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The Earnings of Photographic Artists in Finland.

An income profile based on quantitative data from 1989 and 1992.

Arts Council of Finland
Research and Information Unit

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I. INTRODUCTION

Aims and area

The report¹ examines the income situation of photographic artists in Finland. The aim is to establish the level and sources as well as the determinants of their incomes. An 'income profile' is sketched for them by way of comparisons with other artistic and occupational groups. The data is mainly quantitative, deriving from the National Board of Taxation and the various grant bestowing agencies. It originates from the years 1989 and 1992.

The report is a follow-up of a study of the social and economic status of photographic artists conducted in a research project on the status of artists at the Arts Council of Finland (Karttunen 1993). Running between 1985 and 1996, the ACF project charted the volume and characteristics of the artistic labour force as well as assessed its earnings and social situation. It also aimed at evaluating the extensive 'artist policies' implemented in Finland since the late 1960s (see Appendix 1).

The studies borne by the ACF project, embracing altogether eight art disciplines, fall into three sets by the year under review (Table 1). Photographic artists were studied in the second set, with 1989 as the cross-section year. The present report updates photographic artists' incomes to 1992, and also examines their income development between the two years. As the former was a boom year *par excellence* and the latter represented a rapidly deepening downturn, there is an opportunity to see how economic fluctuations affect artists' incomes.

By way of summary, the report establishes the status of photographic artists within the compass of the other artistic occupations. No such comparative profiling could be done in the report of 1993, for it was the first to be published of the second set, and no reference data was yet available. In addition to the files of the ACF project, reference material is afforded by the working group 'Taisto' which the Ministry of Education set up in 1994 to make suggestions for improving the status of artists (see Taiteilijan etc. 1995). Taisto conducted a survey on the incomes of authors and visual artists, using data obtained from the same sources as the ACF project. The data is moreover from 1992, thus enabling comparisons between photographic artists and as many as seven

¹ An early draft of this report was presented at the 9th International Conference on Cultural Economics held in Boston, Massachusetts, May 8–11, 1996.

other artist occupations – most importantly visual artists, one of their closest reference groups (Heikkinen & Karhunen 1996 have also used the combined data).

TABLE 1. The Finnish Arts Council project on the status of artists 1985–1996: coverage and principal publications

<i>Art form</i>	<i>Principal categories of artists</i>	<i>Writer of report and year of publication¹</i>	<i>Income data from</i>
Literature	fiction writers	Heikkinen 1989	1984
Visual art	painters, sculptors, graphic artists	Karttunen 1988	1984
Music	composers, conductors, musicians, singers	Irjala 1993	1989
Photographic art	photographic artists	Karttunen 1993	1989
Theatre	actors, dramaturges; stage, costume, light and sound designers; directors, managers	Karhunen 1993	1989
Cinema	directors, producers, cinematographers; stage, costume and sound designers	Oesch 1995	1989,1992
Dance	dancers, choreographers, dance teachers	Karhunen–Smolander 1995	1989,1992
Graphic design	graphic designers, illustrators, comic artists	Heikkinen 1996	1989,1992

¹ In addition to monographs, several articles have been published, e.g. Mitchell & Karttunen 1992; Heikkinen & Karttunen 1995; Heikkinen & Karhunen 1996.

Economics of artists

The overall framework of the ACF project relied on sociological research on the arts and the artistic professions. In the analysis of artists' incomes, cultural economics played a central role, both as a source of theoretical insights and of empirical material for comparison. During the last 10–15 years cultural economists have shaken many stereotypes about artists, claiming them to be more or less normal economic actors: rational utility maximisers who seek the highest combination of monetary and non-monetary rewards for their efforts (Gray & Heilbrun 1993, 288). The common belief that artists seldom earn a lot of money still holds, since a substantial proportion of artists' rewards are claimed to be non-pecuniary, such as enjoyment from the process of work and its products, personal satisfaction, or fame. This kind of 'psychic income' is believed to make the artist's career attractive in spite of monetary disadvantage.

Empirical studies indicate that the artist's career truly contains a high degree of economic risk and uncertainty. Their work is often irregular, their contracts short and job protection minimal. They are rarely able to survive on their arts practice but have to

earn their living by multiple job-holding, both in and outside the arts. Their total earnings are roughly equal to those of the general workforce, but remain well below those of comparable professionals or skilled labourers. Moreover, artists' earnings are distributed unevenly: there are a few affluent superstars as opposed to the poorly rewarded masses, some living near or even below the poverty line.

When explaining the exceptional earnings profile, cultural economists first refer to the non-typical characteristics of the artistic labour force. Artists are more often self-employed or freelancers than are members of other professions. They are also relatively young. In many countries, their total number has been expanding fast during the last decades, leading to a constant oversupply, and low prices. The common factors known to affect earnings – age, gender, place of residence, ethnic group, marital status, parenthood, etc. – work in the arts too, but not always in the usual manner. Artists' earnings for instance seem to grow with age, whereas in other occupations usually the middle-aged earn best (see Filer 1986). Cultural economists believe inborn 'talent' (in contrast to acquired skills) to be one of the most significant determinants of artists' earnings; unfortunately the concept has thus far proved too difficult to define and measure (see, e.g., Throsby 1992).

Although artists differ from the standard worker in many respects, cultural economists feel no need for any 'exotic' model in explaining their labour market behaviour. Many adhere to the human capital theory according to which investment in a person's education, training and experience is similar to a business investment in equipment. In Throsby's opinion (1992), a specific model is still needed to capture artists' labour supply decisions in the arts versus the non-arts markets: artists see the latter primarily as a means to support themselves and their artistic work, whereas their supply of arts work is not limited by monetary considerations (*ibid.* 201–206). Wassall and Alper (1992) also emphasise the distinction between artistic and other types of earnings, and they further suggest that artists work in other jobs to reduce the exceptional earnings risk involved in arts work.

The idea that artists are driven by non-monetary incentives agrees with the human capital theory. In monetary terms, artists clearly stand out among professional workers, for they receive a low return of investment in education and experience. Empirical findings are to some extent inconsistent here. Based on Australian data, Throsby (1986, 26) maintains that both training and experience have positive effect on artists' incomes, though not so marked as for many other occupations. Filer (1988, 70), drawing upon US census, claims education to have less impact but experience more impact on the earnings of artists than for the general workforce. Wassall and Alper (1992, 190–199)

argue that education contributes to non-artistic earnings only, which would then explain why artists choose to become well-educated.

Cultural economists' findings provide the framework for this survey on the earnings of photographic artists. Unfortunately empirical reference material concerning this particular group is non-existent. Information on photographers is also rare: when using a narrow definition, photographers are not always included in 'artists'; or, if included, they are often merged with plastic artists ('visual artists') or cinematographers ('camera artists'). This all reflects the fact that photographic art does not belong to the rarefied arts, but is "on the way to legitimization", as the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu says.

In Finland, photographic art has since the mid-1960s belonged to the state-supported art forms with their own national art councils¹. On the art scene, photographic artists form an emerging group between visual (plastic) artists and photographers. They resemble the former in that they usually operate on a self-employed basis and create 'speculative' works to be exhibited and sold in galleries. Works of photographic art are however much cheaper than paintings or sculpture, especially since the market for them is not yet properly developed. On the other hand, photographic artists have the option of utilising their skills and qualifications in applied photography which moreover pays relatively well.

II. DATA AND METHODS

Study Population

In similar studies, people have been qualified as artists if they meet certain criteria concerning source of income, use of time, quantity or quality of artistic performance, credentials, or membership of professional associations. In a few cases, the study population has been determined on the basis of reputation or renown in the art field or among the general public. (See, e.g., Frey & Pommerehne 1989, 146–147; Mitchell & Karttunen 1992; Karttunen 1998a.)

In the Finnish project, union membership came to be the most commonly-used criterion for an artist (Table 2). However this requirement did not work well in photo-

¹ The nine art forms with their own national arts councils are the following: architecture, cinema, dance, industrial art (crafts and design), literature, music, photographic art, theatre and visual art.

graphic art where the professional association was of a very recent origin, founded only in 1988. At the time of the compilation of the study population, the Union of Artists in Photography (UAP) had some 60–70 members only.

TABLE 2. Primary sources for artists in the ACF project

<i>Art form</i>	<i>Sources for artists</i>	<i>N</i>
Cinema	the Finnish Film Foundation, the Finnish Film Archives, grant-givers (recipients and applicants), and artists' associations	524
Dance	artists' associations, national umbrella organisation's directory, and grant-givers (recipients of state support)	563
Graphic design	artists' associations, artistic production, and art schools (recent graduates)	999
Literature	artists' associations, grant-givers (recipients of state support), and the Finnish Literature Society's directory	1149
Music	artists' associations	1134 ¹
Photographic art	interviews with people engaged in photography	175
Theatre	artists' associations, theatre schools (recent graduates), grant-givers (recipients of state support), and theatre artists' directory	1686
Visual art	artists' associations, the national umbrella organisations' directory, grant-givers (recipients of state support), and art schools (recent graduates)	1314

¹ A sample out of 4131.

The definition of artist was an issue within the photographic field itself, and there was much disagreement about the sub-divisions of photographic practice. For some people 'photographic art' meant the cream of all photography, while others considered it a separate sector, or a sub-field, where both high and low quality might be found – the UAP was more in favour of the latter view. Postmodernist influences, denouncing medium-based divisions of art forms, were further blurring the borderline between photography and the (other) visual arts. The UAP defined photographic artists as visual artists who use photography as their principal medium of expression. Striving for aesthetic mobility, the union was seeking membership in the Finnish visual artists' umbrella organisation instead of the federation of photographic organisations.

Qualifications, or exhibition or publication venues did not clearly distinguish between artistic and other uses of the medium. As the usual criteria for the artist were failing, a special method was eventually developed for identifying photographic artists (for details of the method, see Karttunen 1999b). The population was compiled by in-

interviewing people engaged in the art form, recognition among art-world actors thus being the criterion for the artist. The informants themselves, 14 altogether, were gathered by a snowball method. They were each asked to define the meaning of ‘photographic artist’ and to give a list of some 30 living Finnish examples. This list came to contain altogether 209 names, of which 192 were cited by more than one informant. The final study population consisted of 175 persons after 17 (10 %) had to be excluded due to problems in the tax-register files¹.

Based on the frequency of mentions, the population was split into two classes labelled as the ‘core’ (114 persons) and the ‘margin’ (61). These groups differed notably in terms of several characteristics (Appendix Table 1). Not surprisingly, the ‘core’ had been artistically more active in the preceding years. It was also younger on average and had more formal art education than the ‘margin’. The ‘core’ was composed mainly of people whose primary occupation was in photography or the fine arts, while every third in the ‘margin’ was employed outside those fields. Membership of the UAP was much more common in the ‘core’ (49 %) than in the ‘margin’ (7 %) (for the specifics of the UAP membership, see Appendix Table 2).

TABLE 3. Characteristics of the ACF study populations

<i>ART FORM</i>	<i>Women (%)</i>	<i>Average age (years)</i>	<i>Trained in their discipline (%)</i>	<i>Residing in South Finland¹ (%)</i>	<i>Organised in unions (%)</i>	<i>N</i>
Cinema	25	38	..	82	47	524
Dance	81	31	100	88	100	563
Graphic design	46	40	..	94	100	999
Literature	41	..	–	74	76	1149
Music	21	41	..	84	100	1134
Photographic art	23	37	67	76	79	175
Theatre	43	44	62	77	93	1686
Visual art	39	47	85	81	55	1314

¹ South Finland = the provinces of Uusimaa, Häme, Kymi and Turku & Pori.

Apart from being conspicuously few in number, the study population resembled the other ACF groups in its demographic characteristics (Table 3). The small size may partly derive from the reputational identification method which tends to produce bias towards the most visible and celebrated artists (this kind of ranking was not intended here

¹ Sixteen could not be located in the national tax database (e.g., living abroad), and there were outright errors in the data concerning one.

of course, a fact made clear to the informants). In comparison with visual artists, a central reference group, the study population appears young and male-dominated. Photographic artists have also undertaken less formal art training than visual artists, reflecting the fact that training programmes in photography were properly instituted in Finland only in the 1970s (university training in turn directed photographers towards the adoption of a more artistic identity).

The 1992 taxation data was acquired using the same list of names as for 1989. This means that we are not dealing with two different populations – embodiments of ‘photographic artist’ at a given time – but with the same one at different points in time¹. Some of its characteristics have changed over the three-year interval. The population had naturally grown three years older (the mean age grew from 37 to 40 years and the median from 35 to 38 years). In 1992, being based on interviews conducted in 1989–1990, the population lacks the most recent recruits to the discipline. While the population was skewed towards the young (under 35 years) in 1989, three years later the emphasis was clearly on the middle-aged.

Secondly, the rate of organisation had increased. In 1989 the population included in principle all members (60) of the UAP, established only a year before. By 1992, the UAP’s membership had grown to almost 100 (currently some 170), of whom 81 could be found in the study population. The UAP’s coverage thus grew from one third to almost a half. Thirdly, there was some decline in the study population’s artistic activity (exhibitions and publications), probably reflecting the worsening economic situation. A number of art galleries and printing shops for instance had to close down because of the heavy recession of the early 1990s.

As noted, the ACF data provides in principle an excellent opportunity to explore the effects of recession on the situation of artists. However the fact that the study populations are not properly representative for 1992 complicates the situation. The lack of newcomers from the last three years probably increases the overall income level, since young artists usually earn less than those with more experience. The reader is advised to bear this reservation in mind.

¹ They were actually identical except for three persons: during the three-year interval, two artists had died, whereas one missing in 1989 could be located in the 1992 taxation files. The size of the population was 175 in 1989 and 174 in 1992; thus 173 constant members.

Income data and income concepts

Sources and content of data

The report uses data on artists' incomes deriving from two main sources: the National Board of Taxation and the various grant awarding bodies. The taxation data comes from the *national tax database* containing information on each tax-payer's incomes, assets, debts, deductions, taxes and tax-related fees¹. It also includes the basic background data that are needed when determining taxes for each individual: sex, year of birth, place of residence, occupation, marital status and number of children under 18. The database is confined to information that has a bearing on taxation, thus it excludes non-taxable incomes, such as certain social transfers, most grants and prizes² and part of property income. Debts and assets here mean those accepted by the tax authorities; similarly, deductions should not be confused with actual expenses from occupational activities.

The taxation data was complemented by *grants* known to be important in the incomes of many types of artists in Finland. One of the main purposes of the study was indeed to evaluate the effects of the state 'artist policies' which consist mainly of direct subsidies for individual artists in the form of grants (see Appendix 1). The grant data was gathered from the registers and annual reports of the state and regional art administration bodies, municipal authorities and private foundations. The data contains all individual grants and prizes that have been at the artist's disposal during the two years under review.

Apart from tax-free grants, the income data here is similar to that used by Statistics Finland in compiling their *Statistics of Income and Property*. This annual publication reports on the economic situation of the so-called 'natural persons', a group embracing all private individuals whose incomes or assets subject to taxation exceed FIM 10 (ca. \$ 2). 'Natural persons' account for five sixths of all Finns (4.1 million). Using taxation data Statistics Finland also publishes earnings statistics for the different occupational groups at 3–5-year intervals. Here the data used for purposes of comparison are from the years

¹ Income, property, municipal and church taxes; national pension contributions, sickness insurance premiums, forestry fees, etc.

² In principle, all grants have to be reported to the tax-authorities, but they are not included in the tax-register unless taxable. Grants and prizes awarded by public authorities for study, research or artistic activity are tax-free, those from private organisations and foundations are subject to certain limitations. If the sum of grants and prizes exceeds the annual state artist grant, the surplus will be taxed after expenses covered by the grants have been deducted. Prizes from art competitions are subject to taxation as a rule; the Ministry of Finance may though grant artistically important national or international competitions exemption from tax.

1990 and 1993, the former deriving from the Population Census (carried out every five years) and the latter from employment statistics (see *Occupation and Socio-Economic Status 1990*; *Työssäkäyntitilasto 1993–1994*).

Shortcomings in the data

In the ACF project, taxation data was initially chosen to save time and money. The national tax database promised almost total coverage, and the official statistical publications, employing similar data, guaranteed ample reference material. However, despite an abundant choice of income variables, the tax database proved eventually to be a problematic source for examining earnings and livelihood. Its categories have been designed for determining taxes, not for doing research. Because of the lack of paid and received current transfers, disposable incomes could not be assessed. Neither was it possible to establish hourly earnings, because no information on labour input was provided. The classification of principal employment status turned out to be unreliable, and the data gave no information on the kind or number of employers. It was impossible to separate income derived from photography from incomes from other lines of work, not to mention the distinction between ‘applied’ and ‘art’ photography. Here occupation was of little help since the most common was ‘photographer’ covering multiple practice within the numerous types or sectors of photography.

Because of the shortcomings in the taxation data, efforts to explore the applicability of cultural economists’ findings to the Finnish context had to be given up for the most part. The data was given and we had to make the best of it. Additional information was collected from art institutions, biographical directories, exhibition catalogues as well as from grant applications (with appendices such as curriculum vitae). While it was impossible to find out the details of each artist’s employment situation during the two years under review, publications and exhibitions they had held in major galleries and museums for example were easy to discover. The fact that data on each artist’s grants in the two years could be obtained from the various fund-givers was of crucial importance.

In the end, the use of taxation data offered anything but an immediate view on artists’ incomes. It took us some three years to obtain the taxation files from the National Board of Taxation (via Statistics Finland). The most feasible alternative to the taxation data would have been a postal questionnaire. Unfortunately, as several researchers have observed, Finns are rather suspicious of being questioned about incomes, especially when it comes down to reporting exact figures. The turnout was expected to be particularly low in the case of artists, and the questionnaires only partially

filled in. The Arts Council's mailing the questionnaires would have further increased artists' distrust, as they might have feared that the data could be used when deciding on the distribution of state grants. This kind of a set-up could have easily produced bias. On the other hand, though deriving from an 'official' register, the reliability of the taxation data should not be taken for granted either. It is often claimed – yet not actually established – that artists are active in the 'underground' or 'hidden' economy. This is believed to depress the official income figures based on census questionnaires or tax returns. (See, e.g., Filer 1986, 61; Frey & Pommerehne 1989, 151.)

Income concepts

Five different income concepts are used in the report:

- 1) income subject to state taxation (ISST),
- 2) taxable income (TXI),
- 3) grant income,
- 4) net income (ANI) and
- 5) total income.

Income subject to state taxation and taxable income are taken directly from the national tax database. Grant income refers simply to the sum of tax-free grants. Net income and total income have been construed from tax-categories and grants in a manner that seeks to render tax-free grant income comparable to 'normal' income subject to taxation. The idea is to take into account the gain from not having to pay tax on grants. In 1989, to arrive at a net income equivalent to the state artist grant (FIM 60 000) the ordinary taxpayer had to earn more than FIM 100 000. This was incidentally the average income for the entire employed labour force then. The artist grant, aiming to ensure the prerequisites of artistic work, is indeed meant to correspond to a salary more or less, and it is paid monthly.

Income subject to state taxation (ISST) covers most monetary income and advantages convertible into money. It does not include certain social benefits and income from abroad for periods longer than six months; most grants are also excluded from ISST for not being subject to taxation. *Taxable income in state taxation (TXI)* is assessed by subtracting the accepted deductions from ISST. It is the 'pure income' used as the basis for determining income taxes. Since official statistics provide little reference material on TXIs, it was not chosen as the main income concept in the ACF project. In the following it will be used when exploring the 1992 situation because the data on visual artists and authors, provided by the working group 'Taisto', is limited to this category.

ISST is generally regarded as the *gross income* for all 'natural persons' (private individuals)¹. Their *net income* (NI) is derived from it simply by subtracting taxes². As grants are not included in ISST, artists' gross and net incomes cannot be established by such an easy method. In the ACF project, we decided to define *artists' net income* (ANI) as the sum of 'ordinary' net income (NI) and grants (ANI = ISST – taxes + grants). ANI is used here when comparing the artist groups within the project. Otherwise it is of limited use, since official statistics provide only sparse reference material on net incomes.

Artists' *total income* (gross aggregate annual income) was the most troublesome concept to devise. ISST does not tell the whole truth about artists' incomes because of the exclusion of grants, and the sum of ISST and grants would not be adequate either, since it would still overlook the advantage gained from not having to pay tax on grants³. The starting point for the determination of total incomes was the fact that artists' net incomes were known (ANI as defined above). From the tables provided by Statistics Finland, concerning all 'natural persons' (private individuals), NI brackets corresponding to various ISST brackets were first estimated. Each artist was then placed into an ISST bracket according to their ANI. This total income tells how much the artist should have earned to arrive at their net income (ANI) if grants had been subject to taxation – it is thus hypothetical only.

The method for estimating artists' total incomes was quite crude and led into income brackets instead of exact figures. It differed from the one used in the first two ACF studies, which dealt with the situation of visual artists and authors in 1984. In these artists' total income was calculated by adding tax-free grants multiplied by 1.38 to their ISST. Namely, in that year, to gain FIM 1.00 clear in hand, the average 'natural person' had to earn approximately FIM 1.38, the tax rate being 27.5 per cent. This method neglected the effects of our progressive taxation where the tax rate is not fixed but varies according to the level of income (see Appendix 2). The method used in the latter phases

¹ However, as the public tax records contain people's TXI, the tabloids most often use this category.

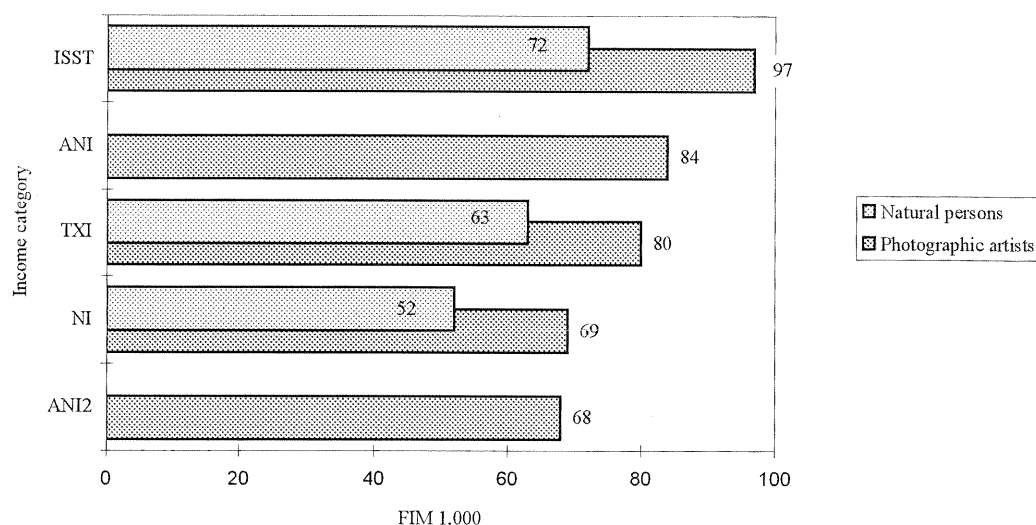
² Net income differs from disposable income which is defined by Statistics Finland as follows: wages/ salaries + entrepreneurial income = *primary income* + property income = *factor income* + received current transfers = *gross income* – paid current transfers = *disposable income* (Income Distribution Statistics 1989).

³ In 1989, the total ISST of the study population of photographic artists was FIM 17.0 million and the sum of grants 2.5 million. They paid 4.8 million as direct taxes (28.6 %). If grants had been subject to similar taxation, to gain 2.5 million the sum of grants should have been close to 3.5 million. The population thus benefited at least one million from the tax-exemptness of grants. For more about taxation in Finland, see Appendix 2.

of the project tries to take this into account by estimating the tax-rate for each income bracket separately¹. This procedure has admittedly its own drawbacks: the reverse estimation, from net to gross incomes, is based on the simplifying assumption that the higher the person's NI, the higher their ISST. In reality, due to progressive taxation and varying deductions, individuals with very different ISSTs may end up in the same NI bracket.

Figure 1 shows how the mean values of the different income categories related to each other in 1992, the latter cross-section year (total income is excluded since means cannot be calculated for it). For 'natural persons' it holds by definition that ISST is higher than NI ($NI = ISST - \text{taxes}$). In the case of photographic artists the notable gap between the mean values of ANI and NI testifies to the importance of grants. It is readily apparent from Figure 1 that taxation data alone would not give an accurate picture of artists' income situation.

FIGURE 1. Mean values of different income categories for photographic artists and 'natural persons' in 1992 (current prices)



ISST = income subject to state taxation

ANI = artists' net income = $NI + \text{grants} = ISST - \text{taxes} + \text{grants}$

TXI = taxable income = $ISST - \text{deductions}$

NI = 'general' net income = $ISST - \text{taxes}$

ANI2 = artists' net income = $TXI - \text{taxes} + \text{grants}$

Sources: The datafiles of the ACF project; Statistics Finland.

¹ It was counted as the ratio of mean1 and mean2, where mean1 = taxes / the number of taxpayers and mean2 = the total ISST / the number of ISST recipients. For all 'natural persons' this ratio was 0.34 for both 1989 and 1992.

Because of restrictions in the availability of data, the report makes certain comparisons concerning the year 1992 by using taxable incomes. TXI is lower than ISST for all art forms – since the former is derived by subtracting deductions from the latter – but the ratio between the two is not fixed. The higher the deductions, the wider the gap; deductions again vary according to art form and employment status: those taxed as entrepreneurs have a right to deduct expenses more widely than those classified as wage-earners. Similarly, the net income category (ANI2) used in connection with TXI differs from ANI in lacking deductions too. For the art forms included in the ACF project, ANI2 amounted to some 80–90 per cent of ANI. The ordering of art forms changes slightly depending on which net income category we choose, the overall picture nonetheless remaining more or less the same.

Within certain limits, it is a matter of choice whether to take ISST or TXI as the primary income category. In the official publications reporting on the economic conditions of all Finns, both categories can be found. They share the problem of not revealing actual disposable incomes; the same reservation concerns the net income categories derived from them. The reader is advised to understand the following calculations rather as broad indications of the overall position of photographic artists among the other artistic and occupational groups than to pay too much attention to exact monetary amounts.

Data analysis

All data on photographic artists concerns the *entire* study population. There is no sampling involved, so the results are directly indicative of the situation of all Finnish photographic artists as far as this concept itself has been accurately defined and operationalised. As Frey and Pommerehne (1989, 146–147) point out, the choice of the criteria for the artist *always* has major consequences for the research findings, from the number of artists arrived at to the assessment of their economic conditions. Here the identification method is moreover quite exceptional, and it also differs greatly from those used in the other ACF studies. This is an important consideration when interpreting the findings.

Data analysis has been performed by a standard computer programme. Only basic statistics have been employed, primarily mean and median. Mean is used as the principal summary statistic. Easily distorted by extreme observations, it may be misleading for

skewed distributions in which case median would be more accurate. Means and medians are compared with each other to interpret differences of incomes among the sub-groups of the study population and between the different artist disciplines. The ratio of mean and median is used as a measure of inequality or variability¹. When the ratio becomes increasingly higher than one, it means that the upper tail of the income distribution raises the mean. The percentage of individuals below the poverty line (here FIM 50 000) in turn indicates the concentration of observations at the lower tail of the income distribution.

Throughout the report, monetary amounts are expressed either in current prices, or, to enable comparisons in real terms, re-expressed in 1989 prices. The cost-of-living index value was 1177 for 1989 and 1333 for 1992 (October 1951 = 100), so the divisor was approximately 1.13. Comprehensive tables using current prices can be found in the Appendices.

III. FINDINGS

Grant income

To be awarded a grant or a prize is not a rare occurrence for a Finnish photographic artist. In both years under review, the percentage of grant recipients was close on 50 (Appendix Table 3). Two thirds of the study population had received a grant, either in 1989 or 1992, or both. The mean grant yield was FIM 31 000 for both years (at 1989 prices). In 1989, the top proceeds were FIM 130 000, which was more than twice the yearly state artist grant, and 13 per cent exceeded FIM 50 000. This sum was the poverty line then, and can be considered enough to offer some guarantee of survival, particularly since grants are tax-free. In 1992, the highest grant yield was FIM 91 600, while 16 per cent of the population had collected more than FIM 50 000².

In both cross-section years, the sum of grants received by the study population was around FIM 2.5 million. The state central and regional arts administration bodies accounted for more than two thirds of that total. A full quarter came from private foundations, whereas municipal support remained marginal, less than five per cent. Photo-

¹ Photographic artists' mean and median incomes do not differ much (see Appendix Table 5). For ISSST, the ratio of mean and median was 1.13 in 1989 and 1.09 in 1992; for ANI it was 1.05 both years.

² In 1992, six per cent of all artists included in the ACF project had over FIM 50 000 of grant income (Heikkinen & Karhunen 1996, 350).

graphic artists did not stand out with regard to the share of different sponsors¹. They did differ, however, in the amount of grant income in relation to their number. In terms of the percentage of grant recipients (46 % in 1989 and 44 % in 1992), and of grant yield *per capita* (FIM 14 000 both years), they ranked second after authors, whose exceptional level of support is explained by the substantial library compensation grants awarded by the Ministry of Education (see Appendix 1)². Photographic artists clearly outdid their two closest reference groups, visual artists and cinematographers.

Within the study population, the most successful in grant-raising were the UAP members (Appendix Table 4). In both years under review as much as 62 per cent of them had received grants. Grants received by non-members were fewer but not necessarily smaller. The same holds true for the residents of southern regions, where the majority of artists are concentrated, when compared to those living elsewhere in the country. Half of the 'core', but only a third of the 'margin' had received grants. Not unexpectedly, artistic activity, and thus visibility, contributed notably to the chances of receiving a grant. The youngest age group was awarded grants more frequently than the middle-aged, but its grants were smaller. Artists over 65 years of age hardly ever receive grants³. Somewhat surprisingly, in a heavily male-dominated field, women turned out to receive grants more often than men, and their grants were of equal size, even.

The different sponsors favoured different subgroups (attributes) of the population. For instance, the state did not reward young photographic artists in keeping with their number. Private foundations compensated for this shortcoming, but they awarded smaller grants than the state. Foundations appeared to appreciate art school degrees more than the other grant-givers. All sponsors paid attention to artistic activity. Regional arts councils aided those residing in central and northern parts of the country, while foundations confined their attention to southerners only. Women were discriminated against by the state in monetary terms, but preferential treatment from the other sponsors evened out the distribution.

¹ 'State' here refers to decision-making at central administrative level (by the ACF, the National Council for Photographic Art and the Ministry of Education). Regional arts councils are actually part of the state art administration and allocate state funds. Municipal support is distributed mainly by cultural councils. The category of foundations includes artists' organisations and art schools as well; these two are however marginal here.

² Display compensation grants for visual artists were established in 1997. The argument behind the system is similar to library grants: compensation for public display of publicly-owned art works. Photographic artists may also apply for display compensations.

³ Being taxable income and thus included in ISST, state artist pensions are not included in grants and prizes here (see Appendix 1). The population being quite young on average there were very few recipients of pension.

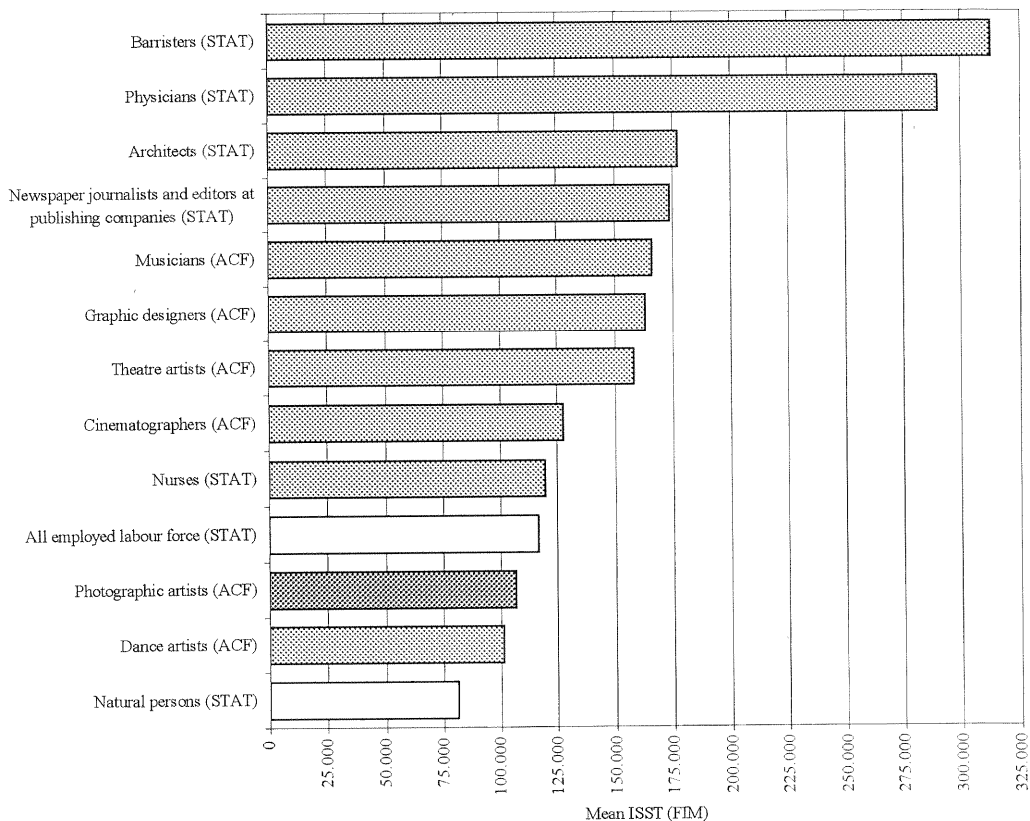
The data suggests that grants in photographic art are not the monopoly of any particular group. In fact, two 'clusters' emerge. The one comprises the young (now actually middle-aged) generation that has undertaken formal training in photography and has joined the UAP. The other contains the more traditional artist-photographers: middle-aged, without art school degrees, residing far from the Helsinki area, and with no connections to the UAP. The latter group is also heavily male-dominated, while many of the leading figures of the former are female. The traditional group is typically represented by nature photographers, while the other group consists of those now partly merging with the (other) visual artists. Both groups are artistically active but favour different venues for making their works public.

Incomes subject to taxation

In the light of incomes subject to state taxation (ISST), which exclude grants, photographic artists seem rather poorly remunerated. They averaged FIM 96 900 in 1989 and FIM 94 500 in 1992 (1989 prices). They had a mean earnings level lower than the entire Finnish labour force (Figure 2). They remained definitely well below the closed professions of physicians, lawyers and architects – they did not even reach parity with nurses, a female-dominated semi-profession.¹ There was a great variability among the six ACF-populations, though none of them did particularly well, at least in comparison with the most powerful professions. In both years under review, photographic artists ranked last but one, outdoing only dancers. All over the world the latter emerge as a low-income group, their inferior situation being explained largely by their young age and the exceptionally high percentage of women in their ranks. (See Appendix Table 5 for incomes of the ACF populations, and Appendix 6 for incomes of specified reference occupations.)

¹ Photographic artists were not included in the occupations listed in employment statistics. Closest came the hybrid category 'photographers and cameramen'. According to *Classification of Occupations* (1980, 1992), they carry out photographic work using photographic apparatus, or cinematic or television cameras, and they may specialize in portrait, commercial, cinema, press, industrial or television photographing, or shooting, etc. The category embraces aerial, archival, commercial, microscopic, press and studio photographers, as well as cinematic and TV cameramen; it excludes graphic photographers and photo-laboratory workers. The 1993 employment statistics reported 1714 photographers and cameramen. In terms of ISST, they fared better than the study population (FIM 118 400). (See Appendix Table 6.)

FIGURE 2. Income subject to state staxation (ISST) for specified artist and reference occupations in 1992/93 (current prices)



Sources: Data files of the ACF project (ACF); Statistics Finland, employment statistics 1993 (STAT).

Net and total incomes

Since ISST excludes grants, it is more adequate to make comparisons between the different artist groups using total income or ANI, both of which take grants into account. As photographic artists had above-average grant incomes, net incomes reveal a less gloomy picture of their economic circumstances – at least amongst other artists. Their ANI averaged FIM 84 200 in 1989 and FIM 81 000 in 1992. Grants indeed seemed to play an exceptional role in their livelihood. In both years under review, grants accounted for 17 per cent of their aggregate ANI (34–35 % for grant recipients). For the other artist groups this percentage varied from 1 to 7 only. (Appendix Table 5.)

Grants – as well as taxes – reduced income disparities between the different ACF-populations, and they also occasioned minor changes in their ranking. In 1989, for instance, the least well-off artist group earned 48 per cent of the mean income of the highest-paid in terms of ISST, but 57 per cent in terms of ANI (Table 5, p. 24). None-

theless, irrespective of income category, graphic designers did best and dancers worst. With regard to relative status, photographic artists benefited most from the effect of grants and taxes (they had more grants but less taxes than most). They ranked fifth – last but one – according to mean ISST but fourth in terms of the mean ANI, swapping positions with cinematographers. In terms of ISST photographic artists earned 58 per cent of the mean income of the highest-paid, but as much 80 per cent in terms of ANI.

The difference between ISST and *total income* looks most interesting in the case of photographic artists. In 1989, for instance, the breakdowns of these two income categories appear quite similar for all other ACF-populations. Among photographic artists, in terms of ISST, the share of the lowest income group (below FIM 50 000) was 30 per cent, while 19 per cent reached a top income (defined here as revenue over FIM 150 000, a modest annual income among professionals). In terms of total income the percentages were reverse, 19 and 33. The total incomes of photographic artists did not actually deviate much from the average for all artists. They came closest to cinematographers, and the gap between them and dancers grew wider from what it was in terms of ISST. The picture is thus about the same as the one given by ANI above.

Grants raised notably the level of incomes for photographic artists, but hardly made them rich. Even in terms of total incomes, a fifth remained below the poverty line (here defined as FIM 50 000). This fact is easily forgotten when drawing comparisons between the artistic occupations none of which belong to the truly well-to-do. Only such artist groups as actors or musicians who are permanently employed by theatres or orchestras might reach the income level of comparable professionals. In the other artist occupations it is only a few who earn even this much.

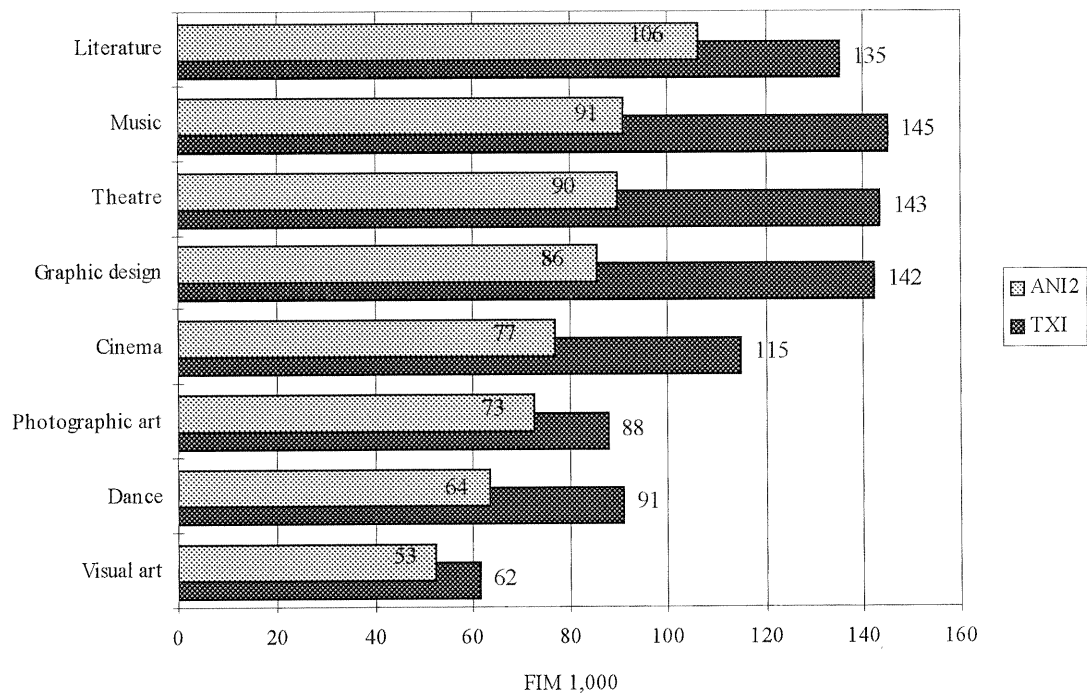
The fact that total incomes can be estimated only at the level of income brackets and cannot be used for calculating the mean or median values complicates comparisons between artists and non-artistic reference occupations. Judging by artists' mean net incomes and the breakdown of their total incomes, it seems that when grants are taken into account, their incomes rise above those of the entire employed labour force, but do not nearly achieve the level of such highly-educated professionals as doctors or lawyers. (Cf. Appendix Tables 5 and 6.)

Status among visual artists

For the year 1992 there is income data available on as many as eight disciplines, six of them deriving from the ACF project, and two – the visual arts and literature – from the

data files of the working group ‘Taisto’. The data on visual artists and authors does not contain ISSTs but TXIs, taxable incomes (TXI is achieved by subtracting deductions from ISST). It is also limited to a sample of the members of artists’ professional organisations; therefore visual artists and authors can be considered more selected than the other groups.

FIGURE 3. Mean taxable income (TXI) and mean net income (ANI2) of specified artist groups in 1992 (current prices)



Sources: The datafiles of the ACF project and the working group ‘Taisto’.

Taisto’s data provides the opportunity to compare the incomes of photographic artists with those of the (other) visual artists. In 1992 – when the economic downturn had already begun – the situation of the latter seems to have been quite distressing. They earned less grant income (11 100 versus 15 400), and their mean TXI (61 600) was only 70 per cent of that of photographic artists (87 900) (see Appendix Table 3 for grants and 7 for incomes). When contrasted with the other ACF populations, the two groups however resembled each other. In both groups, a considerable proportion earned less TXI than FIM 50 000: 53 per cent of visual artists and 44 per cent of photographic artists. They both could compensate their low TXI with a relatively high grant yield. In 1992, grants accounted for 21 per cent of photographic artists’ aggregate net

incomes (ANI2), and the percentage was identical for visual artists (it was even higher, 27, for authors). Thanks to grants, photographic artists' mean ANI2 (72 700) approached the average level among artists (82 500). Visual artists instead remained the ultimate low-income group, their mean ANI2 being only FIM 52 500, which was even less than that of dancers (63 500).

Curiously enough, though visual artists earned on an average much less than photographic artists, income disparities were greater among the former. The ratio of mean and median TXI was 1.09 for photographic artists and 1.40 for visual artists. For the latter, median (43 900) would in fact describe the situation more accurately than mean (61 600). Photographic artists had the lowest maximum incomes in 1992: FIM 261 000 for TXI and 151 000 for ANI2. Among all artists, the figures were as high as FIM 2.3 million and 870 000. On the whole, photographic artists possessed the most even distribution of all ACF-populations.¹

Disparities within the population

As noted, in the two years under review, income disparities were relatively small among photographic artists, and there were no 'superstars' to speak of. The highest ISSTs were found among press photographers and full-time teachers. In 1989, the lowest ISST was zero and the highest nearly FIM 400 000; in 1992, the top ISST exceeded FIM 500 000. The distribution was more even in terms of ANI than it was in ISST; taxes and grants thus levelled out any disparities. This becomes apparent when comparing the incomes of men and women. In 1989, women's mean ISST was two thirds of men's but their mean ANI was four fifths. Women had lower ISST and therefore a lower tax rate (22.7 % versus 29.0 %), and they received at least as much grant income as men. For women grants in fact balanced out taxes, so that their mean ISST (70 800) was more or less equal to their mean ANI (68 900). (Appendix Tables 8a–8b.)

Artists residing in the southern regions of Finland fared much better than those living elsewhere in the country, but then the cost of living is higher in the south, especially in the Helsinki area. Grants managed to flatten regional differences to a certain extent. Incomes, both ISST and ANI, grew along with age, though only until retirement. Taxes and grants had a levelling effect as regards age too. Professional training

¹ In international comparison, disparities of income are on the whole relatively small in Finland. This holds especially true for incomes after taxes, the rate of taxation being high and progressive; social transfers also have a notable levelling effect.

did not seem to increase photographic artists' incomes; it was however common only among the young who otherwise tend to have lower incomes.

Grants had an especially strong influence on the incomes of the UAP members, who looked quite poor in the light of ISST but whose considerable grant yield raised their ANI up to the average level. Moreover, the higher ISSTs of the non-members were cut back by correspondingly higher taxes. Grants accounted for a quarter of the UAP members' ANI, 62 per cent of them were receiving grants both years. The effect of artistic activity resembled that of the UAP membership.

Overall, people who functioned in the manner of visual artists tended to possess a particular earnings profile, or strategy, in which grants played a central role. As a rule, the higher the photographic artist's grant income, the lower his or her ISST. This does not necessarily mean that grants are awarded to the poorest artists. The criteria employed by grant-givers are not socio-economic but primarily artistic. One explanation is that as soon an artist receives a grant, he or she stops working outside the primary artistic activity¹ (those receiving state artist grants are actually asked to quit salaried posts). The above rule does not invariably hold for all artist groups: in the field of theatre for instance there seems to be no relation between grants and ISST (see Karhunen 1997). Thus, for some artist groups grants may mean additional income that could be spent on a study trip abroad or a new instrument, while others, like photographic artists, 'buy time' for their artistic work. In view of arts policies, in the latter case support seems to lead directly to increased artistic production.

The impact of grants – and to a certain extent taxes – was highest for women, the age-group 35–44 years, residents of the central or northern regions of the country, the 'core', the UAP members as well as those who showed recent artistic activity. In all these cases, the proportion of the top income group (over FIM 150 000) rises notably when looking at total income instead of ISST. There is also a considerable decline in the percentage of the lowest income group (below FIM 50 000). Table 4 shows the extent of the effect of grants on the earnings of those receiving them (for those without grants the breakdown of ISST is of course identical to the breakdown of total income). In 1989, roughly speaking, in terms of ISST grant-recipients were poorer than those

¹ Judging by interviews with photographic artists, it seems that very little of their ISST is derived from their art. The market for works of photographic art is still poorly developed in Finland, and the prices are not comparable with the (other) visual arts. 'Speculative' works are sold in galleries and through agencies but artists cannot survive on these sales alone. Some are fortunate enough to receive such commissions that allow creative freedom, but most seem to regard commissions as arts-related or even non-artistic – not as their 'own' work. In these circumstances, only grants provide the opportunity for photographic artists to quit second jobs and concentrate on their own artistic work full-time.

without grants (77 900 versus 112 900), but when looking at total incomes the order reversed itself.

TABLE 4. Photographic artists' incomes in 1989, by grant-reception (at current prices)

	<i>Grant-recipients</i>	<i>Without grants</i>	<i>All</i>
<i>Grant income</i>			
Mean (FIM)	30 800	–	14 100
<i>Income subject to state taxation (ISST)</i>			
Mean (FIM)	77 900	112 900	96 900
Below 50,000 (%)	39	23	30
50 – 100,000 (%)	31	29	30
100 – 150,000 (%)	21	20	21
Over 150,000 (%)	9	27	19
<i>Net income (ANI)</i>			
Mean (FIM)	90 600	78 800	84 200
<i>Total income</i>			
Below 50,000 (%)	14	23	19
50 – 100,000 (%)	21	29	26
100 – 150,000 (%)	25	20	22
Over 150,000 (%)	40	27	33
N	80	95	175

Union members and their economic situation

Since union membership was commonly used as the principal criterion for the artist in the other ACF studies, let us look closer at the members of photographic artists' professional association, the Union of Artists in Photography. The UAP members differed from the population-average in several respects: they were for instance younger, more highly educated in photography, and artistically more active, especially when it comes to exhibitions in galleries dedicated to photography (cf. Appendix Tables 1 and 2). The proportion of women was also higher (around a third) than among non-members (less than a fifth).

The peculiar earnings profile turns even more accentuated for the UAP members. The composition of their incomes differed notably from that of the rest of the population – and from several other artist groups: their mean ISST was lower but they gathered more grants. In 1989, for instance, though making a third of the population, they received half of its grant yield. Grants accounted for a quarter of their aggregate net income, while the figure for the entire population was much lower (17 %). As a result, there was no difference between the total incomes of those belonging to the UAP and

those outside it. The total incomes of the UAP members represented more or less the average level among the artist groups included in the ACF project.

Effects of recession: income development 1989–1992

In principle the ACF data offers an excellent opportunity to look at the effects of economic fluctuations on artists' conditions. Though only three years apart, 1989 and 1992 differed a lot in terms of the Finnish national economy. While 1989 was one of the most affluent years our country has ever witnessed, 1992 represented a rapidly deepening depression. The recession struck with force in 1991, after a favourable development since the late 1970s. Gross domestic product declined fast in 1991 and 1992¹. By the end of 1992, the situation bore all the marks of a crisis. The rate of unemployment rose to 13.1 per cent in 1992, having been only 3.5 per cent in 1989. The bottom was reached in 1994, when the number of unemployed job-seekers had risen to half a million and the rate of unemployment to 18.4 per cent.

Despite the economic downturn, the mean ISST for all 'natural persons' (private individuals) rose by one per cent between 1989 and 1992. Meanwhile photographic artists' ISST declined by three per cent and their ANI by four per cent. Here they did not differ much from the other artist groups except for dancers whose incomes developed in a rather peculiar manner: yet every fourth received unemployment allowance in 1992, their mean ISST rose by 11 and ANI by eight per cent. The well-paid graphic designers suffered the greatest losses. The economic recession in fact evened out income discrepancies between the different artist groups (Table 5). A similar phenomenon could be discerned for instance among graphic designers (Heikkinen 1996, 127). Among photographic artists income differences had been small to begin with. In general it would seem that the recession hit especially those artist groups that depend on the private sector. By the end of 1992, no notable cut-backs were exercised in state support for artists; private foundations instead could distribute less funds because profits from their investments were declining. All ACF-populations recorded some decline in grant income, though only a few percentages in most cases.

¹ The GDP for 1990 was established as FIM million 515 430, compared with FIM million 490 868 for 1991 and FIM million 476 778 for 1992 (current prices).

TABLE 5. Change in the economic situation of the ACF-populations between 1989 and 1992

<i>Art form</i>	<i>Change (%) 1989–1992</i>		<i>Percentage of the highest ISST</i>		<i>Percentage of the highest ANI</i>		<i>Recipients of unemployment benefits (%)</i>	
	<i>ISST</i>	<i>ANI</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1992</i>
Cinema	– 5	– 4	70	77	78	80	8	22
Dance	+ 11	+ 8	48	61	57	66	10	25
Graphic design	– 14	– 13	100	98	100	92	2	15
Music	– 2	– 3	89	100	93	100	9	15
Photographic art	– 3	– 4	58	64	80	82	6	17
Theatre	+ 1	0	82	95	88	94	9	16

According to taxation data, six per cent of the study population of photographic artists were receiving unemployment allowances in 1989; for 1992 the figure was as high as 17. In both years the mean allowance was still relatively low (FIM 660 and 14 100, respectively) reflecting either short periods of unemployment or difficulties in registering for unemployment and poor security if such should happen. Registering for unemployment is easier for those artists whose principal occupation is for instance art teacher or orchestra musician, but more difficult for own-account artists. The Ministry of Labour reported the number of unemployed job-seeking photographers¹ to be 126 in 1991 and 204 in 1992. The peak, 259, was reached in 1994. (For figures concerning all artists, see Appendix Figure 9.)

All in all, the ACF data gave further confirmation to cultural economists' observation that artists are especially sensitive to economic fluctuations (see, e.g., Frey & Pommerhne 1989, 151). Finnish artists' incomes had decreased more than average between 1989 and 1992, particularly since the populations lacked the recruits from the last three years, that is, beginners with the lowest income level (see p. 7).

¹ The Ministry of Labour has published occupational unemployment statistics since 1991. The classification of occupations differs from that used by Statistics Finland, therefore it is difficult to establish rates of unemployment, especially for such ambiguous groups as artists. The Ministry of Labour defines the category of photographers as including studio, press and advertising photographers as well as photographers working in such institutions as hospitals.

IV. INCOME PROFILE

The ACF project on the status of artists covered six different artist groups at the turn of the 1980s: cinematographers, dancers, graphic designers, musicians, photographic artists and theatre artists. Among them photographic artists emerged the odd one out in many respects. First of all, they were very few in number, less than two hundred. They were also relatively young on average. Most importantly, they differed greatly from the other groups with regard to the composition of earnings. Their 'income subject to state taxation' was conspicuously low, exceeding only that of dance artists, but they received so much grant income that it raised their total incomes close to the norm for all artists. Nevertheless, even when we count grants in, some 15–20 per cent of photographic artists remained below the poverty line.

For the year 1992 there was data available on the taxable incomes of as many as eight different types of artists, including visual artists, one of the reference groups closest to photographic artists. Not unexpectedly, next to the (other) visual artists photographic artists looked less distinctive. As regards total income, the study population fared clearly better than visual artists. Yet their income profiles looked pretty similar, as they both had low taxable income but above-average grant income. Both groups seem highly dependent on grants for their livelihood and artistic work; moreover, the majority of their grants derive from the state. Nevertheless, photographic artists seem economically less vulnerable than (other) visual artists. Both groups undertake teaching to supplement their income; the recent proliferation of art education has indeed had a favourable effect on the economic situation of all visual artists. It is however easier for photographic artists to sell their specific skills on the arts-related market than for painters for instance. Photographic artists can freelance flexibly in all kinds of 'applied' photography, especially press and commercial photography. In the affluent 1980s there was actually a choice of bread-and-butter jobs, but the economic crisis of the early 1990s cut down job opportunities in photography as well.

To draw comparisons between photographic artists and non-artistic occupational groups was complicated, since the available data did not provide identical income categories for artists and other occupations. Judging from the means and breakdowns of several income categories, it could be estimated that photographic artists enjoyed a higher earnings level than the entire employed labour force, but did not do nearly as well as such highly-educated professionals as physicians and lawyers for example. This holds true for all artist groups.

Within the study population, there were notable differences in the composition of income when measured in terms of grants versus incomes subject to taxation (the data did not enable exploration of income sources beyond this distinction). The most successful in grant-raising were the members of the professional association, the UAP, and those belonging to the 'core' of the study population (those who were frequently mentioned as artists by the other art world actors) – these attributes were of course much overlapping. As a rule, the higher the photographic artist's grant yield, the lower their income in taxation. This appears to correspond to the cultural economists' finding that as artists manage to raise income from their principal artistic activity, their incomes from arts-related and non-artistic sources begin to decline. Finnish photographic artists generate very little income from the sale of their artworks, so only grants provide them the opportunity to quit second jobs and concentrate solely on arts work. The peculiar income profile reflects their preference for art-making versus money-making at bread-and-butter jobs.

The distribution of photographic artists' total income, a hypothetical income category covering both grants and taxation income, was polarized at the top (over FIM 150 000) and bottom (below FIM 50 000) of the income scale. Disparities were though moderate: while there were people with zero incomes, there were no true high-achievers. Taxes and grants moreover contrived to level out disparities. Their combined effect was at its highest for women, the age-group between 35 and 44 years, the 'core', the UAP members and residents of the central or northern regions of Finland. Measured in terms of total income the grant-receiving photographic artists did slightly better than those left without grants.

Judging from the background and career data collected primarily from outside the tax-register, the majority of the population generated their incomes from a multiple practice within photography. In contrast to many other types of artists, they rarely worked at jobs with no relation to their art form at all. More than three quarters declared a photographic occupation in taxation, too. They gathered their incomes from photographic commissions, salaried positions as photographers or teachers, occasional teaching jobs, sales and grants. They had multiple jobs, but all within photography. Regrettably, the data could not reveal how much artistic practice contributed to their incomes. This would in any case be a matter of definition, as it is debatable how to determine where art occurs within photography.

As always, the findings presented in this report have been affected by the method used to identify the study population. Here the method has moreover been quite exceptional, reliance on informants from the art world. Curiously, should we restrict our at-

tention to the membership of the photographic artists' professional association, which was commonly used as the principal criterion for artist in the other ACF studies, the peculiar earnings profile would only become more noticeable. The closer we get to the core of this emerging artist group, the sharper the profile. One is led to suggest that some members of the population profile themselves as artists by adopting a particular earnings strategy. Their struggle in economic stringency and uncertainty raises their credibility as true artists. This hypothesis cannot be tested by the data used in this report, but remains to be tackled by other means in another place (see Karttunen 1998b).

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APPENDICES

1 State support for artists in Finland

Finnish cultural policy uses mostly direct devices in the support of artists, grants above all. State support is distributed by the Ministry of Education with the assistance of an arts council system: the Arts Council of Finland (ACF), nine national art-form specific councils (one for each major art form) and thirteen regional art councils. The present grant system and the art administration system were established in the late 1960s.

State artist grants

State artist grants are awarded for periods of one, three or five years, and are paid in the form of a tax-exempt monthly salary, amounting currently to some FIM 78 000 per year. Recipients of these grants are not to hold full-time jobs.

State artist grants are meant to support artists' work and study. They may also be awarded to critics, and occasionally to teachers and researchers. Three- and five-year grants are meant primarily "for artists who have already shown their creative potential". Mother tongue and place of residence should be taken into account when awarding artist grants. The total number of state artist grants is determined by law and their distribution among the different art forms by decree. Artist grants are awarded by the nine national art councils, each with its own quota.

From 1982 until 1994 the Ministry of Education awarded ten *long-term state artist grants* annually (thus 140 in all). Such '15-year grants' were given to artists over 40 years of age to provide their subsistence until retirement. They were meant for "full-time artists accomplished in their field whose artistic activity is not carried out as permanent employment". When the awarding of new long-term grants ceased in 1995, the number of five-year grants was increased in compensation. These additional five-grants are awarded by the ACF. Their number is to be gradually increased from 10 to 30 by 2006.

Artist-professors

Posts of artist-professors were introduced along with the state artist grants in 1969. Each time there are 8–11 artist professors holding post. No quotas relating to art form are stipulated for these posts but the different fields of art should to be represented as far as possible; language and regional aspects should also be taken into consideration.

Artist-professors are appointed by the President of the Republic from among candidates suggested by the ACF. They are expected to be outstandingly prominent artists. Their primary task is to proceed with their artistic work, but they may also give lectures in art schools and universities and give advice to young artists. Artist-professors are in principle office-holders of the ACF with tenure or a short-term contract for the maximum of five years. They receive a monthly salary of some FIM 12 500 (taxable income).

Project grants

A sum equivalent to 50 state artist grants is allocated annually by the ACF as *project grants* to individual artists, or groups, for expenses such as materials, equipment, study trips, training courses, gallery and studio rent. Project grants may be awarded to critics, teachers and researchers as well. Priority should be given to artists who have already proved their creative potential. Language and regional distribution should be even-handed.

Library compensations

Library compensations were introduced in 1961. They are awarded to writers and translators in recompense for the free use of their works in public libraries. The annual amount distributed is ten per cent of the book purchase appropriation for municipal libraries. Although based on

public lending rights, library compensations are actually grants having no relation to actual lending figures. They are awarded by the Ministry of Education upon recommendation by a special board.

Prizes

The state art prize system was modified in the mid-1990s. Currently 'Finland prizes' come in three categories: 1) for mature artists in recognition of an outstanding career, 2) for young artists in recognition of a promising breakthrough, and 3) for recent accomplishments in each art form. The latter prizes are distributed by the national art-form specific councils, while the first two are given by special boards nominated by the Ministry of Education.

Artist pensions

The Ministry of Education awards 35 artist pensions annually. They are paid by the Ministry of Finance along with other supplementary state pensions. The full artist pension is approximately FIM 5 700 per month (taxable income); the pension may be awarded as a full or a half. Up until 1992, artist pensions were honorary for artistic achievement with an eye to the artist's economic situation. From 1993 on they have been granted as financial aid to artists of merit on low income. The annual distribution was cut back from 65 to 35 pensions in this connection. Currently about 1 000 artists are receiving a state pension.

Other devices of direct support

The ACF allocates *travel grants* to artists and art experts as well as *project grants* and *state prizes* for the promotion of *children's culture*. The National Council for Drama distributes *support to dramatists* whose plays were premiered in the previous year. The regional art councils award grants and prizes for artists, and they also employ 'guiding regional artists' who function as full-time animateurs.

TABLE 1. Direct state support to artists in 1996, by type of support

Artist grants and salaries artist-professors	30
Project grants, travel grants, grants and prizes for the promotion of children's culture, etc.	4
Library compensations ¹ and support to dramatists	10
Finland prizes	2
Grants and prizes from the regional art councils	6
Artist pensions ²	48
<i>Total %</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Total FIM million</i>	<i>122,1</i>

¹ Excluding non-fiction writers.

² Excluding family pensions.

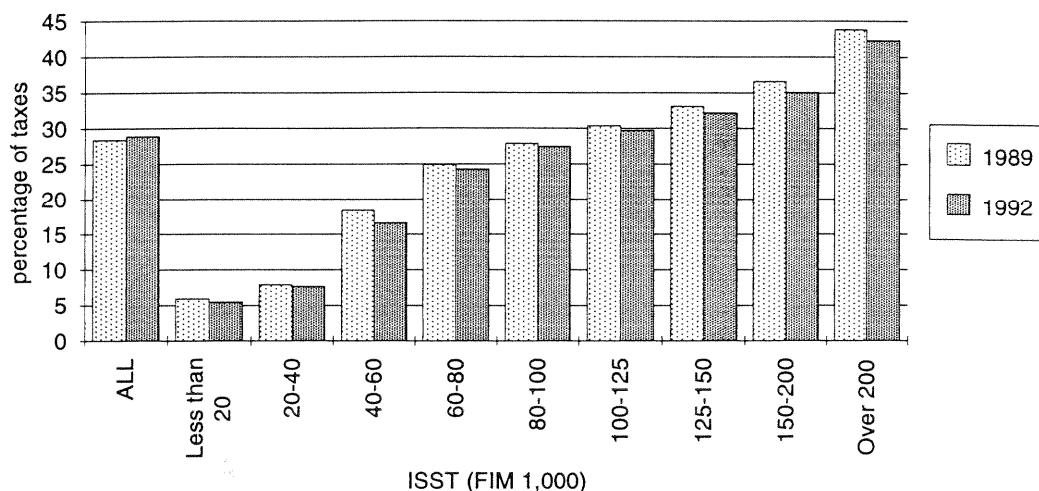
TABLE 2. Direct state support to artists¹ in 1996, by art form

Architecture	3
Dance	4
Cinema	4
Industrial art	5
Literature	40
Music	11
Photographic art	4
Theatre	9
Visual art	16
Other (criticism, children's culture, art forms without their own national council)	2
<i>Total %</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Total FIM million</i>	<i>43,1</i>

¹ Excludes state artist pensions, for the distribution of the sum by art form is not known.

2 Facts about taxation in Finland

Taxation of 'natural persons' in 1989 and 1992 (N=4.1 million): the percentage of direct taxes of income subject to state taxation (ISST), by income bracket



Taxation of 'natural persons' and photographic artists in 1989 and 1992 (1989 prices)

	Natural persons		Photographic artists		
	Total (million)	Mean	Total (million)	Mean	Median
Year 1989					
Income subject to state taxation (ISST)	294 895	72 000	17	96 900	86 100
Deductions in state taxation	35 423	8 600	3	16 300	11 000
Taxable income in state taxation (TXI)	259 570	63 400	14	80 300	71 100
Assets	335 553	81 900	14	77 500	26 900
Debts	222 045	54 200	15	87 800	51 100
Taxes	83 638	20 400	5	27 700	19 700
ISST – taxes = net income (NI)	211 256	51 600	12	69 200	64 400
Number	4 096 911		175		

	Natural persons		Photographic artists		
	Total (million)	Mean	Total (million)	Mean	Median
Year 1992					
Income subject to state taxation (ISST)	296 492	73 100	16	94 500	86 900
Deductions in state taxation	33 365	9 200	3	16 800	10 000
Taxable income in state taxation (TXI)	263 427	66 500	14	77 800	71 400
Assets	340 011	131 500	13	73 700	22 000
Debts	187 493	113 500	9	49 300	24 600
Taxes	85 574	24 400	5	27 100	20 800
ISST – taxes = net income (NI)	210 281	51 900	12	67 400	66 600
Number	4 104 982		174		

Appendix Tables

1. Characteristics of the study population of photographic artists (percentages)

ATTRIBUTE		1989		1992	
		CORE ¹	MARGIN	ALL	ALL
SEX	Women	26	18	23	24
	Men	74	82	77	76
AGE	Under 35 years	50	43	47	33
	35–44 years	31	41	34	44
	45–64 years	17	13	18	20
	65 or over	3	3	3	3
MARITAL STATUS	Married or cohabiting with children	46	57	50	55
	Other	54	43	50	45
WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18	Yes	28	34	30	..
	No	72	66	70	..
REGION of RESIDENCE ¹	South Finland	80	69	76	75
	° capital area	54	38	49	46
	Central Finland	5	8	6	6
	Northern Finland	15	23	18	19
BASIC EDUCATION	Elementary school	3	7	3	3
	Comprehensive or intermediate	24	15	21	21
	Matriculation examination	62	59	61	61
	Not known	12	20	15	15
STUDIES in PHOTOGRAPHY	University level degree	24	10	19	22
	Upper secondary level degree	27	20	25	25
	Lower level degree	6	7	6	6
	Students (all levels)	5	3	5	1
	Dropouts (all levels)	5	5	5	5
	Autodidacts	32	56	41	41
STUDIES in PHOTOGRAPHY, ART or DESIGN	Some	76	51	67	67
	None	24	49	33	33
AFFILIATION	Some photographic organisation	85	69	79	..
	° Union of Artists in Photography	49	7	34	47
	Not organised within photography	15	31	21	..
OCCUPATION in TAXATION	Photographic	87	57	77	74
	Artistic (visual artist, teacher, etc.)	5	5	5	7
	Other	7	31	15	15
	Not known	1	7	3	3
ARTISTIC ACTIVITY in 1988–1990 (for 1989) or 1991–1993 (for 1992)	Some exhibition	84	70	79	70
	° solo exhibition	69	51	63	53
	° solo at photographic galleries	54	31	46	43
	Photographic publication (own)	30	18	26	14
	Solo exhibition or publication	66	61	64	56
Total (%)		100	100	100	100
Total (N)		114	61	175	174

¹ South Finland = regions of Uusimaa, Häme, Kymi and Turku & Pori; Central Finland = regions of Mikkeli, Central Finland and Vaasa; North Finland = regions of Northern Karelia, Kuopio, Oulu and Lapland.

2. Characteristics of the UAP membership (percentages)

<i>Attribute</i>		<i>1989</i>	<i>1992</i>
SEX	Women	33	32
	Men	67	68
AGE	Under 35 years	63	32
	35–44 years	30	52
	45 or over	7	6
REGION of RESIDENCE ¹	South Finland	88	79
	Other region	12	21
STUDIES in PHOTO-GRAPHY, ART or DESIGN	Some	82	79
	None	18	21
OCCUPATION in TAXATION	Photographic	87	78
	Artistic	5	10
	Other	8	7
	Not known	-	5
ARTISTIC ACTIVITY in 1988–1990 (for 1989) or 1991–1993 (for 1992)	Some exhibition	97	88
	° solo exhibition	78	72
	° solo at photographic galleries	65	67
	Photographic publication (own)	32	16
	Solo exhibition or publication	82	72
<i>Number</i>		<i>60</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>Proportion of the study population (%)</i>		<i>34</i>	<i>47</i>

¹ South Finland = regions of Uusimaa, Häme, Kymi and Turku & Pori; Central Finland = regions of Mikkeli, Central Finland and Vaasa; North Finland = regions of Northern Karelia, Kuopio, Oulu and Lapland.

3. Grants received by the ACF populations in 1989 and 1992 (FIM, current prices)

Year 1989

<i>Art form</i>	<i>Grant recipients (%)</i>	<i>Grants total (1,000)</i>	<i>Mean grant</i>		<i>Share of sponsors (% of the total sum)</i>			
			<i>Per capita</i>	<i>Received</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Regions</i>	<i>Municipalities</i>	<i>Foundations</i>
Cinema	16	2 817	5 400	34 400	59	4	0	35
Dance	19	1 928	3 400	9 100	43	10	15	32
Graphic design	7	1 207	1 200	7 300	65	3	8	24
Music	14	4 407	3 900	28 600	57	8	2	32
Photographic art	46	2 464	14 100	30 800	56	27	2	14
Theatre	16	4 785	2 800	10 000	61	6	5	28

Year 1992

<i>Art form</i>	<i>Grant recipients (%)</i>	<i>Grants total (1,000)</i>	<i>Mean grant</i>		<i>Share of sponsors (% of the total sum)</i>			
			<i>Per capita</i>	<i>Received</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Regions</i>	<i>Municipalities</i>	<i>Foundations</i>
Cinema	16	2 753	5 300	34 000	64	8	1	27
Dance	16	1 906	3 500	21 700	61	16	4	19
Graphic design	8	1 310	1 200	14 200	62	8	4	27
Music	13	4 445	4 000	36 100	81	5	3	11
Photographic art	44	2 687	15 400	34 900	59	11	4	26
Theatre	12	5 052	3 100	24 600	64	8	5	23
Literature	72	12 172	28 200	39 000	91	3	1	4
Visual art	33	7 690	11 100	33 700	67	20	7	6
All artists (ACF)	19	38 015	6 100	31 500	75	9	3	13

4. Grants received by photographic artists in 1989 and 1992, after attributes (FIM, current prices)

Year 1989

Attribute	Grant recipients (%)	Grants total (1,000)	Share of sponsors (% of the total sum)				Mean grant	
			State (%)	Regions (%)	Municipalities (%)	Foundations (%)	Per capita	Received
Women	49	570	34	21	4	40	13 900	28 500
Men	45	1 894	63	12	2	23	14 100	31 600
Under 35 years	48	949	30	20	5	45	11 400	23 700
35–44 years	47	1 037	65	15	1	19	17 300	37 000
45–64 years	38	478	89	2	0	9	17 700	39 900
65 and over	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Uusimaa	43	1 761	52	9	3	36	13 200	35 000
Other provinces	55	703	66	28	1	5	16 700	26 800
Core	52	1 986	60	11	2	27	17 400	33 700
Margin	34	478	39	30	3	29	7 800	22 800
Artistically active	56	2 170	60	13	2	25	18 400	32 900
Non-active	25	294	28	23	5	44	5 200	21 000
UAP members	62	1 202	58	16	3	23	20 000	32 500
Non-UAP	37	1 262	55	13	1	31	11 000	29 400
Trained in art	44	1 695	54	12	3	32	14 400	32 600
Autodidacts	49	769	62	21	2	16	13 500	27 500
ALL	46	2 464	56	14	2	27	14 100	30 800

Year 1992

Attribute	Grant recipients (%)	Grants total (1,000)	Share of sponsors (% of total sum)				Mean grant	
			State (%)	Regions (%)	Municipalities (%)	Foundations (%)	Per capita	Received
Women	51	727	58	5	5	34	17 700	34 600
Men	41	1 948	61	13	3	24	14 700	35 400
Under 35 years	53	784	27	20	3	49	13 500	25 300
35–44 years	39	1 293	66	10	4	20	17 000	43 100
45–64 years	41	589	88	–	2	11	17 300	42 100
65 and over	17	9	–	–	100	–	1 500	9 000
Southern Finland	42	1 940	51	11	4	34	14 800	35 300
Other regions	49	736	83	10	1	6	17 100	35 000
Core	54	2 248	62	8	3	26	19 900	36 800
Margin	25	428	43	24	4	24	7 000	28 500
Artistically active	56	2 034	61	10	4	25	21 000	37 700
Non-active	29	642	55	12	2	32	8 300	29 200
UAP members	62	1 790	59	12	4	25	22 100	35 800
Non-UAP	28	885	60	7	3	30	9 500	34 100
Trained in art	46	1 782	52	10	3	35	15 200	33 000
Autodidacts	39	893	74	11	5	10	15 700	40 600
ALL	44	2 675	59	11	4	26	15 400	35 200

5. Incomes of the ACF-populations in 1989 and 1992 (FIM, current prices)

Year 1989

ART FORM	Mean ISST	Median ISST	Mean ISST/ Median ISST	Breakdown of ISST (%)			Mean ANI	Median ANI	Mean ANI/ Median ANI	Grants of ANI %	Grants of ANI % (grant re- cipients)	Breakdown of total income (%)		
				Below 50 000	Over 100 000	Over 150 000						Below 50 000	Over 100 000	Over 150 000
Cinema	117 900	..	..	24	51	27	82 200	..	..	7	32	22	55	31
Dance	80 400	74 100	1,09	36	32	..	60 300	69 200	0,87	..	24	34	36	..
Graphic design	168 000	152 000	1,11	..	..	..	105 000	103 000	1,02	1	15	10	..	52
Music	149 800	131 000	1,14	12	67	40	..	..	..	4	26	11	69	43
Photographic art	96 900	86 100	1,13	30	40	19	84 200	80 100	1,05	17	34	19	55	33
Theatre	137 800	127 000	1,09	9	..	33	92 600	..	..	3	16	..	..	..

Year 1992

ART FORM	Mean ISST	Median ISST	Mean ISST/ Median ISST	Breakdown of ISST (%)			Mean ANI	Median ANI	Mean ANI/ Median ANI	Grants of ANI %	Grants of ANI % (grant re- cipients)	Breakdown of total income (%)		
				Below 50 000	Over 100 000	Over 150 000						Below 50 000	Over 100 000	Over 150 000
Cinema	127.400	..	..	16	57	34	89 600	..	..	6	30	16	61	39
Dance	101 200	89 500	1,13	27	40	..	73 400	69 200	1,06	5	23	23	48	..
Graphic design	163 000	149 000	1,09	..	..	..	103 000	102 000	1,01	1	14	12	73	51
Music	165 900	146 500	1,13	9	74	48	111 500	102 300	1,09	4	23	9	94	..
Photographic art	106 800	98 300	1,09	28	49	24	91 500	87 200	1,05	17	35	15	70	39
Theatre	157 900	141 700	1,11	7	78	45	104 500	97 800	1,07	3	19	6	80	..

6. Incomes of specified reference occupations in 1989–1996

<i>Income category, occupational group</i>	<i>FIM 1000 current prices</i>							
	<i>1989</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1993</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1996</i>
<i>Income subject to state taxation (ISST)</i>								
All natural persons (private individuals)	72	79	82	82	81	82	86	89
All employed labour force	..	109	..	..	117	..	126	..
Employers and own-account workers								
In agriculture	..	78	..	..	74	..	90	..
Other	..	112	..	..	108	..	120	..
Employees								
Upper-level salaried employees	..	176	..	..	182	..	193	..
Lower-level salaried employees	..	101	..	..	109	..	115	..
Workers	..	96	..	..	103	..	110	..
Barristers (072)	..	262	..	..	313	..	298	..
Newspaper journalists and editors at publishing companies (0841)	..	168	..	..	174	..	181	..
Nurses (032)	..	110	..	..	120	..	123	..
Physicians (030)	..	287	..	..	290	..	292	..
Architects (000)	..	190	..	..	177	..	169	..
Commercial artists (081)	..	143	..	..	134	..	146	..
Industrial designers and artists (0851)	..	123	..	..	115	..	121	..
Musicians (087)	..	116	..	..	121	..	128	..
Performing artists in theatres and operas (0861)	..	154	..	..	153	..	161	..
Other performing artists (0862)	..	125	..	..	121	..	115	..
Photographers and cameramen (870)	..	120	..	..	118	..	127	..
Film directors, theatre directors, etc. (0891)	..	159	..	..	156	..	175	..
Other artistic and entertainment occupations (0892)	..	105	..	..	107	..	111	..
Sculptors, painters, etc. (080)	..	114	..	..	104	..	109	..
Authors and critics (083)	..	136	..	..	140	..	150	..
<i>Taxable income (TXI)</i>								
All natural persons (private individuals)	63	69	72	73	73	73	77	80

Sources: Statistics Finland, income and property statistics, employment statistics and population census.

7. Incomes in the TXI-based categories for the ACF-populations in 1992 (FIM, current prices)

<i>Art form</i>	<i>Taxable income (TXI)</i>				<i>Net income (ANI2)</i>			<i>Grants of ANI2</i>	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mean / Median</i>	<i>Below 50 000 (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mean / Median</i>	<i>All (%)</i>	<i>Grant rec's (%)</i>
Cinema	115 000	100 400	1,15	23	77 000	73 800	1,04	7	34
Dance	91 200	79 900	1,14	29	63 500	59 500	1,07	5	26
Graphic design	142 200	126 700	1,12	17	85 600	83 100	1,03	1	18
Music	145 200	125 800	1,15	12	90 900	83 500	1,09	4	29
Photographic art	87 900	80 700	1,09	44	72 700	72 400	1,00	21	42
Theatre	143 300	128 700	1,11	9	90 000	84 300	1,07	3	22
Literature	135 200	100 700	1,34	28	106 400	94 300	1,13	27	36
Visual arts	61 600	43 900	1,40	53	52 500	47 400	1,11	21	48
All artists (ACF)	125 400	110 500	1,13	21	82 500	78 000	1,06	7	33

8a. Incomes of photographic artists in 1989, after attributes (FIM, current prices)

Attribute	Mean ISST	Median ISST	Mean ISST / Median ISST	Breakdown of ISST (%)			Mean ANI	Median ANI	Mean ANI / Median ANI	Grants of ANI %	Breakdown of total income (%)		
				Below 50 000	Over 100 000	Over 150 000					Below 50 000	Over 100 000	Over 150 000
Women	70 800	65 700	1,08	37	22	2	68 900	66 800	1,03	20	22	41	15
Men	104 900	91 400	1,15	28	45	24	88 900	86 900	1,02	16	18	60	39
Under 35 years	82 000	80 100	1,02	36	26	8	72 900	67 900	1,07	16	24	46	19
35-44 years	102 600	85 700	1,20	28	48	23	93 400	90 000	1,04	19	17	63	43
45-64 years	129 800	136 400	0,95	19	60	41	105 500	101 800	1,04	17	7	70	57
65 and over	98 000	71 800	1,36	4	8	4	66 200	54 000	1,23	-	20	40	20
Southern Finland	101 800	88 000	1,16	29	43	23	85 600	80 700	1,06	15	19	56	35
Other regions	81 300	78 900	1,03	36	31	7	79 600	78 800	1,01	21	19	52	26
Core	88 100	77 900	1,13	34	33	18	81 400	78 100	1,04	21	18	54	32
Margin	113 400	107 400	1,06	23	52	21	89 300	88 200	1,01	9	21	57	36
Artistically active	93 000	82 000	1,13	33	38	19	85 300	85 100	1,00	22	16	60	36
Non-active	105 000	91 100	1,15	25	42	19	81 800	69 400	1,18	6	25	46	28
UAP members	87 200	80 300	1,09	32	34	12	84 300	80 600	1,05	24	15	62	33
Non-UAP	101 900	90 900	1,12	30	43	23	84 100	80 100	1,05	13	21	52	33
Trained in art	95 900	82 000	1,17	30	36	19	84 200	78 100	1,08	17	18	53	33
Autodidacts	99 000	97 700	1,01	32	47	19	84 200	82 300	1,02	16	21	60	33
ALL	96 900	86 100	1,13	30	40	19	84 200	80 100	1,05	17	19	55	33

8b. Incomes of photographic artists in 1992 after attributes (FIM, current prices)

Attribute	Breakdown of ISST (%)				Breakdown of total income (%)								
	Mean ISST	Median ISST	Mean ISST / Median ISST	Over 50 000	Over 100 000	Over 150 000	Below 50 000	Over 100 000	Over 150 000				
Women	78 600	69 600	1,13	29	32	5	78 500	77 700	1,01	23	12	56	24
Men	115 500	108 600	1,06	28	55	30	95 500	94 800	1,01	15	16	74	44
Under 35 years	85 200	77 300	1,10	33	34	9	77 100	76 200	1,01	18	19	57	21
35-44 years	107 300	105 800	1,01	28	55	25	94 100	96 900	0,97	18	14	76	45
45-64 years	142 100	134 300	1,06	21	59	47	114 000	109 000	1,05	15	6	79	56
65 and over	109 700	132 300	0,83	33	67	33	71 700	87 700	0,82	2	33	67	50
Southern Finland	109 200	100 100	1,09	28	50	24	92 700	86 400	1,07	16	15	70	37
Other regions	99 600	90 800	1,10	28	47	23	88 100	90 700	0,97	19	14	70	44
Core	96 600	84 400	1,14	33	43	22	89 300	87 300	1,02	22	17	72	42
Margin	127 700	115 900	1,10	18	62	28	96 600	87 100	1,11	7	11	67	33
Artistically active	107 500	95 900	1,12	24	49	22	99 100	92 900	1,07	21	6	76	42
Non-active	105 900	99 000	1,07	34	49	27	82 000	80 600	1,02	10	26	62	35
UAP members	91 400	81 700	1,12	27	42	14	90 400	91 300	0,99	24	10	73	40
Non-UAP	120 300	108 400	1,11	29	56	33	92 500	84 100	1,10	10	19	68	39
Trained in art	103 700	97 500	1,06	24	49	22	89 400	87 100	1,03	17	12	71	38
Autodidacts	113 300	105 100	1,08	37	51	30	96 000	91 100	1,05	16	21	68	40
ALL	106 800	98 200	1,09	28	49	24	91 500	87 200	1,05	17	15	70	39

9. Change in photographic artists' income subject to state taxation (ISST) from 1989 to 1992, after attributes (FIM, 1989 prices)

<i>ATTRIBUTE</i>	<i>ISST 1989</i>		<i>ISST 1992</i>		<i>Change 1989–92 (%)</i>	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>
Women	70 800	65 700	69 600	61 600	-2	-6
Men	104 900	91 400	102 200	96 100	-3	+5
Under 35 years	82 000	80 100	75 400	68 400	-8	-15
35–44	102 600	85 700	95 000	93 600	-7	+9
45–64	129 800	136 400	125 800	118 900	-3	-13
65 and over*	98 000	71 800	97 000	117 100	-1	+63
Southern Finland	101 800	88 000	96 600	88 600	-5	+1
Other regions	81 300	78 900	88 200	80 400	+8	+2
Core	88 100	77 900	85 300	74 500	-3	-4
Margin	113 300	107 400	111 100	102 300	-2	-5
UAP members	87 200	80 300	80 900	72 300	-7	-10
Non-UAP	101 900	90 900	106 400	96 000	+4	+6
Artistically active	93 000	82 000	95 200	84 800	+2	+3
Non-active	105 000	91 100	93 700	87 600	-11	-4
With art training	95 900	82 000	91 700	86 300	-4	+5
Autodidacts	99 000	97 700	100 300	93 000	+1	-5
<i>ALL</i>	<i>96 900</i>	<i>86 100</i>	<i>94 500</i>	<i>86 900</i>	<i>-2</i>	<i>+1</i>

* N very small.

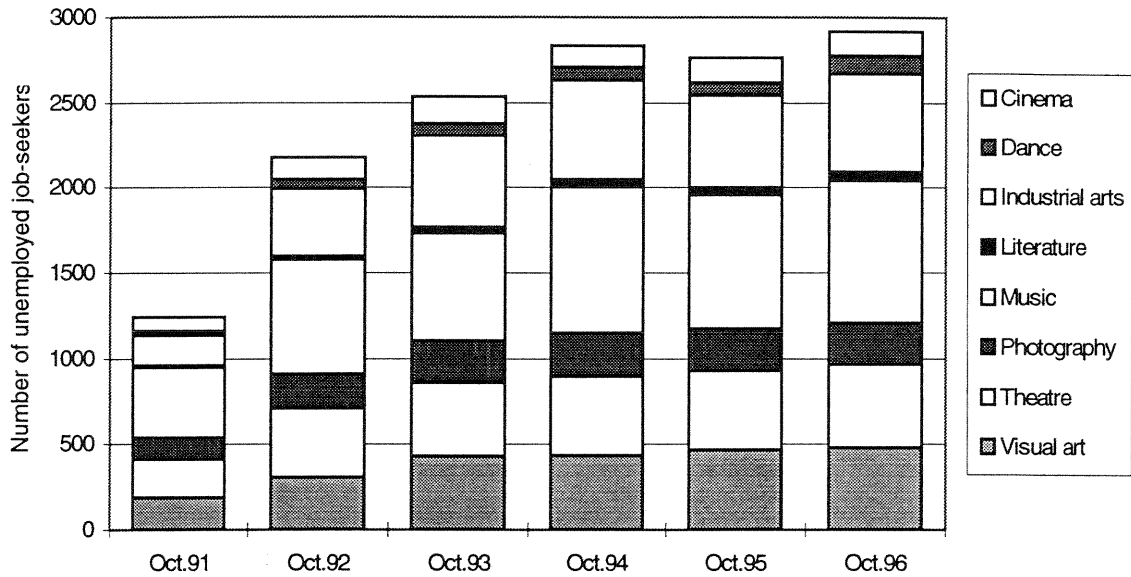
10. Change in photographic artists' net income (ANI) from 1989 to 1992, after attributes (FIM, 1989 prices)

<i>ATTRIBUTE</i>	<i>ANI 1989</i>		<i>ANI 1992</i>		<i>Change 1989–92 (%)</i>	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>
Women	68 900	66 800	69 500	68 700	+1	+3
Men	88 900	86 900	84 600	83 900	-5	-3
Under 35 years	72 900	67 900	68 200	67 400	-6	-1
35–44	93 400	90 000	83 300	85 800	-11	-5
45–64	105 500	103 900	100 800	96 400	-4	-7
65 and over*	66 200	54 000	63 400	77 600	-4	+44
Southern Finland	85 600	80 700	82 000	76 400	-4	-5
Other regions	79 600	78 800	77 900	80 300	-2	+2
Core	81 400	78 100	78 800	77 100	-3	-1
Margin	89 300	88 200	84 600	76 900	-5	-13
UAP members	84 300	80 600	80 000	80 800	-5	0
Non-UAP	84 100	80 100	81 900	74 400	-3	-7
Artistically active	85 300	85 100	87 700	82 300	+3	-3
Non-active	81 800	69 400	72 600	71 300	-11	+3
With art training	84 200	78 100	79 100	77 000	-6	-1
Autodidacts	84 200	82 300	84 900	80 600	+1	-2
<i>ALL</i>	<i>84 200</i>	<i>80 100</i>	<i>81 000</i>	<i>77 200</i>	<i>-4</i>	<i>-4</i>

* N very small.

Appendix Figures

1. Unemployment among artists in 1991–1996¹



¹Occupational unemployment figures have been published since 1991.

The category of photographers includes studio, commercial and press photographers.

Source: The Ministry of Labour, Employment Service Statistics.

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