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THE INTERACTION BETWEEN ARTISTS' PROFESSIONAL  
TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE FIELD OF FINNISH  
THEATRE

*Arts Council of Finland  
Research and Information Unit  
1994*

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ISBN 951-53-0227-7

ISSN 0788-5318

Arts Council of Finland  
Helsinki 1994

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This paper was presented at the 8th International Congress on Cultural Economics, August 24.-27.1994, Witten, Germany.

## *PREFACE*

The purpose of this paper is to examine the effects of formal training on artists' employment situation. The empirical data is based on a survey on theatre and dance artists. The objective of the survey was to map out the employment situation of the younger generation of artists and to examine their opinions about the training received. The research population of the survey consisted of persons who had studied at the Finnish Theatre Academy between 1979–1992 and in the Actor's Training Department at the University of Tampere between 1977–1991<sup>1</sup>. The return rate of the survey was 54 % (N = 388). A similar survey has also been made concerning the artists who have studied in the University of Arts and Design.

The number of artists (all occupations) in Finland is about 15 000 – 17 000 persons depending on definition. This is about 0,3 % of the whole population and about 0,6 % of the work-force. The amount of theatre and dance artists is approximately 2500 – 3000 persons (majority of them actors). There were about 300 basic degree theatre/dance students in 1993. Close to 50 artists graduate from theatre training institutes annually.

## *PROFESSIONAL TRAINING IN THE FIELD OF THEATRE AND DANCE*

In Finland the institutions giving higher education in the arts have gained university-status rather recently. The development toward the university status began in the 70's when the Institution of Industrial Arts became a University of Industrial Arts (now the University of Arts and Design). The latest link in this chain was the Fine Arts Academy getting university status in 1994. Within administration the higher arts education is a part of the general higher education sector and not the arts sector as it was still in the end of 80's.

Higher education for theatre and dance is given in two institutions, the Theatre Academy and the Actor's Training Department of the University of Tampere. At the Theatre Academy, the Master's degree is earned through a degree programme in acting, directing, dramaturgy, sound and lighting design or dance. The degree programme of dance encompasses alternative lines for dancers, choreographers and dance teachers. The Actor's Training Department at the University of Tampere provides university -level training for actors.

The professional training in the field of theatre and dance has undergone considerable changes during the past ten or fifteen years. New training programmes have been established, and the university -level status has led to the growth of resources in the higher theatre training and also other art training (see figure 1.)<sup>2</sup>. In 1983 dance art was connected more closely to the theatre by founding a Department of Dance at the Theatre Academy. An entirely new artistic

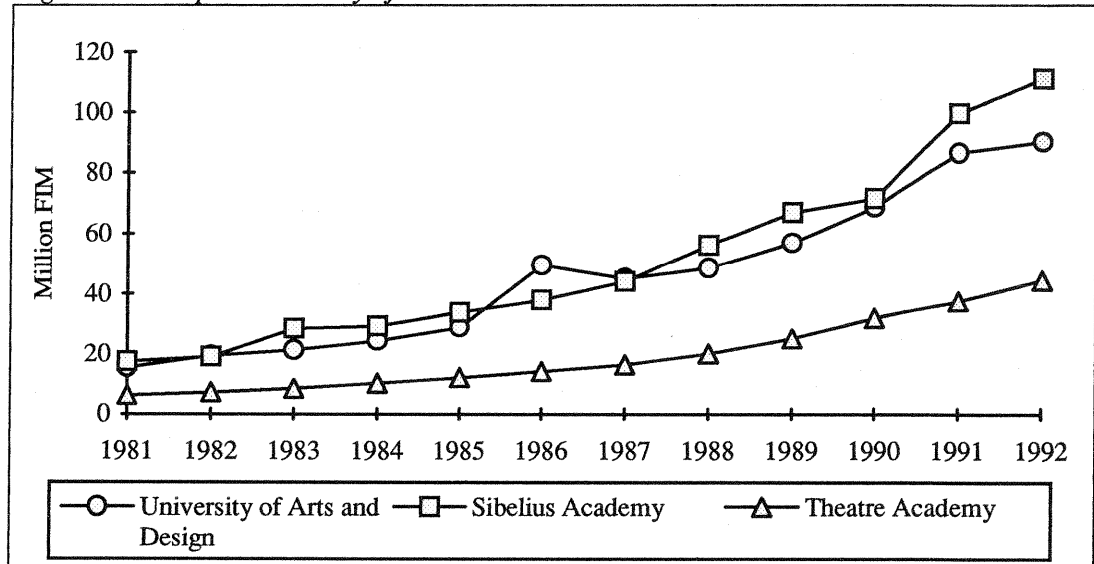
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<sup>1</sup> The selection of these years is due to the setting up of Theatre Academy in 1979 (former Theatre School).

<sup>2</sup> In Finland the art universities are publicly owned.

occupation was created through training in 1986, when the Department of Sound and Lighting Design was established. The theatre employees who were responsible for the sound and light were earlier called light and sound technicians and they learned their professions on the job.

Figure 1. The public outlays for art universities in million FIM 1981–1992



There has been a tendency to extend the artistic training even though the number of available jobs has not been increased, rather the contrary. This extension has taken place by founding new training programmes and new vocational institutions. These institutions are not recognised as a higher professional training, although they train e.g. dancers and sound and lighting designers, who compete for the same jobs with those who have an academic degree.

The above mentioned development is partly due to the estimations concerning the demand for theatre artists made in the 1970's and 1980's. The number of theatres and other working possibilities was still growing in the 1980's. For example, regional theatres were established, and the development in the media sector was supposed to create new jobs. The current situation shows that it is difficult to foresee the demand for artists. Specially in a freelance market the demand can not be estimated by the number of posts and available jobs<sup>3</sup>. In the case of Finnish theatre artists this was easier in the 1970's and 1980's when the jobs were steady, and one could, for example, estimate the number of artists who will retire, say, in the next ten years.

The growing unemployment among artists has not decreased the training possibilities or the number of persons who want to find a way to become an artist. The amount of applicants for all art universities has increased during the past ten years. For example, the number of applicants for Theatre Academy has tripled between 1981–1992.<sup>4</sup> This growth has occurred in spite of the entrance into these

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g. Towse 1993, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Higher education policy in Finland 1994, s. 149.

institutions being difficult in Finland. About 2 % of applicants for Theatre Academy are accepted. The Theatre Academy and University of Arts and Design are considered as universities of high prestige and entering them is worth striving for<sup>5</sup>. The reason for rejection of applicants is not a lack of formal basic education. On the contrary, the basic education of applicants for Theatre Academy has been considerably high. The entrance into the training institutions is not dependent on the formal qualifications, but on being successful in the entrance examination.

When examining the background of those who have applied for Theatre Academy, it can be seen that they are nearly "ready" artists. The majority of them have been practising theatre for many years as a hobby, and many of them have been working in professional or amateur theatres. The training, of course, puts the finishing touch on their talents and – mainly – justifies their entry into the field.

The average entrance age of the survey respondents was 21,8 years. This is slightly higher than the entrance age to scientific universities which is about 19 – 20 years. Director and dramaturgist students have entered training later than others (average entrance age 25 – 27). The reason for this is due to the low rate of acceptance. The applicant usually has to try many times until he/she is accepted. Some artists have studied before acceptance at universities or vocational institutions, either to spend their time before the next attempt, or because their interest in art has been late-born.

According to the survey, the reason for studying at the art university is principally to learn a profession, not to have a general academic education. This leads the Finnish art universities to a contradictory situation. On the one hand, they are a part of the administrative system of universities, together with the scientific universities, and are evaluated by the same standards. On the other hand, they are identified by their own students much more with the artistic than the academic field. Nevertheless, the institutions themselves consider the university-status important and achieving this status has been the aim of the theatre field since the 1960's. The Theatre Academy wants to emphasise its role as an institution giving university-level education. The reasons for this are the better financial resources for universities and also the prestige. The public outlays for universities are dependent on the number of graduates (those who have taken a degree) and that is why the art universities emphasise the importance of taking degrees.

### *LABOUR MARKET SITUATION*

The employment situation in the field of theatre has in Finland rapidly changed during the past few years, mainly because of the economic recession. Finnish theatre was earlier characterised by permanent engagements and reasonable good employment conditions and income. In the beginning of the 1990's the economic conditions altered. The weakened economic situation of theatres has influenced their capability to employ artists and the number of freelancers and unemployed artists has started to increase. The conditions among dancers began to decline

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<sup>5</sup> Kivinen & Rinne 1991, p. 194

even earlier. The only place where a classical dancer could get a permanent job has been the Finnish National Opera.

The available jobs for theatre artists are mainly in repertory theatres and radio or TV. In 1993 there were 63 professional (publicly subsidised) theatres. Well over half of them were established repertory theatres. All theatres employed altogether 1513 artists (counted as annual input of labour), of which 1067 artists were permanent employees. These figures include also theatre and dance groups, and the National Opera. The drama departments of Radio and TV employ only about 20 artists as permanent employees, because of the policy of favouring freelancers and independent producers. Contracts in repertory theatres are formally for two years, but practically they have been permanent. Recently also theatres have preferred shorter contracts. However, number of performances at the subsidised theatres has not decreased in the 1990's. But what has changed is the number of *new posts* and permanent engagements. The performances are staged by smaller personnel and by freelancers. By favouring temporary engagements theatres save money since the majority of the public appropriations is used for the costs of work-force<sup>6</sup>. The majority of the work-force is composed of artistic and technical personnel<sup>7</sup>.

*Table 1. The employment status of respondents (N =209)*  
(overlapping and exclusive alternatives are given separately)

Employment status	% of respondents	
Permanently in repertory theatre*	28	
<i>Exclusively</i>		25
Permanently in theatre group	11	
<i>Exclusively</i>		5
Freelancer/entrepreneur	60	
<i>Exclusively</i>		38
Living on a grant	7	
<i>Exclusively</i>		1
Unemployed	11	
<i>Exclusively</i>		3
Other	9	
<i>Exclusively</i>		5

\*Includes also dance teachers in conservatories.

As table 1. demonstrates, a large number of respondents work as freelancers. This indicates the ongoing changes in the theatre labour-market. The survey does not concern the whole population of theatre and dance artists, where the situation

<sup>6</sup> In Finland the employer has to pay, in addition to salary, also the social security and pension costs and other work-force costs for the permanent employees. This tempts the employers to reduce the number of permanent posts. Saving money by this means is a little bit contradictory because, on the other hand, the public appropriations for theatres are dependent on the number of permanent employees.

<sup>7</sup> The share of technical staff of the permanent employees in theatres has increased during the past 15 years and is nowadays almost the same as the share of artistic staff. The proportion of permanent artistic staff is 35 % and permanent technical staff 32 % (1993).

might be different. In 1989 the share of freelancers in the field of theatre was about 25 % and of the artists under age of 35 the figure was 30 %. As it has been said before, the situation has clearly changed since then. Most of the dancers were freelancers already in the 1980's.

According to the survey, there was no significant difference between the employment status of men and women<sup>8</sup>, but age seemed to be more important factor, which is not surprising. Only 1/5 of under 30-year old respondents worked in the repertory theatre permanently or by "guest contract" (engaged for one production). On the other hand, among respondents aged 30–35 almost 40 % worked in the repertory theatre permanently. Of those who had taken a degree, 1/3 had a permanent job, while 44 % of respondents without degree worked with a permanent engagement. This implies, that formal qualifications do not guarantee a permanent job, but rather the contrary. It has been verified, that especially trained theatre artists work as a freelancer. My earlier study on the position of theatre artists indicated that the majority of freelancers had a professional training. Also the survey on the members of the Actor's Union shows clearly that the willingness of being freelancer is larger among trained actors.<sup>9</sup>

According to Throsby, the artists enter into the labour-market more gradually than other professionals. It is common that artists work while studying and obtain part-time engagements before graduation.<sup>10</sup> In the 1980's it was quite normal in Finland that the students took a permanent job while studying. Nowadays the solution after studies is either to work as a freelancer or to set up a theatre group of one's own. The impact of the obligatory "practising periods" in professional theatres has not been as positive as it has been believed<sup>11</sup>. According to over half of the respondents, the practising period had not affected the employment after graduation. On the other hand, the jobs the respondents had outside the formal training programme had more influence on future employment. Apparently, the employers use their right to choose employees by their own judgement. The following figure shows the altered employment status of the respondents by the graduation year. The increase in freelancer status among young artists is very clear. Actually, the figure shows only the employment situation of the respondents in one year (1993) and not the situation just after the graduation. However, the earlier findings indicate, that most of the artists graduating in the beginning of 1980's still got permanent engagements. The change has occurred at the turn of the decade. Only 42 % of those who graduated between 1989–91 got permanent job.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> In the field of theatre the share of men and women is almost the same. The income level of women is slightly lower but not significantly. The unemployment seems to be higher among the women and their position at the labour-market is more difficult than men. Most of the dancers are women and this might be one reason for their low income level.

<sup>9</sup> Karhunen 1993, p.82. Pesonen 1994, p.31.

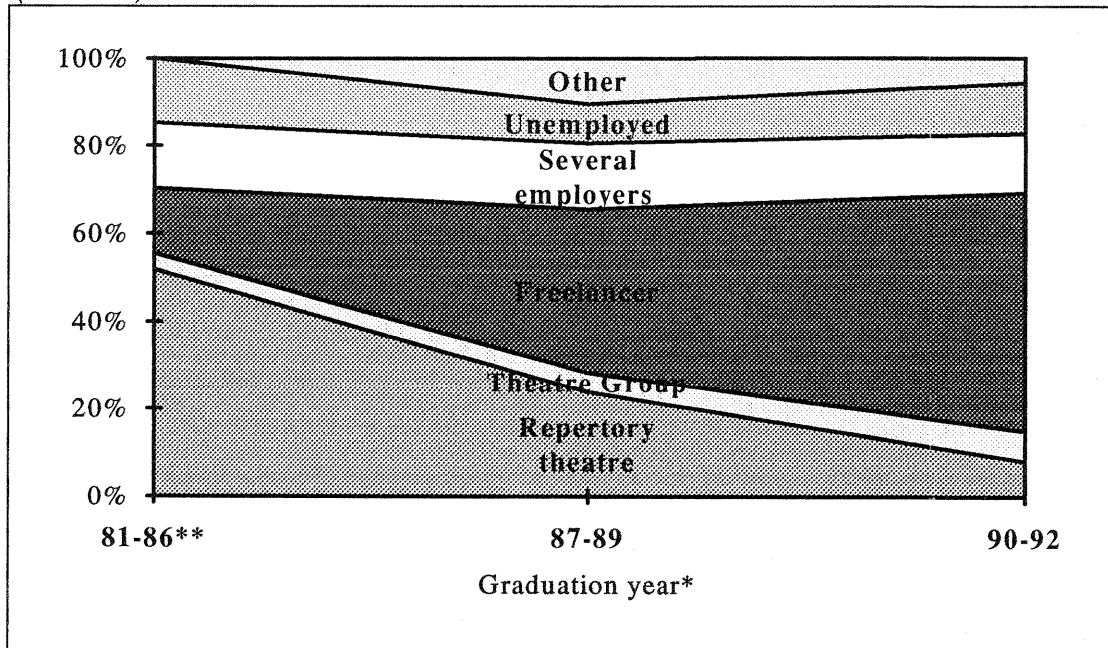
<sup>10</sup> Throsby 1989, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> In the Theatre Academy and Actor's Training Department the obligatory part of the training programme is the practising period in professional theatre. By this it has been aimed to develop the capabilities of students to work at professional theatres and also to create relations with the professional field.

<sup>12</sup> Karhunen 1993, p. 57.



Figure 2. Employment status of the respondents in 1993 by graduation year (N = 209)



\* Graduation year = year when respondent has passed four year studies but had not necessarily taken a degree.

Apparently, those young artists who start to work as a freelancer after graduation usually continue it for a long time, while those who get an engagement seldom leave their permanent job. When the respondents were asked whether their employment status had changed during their career, over half of both freelancers and those with permanent engagement stated that there had not been changes. However, one has to bear in mind that the survey deals with young artists, who have been professionals a rather short time (average 5 years).

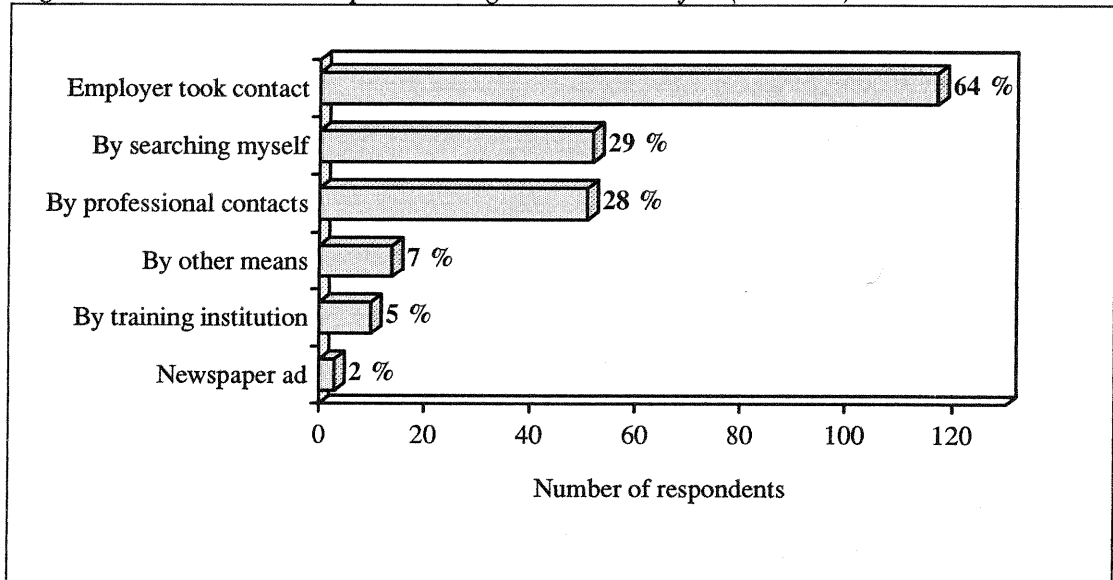
Until these days there have been many routes into the theatre profession<sup>13</sup>. The entry to the field has not been restricted to those who have passed the training. In 1989 about 60 % of professional theatre artists had a professional training. Still in the 1980's one way to enter the field as an actor was a "practising contract". The contract is made for one year and the salary is considerably lower than professionals have. The person can not enter the artist organisation before he/she has been working two years in a professional theatre. Some of the actors learning a profession by this way have later entered the Theatre Academy.

In Finland the recruitment of theatre and dance artists takes place mainly by word of mouth recommendation. There are no agents and no auditioning. One has to know about available jobs and projects or just wait someone (theatre manager/director) to offer a job. Some of the respondents (actors) wished the practice of auditions also in Finland because they felt being at a mercy of personal con-

<sup>13</sup> The situation among dancers is different. They train themselves practically all their lives and to get a job in a professional dance theatre or National Opera one has to have a training which defines a person as a professional.

tacts with managers and directors. Only dancers are nowadays hired sometimes by audition. Following figure shows how the respondents had got their latest job. The majority of respondents announced that employment had taken place by the initiative of the employer.

*Figure 3. How did the respondents get their latest job (n = 182)*



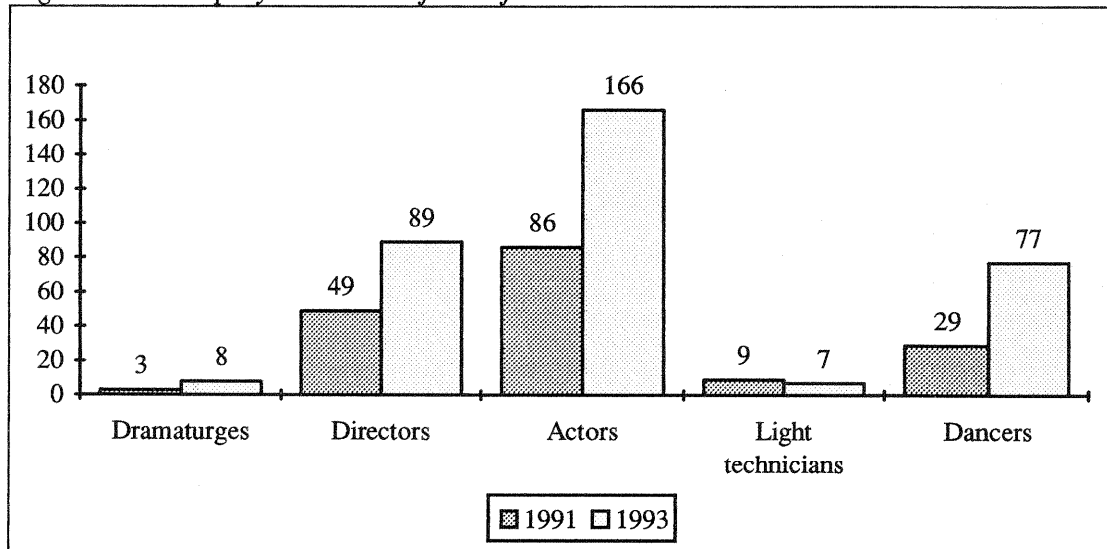
Figures are overlapping because it was possible to choose more than one alternative.

One feature that is characteristic of the artist labour market is the difficulty of defining the full employment, especially when the great part of the professionals works on a freelance basis<sup>14</sup>. This survey shows that even the respondents themselves had difficulties defining their employment situation. On the whole, the unemployment rate of the respondents was 11 %, but exclusively unemployed were only 3 % of respondents, as shown in table 1. In the field of performing arts, "part-time unemployment" or underemployment is quite common. In surveys like this it is also possible that respondents tend to define their situation as being "between jobs" rather than unemployed. The following figure shows the unemployment rate in the field of theatre in 1991 and 1993 according to the Ministry of Labour. Numbers seem to be small, but one has to compare them to whole artistic work-force in this branch. However, the estimated unemployment rate of theatre artists was not as high as among the whole work-force<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Towse 1993, p.8.

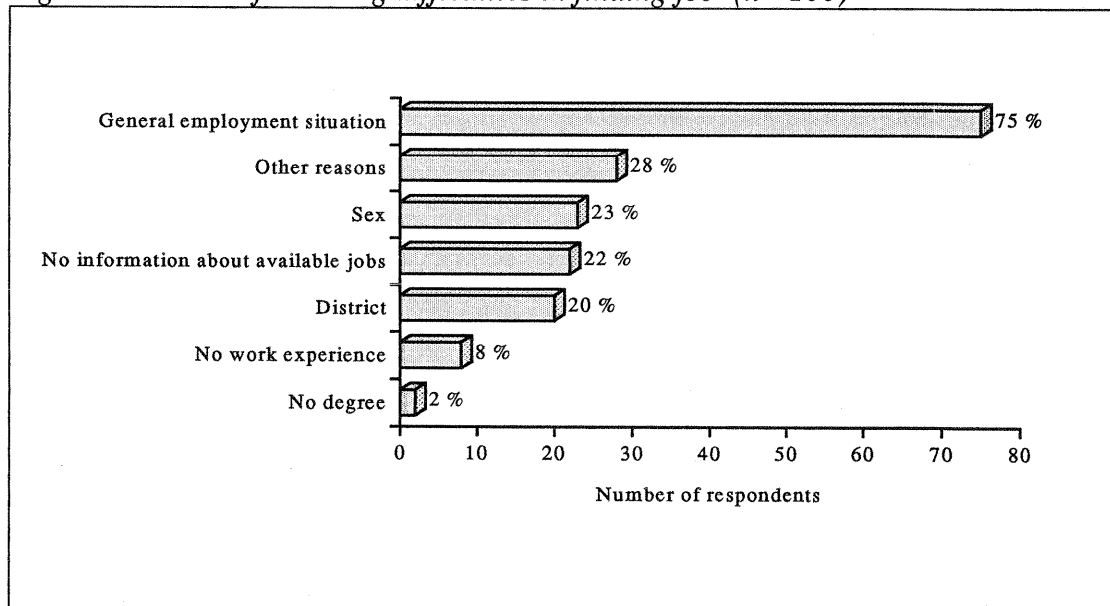
<sup>15</sup> The unemployment rate of the whole work-force in 1993 was 19 %.

Figure 4. Unemployment in the field of theatre and dance 1991 and 1993



Of all respondents about one-half responded that they had been having difficulties in finding a job. Among women the share was over half. Of the respondents under the age of 30 well over half answered that they have had employment difficulties, while among respondents over 35 the share was 1/3. Formal degree had no effect on employment. The following figure shows which were the reasons for employment difficulties according to respondents.

Figure 5. Reasons for having difficulties in finding job (n = 100)



Other reasons = mostly critical comments towards the theatre field and the engagement policy.

Some respondents were unsatisfied because the training had not given them enough capability to cope with the labour market. They felt that they had not learned how to make a contract, search a job, apply for a grant or even how to re-

act to a negative critique. In the training programme of the Theatre Academy and Actor's Training Department there is a subject called "legal and professional practices" but either that has been insufficient or the students have not been interested in it while studying.

### *THE INCOME SOURCES OF THEATRE AND DANCE ARTISTS*

The survey did not concentrate on the income level of the research population but dealt mainly with the employment situation and opinions about training. The income was examined only by asking the source of the main income of respondents. However, information on theatre artists' income is available from the year 1989. This information comes from the study concerning the economic position of theatre artists which was a part of the research project on the situation of the artists<sup>16</sup>. The data concerning artists' salaries have been obtained from Finnish Theatre Statistics.

It is rather obvious that the income level of theatre and dance artists has not risen since 1989, which was one of the latest wealthy years. At the time the average taxable income of theatre artists under age of 35 was 108.000 FIM. For the sake of comparison it can be mentioned, that the average taxable income of all theatre artists was 138.000 FIM and of all wage-earners about 100.000 FIM<sup>17</sup>. According to the cost of living index, the real value of the salaries in this field has not changed since the end of 1980's<sup>18</sup>. The data from year 1989 also indicates that training was not the decisive factor affecting the income. In some occupation groups those who had formal training also had higher average taxable incomes. Yet, in the age group of under 35, there were no differences between the average income of those who had formal training and those who had not.<sup>19</sup>

The majority of the graduates from the Theatre Academy and Actor's Training Department enter the field as a professional artist, and the number of drop-outs is very small. Only 5 % of respondents worked exclusively outside the theatre or dance branch. In spite of the weakening employment situation, artistic work is still the primary source of income as table 2. demonstrates. However, among artists who have graduated in the 1990's, the share was a little bit lower (64 %) but still the majority of them earned their living from art. It goes without saying, that the level of the income is rather low for young artists.

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<sup>16</sup> The Research and Information Unit of the Arts Council of Finland has carried out a large project on the economic and social position of artists. Until now the project has produced studies on authors, plastic artists, musicians and composers, photographic artists and theatre artists.

<sup>17</sup> Karhunen 1993, s. 133. The research population included stage designers and costume designers.

<sup>18</sup> Finnish Theatre Statistics 1988 and 1993.

<sup>19</sup> Karhunen 1993, p. 134.

Table 2. The primary source of income (N = 209)  
(overlapping and exclusive alternatives are given separately)

		Respondents %	
Artistic work in one's own branch		86	
	<i>Exclusively</i>		70
Artistic work in other branch		6	
	<i>Exclusively</i>		2
Arts-related work (teacher, critic etc.)		18	
	<i>Exclusively</i>		6
Non-arts work		6	
	<i>Exclusively</i>		3
No response		2	

In Finland, the significant part of the artist policy is the direct public support for artists (grants). This is the reason why, when dealing with income, grants must always be taken account. Grants are an important part of income especially for freelancers and free artists (authors, composers and plastic artists). Earlier, because of the practice of permanent engagements, the meaning of a grant was not so substantial for theatre artists. For example, the average share of grants from net income of theatre artists was about 14 % in 1989. The figure for freelancers was a little higher (about 1/5 of net income).

About 30 % of the respondents had received a grant in 1992 (includes public and private grants). The average amount of the tax-free grant was about 20 000 FIM. This is approximately the same as two or three month's net earnings of a civil servant. The major distributors of grants were the state and various foundations. Usually the grant was used for further education. Only the young directors and dramaturgists regarded the grant as an important source of livelihood. Almost half of the respondents considered the possibilities for getting a grant as reasonably good.

## DISCUSSION

Principally two questions arise when studying on the one hand artists' employment and on the other hand the crowding into the art universities: why is the occupation of artist so tempting and why do the future artists want to have a formal training? Artists are considered to act rather irrationally when choosing a career which is risky in the economic sense.<sup>20</sup> However, the number of these risk-takers is not decreasing, but rather it is increasing. Usually this fact is explained by two reasons. Firstly, the non-monetary benefits which an artist possibly get (fame, awards, publicity, inspiring work) will compensate the low earnings. Secondly, artists overestimate their future income and even a small possibility of success and high earnings makes them to try their luck.<sup>21</sup> Probably, most of those who want to be artists do not even think about earnings and other prosaic things until they have spent some years at work.

<sup>20</sup> It is true that some results also imply that the average income level of artists is not so low as believed.

<sup>21</sup> Frey & Pommerehne 1989, p.163, Wassall & Alper 1992, p. 197. Towse 1993, p. 176–177.

The training possibilities will also encourage those who want to be professional artists. These opportunities send a message to the students that there are available jobs waiting for them. The attractiveness of the artist occupation has been explained e.g. by the possibility of training without investing very much. Investments are small in the cases where the artist training is publicly supported, like in Finland.<sup>22</sup> There are no tuition fees at the universities in Finland. A person who wants to be an artist and succeeds in entering the training does not have to invest very much. The only investment is the cost of living which is financed usually by the study loan, by parents or by casual jobs. They certainly have to invest something, at least their time, but not in the same sense as in the countries where the training institutions have high fees.

It has been claimed that one of the non-monetary benefits is the social prestige of artist occupations. Even though it seems to be common knowledge that everybody wants to be an artist, the prestige level of artists has not been considerably high according to some data<sup>23</sup>. It seems that the earnings and high education level influence the prestige level. However, over half of the survey respondents regarded the prestige of their occupation reasonable good. Those respondents who considered the prestige low listed following implementations: the public does not consider art as a real occupation; salaries are low compared to working time; the hierarchy between different theatre occupations.

The significance of artists' professional training has been studied by mapping out the effects of training on income level and/or employment. It has been pointed out that there is no positive correlation between education and income, or at least this correlation is weak. However, there has also been results which indicate that in the case of non-artistic or art-related work the training has some positive effects.<sup>24</sup> But if artists do not benefit from the training while doing art, why do they spend their time and money for training? According to Towse the higher art education serves "as an insurance policy"<sup>25</sup>. This holds true also in the case of Finnish theatre and dance artists. The artists think that if they have a formal education with degree they have broader possibilities to find a job (especially as a teacher). Some students also want to continue their studies as a post-graduate student intending to take a doctor's degree. On the other hand, they may overestimate the impact of education for example on the earnings. Some of the respondents of this survey were surprised when they realised that their salary was the same as for those without a degree. This might be the reason why the formal degree has not been of great importance among the students. Of all the graduates from Theatre Academy between 1979 – 1992 only 26 % had a formal degree. About half of the respondents had taken a degree, but according to them it had no influence on the employment or on the salary.

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<sup>22</sup> Gray & Heilbrun 1993, pp. 298-300. Towse 1993, p. 192.

<sup>23</sup> According to Horowitz architects and art teachers had the highest prestige scores among artist occupations. But in the case of performing artists the scores were rather low. Horowitz 1993, p. 41-42. Same results have been achieved in Finland also.

<sup>24</sup>Frey & Pommerehne 1989, p. 156. Wassall & Alper 1992, p. 197. Filer 1986, p. 70, Throsby 1992, p. 206.

<sup>25</sup>Towse 1992, p.13.

One reason for formal training is that it can be seen as a first proof of artistic talent. The art training has a high prestige and it is meaningful in that sense. As it was mentioned earlier, many of the students in the Theatre Academy and Actor's Training Department have been working in the field even before the training. However, they want to prove their capabilities, because the entrance into these institutions is known to be difficult.

The Finnish artist unions have recently emphasised the significance of formal training. The training serves as an important factor by regulating the number of those who can enter the field. Apparently, in the future it is almost impossible to be a professional theatre artist in Finland without formal training, even though the entry into the profession is not restricted as it is in the case of lawyers, doctors etc.

The high prestige of training is true although the formal degree has not the same importance in the labour-market of artists as in other labour-markets. Towse has pointed out, that the screening function of education does not work similarly in the artists' labour-market as in the other markets. With regard to other than artistic occupations the formal degree shows to the employer that the person has required skills. In artistic occupations the formal qualifications do not give same kind of signals to the employers. They usually count on their own capability to choose the right persons. This is, according to Towse, a more expensive way of getting employees than to count on the screening of education. In the artistic professions the employers want the kind of qualifications which the training/degree can not give.<sup>26</sup> In Finland, the situation in the field of theatre has been slightly different. On one hand, the formal qualification has not played an important part for the employers, but on the other hand, especially earlier, the training in Theatre Academy was as such a promise of artistic quality. However, employers do not seem to put any weight on whether the artist has an academic *degree* or not.

According to the survey, a clear change has happened in the labour-market situation in the field of theatre compared to the 1980's, and this holds true especially for young artists. It is difficult to say if there is an oversupply of artists. The amount of performances has not exactly decreased, but the number of permanent engagements has. Of course, the bad financial situation makes it difficult to start new projects even on a freelancer basis. Anyway, the demand for theatre performances has not changed but the jobs have concentrated on the hands of fewer artists. However, the theatre unions in Finland have demanded the reducing of the number of entrants into the training institutions. The training institutions, again, have criticised unions for a tight policy concerning the employment contracts. This is according to them an obstacle for young artists to work at the repertory theatres.

By training it is possible to supply professionals without any prospects of jobs. One example of the influence of training is the group of sound and lighting designers. This group is actually born by the training. When light and sound was accepted as an essential part of the artistic process it raised also the need to improve the prestige of the occupational group and, of course, to develop their pro-

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<sup>26</sup> Towse 1993, p. 52.

fessional skills. This has caused a contradictory situation in the field. There are employees who have been doing the same work for years but without a title of designer and with lower salary than the designers are supposed to get. As a result, there has not been a single post available for designers, and those who have graduated from Theatre Academy (at the moment about 30–40 designers) work mostly as freelancers and in other art fields (music recording, video, cinema).

Even though professional training is nowadays almost obligatory for artists, the significance of formal qualifications has changed. Trained artists are no more automatically employed, and they have to be prepared to work outside the theatre branch. Also an evident conclusion is that formal qualifications (degree) have no significance concerning earnings. The income level of artist is influenced mainly by the working experience and the length of career. It is common knowledge among the employers that the artistic skill develops in the work, and that is why experience is affecting earnings more than training or degree.<sup>27</sup>

Although the impact of training on artists' earnings is questionable, it is affecting the labour-market in many other ways. By training it is possible to regulate the number of entrants into the field and, also to, increase the attractiveness and prestige of the occupation. In this respect it is obvious that the interaction between training and labour-market has to be taken into account both in the field of research and artist policy. While the effects of growing artist supply are clear e.g. on the earnings and working conditions of artists, it is fair to ask the decision-makers at least to identify this problem. Comparative data on different countries and art forms is needed, since obviously there are substantial differences in e.g. the characteristics of markets and employment arrangements. According to this, rather small, data, it can be concluded that many of the conceptions of earlier studies are valid for the Finnish case, too. However, the results also indicate that there are significant differences, especially, the tradition of the welfare-state has far-reaching effects on the situation of artists, and on the interaction between artists' professional training and their labour-market.

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<sup>27</sup> Filer 1986, p. 70. Towse 1992, p. 9 – 11. Towse has pointed out that the (artistic) skill is a combination of education, on-the-job training and experience and the work experience has greater influence on employers decisions the formal qualifications have.



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