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## Does Public Support Make a Difference, and for Whom?

The Role of Direct Support for Artists in Different Art Forms and Its Relation to  
the Situation of Women Artists

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## Introduction

The structure of the Finnish arts administration is based on the representation of "all" art forms through expert bodies called national arts councils. These councils act both as policy implementators and as advisory bodies towards the Ministry of Education, which bears the main responsibility of policy implementation and formulation. The national arts councils each represent a specific art form, and each has its own quota of artist grants to distribute. What exactly is meant by "all" art forms, i.e. what art forms are included within the system, is the result of a historical and social process dating back to the 19th century, and still continuing. When the present system of national art councils was established at the end of the 1960's, the art form councils numbered seven, and presently there are nine.<sup>1</sup>

The system of direct support for artists is basically the same for all art forms, each having the same types of grants (annual grants, project grants, travel grants etc.) in addition to art form specific support systems like library compensations for authors. While the system has grown and embraced new art forms, different forms of support have also been extended to cover all art forms within the system.<sup>2</sup> There are, however, notable differences in the volume of the support assigned to each art form. One might think that this is only a technical aspect of arts policy, depending altogether on differences in the structures of production and distribution. For example, creative artists such as authors or painters are the seemingly self-evident targets for direct support, whereas performing arts appear to be more in need of support for institutions such as theatres. The variation in the amount of support is, however, also due to other factors. For example, the creative artists belonging to the hard core of traditionally defined high culture, i.e. authors, plastic artists or composers, have the greatest share of annual grants, while newcomers of the system, such as dance and photographic art, have much more limited resources at their disposal.

The role of direct support varies also within art forms, depending on many factors. One of the most important is the employment status of artists, i.e. whether they work as freelancers or as employees. There are also repeated debates, especially among the artists themselves, of whether some groups of artists are in special

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<sup>1</sup> Literature, plastic arts (painting, sculpture, graphic art), music, theatre, dance, photography, cinema, crafts & design and architecture each have their own national art council.

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed description of the Finnish system of artist support, see Heikkinen & Karhunen 1994.

favour/disfavour of the policy makers and grant distributors. The attributes most commonly brought forth in these discussions, at least in Finland, are gender, age, region (i.e. place of residence), and language (Finland having two official languages). The accusations of unfavourable bias towards certain groups are a cause of worry for the arts administrators, who may decide to develop special procedures towards ensuring equity in the distribution of support. The Australian Council, for example, has adopted special programs to promote the situation of women artists (Australian Council 1984; 1988).

Equity as such cannot be considered a major policy objective of the Finnish policy towards artists, which is first and foremost based on the idea of promoting artistic excellence. Grants are distributed on the basis of artistic merit, not on the basis of the economic situation of the applicants. However, the above mentioned attributes (gender, age, region, language) are the ones which have been given a statutory status in relation to the concept of equity. According to the law and statute on artist grants, geographical and linguistic factors are to be taken into consideration in the distribution of annual artist grants and project grants, and young artists are given a special quota of annual artist grants. Gender equity is provided for by a special law, which is to be taken into consideration in all decision-making.

The results from a research project on the situation of artists in Finland have not given especially strong support for the repeatedly suggested bias according to such factors as place of residence, language, age or gender. The project has been carried out by the Research Unit of the Arts Council of Finland, and its results have been reported mainly in publications concentrating on the problems of one art form at a time. The results did not point towards an overall bias against women artists in the distribution of grants, but in certain art fields indications of this were found. However, the income level of women artists proved to be on the average lower than men in all art fields.

This paper discusses tentatively the impact of gender on the income level and public support of artists comparing the situation across art forms with the help of additional data recently acquired (see Appendix 1 on the data). There certainly is strong variation in the support according to art forms, and we pose the question whether there might be a connection between gender equity and the level of support by art forms. For example, is the competition between men and women harder in high prestige areas which are strongly supported, or are the differences in the economic status according to gender smaller in these than in poorly supported areas.

From the point of view of arts policy the question is, does direct support granted for artists have an effect on the relative economic position of women.

## The distribution of public support by art forms – are there priorities ?

The economic importance of the support for the artists varies strongly between art forms. Supposing that the distribution of public support across art forms reflects the preferences of policy formulators, the distribution of direct support for artists clearly is not enough to show these preferences. If the total support including support to institutions is taken into account, the distribution across art forms is different, creative arts, for example, benefiting more of direct support than performing arts and vice versa. Table 1 describes the distribution of state support for individual artists as well as the total support by art forms. As an indication of the size of different art fields, the table also gives the distribution of artists across art forms. An Australian study (Throsby & Thompson 1994:101) gives the same data for Australia and the situation seems to be similar. Literature and plastic arts (painting, sculpture, graphic art) have the greatest shares of the direct support for artists, and music and theatre of the total support for the arts.

*Table 1. Direct support for artists, total support for the arts and the number of artists by art forms in 1992*

|                  | DIRECT SUPPORT<br>FOR ARTISTS % | TOTAL SUPPORT<br>FOR THE ARTS % | SHARE OF ARTISTS<br>FROM ALL ARTISTS % |
|------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Literature       | 48                              | 5                               | 5                                      |
| Plastic arts     | 19                              | 9                               | 11                                     |
| Music            | 10                              | 47                              | 31                                     |
| Theatre          | 8                               | 22                              | 13                                     |
| Cinema           | 4                               | 12                              | 4                                      |
| Craft and design | 4                               | 2                               | 16                                     |
| Dance            | 3                               | 1                               | 4                                      |
| Photographic art | 3                               | 1                               | 1                                      |
| Architecture     | 2                               | 1                               | 15                                     |
|                  | 100                             | 100                             | 100                                    |
| TOTAL            | FIM 55.6 million                | FIM 705.7 million*              | 13,092                                 |

\* Support for libraries (FIM 742 million) not included.

A large part of the differences between the distribution of artists' support and total support are explained by differences in the structures of production, distribution, and private markets of different art fields. Music leads the way in total support, due to the expensive and publicly supported infrastructure of the field, including the National Opera and a national network of orchestras, and theatre follows from the same reasons. Some art fields, especially design and architecture, have very differently functioning private markets than the rest of the art fields. However, Table 1 also indicates that newcomers of the support system, such as dance and photography, receive a very minor share of the support.

There is good reason to claim that different art forms carry different weights within the arts policy. A good example is offered by the respective status of literature and plastic arts. Both are creative arts where the initial creation does not need expensive structures. If initial creation is more in need of resources in either, it is in the case of plastic arts. However, the share of authors from the direct support for artists is overwhelmingly larger. And the same holds true, and even more so, if total support for these two art forms is taken into account. Both art forms receive only a very minor share of the state support for promoting the arts, but if the support for the national network of libraries is taken into account, literature again leads the way, this time by hundreds of millions FIM. This is related to the status of literature and the Finnish language in the historical process of nation building and the construction of what has been called "prototype national culture" (Heiskanen 1995:34-38).

## Direct support for artists – the importance of being a woman

Compared to the total public support assigned for the arts, the sum distributed as direct support for artists is relatively small. In 1992 the total sum granted by the state as direct support for artists was FIM 55.6 million, which was only 8 % of the total support for the arts. Individual grants are on the average rather small, but the number of artists enjoying them is relatively large. From the artists' point of view, however, the economic role played by direct public support for individual artists is in Finland considerable, compared to many other countries. In Finland, like in other Nordic countries, private markets for the arts are very limited, and the role of government in promoting the arts is important also in this respect. Economically (and

also by prestige value) the most important artists support scheme in Finland consists of annual artist grants, aimed to ensure the prerequisites of artistic work, and granted according to the criteria of artistic merit. The annual amount of an artist grant (FIM 67,700 tax-free) is large enough to have a real meaning for the economic situation of the recipient. Annually there are about 500 artists receiving these grants.

The share of grant recipients according to art forms and gender is given in Table 2. The difference between male and female artists taken as a whole is not significant in this respect. In some art fields women are even better off as grant recipients. However, the share of grant recipients is smaller among women artists in the fields of plastic arts (painting, sculpture, graphic art), dance and music. In music the whole branch is dominated by men, which is also seen in the grant distribution. In the 1980s only 10 % of all grant receivers in music were women and women's grants were also smaller than those of men. Women working in the field of music are also a minority in receiving state prizes, artist professorships, long-term artist grants etc. (Irjala 1992:10).

*Table 2. The share of artists receiving grant by gender and art form in 1992*

|       | Cinema % | Graphic design % | Literature % | Plastic art % | Theatre % | Music % | Dance % | Photography % | All % |
|-------|----------|------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|---------|---------|---------------|-------|
| Women | 18       | 12               | 75           | 30            | 14        | 7       | 15      | 54            | 21    |
| Men   | 15       | 5                | 70           | 36            | 11        | 12      | 19      | 41            | 18    |
| All   | 16       | 8                | 72           | 33            | 12        | 11      | 16      | 44            | 19    |

On the average, grants represent a relative small amount of money for the individual recipient. The sums received varied between a few thousands to over FIM 100,000, but the majority of the grants were small. With a couple of exceptions, the grants for women are on the average smaller than those of men, but the difference is not considerable.

From the grant recipients 25 % had received an annual grant which is aimed to make artistic work possible without concerns for everyday living. Here again the variation between art forms is wide. In the field of music almost half of grant recipients had an annual grant, while in graphic design the share was under 10 %. Usually the share of annual grants in different art fields was between 20 - 30 % of grant recipients.



Table 3 compares the share of women of artists in different art areas to women's share of the money distributed as grants. All in all, there is only a slight difference between men and women in this respect, with two exceptions, plastic arts and music. In the field of music, one fifth of the artists are women, but they get under 10 % of grants. This is partly due to the fact that the largest share of the support goes to composers, and there are very few women composers. Women get distinctively less than their share also in plastic arts. Theatre represents an opposite area, where women's share of grants is larger than their share of artists.

*Table 3. The share of women of the direct support for artists and of artists by art forms in 1992*

|                  | Share of women (%)<br>of direct support | Share of women (%)<br>of artists |
|------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Cinema           | 28                                      | 25                               |
| Graphic design   | 44                                      | 45                               |
| Literature       | 42                                      | 44                               |
| Plastic arts     | 37                                      | 51                               |
| Theatre          | 53                                      | 43                               |
| Music            | 9                                       | 21                               |
| Dance            | 80                                      | 81                               |
| Photographic art | 27                                      | 24                               |
| ALL              | 39                                      | 42                               |

If we assume that the grant distribution is unfair to women in some art areas, it is necessary to know how much they apply for grants. The information on the share of women of applications and grants is obtained from the grant register of Arts Council of Finland (Table 4). As a whole, there does not seem to be any bias against women, since the share of women of applications and grants is almost the same. In some art areas women have received grants even more than their share of applicants. A survey on Australian artists (Throsby & Thompson 1995:24) gives about the same picture. There was a very slight bias against of women in the overall distribution of grants. The situation seems to be same in Norway, neither gender has been favoured in distributing grants, but women had somewhat smaller grants (Elstad & Pedersen 1996:65 -66).

*Table 4. The share of women of grant applications and grants in 1987 - 1994*

|                          | Share of women (%) of applications | Share of women (%) of grants |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Long-term artist grants  | 32                                 | 34                           |
| Short-term artist grants | 43                                 | 40                           |
| Project grants           | 46                                 | 44                           |

Women's share of grant applicants and grants according to art forms is presented in Table I and in Appendix 2). Once again, there are considerable differences between art forms. The share of women as grant recipients is distinctively smaller than their share of applicants in the field of plastic arts. There also seems to be a slight bias against women in music, dance and craft and design. On the other hand, women's share of grants exceeds their share of applications in the fields of photography, theatre, cinema and literature.

### The economic situation of artists – are female artists poor ?

It is often misleading to speak of the economic situation of artists taken as a group, since their income level varies strongly across art forms. This is indicated by Table 5, which gives the absolute and comparative income level of artists in different art areas. The figures represent mean taxable income (taxable income after deductions), i.e. income without grants which are tax-free. The relative income level of various artistic occupations, compared to some non-arts occupational groups, is given separately for men and women in Figures I and II, Appendix 2. The relative order of art fields remains almost exactly the same for men and women.

*Table 5. Absolute and comparative taxable incomes of artists by art form in 1992*

|                  | Mean taxable income | % of highest income group |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| Music            | 145,200             | 100                       |
| Theatre          | 143,300             | 99                        |
| Graphic design   | 142,200             | 98                        |
| Literature       | 135,200             | 93                        |
| Cinema           | 115,000             | 79                        |
| Dance            | 91,200              | 63                        |
| Photographic art | 87,900              | 61                        |
| Plastic arts     | 61,600              | 42                        |

The areas with especially low level of income are plastic arts, photographic art and dance. These three groups represent very different art fields, but they have also something in common. Artists in these fields usually work without permanent contracts, and they lack supporting institutions. The art areas with relatively high average income level are music, theatre and graphic design. One explanation is offered by the fact that artists in these areas very often have permanent jobs.

It is more than obvious that the professionals in the field of plastic arts do not make a fortune with their work. The mean income of plastic artists is less than a half of the highest income group (musicians and composers). It is, of course, true that the relative position of plastic artists is here partly due to the fact that the income category used is taxable income after deductions, since plastic artists have much deductible expenses of their work. However, the same holds true also for musicians (expensive instruments) and yet they are on the top of the list.

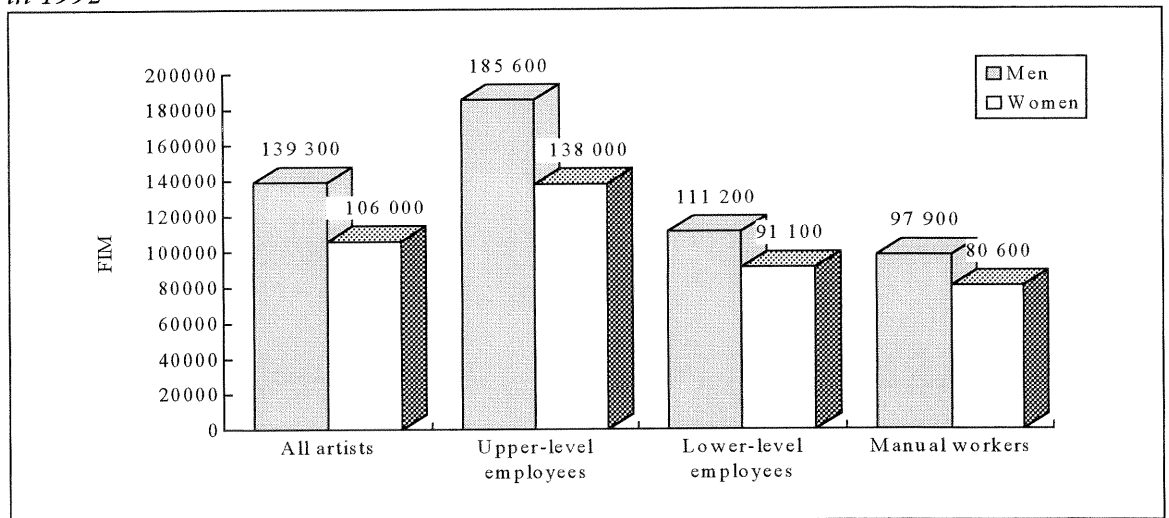
The relative position of different art forms presented above bear some resemblance to the situation in other countries. In Canada, USA and Norway the category of 'actors and directors' was the one with the highest average income. The lowest income group both in Canada and USA was dancers and choreographers, followed by painters and sculptors. Plastic artists, photographers and craftsmen had the lowest incomes<sup>3</sup> also according to a Norwegian survey (Frey & Pommerehne 1989:154, Elstad & Pedersen 1996: 59).

Several studies on artists' economic situation have indicated that the income level of women artists is lower than that of men (e.g. Throsby & Thompson 1994: 27, Elstad & Pedersen 1996:59. Ontario Arts Council 1992:21) For example, according to the survey made on Norwegian artists, male artists earn 40 % more than female artists. Before taking a look at the income differences between men and women in different art areas in Finland, there is reason to compare the relative situation of female artists to the situation of women in non-arts occupations. Figure 1 describes the mean income level of men and women in art and non-arts occupations. The incomes of women are lower in all occupational groups, but women artists are not in a significantly worse situation in this respect than women in non-arts occupations.

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<sup>3</sup> Incomes from artistic work.

Figure 1. Mean taxable income of artists and other occupational groups by gender in 1992



Thus the income disparities between men and women are not exceptional when it comes to all artists, but there are some artist groups where the situation is different. Table 6 describes income differences between men and women in different art areas and non-art occupational groups<sup>4</sup>. In the field of plastic arts female artists' income is about 70 % of male artists' mean income. The income disparities are even wider among photographic artists, but the field of photographic art is so male dominated and small that one must be careful with these results. The third field, where income differences between genders are notable, is dance. The situation in the field of dance resembles some other female dominated areas (like nurses) where women are usually underpaid. The demand for male dancers is obviously so much higher that it is possible for them to work more, and probably also for higher compensation. In the field of music, where male artists are in a majority, one could assume that the income differences would be greater. The reason for the rather satisfactory situation of women is that most female musicians work in orchestras with a permanent salary<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See also Table II in Appendix 2.

<sup>5</sup> Salaries in municipal orchestras and theatres are about the same as for other municipal civil servants.

Table 6. Women's income % of men's income in 1992

|                       | % of mean taxable income |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Photographic art      | 68                       |
| Plastic arts          | 70                       |
| Dance                 | 74                       |
| UPPER-LEVEL EMPLOYEES | 74                       |
| Graphic design        | 76                       |
| ALL ARTISTS           | 76                       |
| Literature            | 77                       |
| Music                 | 79                       |
| LOWER-LEVEL EMPLOYEES | 82                       |
| MANUAL WORKERS        | 82                       |
| Cinema                | 85                       |
| Theatre               | 86                       |

The difference between men and women was widest in the farthest ends of income classes (under FIM 50,000 or over FIM 200,000). On the whole, about one fifth of all artists belonged to the low-income group, and over half of these (52 %) were women. Most of those with low incomes were plastic artists. The share of artists in the low-income group is given according to art form and gender in Table 7. Their share was clearly higher among women artists. In most art areas the difference between women and men is very clear in this respect. Plastic arts and photographic art had the highest share of artists with low incomes, and over one half of female artists in these fields belonged to this group.

Table 7. The share of artists with low income (below FIM 50,000) in 1992 by art form

|       | Cinema | Graphic design | Literature | Plastic art | Theatre | Music | Dance | Photography | All  |
|-------|--------|----------------|------------|-------------|---------|-------|-------|-------------|------|
| Women | 23 %   | 19 %           | 35 %       | 60 %        | 11 %    | 15 %  | 31 %  | 51 %        | 26 % |
| Men   | 24 %   | 16 %           | 22 %       | 47 %        | 7 %     | 12 %  | 20 %  | 41 %        | 17 % |
| All   | 23 %   | 17 %           | 28 %       | 53 %        | 9 %     | 12 %  | 29 %  | 44 %        | 21 % |

On the average, women artists are not so poor compared to women in other occupational groups. The income differences according to gender stay among artists at about the same level as among non-arts occupations. The areas where income dis-

parities between men and women were largest were photographic art, plastic arts and dance. These were also the three areas with the lowest average level of taxable income.

## The importance of grants – direct support as income

As the preceding discussion has showed, the resources allocated as direct support for artists are relatively small compared to the total support granted for the arts. However, from an individual artist's point of view, the economic role played by grants can be considerable. It can be presumed that grants have some significant impact on the economic situation of artists when the sum received is over FIM 50,000. This would be enough to offer some guarantee of survival and thus offer possibilities to concentrate in the art work. Six percent of all artists, and 29 % of grant receivers, had over FIM 50,000 of grant income. Over half of these were writers or plastic artists. All in all, about 20 % of artists had received a tax-free grant of some sort.

One indication of the role direct support plays in the economic situation of artist is the share of grants of their incomes. Table 8 describes the share of grants of the net incomes of male and female artists in different art areas both for all artists and for grant recipients only. Net income has been constructed by subtracting taxes from taxable income and adding grant income.

*Table 8. The share (%) of grants of net income in 1992*

|                  | ALL ARTISTS |         |       | GRANT RECIPIENTS |         |       |
|------------------|-------------|---------|-------|------------------|---------|-------|
|                  | ALL %       | WOMEN % | MEN % | ALL %            | WOMEN % | MEN % |
| Cinema           | 7           | 8       | 6     | 34               | 37      | 33    |
| Graphic design   | 1           | 1       | 1     | 18               | 14      | 23    |
| Literature       | 27          | 28      | 26    | 36               | 36      | 37    |
| Plastic arts     | 21          | 18      | 23    | 48               | 44      | 51    |
| Theatre          | 3           | 4       | 3     | 22               | 25      | 20    |
| Music            | 4           | 2       | 5     | 29               | 27      | 30    |
| Dance            | 5           | 6       | 5     | 26               | 28      | 20    |
| Photographic art | 21          | 28      | 20    | 42               | 45      | 41    |
| ALL              | 7           | 8       | 7     | 33               | 32      | 33    |

Taken as a whole, grant income does not play a very important role in the incomes of artists. For all artists the share of grants was only 7 % of net income. In this respect there was no difference between men and women. Again, this holds true only for some art areas. There are certain art areas where direct support represents one fifth or more of the artists' net income, namely literature, plastic arts and photographic art. In plastic arts the role played by grant income was slightly smaller for women than for men.

The importance of direct support for the economic situation of grant recipients is demonstrated by the fact that the share of grants of their net incomes varied from one fifth to one half (Table 8). Especially in plastic arts and photographic art - both low-income areas - grant income plays an important role in offering possibilities for working full-time as an artist. Grant recipients among plastic artists and photographic artists had received over 40 % of their net income as grants.

*Table 9. Absolute and comparative net incomes of artists by art form in 1992*

|                  | Mean net income | % of highest income group |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| Literature       | 106,400         | 100                       |
| Music            | 90,900          | 85                        |
| Theatre          | 90,000          | 85                        |
| Graphic design   | 85,600          | 80                        |
| Cinema           | 77,000          | 72                        |
| Photographic art | 72,700          | 68                        |
| Dance            | 63,500          | 60                        |
| Plastic arts     | 52,500          | 49                        |

The impact of direct support on the relative income level in different art fields is indicated in Table 9, which presents the absolute and comparative mean *net income*. It can be compared to Table 5 (page 7) which presented absolute and comparative *taxable incomes* of different art fields. Music was on the top of the list regarding taxable incomes. Taking grants into account changes the order of art fields a little. Artists in the field of literature have the highest net income, which is due to the high level of direct support in this field. On the other hand, the situation at the end of the list remains the same. Not surprisingly, artists in the field of plastic arts have the lowest income even if we count the grants in.

## Discussion

The data discussed gave no clear evidence that the economic situation of women was especially weak in the arts taken as a whole. Gender differences in incomes and direct support were not very distinctive when artists were studied as one group. There is no doubt that the average income level of women artists is lower than their male colleagues, but the gender differences in income tended to be at about the same level in artistic occupations than in other occupations. There were, however, three exceptions, namely plastic arts, photographic art and dance, where the incomes of women were significantly lower than the incomes of men.

Regarding direct support, women did not seem to be on the average in a weaker position than men. They get grants about as often, and their share seems to be fair also when compared to the amount of applications they have made. Although, women tend to get on the average somewhat smaller grants than men. There were however, three art areas where the position of women artists was at least slightly weaker with respect to direct support, namely dance, plastic arts and music. In plastic arts and dance the level of public support was relatively low, the average income level was low and income discrepancies according to gender were wide. Music, again, is a field which consists of areas very differently esteemed by way of public support. Composers of classical music, for example, have a relative generous quota of grants, whereas popular music falls more or less outside support schemes. It seems that women artists in the field of music work in occupations which do not belong to the core areas of grant schemes.

The relative position of women seems to be weaker especially in art fields where both the average income level and the level of public support are low. This suggests that a rise in the level of public support for low income areas could also improve the relative economic position of women artists in these art fields. However, public support for the arts is not distributed according to such criteria as the income level of recipients.

Within the art fields, the most relevant factors in relation to the variations in the distribution of direct artist support are not to be found among such features as gender, age or place of residence. The important delineations are connected both to the employment status of different artistic professions and to the position of different genres within the art fields. And to get the picture more clear, one should also study the differences along lines crossing the art form borderlines, like applied vs. pure art or popular vs. high arts. Almost every art field has its marginal, low-



income and poorly supported groups. Among musicians and composers these groups were rock musicians and entertainment musicians, in the field of theatre freelance artists in general, among graphic designers comic artists, in the field of literature writers of children's literature, etc.

In practice, the role and importance of public support varies strongly between different art forms. It is affected by the structures of production and distribution, and the nature and volume of private demand. The arts policy is supposed to take these variations into consideration in the nature and volume of support assigned to different art forms. However, it can be claimed that the priorities of the support system also depend on the variations in the social demand of each art form. According to e.g. Throsby & Thompson (1995:54), "...the production of art has a social value ... that will extend beyond the immediate consumers of that art. It also follows that in an economic system based on voluntary exchange markets, the social value of art will not be fully reflected in private transactions." This social value can be supposed to be reflected in the weight each art form carries within the national culture, and in the preferences embedded in the national system of promoting arts and culture.

When trying to evaluate the impact of public arts policy, one of the problems is how to account for policy priorities in general, and especially those based on variations in the social value assigned to different art forms. These priorities are more often than not implicit, since explicit arts policy objectives are hard to find (see. e.g. Towse 1994). Arts administrators often even make a point of not having any priorities, claiming neutrality. For example the NEA's chairs have argued that NEA's policy is to support the arts, not to play favourites among them (Dimaggio 1991:249). It follows that these priorities often are to be found out only by looking at the actual allocation of resources.

In the final analyses, the premises behind these priorities can be based on long historical and social processes which have resulted in deep-going differences in the social value actually assigned for each art form by the society in question. This makes the priorities embedded within the system of arts support very resistant to change, even if arts policy would strive towards equal treatment of all art forms.

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## THE DATA

The data discussed in this paper are drawn from two separate sources. The major part of the data stems from a research project on the status of Finnish artists carried out by the Research Unit of the Arts Council of Finland (ACF-data). The data concerning the status of *authors* and *plastic artists* (painters, sculptors, graphic artists), however, stem from a separate project carried out by the Ministry of Education. The source of information for the economic situation of the artists is the same in both data sets: information on the incomes of artists was obtained from the tax-register kept by the national tax authorities, and information on the grants received by the artists in the study population was gathered from the institutions giving grants. Information on grants had to be collected separately, because grants to artistic activity are usually tax-free, and the tax-register does not provide information on them.<sup>6</sup> The artist populations were in both cases defined prior to the collection of economic data with the help of such criteria as membership in artists' organisations, training, grants received or artistic activity. In one case (photography) artists were defined with the help of expert interviews.

Thus, the sources for the two sets of data used are the same. Because they were collected separately, at different times, and for slightly different purposes, there are also some differences. Firstly, the income category used here is different from the one used in the ACF-project. The Arts Council project used the category of taxable income (i.e. all income subject to taxation) in the tax-register, and this was used as a starting point also when such concepts as net and total income were calculated (see e.g. Heikkinen 1995). The income category obtained from the tax-register for the data concerning authors and plastic artists was taxable income after deductions, which means income subject to taxation after expenses accepted as deductions by the tax authorities had been deducted. Same income category was also included in the ACF- data. Consequently, the income category used in this paper is the same for all art forms (taxable income after deductions), but the income

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<sup>6</sup> All grants for artistic activities granted by public authorities (national, regional and local) are tax-free. Grants by private funds and foundations are tax-free up to the amount of annual artist grants by the state (about FIM 70,400 in 1996). Of the total amount of grant income in the data about 90 % was public money, and a considerable part of the remaining 10 % granted by foundations, funds and organisations was also public or semi-public by its origin.

figures reported here are not identical to the ones reported in the earlier publications of the ACF- project.

Taxable income after deductions will also tell us something about the differences between art forms by way of expenses. It is a well known fact that the amount of expenses varies a lot between artistic occupations, and for example a sculptor working with expensive materials has many times higher expenses for his or hers art work than for example an actor working as a permanent employee at a theatre. However, we must bear in mind that the expenses allowed for in the data are the ones accepted by the tax authorities, not the real expenses, which in many cases may be much higher. Further, the deducted expenses include all deductible and accepted expenses, not only expenses from artistic activity. While this paper concentrates on comparisons within artist population across gender and art form occupations, we have settled for the categories offered by the tax-register and grant givers. The concept of total income, important for comparisons with the whole work force and other occupational groups, is not used in the paper.<sup>7</sup>

A second difference in the two sets of data used concerns the study populations. The populations of authors and plastic artists were collected on the basis of membership in the major artists' organisations of the respective fields. This definition is, on the whole, somewhat narrower than the one applied in the ACF-data. Since membership in artists' organisations was the main definitional criteria used in the ACF-project, too, this does not significantly diminish comparability between the two sets of data. The authors and plastic artists are represented by a sample, whereas the ACF-data on other artist occupations included the study population as a whole, with the exception of music where a sample was used.

Thirdly, there is a difference of time between the study populations. The data on incomes and grants of all artist occupations are from the same year (1992), but the study populations were collected at different times. The ACF study population was defined on the bases of information concerning the situation at the end of the year 1989, whereas the populations of authors and plastic artists were defined on the basis of the membership lists of 1994. This might mean that these two last mentioned artist groups are on the average relatively younger than the rest of the artist groups. However, this is balanced at least somewhat by the fact that both authors and plastic artists were defined on the basis of membership in the major artists' or-

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<sup>7</sup> The concept of total income was used in the ACF-project in order to estimate the utility for the artists of the fact that grants are tax-free, and thus produce a greater net effect on income than normal taxable income (see Heikkinen 1995).

organisation which have relatively strict membership criteria. So it takes time for artists to qualify for the membership of these organisations, while, on the other hand, the other artist groups were generally defined on the bases of a broader definition.

## Appendix 2

Table I. The share of women of applications and grants

|                | PROJECT GRANTS <sup>1</sup> |                   | ANNUAL GRANTS <sup>2</sup> |                   |
|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
|                | women of applications %     | women of grants % | women of applications %    | women of grants % |
| Critics        | 28                          | 40                | 31                         | 24                |
| Cinema         | 37                          | 49                | 27                         | 27                |
| Literature     | 48                          | 48                | 49                         | 55                |
| Plastic arts   | 46                          | 38                | 43                         | 35                |
| Theatre        | 50                          | 56                | 50                         | 57                |
| Architecture   | 40                          | 39                | 29                         | 26                |
| Music          | 29                          | 27                | 17                         | 11                |
| Dance          | 75                          | 74                | 75                         | 70                |
| Craft & design | 71                          | 70                | 72                         | 60                |
| Photography    | 22                          | 27                | 18                         | 25                |

<sup>1</sup> Years 1987 - 1992<sup>2</sup> Years 1988 - 1993

Table II. Average and median taxable income of artists by gender and art form in 1992

|              | Cinema  |         | Graphic design |         | Literature |         | Plastic art |        |
|--------------|---------|---------|----------------|---------|------------|---------|-------------|--------|
|              | Average | Median  | Average        | Median  | Average    | Median  | Average     | Median |
| Women        | 101,100 | 96,100  | 121,500        | 112,200 | 115,800    | 77,600  | 50,900      | 37,700 |
| Men          | 119,500 | 101,800 | 159,300        | 138,800 | 150,600    | 109,700 | 72,700      | 53,700 |
| All          | 115,000 | 100,400 | 142,200        | 126,700 | 135,200    | 100,700 | 61,600      | 43,900 |
| women of men | 85 %    | 94 %    | 76 %           | 81 %    | 77 %       | 71 %    | 70 %        | 70 %   |
|              | Theatre |         | Music          |         | Dance      |         | Photography |        |
|              | Average | Median  | Average        | Median  | Average    | Median  | Average     | Median |
| Women        | 130,900 | 126,800 | 120,000        | 106,200 | 85,600     | 75,200  | 64,700      | 62,800 |
| Men          | 152,600 | 131,500 | 151,800        | 129,800 | 115,200    | 108,900 | 95,000      | 88,900 |
| All          | 143,300 | 128,650 | 145,200        | 125,800 | 91,200     | 79,900  | 87,900      | 80,700 |
| women of men | 86 %    | 96 %    | 79 %           | 82 %    | 74 %       | 69 %    | 68 %        | 71 %   |
|              | All     |         |                |         |            |         |             |        |
|              | Average | Median  |                |         |            |         |             |        |
| Women        | 106,000 | 96,900  |                |         |            |         |             |        |
| Men          | 139,300 | 120,500 |                |         |            |         |             |        |
| All          | 125,400 | 110,500 |                |         |            |         |             |        |
| women of men | 76 %    | 80 %    |                |         |            |         |             |        |

Figure I. The mean taxable income of women artists (by occupation) and women in other occupations.

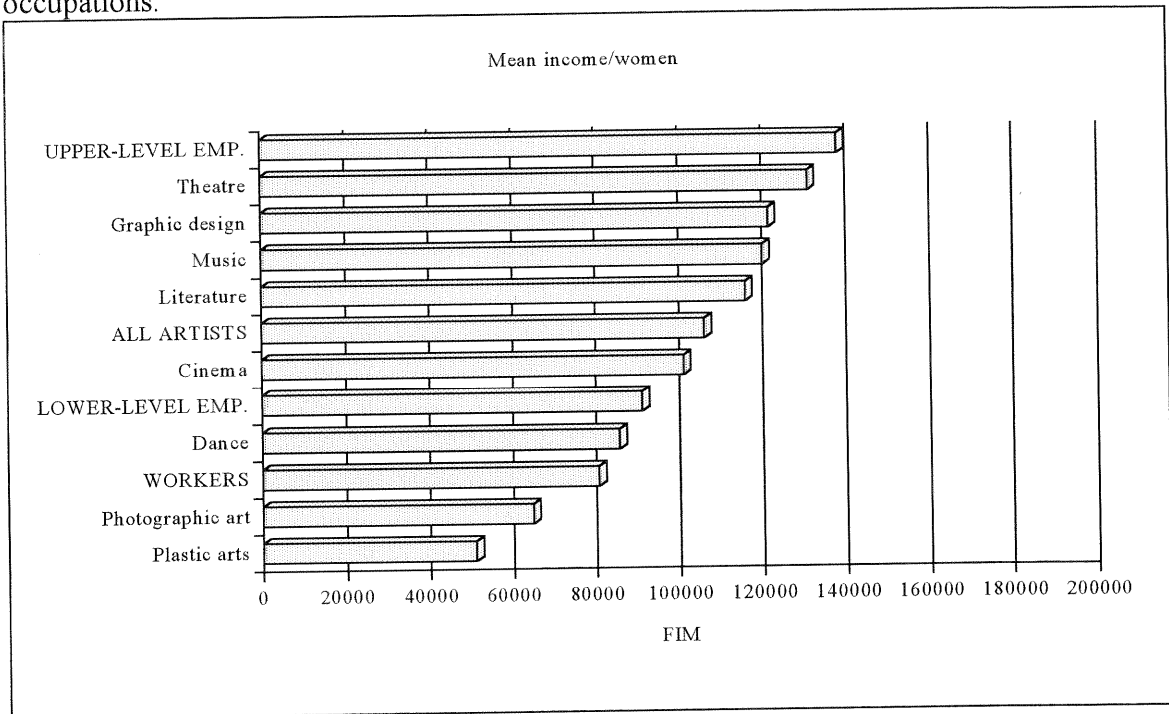
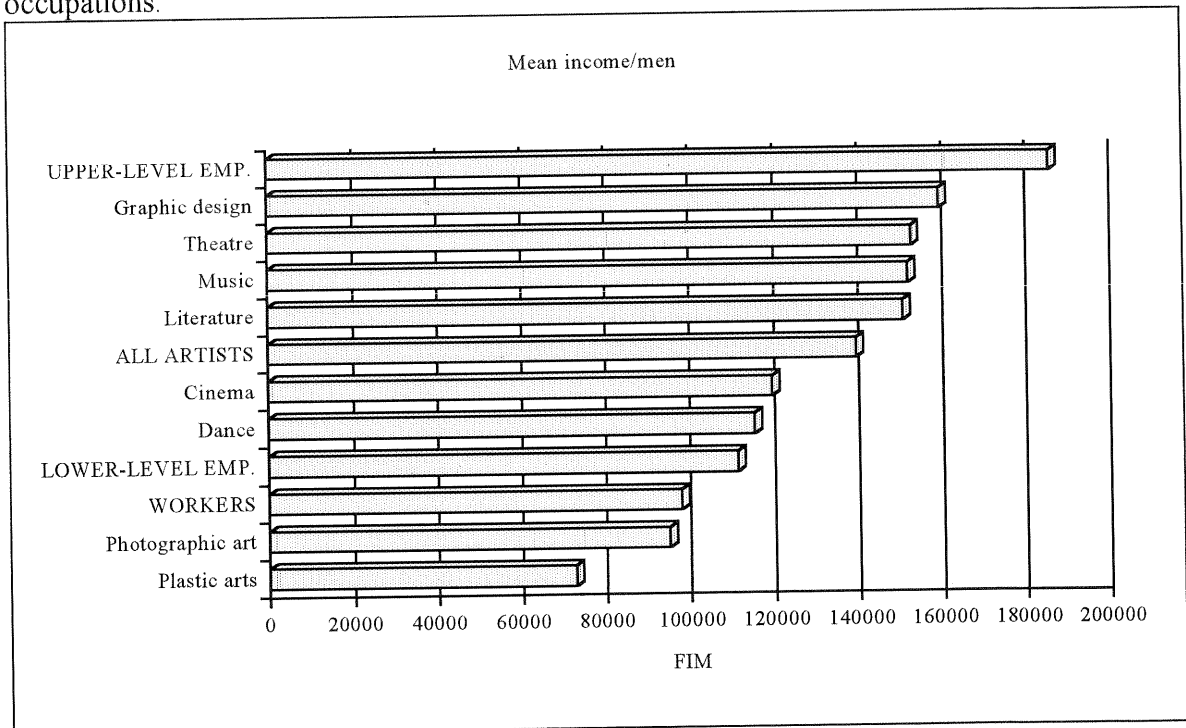


Figure II. The mean taxable income of men artists (by occupation) and men in other occupations.





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