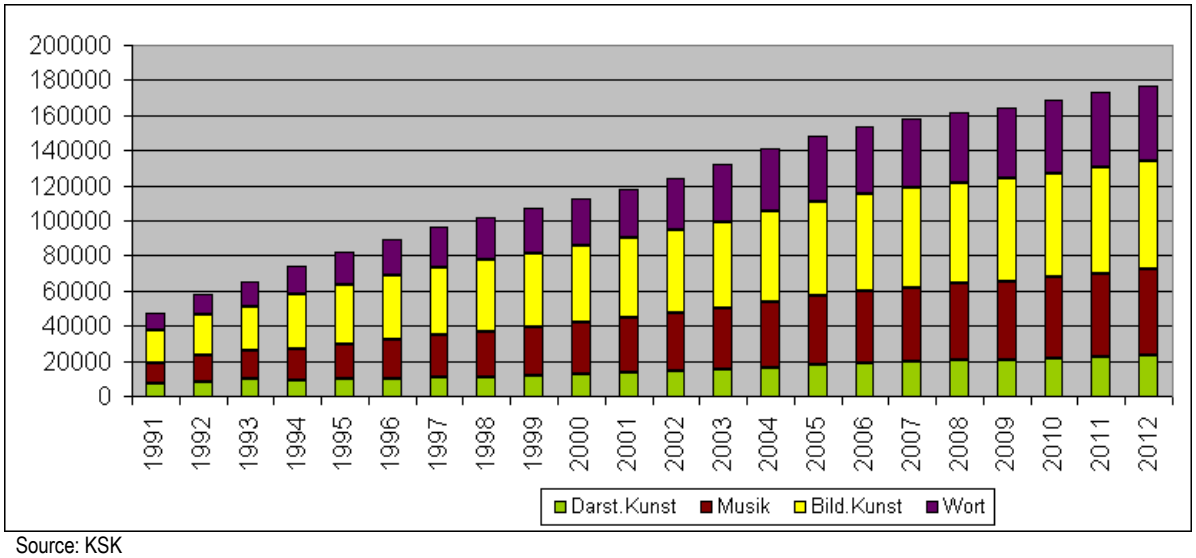
The German social security system for self-employed artists and journalists (KSK) was established in 1983. The fact that these two professions did not have a pension scheme and were not covered by health insurance was considered a gap in the social safety net that needed to be filled. Today, all self-employed professional artists and journalists who earn at least Euro 3900 per year *must* be insured through the KSK. The system is financed through income dependent contributions from the potential beneficiaries (i.e. the artists and journalists themselves), the federal government, and organisations and other employers who make *regular* use of the services of artists and journalists. In 2012, 177.219 people (52% men; 48% women) with over a hundred different professions (journalists and actors, but also fashion-, graphical- and multimedia designers, disk jockeys and many others) were covered by the KSK, 24% of whom were in writing professions (authors, translators, journalists- *Wort*), 35% were visual artists (*Bildende Künste*), 28% worked with music (musicians, composers) and 13% were active in the performing arts (actors, directors - *darstellende Künste*) (see also figure 3).

In order to be eligible, participants must:

- Be self-employed
- Earn at least Euro 3900 per year from their professional (artistic) activities. It is allowed, however, for their income to drop below this threshold twice in six years. Recent graduates from arts colleges are exempt from the income criteria for the first three years after graduation.

Of the total premiums, the beneficiaries pay 50%. The Federal government contributes 20% (160 million Euro in 2012) motivated by a mixture of social and cultural policy considerations. Undertakings in the culture and media economy pay the remaining 30%. The latter group includes publishing houses, theatres, orchestras, galleries, advertising agencies etc. The KSK establishes every year what percentage of the honoraria they must pay as royalty. For 2012 this was 4.1% (Source: various).

Figure 3. People insured via the KSK by type of profession (1991-2012)



Source: KSK

4.4.3. The Netherlands Retraining Programme for Dancers[15]

The Netherlands Retraining Programme for Dancers (SOD- *Stichting Omscholingsregeling Dansers*) assists dancers who are reaching the end of their career with career advice and financial support. The Programme was founded in 1986 thanks to a one-million guilders (440,000 Euro) grant from the Dutch government. Until then, only the Dutch National Ballet and the Netherlands Dance Theatre, the country's largest companies, had some redundancy pay scheme. Today the Programme is financed by public funds, and by contributions from active dancers and from the dance companies that employ them.

Career counselling is provided free of charge to all professional dancers at any time during their career. However, in order to be eligible for financial support, dancers must have contributed to the Programme whilst they were active dancers.

Dancers who work for companies that receive long-term state subsidies and who are covered by the Collective Labour Agreement automatically pay a monthly contribution to the Programme. The companies deduct 1 % of each dancer's gross monthly salary in addition to paying a contribution of 3 % themselves. Dancers who work for other companies may join the Programme on a voluntary basis. They must then pay both the employer and the employee contributions (i.e. four per cent of their gross monthly pay).

The scheme recognizes two types of beneficiaries. Dancers who have paid at least 48 monthly contributions over a period of five years are eligible for a refund of their study costs up to a maximum amount (of € 10,000 in 2012) even if they are still actively dancing. Dancers who have paid at least 72 monthly contributions over a period of ten years are, in addition, eligible for supplementary income support once they have ended their dancing career. The amount that they receive is related the number of years they have contributed

[15] Source: SOD

to the programme. They are also eligible for a contribution towards the costs of retraining and, where applicable, to the costs related to setting up their own business.

The SOD board is comprised of five persons, two of whom are appointed by the employers' association NAPK, and two by the union FNV-KIEM. The chairman is independent and appointed by the board members.

Just like many other arts and culture institutions in the Netherlands (see section 4.5), the Programme saw a decrease in public funding in the most recent period. These cuts coincided with a doubling of the number in applications for study and income allowances in 2012. As a result, in June of that year, SOD was forced to cut its retraining budget by 35%. Even the long-term survival of the programme was in doubt. Then, quite unexpectedly, in September 2012 the Ministry for Education, Cultural Affairs and Science announced that it was making additional means available for the dance sector. This included a sum of € 601,250 for the SOD Programme. In 2012, the total number of dancers who studied with financial support from the SOD was 107: 64 of those dancers made use of a Study and Income Allowance, and the other 43 studied alongside their dancing career.

4.4.4. Social security for Swedish freelancers in the performing arts

Sweden has three "Alliances" in the performing arts: *Teateralliansen* for actors, *Dansalliansen* for dancers, and *Musikalliansen* for musicians. These "alliances" provide experienced freelance performing artists active in the publicly-funded sector with social insurance and financial security by appointing them as employees. For instance, a freelance musician who joins the Music Alliance continues his or her musical activity in the same way as before joining. When he or she gets a contract (which may be a one-day commitment, a longer contract, a tour or a recording) the musician takes leave from *Musikalliansen*. When the contract ends, he or she is reinstated in the *Musikalliansen.* The monthly salary paid by the Alliance is at a level somewhere between the unemployment benefit and the fee that is common in the open market.

The alliances offer workshops, master classes, training courses and seminars to their employees in order to improve their competence and raise their market value, and so make it easier for them to get a job. Many of these activities are also open to freelancing professionals who are not employed by an alliance.

Those employed by an Alliance thus get several advantages. First, they get a steady employment with all the social, professional and union advantages that this entails; for example, they are part of the state retirement system. Second, the Alliance helps them to find a job. Third, the alliance offers them (re-) training programs. No quality or means testing is done when applying.

The alliances operate as a limited company but do not stage any performances. The Alliances are financed by the Swedish state. For year 2013 the state allowance to e.g. Teateralliansen is 28 million SEK (about 3,3 million Euros). The first Alliance (TA-*Teateralliansen*) was established in 1999. The board of the Alliances is made up of representatives from the employers (Swedish Performing Arts Association- *Svensk Scenkonst*), employees (Swedish Union for Theatre, Artists and Media- *Teaterförbundet*), and the Employment Security Council (*Trygghetsrådet*), the organisation set up by the social partners to help redundant employees find new careers.

The Alliances do of course not solve the lack of social security to all freelance performing artists or even a major part of them. But it is a start. *Teateralliansen* employs around 140 experienced actors (out of a total of close to 2000 actors without permanent

employment). *Musikalliansen* employs 122 instrumentalists, singers, musical artists and conductors. *Dansalliansen* employed 48 dancers by end 2013.

The young Theatre alliance *(Unga TeaterAlliansen)*

Graduating students from Swedish Theatre Academies have the possibility to become affiliated to the Theatre Alliance for two years to facilitate their transition from school to working life. They do not get formal, wage-paying employment but they get administrative assistance and career path support and advice during these first two years after graduation. In addition they can become affiliated to the Theatre Alliance's job centre and get a place on its website. They may also participate in the *Teateralliansen*'s actor's studio (Source: various).

4.5. The State and arts and culture in the Netherlands

Traditionally, financial support to the arts in the Netherlands, to the extent there was any, came from rich or well-to-do individuals and private organisations. Early in the 20th century, the major towns started to provide some support to music whilst insisting that this should lead to improved wages and working conditions for musicians. The central government was largely absent until the outbreak of the Second World War (1939-1945).

After the war, concern about culture became part of the general reconstruction effort. Dutch culture should "catch up" with other countries; to make the point, foreign artists were invited to perform in the Netherlands during the yearly *Holland Festival*. Another goal was to make culture accessible to the population in all parts of the country, and from all walks of life and religious background. "High" culture was promoted to counter the potentially morally corrupting influence of popular music and film. Efforts to facilitate access to museums, concert halls and theatres for broad layers of the population had widespread political support. However, conservative political parties were critical of the State's involvement in arts and culture arguing that the market was the most effective mechanism for the acquisition and distribution of cultural products and services. There was also the risk that state subsidies to theatres, libraries and museums might lead to these becoming politicized. Cultural education, on the other hand, enjoyed broad support among all political parties.

In the 1970s "social relevance" became a main reason for state support to the arts. Within the industries itself this social relevance criterion was not uncontroversial.

In the 1980s the Netherlands' economy was in deep trouble. The country's ability to continue to finance the welfare state was placed in doubt. In a climate of severe budget cuts the effectiveness and efficiency of state subsidies to arts and culture, and the lack of explicit and verifiable goals became the subject of discussion. Some arts funding was decentralized to lower levels of government.

In the early 1990s a low (15%) minimum of self-generated income became a condition for any type of state subsidy to arts and culture. (In 2010 this percentage was raised to 21.5%, and to 17.5% for museum tickets). The 1990s also saw greater emphasis on multiculturalism and on the alignment of educational and cultural policy. A four-yearly subsidy cycle was introduced in 1993 to provide cultural institutions a degree of funding certainty and freedom. Available resources went up with every new cycle.

After 2000 the political consensus on cultural policy started to disintegrate. Publicly supported *ensembles*, institutions and institutes were told to become more financially self-supporting. Gradually, the government came to place more emphasis on the economic and quality aspects of subsidized arts and culture. Just as in science policy, the promotion of excellence and innovation became important goals.

In 2010, for the first time since 1945, the Netherlands had a conservative minister for arts and culture in a government that depended for its survival on the populist right-wing party PVV, which was (and is) deeply sceptical of government support to arts and culture. Forced by the country's poor financial state the government drastically (- 10%) cut the State budget. VAT on theatre tickets went up from 6% to 19% and then to 21%. Above average cuts in the culture budget were defended with the argument that the State's presence had elbowed out private initiative (including private sponsorship) and so weakened the link between producers and consumers of arts and culture. Entrepreneurship and private funding were to make the culture industries more resilient and less dependent on government financing. However, internationally renowned institutions, libraries and cultural heritage, cultural education and international culture exchange were exempted from the cuts. These measures and the budget cuts led to much protest by the arts and culture community but, to the industries' regret, not to any significant popular protest (Source: mainly Smithuijsen, 2013; also, Langenberg, 2013).

Summary There are many reasons why States support arts and culture. The weight of each may change over time. In recent decades, economic reasons have gained prominence in the context of the great attention given to the "creative industries" and their supposed contribution to innovation, economic and employment growth. Arts and culture are widely seen as constituting the core of the creative industries but this has not spilled over into greater concern for the primary and secondary working conditions of cultural workers. Examples of social security measures specifically tailored to the needs of cultural workers are, in the Netherlands, the Retraining Programme for Dancers and the now-defunct Law on Work and Income for Cultural Workers; in Sweden, the "Alliances" for performing artists; and in Germany, the Social Security System for Artists and Journalists (KSK).

5. Worsening incomes, shorter contracts and the aftermath of the 2008 crisis

> "It used to be quite normal for a professional musician to get a permanent position in a music school or a performance ensemble, such as a symphony orchestra or an opera house. You would never become rich but there was a certain security. This situation is changing rapidly. State funding for music is decreasing in virtually all European countries and so is the number of formally organised jobs." (Martin Prchal, chief executive of the European Association of Conservatoires (AEC).

The 2008 economic crisis, the effects of which are felt to this day in many parts of the world, did not leave the arts and culture industries unaffected- although there are differences by country. Generalised tightening of the public budget on the one hand, and reduced spending by consumers on the other affected the industries negatively. But as so often, there are differences depending on the sub-sector considered. The state-subsidized industries have been hit harder than sub-sectors that are less dependent on public funding.

Arts and culture are labour-intensive industries. They have few possibilities to raise productivity. Reduced funding thus has an almost direct impact on employment and working conditions in the industries. Following drastic cuts in public funding, in the Netherlands, several orchestras and cultural institutions were abolished or forced to merge. Museums were closed. All as part of a rationalization drive prompted by the budget cuts. Many people saw their steady jobs disappear, with the only hope to be rehired as a freelancer.

The 2008 crisis is only partially to blame

Still, it would be wrong to point at the most recent crisis to explain the industries' worsening employment and working conditions. In fact, this deterioration started well before 2008 (but the crisis did reinforce the trend towards more freelance activities and self-employment according to Eurofound, 2013). Hibernian found that in Ireland relative incomes in the industries had slipped backwards "over the past 30 years" (Hibernian, 2010, p.15). The worsening income situation of performing artists in Germany is the result of a long period of declining incomes relative to the average incomes of employees. In 1972, these artists still earned well above the average; today they earn much less than the average (Keuchel, 2010). In Canada, real incomes in all arts professions declined between 1990 and 2005 (by 11%, compared to an *increase* of 9% for the labour force as a whole). This was particularly the result of a decrease between 2000 and 2005, when their average earnings declined by 14% (compared with a 2% *increase* for the overall labour force). Actors (-34% for 1990-2005; -26% for 2000- 2005), visual artists (-32%, -33%), dancers (-25%; -20%) and musicians and singers (-24%, -20%) experienced a particularly drastic decline in income (Hill et al, 2009).

In Switzerland, fees for film- and television- actors have gone down drastically. Yet for every vacancy up to 150 people apply. "Cantons and towns make available millions to their theatres and opera houses yet discussions of actors' wages are taboo" laments Rolf Simmen, the director of the Swiss Stage Artist Association (SBKV)[16] "...hardly any actor knows what his or her colleague earns. Many feel even ashamed: they are an elite with pre-eminent training and education and live nonetheless at subsistence level...".

[16] In *St. Galler Tagblatt*, 25 October 2006

Declining availability of public funding has stimulated discussions about efficacy and efficiency amongst theatre managers. "Using public funding not only to achieve cultural goals but also in a cost-efficient way has gained importance as a managerial goal" (Eikhof et al. 2007 p.527).

Above all, reduced funding has led to a casualization of the cultural workforce. In the EU, short-term contracts have become the norm with the length of contracts for occasional workers in the entertainment industry having declined steadily for twenty years (Ericarts, 2006). In France, between 1987 and 2001, the average length of a contract fell by 72% (from 20.1 days to 5.7 days of engagement), the average pay decreased by 25%, whilst the number of contracts grew by 130% (ibid, p.12).

FIA (2011), surveying the situation for dancers, found that self-employment amongst dancers has been increasing steadily; employers were found to "push" dancers into self-employment. The employment status of many dancers is determined by the available budget of the employer; with funding and grants increasingly limited or project-based, this leads to dancers being employed on short-term contracts. Permanent and long-term contracts are increasingly rare and mainly concern dancers employed by national companies or public theatres. But even in national ballets, operas or companies, where long-term contracts, including a lifelong pension, used to be the norm, dancers now generally don't enjoy such security. Rather, they increasingly work on a freelance basis. And in countries where there is still such a pension scheme, there is a growing reluctance to extend it to new dancers, who are often employed on short-term contracts (FIA, 2011, p.5).

There has thus been an increase in the number and the share of self-employed cultural workers and a decrease in the share of workers with steady employment. Trade unions have responded to this situation by also trying to organize the self-employed. For example, the Dutch trade union for cultural workers FNV Kiem, which organises a significant number of the self-employed, negotiates royalties and copyright arrangements on their behalf; provides training; offers different types of insurance; and lobbies the authorities. Yet, negotiating on wages and salaries is another matter. Employers are reluctant to enter into negotiations. Opposition from the anti-trust authorities is possibly an even bigger problem (see Box 3).

Box 3. Netherlands: European Anti-trust rules and minimum rates for self-employed musicians

In the Netherlands in 2006/07 FNV Kiem agreed a CLA with employers that obliged the latter to pay certain minimum rates when hiring self-employed replacement musicians for orchestras. The Dutch anti-trust authority (NMA) then issued a 'vision document' to indicate that in its view the nature and purpose of this CLA was contrary to anti-trust law because its stipulations were not covered by the CLA exceptions to EU anti-trust regulations. The trade unions challenged the NMA's view and took the case to the The Hague district court for it to decide on the matter. In its 27 October 2010 ruling, the The Hague district court recalled that the European Court of Justice (ECJ) had excepted CLAs from anti-trust rules on two conditions: first, the CLA had to be the product of social dialogue and, second, it had to be of direct benefit to the employees involved. FNV argued that the second condition should be interpreted broadly. A minimum rate for self-employed replacement musicians would contribute to an improvement of the working conditions of regular employees because it protects them against competition from low-paid self-employed. However, the district court rejected FNV's claim because contrary to what is stated in the European CLA exception the agreed minimum rates for replacement musicians would at best lead to an *indirect* and not a direct improvement of employees' working conditions.

The deteriorating working conditions of cultural workers are a source of concern. Their habitual defence against such adverse circumstances has been to reduce their dependence on their cultural work as a source of income (see chapter 3). Some simply gave up and left the profession. But young people continue to be attracted by the profession and so perpetuate the situation of oversupply. Nonetheless, there are signs that in the most recent period the cultural labour force is growing at a lower speed than before. In the US,

between 2000 and 2009, the artistic labour force increased by 5%, well below the 8% increase of the labour force as a whole in that period (NEA 2011). In Canada, where the artistic labour force had grown much faster than the overall labour force between 1971 and 2001, the 2001 to 2006 period saw a 7% *decrease* in the number of artists compared to a 11% *increase* in the overall labour force in that period (Hill at al. 2009, p.29).

In sum, primary and secondary working conditions of cultural workers are stagnant at best. In many places, relative wages started to decline well before the latest (2008) crisis. Governments demand higher levels of efficiency from the beneficiaries of State funding but the possibilities to achieve this tend to be limited in this labour-intensive industry. As a result, a drop in the level and the certainty of public funding to arts and culture often translates almost immediately into deteriorating employment and income security for the workers involved.

6. Is the cultural labour market setting a trend?

In view of its increasing number of self-employed and micro-entrepreneurs:

> "...is the cultural field a (negative) vanguard of new labour relations, so to say freelance cultures first for artists and then for the rest of the population?" (Ellmeier, 2003 p.4)

> "arts have often been mentioned as forerunners in experiencing the trend toward increasingly flexible high-skilled labor markets where workers may be hired for only two or three hours, without any costly dismissal procedures" (Menger, 2006 pp. 767-768)

> "..the traditional profile of the artist as unattached and adaptable to circumstances is surely now coming into its own as the ideal definition of the post-industrial knowledge worker: comfortable in an ever-changing environment that demands creative shifts in communication with different kinds of clients and partners; attitudinally geared toward production that requires long, and often unsocial, hours; and accustomed...to a contingent, rather than fixed, routine of self-application" (Ross 2012 p.46)

> "...dancers are faced with the need to work with a range of employment statuses, in a mobile way, with a skill-set that must evolve and broaden in the course of their working lives if they are to remain active. Increasingly, this is true of all workers, whatever their field" (Fia, 2011, p.8)

The above comments by arts and culture labour market experts (and others) raise the question of whether what is currently observed in the arts and culture industries where highly motivated people, despite a high level of education, work for low levels of compensation, at high levels of flexibility is a prelude of what is considered likely to happen in the labour market in general.

Are "portfolio careers", i.e. fragmented and unpredictable employment patterns that mix self-employment with part-time or fixed employment, unpaid work, self-financed training, networking, self-promotion and, in general, a blurring of the demarcation between working and non-working time the "new, new thing"? Many would agree that it is. Keuchel (2010, p. 174), a German researcher, argues that "patchwork professional and working careers" can now also be found in other sectors, with the artistic field functioning as a social pioneer, with its unusual situation, before these become "socially acceptable" for good or for worse.

Being self-employed offers advantages. Multiple job holdings are a means of managing risk in the labour market (Feist 2000). Self-employment opens up the possibility to achieve a better work-life balance, to gain experience at different companies and to build relationships with new people. But it can also be stressful and there are legitimate concerns about a lack of career and salary progression and about incomes not improving in line with financial commitments, lifestyle changes and family needs (Ball 2010).

The trend for graduates to undertake unpaid work to gain work experience is spreading outside the culture industries. Whilst this provides experience and on-the-job learning, Ball (2010) asks whether its widespread use is fair and even ethical. Moreover, graduates from less wealthy backgrounds may be unable to afford to undertake unpaid work, and so miss the opportunity to build up a worthwhile portfolio of skills and experience (ibid., p. 5).

This is not the place to take this discussion further. Nonetheless, at this stage two conclusions can be drawn. First, it seems useful for researchers, policy makers and other people concerned about the future of employment relationships to keep a close eye on what is happening in arts and culture so as to learn more about the underlying causes of these developments and what can be done to mitigate their consequences.

Second, to the extent that the insecurity, lower pay and other employment conditions typical for arts and culture are becoming widespread also in other sectors, the need for special arrangements for this specific group of workers risks becoming less pressing and obvious. This is in fact the conclusion that the Dutch government drew when it abolished some of these arrangements such as the WWIK (see section 4.4.1).

7. Summary and conclusions

This paper has looked into some dimensions of the employment relationship of people professionally active in arts and culture (cultural workers). It has considered employment and income patterns as well as the role played by what is arguably the single most important sponsor of art and culture: the State.

Cultural workers tend to have fragmented and unpredictable employment patterns. Un- and underemployment, and self-employment are frequent. Self-employment is particularly common among creative artists (writers, sculptors, painters) but many performing artists are also self-employed. Partly, this is because of the nature of the work; for instance, concerts and film productions are often one-off undertakings. Partly, it is because cultural workers prefer it that way. And partly, it is the result of them being pushed into self-employment when their employers pass their own financial uncertainty on to them.

Cultural workers have several sources of income: (1) primary income, i.e. income from their main artistic activity, (2) income from other, art-related activities, (3) income from other, non-art related activities, (4) stipends and grants; (5) income from copyrights, authors' rights and residuals; (6) social and unemployment benefits; and (7) support from family and relatives. Whether women earn less than men is best considered for individual sub-sectors or professions. Allowance must also be made for differences in hours worked. Cultural workers earn more as they get older but there is evidence to suggest that with age the earnings gap with non-cultural workers of the same age group gets wider. Some professions are in majority female (dancers; visual artists; music teachers) whereas others are in majority male (actors, composers, playwrights). Dancers and actors are comparatively young; writers, playwrights and musicians are older than average.

States support arts and culture for many reasons, the weight of each of which may change over time. In recent decades, economic reasons have gained prominence in the context of the attention given to the "creative industries" and their assumed contribution to innovation and economic growth. Arts and culture are widely seen as constituting the core of the creative industries but this appears not to have led to greater concern over the working conditions of cultural workers.

These working conditions have been stagnant at best. In many places, relative wages started to decline well before the latest (2008) crisis. Often this was due to declining public funding but a more structural problem is the chronic oversupply of skilled workers.

A key question is whether these trends can be reversed. In the short term, this looks unlikely. This means that cultural workers have much to gain from adapting to the "new" situation; they will have to learn to think and act more as entrepreneurs. How to 'sell' oneself and how to produce material to get better known in the market has acquired key importance. Bookkeeping, how to deal with the tax authorities, and how to apply for subsidies should be part of the curriculum at all art schools.

The good news is that by their nature cultural workers are adaptable and entrepreneurial. They learn early on that in order to succeed in a highly competitive environment it does not suffice to be hard-working, creative and talented. One also needs social skills (a good network is essential for finding a job) and economic skills (be able to survive on a modest income), and be capable of coping with uncertainty (about income; finding work), for instance, by having multiple jobs. As before, these traits should help them adapt to the new demands of work inside as well as outside arts and culture.

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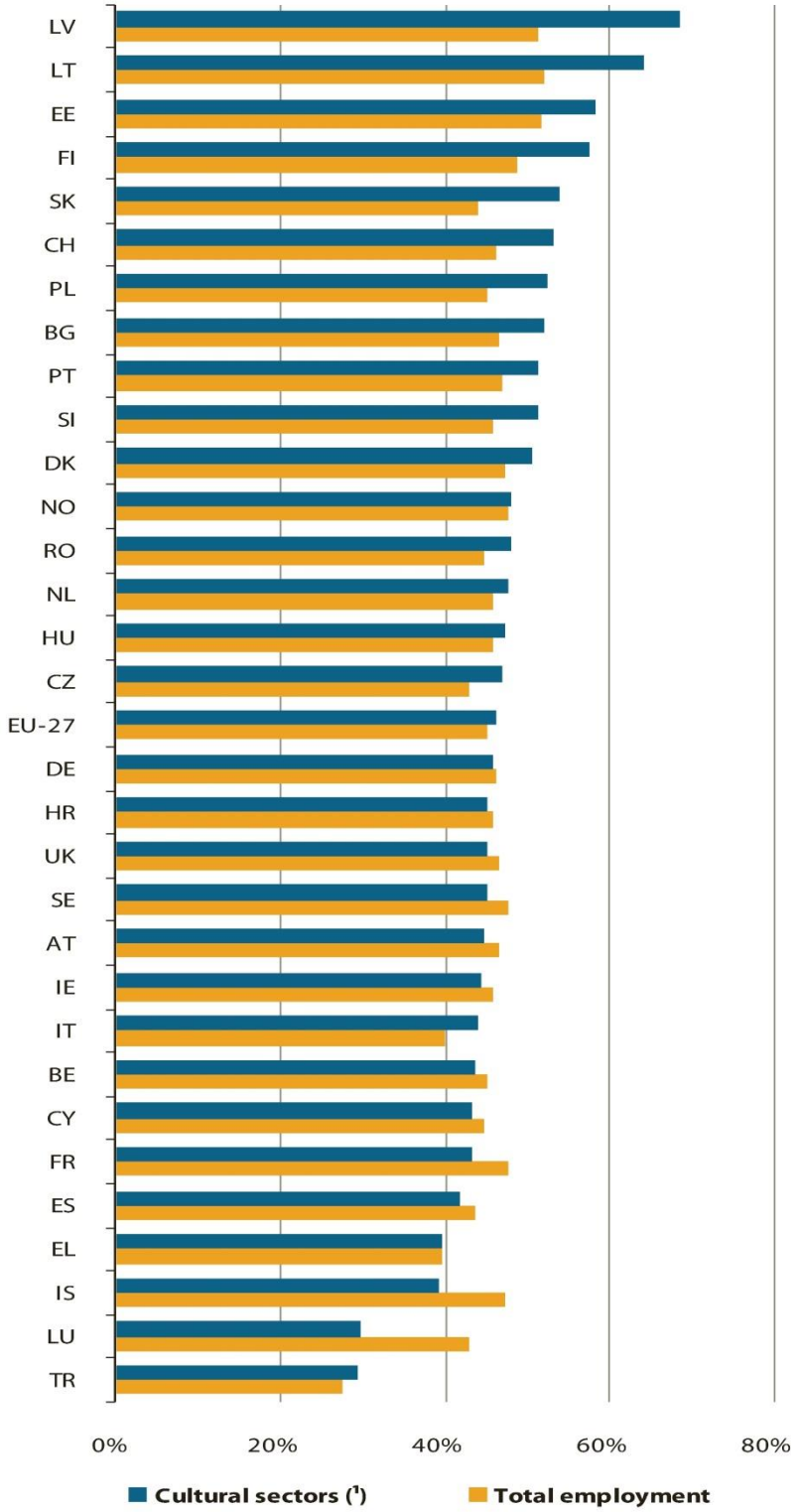
People interviewed

Mr Stefan Ahlenius	The Swedish Arts Grants Committee (*Konstnärsnämnden*)
Mr Tom Brennan	Technical producer, colourist
Mr Paul Bronkhorst	Director, Retraining Program for Dancers (*Stichting Omscholingsregeling Dansers (SOD).*
Mr Richard Ekre-Suzi	Musician, composer, teacher
Ms Kersti Grunditz	Filmmaker, choreographer, editor
Mr Bert Holvast	Director, Federation of Artists Associations (*Federatie van Kunstenaarsvereniningen*)
Ms Ma Hui	Visual artist
Mr Caspar de Kiefte	FNV Union for the Creative Industries (*FNV Kiem*)
Ms Heidi Kirsch	Make-up artist (via e-mail)
Mr Jaan Kolk	Director, the Swedish Union for Performing Arts and Film (*Teaterförbundet*)
Mr Berend Jan Langenberg	Associate professor, Economic Aspects of Arts and Culture
Mr Willem Offenberg	Art- media consult
Ms Hanna Sleumer	Singer, musician, teacher
Mr Cas Smithuijsen	Director, the Boekman Foundation, Study Centre for the Arts, Culture and Related Policy (*Boekmanstichting*)

Appendix

Appendix Figure 1. Percentage of women among all persons employed, EU 27 plus Croatia, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Turkey, 2009.



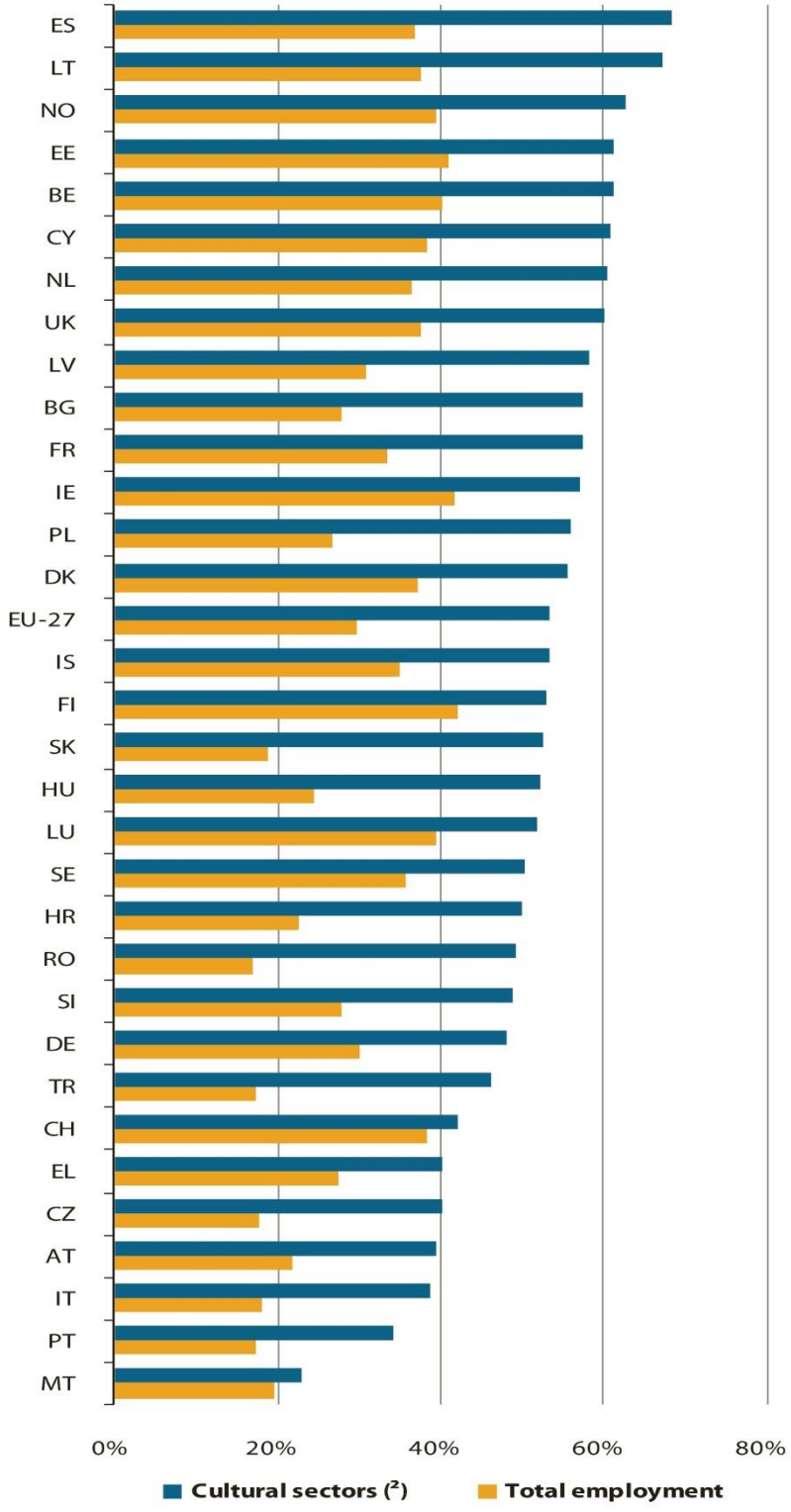
(1) Cultural sectors comprise the following NACE Rev.2 codes: 58, 59, 60, 90, 91

Data lack reliability due to reduced sample size but are publishable: Croatia and Luxembourg

Data for cultural sectors are not published for Malta because of lacking reliability due to small sample size.

Source: Eurostat 2011 -- *www.ec.europa.eu/eurostat* and type in: KS-32-10-374-EN.pdf, figure 4.3, p. 70.

Appendix Figure 2. Percentage of non-employees among all persons employed, EU 27 plus Croatia, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Turkey, 2009 (1)



(1) Reference age group: 25-64 years

(2) Cultural sectors comprise the following NACE Rev.2 codes: 58, 59, 60, 90, 91

Data lack reliability due to reduced sample size but are publishable: Croatia and Luxembourg

Data for cultural sectors are not published for Malta because of lacking reliability due to small sample size.

Source: Eurostat 2011, *www.ec.europa.eu/eurostat* and type in: KS-32-10-374-EN.pdf, figure 4.4, p. 71.

Appendix Table 1. Artists applying their artistic skills in industries outside the arts, Australia, 2009 (a) (percent)

	Writers	Visual artists	Craft practitioners	Actors	Dancers	Musicians	Composers	Community cultural develop. workers	All artists (b)
Wider cultural and related industries:									
Media, press, broadcasting	24	7	13	7	-	12	6	-	12
Publishing	5	3	4	-	-	-	6	-	2
Design	2	14	22	-	-	-	-	-	5
Architecture	6	11	4	2	-	3	11	-	5
Advertising	13	15	4	7	13	9	22	-	10
Fashion	1	5	9	1	-	-	-	-	2
Subtotal: wider cultural and related industries	45	48	48	16	13	24	44	-	34
Non-cultural industries:									
Consulting/ training	3	2	4	16	-	3	6	-	6
IT	1	1	-	4	-	3	-	7	2
Banking/ finance	3	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	2
Retail	1	2	-	8	6	-	-	-	3
Real estate	1	-	-	1	-	3	-	7	1
Manufacturing	1	2	13	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hospitality, tourism, travel	5	3	-	19	13	-	-	-	6
Entertainment, leisure	1	2	4	3	-	3	6	-	2
Other/undefined industry	3	7	-	16	-	12	-	-	8
Subtotal: non-cultural industries	20	21	17	62	19	27	11	20	30
Government, social and personal services:									
Charity, community, nonprofit	18	11	17	13	13	15	22	73	18
Health, welfare	10	11	4	10	25	27	17	40	15
Education, research	23	7	13	10	-	9	17	7	12
Fitness	1	-	4	-	31	3	-	7	2
Subtotal: government, social and personal services	50	29	35	34	69	52	56	93	43

(a) multiple responses allowed.

(b) numbers for all artists are weighted to represent Australia's artist population.

- indicates nil response in this sample.

Source: Throsby et al 2010 p.66 at www.australiacouncil.gov.au “Do_you_really_expect_to_be_paid-1.pdf”

Appendix Table 2. Artists applying their artistic skills in occupations outside the arts, Australia, 2009 (a) (percent)

	Writers	Visual artists	Craft practi-tioners	Actors	Dancers	Musicians	Composers	Community cultural develop. workers	All artists (b)
Copywriter, editor, journalist	41	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Designer, drawer, illustrator	3	41	39	1	-	-	-	7	13
Photographer	-	7	4	-	-	-	-	-	2
Craft worker, tradesperson, engineer	3	3	30	1	-	6	-	-	5
Corporate trainer/actor	7	-	4	30	6	9	11	-	10
Fitness instructor	1	-	4	1	31	3	-	7	2
Creative director (media)	1	2	-	1	6	-	-	-	1
Musician, arranger, composer, voice coach	1	-	-	3	-	24	50	-	5
Arts therapist, retailer or organiser	5	3	-	4	-	21	-	13	7

(a) percentages are of artists who have applied their artistic skills in industries outside the arts. Multiple responses allowed.

(b) numbers for all artists are weighted to represent Australia's artist population.

- indicates nil response in this sample. * indicates less than 1%.

Source: Throsby et al, 2010, p.67