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MEAC – Pilot Project (2005-2006)

**Dynamics, Causes and Consequences of Transborder Mobility in the
European Arts and Culture**

Commissioned Case Studies and Articles

Prepared by the ERICarts Institute

for the LabforCulture

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Mobility Case Studies in Austria¹

By Andrea Lehner and Veronika Ratzenböck

Introduction

Artists have always been flexible and mobile, working in the country of their choice long before the age of globalisation began. Over the last ten years, however, this issue has been increasingly addressed at the cultural-policy level. As a result, both at national and supranational levels, a number of mobility support programmes have been newly launched or adjusted to the changing geopolitical conditions. At the same time, discussions on the international mobility of artists have intensified, especially in connection with cultural co-operation across Europe. In spite of the fact that numerous conferences and studies were dedicated to this issue in recent years, there are currently hardly any in-depth studies on the general conditions, developments and trends in the mobility of artists in Europe. Obstacles to the transnational and cross-border mobility of creators of culture within the EU, e.g. information deficits, tax and social security systems, etc., were first identified in 2001 in a study on the exploitation and development of the job potential in the cultural sector in the age of digitalisation².

There are no quantitative studies on the international mobility of Austrian cultural workers and creators of culture (artists). The following case studies can only sketch individual aspects of this issue in order to give an impression of the practice of artistic mobility in Austria, looking at the examples of music universities, architecture and artists' social security.

Example 1: Music Universities

General Remarks on Mobility in the University Sector

Up until the 1980ies, the internationalisation of Austrian universities in general was mainly based on humanistic perspectives which primarily concerned enrichment in the sense of ideas, which was obviously reserved only for a very small group of students.

Globalisation and steadily increasing networking in all areas of society led to an enormous growth in academic mobility in Austria, too, and Austria's accession to the EU in 1995 gave another boost to internationalisation.

The *Central European Exchange Programme for University Studies* (CEEPUS) of 1989, the integration of the European Economic Area in 1994 and the accession to the EU in 1995 led to massive developments in the field of academic mobility in Austria. In the University Organisation Act of 1993, "support for international co-operation in the field of academic research" was established as a central task. Foreign affairs departments were established in all universities and special vice-rectorships for international affairs were set up.

¹ This case study was commissioned by the ERICarts Institute in 2006 for their study, *MEAC I: Dynamics, Causes and Consequences of Transborder Mobility in the European Arts and Culture*, undertaken for the LabforCulture, an initiative of the European Cultural Foundation.

² MKW Wirtschaftsforschungs GmbH/Österreichische Kulturdokumentation (et.al.): *Exploitation and development of the job potential in the cultural sector in the age of digitalisation*; June 2001; Module 5, pp. 228-277 (summary: http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/news/2001/jul/summary.pdf)

The most important university policy measure in recent years in Austria has been the 2002 *University Act*, under which all universities have gained "full decision-making capacity". In view of the emergence of a common European education and research area, increasing competition and a tighter financial framework, the universities have had to reposition themselves. Furthermore, tuition fees were introduced at Austrian universities in autumn 2001: Austrian citizens, EU or EEA citizens and Swiss citizens pay 363.36 euros per term, while students from other countries pay 726.72 euros.

Between the winter terms of 1992/1993) and 2002/2003, the number of foreign students increased by about 10,860 (2003/04: 32,837)³. In addition, about 34,300 students completed an *Erasmus* residency at an Austrian university between 1992/93 and 2004/05⁴.

There is a growing demand for university places worldwide, especially from the rapidly developing Asian regions. In Austria, most of the fully paying foreign students originate from the Central and Eastern European countries and from Asia.

In the 2004 winter term, the share of international students amounted to 16% at universities, 4.4% at advanced technical colleges and 40.3% at the six arts universities. The six Austrian arts universities with their particularly high share of foreign students are a special case.

The Cases of the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna and the Mozarteum in Salzburg

There were 3,156 students at the *University for Music and Performing Arts Vienna* (Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien) in the 2005/06 winter term; 1,346 of them were foreign students coming from 77 different countries. There were up to 80% foreign students in the instrument-playing classes, most of them originating from South-East Asia⁵.

The *Mozarteum University in Salzburg* has the highest rate of international students in Austria, exceeding even the shares of the arts universities: in the 2003/04 winter term 1,404 full-time students were enrolled at the Mozarteum; out of them, 56% were international students⁶. More than three quarters of the total enrolment in instrument classes are international students, mainly from Asia or Eastern Europe.

Why are the University for Music and Performing Arts Vienna and the Mozarteum in Salzburg so especially attractive to foreign students?

Generally, the Austrian cities of Vienna and Salzburg are regarded as a kind of "Mecca" for (especially classical) music, a reputation that is also successfully promoted by world-famous orchestras such as the Vienna Philharmonic. In East-Asian countries in particular, Austrian classical music has an exceedingly high reputation.

Both universities are thus extremely attractive locations, but they also enjoy a high international reputation due to the quality of the education they provide.

³ Statistik Austria (ed.) Hochschulstatistik 2003/2004; Vienna 2005; p. 62:
ftp://www.statistik.at/pub/neuerscheinungen/2005/hochschul03_04.pdf

⁴ Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur (ed.), Universitätsbericht 2005; vol. 1, Vienna 2005, p.159: http://www.bmbwk.gv.at/medienpool/12902/univbericht_05_1.pdf

⁵ Interview with Prof. Alfred Smudits (Institute of Music Sociology at the University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna)

⁶ Thomas Pfeffer/Jan Thomas/Brigitte Obiltschnig: Internationalisation at Five Austrian Higher Education Institutions, HOFO Working paper series: IFF_hofo 04.001; Vienna IFF (Faculty of interdisciplinary Studies), 2004; p.37
http://www.iff.ac.at/hofo/WP/IFF_hofo.04.001_pfeffer_internationalisation_5_cases.pdf

Their international orientation is reflected in the composition of their teaching staff - in 2004 half of the teachers at the Mozarteum were foreigners - and it also shows in international events (such as the Mozarteum's Summer Academy or the Prague-Vienna-Budapest Summer Academy of the University for Music and Performing Arts in Vienna), concerts and international competitions. These events are main forms of international exchange and reach a world-wide audience.

The Mozarteum is planning to direct its activities more towards China; at present there are negotiations about co-operation with a university in Beijing.

Apart from the quality criteria, economic aspects play an important role for foreign students: tuition fees are comparatively low in Austria. In an international comparison, fees of a little more than 700 euros per term are extremely low - in some countries fees are as high as 22,000 euros per year. Furthermore, the living costs in Austria are significantly lower than those in e.g. Japan. (A frequently told story is that of an Asian diplomat who finds it cheaper to have two of his children studying in Austria than one at home). At the same time, the growing number of students from Eastern European countries means that there is a growing need for scholarships, as students from these countries can hardly afford education in Austria.

Students from Asia and Eastern Europe are extremely successful in the entrance examinations in comparison with other (Austrian) applicants. These students have often benefited from early musical training and long-term instruction, which is essential to acquire the necessary high technical skills for a professional career as a musician. Most of those who wish to complete a music degree in Vienna or Salzburg have already completed training or a degree in their home countries, so that they are already highly specialised and very well trained when they take the entrance examinations.

Example 2: Professional Mobility in Architecture

The development in the field of architecture is a special example for professional mobility in the cultural sector.

The export of architectural services is heavily influenced by economic factors and developments, and there are very diverse, country-specific rules and guidelines for this profession, above all with regard to regulations for practising the profession.

At the moment, the legal framework for practising the profession and establishing a business is subject to widely varying regulations in each of the EU member states. In Austria, the regulations for the architectural profession are very strict compared to other countries. After attaining a degree in architecture, architects have to have proof of three years of working practice under strictly defined working condition before they can start to practise in the profession. In order to be certified, they have to sit an examination before the responsible interest-group representation. In the Netherlands, foreigners as well as nationals just register with the responsible authority; the only requirement is a university degree. In Denmark the architectural profession can be practised fully independently.

Foreign architects who wish to practise in Austria have to fulfil the corresponding conditions: thus for every temporary service a corresponding written notification has to be supplied for examination by the responsible authority (Chamber of Architects).

Architects who want to establish a business in Austria have to apply for authorisation, which requires a diploma and evidence of three years' practical experience (or an oral aptitude test or further practical experience).

The costs of acquiring authorisation to practise the profession differ considerably among European countries. Whereas an entry in the register of architects in the Netherlands costs 59 euros and an annual payment of 50 euros (which does not include the cost of pension insurance), it costs around 2,100 euros just to sit the required examination in Austria⁷. The required membership in the Chamber of Architects (including special pension security) amounts to about 4,480 to 4,675 euros per year⁸, which means that in practice only architects who are high earners can afford full membership of the Chamber of Architects.

These strict conditions have caused many young Austrian architects to register in the Netherlands or other European countries after their degree (their number is estimated at around 200) in order to be able to carry out building contracts in Austria. However, this or the participation in competitions is only possible to a limited extent.

Example 3: The Artists' Social Insurance Fund Act as a Cost Trap for Artists in Residence⁹

Since 1 January 2001, artists as "new self-employed" have come under the obligatory insurance according to the *Social Insurance Act for Businesses*. The *Artists' Social Insurance Act* also came into force on 1 January 2001. Artists may receive a supplement to their pension insurance if they fulfill certain criteria, one condition being that they must earn a minimum income from their artistic activity. The *Artists' Social Insurance Fund* (KSVF) uses the tax return or the taxable income as the basis of its assessment.

Scholarships and prizes, as far as they are tax free, are not recognised as income by the KSVF. All scholarships and prizes awarded by the Federal Chancellery are tax free, including also scholarships for overseas residencies. This tax exemption is certainly an important cultural policy achievement, but as a result of the KSVF Act it becomes a cost trap for artists in the payment of their pension contributions.

In summer 2005, the KSVF started checking the incomes of all recipients of supplements from the year 2001. About 600 artists must now pay back the supplement they received in 2001, because their income for that year was below the required minimum income. Among those affected are many artists who did not earn the minimum income because an essential part of their income consisted of tax-exempt scholarships abroad or of prizes. Artists receive supports and awards for their artistic activity by one authority, but the support is counteracted by the loss of social security subsidies imposed by another state authority. In any case, working residencies abroad often involve (temporary) loss of income for the artist. The existing KSVF Act adds to these difficulties as artists are in danger of losing the support for their pension insurance contribution, because they do not meet the required minimum income in a particular calendar year.

The *maximum possible supplement* to the pension insurance contribution is currently 1,026 euros per year. The annual *minimum income* that has to be earned is twelve times the monthly marginal employment threshold under the social insurance law (in 2006 this was 3,997.92 euros).

⁷ <http://www.archingakademie.at>

⁸ <http://www.ig-architektur.at>

⁹ Summarised from IG Bildende Kunst (fine arts interest-group representation), Daniela Koweindl

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Kammer der Architekten und Ingenieurskonsulenten (Chamber of Architects and Consulting Engineers); <http://www.arching.at>

IG Architektur (interest group for architects); <http://www.ig-architektur.at>

IG Bildende Kunst (interest group for fine arts); <http://www.igbildendekunst.at>

ONE-WAY TICKET

The Brain Drain and Trans-border Mobility in the Arts and Culture of the Western Balkans¹⁰

By Dimitrije Vujadinovic, Balkankult Foundation

The possibilities for free and multi-directional mobility of intellectual capital, that is, the drain of creative capital, is a crucial issue of development in every society at the beginning of the third millennium, especially for small states!

The "spiritus movens" of contemporary social progress is no longer the economy of production and trade, but the economy of ideas and creativity. The keys that open the door to this new economy are education, culture, and science!

According to psychologist Howard Gardner, artistic production can play a significant role in the development of a wider range of intelligence and, when individuals discover their own creative powers, their self-esteem and achievements can be enhanced. A project entitled "Creative Europe", prepared by ERICarts, confirms this point.¹¹

The most dramatic problem in the Western Balkans (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia, and Albania) is a large-scale outflow of intellectual capital, which is the best social resource that the region has at its disposal today. The drain of creative potential from Serbia during the period from 1990 to 2000 was estimated to cost the state up to 12 billion dollars, as estimated by experts.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the several-millennium long history of Europe, the geo-strategic position of the Balkans has been a constant hotspot and starting point for the mobility and migratory processes of various populations, civilizations, religions, and cultures.¹²

The Balkans is a region where one can view - from a historical perspective - the complexity of consequences (feedbacks) for social processes, both positive and negative, of the mobility and migration of intellectual capital in a relatively short period of time. The second half of the 19th century is of special importance in this contemporary history.

Until the Vienna peace accords (1868), the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula had not established an indigenous educated social stratum. It was only in the second half of the 19th century that, as a result of trans-border mobility (TBM) and the settlement of intellectual and artistic capital, the strong processes of *Europeanization* and *modernization* of the young Balkan states began. The parallel processes were the shaping of the Croatian nation and the *Europeanization* of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a consequence of being annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

¹⁰ This case study was commissioned by the ERICarts Institute in 2006 for their study, *MEAC I: Dynamics, Causes and Consequences of Transborder Mobility in the European Arts and Culture*, undertaken for the LabforCulture, an initiative of the European Cultural Foundation.

¹¹ German historian F. M. Kuhlemann developed a sociological model at the end of the 19th century with which he classified the characteristics of the different periods in the development of society. In that model one of the most important criteria for distinguishing traditional societies from modern ones is the growth of social mobility of the educated.

¹² Maria Todorova: *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1997.

In the late 19th century, students from the independent Balkan states made up around one-third of all students at French universities, while at German universities they accounted for 10 percent of the total number of students.

In the period from the mid-19th century to the beginning of the First World War, Serbia conducted a clear policy of a 'planned elite': via education, mobility (TBM) and the settlement of intellectual capital.¹³

At that time, Serbia was one of the leading European states in terms of the inflow of intellectual capital, although it was under the strong influence of the Ottoman tradition and its agricultural society was still dominant.¹⁴

Along with intellectual capital, artistic capital was being created as well. The works of modern art in Serbia, first and foremost in the fields of visual arts, music, literature, and photography, were created by students of artistic academies in Vienna, Berlin, Prague, and Paris.

The Serbian intellectual and artistic capital established at the end of the 19th century was mostly formed under the influence of French and Central European (German and Austro-Hungarian) culture. With the help of many foreigners who moved to Serbia temporarily or long-term, there was a political, economic, educational and cultural revival in Serbia at the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁵

The mobility and migration of intellectual capital in the Balkan territories which were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire - Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Vojvodina - developed within the Habsburg Monarchy.¹⁶

The Europeanization and modernization of the societies of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in the late 19th century were carried out by intellectual capital from other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, which settled there temporarily or permanently.¹⁷

Not until the early 20th century did the formation of the Croatian educated stratum begin, but only within the closed Austro-Hungarian cultural circle (62.7 percent of Croatian students studied in Vienna).¹⁸

During that period, Istria and Dalmatia, i.e. the Adriatic coast, belonged to Italy, so the intellectual and artistic capital was composed of Italians.

¹³ Ljubinka Trgovcevic: *The Planned Elite*, The Institute of History, Belgrade, 2003.

¹⁴ This came about, first of all, through the education of a large number of students at universities around Europe, first and foremost in Vienna, Berlin, Heidelberg, Paris, Zurich, Geneva, Lausanne, and Moscow. Until the beginning of the First World War, Serbia had been a country with an extremely high level of inflow of intellectual capital, mostly from Germany, Austria, and the Czech Republic. Many immigrants even changed their names into Serbian ones. Serbia was not attractive to foreigners because it offered high wages, but because they could realize their ideas through work and have the satisfaction of participating in the modernization of a society. At the end of the 19th century, Serbia had 1,000 engineers which was a high number in relation to the size of the country.

¹⁵ In that period, the Serbian state offered scholarships to 853 students (this number doesn't include the students who financed their own studies or received scholarships from foreign countries). The progressive politics of creating an intellectual elite in Serbia is corroborated also by the fact that there was a considerable number of women in the student population (there were 35 women at Zurich University alone.) The first female doctor from Serbia, Draga Ljocic, obtained her PhD degree as one of the first in Europe, before any woman from Italy or Austria. The same is true for the first female architect, Jelisaveta Načić. (Ljubinka Trgovcevic: *The Planned Elite*, The Institute of History, Belgrade, 2003)

¹⁶ *Die Hasburgermonarchie*. Bd.III/1, *Die Volker des Reiches*, Wien 1980.

¹⁷ M. Gross: *Beginnings of Modern Croatia*. Neo-absolutism in the Civil Croatia and Slavonia 1850-1860, Zagreb 1985.

¹⁸ Arnold Suppan: *Shaping of the Nation in the Civil Croatia (1835-1918)*, Zagreb, 1999.

With the formation of the state of southern Slavs – Yugoslavia - after the First World War, the mobility of intellectual capital mostly developed within the state and the inflow from abroad diminished. The newly-formed state was no longer attractive for the settlement of intellectual capital. Students from Yugoslavia continued to enroll at universities around Europe, especially at art academies. A significant process of mobility (TBM) remains in the sphere of art, especially visual art and literature.

Major immigration flows of intellectual capital to Yugoslavia took place in 1921, as a consequence of the revolution in Russia. Some 50,000 people of the middle class arrived from Russia to Yugoslavia, many moved further into Europe, but a considerable number of newcomers settled permanently in Yugoslavia, first and foremost in Serbia. Their presence in Yugoslavia largely contributed to the progress of science, education, and art. This event has been the biggest brain gain in the Balkans so far.

After the Second World War and the creation of communist Yugoslavia, the positive trend of mobility (TBM) and the inflow of intellectual capital stopped completely, that is, it took the opposite direction. Yugoslavia became a country with a remarkable trend of outflow of intellectual capital. The process of political and economic emigration developed in waves. Regarded as a phenomenon, it is interesting that the intellectual capital (technical intelligence in the first place) during the 1970s and 1980s drained precisely to those states from which the mobility and the inflow were the greatest in the late 19th and the early 20th century - France, Germany, and Switzerland.

Important years for the mobility (TBM) of artistic capital are the 1970s, when Yugoslavia opened up to the world for political reasons. Students of the Prague Film Academy should be mentioned in particular since they significantly contributed to film production in Yugoslavia (Emir Kusturica, Goran Markovic, Lordan Zafranovic and others.) At the same time, Belgrade became a "cultural metropolis," visited by grand names of modern and post-modern art. Famous international festivals were held in Belgrade - Bitef, FEST, BEMUS. However, as early as the mid-1980s the possibilities for mobility (TBM) of artistic capital reduced significantly, and in the early 1990s the mobility turned exclusively to emigration.

Regarding the trends of mobility (TBM) and migration of intellectual and artistic capital in a wider historical context, we can conclude that the peoples of the Western Balkans at the end of the 20th century found themselves in a completely opposite situation to the one in which they had been involved during the late 19th and the early 20th century.

LOSS OF PERSPECTIVE

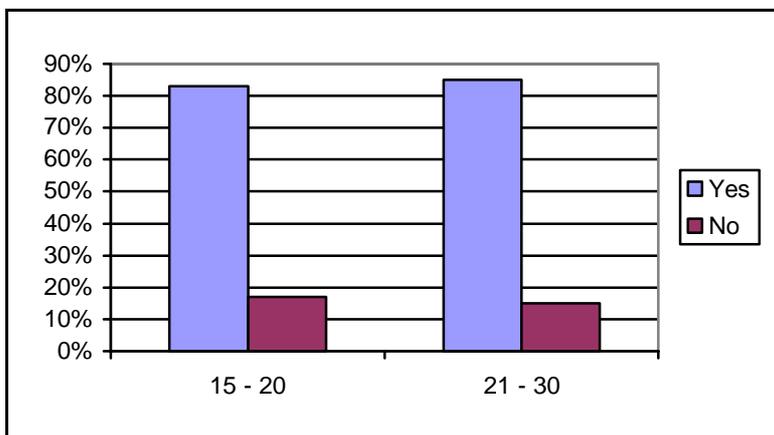
The political, economic, and cultural situation in the newly formed states of the Western Balkans, although different, doesn't meet the expectations of the intellectual capital, especially of the young educated and impatient generations, who in great numbers dream of making their future in some other developed European country or somewhere else further afield.

Many surveys on this topic have been carried out in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia and Montenegro, with very similar results.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina today, 75 percent of young people want to leave their country and go somewhere else in the world. Similar patterns or *creative drains* are happening in Croatia, where 55 percent of the young don't see a future in their own country. The same situation is found in Montenegro, Macedonia and Albania.

Young people in Serbia, dissatisfied with their living standards and the limited opportunities that their country offers them, dream of going abroad - more than 70 percent would leave the country if possible. The situation is especially dramatic in local communities. The latest survey conducted in 17 towns of Serbia shows that young people are completely disappointed with the community they live in, and feel that they cannot make any changes.¹⁹

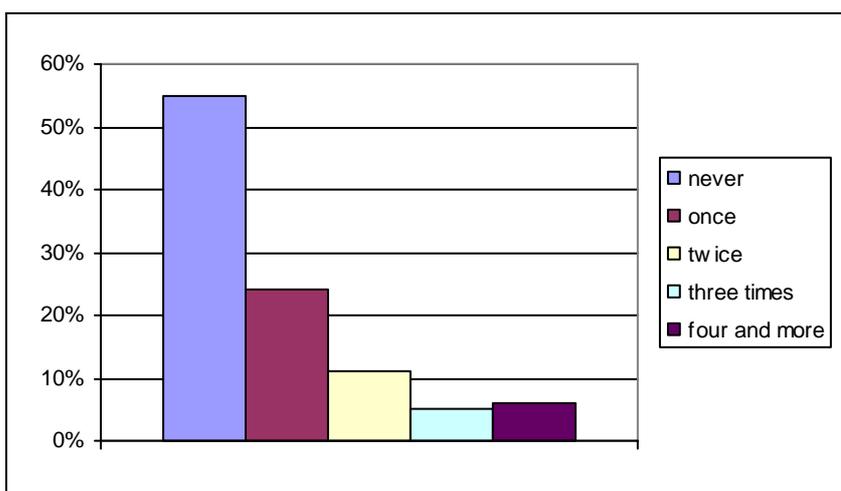
Table 1: Readiness to leave one's own community, according to age categories



Source: Data obtained from a survey undertaken by the Serbian Association of Citizens' Initiative from 2002-2005. (See footnote 9)

Travelling to foreign countries and meeting other cultures, something which is typical of young people in developed European countries, is a luxury for young Serbs: more than half of the respondents aged under 30 have not visited a foreign country in the past five years! In Serbia only 6 percent of the young travel abroad once a year, on average.

Table 2: Distribution of young people according to the frequency of foreign travel in Serbia in the previous five years



¹⁹ For the purposes of this study, we have used the results of research on *The needs and the position of the young in the local community*, conducted by the Association of the Citizens' Initiative. The research was carried out in 17 towns of Serbia and it was started in 2002 and completed in the middle of 2005. The total number of respondents was 2,388.

According to a poll from 2002, more than half of the young people from smaller cities in Serbia would leave the country if they had the opportunity, while one-sixth of the respondents had already made plans for going abroad.

The reasons for dissatisfaction confirmed by the 2002 survey concur with other sources or studies examining the reasons for emigration: little or no chance of employment (especially in one's own profession), little or no chance of earning a good salary (if a job is found) so as to secure a decent living, little or no chance of buying an apartment so as to have a family at a certain age, and last but not least for the highly educated young population, little or no chance for advancement in a chosen profession.

Table 3: What should be changed to encourage the majority of young people to stay and be happy in Serbia (2002)

1.	More employment possibilities, new workplaces	59%
2.	More cultural and sporting events	32%
3.	More choices for entertainment	21%
4.	Higher living standards, better economic situation	21%
5.	Opening new courses, post-secondary schools and faculties, better opportunities for continuation of university education	19%
6.	Higher-quality public services, better infrastructure, pollution reduction, better city planning	15%
7.	Inclusion of the young in problem-solving processes, activism of the young, and more activities for young people	8%
8.	Changes in the structures of local government	7%

Table 3 shows that young people in Serbia value having a full cultural life as a priority to remain in Serbia (the second and the third place). This confirms that intellectual capital requires a creative atmosphere in which to live and work. If a local community is not able to meet the cultural needs of its intellectual capital, then there is no incentive for them to permanently settle in such a community. Therefore, intellectual capital goes *hand in hand* with artistic capital. However, in the societies of the Western Balkans the processes of centralization are taking place, with the concentration of artistic potential in a few big cities.

As the basis of intellectual capital, the number of students desiring to leave Serbia does not differ significantly from the wishes of non-students of that generation. On the contrary, a great percentage of the best and most ambitious students seek possibilities for leaving the country. More than 84 percent of the better students from Belgrade University actively seek opportunities abroad even before they graduate.

The basic paradox of the students' desire to leave their country is the fact that they don't have a realistic perception of the conditions for living and working in the countries of the European Union in which they aspire to live. A survey conducted at Belgrade University has shown that around 75 percent of students have never been in any of the countries of the European Union. They have created their image of life in the West from the media!

The research that dealt with this issue did not cover the faculties of art separately, but we can definitely assume that the students from the University of Arts have an even greater desire to live abroad. However, there is a long way from desire to accomplishment of this dream.

ARTISTIC CAPITAL - ONE-WAY TICKET

The phenomenon of permanent or temporary migration of artists of the Western Balkans, mostly to the countries of Western Europe, has not yet been analysed, nor is there any relevant data relating to it.

Artistic capital is not a homogenous whole, on the contrary, its content and structure is very diverse. Although most of the artists want to leave their home country (small states), not all of them have equal opportunities for doing so. The artists who do not use 'the universal language' for expressing their ideas, such as poets, writers, and actors, have less real chances for departure than musicians, designers, or architects.

For these reasons, this pilot research focuses on that part of the artistic capital which is the most mobile, and at the same time, extremely important for cultural life and the creation of spiritual and creative atmosphere of society as a whole - and these are the musicians of classical music.

Due to the lack of valid statistical data in this field, this pilot study was carried out using polls, questionnaires, and interviews. The poll was conducted using three random samples: students from the region attending the postgraduate course *Cultural management and cultural politics in the Balkans*, led by Professor Doctor Milena Dragicevic Sestic²⁰; members of the association *Musicians without Borders BiH - MBG*²¹; and several prominent musicians and experts from the field of cultural politics.²² The interviews were held with several distinguished musicians.²³

²⁰ The postgraduate course conducted by Professor Dr. Milena Dragicevic Sestic is attended by students from Western Balkan countries and all 21 students on the course completed the questionnaire. Completion of the questionnaire was organized by Professor Sestic and we thank her for that. The questionnaire consisted of twelve questions divided into three topics: a) departure of young artists; b) regional mobility; and c) mobility with other areas in Europe. A combination of closed and open questions was used. The questions were clear and general enough to facilitate easy completion of the questionnaire.

²¹ *Musicians without Borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (MBG BiH) is a recognized organization that develops skills in the community and for its citizens. MBG BiH meets cultural needs through music and other segments of artistic creativity, encouraging citizens to jointly contribute to cultural development and participate in European and global cultural life. This association gathers a wide range of professionals linked to music – musicians, music students, programme co-ordinators, psychologists, researchers, and cultural managers. Eleven members of this association from several cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar, Trebinje) filled in the questionnaire.

²² The questionnaire was also filled in by some professional musicians and cultural practitioners: Professor Dr. Milena Dragicevic Sestic, Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade, Biljana Tanurovska, Lokomotiva non-governmental organization from Skopje; Ivana Miheljenc, Zageb City Administration for Culture; Jana Jovanovic, a young opera singer; Hana Kovac, a musician from Belgrade permanently residing in Denmark; Vladimir Gurbaj, a student of postgraduate studies in Salzburg and Berlin, lecturer at the School of Music in Salzburg, permanently residing in Salzburg; Ana Lebedinski, musician and member of the Munich Philharmonic, permanently residing in Munich; Ljiljana Rogac, Belef Centre, Belgrade; Bodin Starcevic, music school *Mokranjac*, Belgrade.

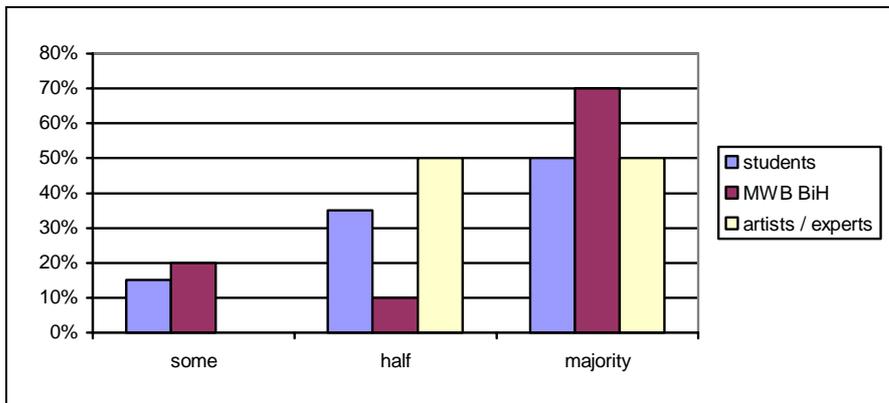
²³ The interviews were made with: Sreten Krstic, musician – concert master of the Munich Philharmonic, permanently residing in Munich; Vladimir Gurbaj, student of postgraduate studies in Salzburg and Berlin, lecturer at the School of Music in Salzburg, permanently residing in Salzburg; Qazim Kallushi,

The respondents who took part in the poll and the interviews do not make a homogenous sample by their professional and personal characteristics, which in the terms of methodology is not a major issue for pilot research. The answers from the poll and the interviews are largely similar, so the validity of the research, in the sense of showing trends, is satisfying. The questionnaire and the interviews had three topics: the drain of artistic capital, the need and possibilities for regional mobility, and trans-border mobility with other parts of Europe (TBM).

Departure

According to respondents, the desire of artists, especially musicians, to leave their home countries does not differ significantly from the wishes of the general population.

Table 4: The number of young talented artists wishing to leave their country



On the basis of certain projections, the nominal number of artists who manage to permanently settle outside their home country is not large. However, when compared with the total volume of creative capital, those who leave permanently make up the majority. Between 15 and 20 talented musicians from Belgrade live in Salzburg alone, many more live in Vienna, and three musicians from Belgrade play in the Munich Philharmonic...

According to estimations by the Serbian Association of Visual Arts, around 10 percent of their members left Serbia in the past ten years.

I had the impression that most of my generation just wanted to leave this country, without caring where they would go, they just wanted to leave, even for the Dominican Republic. For some period of time, after the war, that feeling prevailed; it was simply the need to leave this place. I don't think it's better now. But many of those who tried to leave came back...Because in Serbia we didn't have the right information, we were isolated, even in terms of culture, and that affected the people...Today the sense of hopelessness prevails. (Sreten Krstic).

Film director and writer Goran Radovanovic believes that film professionals emigrate for the following reasons:

- The success of Balkan artists is often more valued abroad than in their own region
- Hard working conditions in general
- Difficult position for artists, especially for freelance artists

artistic manager from Tirana; Ana Lebedinski, member of the Munich Philharmonic, permanently residing in Munich; Smiljka Isakovic, harpsichord player permanently residing in Belgrade.

When it comes to the film industry, artists choose to use foreign funds instead of leaving. At the beginning of the 1990s, a great number of artists - directors, actors, set designers and costume designers, have left the Western Balkans. However, they have returned, even the most successful ones, such as directors like Kusturica, Goran Paskaljevic and Denis Tanovic and they have continued to build their careers in the region. As for the actors that have left, they have not generally succeeded in building their careers abroad, except for Rade Serbedzija, who mostly obtains parts as Russian generals and mobsters. A similar situation occurred for other professions related to film.

Reasons for departure

The primary reasons why young Balkan artists want to leave their own countries are as follows:

- Existential reasons (possibilities for employment, the issue of copyright, housing issues, low wages);
- A real drop in the quality of educational institutions and cultural production; and
- The social position of artists (their status, lack of possibilities for advancement, negative selection of personnel, the rule of unprofessional lobbies.²⁴

The experience of musician Ms. Smiljka Isaković implies that musicians of classical music leave for different reasons: seeking better economic conditions; professional improvement (if they get the opportunity to stay, they actually do), need for a change, and the desire to experiment.

The Munich Philharmonic offers completely different opportunities, which means that the quality of work, living conditions and the financial opportunities were the crucial factor in my decision to permanently settle in Germany. I just want to stress that all our young musicians mostly go abroad to continue their education, and then remain there. That is what usually happens. The cases when someone leaves the country because he or she has already found a job abroad are rare. At least that is my experience. (Ana Vladanovic Lebedinski)

It should not be forgotten that a great number of artists left the region because of the war in the 1990s.

The fact that I had to leave made it easier for me to make the decision, but for years after that I was troubled thinking of those who had remained. By the way, I could have had serious problems partly because I am the product of a multi-ethnic marriage, but also for many other reasons during that crazy war time. Hadi Kuric is a theatre director from Belgrade who founded the Theatre of Resistance in the Spanish city of Villarreal in 1993.

The very process of leaving is not easy at all; first it is necessary to meet all the conditions to obtain a visa, then to raise sufficient funds to finance the initial period in a foreign country, and then to obtain a work permit. That is why most of those who leave try to remain abroad as long as possible because they don't know when they will get another opportunity.

I first contacted the faculty, but I received the official invitation only after I had made contacts with the Austrian Embassy. That is a horrible experience! And I know that a

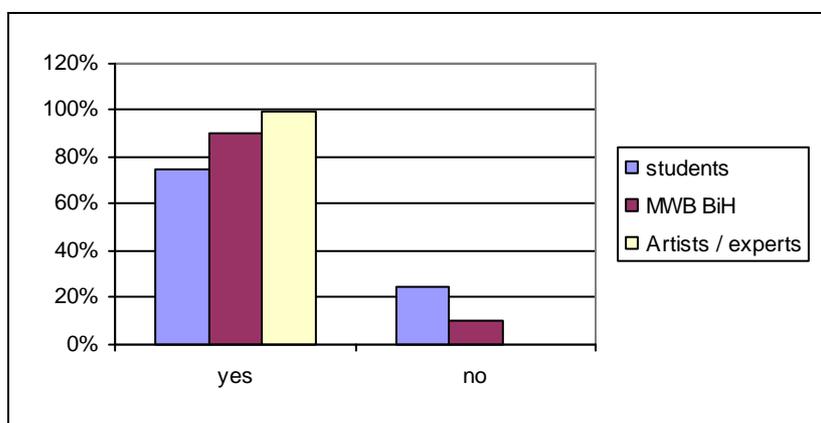
²⁴ *"My personal experience has been in some ways positive all these years. After completing my postgraduate studies at 20, I got my first job in an orchestra, and one year later I received a scholarship from the Munich Philharmonic which opened new vistas to me. (Ana Vladanović Lebedinski)*

similar experience occurs when you apply for a visa in other embassies. (Vladimir Gurbajev)

Brain drain

First of all, the size of Western Balkans societies should be taken into account when considering the ‘brain drain’. For example, if a hundred musicians left Russia no one would consider that as a serious problem. However, if a hundred musicians left Serbia or Macedonia, that would be a major issue. Also, if a hundred musicians emigrated from Russia to France, that would not make a major difference to the cultural life of France. However, if these musicians came to Serbia, the cultural life of Serbia would inevitably change.

Table 5: Can we speak about the drain of talented artists (opinions of the three groups on the level of inflow)



Artists belonging to the world of classical and world music are those who often leave the Western Balkan states. Goran Bregović is certainly the most famous, but he is not the only example.

In any case, my generation is dispersed all around the world, from Australia through Europe to the USA. As far as I know, most of them managed fairly well. I personally don't think about returning, I am extremely satisfied with the life I have here. Apart from being permanently employed at the Munich Philharmonic, I am also a member of many chamber ensembles, from quartets to the chamber orchestra, and I also engage in music teaching. In addition to all this, I have an opportunity to advance professionally. (Ana Vladanovic Lebedinski)

Consequences

Most of the respondents to this survey agree that the consequences of the emigration of artistic capital are extremely negative to the richness of cultural life, and to the overall quality of life of citizens in the Western Balkans. The cultural life, i.e. the system of values, especially of young generations, are more and more shaped by the entertainment industry, and the influence of big international corporations from that sector is especially aggressive. The loss of artistic capital of Western Balkan societies simultaneously reduces the richness of Europe's cultural diversity.

According to respondents, the consequences of the artistic capital drain are:

- A drop in the quality of cultural production

- A drastic drop in the quality of work of cultural institutions, including the educational institutions
- A weakening of creative potential
- The loss of cultural identity.

The beginning of 1990 brought systemic changes in Albania, followed by social changes. Many people, including musicians went abroad. The staff of the symphonic orchestra and the opera house had been completely changed by the end of 1991. Most of them went to Greece where Albanian musicians were employed in different artistic bodies in the main cities such Athens, Thessalonica etc. A considerable number of musicians also went to Italy. Most of them were students who were studying at Italian conservatories at that time. Some of these musicians moved again from Italy and Greece to the USA and Canada by the middle of the 1990s, followed by the next generation which had just graduated. All the semiprofessional orchestras in other cities were closed during that time due to the financial difficulties of that period.

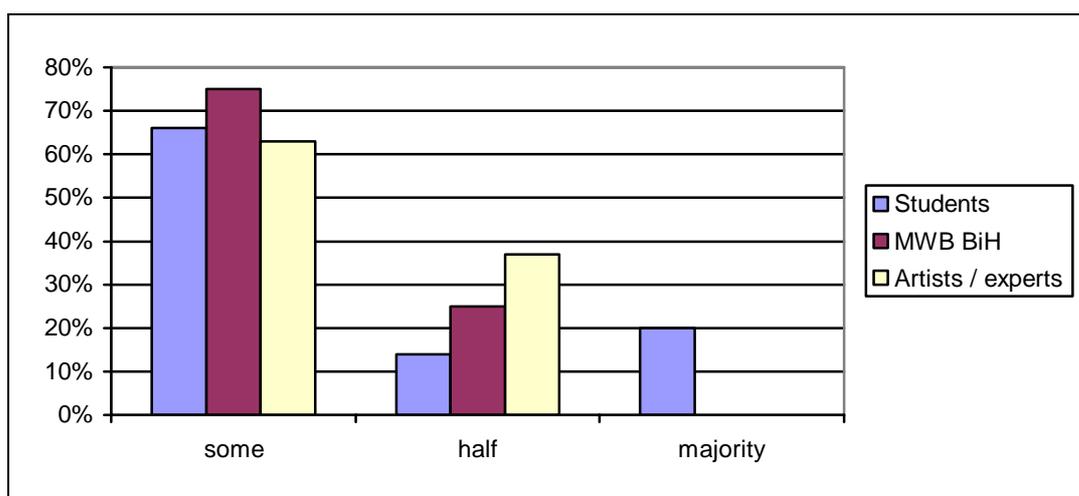
These organic losses to the profession were pursued by a lack of interest from young people to study music at art schools and subsequently different classes of music instruments were closed for years.

Working in this field for many years, organizing different types of musical events, I have already faced the problem and it is difficult to make a positive prognosis for the future. (Qazim Kallushi)

Survival in a new community

A small number of artists have managed to continue their careers at the same level as they had in their home country, or have advanced to a higher level. However, they are usually less successful and some leave their profession altogether.

Table 6: The number of Western Balkan artists who have succeeded in their own professions abroad (opinions of the three groups on the level of inflow)



Perhaps it is easy to leave, but it's not easy to stay and survive. That has to do with a whole series of problems, not just financial. Emigrating is directly linked to survival and quality, to the search for one's own space and identity, which are very difficult to find. Many return to their home countries because they didn't 'find themselves' abroad. It should be stressed that there is much more competition abroad and all professional relations are

much more realistic, the quality is assessed much more objectively. They listen to you more objectively and everyone knows who is who, who is really good and what the real quality is. In Serbia, semi-quality has bigger chances of success...Of course, both in Serbia and abroad there are excellent artists and people who are ready to struggle. But in Europe, the professional relations and judgements about artists are much more serious. (Sreten Krstic)

There are also artists who go abroad and feel like "citizens of the world," and it is not important to them anymore where they live and work. That is the case with Hadi Kurić, a theatre director who lives in Spain. Kuric says that he is not sure that he will remain in Spain because he is trying "with all his might to feel like a citizen of the world." *I think that large groups who call themselves nations don't have a big future in this process of globalization. On the contrary, small local groups with their own particularities will survive, continue and be interesting.*

The reasons for failure of Balkan artists to succeed abroad are:

- Competition
- The rules of the game are different from the way that culture is financed in the former Yugoslavia (mainly budget funding)
- Strong connections with the culture from which an artist originates and his/her inability to fit into the new cultural model
- Silent discrimination against non-national artists, even though their work is sometimes of a better quality.

If musicians manage to find good employment in their chosen professions abroad, especially in Germany, then their existential problems are solved and possibilities for advancement are enhanced. But the question is how many artists manage to obtain an improved status? (14)

There is a general attitude of discrimination against us, although we are artists and musicians. In the beginning I wasn't aware of it, because I treated people as friends, meaning that you can hardly sense discrimination while you drink coffee with your peers in a bar. But when we start treating one another as colleagues, then you surely feel the discrimination, and that becomes important. How? In Austria there is discrimination not only against me and us because we come from Serbia and Montenegro, but against all those who are not from Austria and the European Union! A similar thing happens with the Czechs, Polish, Russians and Bulgarians, although there are not many of them in Salzburg. In fact, once I thought that some things were different in Europe, and I refer to connections, clans, pulling strings...But in the meantime I realized that essentially everything functions the same, only in the West things are prettier on the outside. I feel disappointed very much with respect to that. (Vladimir Gurbaj)

The experience of musician Ms. Smiljka Isaković confirms that a lot of musicians who have not succeeded in their chosen profession abroad will never return to their home countries because they don't want to admit that they have failed. The artists who have not managed to fulfil their ambitions abroad, but have continued to live there, have changed their professions and abandoned the field of artistic creativity. They have not joined the artistic productions of the communities to which they emigrated, but the Western Balkan cultures nonetheless have lost significant creative potential.

RETURN TICKET (TBM)

The basic reason for artists' temporary departure is the desire to gain international affirmation and make additional income. The artists who can directly join the cultural industry, i.e. the industry of entertainment, such as designers, are those who can manage easily and have opportunities to leave.

An artist's decision to go abroad on his own depends on whether he/she can finance their stay in a foreign country. In the majority of cases, this is not related to an 'art', but to the possibility of finding alternative employment.

Regional mobility

The countries of the Western Balkans, excluding Albania, were part of Yugoslavia until the beginning of the 1990s, which means that they made a unique cultural and economic space. After the break-up of Yugoslavia and the creation of new states, this unique cultural and economic space fell apart. In this process of creation of national states, the intellectual and artistic capital re-grouped according to its national affiliation. During the first few years after the creation of new states, the mobility of artistic capital had been completely frozen. With the stabilization of the situation in the region, despite many obstacles, the needs of artists, cultural industries, cultural practitioners, and the audience for regional co-operation are getting stronger and stronger.²⁵

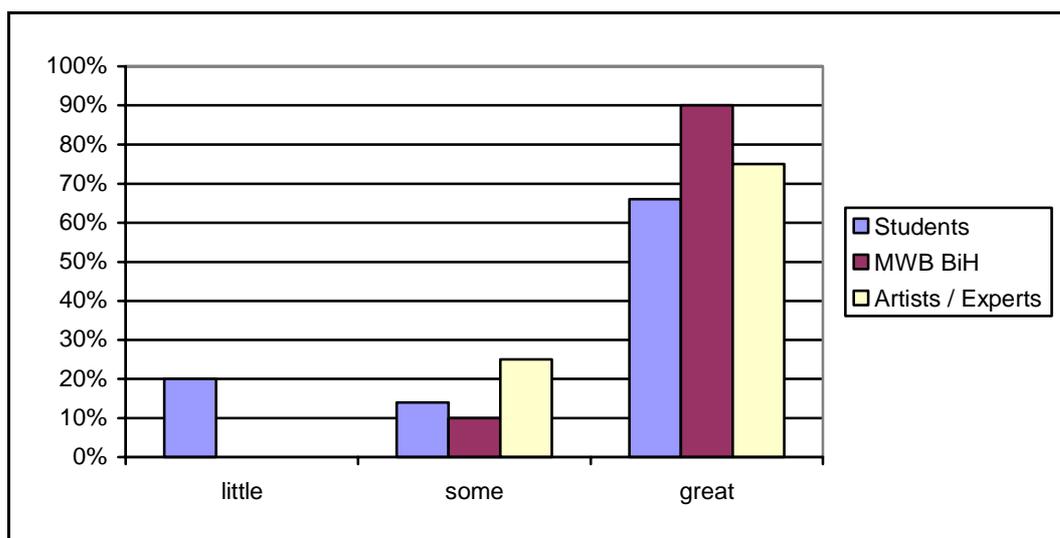
The need for co-operation

The countries of the Western Balkans, which are all in the process of transition, are classified as small states. As such, they do not have sufficient economic resources for stimulating and self-sustainable development of their own cultural industries, artistic markets and labour markets. A major opportunity in the field of cultural production is to develop regional links, through the creation of a regional cultural environment (the market for artistic works and labour), that is, cooperation through co-production, similar to co-operation in the Nordic countries.²⁶

²⁵ *There is enthusiasm of similar organizations and individuals in the region and readiness to realize joint projects. Our experience in this kind of project is very positive, so in our work we insist on creating new, and if possible, joint projects (Elvir Sahic, director of Ambrosia NGO, Sarajevo). Regional ties have great influence on the quality of sensibility and artistic style, and the awareness of cultural, traditional, sociological, intermedial and other aspects of the influences which exist in the region (Director of Erg Status, Boris Caksiran).*

²⁶ *The solution is in the creation of cultural politics that will create the necessary environment and encourage as much creative and artistic work as possible in micro-local communities and at the macro-national level. In addition, organizations should be established that will help cultural institutions and the artists themselves to create works that will later be promoted on a larger scale. This requires the creation of a regional network that will fight for the rights of talented artists and others, secure financial support to artists, and create channels for the promotion of cultural work. This network shouldn't exist only for its own sake, but it should have a series of activities. In this sense, it is necessary to increase awareness of organizations and cultural institutions that together can do much more, but the attention should be focussed not on the projects, but on the process itself. (Radoslav Corlija, MBG BiH director)*

Table 7: The level of need for regional cooperation in the Western Balkan states (opinions of the three groups on the level of inflow)

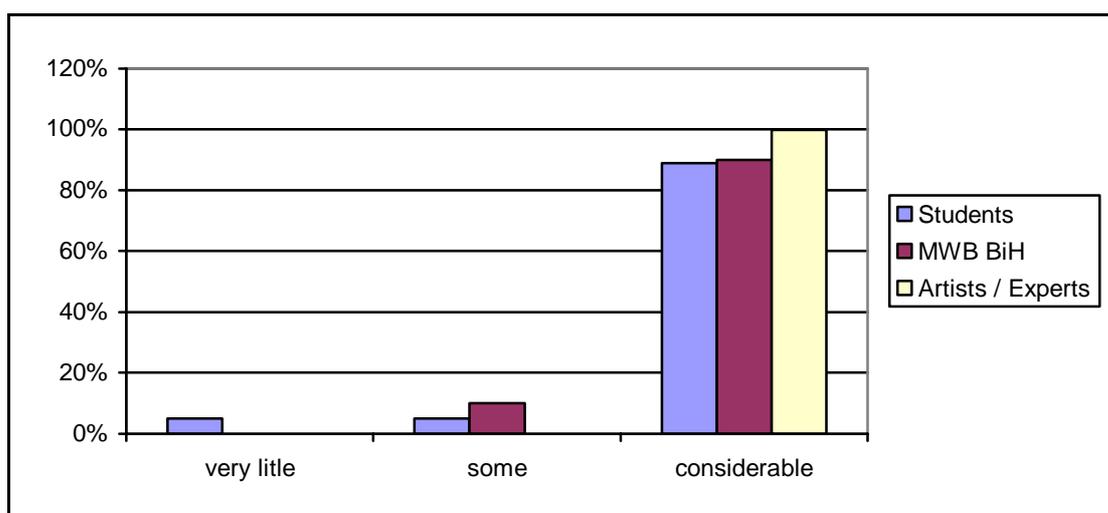


On analysis of answers to the questionnaire in this study and some other sources, it can be concluded that there is a growing need for artists, organizations, and cultural institutions to establish regional cooperation.

Regional ties have great influence on the quality of sensibility and artistic style, as well as on the awareness of cultural, traditional, sociological and other aspects of the influences which exist in the region. (Director of Erg Status BiH, Boris Caksiran)

Benefits

Table 8: Would more intensive mobility in the Western Balkans region boost the richness of cultural life, development of the market for artistic works and labour, and cultural production? (opinions of the three groups on the level of inflow)



There are three main practical reasons to encourage the participants in cultural production to take part in regional cooperation:

- Decades-long cultural unity, or cultural recognition
- Economic reasons (enlarging the market and increasing the number of consumers)

- A common approach which enhances the position for creative work in terms of wider European global processes.

Last year we had the chance to take part in IV “A Tempo” International Festival in Podgorica and as the managing director of our ensemble, I had the pleasure of meeting and working closely with many people. Establishing long-term collaboration in regional and European events, which not only attract musicians but enable them to continue their activities, is a first step in securing more space and attention for music professionals, which will encourage them to stay and work in their home countries. (Qazim Kallushi)

Obstacles

According to respondents, the main obstacles to strengthening regional mobility are:

- Specific regional problems (political situation, lack of information, closed borders and customs)
- Financial difficulties, especially for cooperation in terms of joint productions
- Lack of institutional systems – scholarships for mobility
- Insufficient attention from the state cultural politics

All these problems are well known in the region and have been highlighted at several regional meetings of the ministers of culture, at which a few declarations were signed. However, in practice, little has changed for the better in the field of strengthening regional cultural cooperation.²⁷

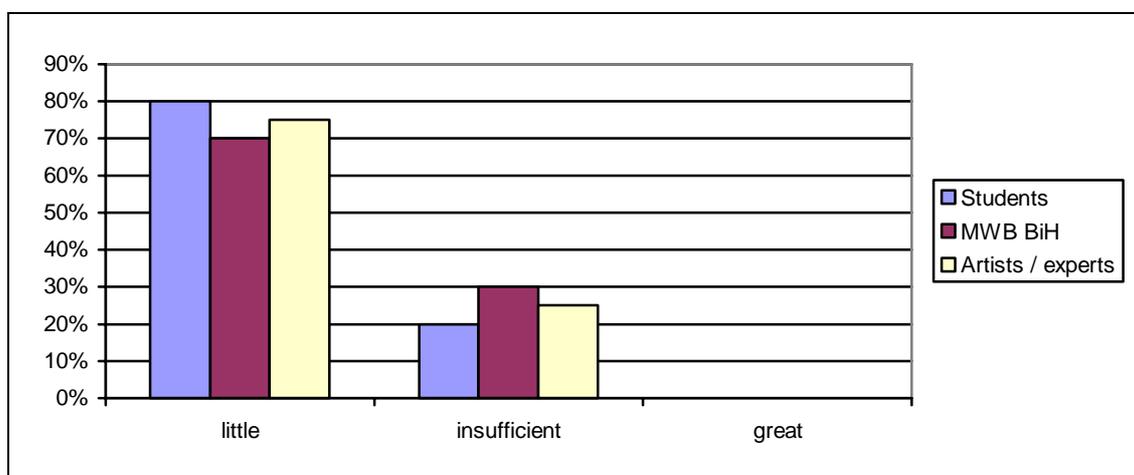
There are mental obstacles to regional mobility as well (the majority of artists think that it's more important to cooperate with the West than within the region because they think it's more remunerative to be recognized in the West; mental barriers in the region, as well as the political ones, have been erected in the last 10 years). Many artists don't realize that it would be much better to expand the market in their own region to change what is lacking, such as quality, competitiveness etc. and then it would be easier to enter the Western market and sell your products there. Small markets are insignificant for the critical development of society, culture, and the quality of life. That is why I think that the opening of the region and exchange of creativity and information in that direction is imperative. (Biljana Tanurovska)

²⁷ The declaration: *The state and the prospects for cultural cooperation of CEI*, adopted at the Conference of ministers of culture of the member states of the Central European Initiative, held in Skopje in 2002, states among other things: *With the help of competent structures of the CEI, especially the Working group for culture and education, it will identify appropriate projects of common interest for the CEI member states, especially those that concern the effects of the process of transition to cultural politics of the CEI member states.*

The most recent meeting of culture ministers of the countries of the Western Balkans was held in Copenhagen in March 2005, when the *Council of Ministers of Culture of Southeast Europe* was set up.

The dream of a return ticket (TBM)

Table 9: What are the possibilities of artists' mobility for temporary engagement in Europe (opinions of the three groups on the level of inflow)



I think that the creation of conditions for continued exchange and mobility, which would entail the continued education and exchange of know-how, then the creation of conditions for work and better status of freelance artists at the local level, and the creation of jobs in creative industries (which would imply the creation of conditions for the development and strengthening of creative industries) would reduce the level of drain of artists. (Biljana Tanurovska)

Reasons

Most of the respondents in this survey agreed that the reasons why there are few possibilities for the mobility of artists and their work to other parts of Europe are:

- Visa restrictions
- Lack of financial support
- Lack of information on opportunities
- Conservative cultural politics conducted by state administrations
- Lack of openness in EU states towards artists from the Balkans region

The advantages of living in Europe, first and foremost for artists, are: you always have opportunities for advanced training, to go to some important musical event or festival because air companies offer cheap flights, you don't need visas and papers. Contacts with artists in other countries always enable you to sleep at someone's place or they help you to find cheap accommodation... Something like that is impossible to organize from Serbia and Belgrade. By the time you obtain all you need: visas, papers, money, tickets, you lose the desire to travel and that is how people lose opportunities for developing. (Vladimir Gurbaj)

Table 10: The level of inflow of artists from abroad – permanent engagement (opinions of the three groups on the level of inflow)

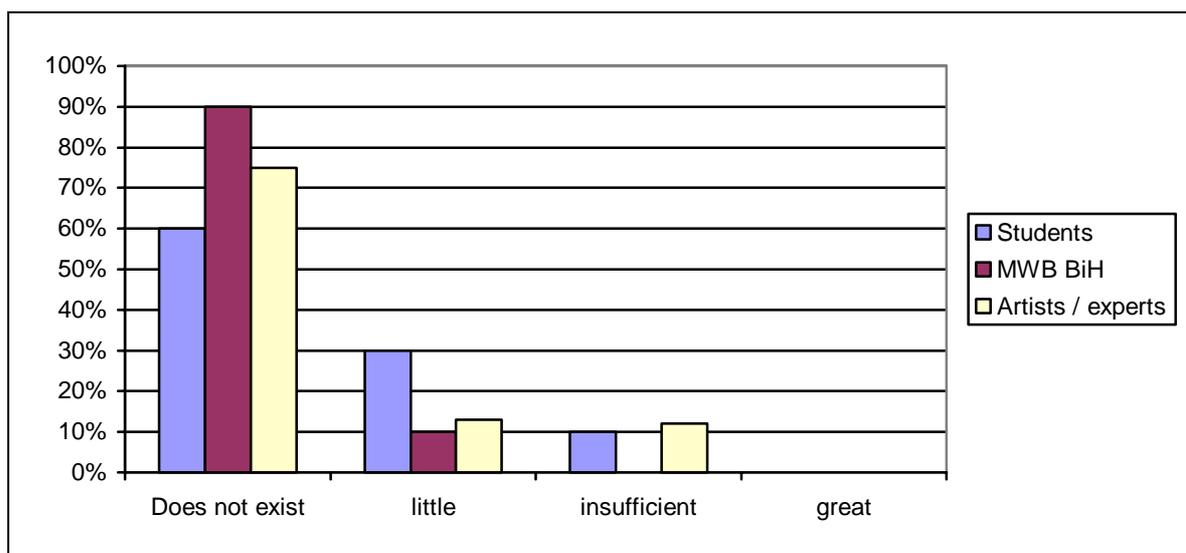
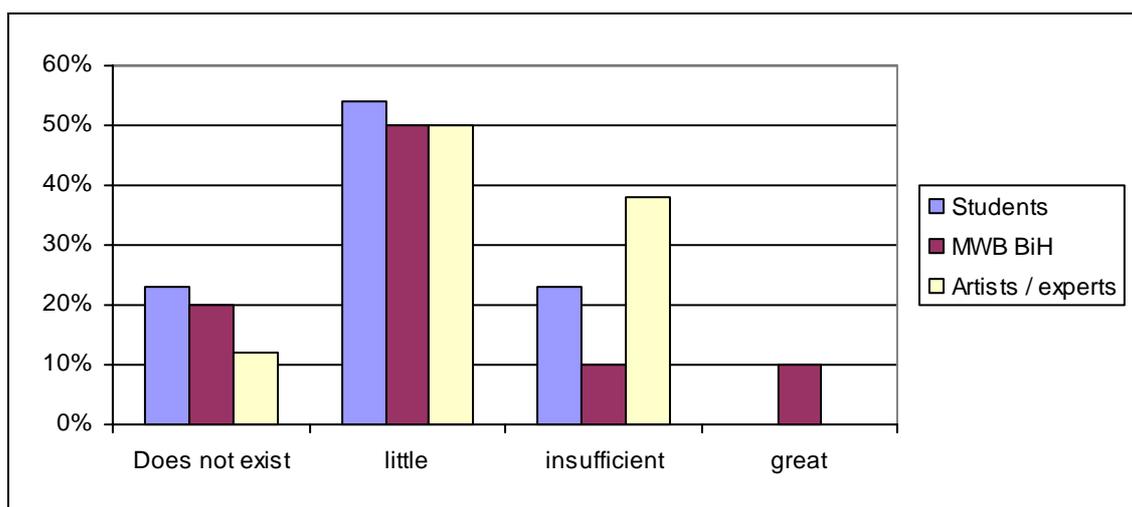


Table 11: The level of inflow of artists from abroad – temporary engagement



Most of the respondents think that the cultural life in their communities is closed, which is a fertile ground for the rule of local lobbies, and the consequences of that are:

- Isolation within local boundaries
- Provincialism
- Uncritical acceptance of 'third-rate' cultural production.

This is exactly the atmosphere which stimulates the drain of artistic capital. And that is how the circle closes.²⁸

The consequences of such a situation that I have noticed in the last several years alone are actually terrifying. Everything is getting worse instead of getting better: the level

²⁸ *The mobility of musicians is of great importance and I think that it is highly desirable. I am not sure how much our state loses through the departure of young talent because by leaving they obtain much better opportunities for further advancement- via education, better instruments, sponsors, participation in competitions and courses. It is questionable how that talent would develop in Serbia where possibilities are very limited. (Ana Vladanovic Lebedinski)*

of concerts, the programmes of major events and festivals such as Bemus, the work at artistic academies... People are leaving, and the level and quality are diminishing. The level of competition is dropping and that gives the opportunity for 'second-rate' artists to be noticed and they become "the first league"! With the help of various contacts, these people become famous and that is how the general level of work reduces and quality drops... That is a shame for society and artistic life. (Vladimir Gurbaj)

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the situation in the countries of the Western Balkans over the past ten years can be summed up as follows: mobility (TBM) of artistic capital has been reduced to a minimum, the trend towards the drain of creative capital has not been stopped; on the contrary, it is still increasing.

The causes of the outflow of creative capital and poor mobility should be sought first and foremost in the Western Balkans societies. If the desire of young generations to leave their own countries has become a massive phenomenon, and if the very act of leaving depends only on the possibilities for doing so, then society should seriously reconsider how it functions, and examine the causes why most of the young don't want to stay, but instead wish to run away.

The drain of creative capital is a direct consequence of developmental policies. In the countries of the Western Balkans the economic principles of *turbo liberalism* are dominant, that is, the repeated (after the rule of communism) *original accumulation of capital*, which has extremely negative consequences for the level of cultural life and the creative capital's decision to remain, especially in local communities.²⁹

Culture, cultural production, and support for the development of national cultural industries are not part of the Western Balkan states' development plans. The development policy makers, mostly members of the technocratic circles, see artistic production in the first place as public expenditure. Cultural politics are not part of development plans and that is why in the majority of countries in the region there is no consistent system of

²⁹ The real social situation in most of the Western Balkan countries shows that the negative political environment and weak economy persist to a large extent due to the *export of young people*, i.e. of intellectual capital. *The brain drain* effectively reduces the electorate and makes its structure less complicated. With the departure of the most educated, which means those most complicated, there are fewer and fewer difficult questions, requests and expectations from the political structures, which makes room for negative selection of personnel. That certainly favours the current ruling circles!

On the other hand, financial assistance from abroad sent by emigrants (who constantly help their relatives in their home countries) maintain the social peace and represent a significant item in the inflow of funds for the countries' balance of payments. However, that money which directly turns into consumption doesn't remain in the country's economy because the majority of goods (except food) are imported. That is how money returns to where it came from, to the economies of exporters, which only confirms that the foreign capital isn't much interested in financing the real economic development of the Western Balkan countries (except when it comes to scarce products, i.e. the production which drastically exploits the country's natural resources or doesn't meet ecological standards.) That is why the best performers in the region today are the banking sector (all banks have foreign capital) and corporations that specialize in the import of necessary items (medicines, energy etc.) and consumer goods.

That is how the circle of interests closes between local politicians, newly-made businessmen and technocrats on one hand, and on the other, lucrative interests of western corporations, banks, international financial institutions and more developed states which import *fertile capital* free of charge.

measures – goals, priorities, and instruments with which the state can influence cultural life and cultural production.

Today, cultural politics do not exist in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), and that's why talented people are in no way encouraged to remain there. Of course, there are additional financial and qualitative reasons. Cultural institutions serve "the system" and they are linked to political parties and the ruling circles. That is why talents are not recognized, nor are they encouraged to stay. Unfortunately, in such circumstances, the existence of talents and other musical and cultural artists is reduced to zero. The creation of cultural heritage and the development of cultural habits have been consequently reduced to a minimum or don't exist at all. (Radoslav Corlija director of MBG BiH)

In the past five years (since the fall of the government of Slobodan Milosevic) not a single law in the field of culture has been adopted in Serbia (for some situations the laws from the 1960s – *the period of strict communism* – are still applied).

Qazim Kallushi says that: *The situation in Albania continued for almost 10 years. The states withdrew from supporting artistic events and that was partly substituted by other institutions such as foreign foundations, but their funding was mainly addressed to short-term initiatives and a limited number of partners. Actually, when the state contributions remain the same and other international foundations almost close their programmes, the support to the arts sector and especially to serious music is quite inconsiderable in relation to the necessities of that sector.*

The relationship towards cultural production is regulated at the sectoral level, while inter-sectoral cooperation is not usual practice (especially between various ministries.) There is no strategy to stimulate financial instruments for international cooperation, especially at regional and European level.

The personal experience of Professor Dr. Milena Dragicevic Sesic on how much the ruling administration in Serbia is worried about the drain of artistic capital and their understanding of mobility (TBM) is very indicative. *One small analysis that I made several years ago showed a paradox in that the largest amount of money for cultural cooperation was spent on overseas cooperation – that year, I think it was 2002 or 2003, the Yugoslav Drama Theatre and Atelier 212 travelled to Columbia and Mexico, and some choirs went to China and South Korea. With several trips by smaller theatre groups to Australia and Canada...it is clear that the money was wasted on something that is definitely not a priority, and objectively, it is not even important for artists themselves (except perhaps as an award trip to compensate for modest fees and salaries.)*

Therefore, it is necessary to develop a policy of international cultural cooperation, establish priorities and develop instruments, such as competitions, but also to stimulate cultural manifestations in our country and to have a more coherent and consistent policy of bringing in foreign artists (that shouldn't be something occasional, ad hoc.)

It is interesting that, although I am a member of the City commission for cultural cooperation of Belgrade, and although the entire commission has sent the draft priorities to the city government, we have never received an answer, nor has the meeting with the city government which we requested been scheduled (the commission asked that the criteria and priorities be established before the funds are earmarked.) Since the meeting hasn't been held, we agreed between ourselves what our criteria would be (but it should be stressed that our commission is responsible only for truly marginal international projects. The decisions on other events, such as BITEF, BEMUS are made in a different way.)

There is no strategy for cooperation between the public and state sector in the cultural sphere that would allow for more efficient employment of creative capital, and the inflow of artists from abroad.

Macedonia is now starting to recognize the so-called national culture which, on one hand, prevents the development of more advanced and productive creations. There is very little support for new forms of art and creative expression, and new initiatives. Studies on art are at the very low developmental level - concrete programme changes haven't taken place.

I think that the European flows that endorse the development of creativity and diversification should be encouraged, but it should be understood in the first place that that doesn't mean a one-sided internal exchange, but 'crossroads' exchange of information and creativity from various parts. I think that breaking mental barriers, views and interpretations of certain initiatives are priorities for the further development of cultural politics at the local, regional, and international levels. (Biljana Tanurovska)

The influence of the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Intellectual Property Organization etc. on the economic situation and cultural politics of countries in transition should also be taken into account. The experience of Serbia shows that these international institutions have a great influence on the internal economic and political situation and apply restrictive policies on the development of cultural industries and cultural production, which are exactly the fields that should provide artists with employment opportunities. These fields are supposed to bond artists to the milieu they originate from.

The other important issue is copyright which is bought from the artists by the corporations of cultural industries. However, they are not stimulated to support the cultural industry development of the countries in transition.

We will conclude this research with the opinion of one female artist: *I am sure that, despite a large-scale drain of good musicians that has been taking place during the last years, our country still has a large number of people whose work we can be proud and who are absolutely at the highest world level. I think that the key to everything would be if the cultural politics and our country's overall politics engaged much more in providing appropriate, first of all, financial care for those who remained in the country, who work and play and thus contribute to the country's general culture. In this way, those who have left would certainly regain confidence and see a reason for returning. (Hana Kovac)*

Trends in International Mobility of Finnish Artists

By Ritva Mitchell, CUPORE³⁰

1. Introduction

The following pages provide statistical snapshots of the present state of international mobility among Finnish artists. Its focus is on two moments of change, acceleration and deceleration, which seem to have shaped the strength and direction of this mobility during the last one and a half decades. Special attention will be paid to the mobility between Finland and the other Nordic countries. It has been argued that this unity is mainly based on shared economic and social ideals and less on a joint cultural identity.

Recent political developments, globalisation and new applications of ICT have affected artistic mobility in a rather similar fashion in all the Nordic countries. Yet, there have not been such drastic changes in mobility as those having taken place in the late 1980ies and in the 1990ies, for example in South-East Europe, the Baltic countries and Germany. The basic economic and socio-political structures of the welfare state have survived the changes in all Nordic countries, and the flow of migrants, which was greatly on the increase in the 1990ies seems to be stagnant now (see Appendix 1).

From a geopolitical point of view, culture has undergone three major changes in the Nordic region. The "re-opening" of the Baltic Sea region has led to the re-establishment and intensification of cultural co-operation between the Nordic and the Baltic countries. A similar development has taken place in the North of the North, in the North Calotte area, between the Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden and Finland) and the Murmansk and Archangelsk regions in Russia. In the case of Finland, these developments, together with increased activities in all border regions with the Russian Federation, have had a bearing on the flow of immigrants from Russia to Finland, among them many artists. EU policies, too, have had their impact on Nordic co-operation in general and on cultural co-operation and artistic mobility in particular, although in a more unobtrusive way.

³⁰ This case study was commissioned by the ERICarts Institute in 2006 for their study, *MEAC I: Dynamics, Causes and Consequences of Transborder Mobility in the European Arts and Culture*, undertaken for the LabforCulture, an initiative of the European Cultural Foundation.

2. Mobility of Finnish Artists: a Brief Overview

Table 1 provides an overview of Finnish artists' 'mobility' in 2001, looking at the share of artists working abroad and taxable income earned abroad.

Table 1: Finnish artists' working abroad and taxable income earned abroad in 2001*

Field of artistic work	% share of artists working abroad	% share of artists with taxable income from abroad	Average value of taxable income from abroad, in €	Median value of taxable income from abroad, in €
Design	7	5	14 824	5 046
Photography	13	7	6 803	3 868
Music	14	14	6 705	841
Literature	10	5	6 361	592
Theatre	8	6	5 501	3 027
Dance	15	10	3 895	3 364
Visual art	14	6	2 998	1 177
Cinema	15	12	2 581	1 752
Media art	13	8	2 522	1 446
All artists**	13	8	6 293	1 682

Source: Re-worked from Rensujeff, K., 2003.

* Information gained from a sample survey of Finnish artists

** Includes also architects and professional critics

With the exception of design, Finnish artists do not seem to receive considerable earnings from abroad. This conclusion is, however, misleading, because the table refers only to those artists living in Finland (and thus paying taxes in Finland). This is, naturally, not the case for those living permanently abroad or for those nomadic celebrities who have made their international break-through and earn all or most of their income abroad and pay taxes in another country. On a smaller scale this is also reflected in the income figures of designers with international contracts who work and live permanently in Finland. In case of music and literature, the average foreign income is "diluted" by royalties and copyright compensations from abroad, which can be quite considerable, e.g. in the case of some pop musicians. The foreign income of actors is mainly due to earnings from other Nordic countries, that of dancers from touring abroad.

Internet sites on "famous Finns" provide listings of international "artist celebrities". These sites contain the names of 48 contemporary Finnish artists, out of whom 40% are music professionals and at the same time "international nomads", as the following list bears witness to:

[*Karita Mattila, soprano*](#)

[*Jorma Hynninen, baritone*](#)

[*Soile Isokoski, soprano*](#)

[*Matti Salminen, bass*](#)

[*Jaakko Ryhänen, bass*](#)

[*Olli Mustonen, pianist, composer*](#)

[*Ralf Gothoni, pianist*](#)

[*Monica Groop, mezzosoprano*](#)

[*Magnus Lindberg, composer*](#)

[*Einojuhani Rautavaara, composer*](#)

[*Kaija Saariaho, composer*](#)

[Aulis Sallinen, composer](#)
[Paavo Berglund, conductor](#)
[Mikko Frank, conductor](#)
[Esa-Pekka Salonen, conductor](#)
[Jukka-Pekka Saraste, conductor](#)
[John Storgårds, conductor](#)
[Osmo Vänskä, conductor](#)
[Sakari Oramo, conductor](#)

For many of these nomadic artists competitions and festivals in Sweden, Germany and Great-Britain were the break-through points on their road to international recognition. Similar examples of international breakthroughs and nomadism can be found in design (for example Timo Sarpaneva and Stefan Lindfors), in architecture, visual and media arts (for example Marita Liulia and Eeva-Liisa Ahtila).

3. Most Important Receiving Institutions: Opera, Ballet and Orchestras

The following tables show that opera, ballet and symphony orchestras are the main institutions employing foreign artists.

The share of European guest soloists in Finnish opera houses is about 60%. 27% of them come from Italy, 17% from Russia and 16% from Germany. 73% of the Nordic guests and visitors came from Sweden. However, only few foreign artists are on a more permanent payroll, for example, among soloists only one is foreign citizen.

Table 2: Foreign guest soloists, conductors, directors, technical and other personnel in the National Opera by country of origin, 1995-2004,

Nationality	Female soloist		Male soloist		Conductors		Directors		Technical personnel		Other personnel	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nordic countries	10	14,1	22	22,4	1	3,7	2	6,3	6	18,8	0	0,0
Other European countries	43	60,5	45	45,9	19	70,4	22	68,8	18	56,3	6	60,0
North American countries	9	12,7	14	14,3	4	14,8	2	6,3	2	6,3	0	0,0
Other countries	3	4,2	8	8,2	3	11,1	0	0,0	1	3,1	1	10,0
Unknown	6	8,5	9	9,2	0	0,0	6	18,8	5	15,0	3	30,0
Total	71	100	98	100	27	100	32	100	32	100	10	100

The figures on foreign visitors to the Finnish National Ballet display the same pattern as the National Opera. On the other hand, the share of permanently employed foreign personnel is quite significant. The present director of the Finnish National Ballet is a Dane.

Table 3: Foreign visiting personnel in the Finnish National Ballet, by country of origin, 1995-2004

Country of origin:	Choreographers		Conductors		Assistants, apprentices		Technical experts		Teachers*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nordic countries	2	6,5	4		6	10,3	1	2,9	4	8,0
Other European country	18	58,1	8	57,1	26	44,8	19	55,9	29	58,0
North America	7	22,6	0	0,0	10	17,2	2	5,9	9	16,0
Other countries	3	9,7	2	14,3	6	10,3	4	11,8	0	0,0
Unknown	1	3,2	0	0,0	10	17,2	8	23,5	9	18,0
Total	31	100	14	100	58	100	34	100	50	100

* The Finnish Ballet School is part of the National Ballet.

Table 4: Foreign dancers with permanent position or a long term contract in the National Ballet; total number and share in the corps of dancers, 1995-2004

Year	N	Share of artistic personnel %
1995	7	10,9
1996	7	10,9
1997	17	18,7
1998	16	18,4
1999	17	18,9
2000	23	23,5
2001	25	24,3
2002	21	21,6
2003	19	20,9
2004	17	19,1

Table 5 gives an overview of the number of foreign musicians in Finnish symphony orchestras. There are 29 orchestras: 15 philharmonic or symphoniettas, eight chamber music orchestras or other small orchestras, and six orchestras with ad hoc composition and performance periods. These employ approx. 970 professional musicians; the share of foreign citizens among them seems to have settled down to 7%. The number of foreigners is an indicator for increasing mobility. In the auditions for orchestra posts, there are increasing numbers of non-German musicians, who have lost their jobs in Germany because of the recent financial difficulties of German orchestras.

Table 5: Number and % share of foreign musicians in the Finnish symphony orchestras, 1999-2004.

Year	Number of foreign citizens	Share of the musicians (%)
1999	57	6,3
2000	64	7,0
2001	65	7,0
2002	67	7,1
2003	67	6,9
2004	67	6,9

A different perspective is opened by table 6 which presents figures on immigrant musicians (world music) registered in Finland.

Table 6: Immigrant musicians, bands and music teachers (world music) in Finland, according to the Finnish Immigrés-register, 2005

Country of origin in:	Musicians and bands		Music teachers	
	N	%	N	%
Asia	3	4,8	2	5,4
Africa	20	32,3	14	37,8
Australia & the Pacific	2	3,2	2	5,4
Balkan and the Near East	8	12,9	7	1,9
Europe	2	3,2	3	8,1
Latin America	15	24,2	5	13,5
Greece	4	6,5	2	5,4
North America	2	3,2	0	0,0
Russia	4	6,5	1	2,7
Reggae regions	2	3,2	1	2,7
Total	62	100	37	100

The majority of these musicians belong to ethno-music communities. Another foreign artist community in Finland is *the EU-Man*, an association which unites immigrant visual artists. It has about 130 members, mainly of non-European or Russian origin.

The Finnish corps of professional artists is at present some 15 000 (belonging to different professional unions of artists). We can estimate that not more than 2,2% of them are foreign citizens or naturalised Finns. This is almost equal to the general share of immigrants in the overall population.

4. Copyright Payments in Music

International copyright payments are an important source of artists' income and also a measure of how and to what extent intellectual property is legally protected on a worldwide scale. These payments also measure international success of works of art, and they indicate in which countries their works are financially successful. Tables 7 and 8 provide information on the Finnish "exchange" of authors' compensations in music. Unfortunately, information on international copyright payments in other fields of artistic work is not available.

Table 7: Finnish music authors' copyright compensations from abroad, in thousand euros, by country, 2003-2004

Country	2003	2004
Sweden*	627,4	568,5
Germany	333,5	477,5
Great Britain	327,5	427,5
Norway	182,8	160,8
France	144,3	152,3
Denmark	203,8	109,7
Japan	199,3	104,0
U.S.	97,9	103,4
The Netherlands	124,1	86,5
Spain	60,1	77,1
Italy	70,0	76,3
Belgium	53,0	65,7
Switzerland	50,2	61,4
Austria	77,4	54,1
Australia	37,2	41,8
Hungary	30,1	31,2
Estonia	2,5	30,4
Canada	16,9	21,1
Poland	17,0	20,7
Greece	12,8	10,3
Russia	7,1	10,1
Czech	11,2	6,6
Slovenia	52,2	5,7
Israel	10,3	4,8
Other countries	59,6	56,9
Total:	2 728,2	2 764,4

* The share of Sweden appears over proportionally high because the Swedish copyright organisation is subcontracted to collect and account for Nordic compensations in several other countries.

Table 8: Music authors' copyright compensations paid from Finland to foreign right-owners, in thousand euros, by country, 1999-2004

Country	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
USA	2 433	2 652	3 311	3 989	3 720	4 252
Great-Britain	1 173	1 707	1 782	2 106	2 221	2 298
Germany	544	695	628	713	741	719
France	441	602	618	675	654	828
Sweden	3 726	4 805	5 347	6 328	6 731	5 679
Denmark	154	180	193	227	224	236
Norway	42	53	64	72	99	89
The "Nordic" sub-total	8 513	10 694	11 943	14 110	14 390	14 101
Other countries	844	1 008	1 025	1 295	1 172	1 478
Total	9 357	11 702	12 968	15 405	15 562	15 579

The exchange balance is strongly negative, as is probably the case for most small countries and language areas. The figures reflect the strong position of the Anglo-American music business and the importance of other Nordic countries and Germany for the mobility of Finnish goods. The apparent strength of the Nordic link is, however, partly caused by purely administrative activities through the co-operation in copy-right accounting through the Nordisk Copyright Bureau.

Table 9 shows the limited intellectual resources of a small country in copyright compensations exchange. Compositions of Sibelius still occupy the six top places. There are, however, also newcomers: five rock music compositions from four bands, Darud, Rasmus, Bomfunk MC and Him.

Table 9: The fifteen compositions earning the highest copyright compensations from abroad in Finland, 2003.

1. Sibelius Jean, Second symphony
2. Sibelius, Jean, Violin concerto
3. Sibelius, Jean, First Symphony
4. Sibelius, Jean, Fifth symphony
5. Sibelius, Jean, Lemminkäinen series
6. Sibelius, Jean, Finlandia
7. Virtanen Ville, Sandstorm (Darude)
8. Ylönen, Lauri et al., In the Shadow (Rasmus)
9. Sibelius, Jean, Seventh symphony'
10. Salovaara, Jaakko, Freestyler (Bomfunk MC)
12. Valo, Ville, Join me in death (Him)
13. Salonen, Esa-Pekka, L.A. Variations
14. Rautavaara, Cantus Arcticus
15. Salovaara, Jaakko, Feel the Beast (Bomfunk MC).

5. Mobility in Arts Education

The information on the mobility of persons and goods provided so far did not include the important aspect of the mobility of art students and teachers. Table 10 gives general background information on the distribution of foreign students at Finnish universities by their countries or regions of origin, Table 11 informs about the share of foreign students by the type of university, and tables 12-15 show the relative attractiveness of Finnish arts universities by students from different countries/regions.

Table 10: Foreign degree students at Finnish universities, by country/region of origin, 2003

Country/region of origin	N	%
Europe	2 641	59,7
out of which:		
Nordic countries	402	9,0
Sweden	307	6,9
Norway	41	0,9
Denmark	33	0,7
Iceland	21	0,5
Africa	261	5,9
North America	174	3,9
Latin America, Caribbean	105	2,4
Asia	1 200	27,1
Australia-Oceania	20	0,5
Unknown	26	0,6
Total	4 427	100,0

Table 11: Foreign degree students at Finnish universities by type of university, 2003

Type of university	All degree students	Foreign degree students	Share of foreign degree students (%)
"Multiversities"	125 480	2 823	2,2
Business schools	8 703	269	3,1
Technical universities	32 037	1079	3,4
Art universities	3 626	256	7,1
Total	169 846	4 427	2,6

Relative attractiveness of Finnish arts and design universities

Table 12: Foreign applicants to the Sibelius Academy of Music (Helsinki), by country/region of origin, 1999-2004

Country of origin	1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nordic countries	42	29,0	23	16,8	32	18,5	20	15,4	21	13,8	24	17,1
Rest of Europe	71	49,0	82	59,9	94	54,3	79	60,0	97	63,8	89	63,6
Near East	3	2,1	2	1,5	2	1,2	1	0,8	0	0,0	2	1,4
Africa	5	3,4	2	1,5	9	5,2	4	3,1	6	3,9	2	1,4
Asia	13	9,0	15	10,9	15	8,7	16	12,3	16	10,5	18	12,9
Australia & New Zealand	3	2,1	3	2,2	5	2,9	1	0,8	0	0,0	1	0,7
North America	5	3,4	7	5,1	10	5,8	6	4,6	6	3,9	2	1,4
South America	2	1,4	3	2,2	6	3,5	3	2,3	6	3,9	2	1,4
Unknown	1	0,7	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	0,8	0	0,0	0	0,0
Total	145	100	137	100	173	100	130	100	152	100	142	100

Table 13: Foreign applicants to the Helsinki University of Art and Design, by country/region of origin, 1999-2004

Country of origin	1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nordic countries	26	22,2	26	25,4	25	22,3	27	16,9	30	17,3	35	17,3
Rest of Europe	35	29,9	31	30,3	45	40,2	71	44,4	73	42,2	67	33,2
Near East	2	1,7	1	1,0	2	1,8	1	0,6	6	3,5	3	1,5
Africa	4	3,4	5	4,9	3	2,7	4	2,5	6	3,5	3	1,5
Asia	15	12,8	24	23,5	21	18,8	36	22,5	37	21,4	60	29,7
Austr.&N. Zeal	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	0,9	1	0,6	1	0,6	2	1,0
North America	10	8,5	9	8,8	10	8,9	12	7,5	14	8,1	20	9,9
South America	0	0,0	5	4,9	3	2,7	7	4,4	5	2,9	11	5,4
Unknown	25	21,4	1	1,0	2	1,8	1	0,6	1	0,6	1	0,5
Total	117	100	102	100	112	100	160	100	173	100	202	100

Table 14: Foreign applicants to the Finnish Academy of Fine Arts (Helsinki), by country/region of origin, 1999-2004

Country of origin	1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nordic countries	14	25,5	15	24,2	9	14,5	14	23,3	16	22,9	37	37,8
Rest of Europe	30	54,5	39	62,9	46	74,2	32	53,3	29	41,4	31	31,6
Near East	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	3,2	1	1,7	3	4,3	1	1,0
Africa	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	3	4,3	5	5,1
Asia	1	1,8	5	8,1	3	4,8	3	5,3	8	11,4	16	16,3
Austr.&N. Zeal.	0	0,0	1	1,6	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	1,4	1	1,0
North America	2	3,6	0	0,0	2	3,2	5	8,3	7	10,0	6	6,1
South America	2	3,6	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	1,7	3	4,3	1	1,0
Unknown	6	10,9	2	3,2	0	0,0	4	6,7	0	0,0	1	1,0
Total	55	100	62	100	62	100	60	100	70	100	99	100

Table 15: Foreign applicants to the Theatre Academy (Helsinki), by country/region of origin, 1999-2004

Country of origin	1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nordic countries	65	87,8	33	82,5	63	86,3	35	79,5	41	74,5	22	81,5
Rest of Europe	8	10,8	5	12,5	5	6,8	9	20,5	12	21,8	4	14,8
Near East	0	0,0										
Africa	0	0,0	1	3,7								
Asia	1	1,4	0	0,0	1	1,4	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Australia & New Zealand	0	0,0										
North America	0	0,0	1	2,5	3	4,1	0	0,0	1	1,8	0	0,0
South America	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	1,4	0	0,0	1	1,8	0	0,0
Unknown	0	0,0										
Total	74	100	40	100	73	100	44	100	55	100	27	100

Our statistics indicate that the division along the Europe-Asia axis, which is evident all over Europe, is also taking place in Finland. We also notice that arts universities enrol considerably more foreign students than other universities. Finally, the most attractive among the Finnish arts universities are those of music and design (Sibelius Academy, University of Art and Design); this is certainly due to the language barrier in theatre (Theatre Academy) and the rather limited number of study places even for Finnish students in the Academy of Fine Arts. The Academy of Fine Arts and the Theatre Academy attract students from other Nordic countries, the latter because of its Swedish-language programmes.

There are no statistics about the number and academic location of Finnish degree students abroad. Statistics on short term student exchange (see Appendix II) and other information suggest that the art universities of continental Europe (Germany, France and Spain) are gaining popularity at the expense of the Anglo-American institutes of higher arts education.

6. Mobility of Performing Arts: Touring and Events

Foreign tours are a kind of test for performing arts. In Finland the stagnation of public support since the recession of 1991-1993 made foreign tours practically impossible for the big companies like the National Opera and the three national theatres. Nevertheless, table 16 seems to indicate that theatre touring frequencies have remained quite high in recent years. The figures are, however, misleading, because about 85% are by small theatre groups. The main national ensembles had only some 55 performances, less than six per year, in 1995-2004. There are fluctuations between the Nordic and other European countries as hosts, and it is difficult to make out any definite development trends.

Table 16: Touring performances of Finnish professional theatres abroad, by receiving country/region, 2000-2004

Location of receiving countries	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nordic countries	29	20,0	33	48,5	43	41,8	28	48,3	15	14,4
Other European countries	79	54,5	27	39,7	28	27,1	17	29,3	64	61,5
Non-European countries	37	25,5	8	11,8	32	31,1	13	22,4	25	24,1
Total	145	100	68	100	103	100	58	100	104	100
Grand total=478										

Table 17 presents the overall figures of foreign tours to Finland and Table 18 their percent distribution by geographical regions. No trends can be discerned in these figures. Even in foreign performances the main choice is between the Nordic countries and the rest of Europe and opportunities (financing) probably open up in a random manner. The same seems to hold true in the case of modern dance (Tables 19 and 20).

Table 17: Tours of foreign theatre troupes to Finland and number of performances, by country of origin, 1995-2004

Country	Troupes	Performances
Sweden	36	139
Great-Britain	12	122
Russia	26	85
Germany	13	49
France	16	35
Denmark	9	28
Estonia	7	25
Belgium	5	24
Czech	6	22
Italy	6	13
Other countries (16)	38	92
Total	174	634

Table 18: Tours of foreign theatre troupes to Finland, by % share of performances, 1995-2004

	Nordic countries	Other European countries	Non-European countries	Total
Year	Share (%)	Share (%)	Share (%)	
1995	52,1	43,8	4,2	100
1996	27,5	66,7	5,9	100
1997	26,8	69,6	3,6	100
1998	12,6	85,4	1,9	100
1999	46,4	52,8	0,8	100
2000	20,3	78,5	1,3	100
2001	12,2	87,8	0,0	100
2002	20,0	68,0	12,0	100
2003	42,4	51,5	6,1	100
2004	31,3	66,8	0,0	100

Table 19: Performances of Finnish touring dance companies abroad, 1998-2004

Recipient country	1998		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nordic countries	54	29,2	95	40,4	46	25,3	13	10,3	24	17,6	25	12,2	36	22,9
Rest of Europe	102	55,1	107	25,5	98	53,8	103	79,8	107	78,7	124	62,3	88	56,1
Non-European countries	29	15,7	33	14,0	38	20,9	13	10,1	5	3,7	50	25,1	33	21,0
Total	185	100	235	100	182	100	129	100	136	100	199	100	157	100

Table 20: Performances of foreign touring dance companies in Finland, 1998-2004

Sending country	1998		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Nordic countries	12	48,0	11	68,8	4	23,5	8	29,6	0	0,0	2	25,0	0	0,0
Other European countries	12	48,0	4	25,0	7	41,2	17	63,0	0	0,0	4	50,0	14	100,0
Non-European countries	1	4,0	1	6,3	6	35,3	2	7,4	0	0,0	2	25,0	0	0,0
Total	25	100	16	100	17	100	27	100	0	0,0	8	100	14	100

There are no statistics on the tours of foreign orchestras to Finland. Much of the "live music" visits take place in the context of festivals or concert series. Table 21 indicates that this channel has been steadily widening and the number at present has passed the mark of

hundred and fifty. Many of these events bring in international celebrities. There is no detailed series information about the performers.

Table 21: Short-term "live music" visits: number of festivals, events and concert series with foreign performers from the 1960s to the 21st century

Time period:	Number of new festivals, events, and concert series.		
	in classical music	in jazz	in pop and rock
1960-1969	3	3	1
1970-1979	8	1	3
1980-1989	21	16	4
1990-1999	25	13	8
2000-	17	4	12
Pre-1960s or founding time unknown	7	2	3
Grand total: 151	81	39	31

7. Export of Productions/ Production Components and International Co-productions

Producing mega-events like major opera performances and musicals is expensive and ensemble touring is usually impossible. With rising costs, the export of productions or material and artistic production components has become increasingly popular. Table 22 gives an example of this type of export.

Table 22: Export products and countries of productions/ production components of the Savonlinna Opera Festival, 1997-2004.

Opera	Product	Export country	Year
Flying Dutchman	Costume rental	USA	1997
Tannhäuser	Production rental	USA	2001
Macbeth	Production rental	USA	2003
Flying Dutchman	Tour	Spain	1997
Flying Dutchman	Tour	Spain	2000
Aleksis Kivi	Production sale	France	1998
Aleksis Kivi	Tour	Italy	1999
La forza del destino	Tour	Israel	2001
Macbeth	Tour	Chile	2002
Turandot	Concert	Singapore	2003
Flying Dutchman	Tour	Sweden	2000
Macbeth	Tour	Swede	2001
Rigoletto	Tour	Swede	2002
Cavalleri rusticana& Pajazzo	Tour	Sweden	2004
Rigoletto	Tour	Denmark	2002
Flying Dutchman	Tour	Denmark	2003

Appendix IV offers some additional information on the "circulating" of opera productions by the Finnish National Opera.

The circulation of opera productions is less organised than that of mega-musicals, which are franchised under the condition that the production must strictly adhere to the original production. Most of the world mega-musicals have been performed in Finland; the only originally Finnish (or Finnish-Russian) musical of this category is Anna Karenina, commissioned by and presented in the City Theatre of Lahti.

EU policies have their strongest impact in the field of cinema. Table 23 on European co-productions shows these effects. Although other factors may also have contributed, the significant increase in co-productions between 1995 and 2000 is certainly due to EU policies. There is also an increasing importance of Nordic co-productions. Here the leading roles of Sweden and Denmark are obvious; Finnish co-operation is hindered by much lower public support for feature film production.

Table 23: Feature film co-production in the Nordic countries in 1990, 1995 and 2000 by the country/geographical location of co-production partners

Country	Year	Number of co-productions with partners from:				
		Nordic countries	Germany	France	Other European countries	Non-European countries
Denmark	1990	2	0	1	1	0
	1995	9	2	2	5	0
	2000	27	5	5	5	0
Finland	1990	3	1	1	0	0
	1995	4	1	0	1	0
	2000	6	2	0	0	0
Iceland	1990	1	0	0	1	1
	1995	3	3	0	1	2
	2000	7	2	1	0	0
Norway	1990	2	0	0	0	0
	1995	5	2	1	2	0
	2000	22	2	2	1	0
Sweden	1990	1	1	1	0	0
	1995	15	1	1	2	0
	2000	31	5	2	2	4
Total 210, out of which:		138 65,7%	27 12,9%	17 8,1%	21 10,0%	7 3,3%

Recent Danish co-productions may indicate a new development in Nordic co-productions, especially a wider range of co-operation and financing partners and the effective co-ordination of production support from different sources. Appendix IV provides an example of this development.

8. Artists' Residencies and the Nordic and Internet Distribution of Finnish Media Arts

Besides market forces and education and training institutions, networks of artists in residence are the third major force involving Finnish artists in international mobility. The Finnish residency activity started in the early 1980ies when the Nordic Art Centre set up studios for visiting artists; the concept and the idea of systematic residency activity gained general recognition in the mid-1990ies. Finland joined the Pepinières Programme in 1995 and the activities expanded fast in the late 1990ies. In 2005, 13 Finnish residencies belonged to the *Res Artis* network and some centres have also joined the *Baltic Sea Residency Network*. In 2005 the number of residency centres amounted to 44, offering working opportunities to more than one hundred foreign artist. Although there are no statistics on the nationality of the visiting artists, most of them probably come from the Nordic countries, Estonia and Russia. Residency programmes were originally initiated to enhance international mobility in visual arts, and still about 90% of the centres serve mainly visual artists.

No statistics exist on the stays of Finnish artists in residencies abroad. The *Association of Finnish Artists* recently called for applications for fourteen residency centres located all over the world, and the *Nordic Institute for Contemporary Art* (Nifca) invited applications for residencies in Shanghai, Cairo, Beirut, and Yangon within its programme *Global Perspective 2006*.

Two institutes have enhanced the mobility of Finnish visual artists: the *Nordic Institute for Contemporary Art* in Finland and FRAME, the *Finnish Fund for Art Exchange*. FRAME provides services and expert advice in international exchange and offers grants for the exhibition of contemporary art abroad in co-operation with its mother organisation, the Finnish Fine Art Academy Foundation.

Networks of residencies and the activities of these two institutes have greatly facilitated the international mobility of visual artists. This is reflected in the increase of their international exhibitions. Table 24 indicates that Finnish artists have a considerable "surplus" in exhibiting in other Nordic countries.

Table 24: Exhibitions of Nordic visual artists in other Nordic countries, 2002-2004.

Receiving country	2002					2003					2004					Total
	FIN	IS	NO	DK	SE	FIN	IS	NO	DK	SE	FIN	IS	NO	DK	SE	
FIN	-	0	0	4	3	-	0	1	3	2	-	1	0	15	10	39
IS	15	-	0	1	0	0	-	0	5	2	8	-	0	2	2	35
NO	11	0	-	12	2	5	0	-	17	2	6	1	-	11	10	77
DK	18	0	4	-	3	5	0	2	-	4	16	1	1	-	6	69
SE	35	0	8	22	-	44	0	11	9	-	11	10	0	1	-	142
Total	79	0	12	39	8	54	0	14	34	10	41	13	1	29	28	362

Country surplus: sending minus receiving in 2002-2004:

Finland: 174-39= +135

Denmark 102-69= +33

Iceland: 13-35= -22

Norway: 27-77= -50

Sweden :46-142= -96

Finnish visual artists have also been active in advertising and distributing via the Internet. The largest of these networks is AV-arkki, which offers works of video and media artists for international distribution. Over the years 2000-2004 its distribution list contained 400 works by more than 120 artists. Some sixty percent of these works found a venue abroad. The works were distributed to 51 countries, but 80% of them were screened in Europe. AV-arkki reports the following figures for the year 2005:

Countries: 20
 Venues: 70
 Works distributed: 178
 Artists distributed: 65
 Individual screenings: 1738

9. Belles-Lettres: the Most Domestic Art

Literature, or more specifically belles-lettres, has remained very much restricted to Finland. 80% of the books published are originally Finnish and in 2004, for example, eight out of the top ten best selling fiction books were written by Finnish authors.

Table 25: Translations of Finnish belles-lettres (prose, poetry, theatre/radio plays) and children's and youth books into selected languages, 2001-2003

Language	Belles lettres		Children's and youth books	
	Titles N	%	Titles N	%
German	62	20,3	12	18,6
English	28	8,6	8	12,3
Russian	21	6,2	8	12,3
French	29	9,0	1	1,5
Italian	15	4,6	0	0,0
Spanish	8	2,4	1	1,5
Estonian	16	5,0	5	7,7
Hungarian	19	5,9	5	7,7
Czech	15	4,7	1	1,5
Swedish	22	6,8	10	15,4
Danish	3	0,3	6	9,2
Other languages	84	26,2	8	12,3
Total	322	100,0	65	100,0

The table reflects the lack of an effective network of authors' agencies – and also the lack of effort on the side of Finnish publishers to "internationalise" their authors. This is especially conspicuous in the Anglo-American cultural sphere. The German language area has traditionally been and still is the main market area for Finnish belles-lettres, although some individual authors (thriller writers, satirists, writers of children's books) have made their way into French and Russian publishing houses and to their top lists of sales. The high visibility and Nordic popularity of the Finnish Swedish-language authors probably explains the limited number of translations into Nordic languages.

10. Conclusions

What are then the moments of acceleration and slowing down in the mobility of Finnish artists and cultural goods? Although our data is fragmentary, it allows a number of conclusions. For one thing, it shows quite distinctly that "brain gains" through immigration are rather insignificant. At the same time "brain circulation", that is, contracting international talents and artists for productions and teaching tasks, has become difficult because of the rising pressure on public funds. Although Finnish arts universities attract quite a number of foreign students, probably very few of them will stay in Finland after their graduation. The geopolitics of culture does not work in favour of small countries and language areas, and due to new art programmes of the polytechnics, the Finnish cultural labour markets are rather saturated.

The acceleration of international mobility in music, which started already in the 1970ies, seems to maintain its momentum; visual arts, especially video and media art, seem to have gathered new momentum in their internationalisation. A trend of deceleration can be observed in performing arts; especially theatre, opera and ballet are struggling with financial problems. Feature film production and belles-lettres are doing rather well domestically, but only few directors and authors have gained international visibility.

What does our data tell about the Nordic countries as a cultural region? In the case of Finnish film production and visual arts the Nordic connection seems to be important, in general the Nordic countries seem to offer a decentralised hub for their aspiring artists on their road to international recognition.

Appendix 1

Number of asylum requests in the Nordic countries in 1990,1995 and 2001-2004

	Denmark	Finland	Iceland	Norway	Sweden
1990	5 292	2 743	-	3 962	29 420
1995	5 104	854	4	1 460	9 047
2000	10 347	3 170	24	10 842	16 283
2001	8 385	1 651	53	14 782	23 515
2002	6 660	3 443	117	17 480	33 016
2003	2 767	3 221	80	15 614	31 355
2004	1 633	3 651	76	7 950	23 161

Immigration of foreign citizens to the Nordic countries in 1990, 1995 and 2000-2004

	Denmark	Finland	Iceland	Norway	Sweden
1990	17 715	6 492	1 111	15 694	53 320
1995	39 145	7 345	938	16 482	36 079
2000	30 180	9 110	2 462	27 785	42 629
2001	33 654	11 037	2 515	27 412	44 117
2002	30 597	9 972	1 855	30 788	47 603
2003	27 692	9 432	1 353	26 787	47 988
2004	27 870	11 511	2 416	27 864	47 580

Emigration of foreign citizens from the Nordic countries in 1990, 1995 and 2000-2004

	Denmark	Finland	Iceland	Norway	Sweden
1990	8 855	983	1 041	9 768	16 239
1995	11 108	1 516	719	8 992	15 411
2000	16 530	4 128	810	14 931	12 576
2001	17 292	2 157	1 075	15 216	12 792
2002	17 750	2 757	1 110	12 273	14 196
2003	18 194	2 278	873	14 345	15 134
2004	19 081	4 185	1 526	13 856	16 021

Appendix II: Student exchange at Finnish art universities, 1998-2003,³¹

A. Academy of Fine Art

	a) From Finland	b) To Finland	Ratio b/a x100 percent
1998	20	24	120,0
1999	17	18	105,9
2000	13	24	184,6
2001	12	21	175,0
2002	14	3	92,9
2003	12	14	116,7

B. Sibelius Academy of Music

	a) From Finland	b) To Finland	Ratio b/a x 100
1998	90	32	35,6
1999	73	36	49,3
2000	69	44	63,8
2001	72	49	68,1
2002	50	34	68,0
2003	68	28	41,2

C, University of Art and Design

	a) From Finland	b) To Finland	Ratio b/a
1998	112	111	99,1
1999	94	146	64,4
2000	78	124	159,0
2001	58	109	186,9
2002	48	110	229,2
2003	57	133	233,3

D. Theatre Academy

	a) From Finland	b) To Finland	Ratio b/a x 100
1998	17	3	17,6
1999	13	3	23,1
2000	8	5	62,5
2001	14	2	14,1
2002	4	3	75,0
2003	14	3	21,4

³¹ Student exchange grant or training period, longer than 3 months, the average in 2003=5.9 months for the movers from Finland, 6,0 month for the movers to Finland.

Student exchange at Finnish polytechnics, study programmes in the arts and culture, 1998-2003³²

	a) From Finland	b) To Finland	Ratio b/a x 100
1998	151	62	41,2
1999	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2000	240	144	60,0
2001	314	178	56,7
2002	381	222	58,3
2003	518	310	59,8

Teacher exchange at Finnish polytechnics, study programmes in the arts and culture, 1998-2003³³

	a) From Finland	b) To Finland	Ratio b/a x 100
1998	4	16	400,0
1999	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2000	8	11	137,5
2001	7	8	114,3
2002	6	10	166,7
2003	1	18	1800,0

There is no information on the exchange in the arts/culture by country or by continent. The aggregate exchange of all universities with European universities has remained high and quite stable in 2001-2003: around 81-83% of all migrants from Finland and 85-86% of all migrants to Finland.

³² Student exchange grant or training period, longer than 3 months, the average for all universities was in 2003=5,9 months for the migrants from Finland, 6,0 month for the migrants to Finland.

³³ Student exchange grant or training period, longer than 3 months, the average for all polytechnics in 2003=4,8 months for the migrants from Finland, 4,5 month for the migrants to Finland.

Appendix III: Production renting list of the Finnish National Opera

Operas

Richard Strauss Arabella	Opera in three acts Libretto by Hugo von Hofmannstahl Director Lisbeth Landefort Set and costumes Oiva Toikka Choreography Aku Ahjolinna
Premiere: 4.10.2003	
W. A. Mozart Così fan tutte	Così fan tutte ossia scuola degli amanti, All women do the same or The school for Lovers. Opera in two acts Libretto Lorenzo da Ponte Director Guy Joosten Sets Johannes Leiacker Costumes Karen Seydtle
Premiere: 26.2.1999	
Richard Strauss Der Rosenkavalier	Coproduction with Graz Opera Libretto by Hugo von Hofmannsthal Director, sets and lighting designer Marco Arturo Marelli Costume designer Dagmar Niefind
Premiere: 26.11.2004	
W. A. Mozart Die Entführung aus dem Serail	The abduction from the Seraglio Opera in three acts Libretto by Gottlieb Stephanie after Christoph Bretzner Director Dieter Kaegi Sets and costumes William Orlandi
Premiere: 21.2.2003	
Ludwig van Beethoven Fidelio	Opera in two acts Libretto by Joseph Ferdinand Sonnleithner and Georg Friedrich Treichke after Jean-Nicolas Bouilly Director Siegwulf Turek Sets and costumes Siegwulf Turek
Premiere: 18.4.1997	
Engelbert Humperdinck Hansel and Gretel	Small stage production Opera in three acts Libretto Adelheid Wette Director Windfried Bauernfeid Sets and costumes Seppo Nurmimaa
Premiere: 4.3.1993	
Gioachino Rossini Il barbiere di Siviglia	The Barber of Seville Comic opera in two acts Libretto by Cesare Sterbini after the comedy by Pierre Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais Director Giancarlo del Monaco Sets and costumes Mark Väisänen
Premiere: 19.1.1996	
Giuseppe Verdi Il Trovatore	Opera in four acts Libretto by Salvatore Cammarano after António Garcia Gutiérrez's play El Trovador. Director Kalle Holmberg Sets Tiina Makkonen Costumes Auli Turtiainen
Premiere: 24.11.2000	

Gioachino Rossini Il viaggio a Reims	The Journey to Reims Opera in one act, performed in two acts Libretto by Luigi Balocchi and Dario Fo Adaptation of new text to music Philip Gossett Director Dario Fo Sets Dario Fo Costumes Dario Fo and Erika Turunen
Premiere: 17.1.2003	
Leoš Janáček Kat'a Kabanová	Opera in three acts Libretto by Leoš Janáček after Aleksandr Ostrowsky's play The Thunderstorm Director Kari Heiskanen Sets Markku Hakuri Costumes Maria Uusitalo
Premiere: 12.12.2003	
Modest Mussorgsky Khovanshchina	Opera in five acts Libretto by Modest Moussorgsky and Vladimir Stasov Orchestrated by Dmitri Shostakovitch Director Juha Hemanus Set and costumes Anna Kontek
Premiere: 13.9.2002	
Aulis Sallinen King Lear	Opera in two acts Libretto by Aulis Sallinen after William Shakespeare's play King Lear Director Kari Heiskanen Sets and costumes Markku Hakuri
Premiere: 15.9.2000	
Gioachino Rossini La Cenerentola	Opera in two acts Libretto by Jacopo Ferretti, after Felice Romani's and Charles Guillame Etienne's libretto and story by Charles Perault Director Michael Hampe Sets Mauro Pagano Costumes Anna Kontek
Premiere: 15.3.2002	
Giacomo Puccini La Fanciulla del West	The Girl of the Golden West Opera in three acts Libretto by Guelfo Civinini and Carlo Zangarini after David Belasco's play The Girl of the Golden West
Premiere: 30.11.2001	
Giuseppe Verdi La Traviata	Opera in three acts Libretto F.M. Piave based on A. Dumas novel "La Dame aux Camelias" New version 11.9.1993 Director Giancarlo del Monaco Sets and costumes Michael Scott
Premiere: 5.5.1988	
Kaija Saariaho L'amour de loin	Libretto by Amin Maalouf Director Peter Sellars Set designer George Tsypin Costume designer Martin Pakledinaz Lighting designer James F. Ingalls
Premiere: 16.9.2004	

W. A. Mozart Le nozze di Figaro	The Marriage of Figaro Opera in four acts Libretto Lorenzo Da Ponte New version 26.8.1994 Director Jussi Tapola Sets and costumes Seppo Nurmimaa
Premiere: 5.3.1983	
Gaetano Donizetti L'elisir d'amore	Elixir of Love Opera in two acts New version 11.4.1994 Director Giancarlo del Monaco Sets and costumes Michael Scott
Premiere: 12.9.1991	
Giacomo Puccini Madama Butterfly	Opera in two acts Libretto by Giuseppe Giacosa and Luigi Illica after David Belasco's play and John Luther Long's short story Director Lorenzo Mariani Sets and costumes Maurizio Balò
Premiere: 5.9.1999	
Vincenzo Bellini Norma	Opera in two acts Libretto by Felice Romani Director Renata Scotto Sets and costumes Carlo Diappi Lighting designer Kimmo Ruskela
Premiere: 27.3.2004	
Joseph Haydn Orlando Paladino	Small stage production Opera in three acts Libretto Nunziato Porta after Lodovico Ariosto's poem Orlando Furioso Director Lisbeth Landefort Sets and costumes Oiva Toikka Choreography Aku Ahjolinna Lights Simo Järvinen
Premiere: 16.2.1993	
Giuseppe Verdi Otello	Opera in four acts Libretto by Arrigo Boito, based on Shakespeare's tragedy Director András Mikó Sets and costumes Mark Väisänen
Premiere: 11.2.1994	
Benjamin Britten Peter Grimes	Opera with prologue and three acts Libretto Montague Slater based on the poem "The Borough" by George Crabbe Director David Radok Sets and costumes Tazeena Firth
Premiere: 11.9.1998	
Einojuhani Rautavaara Rasputin	Opera in three acts Libretto by Einojuhani Rautavaara Director Vilppu Kiljunen Sets Hannu Lindholm Costumes Kimmo Viskari
Premiere: 19.9.2003	

<p>Richard Strauss Salome</p> <p>Premiere: 29.4.1995</p>	<p>Music drama in one act Libretto A german translation by Hedvig Lachmann of Oscar Wilde´s play, Salome Director Claude Naville Sets Juha-Pekka Kiljunen Costumes Taru Liipola Visual setting, film Pirjo Honkasalo Camera Kimmo Kaivanto Editing Marko Pohjosmäki</p>
<p>John Adams The Death of Klinghoffer</p> <p>Premiere: 3.2.2001</p>	<p>Opera in two acts Libretto by Alice Goodman Director Tony Palmer Sets and costumes Anna Kontek</p>
<p>Petr Tchaikovsky The Queen of Spades</p> <p>Premiere: 15.1.2005</p>	<p>Libretto by Modest Tchaikovsky after Alexander Pushkin`s novella Director Vilppu Kiljunen Set and costume designer Kimmo Viskari Lighting designer Mikki Kunttu</p>
<p>Giacomo Puccini Tosca</p> <p>Premiere: 2.6.1995</p>	<p>Opera in three acts Libretto by Giuseppe Giacosa and Luigi Illica after Victorien Sardou´s play La Tosca Director Siegwulf Turek Sets and costumes Siegwulf Turek</p>

Ballets

<p>Sylvie Guillem Giselle</p> <p>Premiere: 16.10.1998</p>	<p>Ballet in two acts Production conceived and directed by Sylvie Guillem after Coralli-Perrot-Petipa Sets and costumes Ramón B. Ivars Costumes of Willis Sylvie Guillem and Ramón B. Ivars Lights Eric Loustau-Carrere</p>
<p>La Bayadère</p> <p>Premiere: 17.10.1997</p>	<p>Ballet in three acts Production conceived and directed by Natalia Makarova. Choreography Natalia Makarova after Marius Petipa Music Ludwig Minkus Music orchestrated by John Lanchberry Sets Pier Luigi Samaritani Sets designer´s assistant Alessandro Ciammarughi Costumes Anna Kontek Lighting design John B. Read, 3.act Matti Hietanen after John B. Read</p>
<p>Pierre Lacotte La Sylphide</p> <p>Premiere: 6.3.1997</p>	<p>Ballet in two acts Choreography and restaging Pierre Lacotte after Filippo Taglioni Music Jean-Madeleine Schneitzhoeffter Sets Pierre Ciceri Costumes Eugeni Lami Reconstruction of sets and costumes Pierre Lacotte</p>

<p>Vaslav Nijinsky Le Sacre du Printemps Premiere: 11.3.1994</p>	<p>The Rite of Spring Choreography Vaslav Nijinsky Music Igor Stravinsky Reconstructed and staged by Millicent Hodson Scenario by Igor Stravinsky and Nicholas Roerich Décor and costumes Nicholas Roerich Reconstruction of decor and costumes Kenneth Archer Lights Kimmo Ruskela</p>
<p>Jerome Robbins Les Noces Premiere: 11.3.1994</p>	<p>Choreography Jerome Robbins Music Igor Stravinsky Sets Oliver Smith Costumes Patricia Zipprodt Lights Jean Rosenthal</p>
<p>John Cranko Onegin Premiere: 13.4.2000</p>	<p>Ballet in three acts Choreography John Cranko Restaging Georgette Tsinguirides Music Pyotr Tchaikovsky Arranged and orchestrated by Kurt-Heinz Stolze Sets and costumes Elisabeth Dalton Lights Steen Bjarke</p>
<p>Ohad Naharin Perpetuum Premiere: 24.3.1995</p>	<p>Choreography Ohad Naharin Music Johann Strauss II Sets Arik Levy Costumes Rakefet Levy Lights Bambi</p>
<p>John Cranko Romeo and Juliet Premiere: 15.11.1996</p>	<p>Choreography John Cranko Restaged by Jane Bourne Music Serge Prokofiev Sets and costumes Susan Benson Lights Michael J. Whitfield</p>
<p>Marjo Kuusela The Hobbit Premiere: 26.10.2001</p>	<p>Choreography Marjo Kuusela Music Aulis Sallinen Libretto Heini Tola Sets Kati Lukka Costumes Erika Turunen Lights Juha Westman</p>

Appendix IV: Company credits for the Danish film "Dogsville":

Production Companies

- Isabella Films B.V. (in co-production with) (as Isabella Films International)
- Something Else B.V. (in co-production with)
- Memphis Film & Television (in co-production with) (as Memphis Film International AB)
- Trollhättan Film AB (in co-production with)
- Pain Unlimited GmbH Filmproduktion (in co-production with) (as Pain Unlimited GmbH)
- Sigma Films Ltd. (in co-production with)
- Zoma Films Ltd. (in co-production with) (as Zoma Ltd.)
- Slot Machine (in co-production with) (as Slot Machine SARL)
- Liberator Productions (in co-production with) (as Liberator2 SARL)
- Edith Film Oy (in association with)
- Produksjon 4 1/2 (in association with) (as Spillefilmskompaniet 4 1/2 AS)
- Fjeldabe Films AS (in association with)
- Invicta Capital Ltd. (in association with)
- TV 1000 (in association with)
- Film i Väst (in co-production with)
- arte France Cinéma (in co-production with)
- arte (in co-production with) (as arte - WDR)
- Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR) (in co-production with) (as arte - WDR)
- DR TV Drama (in co-production with) (as DR TV Drama - Danish Broadcasting Corporation)
- Sveriges Television (SVT) (in co-production with) (as Sveriges Television AB - SVT Fiktion)
- Yleisradio (YLE) (in co-production with)
- Norsk TV2 AS (in co-production with)
- Planet Pictures (in collaboration with)
- Canal+ (with the participation of)
- Zentropa Entertainments (as Zentropa Productions)
- Filmmek

Distributors

- Trust Film Sales 2 ApS (2003) (worldwide) (theatrical) (sales)
- Trust Film Sales (2003) (worldwide) (all media) (sales)
- A-Film Distribution (2003) (Netherlands) (theatrical)
- AMA Films (2003) (Greece) (theatrical)
- Audio Visual Enterprises (2004) (Greece) (video)
- California Filmes (Brazil) (theatrical)
- Central Partnership (Russia)
- Columbia TriStar Egmont Film Distributors (2003) (Finland) (theatrical)
- Concorde Filmverleih GmbH (2003) (Germany) (theatrical)
- Concorde Home Entertainment (2004) (Germany) (DVD) (retail)
- Dendy Films (2003) (Australia) (theatrical)
- Distribution Company (2003) (Argentina) (theatrical)
- EDKO Film Ltd. (2004) (Hong Kong) (theatrical)
- Egmont Entertainment
- Egmont Film

- EuroVideo (2004) (Germany) (DVD) (rental)
- GAGA Communications (Japan) (theatrical)
- Golem Distribución S.L. (Spain)
- Imovision (Brazil) (theatrical)
- Les Films du Losange (France)
- Lions Gate Films (2004) (USA) (all media)
- Medusa Distribuzione (2003) (Italy) (theatrical)
- Monopole-Pathé (2003) (Switzerland) (theatrical)
- Polyfilm Verleih GmbH (2003) (Austria) (theatrical)
- SPI International (Czech Republic)
- Warner Home Video (2004) (Switzerland) (DVD)

Special Effects

- 3D Connection (match moving)
- Gearless ApS (visual effects facility)

Other Companies

- CoBo Fonds supported by
- Det Danske Filminstitut supported by
- Epstein, Levinsohn, Bodine, Hurwitz & Weinstein LLP legal services
- Eurimages supported by
- European Regional Development Fund supported by
- Film Fund of the Netherlands supported by
- Filmstiftung Nordrhein-Westfalen supported by
- Finnish Film Foundation supported by
- Foundation for Audiovisual Production supported by
- Laboratoires Éclair film lab (video transfer to 35 mm)
- Mainstream ApS sound studio
- Nordisk Film- & TV-Fond supported by
- Sony Music Studios score recorded at
- Svenska Filminstitutet (SFI) supported by
- The English Consort score performed by
- Zentropa Music ApS music supervision

France and Artistic Mobility³⁴

By Anne-Marie Autissier

Introduction

France has traditionally been a favourite country for foreign artists to study and work. Students, technicians or artists come to France in search of better working conditions, especially through the *intermittents* system³⁵; this applies especially to Italian cinema professionals and to Eastern European professionals in theatre, dance or music. Another new trend is the nomination of top executives at the head of French cultural institutions – museums, operas. The emblematic case could be Gérard Mortier's nomination at the head of Opéra de Paris (Bastille and Garnier).

Some artists come to France because it is the nearest country to provide higher studies in a certain field, such as young music students coming to the Paris Conservatoire. Most of the students who come for studies would like to stay longer and join, for example, an orchestra, in particular Spanish, Italian or Portuguese musicians, but only few are successful.

France has apparently little reason to fear brain-drain; what we have to be wary of is the availability of opportunities for young talents who come and study in our country, as it also implies choosing the French language.

On the other hand, French theatre directors and music orchestras have a great deal of contracts abroad, and it is the responsibility of AFAA (*Association Française d'Action Artistique*) to help them move across the world. However, the situation is getting more and more difficult because of a growing discrepancy between French artists and those from other countries within a more and more constrained economy. Gérard Mortier states about French orchestras: "We are too expensive because of the *intermittents* system or/and social charges".

New Trends

Mobility in the arts sectors has been increasing over the last years. There are, for instance, British professionals joining French companies or orchestras for some months and then going back to their home country. The same applies to visual arts, for German or Swiss artists. Chantal Crousel, a Belgian gallerist based in Paris, promotes works from all over the world. Most of the artists presented in her virtual gallery do not live in France. Most of the transactions with foreign visual artists for exhibitions in France are made through copyright, as shown by the example of *Apollonia*, a Strasbourg based association. When *Apollonia* invited 13 artists from Latvia in 2004, they were paid following French standards, but on the base of copyright. "Otherwise, it gets very complicated, for us and for them", the director of *Apollonia* states. Recently another problem has been brought up by

³⁴ This case study was commissioned by the ERICarts Institute in 2006 for their study, *MEAC I: Dynamics, Causes and Consequences of Transborder Mobility in the European Arts and Culture*, undertaken for the LabforCulture, an initiative of the European Cultural Foundation.

³⁵ A specific unemployment insurance scheme for artists, composers and performers and technicians classed as *intermittents de spectacle* (workers in the entertainment industry without steady employment) which has been in existence since 1965. This scheme, which guarantees minimum living standards for professionals, thus contributing to the vitality of artistic production, is currently subject to criticism as a result of its structural shortcomings. See chapter 8.1 of the French country profile available at <http://www.culturalpolicies.net>.

the French tax administration: residencies for foreign artists, including their accommodation, may now be considered as taxable income. This could lead to more difficulties for welcoming foreign artists in France. Another question raised by *Appolonia* is the public opinion. "A person from Germany or Poland will not have problems in Paris. But if you set them up in some small town or village, people could react strangely because they are not used to living with foreigners. I don't dare call it racism but..."

Josef Nadj is a Hungarian choreographer who works in France, where he has set up a company with Hungarian and ex-Yugoslavian dancers, but he creates in Hungary, according to a French arts producer. "They take the money and run back", the same producer states bitterly. France appeals to certain categories of artists in order to build up a reputation in their own country. An example in this context is the Hungarian Arpad Schilling, promoted in the frame of *Theorem*, notably by the Avignon Festival and the Berlin Hebbel Theatre

A French orchestra wanting to employ a foreign musician for a longer period must give preference to European musicians according to the French law.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Mobility

In the fields of music, cinema and the audiovisual, mobility shows good as well as bad consequences. In cinema, the positive aspects of mobility can especially be seen in documentary and feature films. *Fonds Sud* is a fund that supports a wide range of hitherto unknown directors from Africa, Asia and Latin America to produce their films. JBA Productions and Denis Frey now produce documentaries with local technical and artistic teams in South Africa and Argentina. Amos Gitai is one of the film directors regularly supported by the *French National Centre for Cinema* (CNC) in the frame of co-productions. His favourite script writer is a French woman; he closely co-operates with a French production company in France and runs another one in Israel, dividing his time between both countries. Italian movie director Leonardo di Costanzo works in Italy as well as in France, where he benefits from the *intermittents* facilities.

France has also set up specific funds for bilateral agreements, especially in the *francophonie*, well used for technical co-operation and post-production. Belgian studios are regularly used by French productions and some post-productions are made in Canada. The French cinema has a high international reputation: good technicians, secure sites for shootings, good know-how in the field of post production etc. Furthermore, France is probably the last European country with movie stars (maybe with the exception of the United Kingdom); French and British feature films are on top of the list of films exported in Europe (according to CNC's annual figures). Moreover, some famous directors like Pedro Almodovar or David Lynch benefit from co-productions with France, due to the French support to producers. ARTE France favours this type of co-operation.

Producers' mobility or "delocalisation"

The mobility of film producer has negative effects on the French cinema sector. This concerns the so-called "delocalisation" of feature films or TV serials. 2003 and 2004 have been especially "black years" in this respect. Some major French producers decided to shoot French TV-series in Lithuania, Romania and Hungary. Hungary offers a tax relief for any producer shooting in the country, which is also applicable to foreign producers. In 2003, the French Minister of Culture and Communication decided to set up a tax relief as well - limited to French speaking movies and co-productions with a French majority. It

was a way of "retaining" some shootings in France. However, this initiative has been discussed by the EC (DG Competition) as being too focused on territorial criteria. As some producers said, "we must be clever enough to support French technicians and actors, without appearing to do so while the EC is watching!"

The influence of this "delocalisation" on the artistic quality of the production is not always the same: "*Colette*", shot in Lithuania with Marie Trintignant (and famous for sad reasons) appeared rather mediocre, and there is one main reason: *Colette* was inseparably connected to the French regions where she lived and worked - be it the countryside or Paris. Therefore it seems rather futile to shoot such scenarios in foreign locations. On the other hand, "*Maigret*" (after George Simenon's novels) with Bruno Cremer has been shot in Prague for years, and it does not affect the quality of the film.

The good news is that since 2004, feature films and TV fictions seem to "get back home". A reason may be the new support given by CNC to the regions in order to make them more competitive as movie locations and turn them into pillars of local development. This is particularly true for Ile-de-France, Rhône-Alpes, Aquitaine and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur. Other regions like Alsace and Haute-Normandie support joint ventures with neighbouring companies in Germany and the UK.

One of the main reasons given for the delocalisation of productions is the cost factor in France, especially in television productions. Major broadcasters, including public corporations, keep budgets at the same level while paying increasingly higher amounts to TV stars and actors in serials. Inequality of remuneration in French TV would be among the most flagrant in Europe. It affects "second rôles", authors and script writers in particular, whose remuneration is getting ever worse. This trend has got nothing to do with cultural co-operation. During the *ADAMI Encounters* in Cabourg (in December 2005, see bibliography), one actor reported that he was paid one million zlotys for shooting three days in Poland; this is equal to the monthly salary of a Polish film technician. A producer implied that French actors and technicians were bored to be away from home and held like prisoners for weeks in such an uninteresting country like an Eastern one (!!!)

Delocalisation in music

The *ADAMI Encounters* showed various examples of delocalisation in the field of music registering, notably for films. Georgia and Bulgaria are the preferred countries where producers work with the National Radio Orchestra at half the cost of a French orchestra. This leads to unemployment among French musicians, and some French studios put pressure on the musicians to accept cash payment without any contract.

French mobility in Europe

Some French producers point out the "bad reputation" of French dance and theatre throughout Europe and notably in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Eastern Europe. It is perceived as too academic, old fashioned, very much language driven, specialized training... That is why some producers specialise in "non verbal" shows as those of Philippe Genty (puppets and objects theatre) or "arts de la rue" (Le Royal de Luxe). For French producers, it is very difficult to convince programmers to invite French artists: they are too expensive (because of the *intermittents* system and social security charges), too boring etc.

The situation is not so different in the field of visual arts: *Apollonia*, who invite a lot of foreign artists to France, find it difficult to organize exhibitions of French artists abroad. Only 15 French artists are regularly exhibited outside of France. But *Apollonia*'s director

raises another question: a minority of French visual artists is curious to go abroad, to others than the usual mainstream destinations (London, Berlin, Tokyo, New York, Zurich). Those who are interested in working in Eastern Europe, Turkey, Finland or elsewhere, are generally capable of getting through administrative difficulties, one way or another. Once again, it's a minority, most of French artists being driven by the market's appeal, according to *Apollonia*.

Considering the specific French system, AFAA is sometimes able to position French theatre artists or visual artists abroad: young French theatre director Brigitte Jaques, for instance. These cases sometimes help to overcome clichés for a while ... On the whole, French producers find other European countries very protectionist: programmers are little interested in what happens in France, they prefer exoticism (non European shows) or national productions. Another reason lies in the attitudes of French producers and programmers. As one producer puts it, the French pursue their own way without sharing risks and investments with other colleagues. Therefore, there are no mature works to be presented at foreign festivals. Unlike Belgian professionals, French producers are unable to make agreements to share the costs and to have a show touring a minimum of times before it goes abroad.

Another obstacle to French artists' mobility in this field is the often-mentioned *intermittents* system.

Due to the lack of flexibility of the French administration, work abroad is not included in the working time required for the *intermittents* system. For example, a French choreographer working for some weeks in the frame of a French AFAA event in New York was excluded from the system because her presence sheet had not been received by ASSEDIC. A French artist working in Belgium gets half the compensation in France for the same period of time. In order not to lose the famous quotas of hours worked for the intermittence system, a French dance company invited to Tokyo for master classes went with tourist visas and was paid in cash for their sustenance in Japan. And so on...

Some French movie actors pursue a career between France and the USA, like Juliette Binoche. Four French actors were employed in Spielberg's "Munich". French expertise is also in high demand in the field of documentary films: Claire Simon and Dominique Cabrera teach at Harvard, and Jean-Louis Comolli gives classes at Pompeu University in Barcelona. However, this is again restricted to a small number of French stars and professionals.

Is France getting protectionist?

France's universalistic ideology is part of the openness towards other cultures, as long as they get along with the famous and non-definable "French spirit". We saw a rather positive situation in the field of cinema and documentary films. In the field of visual arts, anyone visiting FRAC's (Fonds régionaux d'art contemporain) collections can testify to the presence of major international contemporary artists - at least from Europe and North America.

Ten or fifteen years back, it was not so difficult to choose France as a "terre d'accueil" (see below Arben's Baraktaraj's interview). Is it still true today? Not that much. Why? Let's quote some of the factors explaining this new situation.

The end of the "intermittents exception"

During the eighties, the number of technicians, artists and interpreters involved in the *intermittents* system tripled. It now includes 100,000 persons and creates a huge deficit. MEDEF (the biggest association of corporation) has been pressing for a reform of the system since the end of the eighties. In 2003, the number of months of compensation for the same period of work has been reduced to ten months or ten and a half instead of twelve, for 507 hours of work. And the entry in the system is no more ruled by fixed days but within a flexible period of time, with a calculation based on a daily reference salary ("salaire journalier de référence"). The new system will expel about 30% of the workers so far included, as the number of those who subscribed the Transition Fond system (recently created by the Ministry of Culture) proved in 2004 and 2005. The system is presently still under discussion, but the fact that these discussions take place between the trade unions and MEDEF puts the Ministry of Culture into a rather weak position in these negotiation. The precarious situation of French artists and professionals is the main reason for being reluctant to open the doors to artists from abroad.

Another reason is the so-called fight against terrorism and the new ideology of "chosen emigration" - with a major confusion in both questions. French legislation has become more and more rigid over the last years, the impact of September 11 making things even more difficult. Local employment administrations have strict orders: not to let anybody from Africa or any other "problematic" country get a work permit and a residence permit ("carte de séjour"). This affects all producers and programmers dealing with foreign artists, especially those who do not belong to the Schengen countries. A Beaux-Arts school director told me that she had to watch the situation of some Latin American students closely, writing letters and recommendations each year in order to enable them to stay in France long enough to finish their courses. Another example showed that Aisha M'Brick, a Tunisian choreographer who had been awarded a study grant at Angers CNDC (Centre National de la Danse Contemporaine) had to fight to have her residence permit extended although she was working with a French company commissioned by the Lyon Contemporary Dance Biennale. In this case, the local employment agency made no difference between artists and other workers, and generally displayed a very distrusting attitude. About Algerian artists, suspicion turns caricature.

It is generally assumed that most Algerian artists live now in France, notably in Paris. After the wounds of colonisation, the civil war created a terrible situation for artists and intellectuals - let's just mention the death of Lounes Matoub, a singer, and Tahar Jahout, a theatre director and author. Besides insufficient infrastructures for promoting talents, insecurity and censorship caused a lot of artists to leave. Are these artists well treated and respected in France? Yes, if they reach a large audience like Fellag. No, if they are unknown newcomers. The same case can be applied to African artists: their music is produced in Paris, if they are lucky enough and they hardly can get sufficient resources for their homeland. That is why Yousou N'Dour, a Senegalese singer and composer, set up a company in his home country to help promoting new talents and to produce them.

All this gives foreign artists the feeling that they should try to benefit from French subsidies for a while and then go back to their home country or to another country.

The lack of official bilateral agreements

The situation of artists coming from countries which have no official bilateral agreement with France is even harder. The case of the artists invited by CNDC in Angers is particularly difficult. When choreographer Pascal Rambert created "L'épopée de

Gilgamesh" for Avignon in 2000, he invited artists from North America and Syria. As many as six North American dancers were concerned; one of them was only able to secure a work permit through the assistance of the American Consulate in Paris. As the Syrians knew that El Assad forbids any representation of Gilgamesh in Syria and the Arabic world, the question was whether the Syrian dancers would be allowed to leave their country. Thanks to the help of the French Institute in Damas, the Syrian artists were invited to France as students with grants "invented" for them. They were paid only for the show in Avignon, ignoring rehearsals and preparations, in which they of course took part. All this cleverness was made possible because Pascal Rambert and his producer are mobile people, working with artists in many countries, and experienced in making use of administrative loopholes.

Finally, we chose to present two examples: we conducted two interviews, one with a Kosovo theatre director and actor working in France, Arben Bajraktarak, and another one with a French movie director, Elsa Chabrol who studied in Lodz (Poland) and now goes to work in Brazil for a Brazilian state television station. The full interviews are included in the annex.

Conclusion

France remains welcoming to foreign artist, provided they come for a short-term stay. The major trend is to develop co-operation projects either in France or in other countries. For some foreign artists a work experience in France may be a way to improve their reputation in their own country. This is especially the case for artists from Southern Europe, including Spain, Portugal, Italy; from Eastern European countries and countries such as Romania and Albania, Latin America, Asian countries like Cambodia, Vietnam or Japan, and of course from the Middle East, Maghreb and the French speaking sub-Saharan countries. Those North Americans (Merce Cunningham) or Germans (Pina Bausch) that choose France, do so either because they encounter problems in their own countries (like Pina Bausch at her beginnings) or on a very individual decision. In all fields of creation, the trend is towards mixed teams, joint ventures between French and foreign teams.

On the other hand, it is interesting to see that in France the international label counts more than the European one. A well known choreographer like Jean-Claude Galotta toured throughout the World, thanks to AFAA's grants - Australia, USA, China, long before going to Eastern Europe ("Mammame à l'Est") where he recently discovered, as he puts it, "the importance and necessity of European collaboration" (cf. Culture Europe International no. 44, 2005). We already mentioned some artistic obstacles to mobility, like differences in training and conception in dance and theatre, but we must again emphasise that all producers and artists interviewed mentioned the great difficulties for mobility even inside of Europe (social security, double tax imposition, discrepancies in employment situations etc.) The most striking result of this short enquiry is the fact that European artists and art professionals feel more in competition with one another than in co-operation. And, as we know, governments don't help because they remain faithful to a traditional idea of international cultural relationships. This protectionist as well expansionist ideology is supported by general trends in the French audience: except for some happy few, the majority likes what is French or "exotical". Therefore, European co-operation has restricted opportunities. Beyond juridical and financial aspects of mobility, a change of mentalities is necessary, among artists, professionals, employment departments, stakeholders, public opinions and audiences. Quite an ambitious agenda!

Annex

Two interviews

Arben Bajraktarak

35 years old, was born in Kosovo, Albanian speaking Kosovar. In 1988, at the age of 14, he moved to Slovenia with part of his family, where he later started studying. Before the war, as he had to go to Serb army, he decided to stay in Slovenia and studied theatre and French language with a Slovenian grant - "a minority choice", he states, because most of his colleagues were attracted by German or English language and theatre. He became a Slovenian citizen. Then he came to Paris as a baby sitter "pour l'amour du théâtre français". He studied in a private school, Acting International, and got some contracts with French theatre and TV as an actor. Although he liked the theatre experiments he did, as far as TV was concerned, he always felt that he was restricted to ethnic "cliché" roles like the Eastern character, be it Albanian or any other Eastern country. Obtaining a work permit was difficult until he married a French wife (for reasons of love!). Afterwards, he obtained his "permis de travail" and got access to the *intermittents* system. Nowadays, he feels that he earns his living as a French artist ("not more, not less"): 1,500 euros/month in good years, 800 in bad years. Generally speaking, he thinks that France is more open than Germany or the United Kingdom for setting up a long term strategy. But the fact is that in France, everybody is "laissé à soi-même" and must sort out things by himself. After working for the British TV (Channel Four), he found that it was more amenable than the French one - as far as castings are concerned. But contracts there are only on a short term basis. He thinks of staying in Paris which "has an exceptional situation in France", although he often goes to Kosovo and tries his best to promote Kosovo authors and artists into France and Europe.

Elsa Chabrol

45 years old, Elsa is French but she chose to study cinema at the film school in Lodz in 1979, because IDHEC (FEMIS's predecessor) did not fit her. "It was very narrow-minded, with an intellectual terrorism run by the ideology of 'film d'auteur'", she says. Furthermore, the Lodz School accepted trainee periods to be taken into account to present the foreign entry concourse, which she did in French and English. When she was accepted as "the first French since 25 years", the state of war came and the school was closed down for months. When it reopened, Elsa could work on shootings for American or Polish producers in Poland as a script or a director assistant and also in France for "Danton", a Wajda's film shot in France. When she came back to France, she directed court-métrages, communication films, and documentaries. She made various documentaries for French TV stations and was invited to organize a master class for journalists of Radio Braz in Brasilia. Afterwards, she worked for TV Justicia and TV Cultura. Very quickly after her training session (Summer 2005), Radio Braz decided to hire her to set up a documentary department. The channel had just been commissioned to control the setting up of an international Brazilian channel, TV Brasil. She is about to go and work for the channel although she also could check harsh protectionism from Brazilian State: it turns out to be very difficult for a state agency to hire foreign workers and Radio Braz had to make addenda to its chart, especially for her. Elsa is happy to join a Brazilian team because "there is much enthusiasm and a lot of work to do", but also because she thinks that staying in France at the moment would be out of purpose. "The audiovisual system is less and less open and it will be more and more difficult to find one's interesting room in that." This argumentation is not far from that of some Paris VIII European Studies Institute's where I teach: with a more and more difficult work situation, they feel that they want to be useful somewhere, and notably out of Europe.

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Migrants in Turin³⁶

By Luca dal Pozzolo, Fondazione Fitcarraldo

The Sample

The sample was made up of 44 subjects, coming from:

- Arabian countries: 12 interviewees (8 from Morocco, 2 from Iraq, 1 from Jordan, 1 from Algeria)
- Romania: 8 interviewees
- Southern America: 8 interviewees (6 from Peru, 2 from Colombia)
- Albania: 7 interviewees
- Africa: 4 interviewees (2 from Ivory Coast, 1 from Senegal, 1 from Somalia)
- China: 3 interviewees
- Ex-Yugoslavia: 2 interviewees

The interviewees can be divided into five groups:

- People who already started off an artistic or intellectual career in their country of origin and still work in this field: they "live on art", so that art or culture is their main occupation (12 cases)
- People whose main activity in their home country used to be art, but whose main activity is now another one, while art is only an activity for their free time (8 cases)
- People who dedicated themselves to art in their home country but here they gave up any arts activities (4 cases)
- People who started to be dedicated to art only after moving to Italy (9 cases)
- People who, after migration, started working in cultural mediation (11 cases).

The interviews were conducted between the beginning of November 2005 and the second half of January 2006 in different places, according to the preferences of the people involved: in public places, at their working premises or at their houses.

Interviews had the form of informal conversations. During the talk, notes were taken and written down after the end of the meeting; it was decided not to use a recorder because previous similar experience had shown that it makes some people feel uneasy.

Summing Up

1. We cannot talk about an "artistic mobility"
2. The personal migratory plan influences the artistic career and the role of art in one's life
3. There is a clear but soft distinction between "art" and "tradition"
4. People idealizing their own background and communities looking for leaderships (presumed)
5. The artist is not a foreigner

³⁶ This case study was commissioned by the ERICarts Institute in 2006 for their study, *MEAC I: Dynamics, Causes and Consequences of Transborder Mobility in the European Arts and Culture*, undertaken for the LabforCulture, an initiative of the European Cultural Foundation.

Main Points Resulting From the Interviews

1. We cannot talk about an "artistic mobility"

- 1.1 There is always a sum of factors influencing the decision of migrating, not one predominant reason valid and sufficient by itself. All those who decided to move to Italy have at least two of the reasons included listed under points 1.3 to 1.5 below. Moreover, each biography has its own characteristics, although some elements are common to all stories.
- 1.2 We cannot talk about an "artistic mobility", i.e. a mobility connected to practicing an arts-related profession. However, we can talk about those members of the migrant population who are dedicated to the arts, although following the same routes as "the others" and (at least at the beginning), facing the same problems of inclusion and settling down in a host country.
- 1.3 The interviews show that the reasons why people choose to leave their own country in order to apply themselves to art or culture, even when they have already started a career, are above all:
 - Search for better living conditions, because the social or political conditions of the country of origin do not allow to live on art;
 - Search for better working conditions, e.g. a wider or better audience, better economics prospects (possibilities of better profits not only from art but also, if necessary, coming from other work, so that art could become just a spare time activity)
 - Family reunion, i.e. joining a partner who migrated earlier for many reasons, or was born in another country and wants/has to get back.
- 1.4 The choice of Italy can be due to different factors:
 - Easy access, either because it is a neighbouring country (as in the case of Albania) or due to special favourable laws (as in the case of Romania)
 - It can be a "classic" destination for people coming from certain regions (e.g. from Peru, or the Maghreb), and this explains why some national groups settled in Turin are made up of people coming from the same region or even from the same city
 - Italy is known as the "cradle of art" and many people say they always had the idea of visiting it.
- 1.5 The choice of Turin is due to:
 - The presence of a "link", as relatives or friends already settled in this town
 - A partner originating from this place.

2. The personal migratory plan influences the artistic career and the role of art in one's life

- 2.1 Some of the people interviewed left their country when they had already started an artistic career, and their motivation to move to Italy was to get on with it. Those people simply changed their place of residence but not the activity, and they looked for a country providing better chances for their career, higher profits, or more professional satisfaction.
- 2.2 Other people left their country with the plan to apply themselves to art in Italy, or starting from Italy, in order to have better chances of career or study. After a first

hard period, with problems linked to settling down, they found their way and attained their goals.

- 2.3 Some people who had been working as artists in their country left to improve their economic conditions, earning a living out of non arts-related work and pursuing arts activities in their free time.
- 2.4 Some people began to work in arts or culture related professions after migrating. Sometimes they rediscover the traditions of their home country: this is how folk and traditional groups have developed in Turin. Others acquired their skills before migrating (in photography, painting etc.), but did not work in that capacity before moving to Italy, when they started using those skills as a way to communicate and to express themselves and their conditions as migrants.
- 2.5 Some of the interviewees have entered the field of cultural mediation, a career of which nobody can, obviously, think before migrating. This is an activity which has much to do with culture, but answers above all to the practical needs of being included in a new society and of solving the most pressing problems of migrants, much before than answering to their cultural needs.

3. There is a clear but soft distinction between "art" and "tradition"

- 3.1 Thinking about the activity of the people interviewed, it is possible to trace a distinction between some "products" strictly linked to the traditions and folklore of a precise country, and a production which could be called "supra- national", not identifiable with a precise national origin.

We should like to make a distinction (which can be discussed and modified at any time) between what could be called "traditional" and "artistic" production. The two terms do not involve a judgment about the value of the activities nor are they seen as two opposite monoliths, but they try to explain the fundamental differences of audience and "success" for the two kinds of products.

- 3.2 The difference between the two kinds of products concerns two main aspects:
 - in one case, the audience is strictly connected to a national community while in the other a "mixed" audience is involved (often traditional events are also important social events for the national communities involved, as is the case for the *Inti Rayimi* set up by the Peruvian community in June 2005);
 - For "art", the ways of communication are the "official" ones, while for the more traditional productions they are above all "parallel" ways (word of mouth, fliers, broadcasting dedicated to special communities).
- 3.3 People belonging to the two groups considered face different problems and needs:
 - Those who have made a name for themselves as artists consider the city, its cultural system, the chances for a career and for a business; this group is especially concerned with taxes;
 - Those who are still struggling to make themselves known as artists find it difficult get access to an audience, they complain that managers of art galleries are not interested in the work of upcoming artists, they find it difficult to find spaces for exhibitions and events, and say the official media show no interest for their activities. This is the reason why many people think that "parallel" events have no audience success.
- 3.4 The interviews show differences linked to the geographical origin of people. In fact, it seems that some national groups propose a wider offer of a traditional kind,

as if those communities had a stronger need for keeping a nostalgic link with the habits of their home country (Peru, the Maghreb – with a mainly religious connotation). For other national groups, this requirement seems much weaker or is restricted to a private dimension (China, Albania).

4. People idealizing their own background and communities looking for (presumed) leadership

- 4.1 Some people talk about their artistic past back home as a rewarding experience and a great success, as opposed to the present time which is described as "not encouraging" or "deceiving" (but never "frustrating") for many reasons. Sometimes they focus on the differences in cultural management: lacking of spaces and opportunities for upcoming artists, different roles of managers of art galleries compared to other countries, and so on. Sometimes their requirements do not concern the artistic career itself, but rather things like teaching opportunities or transferring their experience abroad. Some people say that their educational qualifications are not recognized and this creates an obstacle to carrying on with their artistic career after migration.
- 4.2 Some of the interviewees are known inside their communities as "the professor" or "the artist". There are two possibilities: sometimes the community focuses on the artistic or cultural background of a person, even if he or she does not necessarily work in the artistic field at the present time or is not exactly famous, and in this case the community seems to be set to find "characters" it can be "proud" of. In other cases, there is an exaltation of a leading figure, who often was not chosen by the whole community but proposed himself as representative of the community and as a preferential interlocutor with authorities and administration; when such a person is "useful", his leadership is not discussed (but the community can eventually keep its distance from ideas considered not "diplomatic").
- 4.3 The different kinds of associations mirror these differences. For example, Peruvian associations are generally made up of people who work together towards a defined aim, while especially Arabian groups are strictly linked to and identified with a certain person.

5. The artist is not a foreigner

- 5.1 The first thing to consider about the connection between artists and communities is that many "artists" do not identify themselves with their national origin but, first of all, with themselves as artists. Their works are the result of a personal research and are instruments of communication of their individuality and the personal sensibility of each one, they do not look for a connection with the migration, except for the impact that the personal experience has had. The exhibition of an artist can be visited by a great number of compatriots living in the city, but in a completely spontaneous way.
- 5.2 The link between migrant populations and those who organise events, or produce works with a connection to the tradition of a country is very strong. There seems to be a powerful need for regaining and practicing the tradition, a need to which "folk" groups can greatly contribute.
- 5.3 Finally, it seems possible to distinguish between "artists" and "migrants". The artist is not a foreigner, he is an artist. The migrant is a person who has different priorities, even if he applies himself to art in his spare time.

Artists' Mobility in Poland³⁷

By Prof Dorota Ilczuk

The analysis of the mobility of Polish artists does not lead to definite conclusions. Data are very few and not verified, and the phenomenon has not been observed systematically. Graduates from arts academies seldom register as unemployed, and most of them do not participate in the special government programmes addressing them (for example the recently launched programme "Talent"). There are no accurate figures on artists leaving Poland – academies do not have statistics on graduates. This overview is therefore based on expert opinions and articles, which are naturally of a more subjective persuasion. The first part of the paper deals with the few tangible data that are available, while the second part looks at newspaper articles and interviews with artists and other experts from the field.

1. General Overview of Mobility Among Polish Artists

The largest exodus of artists from Poland occurred in 1968, when a great number of Poles of Jewish origin, including many intellectuals and artists, were forced to leave Poland in connection with a so-called "*Anti-Zionist campaign*" following the Six Day War with Israel. Not many of those ever returned to Poland. The second wave of emigration took place in 1980, when many artists tried to escape from political repression, mainly because of their involvement in the activities of *Solidarność*.

During the post-war communist period, the mobility of all Polish citizens was strongly restricted. Only few visas were issued, mostly for travelling to other European communist countries. However, artists enjoyed a relative freedom of movement compared to the rest of the population as performances abroad were organised by a state organisation (PAGART).

After the fall of communism in 1980, political reasons ceased to be a motive for artists' emigration, and economic reasons began to dominate. Many young people who have gone through an artistic education in Poland leave the country to work abroad, most of them in non-artistic professions. They go to countries with better economic prospects in western, northern and southern Europe or to the United States of America. Only very few go to East European countries or to Africa and Asia.

Poland's accession to the European Union did not cause a significant increase in Polish artists' emigration, neither among the artists' community nor among its professional groups. Although there are, of course, examples of successful careers of Polish artists abroad (these cases will be discussed in the second part of the paper), such examples are just a few.

We will start our analysis of the mobility of the Polish artistic community with arts students, artists at the starting point of their careers, to find out if mobility here is higher than among the rest of the community.

Most arts students studying abroad are supported through the *Socrates-Erasmus* exchange programme of the European Union. In the academic year of 2005/2006, twelve people from the Academy of Fine Art in Gdańsk were studying abroad. Seven of them studied in Germany, two in Finland, two in Austria and one in Belgium. Young artists also take part in practice programmes for graduates abroad to accomplish their skills. There are

³⁷ This case study was commissioned by the ERICarts Institute in 2006 for their study, *MEAC I: Dynamics, Causes and Consequences of Transborder Mobility in the European Arts and Culture*, undertaken for the LabforCulture, an initiative of the European Cultural Foundation.

numerous possibilities, e.g. state scholarships for foreign students, grants from the Polish ministry or DAAD stipends (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst).

In the current academic year, a total of six graduates from Gdańsk were granted scholarships abroad (in Italy, Germany and Romania).

Although Polish Academies of Fine Arts have co-operation partners abroad (mainly from central, northern and western Europe), only very few foreigners study at the Polish academies. In the academic year of 2005/2006, only 5% of students at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw were foreigners, most of them of Polish origin. The Academy of Fine Arts in Gdansk has presently two students from Belgium and the Ukraine. Three students (from Latvia, China and Japan) take part in postgraduate studies or work as interns. The Łódź Film School (PWSFTiT), with its high reputation across Europe, is an exemption from this trend. 45 out of the 200 students attending this school in the academic year of 2005/2006 came from foreign countries, e.g. Germany, France, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Great Britain, Venezuela, South Korea, and the USA.

Polish writers emigrate only very rarely as their language ties them to the country. Actors meet with the same problem - with their trained Polish diction they have problems with foreign diction. That is the reason why foreign movie or theatre directors prefer to work with their "local" actors.

Among Polish pop musicians, mobility is also low. Concerts and performances in foreign countries are limited to competitions or performances in Polish institutes of culture, where the audience is mainly of Polish origin (*Polonia*). The situation is different among performers of classical music. Many musicians work in Germany, where wages are higher and the audience is more perceptive. There are also exchange programmes for music teachers, mainly with Switzerland, but also with neighbouring countries, southern European countries, Chile and the USA. A group of about 20 violinists from Bydgoszcz co-operates with a university in Switzerland, giving concerts with the academic orchestra. Polish musicians are also employed in South and North America, as they are known for their high educational standards. Famous Polish names such as Frederic Chopin, Witold Lutoslawski, Krzysztof Penderecki or Mikolaj Górecki positively influence the reputation of Polish artists.

On the other hand, musicians from East Europe, mainly from the Ukraine and Belarus, seek employment opportunities in Poland. Poland also attracts foreigners because of Frederic Chopin. A great number of pianists from the Far East, special lovers of Chopin's music, pay a visit to our country for that reason.

Among ballet dancers the trend is similar to that among musicians. Polish dancers go to western countries (France, Germany, Spain, and the USA), while dancers from the east (mainly from Russia and Belarus) come to Poland, where they are gladly employed by Polish theatres.

The data provided by one of the most important ballet schools illustrate the magnitude of the phenomenon.

- The 1983 generation comprised of 12 dancers. Out of these, 8 stayed in Poland – four of them dance at the National Opera House (*Teatr Wielki*) in Warsaw, three work at the Theatre in Bydgoszcz, and one gave up dancing due to injury - while 4 persons left the country.
- The 1984 generation comprised of 11 dancers. Six of them stayed in Poland - two work at the National Opera House (*Teatr Wielki*) in Warsaw, two at the Theatre in Szczecin, one with the Sopot group, one does aerobics - and five dancers left the country. One went to Linz, one to Barcelona, one to Miami, and two to France.

- The 1985 generation comprised of 11 dancers. Ten of them stayed in Poland – seven work at the National Opera House (*Teatr Wielki*) in Warsaw, one dances at the Baltic Opera, one works in Śląsk, one gave up dancing - and only one left for Belgium.

Many young dancers decide to continue their education abroad because there is no academic level dance education in Poland. Great Britain and the Netherlands are the favourite countries for young dancers to further develop their dancing skills. Some of them stay abroad, but the majority return to Poland eventually.

The situation of visual artists is far more complicated. Traditionally, very few famous Polish artists worked abroad, and nowadays the situation is similar. Many contemporary artists who are famous in Poland are not known in other countries (e.g. Leon Tarasewicz). Poland is considered a rather second-league country in Europe when it comes to visual arts. There is a huge competition among graduates of the Academy of Fine Arts; many of them do not manage to work in their profession. Very few try to take up artistic activities abroad. On the other hand, the barely developed, "shallow" Polish art market and the lack of adequate state support to young artists forces them to face strictly market-oriented economic realities, and this often motivates them to seek artistic and professional recognition abroad. As a consequence, the number of artists working abroad is growing. This will be illustrated in the second part of the paper.

Film makers: Graduates from PWSFTiT (Łódź Film School) have a high reputation. Their participation in foreign productions is increasing. There are good working opportunities for 3D animation specialists in the EU countries. The Warsaw-based post-production giants like Orka, Platige and Odeon provide only few job opportunities; therefore many film makers leave for the west, the closest stop being Berlin.

2. Examples of Polish Artists Pursuing a Career Abroad - Reasons for Leaving the Country

The outline of the mobility among Polish artists would not be complete without examples of artists pursuing a successful creative career abroad. With respect to visual arts and film, a new trend can probably be established. The following examples are taken from an article published in the *Gazeta Wyborcza* (a popular nation-wide daily newspaper) in December 2005 and from a short survey which Jowita Gondek, a young movie director who graduated from Łódź Film School, prepared for the same paper. Gondek is one of those artists whose career took a totally new, international dimension after she participated in the EU *Media Desk Plus* programme.

The following text is taken from an article by Małgorzata Ludwisiak, published 11 December 2005 under the heading *Artists choose the European Union*.

"More and more Polish graduates of arts academies go abroad. I myself persuade them to do so, because there it is easier to become known and to make a living", says Konrad Kuzyszyn, professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Łódź.

"Since Poland joined the European Union it is easier for artists to go abroad", says Dorota Rytwińska of the Foundation for Education System Development. "You can find a legal job (not only in UK or Ireland), the simplified formalities are a big help, and fees for e.g. legalising the residential status are smaller. You can also profit from the medical care system on the same terms as in Poland."

These facts are also confirmed by Hanna Wróblewska, the curator of visual artist Katarzyna Kozyra. For years, the artist has been working between Warsaw, Berlin and other European cities to which she is being invited. Today artists do their creative work

wherever they get commissions. "No one carries their paintings with them around the world", as Wróblewska puts it. "Since we joined the Union, Polish artists have less formal problems and there are also more possibilities of acquiring grants." (...).

Polish artists are valued for their good workmanship and solid education. "In western academies subjects such as the basics of composition or drawing are not taught to such an extent. In our academies, students curse this 'alphabet', but mastering it gives them more freedom of choice for the future", says Alicja Habisiak, who stayed on for half a year after her graduate practice at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Turin.

3D animation specialists also find work opportunities in the EU countries. Sylwia Kubus graduated from the animation faculty of the Łódź Film School. Already during her studies she went to Germany for a scholarship. She returned to Poland to pass her diploma, and then she went back to Germany. For two years she has been producing illustrations and 3D projects for different companies. "I have a freelance status which is like having my own company. In Poland I would have to register and pay social security fees", says Sylwia. In Germany artists have a special social security programme (Künstlersozialkasse), which provides health and retirement insurance for them. "In Germany you can easily live from one commission for several months and work on your own projects." Sylwia wants to make her own animations.

"Going abroad is one of the ways of coping with the present reality", says Prof. Adam Wsiolkowski, vice chancellor for studies and foreign affairs at the Krakow Academy of Fine Arts. "My former students sign contracts with private western galleries and sell their works there. A good example of a spectacular career is Wilhelm Sasnal whose paintings cost many thousands of dollars today. (...)."

The question is whether Polish artists perceive working in the EU as a success or rather as a second, less attractive choice of work when they fail to find working opportunities in Poland. Jowita Gondek took up the issue and discussed it with a group of Polish artists working abroad. Among them were:

Pawel Burdzy, reporter, correspondent of the Washington media, who earlier was on a scholarship in Paris where he made a straightaway decision to work abroad.

Dorota Surdziel, industrial designer. A graduate of the Łódź Fine Arts Academy, she was granted a *Socrates* scholarship and continued her education in a Norwegian fine arts academy. After a training in Germany, she returned to Norway to work in her profession.

Przemysław Fidler, a graduate from the Krakow faculty of architecture, scholarship holder, remained in Germany to work in his profession.

Dariusz Witczak, a designer working in the Netherlands and France.

Tomasz Wiater, sculptor in France.

Michał Rosinski, graphic artist in France and Spain.

Oskar Iwaniuk, singer working in the Netherlands and the USA.

Julia Nowak-Tyszowiecka, painter, scholarship holder studying in her 4th year at the Center of Art London.

Radosław Pełczynski, film operator in London.

Kamil Chrapowiecki, film operator, director, documentalist in Canada.

Arkadiusz, fashion designer.

Gondek asked these young, promising artists for their reasons to work abroad. Is there a difference between working in their professions in Poland and abroad? Is it still appropriate to use the term "abroad", now that Poland is an EU member? Why do people who were educated at state academies, in other words from the tax-payers money, generate income for a foreign country?

Almost all of them answered that they would have preferred to work in their professions in Poland. Michał Rosiński's statement is characteristic: *"I would really like to work in Poland but as I have a family (...) I cannot afford to be a freelancer. (...) After 5 years of studying I could not earn enough to cover our basic needs in Poland. In France, nobody found it surprising that I got a loan, because I was recommended by my school. As a computer graphic artist I quickly found a job in a publishing-house – there is still time for my more ambitious work after work. The Director allows me access to the studio in the evenings – it is really simple – and for him it is worth while, because when I become successful, he will recover what he invested in me. I will never forget how I knocked at numerous doors with my C.V. and portfolio in Poznań. Every bank said that what I showed them was nice, but credits or loans were out of the question. As a freelancer with a half-year contract I did not qualify for any of their loan schemes. My idea of opening a gallery was always knocked down with statements like "Great, but will it generate profits?" or "Who will buy such stuff?" In Paris, I got a loan at no interest, and two investors who regain their funds from my monthly salary. Here in France, the law simply does not disregard the arts and culture"*.

The interviewees stressed that in the developed EU countries artistic work is treated equally with scientific work and is not seen as a mere ornamental addition to life. A renowned artist can accomplish a lot, as the example of Polish fashion designer Arkadius clearly shows. In 2000, he was awarded the *Nesta Award* for artists and scientists, and that started off his career in the fashion world. Arkadius says *"I felt extremely honoured. Apart from this, a year ago, I was chosen by the 'Independent on Sunday' as one of the 10 leading fashion designers in Great Britain, along with such artists as Alexander Mc Queen, Vivien Westwood and many others much older fashion creators, who have been in this business for 10 years already."* Nowadays, Arkadius sells his creations in 31 luxury boutiques across Europe, Asia and America.

Radosław Pełczyński (film operator) is also delighted with working in Great Britain. In his story the word *agent* keeps to reappear – a word which in Poland still has got a magical sound to it, and is still mainly associated with insurance companies or casting agencies. In France, England, the Netherlands or Germany it has become quite common to find work through agencies or agents. They provide professional managerial and marketing assistance (also at the level of education), and enable the artist to focus on creative activities, while the agent negotiates the best offers and the highest possible wages.

Mobility among Polish artists is mainly a result of the generally cosmopolitan character of artistic professions. Decisions to leave the country are mainly influenced by economic, organisational and legal restraints, which altogether create poor possibilities of artistic self-realisation in Poland. The most important of these restraining factors are:

- Insufficient arts education on primary and secondary school levels. This influences the cultural competencies of Polish people and keeps them from participating in culture
- No adequate support to creativity – the system of direct support for artists is poorly developed
- A weakly developed middle class is a main cause for low cultural participation
- Low level of development of the cultural industries, including the arts market
- Lack of incentives for investors – no VAT or other tax relief
- The banking sector does not have confidence to invest into the arts and culture.

Artists' Mobility: the Lithuanian Example³⁸

By Viktoras Liutkus

With the political changes in the early 1990ies, many contemporary Lithuanian artists experienced their first contacts with the international art scene, especially in the Baltic sea region. At that time, Baltic art began to develop separately from the former Soviet ideological and artistic environment. New cultural contacts, co-operation programmes and artists' movements led to a hitherto non-existent mobility of artists. The development was rapid, influenced by political, cultural, economic, educational and social factors. Favourable political and economical conditions stimulated cultural exchange between the Baltic countries and the Nordic countries, North Germany, Poland, North-West Russia (St. Petersburg and Kaliningrad regions) during the 1990ies. It was a time when new cultural networks were established, artists' residencies set up throughout the region, and ambitious arts management projects came to life. The first generation of Lithuanian contemporary art curators developed under the guidance of a group of regional art curators residing in Nordic countries, Germany, Austria, Poland.

Lithuanian artists abroad: job opportunities

The migration of artists comes in a multitude of different forms; artists have a variety of reasons to look for work opportunities abroad. Lithuanian artists may be invited for seasonal jobs or the implementation of art projects (e.g. guest performances or concert tours), others have contracts with galleries or concert agencies for a couple of years, some are on the permanent staff of concert or opera institutions. The latter are usually in a more secure social position than those with temporary employment. Many contemporary Lithuanian artists started their artistic career after staying in European artists' residencies or participating in training programmes for young artists (e.g. Lithuanian opera soloists at the Royal Opera House in London).

The mobility of artists does not differ from the general migration situation in the country. The number of emigrants increased substantially after Lithuania joined the EU in May 2004. It is estimated that, out of a total population of 3.5 million, about 250,000 Lithuanians moved to other EU countries, most of them to Ireland and the United Kingdom. Figures provided by the British employee registration scheme in 2005 indicate that Lithuanians constituted 17% of all newly registered EU citizens.³⁹ The total number of Lithuanian citizens living in Britain is estimated at about 100,000 persons.

Several Lithuanian artists found work in Great Britain and started their career from there. One example of them is Edgaras Montvydas, who studied at the Lithuanian *Academy of Music and Theatre* and graduated in 2001. He then joined the *Young Artists' Programme* at

³⁸ This case study was commissioned by the ERICarts Institute in 2006 for their study, *MEAC I: Dynamics, Causes and Consequences of Transborder Mobility in the European Arts and Culture*, undertaken for the LabforCulture, an initiative of the European Cultural Foundation. Information and data were provided by the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture, the Lithuanian Embassy in Germany, the Vilnius Contemporary Art Centre, the National Philharmonic, the Department of Cultural Heritage Protection, the Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts, the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, the Contemporary Art Information Centre (Lithuanian Art Museum), the Theatre and Cinema Information and Education Centre, the European Cultural Programs Centre, the National Opera and Ballet Theatre, and by Ms Rūta and Ms Goštautienė, Elona Lubytė, culture experts and curators.

³⁹ Great Britain Discovers Lithuania. In: *Made in Lithuania*, 2005, no.2.

the London Royal Opera House in September 2001 and made his Royal Opera debut in 2002. Later he worked with the Glyndebourne Touring Opera, the Festival d'Aix-en-Provence on Tour, the Netherlands Philharmonic, the Lithuanian National Opera, the Latvian Opera, the Opera de Marseille, the Bayerische Staatsoper, the Opéra National de Lyon, and the opera houses in Hamburg and Trieste.⁴⁰ There are two young Lithuanian opera soloists with permanent contracts at the Royal Covent Garden Opera as well. Ingeborga Dapkūnaitė, film and theatre artist, is engaged at a London theatre. Dalia Ibelhauptaitė went to London after studies in Moscow and has permanent contracts with various local theatres. Not all artists have found working opportunities in their professional field. Eglė Pukytė, graduate from the Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts and the Royal Academy of Arts, lives in London and works as an interpreter. Her exhibitions are held in Lithuania and other countries. Art works of Lithuanian migrant painters have been presented to the British public through exhibitions organised by the Lithuanian Embassy in Britain.

According to information provided by the Lithuanian Embassy in Germany, there are about 30 Lithuanian artists working or studying in various institutions, as artists, photographers or at various art schools. Some of them are well-known in the international music scene (e.g. mezzo-soprano Violeta Urmana or cellist David Gering). Most of the Lithuanian artists working in Germany are musicians, composers as well as performers. The *Giedre Bartelt Gallery*, established by a Lithuanian-German family in Berlin, took a leading role in representing Lithuanian and Latvian artists in Germany. One of the Gallery's aims is to introduce young Lithuanian artists and photographers to the local art market.

Artists' mobility very often depends on personal contacts, cultural exchange programmes, bilateral agreements of ministries or art training institutions, seasonal contracts, etc. Several Lithuanian theatre directors (Eimuntas Nekrošius, Rimas Tuminas, Oskaras Koršunovas, Cezaris Graužinis) worked at theatres in Iceland, Italy, Moscow, France, Finland, Norway and Sweden during the last decade. However, only few Lithuanian actors have contracts in foreign theatres (for example actor Vladas Bagdonas, winner of the National Culture and Art Prize, who has been engaged for W.Gombrowicz' drama play "Slub" at the Torun drama theatre in Poland).

Arts teachers do not show a high level of mobility. The biography of young sculptor Gediminas Urbonas (born 1966) is one of the few exceptions. After participating in the project *Artscape Nordland* in Ronan/Norway in 1993, he came into close contact with the project curator, and was finally appointed to a chair at the art school in Trondheim to develop an innovative multimedia curriculum.

Lithuanian art administrators (exhibition centres, museums, theatres) and art curators currently find it very hard to compete with foreign colleagues.

EU artists in Lithuania⁴¹

Basically, foreign artists have the same reasons and motivations to come to Lithuania as Lithuanian artists for going abroad. Some Lithuanian art institutions invite foreign artists because the required specialists are not available in Lithuania. For example, a violinist from Russia has an employment with the Lithuanian National Symphony orchestra, and a tenor from St. Petersburg was invited to join the Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet

⁴⁰ For more information see: <http://www.info.royaloperahouse.org>

⁴¹ Artists from EU member states may live and work in Lithuania for up to three months during a period of six calendar months without applying for an EC residence permit. If the stay exceeds that period, a residence permit must be obtained.

Theatre. Three foreign ballet dancers (of Italian, Japan and Ukrainian origin) are employed at the theatre as well. Theatre director D. Ibelhauptaitė, based in London, has a contract with the Opera and Ballet Theatre for the production of a couple of performances.

During the last years, some foreign artists were appointed to positions in Lithuanian art institutions due to their expertise and important role in the European art scene. Catharine Hemelryk, a young graduate from the Royal College of Arts in London, has a contract as a curator with the Vilnius Contemporary Art Centre. She chose to work at this institution because of its high prestige among European contemporary art institutions. Simon Rees from New Zealand has been appointed editor of the CAC publication *INTERVIU*. The *IBID* gallery in Vilnius, established by a Swedish-Lithuanian family, combines its own art shows with the openings of attractive exhibitions at the Vilnius Contemporary Art Centre, inviting western art dealers and collectors to take a look at the Lithuanian art scene.

Immigrant artists and curators from EU countries may suffer quite considerable financial losses when they take up jobs in Lithuania, as they are usually paid on the same scale as their Lithuanian colleagues. Foreign artists who come for temporary projects usually work on a contract basis.

In general, the flow of migrants goes in the direction of the better payment conditions. Lithuanian artists move to West European countries to find better financial terms, while artists from the former Soviet Union move to Lithuania, where the conditions are still more favourable than in their home countries.

The impact of networks and institutions on artists' mobility

One of the most powerful stimuli for artistic mobility in the 1990ies was the efficient networking and institutional co-operation through international exchange programmes and artists' residencies. The government support to these programmes was also of paramount importance (e.g. the support to the *Ars Baltica* network, set up in Kiel in 1990, provided by the Schleswig-Holstein government). The 1990ies witnessed the emergence of more Nordic-Baltic networking projects (e.g. *Artgenda*), particularly during the second half. Some other institutions also made attempts to gain the status of joint Baltic platforms (*CAC* in Vilnius, *Mare Articum* in Szczecin). Important European cultural and art support institutions became increasingly involved in the Baltic Sea art co-operation and networking and in artists' exchange activities (*Kulturkontakt/Vienna*, *Ifa/Berlin*, *Baltic Art Centre/Gotland*, *Baltic Network for New Music*, *European Conference of Promoters of New Music*, and others). Many Lithuanian artists spent time in artists' residence studios in Nordic countries, Germany, Great Britain and Austria. Deimantas Narkevičius, a well-known sculptor and video artist of the young generation, spent a long time as fellow abroad in various residencies and studios (he is now a DAAD Fellow in Berlin), and this helped him to gain contracts with famous European galleries and museums. Since 1995, the Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts runs a studio at the [*Cité Internationale des Arts*](#) in Paris, where teachers and students of the Academy can work for a period of two to three months. Students and teachers from the Lithuanian Music and Theatre Academy also stay at this studio.

Network links and intensive co-operation enable many contemporary Lithuanian artists to get into contact with foreign art institutions, familiarise themselves with the labour market situation and get a better understanding of how international competition works. By now, the Nordic-Baltic network system has not only consolidated these co-operation links, but has developed into a diversified structure. Its openness greatly facilitates the mobility of artists.

In 2000 and 2001 several Lithuanian contemporary art events were organised by foreign curators. The exhibition *Self-Respect* in 2001 was curated by Swedish curator and art historian Anders Kreuger, and the *Baltic Young Artists Triennial* in 2002 by German curator Tobias Berger. Foreign curators were invited with the aim to introduce new ways of presenting contemporary Lithuanian and Baltic art. The employment of temporary "immigrants" (which does not quite apply to Kreuger, who has Lithuanian and Swedish citizenship and speaks Lithuanian well) was a result of the Nordic-Baltic-German network co-operation. The same can be said about Lithuanian curators who were commissioned for the implementation of contemporary art projects abroad, some of them within the *Ars Baltica* framework. The NGO *Theatre and Cinema Information and Education Centre* organises an annual international new drama event which employs foreign as well as Lithuanian artists.

Mobility of teachers and students of art schools

The number of Lithuanian students and teachers of higher art schools who had study visits or internship in the EU countries is still not very high. The *Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts* and the *Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre* have exchange programmes with several European art schools under the *Socrates* (Erasmus) programme. In the 2004/05 academic year, 9 university teachers and 29 students from the *Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts*, as well as 39 students and 28 teachers from the *Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre* were undergoing studies or training courses at several European art schools. Compared to the total number of 1974 students at the Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts, the share of those going abroad is quite small. The number of foreign students coming to Lithuanian art schools is also rather small: 21 students were enrolled at the Vilnius Fine Arts Academy, and 8 students at the Lithuanian Music and Theatre Academy in the 2005/06 academic year.

Not all EU students come to Lithuania on the basis of an exchange programme. Some of them come out of interest in the country's history and culture, they want to understand the social situation and the traditions from direct experience and contact with colleagues, or they simply want to see an East European "exotic" country. There are also cases where young artists want to gain special professional skills at Lithuanian art schools which they cannot attain at home; e.g. a young painter from the Netherlands came to the Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts to gain special fresco, mosaic and drawing skills.

Graduates from the Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts of 2000-2005 were interviewed at the end of 2005 about their job positions in Lithuania. The survey showed that those with a more industrial or commercial orientation had the best job positions, e.g. designers, fashion or textile designers, photographers and media artists. The majority of these artists found jobs adequate to the artistic specialisation they had acquired in art school (respectively 83%, 91% and 58% of the interviewed persons). Painters, sculptors and ceramics artists did not find jobs according to their qualifications; most of them are forced to work "as artists" in the broadest sense. The data also show that designers and architects have better possibilities to find jobs in foreign countries: about 1% of them were employed in different European countries, while the share among visual artists was only 0.6%. We may assume that this trend will also remain true in the future.

Limits of mobility

Recent sociological research findings indicated that young Lithuanian artists are more internationally oriented than their older colleagues. They are more interested in international recognition and integration into the world art processes than in living in a permanent location.⁴² The young generation has found a new and quite critical approach to national culture, social security and artists' financial situations. It might be illustrated by the views of one of Lithuanian artists, who emigrated in the 1990ies. In 1992 Lithuanian born American artist Kestutis Zapkus from New York had a one-year teaching assignment at the Painting Department of the Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts. Later on, several of his students moved to New York and began an artistic career. After ten years, one of Zapkus' former pupils, Aidas Bareikis, who had then already made a name for himself, said in an interview:

"We live in a time of professionalism, aspiration and competition. (...) In New York you must be the best to have a chance, you have to do the impossible. There is nothing of that sort in Lithuania. (...). You are held by depression due to the lack of ideas and inspiration. (...) People with economic power in Lithuania don't invest into artists; therefore, like so many others, I was forced to emigrate."⁴³

What are the characteristic features of artists' mobility?

The most important motivation for artists to work abroad is doubtlessly the economic and financial benefit and the improved social security. Honorariums and salaries are many times higher than those possibly earned at home. Better career opportunities, international recognition and access to prestigious art institutions provide another very important motive. A very narrow local labour market and the lack of job perspectives for artists in their special field of expertise also have a great impact on mobility. Job perspectives abroad are not the same across the artistic professions: musicians, performers, designers, architects and multimedia artists have better opportunities than e.g., professionals in visual arts. Institutional co-operation, functioning art networks and international cultural co-operation programmes continue to be the most important factors to promote mobility among artists.

"Brain-drain" is not a problem for Lithuania – on the contrary, there is a "brain-gain", as there is a constant influx of artists into Lithuania, among them students from abroad, artists working under temporary contracts, foreigners taking up permanent jobs and cases of marriage to a Lithuanian partner. The immigration of artists from the former Soviet Union (especially Russia and the Ukraine) also plays a role and will continue to do so. As Lithuanian arts institutions continue to build up their international reputation (e.g. the Vilnius Contemporary Art Centre), this trend will still increase.

However, there has been no systematic research into artists' mobility, and the data presented here are in many cases not more than "working papers" of institutions.

⁴² Menininkas ir valstybė. Socialinis psichologinis aspektas. Socialinių tyrimų institutas, Vilnius, 2003, p. 56, 58 / *Artist and State. Social and Psychological aspects*. Institute of Social research. Vilnius (in Lithuanian).

⁴³ Įsibėgėjau, atsiplėšiau nuo žemės ir pakilau ? Interviu su Niujorke gyvenančiu instaliacijų kūrėju Aidu Bareikiu // Kultūros barai, 2002 nr. 6, p. 47-48 / *Run-up, got off the ground and rised*. Kultūros barai (in Lithuanian).

Industrial, Cultural and Museum districts

By Luca Dal Pozzolo⁴⁴

ABSTRACT: Marshallian-type industrial districts combine the production of many independent but related businesses to form a single production process, designed to produce a single industrial product. In terms of cultural districts, only those that involve clusters of industries working on the same type of production (Hollywood, for example) can be referred to as "Marshallian". Other districts are the result of urban policies designed to concentrate the consumption rather than the production of culture. Industrial districts attract a specialised workforce, with most cultural districts attracting tourists and the end users of culture.

A strong cultural milieu is able to attract expertise, technical staff and businesses, and is a precondition for the creation of cultural and Marshallian-type districts, but they are unlikely to be generated as the outcome of a district policy.

⁴⁴ Special thanks go to Sarah Chiodi who helped me in structuring and discussing this paper. This paper was commissioned in 2005 by the ERICarts Institute for their study, *MEAC I: Dynamics, Causes and Consequences of Transborder Mobility in the European Arts and Culture*, undertaken for the LabforCulture, an initiative of the European Cultural Foundation.

Industrial, Cultural and Museum districts

By Luca Dal Pozzolo

The subject of *cultural districts* has become highly topical today, and many examples of urban redevelopment have put the spotlight on cultural activities as the driving force for a process of rehabilitating and winning back depressed areas.

There have been many opportunities for experimentation, starting with the European Union's *Urban* programme, the Structural Funds, and the annual competition for the title of Cultural Capital.

In view of this, it is worth having a look at some of the elements that form a district economy, starting with the industrial districts which provided direct inspiration for cultural districts. This will make it possible to understand the limits within which the terms can be used, and the appropriateness or otherwise of the economic metaphors that are often freely bandied about, to make sure that the "district" or quarter does not turn into some magical formula that will solve any problem in any context.

Charles Landry rightly points out:

"The 'booming economy of bit san bytes' has made the idea of production based cultural quarters or creative industries quarters fashionable the world over at the end of the 20th century: the range from London's Tower Hamlets Brick Lane, to Tilburg' Pop Cluster, from Berlin's Hackische Höfe to Johannesburg's Newtown, Silicon Alley in New York or Rundle Street East in Adelaide. The term is so popular that any coincidental proximity of cultural facilities are now being called 'cultural quarters' as a branding device form Amsterdam's Museumsplein to Baltimore's Inner Harbour, although here culture is consumed rather than produced."⁴⁵

Notes on the Economic Theory of Industrial Districts

The creation of an economic theory of industrial districts was the work of Alfred and Mary Marshall who already in the late nineteenth century⁴⁶ noted that the vertical integration of production processes within increasingly large industries, with structures based on the division of labour, was not the only way forward: an integrated set of small industries specialised in various stages of the same production process – if organised into district form within a limited area – would be able to provide significant advantages, and be capable of withstanding the competition of large industries.

However, according to Marshall the internationalisation of production processes and the development of transport and communication infrastructure would lessen the advantages of district-based organisation and the importance of territorial aggregation.

In Italy, the concept of the industrial district was first formulated by Giacomo Becattini, who referred to a local production system in a distinct territorial area, within a socially cohesive community. It is characterised by a principle production activity carried out by a

⁴⁵ Ch. LANDRY, *The Creative City, A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, Comedia – Earthscan Publications Ltd, London, 2000, p. 137.

⁴⁶ A. and M.P. MARSHALL, *Economia della produzione*, ISEDI, Milan 1975 (orig. ed. *The Economy of Industry*, Macmillan, London 1879) and A. MARSHALL, *Principi di economia*, UTET, Turin 1957 (orig. ed., *Principles of economics*, Macmillan, London 1890-1920).

large number of independent small and medium-sized enterprises specialised in various stages of the same production process. A distinctive feature of the district is the existence of a close-knit network of economies that are "outside the enterprise, but inside the district" and which are closely interdependent. In view of their limited reproducibility and imitability, the tacit knowledge and the trust-based mechanisms that characterise the actors within the local community make it possible for the district to enjoy a special competitive advantage.

There is a particular abundance of studies concerning Italian districts and the so-called "Third Italy", partly due to the considerable economic importance of industrial districts, particularly in the Northeast and in the Centre of Italy, for the country's gross domestic product.

In the 1990s, the subject was once again taken up vigorously by Michael Porter, who started out by analysing the situation in Italy.⁴⁷ A Harvard economist, he again raised the question at the international level of the centrality of the territory in production systems and in the organisation of industrial "clusters", the term he used to refer to industrial districts.

Porter (1998, p.78) defines clusters as "geographic concentrations of interconnected companies and institutions"

The wealth of literature on the subject of industrial districts and the role of the local area in industrial production, both in Italy and abroad, can be seen in the taxonomy put forward by A. Bramanti and A. Ordanini in eight different schools or theoretical approaches.⁴⁸

It is important to note how the various different schools of thought on the subject of industrial districts agree on some matters, as listed below.

- **The rediscovery of the central role of the territory** not just in terms of support or as an abstract space, but as a place for relationships, within which knowledge circulates and the competitive advantage is based.
- **The integration of a variety of enterprises specialised in various stages of the same production process** which, in the subdivision of labour, leads to the creation of a fabric which is simultaneously interdependent, cooperative and competitive. "The proximity of companies and institutions in one location –and the repeated exchanges among them – fosters better coordination and trust. Thus clusters mitigate the problems inherent in arm's length relationship without imposing the inflexibilities of vertical integration or the management challenges of creating and maintaining formal linkages such as networks, alliances, and partnerships. (Porter, 1998, p. 80).
- **Marshall's "industrial atmosphere"**, which has already been mentioned, and the speed of circulation of information and tacit knowledge, which is fundamental for many production processes, and which is best able to spread within local society.
- **The capacity for renovation** as a dynamic balance between internal technological know-how and the technological development of the world outside, between "internal synergies" and "external energies", through concentration on the product, which gives rise to widespread experimentation processes.
- **A process that brings to fruition a "social capital"**⁴⁹ that has been accumulated and that is based on the particular territorial and social conditions, even though it

⁴⁷ M. PORTER, *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*, Macmillan, London and Basingstoke 1990 and M. PORTER, *On Competition*, Harvard Business School Press, Boston, 1998

⁴⁸ A. BRAMANTI AND A. ORDANINI, *ICT e distretti industriali. Una governance per la competitività di imprese e territori*, Fondazione IBM Italia - Etas, Milan, 2004

generally occurs as a bottom-up phenomenon. The availability of large-scale social-relation networks influences the process of development which is to a great extent agreed upon by local society.

- **The need for complex governance**, which assists and supports the bottom-up dynamics, with a whole range of actors involved in maintaining and developing conditions within which the industrial districts operate".

Even this incomplete list of factors clearly reveals how the economy of an industrial district does not depend at all on the chance coexistence of industries in a given area, but rather on a series of carefully constructed interactions and interdependences brought to bear and develop within the production plants and in the local society which is itself a constituent part of the district.

The complexity of these relationships makes the district an emerging phenomenon that requires a multitude of existing social, cultural, economic and political conditions. This means it is very different from a simple entrepreneurial strategy for concentrating production in one area purely to achieve economies of scale. A clear consequence of this is that it is difficult to design new districts from scratch, without some form of spontaneous dynamics already underway.

In any case, the industrial district concentrates the production of industrial goods into a specific geographical area and attracts specialised labour into the various stages of the production process, but its fundamental characteristic is that it is rooted in the local area and primarily turns to its local society.

Cultural Districts

In Italy a debate is arising about cultural districts as a possible derivation of Marshallian industrial districts (see the bibliographic information), though the term "cultural districts" is used, especially in English-speaking countries, to refer to districts with a high density of cultural activities and museums.

Four types of cultural districts based on Walter Santagata's classification may possibly be identified as follows⁵⁰:

- 1) The *Industrial Cultural Districts*; based on positive neighbourhood effects, localised culture, and arts and crafts traditions consolidated at the local level as in the example of the Los Angeles – Hollywood motion picture complex.
- 2) The *Institutional Cultural Districts*; based on the assignment of property rights and on the use of labels. The study cases illustrated by Santagata refer to the Langhe in Piedmont and to the Chianti area in Tuscany, with an analysis of the effects of policies involving the attribution of the DOC (*Denominazione d'Origine Controllata* – PDO Protected Designation of Origin) label.
- 3) *Metropolitan Cultural Districts*; based on the integration of the performing arts, museum activities, entertainment and leisure industries, and relative technological infrastructure. Examples of "districts" which have led to urban redevelopment mainly concern cases in the United States and the United Kingdom.
- 4) *Museum Cultural Districts*;⁵¹ based on the integration of museum institutions and designed to achieve greater efficiency and management effectiveness, partly by reaching a critical mass and ideal dimensions.

⁴⁹ The notion of social capital was introduced by Bourdieu, but later developed by James Coleman: it is in this sense that the term "social capital" is used here. Cf J. COLEMAN, *Foundations of Social Theory*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1990.

⁵⁰ W. SANTAGATA, *Cultural districts and economic development*, Department of Economics "S. Cagnetti de Martiis", Università di Torino, Working Paper No. 01/2004

As concerns *industrial cultural districts*, Hollywood is a clear example of the economic logic to be found in a *Marshallian*-type district.

This is basically a territorially integrated system with individual companies specialised in the various stages of the production process, with the ability to attract expertise of direct use for the cinema industry. The companies range in size from the majors down to small firms and self-employed individuals. Local society is strongly influenced and at the same time geared towards audiovisual production.

In those cases in which the cluster does indeed consist of cultural industries involved in the creation of a cultural product with close ties to the local society, one can talk about a cultural district very similar to the economies produced by Marshallian industrial districts.

A district-based logic can also be seen in *institutional cultural districts* – as Santagata refers to them – in which the attribution of the "DOC" label supports specialised local food and wine production with protection and promotion policies not only for the product, but for the entire production process and the territory in which it is based. This also indirectly includes its landscape. By attributing values that are not only economic but also cultural, immaterial and symbolic, the areas concerned no longer appear simply as places for high-quality farm produce, but can aspire to a level of visibility and appeal that also fosters the sale of its products, local accommodation facilities and related forms of tourism.

In the other two cases, in other words the *metropolitan cultural district* and the *museum cultural district*, the distance and the difference between them and the Marshallian districts is considerable, and can be summed up as follows:

- Marshallian districts concentrate production and attract a greater or lesser influx of skilled staff and technicians: *metropolitan cultural districts* and *museum cultural districts*, on the other hand, concentrate especially on the consumption of culture, thus mainly attracting users and tourists.
- Marshallian districts are the result of a bottom-up dynamic, while *metropolitan cultural districts* and *museum cultural districts* are the result of a top-down type of policy.
- Marshallian districts are mono-product systems whereas *metropolitan cultural districts* and *museum cultural districts* are multi-product.
- In Marshallian districts, industrial production is controlled privately while the public sector takes part in the governance of the territory, controlling and supplying services to connect industrial production with the local society. In *metropolitan cultural districts* and in *museum cultural districts*, the cultural institutions continue to require considerable economic support from the public or private sector (when they are not entirely public) for they do not produce profits, while the market-oriented collateral services and trade are run by the private sector.
- In Marshallian districts the role of tacit knowledge and know-how is fundamental for ensuring integration of the production process by companies specialised in various stages of the production process, while in the *metropolitan cultural districts* and in the *museum cultural districts*, this sort of interaction between actors and enterprises is not indispensable: it is however important for the "cultural atmosphere" to be perceived by the users, consumers and tourists.

⁵¹ In Santagata's view, the museum cultural district and the metropolitan cultural district are "*quasi-cultural-districts*": "With the expression Quasi-Cultural-Districts are designated two varieties of cultural clusters, namely in the fields of the cultural heritage and of the cultural revitalization of the cities. Their nature is similar to that of the cultural districts both in terms of the expected positive externalities and the expected benefits from the creation of a protected designation of origin right". SANTAGATA, *Cultural districts...cit*, page 19

- The Marshallian district produces direct wealth and economic development, whereas in the case of the *metropolitan cultural district* and the *museum cultural district*, the contribution to local economic development is indirect and lies in the ability of the districts to guarantee a different positioning of the city in the geography of European culture, attracting cultural consumers and tourists, and providing incentives for local accommodation and hospitality services.
- The Marshallian district is self-supporting, while the *metropolitan cultural district* and the *museum cultural district* generally require economic support, at least for those cultural activities that are not able to generate a profit.

Another two authors have taken an active part in the debate on cultural districts:

Pierluigi Sacco takes a step ahead and considers the evolution of the concept of the district in which the cultural, symbolic and immaterial components become increasingly important over time, as their reproducibility and integratability in the end product is one of their main competitive advantages. This gradual shift towards the incorporation of symbolic and immaterial values in industrial production requires not only significant infrastructuring of cultural activities and heritage, but also a highly complex system of preconditions in the local society and in the area concerned, so that the cultural resources can orient industrial production and integrate effectively with it. The set of preconditions and of what Sacco calls *background culture* constitute the cultural milieu, which is not the effect of a district policy but, on the contrary, it is the territorial environment, the culture medium in which cultural districts might possibly emerge.

In **Piero Antonio Valentino's** opinion the key element is the integration of processes for the promotion of cultural and environmental heritage with other services and resources in the territory, in order to start up a process of local development.

The organisation of cultural activities into a value chain, their integration and coordination with hotel accommodation, tourist facilities and personal care services, as well as with local infrastructure and with related industries, forms an ideal programme of good governance, effective management of territorial resources and an example of how it is possible to create an organic and well-organised supply of cultural and environmental resources. Nevertheless, when the integration of all the various components (from cultural heritage to tourist facilities, services, enterprises and territorial marketing) is effective, the distance from the industrial district appears even greater and the differences can be seen to be those indicated for the *metropolitan cultural districts* and the *museum cultural districts*.

Cultural Districts, Cultural Milieux

The question of the relationship between investments in cultural policies of a district type and accreditation at national or international level of the cities and areas of culture and creativity is of decisive importance. Creating a cultural or museum district does not in itself mean laying the bases for the construction of a creative *milieu* while, on the contrary, the presence of the latter may make district policies extremely effective. As we have seen, the cultural and social *milieu* is essential if Marshallian-type industrial districts are to emerge, and it is also one of the most important preconditions for creating district-type policies and investments in local culture and in possible mechanisms for local development. A museum district, on the other hand, may be created without taking into the slightest consideration aspects such as local creativity, the cultural ferment of the young, or innovative forms of cultural production. On the contrary, the city is creative if it becomes a substrate for culture also for this type of cultural production and expression.

"A creative milieu is a place – either a cluster of buildings, a part of a city, a city as a whole or a region – that contains the necessary preconditions in terms of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ infrastructure to generate flow of ideas and inventions. Such a milieu is a physical setting where a critical mass of entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded, cosmopolitan context and where face to face interaction creates new ideas, artefacts, products, services and institutions and as a consequence contributes to economic success.⁵²

A similar position is adopted by Richard Florida⁵³ concerning the economy of creativity and the extremely high level of attraction – for innovative companies and people – of places where there is a particularly high concentration of creative professionalism. Florida points to three conditions for the existence of a creative *milieu*. These are the 3 Ts – *Technology, Talent, Tolerance* – in other words a concentration of intellectually open-minded people oriented towards innovation, the widespread existence of technological resources and a cultural climate open to diversity, dialogue and interaction. In Florida’s view, the presence of a lively cultural *milieu* is the prime resource for local development since it attracts further culture and greater innovation in an upward spiralling of local development. In a situation like this, cultural policies can do much to raise the quality of cultural life, contributing to the cultural atmosphere that forms one of the environmental characteristics of creative places.

It is very different however, if one brings in an urban-redevelopment or cultural-district policy with a view to supporting a creative *milieu* which is already expanding or, on the contrary, to create that cultural and entrepreneurial *milieu* which should be one of its most important preconditions.

In the latter case, there is a great risk of not involving local society, and of creating works that have little effect on local society.

District policy is unlikely to contribute to the growth of a cultural and creative *milieu* if this does not become one of the prime objectives of inter-sector local urban policies, within which a cultural-district policy may simply prove to be a necessary but insufficient element. Richard Florida’s 3 Ts involve a very wide array of investments and innovation, in which culture is an essential though not exclusive component.

⁵² C. LANDRY, *The Creative City, A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, Comedia – Earthscan Publications Ltd, London, 2000, p.133.

⁵³ Cf. RICHARD FLORIDA, *L’ascesa della nuova classe creativa. Stili di vita, valori e professioni*, Saggi Mondatori, Milan, 2003.

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RUSSIANS MUSICIANS AND “FORTRESS ITALY”⁵⁴

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Introduction

Russian musicians and singers are very highly considered in Italy. As musical conductors, as soloists, and – even more so – as opera singers and dancers, they tread very frequently the Italian stages, and are well received by both critics and audiences.

On the other hand, while several Italian musicians spent long periods in Russia, Russian musicians alike have always been fascinated by the country, its climate, its people, its musical and artistic tradition, and driven towards it. Suffice to remember Glinka’ s long stays in Milan in the 1830s next to La Scala’s circles and his friendship with Bellini and Donizzetti, Prokofiev’ work in Rome in the early XXth century, or Stravinski’s last will to be buried in Venice, next to Diaghilev’s grave.

And yet, notwithstanding the continuous and profitable past and present coming and going of soloists, singers, etc., employed as guest artists, in the light of what happens in other European countries (Spain in particular, but also Germany, France, the UK...) where they are more or less frequently employed in full time jobs both in orchestras and in music conservatories, the situation of Russian musicians wanting to settle down and work for longer periods in Italy appears to be quite problematic. Let us try to see why.

1. The organization of musical activities and the labor market for musicians in Italy

In order to better understand the relationship of Russian musicians with our country’s musical life, it seems first necessary to briefly outline the main features of the organization of musical activities in Italy, as well as of the labor market for musicians.

1.1 The limited number of mainstream musical institutions, and thus of full time jobs

Unlike other countries, and notably Germany, where the public hand directly runs about 150 performing arts institutions active in the field of music, opera, dance and theatre⁵⁵, thus permanently employing – along with guest artists - a great number of musicians, other artists, technicians and administrative staff, the Italian performing arts system is based on a limited number of substantially State funded mainstream performing arts institutions, and on a huge number of private or local organizations – theatre and dance touring companies, performing arts cooperatives, musical associations, summer festivals, etc....- also supported, albeit less, by the State, as well as by regional and local governments. Whereas a lucky minority of musicians permanently working for the former institutions enjoy the status of full time employed, the great majority of them - guest artists in the mainstream institutions, or touring the country to be hired by associations, festivals, etc....- are actually self employed.

More in detail, to restrain our short overview to music and the musical theatre, the situation is the following:

⁵⁴ This case study was commissioned by the ERICarts Institute in 2006 for their study, *MEAC I: Dynamics, Causes and Consequences of Transborder Mobility in the European Arts and Culture*, undertaken for the LabforCulture, an initiative of the European Cultural Foundation.

⁵⁵ See Deutscher Bundestheaterverband, *Theaterstatistik*, published yearly in Cologne.

1.1.1 Opera

Having given birth to the lyric theatre at the courts of the Medici, the Gonzaga, the Este families, since Renaissance time, Italy and its musical landscape are dominated by opera in a way which does not find any consistency neither with other countries' nor with the audience in present times. Suffice it to describe the following paradox: whereas, on one hand, only 7% of the Italian citizens, mostly drawn from the upper class, has attended at least 1 lyric performance in 2000 (ISTAT, 2003), on the other hand as much as 80% of the constantly shrinking state financing to the musical sector is absorbed by opera theatres, which are split in the following three categories:

- *Fondazioni liriche* (lyric foundations)

The lion's share (nearly 90%: up to 250 million Euro in year 2001) of state funding for opera is allocated to the 12 cornerstone institutions of Italian musical life, the *Fondazioni liriche*: La Scala, La Fenice, Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, Rome Opera, S. Carlo in Naples, etc.... Once public entities, since 1998 our main opera theatres have been given private foundation status. This privatization effort, though useful in helping to foster some diversification in the funding sources, has actually been a half failure, as the highest share of the foundation's extremely high financial burden still lies with the Ministry of Culture, and a smaller share with local authorities (A. Leon, 2004). Furthermore, unlike what happened in other countries, like Austria, such privatization did not imply, so far, any change to the extremely rigid and privileged public right collective agreement which rules the foundation's working conditions. Needless to say that they offer by far the best opportunity for full time jobs, at privileged conditions, as member of the orchestra, of the ballet company, or of the chorus: in year 2002 the full time employed were 4700, around 2500 of which musicians and artists. It should be added that such foundations also provide the highest quality and sought for opportunities for musicians, dancers, and - even more so - singers, to work as *guest artists*: the only kind of jobs for which also non nationals of EU countries are allowed to apply.

- *Teatri di tradizione* (Traditional theatres)

These 23 theatres – among which some excellent ones like the Regio di Parma or the Bellini di Catania - are much less subsidized by the Ministry, and receive most of their funding from the regions and the municipalities in which they are located. With a much smaller budget than the *Fondazioni liriche*, they can not afford to employ permanent orchestras. For organizing their “seasons” they rather rely either on the orchestras of the *Istituzioni concertistiche* (see further), or on *ad hoc* assembled temporary orchestras. Consequently, they can not offer to musicians' full time occupations, but only part time contracts.

- *Lirica ordinaria* (ordinary lyric)

This category refers to minor opera companies without permanent seat, touring the country, mainly in the musically deprived southern regions. The working opportunities for musicians provided by these companies, particularly active during summertime, to Italian and foreign musicians alike, can be of an uneven qualitative standard.

1.1.2 Concerts

Besides the orchestras of the 12 *lyric foundations* and the *S. Cecilia Academy's Orchestra* based in Rome - the one symphonic orchestra enjoying the same privileged status – the only other permanent orchestral ensembles in Italy, employing full time musicians are the 12 *Istituzioni concertistiche*. Although all endowed with own venues, many of them often circulate to serve regional or sub regional territories, and are consequently mainly funded by regional and provincial governments. However they also perceive State grants.

The most widespread diffusion of musical activities and classical music concerts in our country, though, is based on a network of more than 200 mostly private *musical associations* widely scattered in the country, also supported by the State, as well as by one or more levels of local government. They provide a wide range of working opportunities for guest musicians - both as soloists or as members of chamber music ensembles - albeit always based on part time contracts.

1.1.3 Festivals

There are many musical festivals in Italy, generally organized during summertime: about 90 of them – among which the most famous, like the *Spoletto Festival*, the *Ravenna Festival*⁵⁶, the *Rossini Opera Festival* – besides enjoying local subsidies, or grants by private sponsors - are also funded by the State. They do not employ permanent music ensembles, but rather hire existing Italian or foreign orchestras or opera and dance company, when not orchestras and companies assembled *ad hoc* for the festival itself.

1.2 The precariousness and flexibility of musical occupations

In the above described Italian music system, where only the 13 *lyric and symphonic foundations* and the 12 *concert institutions* can afford permanent orchestras, and where the musicians working in all the other organizations are self employed, part time occupations are thus the rule, and full time jobs only a rare exception. In fact, the 42,456 workers registered at ENPALS (the social security agency for the performing artists) under the “music sector” in year 1999 worked in average only 63 days, and earned less than 7,000 Euro per year (Pace, 2004). In such a flexible labor market situation, no wonder if, when they retire, most of them are not even able to reach the minimum threshold required for getting a pension.

As well as in other artistic occupations, to hold a second job is the only escape to these precarious working conditions, and such an escape, for musicians, mostly consists in working as teachers in the country's music conservatories, when not in musical education courses in ordinary schools, thus getting their main life earnings, and securing their pension, on behalf of the educational system.

The 68 Italian *music conservatories*, which employ more than 5000 music teachers, are in fact the country's biggest job reservoir for musicians. However the quality of their musical training is uneven, and their number quite redundant: so much so that they are often considered - in the present situation of financial constraint heavily affecting music

⁵⁶ The guest new opera company *Gelikon*, from Moscow, has been among the most acclaimed successes of the *2005 Ravenna Festival*.

organizations and, consequently, musical supply - as a sort of “factory for unemployed” (Ruggeri, 2000).

Given such precarious and extremely flexible working conditions for musicians in Italy, competition among them to secure one of the few full time occupations in the 25 presently existing mainstream orchestras is very harsh. Only a few musicians of Russian or Ukrainian origin - who were able to get either Italian nationality, or the nationality of a EU member country, and to win admission competition – are presently full time employed in those orchestras. As far as conservatories are concerned, their doors are even more closed to the teaching of foreign musicians, even to nationals of EU countries, than the orchestras. For corporative reasons - including, besides citizenship, prerequisites impossible to meet for foreigners in admission exams, like being in possession of Italian academic qualifications – access of foreign musicians to our music conservatories is actually totally barred.

More generally, the problems mainly lie in the extremely corporative attitude held by Italian performing arts trade unions towards foreign musicians wanting to compete for full time jobs. Their reluctance to foster the preconditions for a more open and competitive cultural environment, where musicians and artists of different backgrounds can settle down and profitably interact, thus represents a strong barrier to artistic mobility in our country.

2. Russian musicians in Italy at the time of the Soviet Union

2.1 The role of Goskonzert

It is well known that, during Soviet rule, international exchanges concerning Russian musicians were under the extremely tight control of an ad hoc created agency at the Ministry of Culture: *Goskonzert*. Now that this centralized agency does not exist anymore, Russian comments about its past action shows rather mixed feelings.

On the negative side, it is said, besides exercising ideological censorship as well as a kind of police functions for preventing Russian musicians from escaping to settle down in Western countries, *Goskonzert* was also used to heavily exploit these same musicians, by holding back from them up to 90% of their rich foreign *cachet*.

On the positive side, though, the rationalizing function of such a centralized agency on the international exchanges of musicians is by now acknowledged. A constantly updated register, in fact, allowed *Goskonzert* to provide for a rational rotation of musicians both by origin – the Soviet Republics – as by destination, on a reciprocity and exchange basis with foreign countries, Italy included, in order to systematically promote Russian musical ensembles and soloists abroad. Furthermore the agency represented a strong guarantee for quality control, thus allowing to keep up with the very high standard of Russian musician’s fame abroad: which, apparently, is not always the case now a day.

In the present, free but excessively loose and quite anarchic and undocumented system of trans border mobility for musicians, both functions are lacking, and - in some way - missed. In fact, no official records are presently kept from which to draw data and information about the foreign interchange of Russian musicians abroad. Interchange with foreign musicians being equally undocumented in our country as well, no official data are available about the situation of Russian musicians in Italy, and this text mainly relies on qualitative information and interviews.

2.2 Rome as a hub for emigrated Russian Jewish musicians (1975-1989)

Besides the official tours and visits of Russian musicians and music ensembles in Italy regularly organised by *Goskonzerts*, around the mid Seventies another, quite clandestine, flow, brought many Jewish Russian musicians to get in touch with our country.

In fact, thanks to Sacharov' s intercession, in those years Soviet authorities finally opened the doors to Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union, and several of the many Jewish musicians living in the country decided to take advantage of this opportunity. The flow of Jewish emigration had two main destinations: Israel and America (the USA and Canada). Whereas the main hub for emigration towards Israel has been Vienna, Rome was the hub for emigration directed to America.

Given the length of bureaucratic procedures for entering America – several months, when not years – in the meantime many of the Russian Jewish musicians had long stays in our country, and made their living by working in Rome, as well as in other Italian cities and towns, mostly with part time contracts in orchestras or chamber music ensembles. It seems that many of them would have actually liked to settle down in Italy: and there have been, indeed, a few success stories, among which the creation, by pianist Lazar Berman, of a high level training organization like the *Piano Academy* in Imola, whereas violinist Pavel Vernikov founded the *Portogruaro Violin Festival* in the Friuli Region (both organizations still exist, and survived their creators). But getting a full time employment turned out to be an extremely difficult if not impossible endeavour for most of them.

Italian citizenship (presently EU citizenship) being needed for getting a full time job in mainstream orchestras, just a few – who became Italian by marriage - could finally get the job. Moreover, for the above described reasons, the doors of our music conservatories - whose teaching standard would have greatly benefited from a new input by these many valuable musicians - were even more closed. In fact, in admission exams, not even degrees as prestigious as the ones released by the Moscow Conservatory were admitted to compete with qualifications by any Italian provincial conservatory.

Most of these Russian Jewish musicians were finally, if sometimes unwillingly, driven towards America.

3. The present situation

As for the present situation in post soviet and post communist Russia, it is well known that the labor market for musicians has undergone significant changes since the Soviet Union time. Such market is now, in fact, totally deregulated, and apparently Russian musicians are actually split into two main groups. The first is characterized by very high earning peaks for conductors, soloists, singers, belonging to the world star system: all these mostly enjoy western like revenues even in their occupations in Russia, from where they are now frequently allowed to depart as very sought for guest artists abroad. On the other hand the situation is rather unsatisfying for a second, much larger group of average - or not yet well known – musicians, whose position is by far less guaranteed, and whose revenues are much lower, also due to a partial withdraw of the Russian Republic from the financing of culture and the performing arts.

Notwithstanding the lack of official data about the mobility of foreign artists across Italian borders, it is self evident to all our music and theatre goers that both groups of Russian musicians are treading quite often our stages. Unlike under Soviet rule, though, there does not seem to be any big danger of “brain drain” for famous Russian stars setting down abroad any more, given the privileged status they enjoy at home. Only musicians

belonging to the second group may sometimes want to permanently leave Russia, and look for full time and better paid jobs in Western Europe.

Whereas this second group is generally well received and gets full time positions in many Western European orchestras (in Spain, France, the United Kingdom, Austria, etc.), the same cannot be said for Italy, where Russian musicians are mostly allowed only occasional, if frequent, appearances with part time contracts, as “fortress Italy” is more and more closed for them. In fact, our labor market for musicians has certainly not improved even for Italians in recent times, and is getting every day more competitive.

The main reason, in our country as well as in Russia, for this creeping crisis, is the dramatic shrinking of public funding for the performing arts: the cultural domain traditionally more exposed to financial cuts in case of budgetary constraints. The *Unified Fund for the Performing Arts (FUS)* - whose creation, in 1985, by rationalizing the previous, more dispersed granting system, had brought a significant increase in the amount of financial resources made available by the Italian State for music, dance, theatre and cinema - has been, since, gradually but constantly shrinking in real terms. After the last, dramatic cut provided for by the 2006 Budget Law, taking account of inflation, the *Fund* has been cut by more than half in twenty years! The quite substantial increase of regional and municipal funding of the performing arts during the same period of time (C. Bodo, G. Stumpo, 2006) has not been sufficient - or, at least, sufficiently acknowledged - to make up for such a high loss in State funding.

No wonder if the worst affected performing arts institutions are the ones most depending from State financing, that is, the *lyric foundations*: in recent times State institutional funding to these foundations dramatically decreased, in current Euro, from 259 million in 2001 to 180 million in 2006. It is self evident that their 2006 budgets are all in deficit, and, given their high operating costs, most of them were obliged to cancel at short notice one or more of the already planned artistic productions and the related contracts, in order to face a financial crisis which threatens what once was the most important and stable labor market for musicians in our country. It is general opinion that such crisis can not be solved, as the government has been presently trying to do, through Decree 28/2/2006 introducing a ceiling to the *cachets* of guest artists, but rather by changing the since now untouchable, privileged and extremely corporative collective agreement which still rules the working conditions in the foundations.

Given such a difficult financial situation, in the next future mobility could be affected even as far as guest artists are concerned. In order to compensate a tax deduction as high as 30% on all salaries and *cachets* paid to the contracted foreign musicians, and a compulsory social security contribution perceived by ENPALS which ranges from 7% to 10%, the accessory costs of temporary contracts – around 40% - rank, in fact, among the highest in Europe⁵⁷. Affording such high costs could soon become difficult for the impoverished Italian music organizations, and action should urgently be undertaken for loosening the many fiscal and social security strings attached to these contracts, in order to approach them to the ones of the other European countries.

Furthermore it is also argued that the above mentioned, quite controversial ceiling recently established for all *cachets* paid from July 2006 on by State subsidised music organisations to both Italian and foreign artists (17 000 euro per performance – not including rehearsals - for opera singers, 25.000 for conductors, 9.000 for dancers, etc...) could discourage some of the most famous world stars to tread Italian stages, thus hindering free international competition.

⁵⁷ Only visiting companies and orchestras can sometimes avoid, according to bilateral cultural agreements, such otherwise compulsory fiscal and social security strings.

4. Concluding remarks

Will the urge to cope with such an emergency financial situation finally allow the much needed reorganization and rationalization of an ossified, extremely costly and, at the same time, culturally and socially unbalanced and unproductive system like the one presently ruling the Italian opera theatre and musical life, by opening it up, and sweeping away anachronistic privileges? Or will “fortress opera”, and “fortress Italy”, desperately try to further reinforce their walls, thus only delaying their final collapse?

This is one of the hottest cultural policy dilemmas that the newly elected Parliament and the new centre left Government will have to face. If such a reform of our musical system will take place, problems like the fostering of artistic mobility and the enrichment of our musical life by allowing fertile interaction and hybridization with other cultures should be at stake, as well.

List of interviews

Valerj Vaskobojnikov, Russian pianist, living in Rome since 1965

Vera Kramskaya, former employed by Goskonzert

Larissa Chevtchukt, consultant *Maggio Musicale Fiorentino*

Ettore F. Volontieri, *Fondazione per lo sviluppo dei rapporti fra Russia e Italia*, musical agent

Ornella Cogliolo, musical agent

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