

FROM A  
RACE TO  
THE BOTTOM  
TOWARDS  
REINVENTING  
SOLIDARITY

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1 The Gerrit Rietveld Academie offers preparatory trajectories and bachelor and master programmes in the arts and design. The Sandberg Instituut is the Master programme of the Gerrit Rietveld Academie. For the various educational components of the Academy different names are in use, which might be confusing. In this text, I refer to the Gerrit Rietveld Academie or Academy to refer to the whole institution, the Sandberg (Instituut) to refer to the Master programme, and the Rietveld to refer to the Bachelor programme.

ment contracts versus freelance contracts – influences my teaching position. What if the institution demands the same commitment from freelancers as contracted teachers – does this mean that my freelance colleague

3 Labour conditions in the arts are discussed extensively, ever since the SER/RvC memo 'Verkenning Arbeidsmarkt culturele sector' in 2016 claimed that the position of workers in the cultural sector in the Netherlands is worrying. As a response, the sector has been developing instruments to improve the labour conditions of art workers such as the Fair Practice Code and the guideline for artists' fees. The latter was welcomed by Mariëtte Hamer, chair of the SER, with the encouraging words that the cultural sector has taken matters into its own hands and has set an example for other sectors. I have always found this supportive comment bittersweet, as these instruments created by the sector were made out of necessity, as labour conditions in the arts could not be much poorer and the number of unprotected freelancers in this sector could not be much higher. The laws, regulations, and in particular the budget cuts implemented by the government created the urgent need to respond collectively to the alarming situation of cultural workers.

As a teacher with a permanent contract at the Gerrit Rietveld Academie<sup>1</sup>, I struggle to create solidarity with my freelance colleagues. On the one hand, I sympathize with my freelance colleagues who are in a precarious position, are paid less, and lack the security of contracts defined by collective labour agreements. On the other, I feel the very existence of these positions outside the collective agreements weaken solidarity structures because they lead to a deterioration of labour conditions.<sup>2</sup>

This paradox created by the sharp difference in regulation between working relationships – permanent employment contracts versus freelance contracts – influences my teaching position. What if the institution demands the same commitment from freelancers as contracted teachers – does this mean that my freelance colleague is being exploited? Or, should I take extra work during assessment weeks since I have a better-paid and more secure position? In what way could solidarity be a response to this paradox?

To answer these questions, a better understanding of the dynamics of labour conditions at art academies in the Netherlands in general, and the Gerrit Rietveld Academie in particular, is needed. With this essay, I will try to map out the different layers – national, institutional, departmental and personal – which affect labour conditions.<sup>3</sup> I will begin by describing my involvement in labour conditions at the Gerrit Rietveld Academie, continue with a national perspective on flexwork, and reflect on the labour conditions at the Sandberg Instituut. In the conclusion I propose steps for the Academy to take which will create fair labour conditions, making solidarity amongst art educators more viable.

2 This seems to be a paradox between a loosely-defined understanding of solidarity as emotional interrelationships (sympathy, compassion) and a more strictly defined understanding of solidarity as a principle in organizing socio-economic life (normative value). In the case with my freelance colleagues, the paradox lies in the fact that although they undermine my position, I still have empathy for them.

## TRANSPARENCY ON PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT

I have been working for the Academy since 2011 as a theory teacher. Since 2015, I have a permanent contract of 0,1724 fte, regulated by the collective labour agreement. This less-than-a-working-day permanent contract gives me minimal stability, as I am entitled to social benefits (various forms of leave and insurance) and pension for these +/- 6,5 hours a week. My contract also connects me to other teachers and workers in the Netherlands who also have a contract. Together with all these workers, I participate in nationwide structures organized or controlled by the state and social partners to safeguard our social security. Those who have a (temporary or permanent) contract in the Netherlands are

not able to opt out or pick and choose their social benefits.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the various parties – labour unions, employers, politicians, and policy makers – involved have built these social arrangements on principles of solidarity, in the sense that all workers with a contract are compelled to ‘stand in for each other’.

Workers with a labour contract might see social security as an obligation or individual right because of its compulsory nature. It is important to emphasize that social benefits are solidarity networks, and counter the neoliberal framework that promotes individual freedom to divide and individualize workers. Moreover, a better understanding of solidarity is needed to facilitate rethinking these structures. Political philosopher Rahel Jaeggi distinguishes solidarity from friendship, coalition and community, as solidarity is not based on compassion, loyalty or kinship.<sup>5</sup> Jaeggi states that solidarity does not involve intimacy, family or charity. Solidarity is not a natural, hierarchical, strategic, or unequal relationship but rather chosen, symmetrical, and reciprocal relationship. Importantly, the reciprocity of solidarity relations is not a simple exchange: you don’t give a little and take a little. Solidarity means cooperation with a deeper commitment than is necessary for self-interested needs or goals. As there is no clear and free choice

involved in social benefits, I view them as passive solidarity structures.<sup>6</sup>

As well as teaching, I work as a freelancer in the arts. Despite my permanent contract, I am responsible for my financial security, including planning for any unforeseen illness and saving for my eventual retirement.

4 However, there are different ways that teachers could influence their labour conditions. Members of labour unions can participate in negotiations. Members of the Participation Council can participate in forming employment policy.

5 Rahel Jaeggi, ‘Solidarity and Indifference’, in: R. Termeulen and R. Houteepen (ed.), *Solidarity and Care in the European Union*, Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001, p. 289

6 For a further explanation about the passive and active forms of solidarity, please see my text ‘Reinventing Solidarity’ at: <https://studiumgenerale.artez.nl/studies/a+sense+of+being+longing/solidariteit+heruitvinden+reinventing+solidarity/>.

That is why I am putting money aside at a freelance pension company. The government and social partners reached an agreement – ‘Pensioenakkoord’ – in

June 2019, including an insurance facility/obligation

for self-employed workers. Still, implementation is delayed.<sup>7</sup> Several insurance companies exclude art

workers from disability insur-

ance, and those that are available are very expensive.<sup>8</sup>

Freelance art workers are then compelled to seek other ways to obtain financial security.

Together with 30 other freelance cultural workers, I

established Broodfonds Sociale

Dienst in November 2019.<sup>9</sup> I

can choose freely and opt-out

from this Broodfonds, in which

members directly ‘stand in for

each other’. The difference with

disability insurance is that

Broodfonds-members receive donations from a chosen

circle of co-workers instead of social benefits from

anonymous workers distributed through regulated state

institutions. Members of a Broodfonds have committed

to a form of cooperation deeper than is necessary for

self-interested needs or goals. They won't know if and when somebody will get

ill, while all members pay monthly contributions and participate in meetings to

decide collectively on matters. I would argue that the Broodfonds is an active

solidarity structure.

Our Broodfonds was made possible with the help of a staff member at Sandberg,

who hosted our meetings and established connections between freelancers

working for the institution as a teacher or coordinator. This involvement raises

questions and is uncomfortable. There is a strict legal obligation to pay and take

responsibility for re-integration for employees, and no such obligation for free-

lancers. If there is institutional responsibility, is it to help freelancers help each

other or provide the correct contract? In late 2020, our Broodfonds made the first

insurance payment to a person (who, coincidentally, has been working for the

Sandberg). As agreed with the membership, I have been donating €21,66 every

month. Since I am a board member of the Broodfonds, I also have monthly conver-

sations with this person to discuss the level of recovery or need for support. On

<sup>7</sup> Two examples of such companies are Bright Pensioen and ZZP Pensioen. See [brightpensioen.nl](http://brightpensioen.nl) and [zzppensioen.nl](http://zzppensioen.nl)

<sup>9</sup> A Broodfonds is set up by a group of 30-50 freelancers who support each other with a financial donation if a member is unable to work due to illness, for a maximum of two years. There are 28.000 freelancers in 622 Broodfondsen in The Netherlands. See [www.Broodfondsen.nl](http://www.Broodfondsen.nl)

<sup>8</sup> Many insurance companies make artists or cultural workers ineligible for disability insurance. When you fill in the profession of visual artist in the calculator of insurance company Allianz, it reads: "Allianz kan dit beroep helaas niet verzekeren". <https://aov.allianz.nl/> With other insurance companies, the monthly premium is too expensive to afford for an artist with an average income. For instance, at Centraal Beheer a visual artist will need to pay €297 per month for disability insurance of €18.000 a year. Nevertheless, the Minister of Social Affairs stated on 17 June 2020 that disability insurance will become obligatory, which raises questions about who is responsible for offering fair and affordable disability insurance. In a letter to the Parliament of 20 December 2020, the Minister of Social Affairs stated that it would take longer than expected to create an insurance obligation.

average, I spend four hours per month administrating the Broodfonds.

It's my free choice to join a Broodfonds and it's great that my colleague is receiving support. Yet, it's questionable whether the active solidarity structure would be necessary if the passive solidarity structure was available to all. From a critical perspective, I am donating and doing unpaid work the Academy outsources because the institution is not taking its responsibility as an employer; I should not also have the role of support buddy, as a company doctor should

see my colleague; it should not be me who donates from my modest income, as my colleague should receive sick leave.<sup>10</sup> On top of that, if the Broodfonds proves successful in improving the situation of precarious freelancers, it might also be used as a legitimization to reduce supports for workers in the Netherlands further.

#### SLOW DECAY

Writing about the position of flex-workers in higher education in the Netherlands comes close to opening Pandora's box, in which you find contentious political discussions concerning labour, education, taxation, social security, and the welfare state. To understand the working conditions in art academies in the Netherlands in 2021, two key developments which unfolded over the last three decades are important to examine. The first development is the enormous increase of flexible labour in the economy in general. For example, allowing payroll companies to act as intermediaries has created almost 3 million flex-workers in the Netherlands (50% more in comparison with 2003 / 32% of the workforce)

in addition to the 1,1 million freelancers active in 2020.<sup>11</sup> The second development is the decentralization of labour conditions within educational institutions. I will shortly explain how both reinforce each other and influence teachers' labour conditions.

<sup>11</sup> 'Hoeveel flexwerkers zijn er?', CBS (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek). Accessed through: <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/faq/flexwerk/hoeveel-flexwerkers-zijn-er->.

The 'Flex-agreement' made in 1996 was key to the increase in temporary contracts. Trade unions, employers, and the HR-service industry wanted to do something to prevent the unemployment of the 1980s due to the 'densely regulated' labour

market. At the same time, they wished to control the growth of flexible labour and create a form of social security for flexible workers.<sup>12</sup>

They agreed on a trade-off: staff with permanent contracts would have more flexibility and less security, and flexible staff would have less flexibility and more security.<sup>13</sup> Under Minister of Social Affairs Ad Melkert (PvdA), this agreement was integrated in the Flexibility and Security Act. This act normalized temporary contracts and changed the Dutch labour market.

<sup>12</sup> *Flex-agreement* is the Flexakkoord. The Flexibility and Security Act is the Wet Flexibiliteit en zekerheid. "In 1996 kwam het Flexakkoord (ook wel 'Akkoord van Haarlem' of 'keukentafelakkoord' genoemd) tot stand. Dit sociaal akkoord in de vorm van een unaniem advies van de sociale partners legde de basis voor de in 1999 in werking getreden Wet Flexibiliteit en zekerheid. Hierdoor kreeg zittend personeel te maken met meer flexibiliteit en minder zekerheid, en flexibel personeel met minder flexibiliteit en meer zekerheid." Accessed through: [https://www.parlement.com/id/vh8lnhrqsxz/het\\_flexakkoord\\_van\\_1996](https://www.parlement.com/id/vh8lnhrqsxz/het_flexakkoord_van_1996).

<sup>13</sup> The Flex-agreement aimed to put an end to chains of temporary contracts. In 1996, this could not last longer than one year. Employers circumvented this by employing someone for eleven months with one-month intervals. The labour unions wanted to end this, but employers demanded more flexibility in exchange. The labour unions gave in: an employer was allowed to offer three consecutive contracts before someone had to be permanently employed.

This act from the 1990s still defines why academies dismiss teachers for six months after three consecutive contract periods.<sup>14</sup> The employer also has the option to offer a permanent contract after the allowed maximum of temporary contracts. However, it is attractive to hire someone else on a flexible basis, from a management perspective. This perspective does not consider the possible negative consequences for education or individuals involved. Occasionally, the flexible nature of the workforce in education is presented as attractive or

necessary for educational innovation.<sup>15</sup> Flexibility was a major goal in the strategic agenda for art academies, see the KUO NEXT agenda 2016-2020.<sup>16</sup> Flexibility allows the educational programme to be fed by artistic

practices outside of the Academy. In many art academies in the Netherlands, having a prominent career in the arts has been a more important requirement for teaching positions than pedagogical skills or degrees.

The growth of freelancers is the second explanation for the massive flexibilization of the workforce. In 1986, the Lubbers Administration (CDA) introduced the working relationship declaration (VAR), which allowed workers to work without

<sup>14</sup> Under certain conditions, the Collective Labour Agreement HBO allowed for an exception to the rule of a maximum of three consecutive temporary contracts and four consecutive periods: for example when an employee is teaching alongside an independent professional practice as an artist for less than 0,4 fte. Recent advice (3 June 2021) of the social partners (labour unions and employees) to the SER about he labour market stated that the exceptions in CLAs will disappear. See: <https://www.trouw.nl/economie/vakbonden-en-werkgevers-eens-over-hervorming-arbeidsmarkt~b8456013/>

<sup>15</sup> However, recent studies in light of social security in art academies demand that we rethink the relationships between employment policy and pedagogy. See, for instance: [https://www.metropolism.com/nl/opinion/42467\\_het\\_ligt\\_niet\\_aan\\_jou\\_hoe\\_academies\\_onveiligheid\\_laten voortbestaan](https://www.metropolism.com/nl/opinion/42467_het_ligt_niet_aan_jou_hoe_academies_onveiligheid_laten voortbestaan).

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.vereniginghogescholen.nl/kennisbank/sectoren/artikelen/kuo-next-agenda-2016-2020-vierde-voortgangsrapportage>

an employment contract. The VAR declaration made it possible to prevent penalties from the tax inspectors and legally avoid paying payroll taxes. In 1989, there were less than 4000 freelancers, while in 2001, there were already half a million freelancers using this declaration. To control growth, the VAR was updated by the Kok Administration (PvdA) in 2001 to define what freelancers are allowed to do more clearly. At the same time, several fiscal measures were introduced, making it financially attractive for individuals to work freelance and employers to hire freelancers. In 2016, government withdrew the VAR legislation, making labour relations part of an extensive political debate while the content of proposed new legislation remains unclear.<sup>17</sup>

17 Enforcement by tax-inspectors is suspended due to new legislation (wet DBA: <https://www.belastingdienst.nl/wps/wcm/connect/nl/modelovereenkomsten/modelovereenkomsten>). The Minister of Social Affairs has published his sixth letter 'working self-employed', there is no political majority for the liberal perspective "individuals and companies are free to choose their own contract" or the socialistic perspective: "it is only under strict conditions allowed to work as self-employed." <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2020/11/16/zesde-voortgangsbrief-werken-als-zelfstandige>.

In comparison to the wider Dutch economy, the flexibilization of teachers in Dutch Higher Education has grown rapidly. In 2014, 33% of teachers had a temporary contract and 20% were freelancers.<sup>18</sup> Amongst the teaching staff at the Rietveld, this percentage of flexible working relationships is higher than average with 57% flexwork in total: 35% of the full-time equivalents (FTEs)

18 These 20% freelance workers are responsible for 5% of the teaching hours. See: Yvonne van de Meent, 'Doorgeslagen flexibilisering', *Onderwijsblad*, 21 juni 2014.

are performed on a temporary contract, and 22% are performed by freelancers. The personnel administration of the Rietveld and Sandberg are operating independently and differently, and the percentage of flexwork at the Sandberg Instituut was not available at the time of writing. With the figures available, I estimate that the percentage of flexwork amongst teaching staff at Sandberg is between 75-85%. Of the 65 people working for the Sandberg only 8 have a permanent contract and the others work on a freelance basis. These figures make the Academy an educational employer with one of the highest number of flex-teachers (temporary contracts and freelancers) in the Netherlands.<sup>19</sup>

19 As much as the position of teachers with a temporary contract differs from teachers working freelance, there is also shared insecurity.

Next to the flexibilization of labour through temporary contracts and freelancing, labour conditions in education were subject to increasing government decentralization. Over 20 years ago, a Decree was implemented that reduced governmental regulations on labour conditions in higher education and scientific research.<sup>20</sup>

20 'Besluit decentralisatie arbeidsvoorwaardenvorming universiteiten, hogescholen en onderzoekinstellingen', Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, *Staatsblad*, 1999, p. 528.

This meant that the government's legislative and executive roles in the public sector of education were taken apart. The executive role was decentralized to the executive boards of educational institutions. However, the government still decided the institutions' annual budgets. In other words, executive boards

gained freedom in budgetary decisions, but they gained no influence over the size of the budget.<sup>21</sup> The AOb, the biggest labour union for education, claims that this construction led to an impoverishment of the labour conditions within higher educational institutions.<sup>22</sup>

Twenty years ago, a model was

introduced to create an annual budget that should have kept public sector employees' salaries in line with wage increases in the corporate sector. Within this model, the government can decide to apply policy-based cuts.

22 Liesbeth Verheggen, 'Position paper Algemene Onderwijsbond voor Commissie Regulering van Werk', *AOb*, 19 juli 2019.

Although this should have been exceptional, cuts have been made 11 times in twenty years. The result is that salaries in education

have lagged behind by 18%.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the Ministry demanded investments in research from educational institutions without increasing the budget. Shrinking budgets, other mandatory investments, and options to cut personnel costs have eroded working conditions for teachers.

23 With the exception of boards in education, many of the board members of educational institutions earn a salary similar to the minister of education. See: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2021/03/28/breng-onderwijsbestuurders-onderin-gewone-cao-a4037601> and [nrc.nl/nieuws/2021/03/28/gapend-gat-bij-beloning-onderwijs-a4037591](https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2021/03/28/gapend-gat-bij-beloning-onderwijs-a4037591).

## WHERE IS THE RED LINE?

The systemic practices described in the previous section is what sociologist Pascal Gielen calls 'repressive liberalism': "It proclaims the freedom of the individual, encourages independent (cultural) entrepreneurship, embraces the creative industry, and puts forward a rhetoric of deregulation and swears by the limitation of the state (and its control). At the same time, however, we can empirically observe that in contrast to the staged discourse, regulation is on the rise, audit controls prevail and a decentralized bureaucratic apparatus – albeit privatized or 'outsourced' – proliferates."<sup>24</sup> This neoliberal ideology promises more freedom and efficiency but results in more control and precarity.

24 Pascal Gielen, 'Repressief liberalisme. Over kunst, markt en cultuurbeleid in Nederland', in: *Kunstlicht* 34:1/2, 2013, p. 13.

Although neoliberalism continues to dominate Dutch politics, critiques of it are growing. In the 2020 report *In what kind of country would we like to work?* written

by the Commission Regulating Work<sup>25</sup> the Commission states that it is time for "fundamental change". The critiques of neoliberalism make clear that the current laws and regulations on labour, social security, and taxation create inequality, leading to numerous economic and societal problems.

25 Rijksoverheid, 'In wat voor land willen we werken?', Eindrapport van de Commissie Regulering van Werk, 23 januari 2020. Accessed through: <https://reguleringvanwerk.archiefweb.eu/#archive>.

Within the Gerrit Rietveld Academie, the differences between contracted and freelance workers should be decreased while also more clearly defined. If one listens to the needs of the students, staff, teachers, and coordinators of the Sandberg Instituut, a clear call for more transparency, sustainability, diversity, trust, and solidarity can be heard. With the high amount of freelancers, the current employment policy is experienced as negative and insecure. There are other, more pragmatic reasons to re-evaluate a reliance on freelance labour: following a visit from the tax authorities, the Hogeschool Utrecht received an

extra tax bill of €0,5 million because freelancers were hired for structural positions.<sup>26</sup> Saxion Hogeschool decided to stop hiring freelancers after it also received a visit from the tax authorities.<sup>27</sup>

26 Yvonne van de Meent, 'Doorgeslagen flexibilisering', in: *Onderwijsblad*, 21 juni 2014.

Concerning these visits, the recent letter about the position of freelancers by the Kunstenbond delivers a strong warning: the Academy is hiring freelancers illegally.<sup>28</sup> This is a red line.

27 Ibid. Often freelancers also receive an extra tax bill in such situations.

28 'Kunstenbond stuurt Gerrit Rietveld Academie brandbrief arbeidscontracten', June 2021. Accessed through: <https://kunstenbond.nl/nieuws/kunstenbond-stuurt-gerrit-rietveld-academie-brandbrief-arbeidscontracten/>.

This situation at the Sandberg results from the flexibilization and decentralization of working conditions, and all parties involved – government, executive boards, department heads – have some responsibility. Freelancers need an income and enjoy the work, but agree to work for low hourly rates which deteriorate solidarity structures. The labour unions don't seem to have structural mechanisms to ensure that executive boards follow the collective labour agreement. If partial decision-making and pushing problems to the lower ranks keeps going, the labour conditions will continue to deteriorate.

## HOW TO REINVENT SOLIDARITY?

In my view, the only appropriate response to this descending spiral is solidarity. We might be in the same Academy, but this institution has at least three

classes: permanent, temporary, and freelancer staff. The only proper response to the neoliberal thumbscrews is a kind of solidarity where we create structures to stand in for each other: solidarity in which we create a commitment deeper than self-interested needs with a network of symmetrical, mutual, and reciprocal relationships.

Personnel with a contract ought to realize that their position is already embedded in passive solidarity structures that result from lengthy labour struggles. The insecurity of their freelance colleagues also affects their position. Department Heads should balance their responsibilities differently, bearing solidarity in mind while forming teacher teams. The executive boards of the art academies in the Netherlands need to stand in solidarity with their teaching staff by using employment policy to address the structural underfunding of education. The Association of Higher Education and the labour unions need to demand that the budget cuts that created a sector lagging behind in salaries by 18% should be undone. In short, the rollout of neoliberal policy can only be reversed by a collective movement starting at the bottom going all the way up to the highest levels of government. What is now a race to the bottom can become a solidarity campaign.

A fair employment policy that reduces inequality between the different types of employees is essential to this movement. This reduction in inequality is what the Commission Regulating Work has advised, and this is in line with the idea that structural work should be performed on a structural basis, as stated in the Collective Labour Agreement of the Higher Educational Institutions.<sup>29, 30</sup>

These principles I have just described lead to the following steps that every Academy can take: firstly, creating a definition of structural work. A transparent and convincing educational vision is needed to argue the needs and demands for every position in the Academy. Secondly, to understand the legal limitations, the institute should investigate its employment

relationships, beginning with readily-available online resources.<sup>31</sup> This will give insights into whether a position can be performed on a freelance basis. Thirdly, the institute should reduce the inequality between contracted and freelancer workers as much as possible. For example, freelancers should

29 Collectieve Arbeidsovereenkomst voor het hoger beroepsonderwijs 2018-2020, Vereniging Hogescholen, Den Haag, mei 2018, p. 10.

30 On top of that, the CAO requires the Participation Council to agree with the percentage of flexible workers (differentiated in temporary, freelancers, outsourced) that the Executive Board proposes. See: Principeakkoord cao-hbo 2018-2020

31 The Webmodule Beoordeling Arbeidsrelatie was presented on 11 January 2021. See: <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/actueel/nieuws/2021/01/11/pilot-webmodule-van-start>.

apply a standard surcharge of 30% on their hourly rate. This percentage corresponds with the social and pension costs for the employed personnel of the Academy. I would argue that freelancers should be even more expensive than contracted workers, since freelancers are not eligible for other social benefits such as transition fees or one-off bonuses. Moreover, making freelance workers more costly than contracted workers reduces the incentive to hire freelancers for the wrong reasons.

The consequences of a fair employment policy will likely lead to more personnel costs. Executive boards may conclude that this is a problem they cannot solve since they can only define how they spend the money, not how much. However, on moral grounds, an executive board can do more than what is assigned to them or regulated by agreements with the Ministry. In other words, executive boards can calculate how much extra budget would be needed to create fair practice and present this to the government.<sup>32</sup> The Minister of Education would not likely agree immediately, but this claim in itself makes clear that the government has been abdicating responsibility and delegating too much to educational institutions.

<sup>32</sup> This is what cultural institutions in the performance and visual arts did in 2019 Kunsten '92 calculated that the extra additional costs to implement Fair Practice Code in the performing and visual arts was € 25,4 million for 2021. See: <https://www.kunsten92.nl/meerkosten-fair-practice-berekend/>.

If the government wants to keep the social welfare system affordable, it must end its policies that erode the working conditions in the public sector. Academies should not only treat the symptoms by raising freelancer rates but tackle the problem at its roots: the structural underfunding of education that has been prompted by a neoliberal ideology plaguing solidarity structures. Solidarity between teachers in art academies will only be possible when fair working conditions are established.

Joram Kraaijeveld is a curator, teacher and writer and as such is committed to promoting the position of artists and the value of the arts for society. He works on active forms of solidarity within and outside the arts. He was involved in the development of the Labour Market Agenda for the Cultural and Creative Sector 2021-2024, the guideline on artists' fees and the Fair Practice Code. On behalf of Platform BK he wrote the research report 'Geen Stad Zonder Kunst' (No City Without Art) on different forms of managing studio buildings in the Netherlands. Joram teaches art theory at the Gerrit Rietveld Academie. He has worked as (guest) curator for Stedelijk Museum

Bureau Amsterdam, Van Abbemuseum, De Brakke Grond, Museum Dr. Guislain, Schloss Ringenberg, Gerrit Rietveld Academie, Metropolis M & Stedelijk Museum. His articles have been published in Metropolis M, Boekman and Kunstlicht, among others. He is chairman of association Platform BK, chairman of Broedfonds Sociale Dienst, member of the Advisory Committee Cultuurnota 2021-2024 of the City of Utrecht, member of the CAWA (Commissie voor Ateliers en (Woon) Werkpanden Amsterdam), and member of Bajesdorp, a self-constructed residential tower block with studios for artists and activists.

'From a race to the bottom towards reinventing solidarity'  
by Joram Kraaijeveld is part of the *Commissioned Critique* series  
(edited by Michelle Kasprzak and Rosa te Velde), see: <http://comcrit.cc/>  
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Graphic design: studio Corine van der Wal