EXPRESSIONS OF 'VENTURE LABOR': WORK AND THE BURDEN OF RISK IN ARTISTIC CAREERS IN BUDAPEST

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Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Public Policy

In partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Arts in Public Policy

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Budapest, Hungary

2015

Author's Declaration

I, the undersigned **Emma Enikő Ferencz** hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

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Date: 10 June 2015

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Abstract

The paper analyses the work of young, experienced arts and design graduates in Hungary, in order to identify the characteristics of creative labor in the cultural and creative industries in Budapest. Based on participant observation and semi-structured interviews I trace how they design their careers by framing the risks of an artistic career in and out of a full-time artist job.

Despite the growing amount of research on creative labor in other countries such as the US, Australia, the UK and several Western countries, the topic is barely researched in Hungary. This work aims to explore the field for a future comprehensive research by doing a qualitative analysis on visual artists' adaptation strategies in finding ways to reconcile their art work with participating in the labor market. Research findings in turn might inform cultural and creative policy formulation in Hungary.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I offer my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Gina Sue Neff for the continuous support of my MA study and research, for her motivation, enthusiasm knowledge and perfect guidance allowing me the room to work in my own way. I could not have imagined having a better advisor for my study.

Besides my advisor, I would like to thank to DPP Faculty Members' Vera Šćepanović, Sara Svensson, and our Teaching Assistant, Daniela Crăciun for discussing my ideas several times and for their encouragement, great questions and insightful comments.

My sincere thanks also goes to Ágnes Tóth, my academic writing instructor, for reading and commenting tirelessly and with real intellectual engagaement the endless number of drafts I produced.

I also would like to thank to my entire family, especially to Dávid Adamkó, Kathrin Both and Andreas Juhász for their unconditional love and support during this academic journey.

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List of Abbreviations

CCI	Cultural and Creative Industries
GCI	Global Creativity Index
MKE	Hungarian Acadamy of Art
MOME	Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design

INTRODUCTION

A few decades ago most of economists and policy experts would have agreed that culture is one of the few sectors which are in lack of any distinctive form of competitive behavior, thus not posing distinctive problems for public policy (Caves 2002). Policy changes of the last two decades across Europe reflect a change in perspective, which is indicated by the shift on the EU level cultural policy discourse from the approach to culture as a value on its own to culture as a value in economic terms: as a public good subsidized by the state to a notion of culture as production, defining it as a tool contributing to economic growth (Bruell 2013).

Several European countries, such as the United Kingdom and the Nordic countries have already integrated the latter 'growth' model into their cultural policies. The United Kingdom was one of the first active proponents of the economic framing of cultural policy. The Labor Government headed by Tony Blair identified the creative industries as "constituting a large and growing component of the UK economy, employing 1.4 million people and generating an estimated £60 billion a year in economic value added, or about 5 per cent of total UK national income" (Flew 2012, 9) and the central activity of its new Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) was to establish a Creative Industries Task Force (CITF) in 1998 in order to support the growth of the sector.

By contrast, a number of Southern countries with the lead of France are strongly opposing this 'industrialization of culture' (Bell and Oakley 2015) and argue for the maintenance of the system of cultural subsidies on the ground of the 'specificity' of culture (Littoz-Monnet, Agenda-setting 2012). Hungary at the moment does not take any sides in this debate; nor does it take any steps in terms of rethinking its cultural policy (Bozóki 2013). An overview of the strategic priorities of Hungarian cultural policies of the last 25 years shows that before 2010 Hungary by following the general European cultural directives, ascribed priority to the preservation of the national heritage,

to access to culture and to the creation of the cultural markets (Mélyi 2014). For the purposes of my study I only focus on this third priority.

In 2010 the institutional system of cultural affairs was restructured and the principle of the construction of the cultural market was pushed aside by the new system in Hungary. The Ministry of Culture was merged into the Ministry of Human Capacities that is responsible for social policies in general; its budget was reduced to a fraction, and the Prime Minister outsourced the management of cultural affairs from the Ministry to new institutions (Bozóki 2013). The government established the Hungarian Academy of Arts as the preeminent authority through the new constitution, which came into force on 1 January, 2012 (AICA 2012).

> The remuneration of academic members and those of bearing the title of the 'Artists of the Nation', the Salon exhibition system, the Hungarian Art Academy's strategic partnerships with fellow artists which leads to demonstrable tender benefits are all such measures which directly or indirectly eliminate market incentives, and goes back to the sixties' and the seventies' state funding system. At the same time narrowing the possibilities of the contemporary art market is taking place. The only stimulus from the state in the past few years was the support (based on dubious purposes) of private galleries for funding overseas art fair participation (Mélyi 2014).

While ignoring the changes of the social environment, the emerging new structures of reception, the increasing cultural role of minorities, self-organized groups and small communities; it shows similarities with the cultural policy of the Kadar-era by creating merit-based system of state subsidy for artists supporting government ideologies (Mélyi 2014). At the same time it recognizes the contribution of the creative industries to the country's economic growth, and in this quality finds as worthy of support. Whereas however it does not identify any relationship to contemporary art and culture, entirely misses how sectors of innovation and artistic creation and cultural production are intertwined, and thus creative and artistic work appears in a stereotyping and simplistic way in government communication (Mélyi 2014).

Artists and art professionals in Hungary are constantly making efforts to raise awareness of the differences between the reality of how artists make their living and what challenges an artistic

career entails, and the way official public discourse depicts them. Erika Baglyas, an acclaimed artist in Hungary, recently posted her basic monthly expenses on her Facebook-page to initiate discussion about artistic labor. A number of other artistic projects explore the different aspects of the problems attached to an artistic career, such as why artists do not get paid for exhibitions, why doing artwork does not count as work (Jankó 2015). A series of articles published on a Hungarian portal on contemporary art have joined the initiative, and sketched the structure of the problem of art as a profession in Hungary today. Working and living conditions of Hungarian artists are burdened by the lack of institutional support for building their careers, and for the unfavorable assessment of artistic activity as work (Jankó 2015).

This issue however goes well beyond the problems posed by the current state of the Hungarian cultural affairs. The standard minimum income project of Tamás Szentjóby, another well-known artist in the country, initiated in 1974 and on view again in 2013 in the Ludwig Museum Budapest[1], shows the unchanged relevance of an informed discussion about how artists make a living in Budapest and how they design their careers.

International research has revealed that artists' careers show a wide variety, and they invalidate the stereotypes associated with artistic work. Artists' careers are characterized by needing to balance a combination of different works such as their artistic work, paid creative and occasionally paid non-creative work (Throsby, Work Patterns 2007), (Ashton 2015). Artists, similarly to workers in other sectors of the economy, make rationally bounded decisions and strategic choices by either taking vertical / linear careers or adapting hybrid careers characterized by reconciling multiple jobs with their usually unpaid artistic projects (Atkinson, et al. 2014). What remained unexplored yet in terms of artistic careers is how artists themselves frame the risks of their career choices, and what their strategies are to come around those risks.

[1] TNPU: Létminimum St.Andard Project 1984 W (avagy ez lett az egysejtűből) [Minimum Income Standard Project 1984]

This gap in understanding core creatives as part of the labor market is put down to the fact that the government in Hungary does not monitor and evaluate artistic activity in this regard. So far the practice in Hungary has been to develop a more or less independent state funded application system giving support to not for profit art institutions in maintaining their projects. However this system is gradually eroding. Under this system the emphasis was on how the money was spent, but not on how government subsidies might be used to help artists and art professionals in building a sustainable career.

This research wants to explore the basic conceptual categories for a future mapping of artistic careers in Hungary in relationship to the findings of international research carried out on creative labor in the last decade bringing evidence for a rising entrepreneurialism as a career strategy among creative workers in order to sustain their jobs. The question to be answered is how artists themselves frame the risks of profession and how do they overcome those risks?

In order to identify emerging patterns I conducted 12 semi-structured interviews with 'core creatives', most of them are fine art artists, designers and photographers who earned their degrees at The Hungarian University of Fine Arts (MKE) or at Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design (MOME) in Budapest. My analysis focuses on identifying the role of creativity in designing their careers, identifying the kinds of investments they are making to bring their career to success or to make it sustainable, and evaluating how they frame the risks of their profession.

My argument is that Hungarian artists apply strategies of *venture labor* to overcome risks posed by their careers. Despite that most of them refuse to do art as business, and also resist the language of art as business supported by the EU-level policy discourses, they take an entrepreneurial attitude in work and develop different expressions of venture labor. The term venture labor was coined by Gina Neff during her research on workers for new media enterprises, and describes an entrepreneurial attitude towards jobs or projects which are not owned by the workers and for which they hope future benefits other than their wages. Applying the theory of venture labor is

the contribution of this work to the research on the transformation of the culture of labor in the knowledge economy.

This study, on the other hand, also wishes to contribute to research on the Hungarian art scene. In 2009 a large research applying mixed methods was carried out to map the art world in Hungary (Wessely 2012). My contribution to that work is to add a labor perspective to that investigation.

1 CHAPTER – LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section by revising the literature I will first try to make sense of how and why EU level cultural policies characterize artists and creatives in terms of entrepreneurship, what the kind of research supporting these policies is, and how academic debates with regards to the concept of creative city supported the rise of the narrative of entrepreneurial labor. The culture as production approach (Peterson and Anand 2004) helped to map how the industry specific risks make the creative industry different from other sectors of the economy (Caves 2002), by also pointing out the great variety of creative careers ranging from artists to architects and computer game developers, which in turn leads to the recognition of the diversity in terms of economic productivity as well. Furthermore, and also of major importance, impressive work has been done on exploring how these risks unfold on an individual level, and what are the burdens creative workers are taking for their careers (Neff, Venture Labor 2012). This work aims to make a contribution to the academic work by applying the concept of *venture labor* to analyzing artistic work in Budapest.

In Europe two historical positions are clashing over the role of culture, and a competition for gaining control over cultural policy takes place between camps defined by them. On the one hand, the *dirigiste* or cultural coalition led by France and the cultural lobby of the Southern countries defends culture as an area where 'special rules' apply. In their views a so called "cultural specificity" justifies the exemption of the cultural sector from market mechanisms (Littoz-Monnet, EU&Culture 2007, 5). On the other hand, the 'liberals' represented by the UK and Denmark argue in favor of an economic definition of the cultural sector, which justifies the application of the EU competition law to the cultural sector (Littoz-Monnet, EU&Culture 2007, 5).

The introduction of the new EU policy was not only supported by the member states, but also by the political and institutional context which favored the reception of economic arguments of

claims for cultural specificity. DG Culture and Education have also gained internal support from within the Commission. DG Regio and DG Research & Innovation have already recognized the creative industries as essential part of a broader innovation and growth strategy (Littoz-Monnet, Agenda-setting 2012, 512).

While the former cultural program named *Culture 2000* emphasized the value of culture for its own sake, the language of the new Creative Europe Program for 2014-2020 shifts the discourse by framing cultural activities as tools towards smart and inclusive growth and sustainable development foreseen in the *Europe 2020 Strategy* (Littoz-Monnet, Agenda-setting 2012, 505). The promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue are unchanged priorities, but the same sentence clarifies that culture as a catalyst for creativity is understood as a phenomenon existing "within the framework for growth and employment" (Bruell 2013, 22).

This shift in the policy discourse might be criticized for a number of reasons. Its beneficent consequence was that it propelled artistic and creative careers in the focus of scholarly attention first by placing them into the context of cities' and regions' economies, and secondly by contextualizing them within the labor market (Throsby, The Economics of Cultural Policy 2010). Formerly, researchers exploring book and magazine publishing, visual and performing arts, sound recordings, cinema and TV films, fashion, toys and games mainly focused on public subsidy for the elite performing arts rather than identifying them as workers of the different segments of the creative industries supplying goods and services (Caves 2002, 1).

1.1 CREATIVE CAREERS AND THE CITY

A number of urban and regional policy makers in the UK and in several other countries were inspired by the theory of urban development scholar Richard Florida. In his book on *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) Florida places creative careers in the context of city and discusses in relation to innovation and growth. In the post-industrial economy the competition for talent

went global. The knowledge based economy has changed the nature of labor and this in turn has given rise to a new class of workers, identified by Florida the "creative class". Members of this class are young, mobile professionals, who in order to get excellent jobs and good places to live do not mind switching between continents and navigating among cultures. Talent, technology and tolerance are the new slogans for urban development professionals, if they want to keep their cities at the forefront of global economic competition and attract this talent looking for the best place to flourish (Florida, The Rise of Creative Class 2002).

Florida's theory was handy for policy makers for a number of reasons. Firstly it revealed how openness and tolerance might be converted into economic growth, and secondly it pointed out how local and regional policies might play important role in the global competition for economic advantage. More importantly with the so called '*Global Creativity Index*' (GCI) he provided tools for measuring and making comparisons between cities' economic competitive potential based on the size of their creative industries and their contribution to the overall GDP. Budapest for instance, following Paris, London, Milan, Amsterdam and others, is the 11th on the list of the top 25 creative cities in Europe according to the Creative and Cultural Industry (CCI) ranking created by the European Cluster Observatory (see Table 1). According to this research, the CCI sector accounted for 4.69% of the total labor force in Budapest with 82429 workers in 2009 (The European Cluster Observatory 2011). Even though the growth of the sector does not spread evenly across the countries in Europe, it grows faster than any other segment of the labor market (Bridgstock, Professional Capabilities 2013, 177).

Table 1.1 Europe's Top 25 regions for creative and cultural industries employment clusters

Region name	CCI Rank	CCI Employment	CCI LQ
Ile de France (Paris) FR	1	279361	1.72
Inner London, UK	2	239983	2.77
Lombardia (Milan), IT	3	175580	1.31
Madrid, ES	4	164260	1.65
Cataluna (Barcelona), ES	5	139278	1.26
Lazio (Rome), IT	6	113531	1.97
Danmark	7	98866	1.17
Oberbayern (München), DE	8	94178	1,57
Attiki (Athens), GR	9	88195	1.47

Outer London, UK	10	86884	1.43
Közép-Magyarország (Budapest), HU	11	79281	1.76
Zuid-Holland, NL	12	78183	1.44
Berks, Bucks and Oxon (Oxford), UK	13	76097	1.90
Noord-Holland (Amsterdam), NL	14	74685	1.80
Andalucia (Sevilla), ES	15	70914	0.68
Köln, DE	16	68825	1.37
Stockholm, SE	17	68212	2.87
Lisboa, PT	18	67929	1.35
Berlin, DE	19	66051	1.70
Veneto, IT	20	61285	0.94
Niedersachsen, DE	21	59486	0.68
Darmstadt (Hanover), DE	22	58965	1.15
Piemonte, IT	23	58068	1.09
Emilia-Romagna, IT	24	58029	0.95
Surrey, E and W Sussex, UK	25	57837	1.40

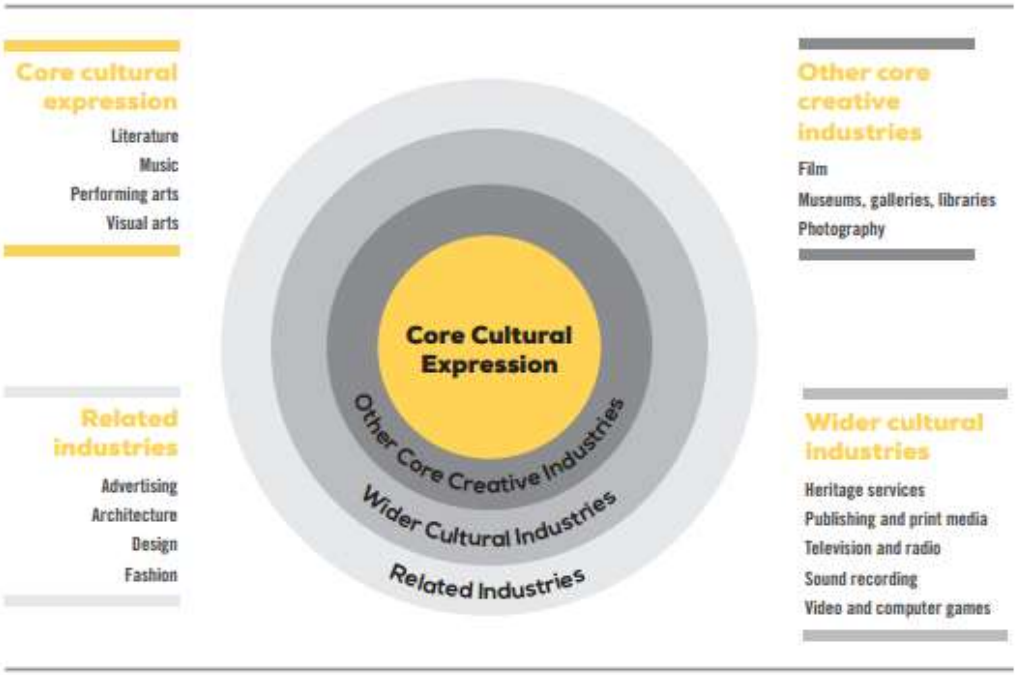
Note: LQ is an indicator of CCI employment realtive to the total employment of the region, where LQ>1 indicates an overrepresentation of CCI employment
Source: ec.europa.eu/enterprise/

In Europe during the early 2000s a number of large-scale research projects were carried out to test Florida's theory and assess the impact of the emerging 'creative class' on the competitiveness of metropolitan regions in Europe. Many of Florida's assumptions were questioned or claimed to be exaggerated. A comparative research aimed to identify the conditions for creating/stimulating 'creative knowledge regions' analyzing the Budapest case-study found that young creative professionals are more likely to move to Budapest, if they already have preexisting kinships or friendships established during their studies or tourist visits, rather than deciding only on the ground of infrastructure, technology and the openness of a city (AISSR, 2010).

There are debates over how to define the creative sector and its size. Some say it is too narrowly defined, others say that is way too inclusive. The definition of 'creative industry' includes a wide range of occupations, such as literature, music, visual arts, film, museums, photography, advertising, architecture, design, fashion, heritage service, publishing and print media, radio and television, video-and computer game (citation) and the different professions' and branches' economic contribution is by far the same. Flew, examining the different workforce definitions, mentions that due to the lack of agreed methodology there is a tendency to underestimate the number of people working in the creative industries.' (Flew 2012)

Florida's idea on the creative class has inspired further analyses on the segmentation of the 'creative class' and resulted in the differentiation of the distinct but overlapping segments of the creative industry. In order to make sense of the wide variety of cultural production and cultural professions the concept might include depending upon definition see the classification provided by UNESCO in Table 2. Their 2013 Report identifies four segments of the creative industries by distinguishing among creative sectors sorted into four categories: core cultural expression, core creative industries, related industries and wider cultural industries (UNESCO/UNDP 2013, 22).

Table 1. 2. Modeling the Cultural and Creative Industries: Concentric Circles Model (UNESCO/UNDP 2013)



My research focuses on examining the core cultural expression and other core creative industries, by focusing on visual arts, such as painting, sculpture, photography and design.

1.2 CORE CREATIVE OR ARTISTIC CAREERS

While there is a growing body of literature on the creative industries and the creative pathways, there is only a small portion of research examining the career trajectories of workers classified in the 'core cultural expression'. This shift in the policy discourse however stimulated not only

economists and sociologists interested in urban development to turn towards this previously somewhat neglected area of culture and creativity, but also has become a research priority within higher education policy and management. If governments and markets expect art graduates to create their own markets and brand themselves, higher education needs to provide services to promote these goals and develop these skills. Given this incentive there is a growing body of literature analyzing artistic careers, measuring impact of higher education on career pathways and tracking for useful skills in art graduates' careers (Comunian and Faggian 2014).

This in turn contributes to the general understanding of the variety of roles artists play within the creative industries. It helps to show the heterogeneity of the creative workforce and to invalidate the simplistic ideas on creative careers as either depicting them as engines of the creative economy (Bridgstock, Goldsmith, et al. 2015, 2), as involving chronic unemployment or underemployment, or as 'portfolio-careers' comprising a mixture of creative and non-creative jobs, involving short-term, project-based and freelance work (Throsby and Zednik, An Economic Study 2012).

Fine art, and other core creative expression, such as literature, sculpture, etc. are indeed the least vocational of creative disciplines (Oakley, Sperry and Pratt 2008), in the sense that there are relatively few employers that seek to employ fine artists as fine artists etc.. Little was known about how the career of fine artists and graduates of the core creative expression develop if they are not employed in their chosen field: how do their careers parallel or differ from the creative work of others (Carey 2015, 1).

Research confirms that disciplinary expertise, technical skills and creativity remain crucial to the career success, but resulting from the changes in the economy and the labor market the opportunities associated with artistic careers have changed (Bridgstock, Professional Capabilities 2013, 177). Creatives in order to build vibrant and sustainable careers in an out of a full-time artist job are often expected to develop other skills than their core technical expertise

(Bridgstock, Professional Capabilities 2013, 177), such as learning languages, developing managerial, business and communication skills etc.

In summary, this strand of research on the creative city and the creative professions helps to understand the causes of the call on creative entrepreneurialism in the policy discourse, which defines artists and creatives as cultural producers able and also willing to create their own markets (Bruell 2013) by exchanging places for jobs, and moving to prospering clusters of creativity in large metropolitan areas (Florida, The Flight of the Creative Class 2005). By taking impact on higher education management, it is very likely to further reinforce entrepreneurialism among young creative graduates by encouraging risk-taking behavior.

1.3 RISKS OF THE CREATIVE PRODUCTION AND THE EMERGENCE OF 'VENTURE LABOR'

By now we looked at how researchers observing the global economic transformation resulting from technological change try to understand in what way these changes affect and more importantly will affect labor. Florida's approach presents this transformation by portraying the emerging class of creatives as highly skilled people mobile on a global scale, driven by finding the best job and the best place to live, making thus the competition for talent global.

This approach definitely helps policy makers to bring decisions how to turn places into more attractive locales. It tells about how these changes in the economy affect working conditions, leading to more flexibility, and an increased level of autonomy with flat careers. The change of technology is associated with a number of opportunities. Creative workers, compared to workers of other sectors, enjoy a high level of autonomy, they can be flexible with their schedule, and they channel their creative energy into producing something novel (Neff, Wissinger and Zukin, Entrepreneurial Labor 2005, 308). What is somewhat left in the shadow is how the risks posed by the creative industries get shared between companies and individuals, and how creative workers

themselves *frame* the risks of their profession. This is exactly the question Gina Neff answers by observing new media workers in the Silicone Alley at the end of the 1990s, early 2000s.

In her book on '*Venture Labor*' by drawing on Ulrich Beck's analysis on *Risk Society,* Neff not only assumes that risk is shifting from companies and organizations to the individual, as Beck observed, but she takes this forward by observing that creatives working in the dot.com industry are actually willing to take those risks (Neff, Venture Labor 2012, 9-10). A very important side-effect of the economic transformation is that "postindustrial workplaces integrate discourses of economic risks into their businesses by encouraging people to buy-into their companies' goals and to invest their time, energy, passion, and money" and "social forces naturalize economic risks" (Neff, Venture Labor 2012, 10). Creatives do not own the product and do not necessarily have a share in the profit, they rather have the psychological gain of having 'cool' jobs in a 'hot industry' (Neff, Wissinger and Zukin, Entrepreneurial Labor 2005).

This is the kind of career strategy she identifies as "*venture labor"* that is essentially a very important distinction between entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial work. (Neff, Venture Labor 2012, 10).

> Venture labor is the investment of time, energy, human capital, and other personal resources that ordinary employees make in the companies they work. Venture labor is the explicit expression of entrepreneurial values by nonentrepreneurs. Venture labor refers to an investment by employees into their companies or how they talk about their time at work as an investment. When people think of their jobs as an investment or as having a future payoff other than regular wages, they embody venture labor. Venture labor is the way in which people act like entrepreneurs and bear some of the risks of their companies. Venture labor includes the entrepreneurial aspects of work – how people behave as if they have *ownership* in their companies, even when they are not actual owners. Venture labor is about people taking risks for their jobs, as much as it is about their subjective embrace of that risk (Neff, Venture Labor 2012).

2 CHAPTER – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

In close relation to Neff's work and understanding how risks emerging from the structure and the specific characteristics of the creative industry are distributed, this study wants to show, how the specific risks of an artistic career are shared and how do they articulate on the level of individual artists, and how do they shape their career strategies. By combining Gina Neff's analysis on the creative work with Richard Caves' model on the properties of the artistic production I will try to identify patterns of career strategies emerging from the interview data of my research in Budapest.

2.1 FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

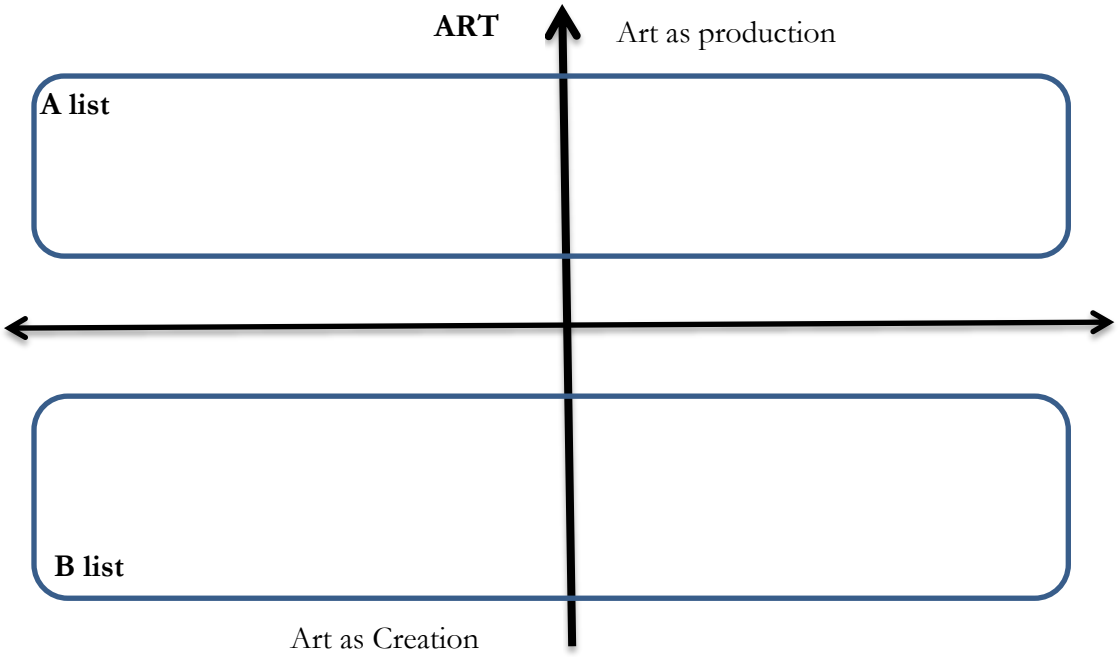
This study shares the assumption of Richard Caves, namely that artists similarly any other mortal who possesses no creative urge, make economically rational decisions (Caves 2002) Caves argues that creative workers are just as purposive and intendedly rational in their activities as everybody else. They may have different tastes, but they are not less entrepreneurial, and not necessarily worse in negotiation. With all this though creatives differ in substantial ways from their counterparts where creativity plays little or negligible role in terms of goods and services, the processes of their production, and the preferences or tastes (2002), and it will be examined that in light of these differences how the phenomenon of venture labor takes shape in the creative careers in Budapest.

Richard Caves in his book on *The Creative Industry* (2002) calls attention on several distinct features of creative production, helping policy makers to understand how they can best support the development of the sector. He first of all emphasized uncertainty in demand, or as a Hollywood observer called the '*nobody knows'* property suggesting that a creative product is usually an 'experience good' and the buyer's satisfaction is a subjective reaction. This asymmetric information implies that the risk associated with a given creative product is high; consequently

ways of sharing it will play an important role in the organization of production (Caves 2002, 3). Artists work to realize an inner vision, and they do not do market research before developing their products.

Secondly, he emphasizes that creative workers care about their product in a different manner. Skilled crafts persons often express concern for the quality of their work, but the prevalence and strength of tastes that affect the qualities and quantity of creative effort is distinctive; he calls it the *art for art's sake* property (Caves 2002, 4). Thirdly some creative products require a set of *diverse skills* and specialized workers, which further complicate the job for organizing the activity as implied by the art for art's sake property. Fourth, formal contracts are largely infeasible. Fifth, cultural products differ unpredictably in the quality levels that consumers see in them. Sixth, both creative products and artists are ranked by 'gatekeepers' such as art professionals, curators, art dealers, critiques (Caves 2002).

Identifying the bedrock properties of creative activities Caves accounts for a vertical differentiation of the creative inputs from the perspective of the 'gatekeepers', and he calls it the *A list/B list* property (Caves 2002, 7) (See Figure 2.1.; author's illustration). This differentiation is partly coming from the individual differences in skill, originality, and/or proficiency among artists supplying creative inputs. These talent differences are apparent to peers trained to supply similar creative inputs, and probably to teachers, critics and the like, and they are observed when the skilled agent performs in turning out the creative product, when the finished product goes on display or both. Artists may increase their skills by training or by practice, but 'mature creative agents settle on different plateaus of proficiency' (Caves 2002, 7).



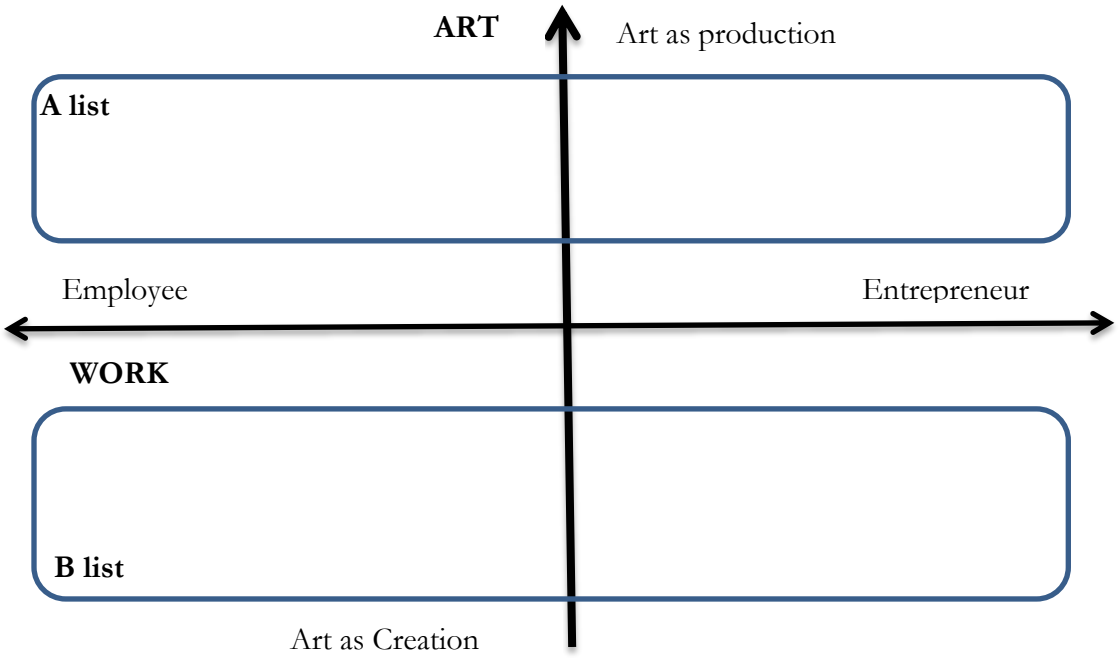
2.1. Figure: Vertical Stratification of the Creative career (A list/B list property)

This quality-differentiated approach helps the organization of the creative activities and it is operated by different groups of stakeholders which are involved in some important ways in the creative process: consumers/recipients, the art professionals and the producers or creatives/artists (Caves 2002). Artists however often refuse those rankings, and we can find several examples of such ranking becoming obsolete from a historic perspective. Why it still matters is because it shapes behavior in a way is best captured by Howard Becker's economic argument.

Ranking artists and their work brings a solution to a problem underlying all forms of creativity, namely to the problem of differential rent in economic terms. This is the extra total amount that people are willing to pay to see a movie with an A-list star over the same film with a B-list star. That differential rent designates the maximum pay that an A-list star can demand; everything less than that is to leave money on the table (Caves 2002). The rent concept also helps to explain why the B-list artists might find difficult to sell their services at any price, as gatekeepers will not want to pay the opportunity costs for choosing a B-list star over an A-list star.

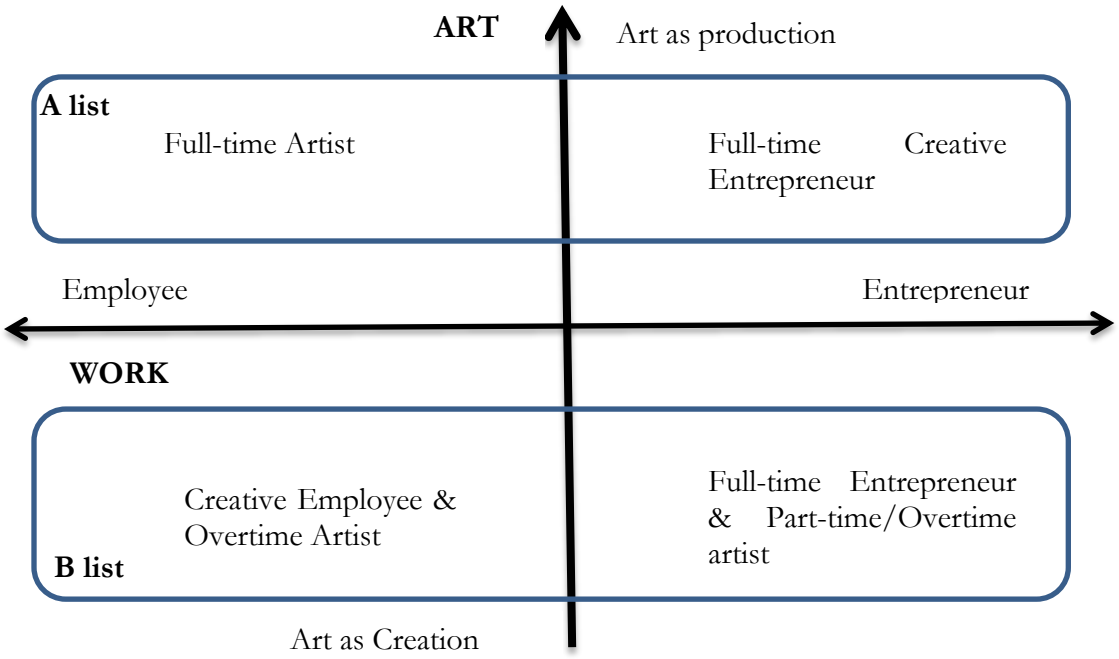
Now by flipping the coin for a moment, we will get the perspective of artists. What we see here is that there are two strategies at hand both equally rational to follow: firstly (all else, such as talent, relations with gatekeepers etc. equal) they can aim for an A-list artist career that is the linear artist career requiring a certain type of creativity, coming together with a certain set of risks, and making certain types of investments necessary that are different from what somebody going for a B-list artistic career, that is the hybrid career, is willing to pay.

The first variable of my analysis thus will be whether artists are going for a full-time artistic career or rather they go for a hybrid career, or otherwise: do they think of art as production, or they rather define art as a noncommercial activity, or do they want to participate in this competition for fame and recognition or not? (See Figure 2.1.1) By adding the labor perspective to this model we will get the second set of variables shaping artistic careers: how do they think about economic constraints in their lives, how they plan for work and sustainability: are they entrepreneurial and willing to take risks, or do they rather try to create stability, and work as employees.



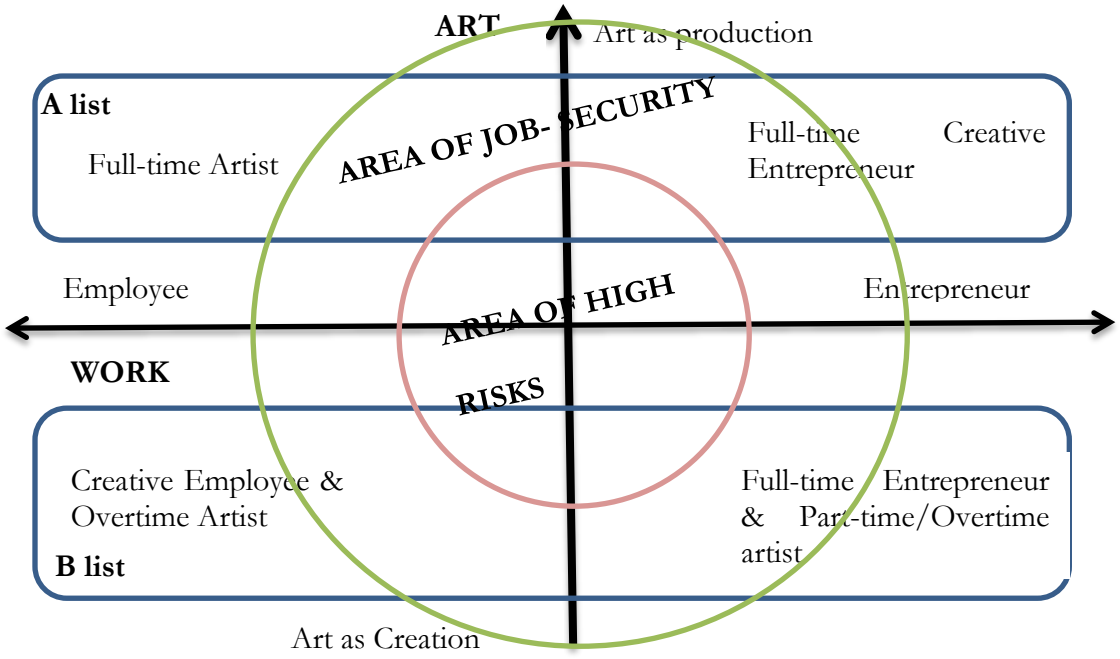
2.1.2. Figure: Artists' decision matrix: Art & Labor

This model allows for four theoretical career options in terms of art and labor: firstly the full-time artist working with galleries and privately owned institutions enjoys a high level of recognition and employment stability; secondly the full-time creative entrepreneur developed a product, successfully marketed it, and thus successfully reconciles production with creation. The third type of artist values security over taking risks and works as a creative employee, and creates art as a hobby. The fourth groups of artists run enterprises, by usually providing creative services, but they also maintain their artistic career, maybe in part-time, without willing to sell their artwork.



2.1.3 Figure: Idealtypes of Artistic and Creative Career Strategies

International research confirms that these options are sociological realities (Atkinson, et al. 2014), but the present state of the artistic labor in Hungary raises serious doubts in this regard. Thus the firthcoming question would be that how do artists and creatives proceed in terms of building their careers: do they focus primarily on creating stability by either working as employees/full-time artists or by taking limited risks by establishing companies and doing artwork on the margines.



2.1.4. Figure: Career Strategies and Job Security

Gina Neff's research on new media workers in the dot.com industry revealed an important working strategy that she calls 'venture labor', and she argues that working under these conditions means that workers "explicitly express entrepreneurial values" while they are not entrepreneurs (Neff, Venture Labor 2012, 10). They invest "their time, energy, human capital and other personal resources as ordinary employees make in the companies they work" (Neff, Venture Labor 2012). The question is whether Hungarian art professionals in Budapest work in areas of high risk or they prefer to undertake safer career strategies (see Figure 2.1.4).

2.2 METHODOLOGY

This is an exploratory research for a future mapping of artists' career building strategies in Budapest. The case selection for further exploring the phenomenon of 'venture labor' within the core creative industries is justified firstly by the fact that Neff's research has not been applied to analyze artistic careers, which are generally considered to be the least vocational among all the creative professions. Secondly, applying her framework might contribute to articulate some of the

specific problems of the present Hungarian artistic careers expressed by several artists, yet never examined for informing policy making.

Given that there is no similar research conducted in Hungary on artistic work from a labor perspective, I could not build on former research results carried out in Hungary. In order to design more accurately a quantitative analysis in the future to map the field of study, I first needed to explore conceptual categories, for this purpose doing a qualitative research seemed to be perfectly suitable. Given that my primary research target is to track how the properties of an industry translate to the level of individual rationality I though semi-structured interviews are the best as the loose structure of questions would minimize opposing on the interviewee the researcher's own biases either coming from the literature or from professional experience.

The purpose of my questionnaire (see it in Annex 1) was to collect data on how strategic thinking shapes career pathways of artists in and out of a full-time artist job. I wanted to understand what are their values and motivations in choosing artistic careers, how do they reconcile their artistic activity with security and stability, what are the investments they make and the risks they take in order to build a successful career in their own terms. During the interviews I did not literally asked those questions in every cases, I rather used them as guiding our conversation when was necessary. My interviewees almost naturally transited from one question to another one.

I collected my data by conducting 12 semi-structured interviews with visual arts graduates (painters, sculpture, designers, new media and visual communication artists and photographers) who earned their degrees at MOME and MKE, Budapest not more than 15 years ago, and not less than 3 years ago. This is because I intended to study young professionals, who are already in their thirties, and they already gained a distance from their studies and started to integrate lessons drawn from their own work experiences into their career strategies.

In my sample everybody has a degree entitling them to identify themselves as artists. This self-identification with the 'artist' label is more common among fine artists, but it is surprisingly high

among designers as well. There are 3 persons who refused to identify themselves as artists out of my 12 interviewees: one of them graduated as a painter, the other two are designers. It is also noteworthy that out of 4 painters no one works/creates as a painter despite the fact that they maintain an artistic career. They had already changed their tool for artistic expression way before completing their studies for multimedia art. Without specifically planning for it, my sample is quite balanced in terms of gender: I interviewed 5 women and 7 men. For a demographic presentation and a short description of my interviewees see Annex 2.

My data collection method was snow-ball method. In order to avoid running into similar people I told to my interviewees that I am interested in the variety in artistic careers, and I am not especially looking for success in terms of state awards, international exhibitions etc. I am fully aware that resulting from this method this study has limitations in terms of identifying all the patterns, but identifying a few categories will allow for designing a survey to both fine tune the categories and also to be able to tell the contrast ratio of the hybrid careers over the full-time careers with regards to the creative cohort in Budapest (or in Hungary, depending on the research scope).

The interviews are roughly 110 minutes long, they were conducted in Hungarian language and one of them in English. All of them were tape recorded and transcribed and coded, and the Hungarian interviews were partially translated for the purposes of this analysis. My analysis focuses on showing how artists are framing the risks coming with a creative career and how they are investing into their careers to make them sustainable. As a cultural organizer and also administrator of an art project in Budapest, I am motivated not only as a researcher but also as a practitioner in understanding what are the institutional models and drives behind the art scene today.

3 CHAPTER – FINDINGS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter discusses my research findings in relation to my framework of analysis developed in the previous chapter. Artists in my sample are resisting the language of entrepreneurship trying to reconcile artistic activity with stability for perhaps a lot of reasons. I will look at the variety of artistic careers, and also try to present their motives for giving priority of one over another option.

3.1 HYBRID CAREERS

In this section will be discussed the emerging patterns of creative careers among artists and designers in my sample. 9 out of 12 people identify themselves as artists, and 3 describe themselves as designers refusing the 'artist' label. Artistic and creative work in my sample takes two forms: firstly out of 9 fine artists 7 maintain hybrid careers, and two maintain full-time or 'vertical' artistic career. Two designers also maintain full-time designer career and they are running their enterprises: one of them graduated as a painter, the other one as a visual communication designer.

The term 'hybrid career' indicates an artistic/creative career in which the objectives of doing art and making a career sustainable need to be reconciled with each other, and for this they develop a large variety of working patterns ranging from going to full employment (1 person) or to partial employment (1 person) to freelancing (4 people). Three additional persons have created their own enterprises and provide creative services in order to make their artistic career sustainable, and finally there is fine artist in my sample maintaining a full-time artist career. The term 'full-time artist' or 'vertical' or 'linear' artist career refers to artists who manage to work within their chosen profession (Atkinson, et al. 2014), and they are dealing with the players of art trade. Artists maintaining a full-time artist career, think about their art work as an enterprise as well.

Finally there are two designers (one of them former painter) who run their own businesses and work with clients without willing to run an artistic career in addition to their professional career.

The general characteristics of creative work regardless if they have a hybrid or a full-time artist career shows similarities to the analysis of fashion industry and new media workers work analyzed by Neff and her colleagues during the 2000s (Neff, Wissinger and Zukin, Entrepreneurial Labor 2005): these people value autonomy and employment flexibility over stability, and they often end up taking high risks for their careers, higher than workers of other sectors, given that they work on a short-term contract basis and they pay their own insurances. At the same time most of them do not run enterprises, and they do not take risks for profit, but they rather work for a future benefit (Neff, Venture Labor 2012, 10-11).

Only a single person out of my 12 interviewees works as full-time employee as User Interface (UI) designer. His strategy reflects very well on the risks of prioritizing autonomy over stability:

> I wanted to be industrial designer, and I was lucky because I already started to design medical equipment well before we finished our studies, and we had great successes in terms of winning all sorts of awards; but it quickly turned out that this is very rhapsodic in financial terms (I10). If we get a good project, we go to the restaurant to eat Beef Wellington and King Crab salad, but otherwise there is nothing else just dry croissant and lukewarm water." (I10)

Even though nobody else fits into this pattern, several of them seek for a little more predictability than freelancing can offer. They often work as teachers in art schools.

> This is a stable career, and my father teaches at a university, and he is a painter and a poet; my mother is a textile designer and she also started to teach. This is a model I have always seen (I2).

Teaching is a quite common activity: 4 artists out of my sample have acquired teaching experience throughout their career. Despite of its popularity teaching pays quite poorly, but summer breaks offer time for artists to participate on symposia and to go to residency programs.

> The problem with teaching is that is not so easy to disappear. Actually if I was a freelancing applied photographer, not even then would be easy to say, ok, bye, I am gone for three months. Maybe during the summer (I2, 6)

A visual communication artist who works in collaboration with theaters on a project basis during the year reports similarly:

> I usually work on projects with others. If I work on a project, usually there is a decorator and a director, whose ideas shape my work. Besides I also have individual arts projects that I am doing during the summer, when the school is over and I can go to symposia (I11, freelancer multimedia artist, she works for theaters on a project basis and teaches)

Work flexibility is crucial especially at the beginning of an artistic career as artists often go to residencies. Four out of my interviewees reported that they went to artist residencies on a regular basis, and everybody agreed that foreign experience is very important for their careers. One of them said that "I think this is super good for fostering the creative process (I7, 9)". They also report that foreign experience plays important role in strengthening their professional identity:

> For my artist-career this residency was a major turning point. Otherwise I am doing my civil job, which is teaching in my case. You do your DLA, you write a lot about topics that actually do not matter that much; so this all is moving somehow, and by the way you are doing the photos. But I somehow missed to think of my artistic pathway as a career, because I simply did not have time for that. Now I went to Paris and there were 300 artists from all over the world. Among my new friends there I was the only one having a civil job. Everybody else is a full-time artist (I2, 5)
>
> "People live like that: they do art, they apply for funding, participate in projects, they belong to galleries, they sell art. This is a career. This is a real career – unlike here." (I2, 5) Into defining myself as an artist this brought in an important perspective to me."

Many artists are aware of the dangers and the difficulties of doing art as a secondary career. They might have refused the idea of full-time artist career at the beginning, as they value experimentation over branding their art; but they find the hybrid model exhaustive.

> "I felt right for a very long time to live this area (art) to be playful. Similarly to a lot of colleagues I had a period when the progressivity in art was so important, and this somehow cleared from the horizon the whole gallery and sales option, because simply was not interesting, there is no need for it. But clearly you can only do it for a short while, unless you do something else for a living. But the thing is that I spent x years with earning money from other sources, and I got a lot of inspiration from doing art, but I do not think this is a sustainable career on the long run either. It has become depletive over time to comply the two." (I7, 2)

This set of challenge in the case of artists following a linear artist career strategy often means that they need to create their brands in close cooperation with other actors of the art world, such as

galleries and art professionals. Many artists in my sample though seemed to be very reluctant to go for a full-time artist career over a hybrid career.

3.2 EXPRESSIONS OF 'VENTURE LABOR'

Artists and creatives in the light of the research on artistic careers elsewhere are expected to be entrepreneurial in terms of their artwork, yet artists in my sample resist this, while they do not seem to be less entrepreneurial than workers in other sectors. My interviewees sustained for most of their professional life a hybrid career taking a wide range of secondary jobs, working part-time or freelancing. Only two out of twelve people reported that they planned for, and managed to build a full-time artist career after years of hybrid career.

As a matter of fact none of them has a career that does not involve working with art professionals, business partners, or public institutions. Many of them say that they were very naïve in terms of starting a career after graduation, and in terms of assessing their realistic career options. "[at the beginning of his career] I was more radical in my opinion that there is no need to take a business or institutional direction" (I4, 5)

> "I have to face that regardless if this is a private gallery or a state-funded scholarship, everything is in some way problematic if we go a bit deeper into it. Art is also embedded into this [economic and political environment], and it is not different in any ways. Now there are two possibilities: either accept this; moreover, try to take advantage of it… [or refuse it]… and now I am doing a completely different form of art, and it provides me a sort of existence. … I concluded that those jobs I could have had are all just as bad as bad is that art is embedded into this world. You can have whatever you choose to have. But this is my own enterprise after all and I can control it." (I4, 5)

This is the dilemma most of artists face at the beginning of their career. Depending on their solutions they either decide to exempt their artistic activity from existential constraints, and think it as a ground for a carefree exploration; or they decide to go into the art business, and keep thinking about this duality.

Even though full-time artists made the choice of entering into the art business, their dilemma between the necessary branding and the authenticity of creation stays. New media artist talks about the ways he solves the dilemma:

> "Previously, when I worked on a project, I first collected materials and in parallel started to think about what the work should be like: in what way takes shape, what medium would be most suitable to use. Usually by the time the job is ready I work myself through on a decision-tree. During my work there are a lot of branching points: I decide if I frame something or not, should I use metal or wood, and this applies to every detail of the artwork. When I get to the end point I am left with a lot of ideas that I could have done but I did not. Previously I never carried out such similar versions, because I did not want to go back and manufacture it all, or do remakes. But now in this gallery-situation, and with the fact that I have more invitations to exhibitions, it is absolutely an option." (I4, 7)

But this dilemma is not only the choice between artistic freedom and marketing artwork, but also between stability and risks. Artists are often driven by their artistic pursuit over commercial imperatives (Kubacki and Croft 2011), sustainability considerations are of paramount importance. These motivations and stimuli are examined in detail by Bridgstock, who by studying successful artists in Australia, identifies key differences between artist entrepreneurs and general entrepreneurs:

> Arts have characteristics which distinguish it from entrepreneurship in other sector, including contextual and sectoral features, the nature and processes of artistic work, the kinds of value that artistic work can add, and the motivations of the artist. Entrepreneurs in other fields are often 'pulled' to becoming entrepreneurial, driven by the challenge of starting a new venture or developing a new product. By contrasts, artists are often 'pushed' to entrepreneurship through necessity (Bridgstock, Professional Capabilities 2013, 124)

Under these coordinates the burdens of artistic labor articulate according to the logic of venture labor. These people are not only driven by their creative urges, but they also make a lot of investments in order to maintain their careers. They invest into their work in terms of capital, in terms of developing skills and social social networks.

Artists often invest their money not only into buying equipment, but also into organizing their exhibitions. A photographer says that she often does her exhibitions from her dirt money (?). Another artist reports that he often 'invests' into his gallery meaning that he often does not asks

for his share after sales, because it is more important for him to go to international fairs rather than getting quick money once in a while.

New media workers found that they invest a lot into developing and maintaining their websites as they serve as a powerful medium of self-promotion (Neff, Wissinger and Zukin, Entrepreneurial Labor 2005). Artists similarly in order to maintain an artistic career they often spend a lot on creating their public image as artists. They need professional websites for their portfolio, leaflets, business cards and other marketing materials that make them visible and unique. In addition they also go to expensive fine art and design fairs, and they participate at portfolio reviews. All these activities altogether with the travel and accommodation costs are quite a challenge. Furthermore these investments are made without any guarantee of a return.

They also often invest their time and energy to support underfunded large-scale professional events organized by art professionals, such as the OFF Biennale in Budapest [2]. Over 150 artists worked on several projects for a very symbolic funding that often covered only the rental costos of exhibition spaces, but did not include fees paid for the artists and art professionals.

In addition to investments in capital there is a constant pressure for self-investment. Artists invest into developing new skills, such as language and communication skills, administration and project management skills.

> the hard part is that if a career speeds up there is a growing amount of administration coming with it: you have to act as a liaison, you have to document your work, etc. (I4, 3).

They also often realize that in order to increase their comparative advantage in an international environment, strong language skills are an absolute must.

> I speak English. And I should speak German, because that was my second language at school. But I do not know unfortunately. In Paris I saw that everybody speaks at least two languages, and one of them, in addition to the English, is French, German or Spanish. (I2, 11)

[2] OFF Biennale Budapest, http://offbiennale.hu/en/

Artists share characteristics with other creative disciplines in terms of group work (Balazs: design is a groupwork); They often work on an individual basis, there is still a high level of networking in terms of sharing and collaborating on exhibiting opportunities (Bridgstock, Australian Artists 2005)

Many of my interviewees showed discomfort when spoke about 'networking'. They often report about an inhibition in terms of self-promotion.

> "Compared to artists in Western countries, I do not show my portfolio, I find difficult to go to somebody, or e-mail somebody and say, hey, look at my latest work. This is not ok, but here there is no culture for doing this. This is probably part of the networking." (I2, 7)
>
> "my experience is that everything starts with hanging out together. We meet, get a beer, talk; maybe there will happen something later on, maybe not. But I cannot do this forced, by hoping that I meet there somebody. For this purpose there are the portfolio-reviews. We do not have a lot here, but I go there" (I2, 8)

Some of them called it 'forced networking', 'schmoozing', 'constant self-promotion' etc., and considered it very uncomfortable. A designer said that

> I worked as a freelancer, but I suffered in that. While in a permanent full-time job 80% is the actual work, and 20% self-management, in the case of a freelancer this is the opposite. You have to promote yourself in 80% of your time, and sometimes sit down and work (I10).

A former painter, now furniture designer also confirmed that "only 30% of all the meetings ends up with having an agreement on a project. Others though considered that 'networking' is part of the package:

> You have to be everywhere. If you want a job, you have to show your face everywhere where your potential business partners go: to exhibition openings, to concerts, to dinners and parties, everywhere. They will get to know you and when they have a problem they will quickly remember you (I6)

Corporate environment spares workers from doing this, notes a multimedia freelancer. You have to listen to your clients' problems; sometimes you even have to play the psychologist. Quite tiring….At a company this is handled by the client service associate, but here I am fulfilling that role as well. Another freelancer designer reports that she found to be the most difficult to deal with clients.

Even though these artists have personal websites, they often emphasized that they got jobs or invitations for exhibitions via informal situations:

> There was not even a single case when I acquired a job from an unknown business partner. This is quite sad in a certain regard, but they come to me again and again because I am reliable and what I am doing is not bad; but it is very interesting that if I just send my portfolio that simply does not work (I11, 1).

Maintaining good professional relationships might be also crucial in building an international career:

> Even though I had quite a few international exhibitions in comparison to my peers, 90% of these were organized from Hungary. Let's say, there is a Hungarian year in the Netherlands, and this entails a group exhibition. Or it might also be that curators come to visit for the invitation of Hungarian curators, they meet artists and there will be something later on (I4.2).

It is also noteworthy that even though they often think in negative terms about networking, they are usually enthusiastic about collaborations and group-work.

Artists in my sample fall under two categories with regards to their choices in building their careers. A majority of them persistently resist the language of entrepreneurship in terms of their artistic activity. They are trying to reconcile artistic career with stability by taking secondary careers either by utilizing their skills to establish their own enterprises providing creative services, or freelancing for companies or institutions within the creative sector. Artists maintaining what I call 'hybrid careers' often reproduce the 'solo effect' saying they reject entrepreneurialism but also failing to recognize or refusing the social, organizational and institutional support for their careers.

The second group of artists, going for what I call a 'full-time' artist career often rejects the idea of entrepreneurship at the beginning of their artistic career. Later on they end up identifying their artistic career as an enterprise, and use the language of entrepreneurship to describe their activities. They often talk about branding their work and creating markets for themselves by working with galleries or by going to art fairs.

Compared to the findings of the literature on creative careers I found that artists are taking very similar risks as other creatives working as freelancers for the creative sector, but they are doing it for different reasons. While new media workers or people going into the fashion business made their choices given they thus become part of a hip and cool world, artists are taking risks because they want to produce art in an authentic way, regardless if they make their living of that.

3.3 Recommendation to the Government how to support creative careers

The government in terms of managing culture and creativity focuses only on the preservation of heritage, instead of the three pillars cultural policy before 2010. I am aware of the serious problems the lack of prioritizing access to culture might cause, but here I will only focus on the third priority, namely on the objective of creation of arts and cultural markets.

From this perspective the arguments why the government should care are the following: firstly, artists and fine artists especially might tremendously contribute to the image of the country at the international scene. This is how the competition for artistic talent – similarly to other creative industries, just as Florida observed – went global, and artists taking more risks prove to be more successful both in terms of their social and professional recognition and in economic terms as well.

Secondly as we illustrated, artists driven by expressing themselves cross-fertilize the creative industries. As the interviews illustrate, artists prefer experimenting over producing, but they are proven to be able to reconcile these within their careers regardless if they are in hybrid or full-time artists' careers. Furthermore, artistic work is often used as a source of inspiration for innovation, for change of technology or altering social structures.

Artists by seeking for best suitable means of expression often are adapting themselves to technological changes. As my sample shows, several artists graduated at painting at MKE changed for new media art, because they found multimedia more adequate to express themselves. They often not only experiment by technology, but also do research on lifestyles etc (perma-culture).

Thirdly: similarly to several other countries, Hungary has recognized that ideas matter for innovation. Creativity has become a direct source of economic growth, and this was illustrated by a number of researches carried out by the EU (KEA European Affairs 2006), and measured in various ways. What is difficult to identify and measure in economic terms that how core creative expression inspires the other creative sectors. In the competition for global or regional economic advantage subsidizing the source of creativity without a narrowing judgmental selection might give a real change to other sectors of the Hungarian creative industry to get to the forefront.

The government should support the cultural and creative sector, for both economic and cultural reasons. The cultural and creative industry from a sustainability perspective can be best supported by focusing on two areas of intervention. Firstly in terms of full-time artists' careers the institutions contributing to the creation of a contemporary cultural and art market should be strengthened. Secondly, by supporting micro-enterprises and creative businesses the government will support artists maintaining hybrid careers by increasing job security and creating favorable business environment for small enterprises. This is because most of artists maintain their secondary career within the cultural and creative sectors and they act as cross-fertilizers within the different sectors of the creative industries.

CONCLUSIONS

This work examined how artists translate industry-specific risks, and how do they try to reconcile on their careers their need for stability and urges for creation, and how the emerging career strategies overlap with the strategy of venture labor. Contrary to the simplifying public stereotypes associated with artistic careers, my study also confirms – similarly to international research findings (Ashton 2015) and supporting European policy discourses that artists, similarly to other creatives, are very well integrated into the labor market. While international research presents artists as entrepreneurial, artists in my sample are resisting doing art as business, and refuse the language of entrepreneurship projected onto them. They reproduce the 'solo' effect saying they reject entrepreneurialism but are also cautious in using the social, organizational and institutional support for their careers.

These two strategies artists follow when building their careers, designate two areas of intervention for an adequate and timely cultural and creative policy in Hungary. Instead of the traditional one-sided approach which defines cultural policies in terms of state subsidies provided for the elite to present and produce culture, a number of other areas of actions open up. Linear artistic careers can be best supported by strengthening the institutions for presenting and of commercializing art, including universities, art galleries, professional organizations etc. Hybrid artistic careers can be supported by giving support for small enterprises, providing them tax-incentives or other types of subsidies.

For improving scholarly understanding on how the core creative expression operates within the creative industries in Hungary, and in what ways it contributes to the welfare of the Hungarian society and economy, a cross-sectoral comparative research will be necessary which far exceeds the scope and the possibilities of the current work, but my hope is that this work is one step towards such work.

ANNEX 1

"They're expert in their experiences" Gina Neff

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name, gender, age

Do you consider yourself an artist?

Please tell me about your job

What are the roles you fulfill at your job?

Do you work on an open-end contract? / Do you have multiple jobs? / Do you work on a project basis?

In what degree are you satisfied with your job?

Tell me briefly about your career-path

What do you consider as 'success' in your career?

What do you consider as 'failure' in your career?

Where do you see yourself in 2 years? What about 10 years?

Tell me your experience searching for work.

Do you have any stories of your professional life that you would like to share?

What support do you wish you had for your career?

Are there specific ways that your education has helped you in your career so far? If not why? If so how?

How do you think others could support your career?

What do you think agencies and organizations could do to help you?

What are the most important skills in your opinion that artists need to build a successful career? How did you get those skills?

In what extent speaking foreign languages is important for your career?

What is your opinion and experience with mobility programs and artist residencies?

Do you think you'd needed self-management skills?

If you could start your studies again, would you apply to the same institution? If yes, why? If not why not and where would you apply?

ANNEX 2

Name	Age	Gender	Year of grad.	Institution	Title	Short description of the career
I1	38	male	2009	MKE	painter	Artist, entrepreneur He runs a business, and by providing services to private clients' aims to make the artistic projects sustainable. He understands this as an experimental art project
I2	31	female	2010	MOME	photographer, teacher	Artist, teacher She works as a teacher and occasionally takes projects of applied photography
I3	33	male	2009	MKE	painter	Designer (furniture, interior), entrepreneur He works as full-time designer, runs his own business. He does not identify as an artist
I4		male	2003	MKE	new media artist	full-time new media artist, teacher After a long period of doing flat renovations for living, he is a full-time artist now. He teaches a few hours per week
I5		female	2010	MOME	visual communication design MA	Brand designer, freelancer She runs her own business; she does not think herself as an artist
I6		female	2012	MOME	media design MA	Artist, DLA Candidate, and freelancer (creates commercials, and does applied video and photography, animation, editing etc.)
I7	38	male	2003	MKE	painter, MA	Multimedia artist, freelancer designer, sells art, but he works as a freelancer as well (programming and graphic design)
I8		male	2008	MKE	painter, MA	Multimedia artist, freelancer, multimedia professional He never made his living out of art, even though he sold artwork at the beginning of his career. He is a multimedia freelancer (photographer, graphic designer and programmer)
I9	38	female	2000	MOME	silicate designer, MA	Artist, silicate designer, sculptor She is a full time artist and runs her own business. She developed a design product, branded and created its market.
I10	38	male	2000	MOME	industrial designer and artist, MA	UI designer, employee He does not think he is an artist, he rather thinks he is a designer. Job security is very important to him; he has a 9to5 job, and does inspiring design projects in his free time often entirely for free.
I11	32	female	2009	MOME	visual communication designer and artist, MA	Artist and freelancer visual communication designer. She works with theaters and other business partners, and runs art projects in her spare time
I12	39	male	2009	MKE	multimedia artist, MA	Artist, multimedia and painting; He lives in an artist community in Germany. Makes his living out of freelancing (graphic design)

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