

MEAC – Pilot Project (2005-2006)

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

A summary of pilot project results with suggestions for further research

Prepared by the ERICarts Institute

for the LabforCulture

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Objectives of the MEAC Pilot Research Project

2. Focusing Research and Designing a Strategy

3. Results of Conceptual Analyses: From Migration Studies to the Mobility of Artists and to "Brain-Drain" Issues

- 3.1 Artists Mobility: a Neglected Field of Research
- 3.2 Types of Mobility: from Drains and Gains to Circulation and Short Term Mobility
- 3.3 Causes and Contexts of Individual Mobility: Rational and Less-so Factors
- 3.4 Measuring and Analysing Consequences of Different Types of Mobility
- 3.5 Expanding the Spheres of Losers and Gainers in Mobility Games
- 3.6 Cosmopolitanism, Nomadism, Immigrant Artists and Third Culture Kids: Some Cultural Studies Perspectives and Analyses

4. Interpreting the Results of Case Studies

- 4.1 Case Studies - Initial Empirical Forays into Changing Patterns of Artistic Mobility
- 4.2 Case Studies on the East-West Divide: International Migration/Mobility from Russia and from the CEE Countries from the early 1990s until Today
- 4.3 Case Studies on Receiving Countries and Empirical Illustrations of the North-South Divide

5. Areas Requiring Future Research

- 5.1 Trans-national Mobility in Europe among Art Students, Artists and other Arts-related Professionals
- 5.2 Consequences of Mobility
- 5.3 Trends and Impacts of the Trans-national Flow of Cultural Goods and Artistic Ideas

Bibliography

Appendix 1: Selected Mobility Statistics

Appendix 2: Evaluation Tables with Hypotheses for the 2nd Phase of MEAC

- 1. Types of Trans-national Mobility and their Relative Importance in the European Arts and Culture
- 2. Obstacles, Challenges and Support to Mobile Artists: competition, entry restrictions, career restraints and potential safety net by selected occupational positions

Commissioned Case Studies and Articles (separate files)

- 1. Moscow Round Table "Mobility of Artists in Europe: The Case of Brain-Drain – Brain Gain"
- 2. Regional Case Studies and Articles
 - 2.1 *Mobility Case Studies in Austria*
by Andreas Lehner and Veronika Ratzenböck
 - 2.2 *One-Way Ticket – The Brain Drain and Trans-Border Mobility in the Arts and Culture of the Western Balkans*
by Dimitrije Vujadinovic

- 2.3 *Trends in International Mobility of Finnish Artists*
by Ritva Mitchell
- 2.4 *France and Artistic Mobility*
by Anne-Marie Autissier
- 2.5 *Migrants in Turin*
by Luca Dal Pozzolo
- 2.6 *Artists' Mobility in Poland*
by Dorata Ilczuk
- 2.7 *Artists' Mobility: the Lithuanian Example*
by Viktoras Liutkus
- 2.8 *Industrial, Cultural and Museum Districts*
by Luca Dal Pozzolo

1. Objectives of the MEAC Pilot Research Project

This report condenses the main results of a pilot project carried out by the ERICarts Institute and its research partners¹ in 2005-2006 for the LabforCulture.

The aims of the pilot project were²:

To open a new dynamic, analytical perspective to the study of transnational and transregional mobility of European artists, intellectuals, arts managers and other professionals of the cultural sector.

On conceptual level, to construct a theoretical approach which will help to understand the nature and causes and consequences of the mobility of artists and intellectual assets created by artistic work. The mobility of intellectual assets does not happen only in the "brains" of mobile artists, but also through international production and dissemination of works of art and goods and services of culture industries.

On the empirical level, to explore the movement of individuals as well as cultural goods and services throughout Europe in general and the "new mobility" between Eastern and Western parts of Europe in particular. Statistics, country comparisons and case studies to be used to identify the causes and consequences of mobility. Besides enlightening us about the transformations of mobility processes and structures in the globalising and increasingly information technology-driven world, the results of MEAC I are to identify such statistics and other information as can be used in constructing indicators for monitor different aspects of cultural mobility on an ongoing basis³.

This research reported here was carried out by a group of experts ("Scientific Committee"), whose members focussed on analytical issues, and by a number of research associates of the ERICarts Institute, who were contracted to provide empirical information on international mobility of artists, arts students and cultural workers in their own country or in a broader transnational region, to which their country belonged. The Scientific Committee met three times: in Barcelona in July 2005, in Cologne in October 2005 and in Budapest in April 2006. It also organised a Round Table discussion on Brain Drain-Brain Gain in Moscow in November 2005 as a special session of the Russian Conference on "Human Being, Culture and Society in the Context of Globalisation".

¹ In addition to the core team of the European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research (ERICarts) consisting of Ilkka Heiskanen, Ritva Mitchell, Andreas Wiesand and Danielle Cliche, the following experts participated in this project phase as members of the Scientific Committee, conference organisers or authors of case studies and other papers: Anne-Marie Autissier (Paris); Carla Bodo (Rome); Lluís Bonet (Barcelona); Tatiana Fedorova (Moscow); Dorota Ilczuk (Warsaw); Victoras Luitkus (Vilnius); Ritva Mitchell (Helsinki); Luca dal Pozzolo (Turin); Veronika Ratzenböck (Vienna); Dimitrije Vujadinovic (Belgrade).

² These objectives are slightly different from those of the original research plan; they were modified for the Moscow meeting on Brain Drain-Brain Gain (see Appendix II).

³ The wish for developing such indicators was expressed by the LabforCulture in 2005, along the lines proposed by the European Cultural Foundation (2005).

2. Focusing Research and Designing a Strategy

In its first meeting in Barcelona, the Scientific Committee, after having reviewed different conceptions of artistic mobility, presented a set of critical comments on their validity. According to the Committee, artistic mobility is too often seen as a companion to cultural co-operation, a means to enhance artists' education and career advancement and a policy instrument for increasing cultural diversity and cohesion in Europe. Doubts were also expressed about the applicability of economic models in the analysis of artists' international mobility and about the efficacy of national policy measures and legal frameworks, which are supposed to balance supply and demand of artistic labour force in general and in respect to immigrant artists in particular. On the other hand, too little attention is paid to mobility, which results from the business strategies of the culture industries and the attraction of industrial districts and creative environments. *There was seen a need to take better into account the geopolitical conditions for artistic mobility: the competition between cities, city districts and cultural institutions for being recognized as "centres of excellence" in the provision of art, production facilities and cultural services.* Although conscious cultural policies certainly contribute to the attraction and recognition of these centres, their success results basically from the internal dynamics of the creative work and "mindsets" of artists and other creators.

Much of the Barcelona discussions focussed on the unique nature of artistic creative work and its impact on artists' mobility. It was agreed that special "mindsets" underlie creators' motivation to be mobile. The mobility, especially in the case of aspiring and star artists, is individualistic and aims at finding environments which allow for new experiences and provide knowledge, which are congruent but at the same time challenging from the point of view of the creative aspirations of mobile artists or art students. At the same time, a distinction was made between different motives for artists' mobility. These motives were seen to vary from insecurity and desperation generated by economic and political crisis to search for better job opportunities, new experiences and creative cosmopolitan environments. *Search for new stimuli and cosmopolitanisms were seen as two main characteristics, which separated artistic mobile minds from materially motivated migrants.*

In the second meeting of the Scientific Committee in Cologne, the starting points outlined in Barcelona were reworked. On the basis of preliminary reports, it was decided that members of the Scientific Committee will expand their conceptual analyses and, while doing that, pay special attention to the distinction between migration and mobility and assess the conceptual frameworks and theories of the general migration studies. This was to be done both in respect to supply-side theories explaining the propensity of artists to move/migrate and to demand side theories, explaining the strategies of arts institutions, cultural centres, educational institutions and production organisations searching for creative talents, new stars, and production partners. It was hoped that reviewing the research and assessing these theories would throw light and help to understand the three C's of the artists' mobility: its Contexts, Causes and Consequences.

Parallel to these conceptual analyses, a set of case studies were commissioned to illustrate the effects of the political and economic transformations of the early 1990s on artistic mobility in Europe in general and the new CEE democracies and the core countries of the EU in particular. Special attention was paid to the motives, constraints, intermediation and consequences of the mobility of artists and art students. It was decided at the meeting of Cologne to commission six case studies from ERICarts' research associates. In addition, two members of the Scientific Committee were asked to provide case study material from their countries. Furthermore, it was decided to organise a Round Table on Brain Drain-Brain Gain in Moscow, which was to probe the different phases of the Russian artists' mobility from the early 1990s up today.

It was obvious from the very start that the time limit of the pilot phase did not allow for primary empirical analyses of the flow of cultural products and services. Because UNESCO's

Institute for Statistics had published a rather extensive statistical series (1994-2003) on the world-wide flows cultural goods and services⁴, it was decided that members of the Scientific Committee would analyse these statistics from the broader perspective of the mobility of creative ideas and utilisation of art-based intangible assets. The main research activities in this domain are, however, scheduled to take place during the second phase of the MEAC research programme.

The following outlines the main results of this pilot phase. The next section reviews relevant approaches to migration studies and discusses in which respects they must be expanded and re-focused for the analyses of artistic mobility. It also provides a glimpse on cultural studies on cosmopolitanism, nomadism and migration-induced hybridisation of creative work. The second main section presents some preliminary analyses of the contracted case studies.

3. Results of Conceptual Analyses: From Migration Studies to the Mobility of Artists and to "Brain-Drain" Issues

3.1 Artists Mobility: a Neglected Field of Research

Arts and related production and distribution activities of culture industries are international by their very nature. Yet MEAC researchers were surprised about how few comprehensive studies – both analytical studies and empirical research – have been carried out on international mobility in the arts and cultural sector. This is especially conspicuous as to research on mobility of artists⁵.

One reason for the lack of relevant research is probably the very internationalism of the arts. Artists study, journey, tour and reside abroad and have their works performed, published and exhibited internationally. This all is not, however, considered "mobility", but an essential part of artistic work, which is considered cosmopolitan by nature.

The scarcity of research is obvious when we compare the attention given to the mobility of artists and cultural labour force to that rewarded to science and technology. In the migration and mobility studies, the labour force is usually classified into three groups: highly skilled, medium-skilled and less skilled or unskilled. Scientists and engineers always feature among the examples of highly skilled, while artist and professionals of cultural services and culture industries are seldom even mentioned⁶. The following quotation illustrates, what is most often included in the category of highly skilled:

⁴ UNESCO Institute for Statistics: *International Flow of Selected Cultural Goods and Services, 1994-2003*. UNESCO, Sector for Culture, 2005.

⁵ In recent year the mobility of artists, works of art and heritage has, however, been on the agenda on many international meeting and its was especially underlined among top priorities at the meeting of the European Council on 15 and 16 November 2004 while assessing the half-way results in the implementation of the Lisbon strategy. See also Proposal for a European Parliament and Council decision establishing the 'Culture 2007' programme (2007-13): COM(2004) 469; Bull. 7/8-2004, point 1.3.19

⁶ The traditional classifications are done on the basis of the level of education. Thus e.g. in the EU documents a three-partite classification is often used: those holding a university degree are considered highly skilled, those with upper secondary degree medium-skilled and the rest are lower skilled. This traditional classification is challenged by the proponents of "new economy", who use a different three-partition: "Currently, three types of work are surfacing. Old, industrial-age, permanent, and workplace-bound jobs are increasingly the preserve of low and medium skilled workers - about 80 percent of the workforce in Britain. New, itinerant, ad-hoc, home-based, technology-intensive, brand-orientated, assignment-centred careers characterize another tenth of the workforce. Temporary and contract work - mainly in services - account for the rest. It is a trichotomous landscape which supplanted the homogeneous labour universe of only two decades ago. Nowadays, technologically-literate workers - highly skilled, adaptable, well-educated, and amenable to non-traditional work environments - are sought by employers and rewarded. The low skilled, computer-illiterate, uneducated, and conservative - lag behind", Vaknin, Sam, The Labour Divide VI, The Future of Work, 3, <http://samvak.tripod.com/pp135.html> It is easy to see that artists and cultural labour force do not fit neatly into these categories, and consequently are omitted in overall labour force analyses.

*"International mobility of the highly skilled concerns men and women with a broad range of educational and occupational backgrounds: university students, nurses, information-technology (IT) specialists, researchers, business executives and managers, and intra-company transferees"*⁷.

In the course of the research, one of the *objectives of the MEAC pilot project became the correcting of the bias, which seemed to lead to the neglect of the particular nature of the mobility of artists and artistic products*. This correction could not be done by simply proposing better labour force classifications. It was seen to require better and more detailed conceptualisation of artistic mobility: its main types, causes and consequences.

3.2 Types of Mobility: from Drains and Gains to Circulation and Short Term Mobility

Another bias has prevailed in traditional research as to the type of mobility studied. Most research has focussed on "migration proper", that is, on long-term or "final" mobility of persons, and related "drain" and "gain" between a sending country and the receiving country. In recent years researchers have increasingly taken note of the fact that that brain losses are not always irreversible, but there is often a return flow of emigrants. To a certain extent *this return flow "circulates brains" and is comparable to training abroad*⁸. Many returning emigrants are, after their stay abroad, more skilled and have a higher level of practical knowledge (work experiences, language skills, etc.) and often at higher intellectual capacity (e.g. knowledge of new technologies, production methods, organisational designs and management techniques), which leads to innovation and enhanced economic activity in the return country. On the other hand, *some of the return movers are also losers*, who were not able to succeed and often need relocation and retraining.

The concept of brain circulation has also been expanded to cover *"virtual return" of the emigrants*, that is, the processes of distance communication transmitting the expertise acquired by the emigrated groups and emigrant communities to the country of their origin. Alongside financial remittances, this transmission of experience and knowledge has been the main "gain" resulting from emigration to the country of its origin. In recent years the governments of developing countries have used on-line facilities offered by new communication technologies to avail of the expertise of their emigrants e.g. in stimulating new business and in public large-scale development projects⁹.

The brain circulation has also a further connotation: the emigration from the original to an intermediating country, with an intention to continue migration to a third country. In some cases, the "loser" in this brain circulation is the intermediating country, which might have offered benefits to induce immigration or has been forced to undergo administrative costs in receiving and temporarily settling the transient migrant. In the geopolitics of migration, Israel, the United States and European welfare states have been most popular final destinations for obvious (but also very different) reasons.

The concept of brain circulation leads us to investigate the effects of short-term labour movements and visits abroad. This research interest was already echoed in the above quotation, which lists among the highly skilled mobile groups such professionals as specialists of information technologies, researchers, business executives and managers and

⁷ OECD Policy Brief/9/20/2002, presenting the key findings from the OECD seminar on "International Mobility of Highly Skilled Workers: From Statistical Analysis to Policy Formulation", organised in Paris in June 2001 by the Directorate for Science, Technology and Industry (DSTI) and the Directorate for Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs (DELSA).

⁸ About brain circulation, see e.g. Teferra, Damtew: *Revisiting the Brain Mobility Doctrine in the Information Age*. http://www.uneca.org/eca_resources/conference_reports_and_other_documents/brain_drain/word_documents/teferra.doc

⁹ See e.g. the National Science and Technology Development Agency, Thailand: *The Reverse Brain Drain Project*. http://rbd.nstda.or.th/body_index.html

intra-company transferees. It is obvious that visits of these groups are also a "mobility instrument", which benefits the visited countries – and, at least in some respects, the sending country as well. What these benefits are and how we can measure them will be discussed later.

Analyses of brain circulation, virtual return of emigrants and short term contracts and visits abroad are no doubt more fruitful in the study of the arts and culture than traditional brain drain-brain gain studies. However, theoretical ideas and relevant data can, as the following reviews bear witness, also be retrieved from general migration studies.

3.3 Causes and Contexts of Individual Mobility: Rational and Less-so Factors

In traditional migration studies, mobility has been most prominently analysed within the theoretical framework of "human capital investments"¹⁰. This framework was originally based on the assumption that the prime mover in migration is wage differentials. Potential migrants decide on the basis of rational calculations whether the material gains exceed sufficiently the costs of migration. The geographical and cultural/linguistic distance between home country and potential country of immigration and the probability of becoming employed/unemployed in the receiving country have been included as additional factors in emigration decisions.

Some results of research on human capital investments seem to be valid also in the case of artistic and intellectual mobility. Under stable national and international conditions, the rationality dictates to a large extent the migration of such professionals as players of symphony orchestras; and economic models can be used to explain art students' choice of their schools and universities abroad. Economic rationality is, however, less of a factor in the case of international star artists and aspiring artists looking for an international breakthrough. In the case of the stars, the maintenance and enhancement of international visibility and repute can be more important than material rewards; the aspiring artists in turn tend to take conscious risks more often and prefer moving to countries and places with seemingly lesser material inducement but better chances for cutting a unique artistic profile.

The previous comment suggests a more profound problem in the study of the artists' mobility. In all Western countries the corps of artists is a heterogeneous whole consisting of varied occupational groups having varying motives and preconditions for mobility. The different artistic "instruments" – music, painting, sculpturing, architectural work, written fiction text, audiovisual performance, playing musical instruments/vocal skills – offer different motives and opportunities to mobility. For instance, writers and actors are more bound via language to national culture and also less prone for mobility – or at least to migration. In general, the rational economic theories of migration apply only to artists and cultural professionals, which are not bound in their profession to national language, culture and audiences – and which have not gained stardom or have become overtly cosmopolitan.

The problem with rational economic theories on migration is that they presuppose labour market stability. The only factor with a stint of instability in the econometric models of migration is usually the high level of unemployment in the receiving country, which is considered to be a constraint for migration and mobility. Yet the mass migratory movements – including large scale mobility of artists during the last fifteen years in Europe – have been caused by political instability or conditions of economic deprivation in the countries of emigration. These factors – or, better, the overall contexts of emigration – are usually so obvious that no modelling is needed to assess their relative effects on migration. On the other hand, the econometric models of migration usually take into account the social security benefits and publicly subsidised service systems as factors which make the receiving country potentially attractive. Empirical case studies indicate that these certainly are factors which

¹⁰ For the approach and its application, see Pytlikova, Mariola: *Where did Central- and Eastern-European Emigrants Go and Why*. CIM and Dept. of Economics, Aarhus School of Business, Prismet, May 2005. <<http://www.uchicago.edu/labor/pytlikova.pdf>>

influence also artists' and cultural workers willingness to migrate – although even here they scarcely have lesser effects on the mobility of stars and artists with a cosmopolitan mindset.

A further problem with rational economic theories of migration is the units of observation. The analyses are usually carried out on the basis of national data – that is, countries are compared as to their emigration/immigration frequencies and the resulting economic drains and gains. Less attention has been paid to sub-or transnational units which attract or intermediate the mobility of artists and other creators.

In recent years, designers of cultural institutions and city developers have, however, started to pay special attention to cultural districts, which emerge as the result of private business interests or urban development policies. Much of this research has focussed on the strategies used by cities and regions to attract cultural tourism by creating institutional "brands", cultural districts (conglomerations of e.g. art institutions, theatres, operas and related leisure industries) or such specialised and jointly managed institutional districts as museum districts. These publicly supported and often from top-down created attraction areas provide employment opportunities to cultural experts and professionals in general, and also to a certain extent to highly-skilled immigrants.

In economic analyses, the urban cultural districts are, however, contrasted to the so-called Marshallian districts which cluster production units and enterprises of a given cultural production sector to a common production area and favour co-ordinated and purposeful use of managerial and professional competences and creative talents. In contrast to cultural city districts the Marshallian cultural production districts do not only promote cultural and leisure-time consumption but produce direct economic values by transforming creative ideas through production and distribution processes into value-added chains. The Marshallian cultural production districts, such as Hollywood, attract a wide variety of creators, trained professional and managerial talents from their location country and from abroad. Recent research has started to pay attention to joint use of intangible assets, especially to copyright ownership and intellectual capital, possessed by the production and distribution companies of a given Marshallian district¹¹.

3.4 Measuring and Analysing Consequences of Different Types of Mobility

Empirical analyses of emigration-immigration and brain drain-brain have usually relied on labour force statistics, where the losses and gains are measured as "heads" of emigrants and immigrants and their "brains" as the level of education. Consequently, as indicated above, analyses on brain drain-brain gain have focussed by and large on the mobility of medium- and highly-skilled groups and gains and losses are calculated in term of forgone and saved investments in education. In contrast, the emigration and immigration of low-skilled groups are analysed in terms of their all-over labour market effects, e.g. satisfying a demand for menial or straightening a skewed population structure. Unskilled immigrants are also seen as lowering the average level of education and as potential sources of social, cultural and political problems.

Lately, economists have expanded the study on the consequences of migration in two directions. Firstly, instead of "counting heads" and gained or foregone educational costs, they have started to pay attention to effects of short term mobility; and secondly they have linked the study of the consequences to gains in intellectual capital and intangible assets¹².

Short term mobility and "brain circulation" are seen to have, in addition to "embodied effects", gains/losses of trained manpower, also so-called "disembodied effects". The latter

¹¹ For a more detailed analysis of Marshallian districts, see the paper "Industrial, cultural and museum districts" written by Luca Dal Pozzolo, member of the MEAC Scientific Committee.

¹² For this approach and its application, see e.g. Tani, Massimiliano: "Head-content or Headcount? Short-term Skilled Labour Movements as a Source of Growth", in: IZA DP No. 1934. <<http://ideas.repec.org/p/iza/izadps/dp1934.html>>

term pertains to the enhancement of stock of knowledge resulting from such transnational encounters as short term visits of experts/consultants, legal experts, business associates and representatives of trade organisations. Some pilot studies have shown that even here, like in brain circulation in general, we are not dealing with *symmetric* relation. Both the sending country and the receiving country gain, because the transaction activates and broadens the application range of the transmitted knowledge. One can also say that short-term visits do not provide knowledge to be "extracted" by the receiver, but make the involved intellectual capital to "create" new intangible assets for both partners. In other terms, the intellectual capital, which is "brought in" by the two partners becomes refined and its capacity as a generator of intangible asset is increased¹³.

The problem is that there is no unequivocal definition of means of measuring such concepts as intellectual capital of mobile persons, that is, *their level of trained capacity plus their ability to use this capacity in new encounters and problematic situations, and the amount of intangible assets these persons are expected to produce jointly with new encountered partners*. This has turned out to be difficult in the case of mobile scientists and it is even more difficult in the case of artists and such art related professions as curators or art managers. ERICarts has encountered these problems of studying creativity and intangible assets and managed to solve them satisfactorily in the case of cultural projects¹⁴. The purpose is to try and solve them in MEAC in respect to the effects of mobility and different forms of brain circulation on the distribution of creativity and accumulation of intangible assets.

3.5 Expanding the Spheres of Losers and Gainers in Mobility Games

As already indicated above, traditional economic interpretations of migration use the nation-state as a unit of analysis in order to determine those which are the "losers" or the "winners" in the migration game. Political and economic analysis of migration has expanded the sphere of losers and winners to cover transitional regions, where such disintegrated, politically unstable and economically deprived regions as the states of ex-Soviet Unions or the Balkans are seen as losers and such receiving countries as Israel, the U.S and core countries of the EU are seen as winners. The wins and losses are measured as educational costs or gains, or rise or fall of the educational level in the origin and receiving countries/regions of migration.

Little theoretical attention has been paid to migrants as losers or winners, and scarcely any on the personal wins and losses of mobile artists and creators. Most research has been carried out from the points of view of integration, inclusion/exclusion, freedom of expression, cultural autonomy and cultural diversity. An even more problematic issue is how to measure the impact of mobility on the ability of artists to contribute to the stock of intangible assets of culture industrial companies or to cultural heritage of their old and new patriae and how and to what extent they are compensated for these contributions¹⁵.

¹³ See e.g. Daum, Juergen: "Value drivers 'intangible assets' and 'intellectual capital': implications for the reporting, management and corporate governance practice – report from a workshop in Copenhagen with experts from Sweden", Denmark and Germany. <http://www.juergendaum.com/news/03_16_2003>

¹⁴ In a nutshell, the conclusions of the report "Creative Europe" state that: "Creative ideas and innovations are not only one-time resources for artistic and cultural production. Through the activities of intermediaries and production processes they become established as integral parts of the collective stock of intangible assets which, within the framework of copyright legislation, is being 're-used' and even 're-created' by other artists, by managers of cultural production or distribution organisations and, in the longer term, by the 'creative public' at large. Thus creative ideas and innovations gradually turns into the heritages of a society, which help to link present interpretations of events and expressions with the past and render people elements to construct their identity. With the advent of new digital technologies the importance – and also the economic value – of this stock has immensely increased". For MEAC, we can add to the second sentence "mobile artists" and "art manager" and replace in the third sentence the word "society" with larger trans-national collectivities, including "mankind".

¹⁵ Of course it is even more difficult to measure the impact of mobility on the more comprehensive stocks of intangible assets. What were e.g. the effects of Joseph Conrad's literary works on the European or world stock of intangible assets? Would there have been any without early forced emigration from Polish Ukraine to Marseilles and via British Navy finally to England?

The conclusions of the ERICarts report on "Creative Europe" underline the enhanced importance of intangible assets generated by artistic creativity. These conclusions, however, also present an implicit question, who possesses the stock (or stocks) of these intangible assets and who can economically avail of them to gain material benefits. Technically, and from the point of view of the creators, the use is regulated by international copyright regimes and national and transnational agreements and legislation. This does not, however, solve the problem of the collective value of these stocks: how they are maintained, made generally available, and used to enhance cultural diversity and people's understanding of their lives and mutual relations. In that sense they are intangible assets of mankind as a whole. However, the ways the owners of these stocks use them for economic purposes may increase or decrease their collective value.

How does this issue relate to the research theme of MEAC? We can illustrate this connection with a brief interpretation of the recent UNESCO statistics on international flow of selected cultural goods and services.

In simple terms, the comparative statistics indicate first that the US is still a leading country in the production and world-wide distribution of cultural goods; and secondly, that developing countries are making inroads also into cultural production and international trade of cultural products. Europe, as a continent, had the advantage only in two trade areas: the collected copyright compensations and the sales of original works of arts. This seems to point out an interesting unbalance: Europe has creators and intangible assets, other continents are more capable to use them – their own and the European assets – for economic profits. The performance management movement has pointed out this problem, as the following brief summary of its recent symposium bears witness¹⁶;

"An interesting aspect that came out during the presentations and discussions was the difference between the view and approach of the American and European participants. One of the American participants phrased it like this: 'Europeans tend to regard intellectual capital as assets. In North America we regard it more as part of the P&L (profit and loss sheets, the goal being the generation of revenues) than of the balance sheet. The focus of Europeans is more on the value creation process. The focus of North Americans is more on value extraction (creating performance from existing assets). As a consequence, the Europeans are placing much more emphasis on the difference between value, which they regard as something subjective (use value / subjective value) and between price (fair value: common basis for paying willingness) than the Americans. Americans tend to not differentiate between the two and/or try to express everything in monetary values'

JC Spenser (an American) concluded for the development of management systems: '... there seems to be a conflict between multifunctional / -dimensional interest (Europe) and unidimensional interest (U.S). But in order to evaluate the field and the development of modern management systems, we have to abandon unidimensional concepts''.

Not much needs to be added to these quotes and conclusions. Europe would have a cutting edge in artistic creation, if it only could keep its creators "at home" and enhance the management of the intangible assets its artists have and still are creating.

3.6 Cosmopolitanism, Nomadism, Immigrant Artists and Third Culture Kids: Some Cultural Studies Perspectives and Analyses

The conceptualisations presented above have linked artist's mobility to migration studies and economic and cultural value-formation. The need to clarify the special logic, which may

¹⁶ Juergen Daum's Best Practice Service, "Trend Report – January 15, 2006" on the Second International PMA Intellectual Capital Symposium held in New York City, USA, 15-16 December 2005. http://www.juergendaum.com/news/01_15_2006.htm

underlie the mobility of star artist and aspiring artists, have been only referred to. Similar effects of mobility on the careers of migrant artists have been discussed only from the point of view of financial and legal restraints and personal benefits and costs. The problems of their social and cultural integration and their potential role as producers of hybrid forms of art have so far been passed. The MEAC Scientific Committee discussed these problems and decided to have a closer look at the relevant research. The following provides a summary of their results.

Humanistic studies of arts and artists have traditionally analysed artists' motivation and dilemmas of artistic work from an existential point of view: what does "being an artist" actually mean? Along the lines of Thomas Mann's literary reflections, artists have been usually seen in humanistic studies as "spiritually gifted persons exiled from life, but longing to share its passions". This is also seen as a source of artists' cosmopolitanism and nomadism, detachment and continuous search.

During last two decades post-modern cultural studies and sociological and political (IR) analyses of globalism have shifted research conceptually to more concrete sociological direction. Cosmopolitanism is perceived as a state of societies and collectivities, which, willy-nilly, have become increasingly transnationally interdependent. Under global conditions, having a cosmopolitan mindset means intellectual orientation, which is realistic, but at the same time accepts more or less critically this state of affairs¹⁷. The idea of nomadism as tribally institutionalised and psychologically ingrained life-styles has also been replaced by the more concrete ideas of artists as "citizen of a global world" and aesthetic globetrotters. Braidotti has expressed this in clear but still in rather abstract terms¹⁸:

"The nomad's relationship to the earth is one of transitory attachment and cyclical frequentation..."

The ideas of "global cosmopolitanism" can be conceptually linked with the rationalist explanations of star artists' mobility; the "new" global nomadism can be seen as a denial of materially-motivated mobility – but alternatively also as a higher level variant of cultural tourism. It is, however, difficult to see, or at least to empirically study, how cosmopolitanism and nomadism – either in their tradition or more contemporary guises – do correlate with artistic creativity, productivity and excellence.

Research on multiculturalism has produced a vast literature on immigrants and their integration in their new patria. Many studies also deal with the border entrance problems and other mobility restraints of those who are mobile; as well as problems of receiving equal treatment on par with artists of receiving countries. Case studies and dispersed information on successes and failures of immigrant workers are frequent but statistical information and more comprehensive and comparative studies cannot be found. Associations of immigrant arts and individual artists have apparently presented well-grounded criticism on the reception of immigrant and hybrid arts in the Western art world:

"...We are allowed to perform our stylized "difference" with an obvious understanding of Western "sophistication," and current art trends. Only the mildly ethnic sophisticates are allowed. Certain "Third World" art products are seasonally fashionable so long as they pass the quality control tests imposed by the centres. But our temporary inclusion is always in their terms. They've got the key and they point at the door we should use to enter. And then they tell us when to leave. We only comply with their expectations. The new Third World, "minority" or "outsider" artist is expected to perform trans-cultural sophistication; to perform unpredictable eclecticism and cool hybridity. If we perform well, we are in...for a short while. Soon we will be replaced by another seasonal other,

¹⁷ See Beck, Ulrich: *Cosmopolitan Vision*. Polity Press, 2005, especially pages 47-49, 85-96 and 175—177; see also Szerszynski, Bronislaw and John Urry *Visuality: "Mobility and the Cosmopolitan: Inhabiting the World from a far"*, in: *The British Journal of Sociology Volume 57*. March 2006.

¹⁸ Braidotti, Rosi: *Cyberfeminism with a Difference*. 25, 1994.
http://www.let.ruu.nl/womens_studies/rosi/cyberfem.htm,

*by another designer primitive. There is always a long line of willing others in the maquiladora of "international art". It's a never-ending ritual, a revolving door..."*¹⁹.

In contrast, there are also reports of successes of immigrant artists. The following assessments are interesting, because they give an account of artistic (this time literary) success of migrant artist/writers, and, not only that, but also successes of second and third generation immigrants, in opening new creative vistas in Germany, a core country of European cultural/literary life²⁰:

"Leading more of a shadow existence prior to 1985, over the last two decades the migrant literature scene has developed widely varying poetic concepts and in turn enriched and internationalised German literature. Today, migrant writers are counted among the popular and widely read representatives of German-language literature. Feridun Zaimoglu, SAID, Rafik Schami, Terezia Mora, Herta Müller and Zsuzsa Bánk, to name but a few..."

...According to literary research that focuses not only on Germany, migrant literature is 'not just a trans-national, but also a post-national discourse' (Klaus Schenk)...

...The significance of the 'minority literature' genre, as it was increasingly called after 1985, quickly grew, not only thanks to the works of Emine Sevgi Özdamar. The writers, several of whom had been forced to flee their home countries in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe for political reasons, gained increasing acknowledgment even before the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989/1990. The Central European discourse at that time was enriched by works that employed new and highly complex linguistic and stylistic devices, some of which hailed back to pre-World War II days, for instance by Ota Filip, Libuše Moníková, Zsuzsanna Gahse, György Dalos, Herta Müller and Richard Wagner. Writers from Asia, Africa and Latin America, among them the Persian lyricist Cyrus Atabay, a German resident since the 1950s, and the Hamburg-based Japanese writer Yoko Tawada, received public attention, as did - post 1990 - foreign authors resident in the GDR, for instance the Mongolian Galsan Chinag, an ethnic Tuvan, and the Syrian writer Adel Karasholi. ...

*..... The emergence of writers from the second or third generation of immigrants who attempt to liberate themselves from the 'conflict between inclusion and alienation' (Karl Esselborn) evidently signals an absorption of migrant literature in the German literary genre. Writers such as Zafer Şenocak, José F.A. Oliver and Zehra Çirak prefer to be assigned neither to the foreign nor to the German camp. Feridun Zaimoglu's *Kanak Sprak* supplied a new buzzword for an entire generation of urban German-Turkish adolescents. The writer perceives himself quite naturally as a literary representative of a post-colonial, hybrid culture. Writers born after 1970 with a non-German cultural background have created an exceptionally wide range of intercultural forms of expression. Traditional images of migration in the narrow sense, employed for instance in the works of Kazakh-born writer Eleonora Hummel (*1970) or the Dalmatian-born Marica Bodrožić (*1973), are today just one of the many possible contributions to contemporary migrant literature".*

These quotations bear witness to the need to study in the context of artists' mobility studies more extensively the formation of immigrant intellectual communities and the effects of these communities on the diversification and hybridisation of artistic creation.

There is an even broader cultural issue involved in the analyses of the second and third generations of immigrant communities. In recent years, studies have been carried out on the TCKs – "the third culture kids"²¹. These are children of parents, who have, for various

¹⁹ Gómez-Peña, Guillermo, Pocha dialogues: *A conversation between Argentine curator Gabriela Salgado and Post-Mexican performance artist*. 7th draft in progress as of May 12th 2006.

²⁰ Hübne, Klaus: *An Unmistakable Intercultural Diversity: Migrant Literature in Germany*. Goethe Institute, <http://www.goethe.de/kue/lit/thm/en1053001.htm>

²¹ See Pollock, David C, and Ruth E. Van Reke: *Third Culture Kids. The Experience of Growing Up Among Worlds*. Intercultural Press, 2001.

reasons, left the country of their "first culture" and moved to a country of a "second culture" These studies argued, and also to certain extent even provided evidence, that their children develop unique emotional traits and live in "third" intellectual worlds.

It goes without saying that the cultural studies on the effects of migration and changing material and intellectual environment offer an interesting palette of information. So far, it has turned out difficult to locate all this information into one tableau with the ideas derived from the research results of more "technocratic" mobility studies.

4. Interpreting the Results of Case Studies

4.1 Case Studies - Initial Empirical Forays into Changing Patterns of Artistic Mobility

The MEAC case studies probe transformations of the European patterns of artistic mobility during the last decade and a half and link them to general patterns of migration and brain drain/brain gain in Europe.

The case studies reflect mainly the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet Empire and subsequent "liberation" of the art world in Russia and the CEE countries. The fall also initiated strong flows of East-West emigration, and the economic problems of the state-controlled institutions withdrew the CEE artists into these flows and altered radically their earlier restricted and state-controlled pattern of mobility. The case studies provide but random information about the changing patterns of South-North mobility, where waves of globalisation have multiplied the post-colonial immigration flows from the poverty- and violence-ridden countries of the South. Similarly they provide only some glimpsing sights to new flows of artistic mobility from rising economic power-houses of Asia and Latin America.

Migration and brain drain/brain gain studies assume asymmetry between countries of emigration and immigration: migration is seen as peoples striving to move physically from bad conditions to better. In turn, mobility in general and artistic and intellectual mobility in particular perceives mobile people more as messengers between the different conditions of work. Although motivated by personal aspirations, mobile people transmit knowledge, expertise and experiences between their starting "base" and their various destinations of their mobility. Because the focus of the cases studies is mainly on the aftermath mobility of the 1989 turn, they, however, look at mobility (including potential "home return") as a search for better material conditions. This focus also divides cases studies into two: four of the studies look at mobility from the point of view of "sending countries", and four from the point of view of "receiving countries" The Moscow Round Table is considered a single case study, and the two case studies deal with transnational regions; the Nordic countries and the Western Balkans. There are two case studies from Italy as a receiving country, but one of them is so closely linked to Russian artists' migration that it is reviewed in this context.

With their main focus on East-West issues, the case studies provide only snapshots of the European situation as a whole. It was e.g. deemed quite impossible to cover within the time limits of the pilot project the complex immigration situations in the two main receiving countries, Germany and Great-Britain. On the other hand, some cases studies and the background statistics used in their interpretations provide some preliminary information about the attraction of these countries to artist-immigrants.

All in all, the purpose was not to make generalisations but to find empirical substance to support conceptualisation by the MEAC Scientific Committee – and also focussed information to reveal potential gaps and neglected problems in its analyses. Consequently, the Committee did not wish to define in strict terms, how the case studies were to be focussed; even loose hypotheses might have prevented the case study writers from observing freely the complex realities.

It should be underlined that the interpretation of case studies was done, not only in respect to ex ante conceptualisations, but also in the light of available statistics and empirical research results. Some selected statistics on European East-West migration patterns in general and in the arts' mobility in particular are presented in Appendix I.

The following review starts with the analyses of the case studies which focus on mobility from the point of view of "sending countries" along the East-West divide. The picture is then contrasted to information on the orientations and policies of the receiving countries.

4.2 Case Studies on the East-West Divide: International Migration/Mobility from Russia and from the CEE Countries from the early 1990s until Today

4.2.1 *The Case of Russia*

Table 1 in Appendix 1 give as a rather detailed picture of the emigration from Russia in 1992-1993. The total labour force loss (adult population) was in these two years close to 127 000, out of which somewhat more than 2 000 had worked as an artist and/or employee of the cultural sector. There is no overall statistics for a longer period of time, but Table 2 provides us with information about emigration from the CIS countries to Israel in the years 1989-2004. Using the ratios of Table 1, one can estimate that during that time period, Russia lost to Israel about 1 500, and the other CIS countries about 2 500 artists and cultural workers; and the total losses to all immigration countries were about 4 000 and 7000 respectively. Thus, all in all, the countries of ex-Soviet Union lost 11 000 artists and cultural workers to the receiving countries of Table 2. The fate of Russian artists among the new 25 million diaspora Russians generated by the dissolution of the Soviet Union is another story, which would need a research project of its own.

The statistics indicate that the flows ebbed already in 1991, reached a stable low level in the beginning of the 21st century. Besides exhaustion of labour force resources and improvement of the level of living and employment opportunities, there have been government policies favouring "brain circulation", that is studying and short term stays abroad. The policies promoting return have included grants to study abroad, special project funding and job guarantees for return mobility. They have been mainly targeted to research and development and university sectors; artists and cultural sector have not been specially targeted.

The Moscow Round Table confirmed the above statistical overall development. The experts agreed that the losses of emigration to the Russian Federation were in 1989-2004; in terms of human capital value calculation, at least some 8-10 billion dollars. These were just rough estimates and it was agreed that it would be rather difficult to present any corresponding calculations in the case of the artistic labour force because of varying education costs.

The Russian experts of the Moscow Round Table presented in detail the problems which had ensued since the early 1990s in the mobility of Russian artists. They took up three policy issues. First, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the collective agency systems controlling the mobility of individual arts and art companies lost their role. The responsibility of organizing visits and mobility procedures fell upon artists and companies themselves, or upon their agents and hosts in the receiving country. Although this increased degrees of freedom and nominal economic rewards, it also put an end to quality control and decreased security in contract negotiations. Artists – especially singers and soloists – aspire now, while still too young and immature, to obtain visiting appointments and contracts, and this lowers the quality and reputation of Russian artists, which traditionally has been high.

Secondly, there are not sufficient grants for young artists to go abroad or a safety net if they fail to make themselves known abroad. Thirdly, the visa policy is also problematic; the periods of validity are too short and renewing a visa is troublesome and expensive. A special visa provision should be designed for artists and cultural workers with the possibility for longer uninterrupted stays abroad.

The intellectual gains and losses of mobility were also discussed in the Moscow Round Table. On the one hand, it was pointed out that the Russians have always also gained through intellectual mobility. It has provided possibilities to present Russian art abroad and to test its quality; and visits of foreign artists have had invigorating effects on cultural life, cultural production and festivals in Russia. On the other hand, it was also pointed out that "brain circulation" might have had negative consequences. As such were mentioned, the break with the great national tradition, cultural disorientations and crises of artistic identity, homogenisation of production programmes and styles and increased commercialization. An opinion was expressed that e.g. in theatre sector the drastic increase of mobility in Russian theatre sector has not so far stimulated such a deepening of Russian theatre art as would maintain a proper balance between intellectual gains and losses.

Some of these problems of Russian brain circulations were confirmed by the Italian case study presenting an analysis of the reception of Russian immigrants and visiting musicians in Italy.

There has been a steady flow of Russian musicians to Italy, especially since 1989. This flow contains three types of mobility: short period visits of singers and soloists for special music occasions and performances, transient migration of musicians and composers on the road to a third country and "real" immigrants who expect to find a permanent position in an orchestra or as a music teacher in conservatory. Taxation is a problem for the first group, because in the worst case, they are considered employees of their host institution and withhold 44 per cent for tax and social security payments. On the other hand, if an artist can provide evidence that they are employed or self-employed in another, they can be paid net on a fee basis without local tax and social security deductions. Visiting companies are supposed to pay 30 per cent tax, but there is a tax relief, if the performances are for publicly subsidized festivals or institutions. The problem is that foreign artists, especially if they come from countries which are not EU members, have problems of understanding and legitimizing their position. Due to immigration legislation and also pressures from artists' unions, visas for longer stays and contracts for more stable employment are difficult to obtain. Often a marriage with an Italian citizen may prove to be the only way to settle down and live in Italy. Thus artists, especially musicians, can be mobile to and via Italy, but find it difficult to immigrate into 'Fortress Italy'.

4.2.2 The Case of the Western Balkans

Comparisons of the Russian mobility situation with those of the other CEE countries were started in the Moscow meeting. It was e.g. pointed out that the absolute losses in terms of emigrants were problematic. The numbers of emigrants should be related to the size of population. The loss of 400 artists and cultural workers in Serbia would be a catastrophe, while it wouldn't be really significant in Russia. It has been calculated that the loss of creative potential through migration from Serbia in years 1990-2000 amounts to several billion dollars.

The case study on the mobility situation in the Western Balkan countries (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Serbia-Montenegro) expanded these comparative analyses. In contrast to Russia, the pressures to migrate still prevail. A survey addressed to young people indicate that that they were especially dissatisfied with the living standards and limited future opportunities and 70-75 per cent are willing to move abroad. The same future drain seemed to threaten Montenegro, Macedonia and Albania, where more than half of the younger generation did not see any future for them in their own country. Surveys targeted to a selected sample of art students gave similar results.

The restraints to emigration and mobility and the failures in settlement to receiving country were about the same as in the case of Russia. The survey respondents gave the following list of main problems:

- visa restrictions;
- lack of financial support;
- lack of information on conditions of work in the receiving country;
- conservative, often nationalistic cultural policies of the home and/or receiving country; and
- lack of openness in EU states towards artists from the Balkan region.

On the other hand, the study presented the cases of successful artistic careers abroad and also cases where artists had returned back after a successful break-through. The musicians seemed to have succeeded best abroad and also remain there; film-makers like Kusturica, Paskaljevic and Tanovic have returned back to produce films in the Balkans. Another renowned film maker expressed her optimism in Balkan creativity in the following statement:

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 of 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.

4.2.3 The Case of Lithuania and Poland

The other two CEE case studies provided information on international mobility in Lithuania and Poland. Table 3 in Appendix 1 provides some statistics on Polish and Lithuanian emigration to the EU countries and North America. Still, in 2000, Germany and the U.S plus Canada were the main target countries. The situation after 2000 has, however, changed the picture provided by Table 3. Since May 2004, EU-accession of the two countries, strong emigration flows turned to the U.K and Ireland. It has been estimated that at present there are more than 100 000 emigrants both from Poland and Lithuania in the U.K.

In any case, the problems of artistic migration were perceived in Poland and Lithuania very much in the same manner as in the Western Balkans. Yet the diagnostics for the present and future development were more positive. Cultural co-operation with the core countries of the EU was seen to evolve well, especially after the countries had gained membership. Lithuania has had, since its liberation, special relations to the Nordic countries, which are maintained through joint projects, stable and institutionalised networks and festivals in the Baltic Sea Region. Both Poland and Lithuania have also gradually become gateways to the West for artists of other CEE countries which are not EU members. There is also a "salary chain", where Polish and Lithuanian artists move to better positions in the core EU countries and Switzerland and their posts are filled with artists from the non-EU countries.

Classical music and film (in the case of Poland) and classical music and visual arts (in the case of Lithuania) had been avant-garde in enhancing international/European mobility. In the case of Poland, the Lodz Film School has attracted students from the core EU countries and Lithuania has found "a receiving centre" (Cite Internationale des Arts) for Lithuanian artists in Paris. Lithuanian visual artists have also activated the London Embassy of Lithuania to start presenting the works of a new generation of Lithuanian artists to galleries and London audiences.

In their conclusion, both case studies emphasized the positive effects of mobility to artistic creativity. In the Lithuanian study, this is condensed in the following statement by a Lithuania-born American artist:

"Contemporary period of our life is the period of professionalism, aspiration and competition ... You must be the best in New York; you have a chance, have to do, what is impossible. Nothing analogous in Lithuania.... Depression spans you due lack of ideas, impressions.... People, who have economic power in Lithuania, don't allow others to get it. Artists, therefore, like many others, have been forced to emigrate."

In the conclusions of the Polish study a similarly positive statement is made, however, from a totally different perspective by a female film maker, who has moved to work in Germany:

"I have a free lancer status which is as if having a company of my own. In Poland I have to register and pay social security fees, in Germany artists have a special security system, Künstlersozialkasse, which gives artists health and pension insurance. As to income, in Germany you can easily live for several months on earnings from one single commission and work on your own projects...."

4.3 Case Studies on Receiving Countries and Empirical Illustrations of the North-South Divide

As already indicated, the case studies of the receiving countries cover a rather narrow scale: the Nordic countries (with focus mainly on Finland), Austria, France and Italy. The first Italian case study was already presented above in the context of Russian immigration; the second presented below is the only one providing information of the mobility along South-North divide.

4.3.1 *The Nordic Countries: Internal and External Mobility*

The rationale for the Nordic case study was to analyse the characteristics of the orderly manner one would expect the international exchange and mobility to be organised in small social welfare countries.

As Table 4 of Appendix 1 indicates, the flows of immigrants to the Nordic Four steadily increased up until 2003. Since then the growth has stagnated or turned into decline in other countries except in Finland, where the foreign population is still relatively small. The stagnation/decline is probably due to stricter immigration policies, which assumedly have had an impact also on artistic mobility. There is, however, no information on immigrant artists.

"Orderly mobility" is reflected especially in the mobility between the Nordic countries: there are joint institutions and organisation for cultural co-operation and exchange and related "mobile activities" like tours, exhibitions, festivals etc. It is typical to the Nordic mentality that after the liberation of the Baltic States, they were integrated by the Nordic countries into the same type of mobility patterns within the wider ramifications of the Baltic Sea Region. These patterns are maintained with well-institutionalised networks, which also function as a kind of security network for mobile artists. From the point of view of individual artists, the joint Nordic and national nodal points of these networks (training centres, orchestras, operas, art museums artists' residences, exhibition opportunities, etc.) function in their careers as hubs leading to more important international arenas and greater international visibility. This is especially the case in the field of classical music.

The above interpretations, which in the Nordic case study reflect the expected stable patterns of mobility, neglect three realities which appear incidentally in the case study information.

Firstly, the on-going transformations of the Nordic welfare state have led to an assessment of old financial and institutional arrangements and structural reforms. These are, at present, taking place in the system of Nordic cultural co-operation: stable official institutional structures are dissolved and activities are conducted more on a case to case level (i.e. mainly project-based). The effects of these changes on artistic mobility can only be guessed.

Secondly, the Nordic countries provide cultural services to immigrants and provide also earmarked support to migrant artists. From the perspective of overall artistic mobility, the Nordic countries have not been able to solve the important issues of providing social security (unemployment and pension insurance) for creative artists and independent free lancers. This is, of course, a national problem, but the lack of such comprehensive systems as the German *Künstlersozialkasse* or the French *intermittent* system makes longer stays of foreign artists in the Nordic countries problematic.

Thirdly, there are commercial ties and patterns of mobility which also deserve due consideration. They appear on three levels. The three major Nordic media companies compete for market shares in the Nordic, Baltic and CEE-countries in all main fields of the culture industries. This produces "brain circulation" between the Nordic countries, although more on managerial levels and less on the level of artistic activities.

On the other hand, the pan-European cultural and media policies have generated new ties and patterns of mobility on the level of actual production processes. The effects on mobility of the EU Media Programme and other forms of support for the European film industry can be detected in the changes which in recent years have taken place in the Nordic orientations to international co-productions. More research would be needed to assess the pros and cons of these effects from the point of view of mobility and enhanced creativity which it is assumed to promote.

Furthermore, the Nordic case study presents the Finnish statistics on international transfers of copyright compensations. This data reminds us of the importance of these compensations, not only from economic point of view, but also as measures of the international "use value" of intangible assets produced by artistic and cultural activities.

4.3.2 *The Case of France*

Already some of the "sending country" cases studies have pointed out challenges which are faced by the countries carrying the main brunt of artistic immigration and new mobility expectations. This was also explicitly done by the first Italian case study, which outlined in detail the problems faced by the immigrant Russian musicians, wishing to stay in Italy or "hub" through Italy to their desired final destination.

Similar problems as in Italy appear also in France, despite the fact that France (or better: Paris) has been considered traditionally one of the "final destinations" of mobile artists and even hospitable as such. The case study enumerates at least the following:

1. The *intermittents* system, which has guaranteed unemployment benefits for artists after a certain period of employment has been made stricter as to its employment period clauses;
2. The visa requirements and their enforcement have become tighter after the Schengen Agreement and, especially, after the September 11th 2001. This is reflected in the denial of giving "carte de sejour" for persons from "problematic countries", shortened visa periods for art students and special entrance problems to artists from Tunisia and Algeria.
3. As to artists coming from countries with which France does not have a bilateral cultural exchange programme, the barriers can be mounted on both sides; the sending and receiving.
4. The taxation of foreign artists has also become stricter. For instance, the residence benefits and all free accommodations can be treated as taxable remunerations. In the game between visiting artists and tax authorities the former can also play tricks. They e.g. can ask the salaries to be paid as copyright compensation or special royalties, which gives tax relief both in France and in home country.

These barriers and problems are often selective. Artists having an international reputation and/or gathering large audiences can avoid them and be in general respected and treated well; the opposite is more often than not the case with newcomers.

According to the study, all these problems have made foreign artists to adopt the attitude: "take all the short term advantages you can and run". France is also now less considered by the foreign artists as their "second home country". Artists come increasingly to France to get visibility and more powerful presence in their own country.

The study also identifies problems in the outward mobility of French artists. The stricter rules can hinder also French artists receiving benefits, because this can be interpreted to mean an interruption in the continuous time period of work, which is the prerequisite for receiving unemployment benefits.

French artists, especially in dance and theatre, are no more "preferred products" abroad. They are considered in Europe, especially in the UK, Germany and the EEC countries, "...too academic, old-fashioned, language-driven and boring" – and also too expensive because of the *intermittents* system and high social security payments. The case seems to be the same with French visual artists, who are mainly driven by home market success. All in all, some French artists, especially visual artists, wish to go abroad and even outside the circle of artistic core countries. The same tends to happen in the case of theatre and dance only if special powerful unions such as the AFAA, impose artists to do that.

Mobility of an individual artist is, of course, not the only form of mobility. E.g. in the field of audiovisual production, especially in film production, other forms of mobility are more important. Although French actors, actresses and film directors are still in demand abroad, especially in the U.S., the film and TV programme productions are facing a new policy problem. In simple terms, films and TV series are shot abroad, in locations where costs are lower than in France. One reason is that the remunerations paid to film stars and actors and actresses of TV series are high according to European standards. Tax relief has been used to reverse the de-location problem. As they stipulate that only French-language moves and French co-productions can be beneficiaries; this relief has been deemed to be against the free market legislation of the European Union.

All in all, the French case study gives an ambivalent picture of the French artists' mobility situation in respect to free and mutually benefiting international exchange. Other case studies indicate that France is not alone in this boat; the problems presented in the French case study seem to be more of a rule than exception in core receiving countries.

The French case study provides, however, two cases in the French mobility scene, which reflect distinctly positive developments.

First, there is the "Fond Sud", which supports the documentary film makers, mainly unknown directors, from Africa, Asia and Latin America. This, and the traditional forms of financing (from NCN) and international co-productions, maintains the international reputation of France as a leading country and a main sponsor of European film production and cinema culture.

The second positive case concerns the leadership of national art institutions. It is uncustomary that any foreigner would be appointed as a chief executive of a French national art institute. This, however happened in 2004, as a Belgian, Gérard Mortier, labeled as a member of "intelligentsia culturelle internationale" was appointed the General Manager of the Paris Opera.

4.3.3 The Case of Austria

The Austrian case study has three sub-cases.

The first of these deals with the flux – or should one say a flood – of foreign student into Austrian institutions of higher music education. This case opens an interesting perspective to global mobility.

The roots of the development are traced back to the transformations of the Austrian university level education from humanistic learning into professional knowledge production since the late 1980s. These transformations made Austrian universities able to face the changes brought forth by the EU membership and the migration and student flows after the liberation of the CEE-countries. All these different trends, together with increasing international competition and new stringency in public financing lead in 2001 to the installing of a tuition system, with a term fee, which at present is 363 euros for Austrian and EU students and doubly that (726 euros) for foreign students.

The tuition system was not installed to limit the number of foreign students and it certainly did not do that. According to statistics the number of foreign students increased in 1992-2003 by 10 860 students. In the terms of 2003/2004, their total number was already 32 837. The

most recent flux is due to the increased number of Asian students, but also the number of students from the CEE countries has increased irrespective of the tuitions fee.

The number of foreign students in the six Austrian art universities has been exceptionally high. Thus, the share of foreign students in all Austrian universities was 16.0%, in polytechnics 4.4% and in arts universities 40.3%.

The Nordic case study provides some comparable information about the Finnish situation. Thus, in 2003, there were 4 427 foreign students in Finnish universities and institutions of higher education. An increasing number (1 200 degree students in 2003) of these students come from Asian countries actually already more than from other Nordic countries (402 degree students in 2003). Of all degree students in four art universities 256 were foreigners; their share was 7.1%. The discrepancy between Austria and Finland indicates how important the "brand" as a core location of artistic creativity is for European countries and cities.

The two Austrian music universities, the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna and the Mozarteum University in Salzburg, contribute considerably to the attraction of foreign students. The number of foreign students in the former was 1 346, or 42.6%; in Mozarteum their number was 1 404 and the share record high 56,0%. In Mozarteum, the programme for instrument players saw a share of 75% foreign students. The writers of the case study underlined that Austrian students can no more compete with the highly pre-trained Asian and CEE applicants in the entrance examination to the music universities. As the living and study costs in Vienna are lower than Japan and most developed Asian countries, the shares of foreign students may even get higher in the near future. This, of course, does not forebode good for Austrian students who dream of becoming world stars in classical music.

Vienna has also traditionally been a centre for internationally renowned professionals in architecture. The possibility of native students to continue this tradition is, however, constrained by the professional certification practices and annual compulsory membership fee of the Chamber of Austrian Architects. The professional certification is granted only after the university degree is obtained, a three year apprenticeship under highly professional guidance is accomplished, and a "test" examination is passed, where examiners are representatives of relevant interests groups. The total cost to the applicant is somewhat more than 2 000 euros. The full annual membership fee, which gives the architect full rights to professional practice, is at present set within the range of 4 480 - 4 675 euros. This means that only Austrian and foreign architects, who manage to quickly become high earners, can practice their metier in Austria. This has made many Austrian aspiring architects "mobile", that is, made them migrate to such countries as the Netherlands, where entering the professional register costs 59 euros and an annual union fee is 50 euros. For the sake of fairness, it should be added that the Austrian fee includes pension insurance. In any case, this Austrian sub-case reminds us of the fact that the unions have a central role in shaping artistic migration and mobility flows.

The third Austrian case offers a further example of how unemployment and pension arrangements shape the attractiveness of countries in the traffic of international mobility. We have already seen that the German and French systems (*Künstlersozialkasse* and the *intermittents* system) have been recognised by foreign artists as sources of important financial inducements and that the lack of this attraction probably lowers artists' choice of the Nordic countries. In the case of Austria, it is the new complementary pension system established by KSVF (Artists' Social Insurance Fund) in 2001. The insurance premiums and the related insurance fees were tied to taxable income of the insured. The insured were not informed about the taxable income clauses, and this finally led to back-pay demands by the KSVF to about 600 artists. Among these were artists who had received tax-free grants or won a considerable (financial) prize.

These last two Austrian sub-cases underline the fact that mobility is not a result of artists' creative desires or free choice of the best labour markets. It is to a great extent an issue of cultural policy and even in the broad sense of the term, including the policies of trade unions

and social insurance companies – and sometimes even latent policies designed jointly by the two.

4.3.4 *The Case of Italy*

The second Italian case study will be reviewed here in great detail, because it opens, in contrast to other case studies, a totally different line of analyses. Instead of focusing on the mobility and migration problems of "official" artists, it starts with the internal "cultural" relations within the migrant communities and locates "their own" professional artists in the different nexuses of occupational, artistic and cultural activities. These kinds of analyses address wider issues of inclusion/exclusion which in recent years have been painfully felt in most European countries.

This Italian study reports on interviews conducted with 44 immigrant artists to Italy and the Turin region (including "ex"- and wish-to-be artists). The interviewees came from seven regions or countries: Arabic countries (8 from Morocco, 2 from Iraq, 1 from Jordan, and 1 from Algeria), Rumania (8), South America (6 from Peru, 2 from Colombia), Africa (2 from Ivory Coast, 1 from Senegal, 1 from Somalia) China (3) and ex-Yugoslavia (2).

Tables 6 and 7 of Appendix I make the composition of the sample and the interview results easier to understand. Table 7 indicates that the main flux of immigrants to Italy come from the CEE countries and from North Africa. From Table 6 we see that the "little Morocco" in Europe, with immigrants from three generations, is dispersed in the main European receiving countries, which are also core cultural and artistic countries. On the other hand, one can speculate to what extent immigrants from Romania, Albania and the Ukraine form coherent communities in Italy or any other destination country. Yet, no doubt, the artistic interests and motivations – or their fading – among the interviewees were rather similar.

The motives and the choice of the target country by all these immigrants were very much what could expect:

- the search for better conditions of life, because the social or political conditions of their country did not allow them to live on their works of art;
- the search for better working conditions, i. e. a wider or better audience, or better economics prospects (possibilities of better profits not only from art but also, if necessary, coming from another work, so that art could become just a spare time activity);
- family rejoining, i. e. joining a partner who had already migrated, for many reasons, or was born in another country and wants/has to go back.

The reasons to choose Italy were:

- ease of access, because of neighbouring location (as for Albania) or because of advantageous legal or administrative stipulations (as in the case of migrants from Romania);
- it can be a "classic" destination for people coming from some regions (as from Peru, Maghreb), and this explains why some national groups settled down in Turin are made up of people coming from a precise region or even from a single city;
- Italy is known as the "cradle of art" and people say they always had the idea of visiting it.

And the reasons to choose Turin were:

- the presence of a "link", as relatives or friends already settled down in this town;
- the origin of a partner.

The following summarises *what happened to the artistic plans and careers* of the interviewees:

1. Some left their country when they had already set up an artistic career, more or less successfully and they moved with the precise plan to carry it on. For them, moving meant just "changing the place" but not the activity and they just looked for a country giving them more chances for their career, financial benefits, or personal satisfaction.
2. Some left their country with the plan to become artists in Italy or internationally; that is, to study or advance their career. After the first hard period, with problems linked to settling down, they found their way and really attained their aim.
3. Some, who had been artists in their country of origin, left with the aim to improve their economic conditions, considering changing the occupation and letting the art be just a leisure time activity. At the time of the interviews some had a different occupation, usually a manual one, and the art has become a free time activity.
4. Some became artists after migrating. Sometimes this meant re-discovering the cultural heritage and traditions of the native country. Their work has contributed to establishing folk and traditional groups of performing arts in the Turin region. Some also had acquired some artistic or related skills before migrating (in photographing, painting...) but had never applied them to artistic activity. In Italy they had started to do that in order to communicate with their new environment and in order to express themselves, their origins and their fate as migrants.
5. Some had entered the field of "inter-cultural mediators", an activity that none had obviously even thought of before migrating. This is an activity which has much to do with culture, but above all answers to the practical needs of fellow-migrants trying to be included in a new society. This presupposed helping fellow migrants in their most pressing problems, before the need arose for their own more specific cultural needs.

During these different phases of career development, the interviewees had developed "uses" for art in their new internal world of immigration. The following condenses two functions art and artist had in this sense in migrant communities:

Some interviewees talked a lot about their past in the home country. These memories expressed rewarding experiences and successes in opposition to present life which was described for many reasons as "not encouraging" or "deceiving" (but never "frustrating"). Besides this "imaginary consolation" offered by the past, these respondents also presented practical problems justifying their present position: differences in cultural management, lacking spaces and opportunities for unknown artists, different role of managers of art galleries compared to other countries, and so forth. In their expectations they were not always concerned with their artistic career, but discussed e.g. opportunities to teach or possibilities to transfer their experiences and know-how to other countries. Some complained that their educational qualifications were not always recognized in other countries, which hindered their progress.

Some of the interviewees were known in their communities as "the professor" or "the artist". This reflected two things. Sometimes these persons were used as interlocutors in respect to authorities and administrative agencies, as leaders who helped to clarify problems. The other function was that of the figure head of the community. Even if these persons might not be recognised as important artists or intellectuals they were picked up and made into characters, who the community could be "proud of". The different kinds of associations of immigrants mirror these two different "leadership practices". For example, Peruvian associations are generally made up of people who work together in order to attain a precise aim, while, in other migrant groups, especially among the Arabian migrants, the associations are strictly linked to a single person and often identified with him/her.

The interviews also revealed an interesting distinction which seemed to prevail in the migrant communities between "production of art" and "re-production of tradition". This distinction appears in two ways:

There are two audiences for these productions. Production events are either strictly linked to a national community or to "mixed" audiences. As to making these events known, the communication for art is "official", while more traditional productions is done in an alternative manner, through word of mouth, flyers, broadcasting for migrant communities, etc.

These two types of audiences reflect the division of migrants into two groups who speak about different problems and needs:

- those who have made themselves known as artists consider positively the city, its cultural system, opportunities for a career and business and especially the problems they may have with taxation;
- those who have not been able to make themselves known as artists find faults: they complain that managers of art galleries have no interest in unknown artists, find it difficult to get spaces for exhibitions and events, and say the media show no interest for their activities. These are seen as reasons why "parallel" events have no audience success.

It was difficult to find a simple link between this dual division and geographical origin of migrants. It seemed that some national communities provided a wider offer of traditional productions as if they had a stronger need to maintain nostalgic links to the country of their origin (e.g. to Peru, Maghreb, both with religious connotations), while other migrant groups seemed more inclined to restrict these inclinations to their private life.

5. Areas Requiring Future Research

The purpose of the MEAC pilot project was to map the main current problems on the causes and consequences of trans-national mobility in the European arts and culture and to design a research plan for a more extensive comparative European study. Indeed, the results of this pilot project painted a veil of the areas requiring future mobility research, including the collection of mobility and trade statistics, analyses of legislation and organisational changes and interviews with artists and intermediating professionals (cf. Appendix 2, Table A). The typologies of motives, strategies, consequences and entry restrictions and career restraints developed in this pilot study can be used in the gathering, analysing and interpreting of future research (cf. Appendix 2, Table B).

The pilot project focused mainly on East-West relations and the effects of the Eastern political and economic transformations and the problems of Western core countries in receiving and utilising effectively the creative impacts and trained capacities of migrant and mobile artists. Any future research should analyse the longer term effects of these developments and the subsequent flows of migration in Europe in order to understand the changes which are taking place in the geopolitics of culture: in the size and productivity of national and regional creative labour forces and in the importance of established loci of cultural metropolises, creative environments, etc. This is, of course, the tenor underlying the following list of three areas for future study in the MEAC context.

Below is a clustering of issues for further study. It is not expected that they could all be carried out within one individual research plan or framework due to organisational, methodological and financial reasons.

5.1 Trans-national Mobility in Europe: Students, Artists and other Arts-related Professionals

The purpose would be to systematically map and analyse the practice and causes of trans-national mobility in Europe among art students, artists and other arts-related professionals, e.g. intermediators or "gatekeepers", paying special attention to the changing directions of the mobility flows and assessing the progress and setbacks in intra-European and, increasingly, global movements.

Possible sub-projects or activities would be to:

5.1.1 *Further Systematise Concepts and Indicators*

There is a need to *balance or synthesize the prevailing different approaches* of analyses of the determinants (causes) of migration and artists' mobility. In particular, the *relationship between artists' mobility, nomadism, and cosmopolitan mind-sets* requires further conceptual clarification and additional empirical research. Economic models commonly used to explain migration trends contribute only to a limited extent to analyses of artists' mobility, what seems to be more important is the attractiveness of established loci and new "hot spots" of culture (cultural metropolises, creative environments). An important distinction is that between the migration and mobility of the "rank and file" of the corps of artists and the strategies of "star artists" or "risk taking" cosmopolitans. As well, analyses of the long term effects of the political and economic upheavals and subsequent flows of migration in or into Europe are needed.

5.1.2 *Systematise and Enlarge the Data Collection*

For methodological reasons, it is recommended that data collections on the mobility of artists and arts-professionals go beyond the traditional national frameworks or comparisons. One of the challenges, as illustrated in Appendix I, is to have access to data which addresses the migration/mobility of artists; there is quite a lot of data available for other professional fields such as scientists or technology experts. Those found for this pilot study, were based more on good luck than the availability of data which monitors the patterns of mobility over a specific period of time. Therefore, it is recommended that data is collected to determine the effects of the enlargement of the European Union between 1995 and 2007. In addition, a more coherent mapping is needed which organises the data according "receiving countries/regions/institutions" and "sending countries/regions/institutions". In the ensuing analyses of student mobility, data collections are to be expanded to cover the recruitment of non-European entrants by European arts universities and analyses of their post-graduation careers.

5.1.3 *Evaluate Careers and Identify Gate-keepers*

Although the MEAC case studies provided a considerable amount of information about cases, where mobility has given a start or a boost to successful artistic careers, there is not sufficient empirical research to build *career profiles for artists in general and in different branches of art*. In gathering such data and carrying out related empirical research, attention should be given to *the role of culture industries and the media*, international criticism and international agencies.

5.1.4 *Investigate Social Barriers to Mobility*

The case studies identified a lot of *restraints and barriers to artistic migration and mobility*. Although the problems have been identified and recognized as such, a lot of research is still needed in these problem areas. Some political barriers (like those caused by the Schengen Agreement) are impossible to remove, but the case studies also identified administrative and economic restraints, which can be mitigated or obliterated. The present situation does not treat artists of all countries and of different levels of recognition equally. As the foreign student statistics bear witness to, there may be also biases in the admission of those in a privileged position; based on family income and wealth. Similar biases can be caused by the actions of artists unions.

5.1.5 *Study Artistic Careers in "Diaspora Communities"*

Following the approach of the Turin case study, additional evidence should be collected on the development of artistic careers of those belonging to *diaspora communities* in order to determine how they have developed or not in the different contexts of occupational, artistic and cultural activities. As well, motives to opt for a permanent residence abroad need further empirical research. Such research could refer to the influence of local models and concepts of "integration" and of the gate-keepers responsible for enabling or not opportunities to continue their artistic work.

5.2 Consequences of Mobility

The purpose would be to build upon the collection of cases studies and on the results of research conferences in order to further illustrate and evaluate the consequences of mobility on artistic careers, including those of migrants belonging to diaspora communities; on strategies and investments in sending or receiving countries; and on nomadic or virtual brain circulation.

During an expert meeting, organised by the European Cultural Foundation and the Roberto Cimetta Fund on the 28th September 2006 in Amsterdam, some basic research questions and results of the first phase of MEAC were presented by A. J. Wiesand. The Report of the meeting²² reflects on this presentation and the debate it provoked, pointing to the need for studying not only the facts and expected benefits of cultural and artistic mobility, but also to ambiguous or potentially negative effects it could produce. As well, the report addresses questions similar to those discussed at the first planning meeting of the MEAC group of researchers (Barcelona 2005), including

Does mobility really contribute to cohesion? (e.g. one-way flows of people and products);

Does mobility really contribute to intercultural dialogue and understanding? Does mobility really help people to open their eyes? (e.g. social and cultural conflicts caused by mobility);

Does mobility make one vulnerable in trans-national markets? (e.g. loss of educational "investments" made in the home country or reduced funding opportunities and social security benefits);

Is the harmonisation of legislation we are striving for, in fact, more restrictive than open? (e.g. the "Bologna Process" with its standardisation tendencies).

The report of the Amsterdam meeting concludes:

*"Mobility is a fact, an individual aspiration and a basic right." On the other hand, "mobility does not per se mean 'cooperation'. It is a pre-requisite for cultural cooperation, but not a synonym."*²³

An empirical assessment of the consequences of mobility in the European arts and culture is difficult to achieve. However, as the collection of case studies for the MEAC pilot project demonstrates, qualitative information or individual experiences are also valuable, in that respect. For example, they can show that the consequences for artists will be different depending on the countries they come from or migrate to, on political and legal frameworks, on the actions of local artists unions, on social and economic barriers, or on majority/minority formations.

Therefore, it is recommended that further cases studies be pursued on a range of themes, including but not limited to:

5.2.1 "Hypermobility" Trends and their Consequences for the "Creative Sector"

Following recent debates²⁴ on the social *consequences of "hypermobile societies"*, this trend and its specific implications for the "creative sector" should further elaborated. This could include studies of programmes and policies in leading arts institutions and possible standardisation tendencies.

5.2.2 Consequences of Brain Drain – Brain Gain – Brain Circulation across Countries and Continents

The "final" emigration of artists and artistic potential has certainly brain drain-brain gain effects, which can be assessed economically in terms of loses/gains of e.g.

²² by Hanneloes Weeda, see <http://www.eurocult.org/uploads/docs/421.pdf>

²³ Ibid. A similar position has also been taken 2005 in the conceptual framework paper of the ERICarts Institute for the LabforCulture project, see http://www.labforculture.org/en/about_us/background

²⁴ According to John Adams (University College, London), in his 2006 lecture at the Felix Meritis, Amsterdam ("Hypermobility: a challenge to governance"), in *hypermobile societies*, "traditional geographical communities have been replaced by 'communities of interest', which are not tied to a particular location. We spend much of our time in such communities, physically in the midst of strangers, celebrating and advertising the blessings of mobility." In his view, this trend runs contrary to sustainable development: "Not only is it a highly polluting society, but there are also many adverse social implications, society may become more anonymous and less convivial, more crime-ridden and less culturally diverse."

educational expenditures from sending/receiving countries. Empirical evidence of the – not necessarily economic – effects of other forms of artistic mobility, such as short term visits, guest performances, company tours which could be termed as *artists' nomadic "brain circulation"* is more difficult to find or to compare. The latter has potentially greater effects on the levels of creativity and artistic development both in the sending and receiving countries. For example: economists have identified so-called positive "disembodied" effects, which are produced by frequent short expert visits both in the sending and receiving country. In the arts sectors, these effects are usually more visible and tangible than e.g. in the case of the visits and brain circulation of economic, business and technology experts. Case studies are to be undertaken to demonstrate e.g. the changes in artistic orientations, styles and in the programmes of cultural and art institutions.

5.2.3 *Consequences of the European Harmonisation of Higher Arts Education*

One of the main political goals of the "Bologna Process" has been to enable students to move freely between different countries and training institutions. While the effects of this process are rarely questioned in fields such as economics or technical subjects, art and music academies often tell different stories. Among the problems mentioned are standardisation tendencies in the content of training and difficulties in adjusting the Bologna methodology to specific work and experimentation environments in the artistic domain. The investigation should collect additional evidence, which could then be debated in an international conference.

5.2.4 *Generational Changes and Artistic Achievements in Immigrant Communities*

Additional case studies, some of them even success stories, could provide information on the cultural orientations and artistic achievements of the second and third generations of immigrants. Existing linguistic research should be integrated in an effort to systematise the findings. From that, new evidence on the maintenance of original and the formation of new hybrid cultures and artistic forms could be expected.

5.3 Trends and Impacts of the Trans-national Flow of Cultural Goods and Artistic Ideas

The purpose would be to expand the research both analytically and empirically in order to make it possible to assess the trends and impacts of the trans-national flow of cultural goods and artistic ideas. Possible sub-themes include:

5.3.1 *Trends and Effects of the Trans-national Flow of "Intangible Assets"*

The pilot study recommends that the conceptual framework for studying mobility include empirical analyses of the ownership, distribution and use of "intangible assets" generated by creative artistic work. This means that a future study on the causes and consequences of artists' migration and mobility should also map the trans-national flow or trade of cultural goods and its *effects on cultural diversity*. Reaching beyond *short-term economic effects*, the focus should be on *a) the growth of the European stock of arts-generated intangible assets and on b) the competitive edge of European culture industries in the global trade arena*. In this context, a "Marshallian district approach" emphasising the geographical clustering of complementary production units can be applied to identify the formation of creative trans-border environments which attract not only persons, but also the production of intangible assets. Again, from this point of view, "mobility promoters" also include regions, cities, co-production networks and business firms.

5.3.2 *Artistic Responses to Globalising "Creative Industries"*

Some genuine artistic strategies and concepts which address or (try to) "infiltrate" globalising art markets and technology-driven "creative industries" have gained influence, in recent years. Case studies could be developed or evaluated in an effort to assess the role of such approaches in defining or synthesizing the future artistic environment. Such cases could, for example, be the global "Anthology of Art" project of Jochen Gerz²⁵ or the trans-national work of the MARCEL network²⁶ in the domain of media art.

²⁵ cf. <http://www.anthology-of-art.net>

²⁶ MARCEL is an umbrella organisation of like-minded artists, scientists and institutions interested in exchange and collaboration operating over a permanent broadband interactive network dedicated to artistic, educational and cultural experimentation, exchange between art and science and collaboration between art and industry: <http://www.mmmarcel.org>.

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Appendix 1

Table 1: Emigration of adult persons of labour force from Russia in 1992 -1993 by sector and destination country

Kohde- maat	Sector of employment*								Share of arts & culture %
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	<i>Total all sectors</i>	Industry	Primary industry	Services	R&D, educatio n	Health & welfare	Art and culture	Other	
<i>All count- ries</i>	<i>Grand total</i>								
1992	58 730	16 164	8 763	4 623	4 572	4 110	1 053	19 472	1.8
1993	67 775	19 668	9 813	4 765	5 876	4 180	1 135	22 341	1.7
<i>To Eastern Europe total:</i>									
1992	454	78	30	37	31	13	16	276	3.5
1993	355	67	3	17	38	30	9	231	2.5
<i>To Germany total</i>									
1992	34 202	10 610	8 455	2 854	2 765	2 245	479	6 793	1.4
1993	43 457	13 866	9 358	3 162	3 536	2 508	542	10 485	1.3
<i>To Israel: total</i>									
1992	13 972	3 355	171	1 217	1 163	1 299	392	6 375	2.8
1993	12 635	3 408	297	1 069	1 116	902	270	5 573	2.1
<i>To U.S. total</i>									
1992	7 964	1 569	82	341	477	445	138	4 912	1.7
1993	9 076	1 804	88	393	939	589	270	4 993	3.0
<i>To Greece total</i>									
1992	848	357	18	107	43	65	6	252	0.7
1993	743	258	49	61	74	58	7	286	0.9
<i>To Australia total</i>									
1992	514	83	2	21	50	17	9	332	1.8
1993	335	59	0	12	48	28	6	182	1.8

Source: Strepetova, Margareta, "The Brain Drain in Russia", *Institute for World Economy, Hungarian Academy of Science, Working Papers, No. 55*, Budapest, 1995

- 1) *Industrial production: energy, technology, transport, communication, logistics, construction;*
- 2) *Primary industry: agriculture, forestry, mining,*
- 3) *Service industries. trade, insurance, public services, managerial functions, local administration;*
- 4) *Research, development, education;*
- 5) *Health, welfare, sports and physical culture;*
- 6) *Art, culture*
- 7) *Other*

Table 2: Emigration from Russia to Israel in 1989-2004: all age groups

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total	
Russia	3 281	45 552	47 276	24 796	23 082	24 612	15 707	16 488	15 290	14 454	31 104	18 758	10 871	6 540	4 835	3 982	306 588	
Belarus	1 121	23 356	16 006	3 279	2 265	2 906	4 219	4 381	3 369	2 258	2 692	2 692	2003	974	691	515	72 589	
Baltic region	648	7 381	3 122	1 265	1 767	1 168	954	1 147	1 006	681	579	790	668	369	168	117	21 828	
Ukraine	3 575	68 936	39 786	13 149	12 833	22 733	23 556	23 447	24 106	20083	23 231	20 321	14 082	6 640	3 659	3 056	313 385	
Moldova	1 470	11 926	15 452	4 305	2 173	1 907	2 407	1 953	1 396	1 194	1 346	1 774	958	538	356	343	49 498	
Georgia	263	1 346	1 407	2 595	3 750	3 295	2 275	1 493	1 107	944	1 050	858	751	513	358	273	22 278	
Armenia	10	162	108	132	387	370	114	97	82	125	121	126	101	80	34	34	2 083	
Azerbaijan	468	7 833	5676	2 625	3 133	2 285	3 090	2 627	1 876	1 134	1 240	854	614	475	387	297	34 612	
Kyrgyzstan	73	892	672	250	449	447	367	347	203	214	247	472	274	219	115	52	5 293	
Turkmenistan	3	33	0	79	54	59	369	465	400	279	246	193	157	110	105	72	2 614	
Kazakhstan	67	1 913	998	475	536	699	2 736	2 033	12 350	1948	1 660	1 757	992	664	437	410	19 265	
Tajikistan	202	2 389	2 796	2 286	1 681	413	456	317	138	97	72	47	48	30	15	11	10 837	
Uzbekistan	1 544	20 726	14 271	5 533	8 471	6 510	6 172	3 410	1 695	2 399	2 858	2 276	2 040	1 368	1 051	957	82 271	
Not definable	..	3 315	448	4 340	5 664	676	2 437	943	609	222	202	30	40	25	2	12	18 856	
..							2										Grand total:	961 997

Source: Statistical Office of Israel

Table 3: The annual average emigration flows in 1989-2000 from selected CEE countries to their main destinations in Western Europe and North America*

	Germany	Austria	U.S.	Canada	Switzerland	Italy	Spain	France	Greece	Nordic countries
Poland	110 279	4 416	17 194	6 720	..	3 673	..	1 530	..	..
Hungary	18 290	2 219	1 102	644	.383	..	..	..	..	..
Czech R.	12 163	1 388	570	450	342	..	..	..	..	..
Slovakia	7 827	1 756	555	273	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bulgaria	11 605	632	1 987	693	..	..	2 168	..	1 588	....
Romania	42 593	..	5 563	3 240	..	10 185	8 618	..	..	..
Estonia	1 230	..	166	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 730
Latvia	2 182	..	406	77	..	..	..	..	..	350
Lithuania	2 652	..	574	..	..	..	2 283	..	..	373
Total	198 821									

* Diaspora mobility between Czech Republic and Slovakia and from Slovakia and Romania to Hungary excluded

Source: Pytlikova, Mariola: "Where Did Central and Eastern European Emigrants go and Why?" a paper delivered in the SOLE/ELE seminar in June 2005, <http://client.norc.org/jole/SOLEweb/2005Program.htm>

Table 4: 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

Table 5: 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

Table 6: Evolution of Moroccan Migrant Stocks in Selected Countries in Western Europe (Registered Population, Regardless of Nationality, Including Second and Third Generations)

Year	France	Netherlands	Belgium	Germany	Spain	Italy	Total
1968	84,000	13,000	21,000	18,000	1,000	NA	137,000
1972	218,000	28,000	25,000	15,000	5,000	NA	291,000
1975	260,000	33,000	66,000	26,000	9,000	NA	394,000
1982	431,000	93,000	110,000	43,000	26,000	1,000	704,000
1990	653,000	184,000	138,000	62,000	59,000	78,000	1,174,000
1998	728,000	242,000	155,000	98,000	200,000	195,000	1,618,000
2005	1,025,000 (2002)	316,000	214,000 (2002)	73,000 (2004)	397,000	253,000 (2004)	2,278,000

Source: de Haas, Hein, "Morocco: From Emigration Country to Africa's Migration Passage to Europe", <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=339>, June 2005

Table 7: Legal Foreigners in Italy

	Resident permits (RP)		Applications for regularisation (AR)		Total (RP + AR)	
	Number (thousands)	%	Number (thousands)	%	Number (thousands)	%
<i>Total</i>	1448.4	100.0	700.0	100.0	2148.4	100.0
<i>Areas of citizenship</i>						
European Union	140.1	9.7	0.2	0.0	140.3	6.5
Other developed countries	79.0	5.5	0.9	0.1	79.9	3.7
Eastern Europe	432.3	29.8	412.4	58.9	844.7	39.3
Northern Africa	266.9	18.4	85.7	12.2	352.6	16.4
Rest of Africa	135.0	9.3	34.2	4.9	169.2	7.9
Asia	271.5	18.7	94.6	13.5	366.1	17.0
Latin America	123.1	8.5	72.2	10.3	195.3	9.1
<i>Main countries of citizenship</i>						
Romania	83.0	5.7	143.0	20.4	226.0	10.5
Morocco	167.9	11.6	53.7	7.7	221.6	10.3
Albania	159.3	11.0	54.1	7.7	213.4	9.9
Ukraine	12.6	0.9	106.6	15.2	119.2	5.5
China	62.1	4.3	35.6	5.1	97.7	4.5
Philippines	67.7	4.7	11.8	1.7	79.5	3.7

Appendix 2

TABLE 1: Types of trans-national mobility and their relative importance in the European arts and culture.

Partly based on the results of evaluations carried out in the first phase of MEAC, the marks (X-XXX) in the following table cells hypothesize on the importance of "trans-nationalism" for occupational groups, organisations, products and services in different domains and sub-domains. Values in the table refer to an average Western society and vary under different national, regional and local conditions. They could also be conceived to measure the antonym of "national" and "domestic". The shaded cells were targeted in the evaluation of empirical research, or considered problematic from a policy point of view, during the first phase of the MEAC project

A: Importance of trans-national mobility for artists and art-related occupations in different domains of the arts and culture

Domains and sub-domains:	MOBILITY OF INDIVIDUALS, GROUPS, COMMUNITIES						
	Artists	Students, deans of students, teachers, mentors	Managers, producers, publishers, curators, consultants	Intermediators: agents, recruiters critics, art dealers	Cultural diplomats, officials and institutes abroad	Amateur artists, cultural tourists, connoisseurs	Artists & cultural leaders of immigrant communities
VISUAL ARTS							
Painting, sculpture, lithography	XX	XXX	XX	XXX	XXX	XX	X
Photography	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	X	X
Design/architecture	XXX	XXX	XX	XX	XX	X	X
Media arts	XXX	XXX	XX	XX	X	XX	X
MUSIC, THEATRE, DANCE							
Music composition (classic)	XX	XXX	X	XXX	XX	XX	X
Live music	XX	XXX	XXX	XX	XXX	XX	XXX
Dance	XXX	XXX	XXX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Opera, music theatre	XXX	XXX	XX	XXX	XX	XX	X
Drama theatre	XX	X	XX	XX	X	X	X
Multidisciplinary, festival, events	XXX	XX	XXX	XXX	XX	XX	XX
LITERATURE, CULTURAL PRESS							
Authorship	XX	X	XX	XX	XX	X	X
Cultural journalism	XXX	XX	XX	XXX	XXX	X	X
Publishing	XX	XX	XX	XXX	XX	XX	X
AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIA							
Cinema	XX	XXX	XXX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Radio	X	X	X	X	X		XX
Television	XX	XX	XX	XX	X	X	XX
Video, (DVD)	XXX	XX	X(XX)	XX(X)	X	X	X

Sound recording	XX	XX	XX	XX	X	X	X
Multimedia, Internet,	XX	XX	XX	X	X	XX	XXX
CULTURAL HERITAGE							
Art collections	XX	X	XX	XX	XX	XX	X
Art museums, archives	X	X	XX	XX	X	XXX	X
Archaeological sites, monuments	X	XX	X	X	X	XX	XX

B: Importance of trans-national trade of works of art, other cultural goods and services (including transfers of capital/ownership, intangibles and the flow of other culture related items) in different domains of the arts and culture

Domains and sub-domains:	TRADE & EXCHANGE OF CULTURAL GOODS AND SERVICES			FINANCIAL AND PROPERTY TRANSFERS			OTHER TRANS-NATIONAL FLOWS	
	Art market products and services	Products of culture industries and related services	Live productions, events (e.g. festivals), exhibitions	Investments, business ownerships, stocks	Intellectual property rights	Art heritage items, antiques	Ideas, innovations, knowledge, R&D	Competitions, prizes
VISUAL ARTS								
Painting, sculpture, lithography	XXX	X	XXX	X	XXX	XX	XXX	XXX
Photography	XXX	XXX	XXX	XX	XXX	X	XXX	XX
Design, architecture	XX	XXX	XX	XX	XXX	X	XXX	X
Media arts	XXX	XX	XXX	X	XXX	X	XXX	XX
PERFORMING ARTS								
Classical/contemporary music	-	XXX	XXX	X	XXX	na	XXX	XXX
Popular music	-	XXX	XXX	XX	XXX	na	XXX	XX
Dance	-	X	XXX	X	XXX	na	XXX	XXX
Opera, music theatre	X	X	XXX	XXX	XXX	na	XXX	XX
Dramatic theatre	X	X	XXX	XX	XX	na	XXX	XX
Multidisciplinary	XX	XX	XX	X	XX	X	XXX	XX
PRINTED MEDIA								
Books, plays, notes	XXX	XXX	X	XXX	XXX	XX	XXX	XX
Arts/cultural journals	XX	XXX	XX	XX	XX	X	XX	X
AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIA								
Cinema	X	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	X	XXX	XXX
Radio	-	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	na	XX	XXX
Television	na	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	X	XXX	XXX
Video, (DVD)	XX	XXX	XX	XX(X)	XXX	na	XX	XX
Sound recordings	-	XXX	X	XXX	XXX	na	XXX	X
Multimedia, Internet,	XX	XX	X	XXX	XXX	na	XX	X
CULTURAL HERITAGE								
Art collections, art galleries	XXX	X	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	X	XXX
Art museums, archives	XX	X	XXX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XXX
Archaeological sites, monuments	X	X	X	X	X	XX	XX	X

Table 2: Obstacles, Challenges and Support to Mobile Artists: competition, entry restrictions, career restraints and potential safety net by selected occupational positions

NB: The following are results of evaluations and hypotheses gained during the first phase of the MEAC project (to be tested in Phase 2)

Competition, entry restrictions, career restraints and safety nets	After-entry positions aspired/gained by the mobile person							
	Study place at recognised art schools/universities	Free creative artist depending on art galleries and art markets	Employed artistic staff in performing arts institution (e.g. orchestra)	Engagement in performing arts troupes (theatre, dance etc.)	Professional position in cultural services (e.g. art museums)	Professional positions in culture industries; (selected markets)	Arts related jobs e.g. as music/art teacher	Sole trader/entrepreneur
Level of competition for recognised artists/cultural professionals		High	High/medium (depending on location/status)	Medium	High	High	-	-
Level of competitions for accredited mainstream positions	-	-	Medium	High	High	-	High	-
Pre-entry immigration restrains	Medium	Medium	High	Medium	Medium	Medium	-	-
Post-entry restraints to career access/progress and benefits regarding:								
- accreditation	High or medium	Medium or low	Medium or low	Medium or low	High	-	Medium or low	-
- professional (union) acceptance	-	Low	High	Medium or low	High	Low	Medium	-
- wages (discrimination), glass ceilings	-	Low	Often high	Medium	Low	Low	High	-
- social security	-	High	Low (in permanent position)	Low (in permanent position)	Low (in permanent position)	Low (in big companies)	High	High
Safety nets in sending country?	Often, as grants/scholarships	Sometimes (e.g. exhibition support)	Sometimes (e.g. formalised exchanges)	No	No	No	No	No
Safety nets in receiving country ?	In exchange programmes	No	Sometimes (unions)	Sometimes (networks)	No	Sometimes (unions)	Sometimes (unions)	Sometimes (trade bodies)