Investing in Creativity:
A Study of the Support Structure for U.S. Artists

Culture, Creativity
& Communities Program

Urban
Institute

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About the Urban Institute

The Urban Institute is a nonprofit, nonpartisan policy research and educational organization established to examine the social, economic, and governance problems facing the nation. It provides information and analysis to public and private decision-makers to help them address these challenges and strives to raise citizen understanding of these issues and tradeoffs in policy making.

Staff and Contributors

Maria-Rosario Jackson was Principal Investigator for the *Investing in Creativity* study and Elizabeth Boris served as Project Director. This project is part of the Culture, Creativity, and Communities Program at the Urban Institute. It involved staff from the Metropolitan Housing and Communities Center as well as the Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy. Staff and consultants who contributed to this project include: Carole Rosenstein, Daniel Swenson, Kadija Ferryman, Eric Wallner, Chris Hayes, Harvey Meyerson, Carlos Manjarrez, Beth Roland, Francie Ostrower, Florence Kabwasa-Green, Joaquin Herranz, Jr., Caron Atlas, Holly Sidford, Roberto Bedoya, Matthew Deleget, Edith Meeks and staff at the New York Foundation for the Arts, and Diane Colasanto and Dawn Crossland at Princeton Survey Research Associates.

For more information about this study, please visit www.usartistsreport.org.

Cornhusk Doll

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Why Artists Need More than Creativity To Survive

"Art is not a mirror held up to reality but a hammer with which to shape it."

-- Berthold Brecht

Throughout our history, artists in the U.S. have utilized their skills as a vehicle to illuminate the human condition, contribute to the vitality of their communities and to the broader aesthetic landscape, as well as to promote social change and democratic dialogue. Artists have also helped us interpret our past, define the present, and imagine the future. In spite of these significant contributions, there's been an inadequate set of support structures to help artists, especially younger, more marginal or controversial ones, to realize their best work. Many artists have struggled and continue to struggle to make ends meet. They often lack adequate resources for health care coverage, housing, and for space to make their work. Still, public as well as private funding for artists has been an uneven, often limited source of support even in the best of times economically.

Compounding these material problems is the fact that the public often views the profession of "artist" as not serious. The way artists earn a living may seem frivolous, and artists are often seen as indulging in their own passions and desires which bear no relation to the everyday experiences of most workers. This too contributes to a devaluing of the artist as a citizen with the same rights and responsibilities as everyone else.

In the mid 1990s, problems for artists escalated in the wake of federal funding declines, resulting in significant cutbacks in fellowship programs at institutions like the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities. In response to this new crisis, the Ford Foundation decided to put the plight of individual artists on our agenda. Along with 37 other donors, the Foundation commissioned a study from the Urban Institute to explore the changing landscape of support for artists. Led by Maria-Rosario Jackson, the principal investigator of the study, the Urban Institute's approach involved asking a new set of questions about the climate for support for artists. How are artists valued in society? What kind of demand is there for their work and social contributions? What kinds of material supports – employment and benefits, grants and awards, and space do artists need? Are artists' training programs preparing them for the environments they will encounter? What kinds of connections and networks enable artists to pursue their careers? And what kinds of information are necessary to assess this more comprehensive notion of support for artists?

Additionally, the project was designed to stimulate and sustain interest that could lead to action on these issues at both national and local levels. This was achieved through the periodic dissemination of preliminary findings to funders of the study and other possible stakeholders. Holly Sidford assisted greatly in this regard.

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This important and timely study was eventually completed in July 2003. In it, the Urban Institute has given us much to ponder. The big headline is that improving support structures for artists in the U.S. will not be accomplished simply by restoring budget cuts, though we will certainly need to rebuild these kinds of direct financial support going forward. Making a real difference in the creative life of artists will entail developing a new understanding and appreciation for who artists are and what they do, as well as financial resources from a variety of stakeholders. Achieving these changes involves a long-term commitment from artists themselves, as well as arts administrators, funders, governments at various levels, community developers and real estate moguls, not to mention the business and civic sectors.

The study and this resulting report, which includes information on ways in which the environment of support may be improved over the long haul, offers a real opportunity to make a difference in the artistic landscape of this country. We hope it receives a wide readership and that its useful insights can prove the basis for a new approach to investing in creativity.

Alison R. Bernstein, Vice President, The Program on Knowledge, Creativity and Freedom (KC&F), The Ford Foundation.

Margaret B. Wilkerson, Director, Media, Arts and Culture unit, KC&F, The Ford Foundation.

ABOUT THIS REPORT

This report presents the overall findings of *Investing in Creativity: A Study of the Support Structure for U.S. Artists* – a national study conducted by the Urban Institute and supported by a 38-member consortium of funders. A major contribution of the study is a new and comprehensive framework for analysis and action, which views the support structure for artists in the United States as a system made up of six key dimensions of the environment in which an artist works. This approach builds on previous Urban Institute work that seeks to identify and measure the characteristics of place that make a culturally vibrant community. The study also provides information on the status of various dimensions of the artists' support structure – both nationally and in specific sites across the country.

The findings presented here synthesize information from a range of research components: case studies in nine cities including interviews with more than 450 people and a composite rural inquiry; creation and analysis of an of a comprehensive database – NYFA Source – that provides national and local information on awards and services for artists; a nationally representative poll of attitudes toward artists in the United States as well as site-specific polls in case study cities; numerous advisory meetings convened by the project; attendance at various conferences and professional meetings for artists; and numerous topic-specific inquiries on issues of major interest to the field. We also draw from various studies, both completed and ongoing, of the cultural sector and related fields.

In addition to this report, which synthesizes our findings, research products include two report series as well as periodic white papers. The two report series are the following:

> *Nine case studies*, one devoted to each of our nine city sites – Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Houston, Los Angeles, New York City, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. – and a tenth report presenting a composite rural profile;

> *Cross-cutting briefings*, devoted to selected dimensions of our framework.

In this study, we define artists as adults who have received training in an artistic discipline/tradition, define themselves professionally as artists, and attempt to derive income from work in which they use their expert artistic vocational skills in visual, literary, performing, and media arts. Our main focus is on artists working in the formal nonprofit sector, but we also address artists working in commercial and public contexts, as well as in the informal sector. We are not

concerned primarily with disciplinary differences, although we discuss them when relevant to the point we wish to make. We are chiefly concerned with the characteristics of an environment that facilitate or impede the efforts of artists, irrespective of discipline, to pursue their careers and contribute to society.

Investing in Creativity, begun in 2000, makes contributions to the field on three levels:

> *Conceptual*: Our analytical framework and a range of typologies.

> *Empirical*: The NYFA Source data, quantitative polling data, and qualitative case study data.

> *Practical*: The database input and retrieval mechanisms, data collection tools, and assembly of relevant city-specific and national literature.

To help us get it right, we tapped the contributions of artists themselves in many ways. Artists and their views have been well represented in our case studies – half of our interviews in each of our study sites were with artists. In addition, artists – along with arts administrators, funders, policymakers, and selected observers outside the cultural sector – served as advisors and consultants to the project and as sounding boards for emerging findings. We also consider artists important actors in pursuing the study recommendations.

Our approach to dissemination distinguishes this project from most research studies. To ensure that the appetite for information from the study remained strong – and that the research findings are presented in ways that are easily understood and ready for action – our research work has been accompanied by a parallel process of periodic dissemenation. In each of the case-study cities and at the national level in various forums, research staff has vetted preliminary findings with a wide range of people who have a role to play in addressing issues raised in the study. Our intended audience, in addition to artists, includes funders in the arts and other sectors, arts advocates, policymakers in the arts and related fields, and anyone interested the cultural life of their communities, in America's cultural legacy, and in bolstering the environment in which artists do their creative work.

I. STUDY MOTIVATION, CONTEXT, AND CONTRIBUTIONS

This project was undertaken to expand our thinking about who artists are, what they do, and what mechanisms interact to create a hospitable – or inhospitable – environment of support for their work. It is useful to begin this overall report on our findings with the reasons society should be concerned with artists, the focus of previous research on the cultural sector, and the contributions this project makes to the knowledge base.

Why be concerned with artists?
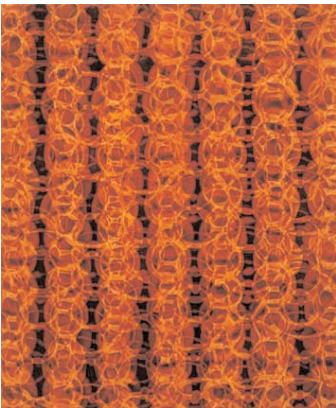
Although often stereotyped as removed from everyday life and societal processes, artists are fundamental to our cultural heritage and their work is often a crucial part of community life. Artists work in diverse settings ranging from studios and cultural institutions to schools, parks, and various kinds of community centers and social change organizations. They work in all sectors – nonprofit, commercial, public, and informal sectors. Artists create paintings, films, music, plays, poems, and other works that reflect the diversity, aspirations, hopes, fears, and contradictions of our society. The work of artists inspires, celebrates, mourns, commemorates, and causes us to question aspects of contemporary life and the human condition.

Many artists are teachers, helping people at all stages of life to develop their creative and critical thinking skills.[1] Many contribute in other ways, both directly and indirectly, by acting as catalysts for civic engagement,[2] as well as key players in creating culturally and economically vital places.[3] The numerous areas where artists contribute to community life include civic leadership and youth development, community building, neighborhood revitalization, and economic development. Artists also contribute to the creation and transmittal of group identities.[4]

In these and other roles, artists are a growing part of the U.S. workforce.[5] But they are typically underpaid in relation to their education, skills, and societal contributions.[6] Moreover, given the multiple roles they play in society, they are often under-recognized and under-valued by funders and policymakers both inside and outside the cultural sector, as well as by the media and the public at large.

Kevin A. Kepple

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1. See Abbott 1988; Freidson 1986.
2. See Jackson 2003; Putnam 2000.
3. See Florida 2002.
4. See Jackson and Herranz 2002; Wyszomirski 2001; Adams and Goldbard 2001; Cleveland 2000; New England Council 2000; Heath 1999; Stern and Seifert 1997 and 1998.
5. Bureau of Labor Statistics data indicate that the population of artists has grown from 730,000 in l970 to 2+ million in 2001. See NEA 1994 and 2002.
6. See Alper and Wassall 2000; Menger 1999.

∗ Previous research on support for artists

Research to date on the cultural sector has emphasized the roles of explicitly cultural organizations and institutions.[7] It has focused on those involved primarily or exclusively in the dissemination or presentation of artistic work, and often includes only fiscal and audience information. There has been some recent interest in collecting information on cultural participation, cultural organizations' sustainability,[8] and, to a very limited extent, the community impacts of cultural organizations.

Comparatively little attention has been paid to artists *per se*, either individually or collectively, as creators and presenters of work; to the diverse contributions they make to society; or to the mechanisms that support them and their work. What information has been collected on artists has focused mostly on individual artists' careers (restricted to career paths exclusively in their artistic discipline),[9] on economic analyses of their employment and related issues,[10] and on artists' needs for human and social services.[11] Much less attention has been given to the societal contributions of artists, the training that prepares them for diverse roles in a democratic society, and the sources of support on which they rely.

There has been no adequate illumination of the multiple ways artists work, the range of places in which they operate, or the various supports – financial and otherwise – on which they depend. There has been no central repository for information on grants and awards available for artists. There is no centralized body of information about organizations that are artist-focused, artist-run, or dedicated to providing services for artists. There is not even any generally agreed-upon definition of who should be included in the population of artists.

∗ Contributions of this project

The fundamental goal of this project is to think in a new way about artists, how they work, and the mechanisms they need to support their creative activity. Building on other Urban Institute research,[12] we treat geography or place as the critical context in which the various elements of support interact.[13] This approach recognizes that the cultural sector is part of the larger society and is

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7. As noted in this study, artists also often do their work in places that are not explicitly or primarily cultural venues or organizations (e.g., schools, parks, libraries, community centers).
8. See McCarthy and Jinnet 2001; McCarthey et al. 2001.
9. See Jeffri 1990a, 1990b, 1990c.
10. See Alper and Wassall 2000; Alper 1996; Menger 1999.
11. See Jeffri 1989, 1997a, 1997b.
12. The *Arts and Culture Indicators in Community Building Project*, focused on neighborhoods and cities, is a research effort to better understand and monitor the presence, roles, and value of arts and cultural participation. Started in 1996, the project has been supported by the Rockefeller Foundation.
13. We recognize that many artists--touring performing artists and some visual artists, as well as others – depend on markets in multiple places. However, this does not diminish the primacy of local support structures which have some bearing on all artists, even those with ties to multiple localities.

affected by (and affects) other components of the community – even if the interactions are not pro-active or strategically planned.

Our primary data source is a series of case studies we conducted in nine cities across the country – Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Houston, Los Angeles, New York City, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington D.C.[14] – plus a composite look at artists working in rural areas.[15] This fieldwork has resulted in a more robust understanding of the diversity of artists' careers. It has also enabled us to create a framework for analysis and action that lays out six core elements of an artist's support structure: validation, demand/markets, material supports, training and professional development, communities and networks, and information.

The project also advances the field's ability to assess its provision of key elements of that support structure through creation of a national database on awards and services for artists. NYFA Source, a collaborative effort by the Urban Institute and the New York Foundation for the Arts, makes possible for the first time aggregate analyses of relevant awards, services, and publications using many different variables that include artistic discipline, geography, and type of award or service.

We also conducted the first nationally representative poll on the public's attitudes toward artists, supplemented with representative local polls in our case-study sites. This poll address additional issues related to demand for what artists do and how they are valued (or not) in our society – an important element of the artists' support structure.[16]

In addition, we convened a variety of advisory meetings with artists, leaders in diverse sectors of the arts, and researchers. We observed various artists' meetings; vetted our preliminary findings in a wide range of professional settings; and continually investigated research in related areas.

Finally, on the basis of our research findings, we make recommendations about potential lines of action to monitor and improve support for artists in the longer term.

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14. The cities selected for case studies have significant populations of artists (as defined by the Census). They are geographically dispersed, have diverse demographic characteristics and provide a useful range of places in which to explore our research questions. However, they do not comprise a scientifically representative sample of U.S. cities. Case study cities were selected based on the characteristics discussed above and because funders in those cities showed an interest in supporting the study and following up on recommendations coming from it.
15. Our inquiry about artists in rural places included interviews with artists, arts administrators and funders operating in rural areas in California as well as the convening of a conference of artists, arts administrators, funders and community leaders in various rural areas around the country including communities in Nevada, New Mexico, New York, Maine, California, Kentucky, Missouri, and North Carolina.
16. There have been studies about attitudes toward arts consumption, audience participation, and giving to the arts. But these are mostly about "art" as a product, divorced from the producer – not about artists and what they do or make. See *Survey of Public Participation in the Arts*, sponsored by National Endowment for the Arts; Urban Institute 1998 Cultural Participation Survey; Giving USA 2002.

II. STUDY DEFINITIONS AND FRAMEWORK

Precise definition and a clear conceptual framework are basic to interpretable research. This chapter reviews our approach to both definition of artists as our study population and conceptualization of their structure of support.

Our definition of artist: The many aspects of diversity

There is no generally agreed-upon definition of artists as an occupational group. Official U.S. employment statistics define them one way. Different studies of the cultural sector use a range of definitions. We have developed a definition that, although discipline-based, recognizes the reality that artists pursue their careers in many different ways. Our definition of artist includes professionals in all generally recognized artistic disciplines, but it also recognizes that people who answer to this description can – and do – work in a wide variety of occupations and jobs in all economic sectors. This is discussed in Chapter IV, Demand and Markets.

For the purposes of this study, our definition recognizes as artists all adults who have expert artistic skills; have received artistic education or training (formal or informal); attempt to derive income from those skills; and are or have been actively engaged in creating artwork and presenting it to the public.

Given this fundamental definition, we further recognize that artists' work comes in many guises. Among the artists we interviewed were an actor working in nonprofit theater and supporting himself with film and television gigs in the commercial sector; and a visual artist who was also the head of a major art school. We interviewed a media artist and co-founder of an artist-focused organization serving other media artists; she teaches part-time and struggles to finish her first feature-length film. We also interviewed a poet/writer capturing the Vietnamese-American experience while working with both Asian-American community organizations and an Asian Studies department at a local university; a muralist working with inner-city youth and supporting herself through public art commissions and teaching; a traditional East Indian dancer, currently living off fellowship money and occasionally working as an office temp; an avant-garde trombonist and composer dedicated not only to making his music but also to creating an audience for it and active in teaching newer musicians in the genre; and a percussionist playing full-time with a major symphony orchestra.

Artists work in many settings – alone in studios; together with other artists in theaters, concert halls, artists' cooperatives, and other places; and with the public in community settings such as community centers, parks, libraries, and schools. They are motivated by social issues, history, and aesthetic forms. They wear multiple occupational hats, as teachers, arts administrators, consultants, and business entrepreneurs. They contribute to the cultural sector, of course, but to

other areas as well, including community development, education, youth development, economic development, and social service provision. Artists seek to advance a multitude of art forms – adhering to traditional genres as well as experimenting and creating new ones. They come from a rich diversity of generations and cultures. They are trained in art schools and universities, through apprenticeship programs, and contact with peers and mentors. Moreover, they work in the commercial, nonprofit, and public sectors, as well as in the informal sector. Often, they move in and out of these realms throughout their careers. Our primary focus is on artists working in the nonprofit sector, but we also address issues related to artists working in public, commercial, and informal sectors. Although we focus primarily on the nonprofit sector in this study, we in no way mean to imply that we place this sector above others in any type of hierarchy.

∗ Study framework

This study takes a comprehensive approach to understanding support for artists. Our approach explicitly recognizes that the cultural sector operates, not in a vacuum, but in specific communities whose economic and social characteristics, processes, and policies are integral to how an artist lives and works. This environmental approach is different from, but inclusive of, the conventional focus on grants, awards, and similar direct financial support. It also leads to a different analytical and measurement framework from the more usual distinctions based on artistic discipline.

In this study, our environmental approach leads us to use *place* as the organizing principle for our research and findings. Thus, we have developed an analytical framework along the six major dimensions of a place that make it hospitable or inhospitable to artists: validation, demand/markets, material supports, training and professional development, community and networks, and information. In other words, we assert that to understand the health and vitality of the artists' support structure in any given place, one must understand the status of validating mechanisms, the strength or weakness of the demand and market for artists' work, the kinds and scope of material supports, the condition of training and professional development opportunities, artists' access to communities of support and professional networks, and the availability of information for and about artists. While our focus in this project has been on the environment of support for artists in all disciplines (in particular cities and rural places), the framework can also be applied in other ways. One can apply the six dimensions of the framework to understand support for any subset of artists. For example, by utilizing the framework, one can ask the status of validation, demand/markets, material supports, training and other elements of the framework for choreographers, or for Asian-American artists, or for emerging artists in all disciplines – in places ranging from neighborhoods to nations and beyond.

This framework has been refined during our fieldwork through more than 450 extended interviews with artists, arts administrators, arts funders, critics and media representatives, and selected persons outside the cultural sector, and in 17 focus group discussions around the country. It has also been vetted among artists, administrators, funders, and researchers in numerous national, regional, and local professional meetings such as meetings of the Alliance of Artists Communities, Grantmakers in the Arts, the College Art Association, Fund for Folk Culture, National Alliance for Media Arts and Culture, and the Mid-Atlantic Arts Foundation.

Subsequent chapters of this report summarize our findings for each dimension in our framework. Here we provide a brief definition of each dimension:

> **Validation:** The ascription of value to what artists do.
>
> **Demand/markets:** Society's appetite for artists and what they do, and the markets that translate this appetite into financial compensation.
>
> **Material supports:** Access to the financial and physical resources artists need for their work: employment, insurance and similar benefits, awards, space, equipment, and materials.

CalArts School of Dance

> **Training and professional development:** Conventional and lifelong learning opportunities.
>
> **Communities and networks:** Inward connections to other artists and people in the cultural sector; outward connections to people not primarily in the cultural sector.
>
> **Information:** Data sources about artists and for artists.

As noted earlier, our fundamental aim in this study has been to create a new way of thinking about support for artists and thus we arrived at this framework. In this report, we establish the parameters of each dimension, take the first steps in describing and analyzing each, and identify the initial important issues that point to strengths and weaknesses to be addressed and monitored.

III. VALIDATION

Validation is the ascription of value to what artists do and make. It takes many forms, both formal and informal – some tied to money, others not; some direct, others indirect. The most prominent forms identified in our fieldwork were peer recognition (appreciation of an artist's work by other artists) and audience or direct public recognition. That is, attendance or participation at events, the incidence of people returning for another performance or showing, interaction with the artist, or the purchase of artistic products. Other prominent forms of validation identified were arts criticism, which situates an artist's work within a broader artistic context; media coverage, which exposes artists to the general public; and awards, grants, and similar competitions, which both publicly "certify" artists as legitimate and often provide financial support. Affiliations with training institutions such as universities, art schools, companies, and studios or individual master teachers that "brand" artists and associate them with the characteristics ascribed to those entities were important too, as was being selected to show work or perform at particular venues ranging from formal galleries, museums, and theaters to coffee houses, community centers, and religious venues. Last, recognition of artists' contributions to society through outside evaluation and research also was viewed as important (although sometimes reluctantly), especially because people perceive that there has been more pressure in recent years for artists to demonstrate their social contributions in order to capture funding from foundations and public sources.

We also identified other important factors that help to shape a community's understanding and appreciation for artists and what they contribute. These include the extent to which art is valued as a dimension of quality of life; the quality of arts education available to the public; and whether artists, cultural institutions, or artistic products are understood as essential to the cultural vitality of a place.

In this chapter, we discuss several important issues to be considered in any efforts to improve the validation of artists at local and national levels. We first discuss some general contextual factors that shape the public's understanding of artists. We then turn to more specific issues related to direct validation of artists' work.

Contextual issues

* Making art is viewed as frivolous.

Our interview data reflect a strong sentiment within the cultural community that society, in many instances, does not value art-making as legitimate work worthy of compensation. Rather, society perceives making art as frivolous or recreational. Indeed, many artists reported that people often seem to have no sense of what

artists' time or products are worth – and often expect them to donate both for nothing. This is consistent with evidence from other recent research that art, artists, and cultural participation generally have not been well understood in research and policy circles as a core element of community life.[17]   As a consequence, they do not feature in quality-of-life measurement systems and corresponding policy discussions.[18] This stance is also consistent with recent budget cuts in state and local public resources for the arts, as well as reductions in many private foundations' funding for the arts, which have resulted in less direct support for artists and many arts organizations.[19]

Society perceives making art as frivolous or recreational. Many artists report that people have no sense of what artists' time or products are worth and often expect them to 'donate' both for nothing.

Recent research provides openings for artists to better assert their contributions to social and economic life. For example, in *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Richard Florida argues that artists and other members of the "creative class" are vital to regional economic development. He suggests that they comprise the vital cultural core essential to attracting and developing workers for knowledge industries, which are increasingly important to the U.S. economy.[20] The work of Shirley Brice Heath and others also points to artists' contributions to improving educational outcomes among young people.[21]

∗ The visibility of artists and the creative process is overshadowed by large cultural institutions, the dissemination of artistic products, and other recreational offerings.

In most of our study sites, respondents said that in the mainstream media, large local cultural institutions concerned primarily with the dissemination of work (often from other places) overshadow the work and contributions of local independent artists and the creative process. The dominance of large cultural institutions was also reflected in public documents, such as city plans and tourism office information. Moreover, in some places, sports and other recreational options were also seen as competing with the local cultural scene. In San Francisco and Boston, the mainstream cultural institutions, including the local symphony, opera, ballet and the fine art museum, were viewed as overshadowing both the institutions fostering the work of local artists as well as independent artists' efforts. In Los Angeles, the dominant institutions are in the film and entertainment industry. In Washington, D.C., it is the array of large public (e.g., the Smithsonian Institution) and private cultural institutions as well as public monuments and governmental landmarks. In Cleveland, professional

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17. Art as an important dimension of the lives of individuals is another area of research. It is further developed than research on art as a dimension of communities, but it too needs advancement.
18. See Jackson and Herranz 2002.
19. In the last two years, spending by state and local arts agencies has declined sharply. Some state arts agencies, including California and Massachusetts, have been particularly affected. See Americans for the Arts 2003, National Assembly of State Arts Agencies 2003.
20. See Florida 2002.
21. See Heath and Roche 1998.

sports were perceived as the dominant recreational interest but within the local arts scene, the symphony and art museum were seen as dominant.

The emphasis on large mainstream cultural organizations as the heart of a city's cultural community is especially problematic because many respondents, especially artists, considered these institutions to be "apart" from the local artists' scene – generally not showcasing local artists' work or involved in local artists' struggles and issues. One exception to this was the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston and its Glassell School, which over the past several years is regarded as having developed strong ties to local visual artists and to the Houston community in general. Another was the Kennedy Center, which was noted as having become more responsive in the past few years, and the Corcoran Museum in Washington, D.C.

It should be noted, however, that many respondents representing large institutions consider them important employment hubs for local artists and said that they do make an effort to showcase local talent from time to time. Some of these respondents also said they saw their primary role as bringing in work from other places to expose publics, including local artists, to art they may not otherwise experience. Artists confirmed that such institutions did offer some employment opportunities, but cautioned that they were often temporary. Several artists of color felt that large organizations seek them out only during designated times – such as Black History Month or Cinco de Mayo. With regard to the role of these institutions as presenters of work from other places, artists acknowledged that this was an important contribution, but many still viewed them as being distant from and not supportive of the local artists' scene.

Cultural plans regularly include provisions for the facilities needs of cultural organizations, but there are few examples of cultural plans that consider artists' needs for space.

Our review of city and cultural plans revealed that they tend to focus on the physical infrastructure of presentation venues – often to the neglect of artists' contributions and needs. For example, cultural plans regularly survey the facilities' needs of midsize and large cultural institutions, but there were very few examples of cultural planning efforts that focused on artists' needs for space. *A Cultural Blueprint for New York City* is an example of a fairly recent cultural planning initiative that did consider artists' needs.[22] *The Chicago Cultural Plan* developed during the Harold Washington administration in the 1980s also had some provisions for artists, although it is not clear that such recommendations were ever fully implemented.[23]

In none of our case study cities did the tourist and visitors' bureaus promote their population of artists as a potential draw for tourists. In some cases, there were guides to neighborhoods where artists could be found. But these tended to be

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22. See New York Foundation for the Arts 2001.
23. City of Chicago 1986.

described only in terms such as "funky" or "bohemian." It is important to mention in this context, however, that "cultural tourism" (although controversial in some cultural circles) sounds a hopeful note for artists when it promotes local aesthetics and traditions. Seattle, for example, is making a greater effort to "sell" its cultural resources as a draw for tourists. Washington, D.C.'s, Heritage Tourism Coalition is another example of a city's effort to sell its cultural resources, and in this case to promote local cultural life rather than the dominant cultural institutions and public monuments. Many rural areas are also engaged in celebrating local culture and in cultivating cultural tourism as an economic generator.[24] It should be noted, however, that cultural tourism has its critics who question the extent to which it advances "artistic excellence," and its long-term contribution to serious artistic endeavor.

With regard to media, whereas daily newspapers and network television were viewed as painting a narrow picture of cultural life, public television, public radio, and alternative publications did emerge as encouraging examples of opportunities for the contributions of artists to be better understood.[25] Full programs devoted to the arts and to artists were seen as especially beneficial, providing enough time to treat topics in some depth (e.g., Cleveland's 'Around Noon' show). Even in these media, however, it is clear that coverage of some artists' populations can be very sporadic – restricted to Black History Month, Asian Pacific Heritage Month, and so on.

∗ Artists' societal contributions are not well understood, documented, or publicized.

This study and other research begins to reveal the various ways in which artists contribute to society – as community leaders, organizers, activists, and catalysts for change, as well as creators of images, films, books, poems, songs, and dances. However, generally, these roles are not clearly articulated and typically are under-recognized.[26] Contributions are particularly unappreciated – both inside and outside the cultural realm – when artists are active at the intersection of arts and other fields.

In spite of this general picture, as noted earlier, several recent and ongoing research initiatives are working to better assess artists' contributions to society on a number of fronts – education, economic development, social capital, and civic engagement, among others. And researchers have much to build on if they

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24. See Walker 2003.
25. This is supported by a National Arts Journalism Program study, that found that public radio stations and alternative weekly newspapers may take the arts more "seriously" than daily newspapers and network television. See Janeway 1999.
26. Our national opinion poll reveals that only 27% of adults think artists contribute "a lot" to the general good of society, far fewer than recognize the social contributions of teachers (82%), doctors (76%), scientists (66%), construction workers (63%), and clergy (52%). The public perceives the contributions of artists in much the same way it perceives those of elected officials (26% say they contribute a lot to the general good), and just slightly better than it perceives the contributions of athletes (18% think they contribute a lot).

harvest the wisdom that exists in the field. Artists and arts administrators working at the intersection of arts and other fields have years of experience and are often guided by sound theories about what works, what does not, and what kinds of contributions they are making to society. However, occupied with the making of work or the administration of programs, these practitioners seldom have the opportunity to stop and reflect on their practices and document them. The fruits of studies focusing on the work of these practitioners, especially those studies that give voice to their experiences, can serve an important role by informing public policy discussions in the arts and other relevant fields.

Additionally, high profile awards showcasing the value of arts initiatives (often with artists at the helm), such as the Coming Up Taller awards sponsored by the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, and awards that recognize artists alongside major contributors to social improvement in other fields, such as the Heinz Awards and the MacArthur Fellowships, help create some public sensibility about the importance and potential social impacts of artists in communities.[27]

* Artists are often separated from the perceived value of what they do or make.

Data from our national poll on attitudes toward artists suggest that people highly value art in their lives. The poll revealed that there was very high demand for

Many people believe that deeper and more widespread understanding of artists' work requires more direct engagement between artists and the public.

what artists produce. In fact, 96 percent of respondents said they were greatly inspired and moved by various kinds of art. However, the artist as creator of goods (works of music, film, literature, and so on) often appears to be divorced in the public mind from the good itself. Only 27 percent of respondents said that artists contribute "a lot" to the good of society. Thus, even when an artist's work is recognized as valuable and goes on to influence individuals and society in many forms, the link between that good – and the effort and resources that went into making it – and the artist who made it is often invisible. Another example of the "invisibility" of artists in the cultural equation is the relative absence of artists from studies of the economic impact of the arts. In such studies, artists are seldom even mentioned, let alone included in the cost-benefit analysis.

Many people interviewed believe that deeper and more widespread understanding of artists' work and increasing demand for such work requires more direct engagement between artists and the public. This may be achieved through such activities as artists teaching individuals of all ages to make art; public education programs involving artists; public outreach and engagement programs that create opportunities for artists to have discussions with audiences after shows; and strategic expansion of venues that put artists in contact with

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27. http://www.cominguptaller.org/

publics in a wide range of places, including cultural organizations such as museums and concert halls; commercial/retail venues such as cafes, restaurants, bookstores, night clubs, shopping centers; and other public and community spaces like parks, libraries, schools, churches, community centers, as well as virtual venues online.

Within visual arts, "open studios" events coordinated in several of the study sites were cited as an effective means for the public to engage directly with artists. Open studios events provide an opportunity for the public to explore artists' spaces and their creative processes.[28] Other examples of efforts to connect artists to various publics include artists' residencies in corporations, hospitals, parks, and libraries. The Artists in Education Program, funded through the Department of Education, was cited as an effective way to engage K–12 students with artists in their community. However, in general, respondents thought that public arts education was insufficient and that this contributed to the prevailing lack of appreciation among the public for the value of art, artists, and the creative process.[29]

Some of the most innovative efforts by artists to connect to publics in very direct ways came in the form of the art itself. For example, Reggie Wilson, a dancer/choreographer/performance artist and leader of Reggie Wilson Fist and Heel Dance Company based in Brooklyn, N.Y., has created a dance/performance piece called "Introduction" that provides the public with important background information about what motivates him to do his work and how he goes about creating a piece from researching a topic to creating a performance. "Introduction" is just that for some of his other work that deals with African-American spiritualism and diasporic connections, among other issues. Rhodessa Jones, a community artist/dancer/choreographer from the San Francisco Bay area, develops and showcases her work directly with, and to, incarcerated women within prison facilities. Here the connection to public is at all levels – from creation to presentation. Jawole Willa Jo Zollar, artistic director of Urban Bush Women, a dance company based in New York City, describes their work as having two components: concert touring and community building. Community building allows the company to address the lack of connections between artists and the public. Their most important validating mechanism is the interaction with people through diverse presenting venues, such as P.S. 122, Dance Theater Workshop, and such places as the Point Community Development Corporation and Brooklyn Arts Exchange.

Levine School of Music

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28. For an example of open studios coordinated in San Francisco, see the work of Artspan at www.artspan.org.

29. Over the years, there has been a great deal of advocacy (by artists and others) in support of arts education. Initiatives such as the Chicago Arts Partnership in Education seek to advance arts education in K-12 by connecting teachers to artists and artistic resources including innovative curricula. See www.capeweb.org.

Direct validation of artists' work

∗ Peer recognition is essential.

Respondents consistently identified peer recognition as one of the most important forms of validation for their work. Grant award selection processes and artist-centered networks and organizations are the major peer recognition forms, according to our respondents.

Competitive grant award processes are important to validation because of the peer review panels brought together to judge among competition entries. Artist-focused organizations and networks are important because they are often boosters of local cultural assets and help connect local artists to regional and national validation forums. We heard repeatedly from respondents that local media mostly act as if artists who are local cannot, almost by definition, be worth noticing ("no one can be a hero in their own town") and that artist-centered organizations and networks help to address this. However, artist-focused organizations and networks that play this role appeared fragile, financially vulnerable, and, in some places, scarce.

The drastic decline of the NEA's fellowship program for artists in 1995 was perceived, particularly by those over 40, as a significant loss of public recognition.[30] The peer review aspect of the NEA awards was considered especially important adding significantly to the prestige of the awards. Moreover, participation in the review panels was viewed as an important means of strengthening national networks of artists. Some younger respondents, who were not yet professional artists while the program was still viable, are aware of the program and speak of it with respect. But they do not feel the same sense of loss. For younger artists, the fragility of artist-focused organizations, which they rely on for many aspects of their creative work, was perceived as the most imminent threat to their creative endeavors. Such artist-focused organizations were noted to be the hubs for gatherings of artists within and across disciplines, and sometimes across generations and cultures, providing a forum for critical exchange and peer validation. The fragility of such hubs is discussed further in this report in a section of Chapter V, Material Supports, focusing on space and real estate, and in Chapter VIII, Communities and Networks.

∗ Opportunities for artists to connect directly with the public are key.

The public's direct recognition of artists' work was viewed as very important. There are examples of many strategies to increase direct contact between artists and the public. Some of these strategies were discussed earlier in this chapter.

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30. NEA fellowship programs in all disciplines were eliminated, except the Literature Fellowships, National Heritage Fellowships in the Folk and Traditional Arts, and American Jazz Masters Fellowships. NEA funding for fellowships, which at its height amounted to nearly $10 million/year, is now less than $1 million/year (derived from NEA annual reports).

We expand a bit on the previous discussion by noting that in our fieldwork and in professional discourse in the cultural realm, opinions differ as to the value of artists engaging publics directly and the extent to which such contact is, or is not, an artist's responsibility. Many respondents were of the opinion that artists must take responsibility for connecting with and, in fact, educating the public about their work. Some respondents did not feel this to be the duty of the artist at all. Rather, they felt it is the task of the organization presenting the artists' work or those who fund the humanities and not the arts. Moreover, our fieldwork suggests that the skills necessary to design and execute such engagement strategies are generally not part of artists' training provided in conventional universities and art schools.

∗ Demographic, artistic, and career-stage diversity are not well served through mainstream awards, arts criticism, and media coverage.

We identified a wide range of artists, working in different artistic disciplines, in the cultural sector and at the intersection of the cultural sector and other fields, from different generations and ethnic groups, from urban and rural places, trained in conventional formats and not. Given this rich and growing diversity, we conclude that many mainstream mechanisms of validation are very limited in their ability to meaningfully assess artists' work. Particular groups affected by this include artists of color and immigrant artists, rural artists, artists working at the intersection of the arts and other fields, as well as artists working in new media.

Validation is weak for artists working at the intersection of arts and other fields, such as community development, education, health and justice. And mainstream validation mechanisms lack a full understanding of artists' work in new technologies and evolving methods for making and presenting work.

Often, mainstream validation mechanisms fail to understand the frame of reference or cultural context for the work of various racial/ethnic communities and rural artists. For example an Asian-American visual artist we interviewed said that whereas he sees himself as a contemporary American artist and would like to be assessed as such, there have been occasions when his work has been categorized as folk art or ethnic art because review panels do not know what to make of Chinese calligraphy in his paintings. Another respondent who runs a Chicano/Mexican-American theater said that critics have come to performances, but have not understood the culturally-specific humor in the work presented and therefore misrepresented it in review. Respondents in Boston noted that new media work is still struggling to find its place in the mainstream press; it is more likely to be reviewed in the technology section, not in the arts section; and critics are not trained to write about it in a literate way.

Mainstream validation mechanisms fail to recognize that the arts and culture of many groups, including rural, Native American and some immigrant communities, often are seen by those communities as an integral part of community functions, components of a whole way of life. Separating the "art" component from the rest, which is often required for funding and mainstream

recognition, can be inappropriate and sometimes impossible. For example, as part of the Day of the Dead celebration in the Boyle Heights section of East Los Angeles, a low-income urban neighborhood, artists and tradition bearers work with neighborhood residents to create art pieces such as altars, banners, murals, and puppets for community celebrations and processions. Such artists – emerging and established, formally trained through arts institutions as well as through traditional mentoring arrangements – often pursue work on their art as a dimension of community celebration and political activism, as well as worship and spiritual practice. While appreciated in their communities, these kinds of arts practices and all they encompass often have few validation mechanisms in the mainstream art world.

Rural arts and culture are likely to be absent from the radar screens of funders, critics, and policymakers, as well as urban mainstream arts communities. In this respect, rural artists share many of the challenges around validation faced by inner-city artists. Dudley Cocke, Director of Roadside Theater, based in Whitesburg, Kentucky, puts this point well: "Without advocates, scholars interested in documenting their work, without meaningful criticism, both rural and inner city artists feel that the real nonprofit arts infrastructure lies just beyond their reach."[31]

It is also clear from NYFA Source data that traditional and folk artists, design artists, and choreographers have far fewer opportunities for validation through award programs than artists in other disciplines. This is especially true in places with large populations of immigrant and "ethnic" communities, where the arts of these cultures are most likely to be indiscriminately lumped into the "folk and traditional arts" category. This is discussed further in the "Awards" section of Chapter V, Material Supports.

Artists working at the intersection of arts and other fields, such as community development, education, health, justice, or other areas noted that the public validation needed to sustain and advance these practices is generally weak. Neither the arts world, nor the allied field(s) in which artists are working, fully comprehend what artists do or contribute. Victor Cockburn, a Boston area-based folk singer and songwriter who works in schools and calls himself an "artist-educator," said that for much of his career, he has relied primarily on informal validation mechanisms – individual teachers and school administrators who have first-hand experience with his work and are willing to vouch for him to their colleagues. Over time, he has developed a following in both the arts and education fields and now, in the latter part of his career, is getting more public recognition. Another artist in New York noted there is a big void in New York City for venues that support the aesthetics of artists of color. She said that downtown arts presenters would argue that they are open, but they had to be pressured to embrace some art forms (e.g., Hip Hop). An artist-organizer in New

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31. Cocke 2002.

York opined that galleries do not have respect for "public-based" work. They "don't get it and haven't figured out how to package [certain] artists."

Mainstream validation mechanisms also were noted as lacking a full understanding of new technologies and evolving methods for making and presenting work. They often fail to validate artists working in experimental forms – often new media. With regard to artists working in new media, respondents suggested that films/videos distributed via established mechanisms such as film festivals, public television, and cable television get more attention than other new media work, such as computer or Web-based art or media-dependent installations exhibited in galleries. These forms often represent cutting edge work that is difficult to grasp by those not deeply immersed in it. Also, several respondents noted that sometimes when work is submitted for consideration, assessment is a challenge because reviewers do not have the equipment required to experience the work. A Boston respondent talked about the lack of critical feedback for digital work, noting that in some cases curators and audiences don't understand the work or language artists are using and make uninformed assumptions about its quality. She said that no one really reviews it.

* External validation is necessary.

In interviews in all our cities, the need for specific kinds of validation – arts criticism and media coverage, as well as awards and peer review – from other places, particularly New York, emerged as a common thread. A general observation in all our cities was that on many fronts New York City sets the standards for critical review, judgment in relation to awards, and, to some extent, media coverage. Another observation was that for many artists working in places that are not hubs for their artistic discipline or specific genre, validation from those hubs is essential. A third observation is that external validation is also particularly important for artists at the mid-career stage.

With regard to the need for validation from New York, in many of our study cities, respondents asserted that critics often held local artists to New York standards and paradigms. (It is interesting to note that in New York, the same dynamic existed with regard to Manhattan vs. the other boroughs.) Many respondents complained that critics often made uncritical use of New York standards – prizing art that had been validated in New York more highly than other art *for that reason alone*. Our research also found concern among some respondents that subscribing to New York standards, especially, but to "outside" standards in general, militated against the development of local aesthetic heritage and traditions as well as new forms of work.

The New York stamp of approval seemed less important in Los Angeles and in Chicago, especially as pertaining to Chicago theater. One Chicago respondent said, "I feel comfortable with and proud of the work that is being done in Chicago. You don't always have to compare everything to New York." People in

Boston, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and Seattle seemed more apt to seek a New York stamp of approval, but did not appear to be consumed with obtaining it. In Houston, as it pertains to the visual arts scene, there was a conscious effort to cultivate a Houston identity at the national level that would be validated in New York and other places. In Cleveland, on the other hand, there did not seem to be any effort to cultivate a distinctive identity, and "outside" acclaim from anywhere seemed to be highly prized.

Universities and art schools also were noted as being influenced by standards from away. Several respondents noted that major art schools and universities often do not teach the art forms connected to the heritage or traditions specific to their community or region. Rather, most arts schools have curricula that are governed primarily by New York and Western European paradigms. A San Francisco respondent noted that although major artistic waves have come out of the San Francisco Bay Area (beatniks, abstract expressionism), these are not sufficiently recognized and San Francisco art schools are not teaching Bay Area art.

Roadside Theater

Although New York figured prominently as a source of validation in a general sense, our field research also revealed that artists need validation from many other places as well. For example, immigrant artists are often intimately connected to teachers, peers, and critics in their sending countries as well as emerging communities in the United States. An East Indian choreographer in Los Angeles noted that she relies on peers, teachers, audiences, and critics not only in Los Angeles, but also in India and other places – the Washington, D.C., area and Texas, among others – where there are large concentrations of artists and publics interested in her work. She noted that the ability to travel domestically and internationally to artistic hubs is a crucial element of her professional development.

The importance of external validation for mid-career artists was evident across all disciplines and in all of our case-study cities. Several respondents alluded to the fact that the transition from "mid career" to "established artist" often was based on acclaim beyond the artist's primary place of residence and work. Still, acclaim from New York or from an international artistic hub was the most sought after.

∗ Alternative validation mechanisms are crucial, but sometimes fragile.

As suggested, weekly newspapers, public radio, and public television were viewed as important alternative mechanisms of validation for artists as were ethnic-specific media, particularly for artists of color and immigrant artists. But our research also points to examples where artists themselves have responded to the shortcomings of mainstream validation mechanisms by creating alternative forms. Many alternative forms are long-standing (some growing out of historical circumstances tied to de jure segregation and exclusionary practices); other forms are newer.

Web-based, community-based critical communities, and university-based mechanisms in ethnic studies programs[32] featured prominently in our research. Alternative award programs, some tied to money, such as the Kiriyama Pacific Rim Book Prize, and many not, such as the Guardian Outstanding Local Discovery Awards or "Goldies," sponsored by the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* also featured prominently. We found that new media artists are especially prolific in creating new Web-based forums for criticism, such as Rhizome's ArtBase[33], an archive of new media artwork which also serves as a venue for critical discourse, and The Thing[34], a bulletin board for media arts criticism and dialogue. Other kinds of artists are doing this as well, with web sites such as newCrit[35] and artcritical.com.[36] In addition to Web-based vehicles, we also saw evidence of new publications in more conventional forms. However, some of the most promising examples – such as *Reflex* magazine in Seattle, and *New Art Examiner* in Chicago – had recently collapsed in the effort to make ends meet. Respondents also lamented the loss of *High Performance* magazine. Some of the functions of *High Performance* are now addressed through the Community Arts Network web site.[37] Web-based vehicles appear to be cheaper to run than traditional publications.

In our research, festivals and other annual celebrations also came up as important sources of validation, though they frequently carry little monetary value. These seemed especially valuable for some artists of color and immigrant artists. The Pan African Film Festival in Los Angeles, longstanding Day of the Dead Celebrations in both Los Angeles and San Francisco, the newly created Tamejavi Festival featuring Hmong and Oaxacan (among other groups) professional and amateur artists in Central California, periodic celebrations of the immigrant Haitian community in Boston, as well as periodic small Puerto Rican arts festivals in New York are all important examples.

32. University-based ethnic studies programs seemed to be especially strong on the west coast in Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.
33. http://rhizome.org/artbase
34. http://www.thing.net/
35. http://newcrit.art.wmich.edu/index.html
36. http://www.artcritical.com/
37. http://www.communityarts.net/index.php

IV. DEMAND/MARKETS

The demand/market dimension of our *Investing in Creativity* framework addresses the public's demand for artists and what they do and make. It also addresses the mechanisms that connect artists to markets and financial compensation. We begin with a discussion of the markets artists work in, and how those markets often interact. We highlight the promise of hybrid markets – that is, opportunities for artists to work in non-arts contexts and/or at the intersection of arts and other fields such as community development, education, and health. We end with a discussion of the need for intermediaries to help artists reach their potential markets, the types of intermediaries that exist, and how they need to be strengthened.

The importance of understanding multiple markets for artists and their work

Artists do their work – sometimes simultaneously, sometimes over the course of their careers – in and across various parts of the arts and other sectors. These include commercial, nonprofit, public and informal[38] sectors; arts venues such as studios, galleries, cultural centers as well as non-arts venues such as schools, parks, libraries; in strictly arts fields and at the intersection of arts and other fields like youth development, education, community development, health, and the criminal justice system. Artists themselves, moreover, can work as self-employed people, consultants, independent businesses, or salary- or wage-based employees.

This enormous diversity in auspices, places, and types of employment makes it self-evident that artists work in many markets. We start with that premise and want to draw a clear distinction between our approach and other approaches that do not focus on multiple markets but instead (a) focus on "arts" markets and value artists and their products by their financial worth as revealed by those particular markets, and (b) look at an artist's career trajectory in terms of specific artistic genres. In these other approaches, an artist whose work is making jazz music is valued according to the price he or she commands in the jazz market. And his or her success is judged by the "star track" trajectory in the commercial jazz industry, which defines success as "making it" in jazz recording/performing for the mass market. This approach obscures the other non-commercial, non-jazz markets where the musician might work and make social or educational contributions.

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38. The "informal arts" includes creative activities that fall outside traditional nonprofit, public, and commercial experiences, such as acting in community theater, singing in a church choir, writing poetry at the local library, or painting in a home studio. Modified from Wali, et al. 2002.

Here we present two alternative lenses through which to view the notion of multiple markets. The first distinguishes markets by legal/financial sector – commercial, nonprofit, public, or informal. The second distinguishes markets by whether or not they are exclusively cultural or are some hybrid of cultural and non-cultural activity such as arts in the context of community development. We discuss each approach in turn.

∗ Legal/financial sector

Using the sectoral approach to make market distinctions is standard. Arts administrators, researchers and analysts, funders and policymakers tend to view the public, commercial, nonprofit and informal sectors as separate realms with little connection to each other. Often artists seem to be categorized as "nonprofit" or "commercial," as if those categories were mutually exclusive. Our research suggests that many artists work in all of these sectors, either at the same time or switching from one to another. Our field research highlights this pattern. It also reveals that artists seem to benefit when there is a wide range of sectoral opportunities in which they can engage. Los Angeles and New York provide good examples of places where the same artist can be active in nonprofit, public, and commercial sectors.

The legal/financial sectors are distinguishable in important ways, as noted immediately below. But in an artist's working life, their differences may be no less important than their interactions, as we discuss next.

∗ Sector distinctions

The commercial sector has the following advantages relative to the nonprofit, public, and informal sectors:

- ∗ more ability to distribute and sell en masse;

- ∗ larger financial rewards for success;

- ∗ better-established and better-resourced mechanisms to identify, select, screen, develop, and market talent.

The nonprofit, public, and informal sectors' relative advantages are of a different type:

- ∗ greater demand for new, experimental, folk, and traditional art forms, as well as some classical European art forms that are not commercially viable, such as symphonic music (mostly true in nonprofit and public realms);

* more opportunities for people at various skill levels to engage in their craft;

* greater likelihood of involving arts with a social purpose.

The public sector has a larger burden of accountability for what it supports than the other three sectors. This can translate into less risk-taking and, along with the commercial sector's aversion of certain types of financial risk, may account for the greater demand for experimental art forms in the nonprofit than in the other sectors. We also found that some ethnic and immigrant artists seem to be as reliant for exposure on the commercial sector as on the informal sector and much less so on the nonprofit and public sectors. There are many reasons for this. In some cases, a group's reliance on commercial and informal sectors may be connected to a long history of exclusion and segregation that has led to the development of separate support structures that are long-standing. In other cases, as is true with some new immigrants, some aspects of the commercial sector are familiar but the nonprofit and public sectors are unknown territory. Moreover, the cultural expressions that are new to a U.S. context are likely to go, at least initially, unrecognized in nonprofit and public sectors.

Our research suggests that many artists work in the commercial, nonprofit, public and informal sectors and benefit when there is a wide range of opportunities for engagement in all these sectors.

Most artists, according to our fieldwork, restrict their notion of "market demand" for their work to the commercial cultural sector. This is likely because the nonprofit sector was established as an alternative to the commercial sector, and those associated with the nonprofit sector often eschew the values and language of the commercial market. Moreover, the conventions under which market demand is engaged are different in different sectors. In the commercial sector, for example, an artist is likely to have an agent or a dealer and finds negotiating with a client or employer through an intermediary acceptable. This is not as often the case in the other sectors.

∗ Sector interactions

It is clear from our fieldwork that the interactions among the commercial, public, nonprofit, and informal sectors are important. However, little research attention has been paid to these interactions and they are so complex that we are unable to quantify the number of such interactions or confidently assess their nature in this study. Our fieldwork suggests some of the major connections may be as follows:

* The nonprofit and informal sectors feed new ideas, art forms, and new talent to the commercial sector, providing an important research and development function.

* People who engage in the commercial sector provide financial resources that contribute to the nonprofit sector. Some artists, for example, do work in the commercial sector to give themselves the financial stability they need to engage in less lucrative but socially valuable or especially experimental nonprofit work. We also heard about instances in which commercially successful artists make financial donations directly to the nonprofit sector. The extent to which this happens is unknown, although the sentiment in our fieldwork is that it does not happen often enough.

* The public sector provides direct resources to artists in the form of contracts and awards as well as indirect resources often channeled through the nonprofit sector.

* The informal sector is the context in which for many artists, artistic skills and new art forms are developed, at least initially – giving rise to artistic activity carried out in all of the other sectors.

* The informal sector also provides an environment where endangered, or under-recognized artistic and cultural traditions are often preserved and sustained.

* Culture-specific versus hybrid markets

Most research has focused on markets for artists' work in rather insular ways – either concentrating on the cultural sector to the exclusion of other sectors, or focusing on single artistic disciplines. Our research indicates that this conventional notion of artists' markets does not fully account for the demand for artists and what they do. Although many artists do important work primarily in the context of conventional cultural markets, we found scores of examples of artists working as artists in non-arts venues and/or at the intersection of arts and other fields – what we call hybrid markets. Our research suggests that there is a substantial demand for artists in hybrid markets. Work in these markets can take many forms, as examples from our fieldwork make clear:

* Artists involved in art and community development, social services, education, health, civic engagement, and youth development, among other areas through arts-based organizations such as Project Row Houses in Houston, Street Level Youth Media and Little Black Pearl in Chicago, Cornerstone Theater in Los Angeles, El Centro de la Raza in Seattle, Life Pieces to Masterpieces in Washington, D.C., Zumix and Troubador in Boston and many more examples in every one of our case study sites;

* Individuals working explicitly as artists in non-arts places such as correctional facilities, parks and recreation entities, schools, and hospitals;

* Individuals working "covertly" as artists in similar types of institutions.

There appears to be much potential demand for artists' talents in the non-arts nonprofit, public, and commercial sectors. The barriers we see to more fully meeting this demand are information and language, and the related fact that both artists and the people who need their work fail to fully recognize their supply/demand relationship. Demand for what artists do is not fully conceived or well articulated, in large part because the formal validation mechanisms in both arts and non-arts contexts are relatively narrowly developed. For example, if an artist is working at the intersection of arts and community development and making contributions in both areas, it is very likely that the full extent of those contributions will not be recognized or valued in either the cultural realm or the community development realm. Moreover, adequate language to describe such practice and contributions does not exist.

If an artist is working at the intersection of arts and community development and making contributions in both realms, it is unlikely that the full extent of those contributions will be recognized or valued in either the arts or community development.

It is also the case that, although the opportunities for hybrid markets seem to be most evident in the nonprofit and public sectors, artists (as noted) continue to associate "market demand" with the commercial sector exclusively – rather than with the requirements and inclinations of the nonprofit and public sectors. Better understanding of work opportunities and what artists have to offer to the non-arts public and nonprofit sectors is essential to growing the demand for artists' skills and talent, as well as artists' creative approaches to work in these sectors.

Fortunately, there are encouraging examples of efforts to codify practice and create nomenclature. These are often tied to training initiatives and are discussed in the Training and Professional Development, Chapter VI. Research efforts focused on community arts are also sources for new language and description of activity.[39] There are also examples of individuals on both the demand and supply side of the equation that are proactive in ways that provide promising prototypes. These individuals typically have a firm career identity that they recognize as hybrid and they have, often against the odds, made affirmative efforts to acquire the skills and language to effectively function in the various realms where they work. For example, Umberto Crenca, Artistic Director of AS220 in Providence, R.I., who participated in a seminar co-sponsored by this study, has referred to himself as an "artist-developer," and found success in both endeavors.

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39. Such initiatives include the *Arts and Culture Indicators in Community Building Project* at the Urban Institute, the Informal Arts Project at the Chicago Center for Arts Policy at Columbia College, and the Social Impact of the Arts Project at the University of Pennsylvania.

The need for intermediaries

Most artists who are successful in making generally recognized contributions and gaining compensation for their work have either developed good marketing skills themselves, or they work with some kind of formal or informal intermediary. Many artists we interviewed feel they lack the skills to market themselves to the wide range of realms where they could potentially be successful, and certainly training and professional development is needed to address this. But the need for such intermediaries is also acute. Here we discuss the various types of intermediaries that could contribute to further development of various markets, particularly hybrid markets.

* Individuals

Individuals work as intermediaries for artists on many levels, from totally informal to highly formal. Their skill levels vary, as do the types of relationships they enter into with the artists they represent. Some artists, for example, enter into exclusive relationships with an agent. Others engage in multiple relationships with various agents.

Individuals referring to themselves explicitly as agents, as noted, work primarily in the commercial sector. But individual intermediaries also function in other sectors, and under different guises. They may not see themselves as intermediaries, but they serve a valuable intermediary function. For example, regarding immigrant populations, our fieldwork reveals that anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, folklorists and others from the academic community often play intermediary roles between immigrant artists and the commercial, nonprofit, and public sectors. Curators and presenters are another kind of cultural intermediary. Some of the most effective individual intermediaries work outside the cultural sector but act extensively on artists' behalf. For example, Helen Doria works for the Chicago Park District, but is a strong advocate for artists and often hires them for cultural programming in the city's parks. Michael Hennessey is Sheriff of San Francisco, and often employs artists to work with prisoners in San Francisco's correctional facilities.

Most artists who are successful in making recognized contributions and gaining compensation for their work have developed good marketing skills themselves, or they work with some kind of intermediary.

Artists' groups and associations

We found several types of groups acting as intermediaries on behalf of artists, including national networks and service organizations, local artists' alliances, and unions and guilds.

∗ National and regional networks and service organizations

National and regional networks and service organizations often provide direct connections, visibility, and exposure for artists beyond their immediate local reach. An example of such an entity is the National Performance Network (NPN), based in New Orleans. NPN is made up of 55 member organizations or "NPN partners." It facilitates access to presenting venues and provides a centralized source of funding, making it possible for NPN partners to show their work in multiple communities across the country.

Meet the Composer is a national service organization proactively connecting composers with markets both by supporting composers' residencies in diverse venues, and educating the public about the work composers do. The National Dance Project, administered by the New England Foundation for the Arts, supports the creation and distribution of new choreographic work. Awardees receive both a production grant and a touring grant – money to make the work, but also to market and tour the work.

∗ Artists' alliances

Artists' alliances are semiformal channels that serve as employment networks, mostly at the local level. Many sponsor events such as arts festivals and open studio nights, which also provide exposure and marketing assistance.

∗ Unions and guilds

Unions and guilds help set wage and employment standards and have the greatest potential to influence employer demand and practices. However, many unions do not actually develop job opportunities for artists. In the arts, as in other employment areas, union strength varies substantially by region.[40] They are also more prevalent and more influential in some artistic disciplines such as performing arts and literary arts. Nationwide, union strength has been declining, but there are promising emerging efforts to organize artists in new ways, such as the National Visual Artists Guild, and the Future of Music Coalition. The National Visual Artists Guild (NVAG) is an effort to organize artists in the visual disciplines, where, unlike the performing or literary arts, unions have not traditionally been a significant force. The Future of Music Coalition is an effort to ally musicians and represent their interests in policy decisions, serving as a counterbalance to the commercial recording industry.

∗ Universities, art schools, and other training institutions

Our field research reveals that many higher education and training institutions for the arts are not proactive in developing markets for artists. In comparison to

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40. For example, artist union membership is larger in New York City and Los Angeles than in other cities we studied.

programs in law, medicine, and business, arts training institutions often do little job-matching and placement of their graduates. Further, many art training programs do not seem involved in cultivating the hybrid markets for their graduates that we consider promising. (See our more extended discussion in the Training and Professional Development, Chapter VI.)

∗ Concluding observations about intermediaries

Our research identified several forms of mediation between artists and their "markets," as well as many opportunities to increase the number and capacity of intermediaries to expand the demand for and connections to artists. Intermediaries can become more efficient "cultural brokers" – entities that view the markets for artists in a comprehensive way and view artists as tapping into multiple types of markets, either simultaneously or on an intermittent basis. Of the types of intermediaries we have discussed, national networks and artists' alliances are probably the most fragile. Yet, together with local and regional networks, these associations have untapped potential to influence and strengthen demand for artists and their products. While some artists' unions and guilds have well-established histories in improving employment relations and practices for working artists, most such intermediaries remain challenged in extending these employment advantages and benefits to large numbers of artists.

Given the complexity and multiplicity of markets in artistic careers, the creative life of artists would be enhanced by better equipping artists with skills to engage markets as well as having more diverse forms of effective intermediaries that expand demand for and engagement with artists and what they produce.

V. MATERIAL SUPPORTS

The Material Supports chapter of this report addresses employment and associated health benefits; grants and awards; space for living and making work; and access to equipment and material supports.

Employment and associated health benefits

Cleveland Institute of Art

In this section we address artists' employment patterns, including the extent to which their employment carries with it access to health insurance benefits. Our discussion of health insurance is placed here because the vast majority – approximately 75 percent – of people in the United States with health coverage have it through the workplace – their own or that of a family member.

We cannot give precise estimates of artists' earnings, because the standard U.S. source of information on employment and related issues does not exactly match the group we define as working artists in this study. That source is the Current Population Survey (CPS), carried out by the U.S. Census for the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). The CPS uses a definition of artist and a questionnaire method that tends to overemphasize commercial design professionals and underemphasizes the group that is our primary focus. Our definition of artists covers all persons who work as professionals in an artistic discipline. The BLS covers this group, but it also includes professions that are not included as "artistic disciplines" in our study such as architects, graphic designers, and interior decorators. The CPS definition also defines working artists based on their type of employment as given for a "reference week," usually immediately prior to the survey. Given the employment patterns of most artists – that is, episodic and irregular employment in their discipline[41] – we assume the CPS undercounts the number of professional artists in America today. For further discussion, see Chapter VIII on Information.

These two differences inflate the BLS earnings estimates for artists for two reasons. The additional groups included in the BLS data typically have much higher average earnings than the groups we define as artists. In addition, the reference-week methodology misses persons who consider themselves career artists even though they are working entirely in non-arts-related jobs during the reference week.[42]

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41. There are some opportunities for full time employment for artists in the non-profit sector – musicians in symphony orchestras and dancers in ballet companies are examples. However, our research suggests that there are very few such opportunities. Full time employment opportunities for artists in the commercial sector, especially as artists are defined in CPS, appear to be more plentiful.

42. BLS data suggest that in 1999 artists' median annual earnings ranged from $21,000 for photographers to $48,000 for architects. See National Endowment for the Arts 2000. Survey data from 1996 paint a different picture – respondents' median annual earnings from work as an artist was only $5,000, see Jeffri 1997a, b.

While the BLS numbers and earnings estimates do not directly apply to the artist group we study, BLS statistics and other research confirm our own findings on the employment and earnings *patterns and trends* among artists, which we review below.[43]

＊ Typical employment patterns for artists

Most research on artists' employment confirm that the majority of artists[44]

  ＊ Are not employed full time as artists;

  ＊ Do not derive substantial earnings from their artwork;

  ＊ Have multiple jobs;

  ＊ Have very fluid employment patterns;

  ＊ Earn less on average than other people with comparable education and skill sets.

These employment patterns are similar to those of a growing number of people identified as "contingent workers." Features of these non-standard "contingent" arrangements include flexible employment; multiple-firm careers; voluntary and involuntary job shifts; uneven benefit and wage levels; continual training, job-finding and employment based on networks; self-marketing and occupational strategizing; limited workplace bargaining power; and employment insecurity and stress.[45] Although artists' work patterns are highly flexible and bring certain lifestyle benefits, they present artists with significant employment-related drawbacks because of unpredictability of work and lack of financial security.

＊ The drawbacks of an artist's typical employment pattern

Artists often described their work life to us – a description that is supported by other research – as divided into three parts: (1) the creative activity itself (learning, thinking, imagining, searching for material[s], practicing, creating); (2) arts-related work such as teaching or arts administration; and (3) non-arts work that differs among individuals and across their artistic careers.[46] An artist typically engages in the second and third parts of this work life to earn enough to support the creative activity that is the essence of the artistic endeavor.

The primary drawbacks to this typical employment pattern, which involves multiple job-holding, are three: low earnings levels, interruptions in the "flow"

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43. For a discussion of trends in artists' employment, see Jeffri 1997a, b; Menger 1999; Alper and Wassall 2000.
44. See Caves 2000; Alper and Wassall 2000; Menger 1999; Jeffri 1997a, b
45. See Carre et al. 2000; Herzenberg 1998; Osterman 1999.
46. Ginsburgh and Menger (1996) identified these distinctions in their research on artists' labor markets.

of creative work,[47] and reduced chances of having access to employment-related health insurance and other benefits (discussed further below).

We heard many stories of artists who had to forgo making artwork, at least temporarily, to make ends meet. And we found evidence that some artists – when they decided to have families, purchase property, or take on other financial responsibilities – actually made the decision to give up their arts career altogether to meet their obligations. Several artists we interviewed spoke of needing a great deal of family or other social support to continue, and we heard such support could be hard to find, given the perceived low economic status of artmaking as a profession.

The extent to which artists are able to quilt together all or mostly arts-related work depends on the markets available to them, their resourcefulness, and their philosophy about artwork.

Important sources of employment for artists are teaching and arts administration. However, our fieldwork suggests that both are problematic. While schools can provide important opportunities for artists, teaching jobs with benefits can be scarce, and art, as an optional part of the curriculum, is particularly vulnerable to budget cuts (particularly in K-12 schools). We also interviewed many artists who were arts administrators, typically heading up small nonprofit organizations. Many started these organizations with the intent of creating an infrastructure through which they could do their artwork, but found the administrative burden so all-consuming that it leaves them no time for art. Some chose to work as arts administrators in large organizations, often for the health benefits that came with the position. But many of these said they, too, found that the burden of administrative work crowded out any time for making art.

Why people choose to be an artist as a career

Economists argue that, since many people choose an artist's career even with the disadvantages we have just noted, they must reap advantages that compensate them for their low living standards and financial insecurity. The advantages hypothesized in the literature on artists' labor markets are tied to inner motivations.[48]

∗ Inner motivations

The research literature suggests three types of inner motivation that may impel persons to stick with an artist's career. The first is that the chance to be rich and famous offers high incentives to take big risks – the "winner takes all" view of the market – even if the odds on winning are very long. The second is that

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47. See Csikszentmihalyi 1997.
48. Menger 1999.

artists derive psychic income – in the form of job satisfaction, personal autonomy, an idiosyncratic way of life, a sense of community, lack of boring routine, and social recognition. The third is that artists have an inner drive or calling that gives them an occupational commitment that cannot be explained by market-based considerations – the "labor of love" argument.

✳ What our fieldwork shows

We found little evidence that artists get a "thrill" from risk-taking, or that they underestimate the extremely long odds of winning the jackpot of commercial success. Indeed, many artists expressed frustration, even exhaustion, when telling us how much they disliked and feared the consequences of the financial risk-taking that was often an inevitable part of their lives. And few respondents indicated that the possibility of commercial success and financial rewards was a factor in their decision to pursue careers as professional artists. We found some evidence that artists appreciate the "psychic" income that comes with their chosen lifestyle. And we found strong evidence that artists feel an inner drive or calling to become and remain working artists, whatever challenges they may face.

The extent to which artists' "day jobs" can be used to help their art

When considering the typical employment pattern of artists – working in a variety of part-time and temporary day jobs that may or may not be in their artistic discipline – an important issue is the extent to which artists' "other" jobs can be arts-related or help their art. Our fieldwork indicates that the extent to which artists are able to quilt together all or mostly arts-related work depends on the markets available to them, their resourcefulness, and their philosophy about artwork.

New Langton Arts

We found examples of schools with administrations – at the elementary, high school, and university levels – that have been able to accommodate the need for artists to relate their work their schoolwork to their art. In many cases, such administrators were reported to have had personal experiences that enabled them to see the value of integrating art into curricula ranging from social studies to math. A musician and songwriter in Boston (mentioned earlier in this report) who has had a very long career as an "artist-teacher" (mostly in elementary schools) said that the marketing of the work to school administrators can be difficult when the administrators have no first-hand experience working with artists. As such, part of his marketing to secure work often involved doing demonstrations in the classroom. He noted that in recent years, his former students, some of whom are now teachers and administrators, remember their experience with him from when they were children and have sought him out to teach in their schools. He said they often spread the word to their colleagues and this sometimes leads to more work.

We also found examples in unexpected non-arts settings of artists integrating non-arts employment into their artwork. In Seattle, we interviewed a writer/visual artist who works at an ethnic produce market by day. His experiences in the market have been the subject of much of his written and visual work. Another Seattle artist who was employed as a courier frequently carried his camera and took pictures as he cycled the city. And in New York, a dancer and designer invited audiences to watch as he set up displays in store windows, turning an arts-related job into a full-fledged performance piece. Sometimes artists will take on non-arts jobs specifically because they can use the experience to gain content for their art. Others do not choose non-arts jobs with content provision in mind but find, when they are on the job, that they can in fact use the experience for their art.

CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) of the late 1970's was a catalyst for the creation of many arts organizations and a valuable source of steady income for many artists.

With respect to artists' resourcefulness, a final large-scale example may be particularly instructive. Many artists now in their late forties to mid-fifties look back on the programs funded under the federal Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) as a critical source of public employment for artists. They remember CETA as the catalyst for the creation of many arts organizations and a valuable source of steady income over a considerable period of time. What is striking for our purposes here is that CETA was not an explicit arts-directed program. The creativity and entrepreneurialism of artists themselves were what enabled CETA to be used in that way.

Last, our field work and the research literature support the claim that multiple job holdings can expand employment networks and increase the likelihood of finding arts-related jobs. Also, multiple job holding can contribute to developing skills and widening an artist's skill set.

Artists' employment and their health[49]

For many types of artists, their work environment is hazardous to physical health. According to some research, about half of all working artists (51 percent) have been exposed to occupational hazards, and for more than half of this group the condition is ongoing.[50] Visual artists are often exposed to dangerous chemicals, for example; dancers work their bodies so strenuously that they often have special needs for physical therapy; and actors and singers may sustain injuries during the normal course of their work. These dangers can be made

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49. Another major fringe benefit for many workers in the United States is their employer's contribution to an employee's pension assets. Very little information is available on artists' retirement assets. But it is plausible that they are very low, given the employment patterns we have discussed. In our fieldwork we heard from artists nearing retirement who were actively considering the creation of artists' retirement communities, possibly financed by foundation grants.

50. Jeffri 1997a, b.

worse because of the bad ventilation, bad floors, and other physical hazards that can be routine in the inadequate and under-maintained spaces in which many artists must work.

Despite these health risks, however, only about half say they obtain routine health care from a private physician.[51] Limited access to health care is partially related to artists' employment patterns. While artists have similar overall health coverage rates as other groups – approximately 80 percent – artists are less likely to have coverage from their own employer. Indeed, artists are more likely to pay for health coverage themselves. Approximately 51 percent of artists pay for their own health insurance compared with 8 percent of U.S. workers.[52] A quarter of those artists with health insurance pay the extremely high costs of non-group coverage. Interestingly, here as in other aspects of their work life, artists do not appear to see themselves as small businesses. Thus, we found little evidence of artists' accessing health insurance using available small business models or programs for self-employed people. It is not surprising that often artists sign on for non-arts-related jobs largely or entirely because of the health insurance that comes with them. In this respect, the people we spoke to were quick to say that artists are in much the same boat as many other groups in our society with regard to job-related health insurance.

Artists' unions are important providers of insurance to their members, and our fieldwork indicates that most artists with access to such coverage take advantage of it – some joining the union entirely for that reason. Union membership is not an option for many artists, however. It is more prevalent in the for-profit and public sectors than in the nonprofit sector where many artists work, and is nonexistent in the informal sector. It is also more prevalent in the relatively few artistic disciplines that have been influenced historically by the "full-time, permanent employee" model of artistic employment such as playing in symphony orchestras.

The rest of the artists with coverage gain it through a spouse's employment. This is not an option for artists who are not able to marry, of course, and is problematic for an artist married to another artist.

Awards and grants

Awards and grants (which our discussion often refers to simply as awards) appear in two dimensions of our conceptual framework. First, they are an important validation mechanism as discussed in Chapter III. Second, they are a source of material support, as discussed here.

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51. Jeffri 1997a, b.
52. For a discussion of artists' health and retirement benefits, see Jeffri 1989, 1997a, 1997b.

∗ Lack of prior research

Previous research on artists has failed to fully address the role of awards,[53] at least in good part because existing repositories of relevant information[54] were neither comprehensive nor organized in a way that facilitates aggregate trend analysis. Given this state of affairs, there has been no way for the field to answer such basic questions as: Who supports artists directly with awards? How many awards are available to artists? What is their monetary value? What do such awards provide in addition to cash value? Are the number and/or value of awards increasing or decreasing over time? Are there significant differences by artistic discipline, geography, or specific population? NYFA Source, created by the Urban Institute in collaboration with the New York Foundation for the Arts, represents a major first step in filling this information gap.

∗ NYFA Source: A new data collection tool

One of the Urban Institute's prime objectives in this study was to create a tool that could address important questions about the awards available to artists. Rather than begin afresh, we partnered with the New York Foundation for the Arts (NYFA) to build on what was then the most comprehensive of the existing data sources for our purposes – its Visual Artists' Information Hotline.

NYFA Source is now a comprehensive, national database of awards, services, and publications available for artists.[55] It has been designed with the input of artists, arts administrators, and researchers, and it serves a dual purpose. First, it is a practical resource artists and others can use to learn about available awards and services. Second, it is a research database for people interested in understanding the landscape of awards available to artists and changing contours in that landscape over time. NYFA Source is currently live online at http://www.nyfa.org.

While NYFA Source is a significant step forward in addressing the data needs of the field, the tool is new and, though continually improving, has two limitations that need to be kept in mind.

First, there are still information gaps in the database. While NYFA Source is set up to catch many kinds of information, data primarily about budgetary matters and about the demographic characteristics of applicants and recipients has yet to be shared by many of the reporting organizations. As NYFA and the Urban

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53. Some research has been conducted on the impact of specific grant programs, see Canada Council 2000. And surveys of artists provide some information about how many and what types of artists receive awards, see Jeffri 1997a, 1997b.
54. We identified The New York Foundation for the Arts' Visual Artists' Information Hotline and The Foundation Center's database of Grants to Individuals as the most robust of the existing sources of information, along with several other less robust data sources.
55. Information on *awards* was collected systematically for research purposes by NYFA in collaboration with the Urban Institute.

Institute continue to work with the cultural field to collect information for NYFA Source, we hope to progressively fill these gaps and make the database an ever more robust and useful tool for the field.

Second, because it is so new, it currently provides only a single snapshot of the universe of awards available to artists. As the database is periodically updated, users will increasingly be able to analyze trends.

* Award program type and characteristics of award granting organizations

NYFA Source now includes 2,659 award programs.[56] Award programs in the database are defined as formal, ongoing programs designed specifically for individual artists and awarded through a competitive application or selection process. NYFA Source does not include grants to nonprofit organizations.[57, 58] The vast majority is cash grant programs (1,819), followed by residencies (452), honorary prizes (152), apprenticeships (137), equipment access programs (36), and space programs (22).

The 2,659 award programs in the database are administered by 1,589 organizations. The large majority of these (84 percent) are nonprofit organizations, followed by government agencies (12 percent). For-profit organizations account for a very small proportion (under 4 percent) of the total. The remainder are administered by unincorporated entities or individuals.

A diverse group of nonprofit organizations administers award programs. NYFA Source includes 1,330 such organizations, with no dominant type of nonprofit. Foundations were the largest group, but they account for only 19 percent of the total. Arts service organizations (16 percent), and nonprofit local arts agencies[59] (9 percent) round out the top three types of nonprofit organizations administering awards. Other kinds of organizations include schools/educational organizations, literary magazines and independent presses, arts centers, unions/professional associations, and artists communities/colonies.

Not surprisingly, state and local arts agencies make up the bulk of the 187 public agencies administering awards. Local arts agencies account for 42 percent, and state arts agencies account for 28 percent. National parks follow at 13 percent of the total.[60] Many of the national parks administering awards to artists are part of

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56. All NYFA Source statistics are based on a version of the database archived June 27, 2003. Information contained includes organizational data primarily from fiscal years 2001 and 2002.
57. Exceptions are grants that are designed for and awarded to artists, but require fiscal sponsorship by a nonprofit organization.
58. Our fieldwork reveals that artists derive important resources (in-kind as well as financial) from artist-focused organizations. Such organizations are an important part of the support structure for artists. However, information about funding for these types of organizations is not systematically tracked.
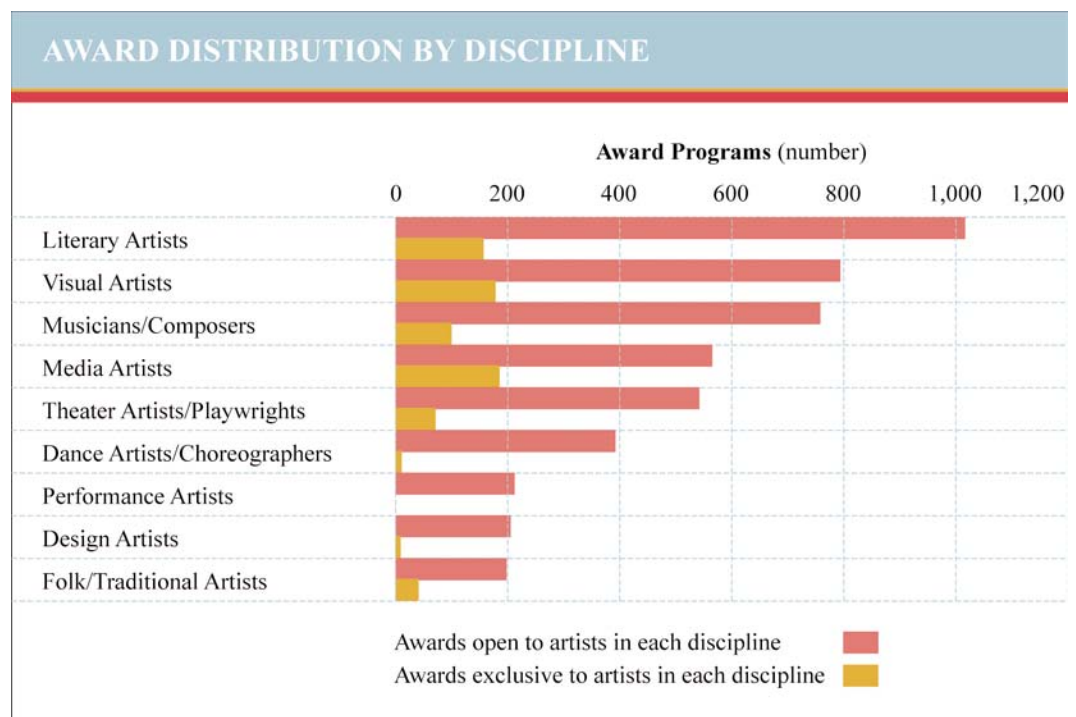59. These organizations are nonprofit but serve as quasi-public local arts agencies.
60. Many of the programs offered by national parks are artist residency programs.

the federal government. Also at the federal level, both the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)[61] still administer awards to individual artists, although federal support for artists was reduced drastically in 1995 when the NEA eliminated most of its fellowship programs.

∗ Differences by discipline

The large majority of award programs are open to multiple artistic disciplines. Fewer than 30 percent of award programs are targeted to a specific discipline. In spite of this, significant differences exist in the number of opportunities to apply for artists working in different disciplines.[62] Literary artists are eligible for 1,023 award programs. Visual artists and musicians/composers come next – 780 and 750 programs, respectively. Media artists and playwrights/theater artists follow – 545 and 523, respectively. Choreographers/dance artists are eligible to apply for 398 programs, performance artists for 239, design artists for 221, and folk/traditional artists for 206 programs.

Within awards that are targeted to a specific discipline only, differences may be even starker. Media artists have the most discipline-specific awards (165) followed by visual artists (157). On the other end of the spectrum, dancers have only 22 discipline-specific awards, design artists 6, and performance artists a mere 2.

AWARD DISTRIBUTION BY DISCIPLINE

Awards open to artists in each discipline
Awards exclusive to artists in each discipline

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61. The NEH administers one program in the media arts, and two in arts management/technical.
62. These totals include award programs that explicitly state that they are open to the disciplines reported here. Within these totals some programs explicitly list more than one discipline served and other programs serve a particular discipline exclusively.

Another 497 award programs (not included in the totals reported above) were described by their administering organizations only as "multidisciplinary" or "open to all disciplines" – no specific disciplines were explicitly listed. We did not include these in the totals above because it is not safe to assume that the administering organizations' definition of "all disciplines" matches ours. For example, in our study, we included media art, folk/traditional art, design art,[63] and performance art as explicit disciplines. These are disciplines that have typically been marginalized, and may be excluded from some funders' definitions of "all disciplines."

It is interesting to note that in our national opinion poll, we asked whether people seek out the work of artists in specific disciplines. Three of the disciplines most sought out by the public – music, film/video, and literature – match three of the top four in both award opportunities, and discipline-specific awards. These disciplines – music, film/video, and literature – are the disciplines with extensive means for mass reproduction and dissemination, which may make these fields more accessible and better known.

Given the demographic trends in the U.S., the small number of awards available to artists making work that does not neatly fit into categories based primarily on Western European standards is a problem.

At the other end of the scale, the small number of awards available in the folk/traditional art category poses an important challenge. Folk art is a recognized, though debated, type of artistic work. But it often functions as a catch-all category in which program administrators lump the applications of new immigrant and rural artists – simply because their work does not fit neatly into other recognized categories. Since new immigrant artists are both very diverse and a growing part of America's cultural life, given the demographic trends throughout the United States, the small number of award opportunities available to them will become an increasing problem for the field.[64]

In addition to the differences in the number of award programs available to artists in various disciplines, we found differences in the number of award programs available to "originating" artists versus "interpretive" artists. Forty percent of award programs are restricted to primarily support the creation of new artwork, rather than the exhibition or performance of existing artwork – these awards are restricted to originating artists. The remaining 60 percent of awards can be used to support either the creation of new work or the presentation of existing work (or at least the vast majority – there may be some awards intended to support solely interpretive artists, but these are few).

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63. Design art was included in NYFA Source as an explicit discipline, but was not a priority population for our fieldwork.
64. Katz and Lang (2003) found in their examination of 2000 Census data that between 1990 and 2000, the population of America's 100 largest cities shifted from majority white to majority non-white, and that racial and ethnic diversity increased in suburban areas as well. Throughout the decade, approximately 4 out of 5 new U.S. residents were non-white.

∗ Distribution by geographic area

Our analysis of NYFA Source data reveals that the majority (66 percent) of awards are open nationally or internationally (27 percent nationally and 39 percent internationally). The remaining third are about evenly split between (a) those restricted to a state or set of states and (b) those restricted to a county, city/town, or neighborhood. Though some differences in opportunities to apply by geographic region emerged among our case study cities, when one takes into account the comparatively large number of national and international award programs, these differences are overshadowed. For any given artist in the United States, at least 90 percent of the awards for which she/he is eligible will be national or international award programs.[65]

AWARDS RESTRICTED TO RESIDENTS OF EACH STATE

NY	MA	CA	TX	WA	OH	IL	DC
24	21	17	14	12	11	7	4
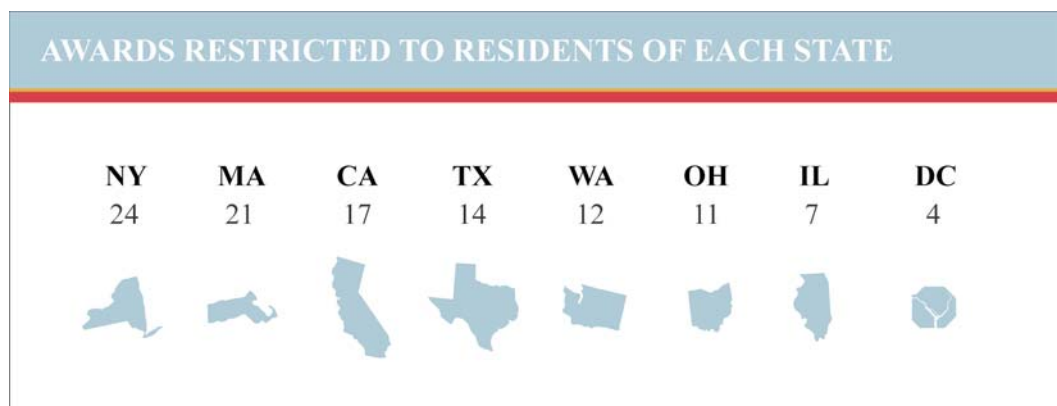
National and international award programs are often highly competitive, though, and our fieldwork suggests that many artists prefer to apply for locally focused or state-specific awards. Such programs are perceived as less competitive and more accessible, as artists are more likely to have connections to their local and state arts agencies or other organizations administering local awards than to organizations working at the national level or in places that are far away. The number of locally focused or state-specific awards, and the amount of money available in such programs is of great importance, particularly to emerging and mid-career artists.

Due to the complex ways that awards can be restricted by neighborhood, city, and county,[66] it is very difficult to assess the distribution of locally focused awards. Our case study data suggest, and NYFA Source appears to corroborate,

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65. NYFA Source cannot yet tell us the geographic distribution by award applicants or recipients. The database is designed to catch this information but respondents have yet to share it. Distribution by award recipient may be very different from the distribution by eligibility.
66. Sub-state restrictions are self-reported by responding organizations, so that "locally focused" awards for artists in, for example, San Francisco could be restricted to "San Francisco," "San Francisco Area," "Bay Area," "San Francisco County," etc. Barring qualitative inspection of each award program, it is not possible to accurately assess the number of locally focused award programs in each city. Moreover, within each city, artists may be eligible for neighborhood-specific awards, further complicating the picture.

that there are differences in the number of locally focused awards among our case study sites. This is also the case at the state level. Nationwide, Minnesota has the most state-specific awards – that is, awards open to all artists residing in Minnesota, but not open to residents of any other state – with 34. Among states in which we conducted fieldwork, New York is highest (24), followed by Massachusetts (21),[67] with the District of Columbia at the bottom (4).

These differences are important, as our fieldwork points up the prominence of locally-focused and state specific awards, but we are not in a position to assess and compare the 'levels of support' in different states and cities. Again, it is difficult to determine the distribution of locally focused awards in NYFA Source. And an accurate comparison of 'levels of support' must also account for the value of available awards (monetary and otherwise, discussed further below) and the number and characteristics of artists in each place. These data are not currently available and reliable.

∗ Differences by career stage and demographic group

Only 25 percent of all awards are targeted explicitly to career stage. Of these, most (17 percent of total awards) are targeted to emerging artists, with less than 7 percent of the total to mid-career artists, and 5 percent to elderly artists.[68]

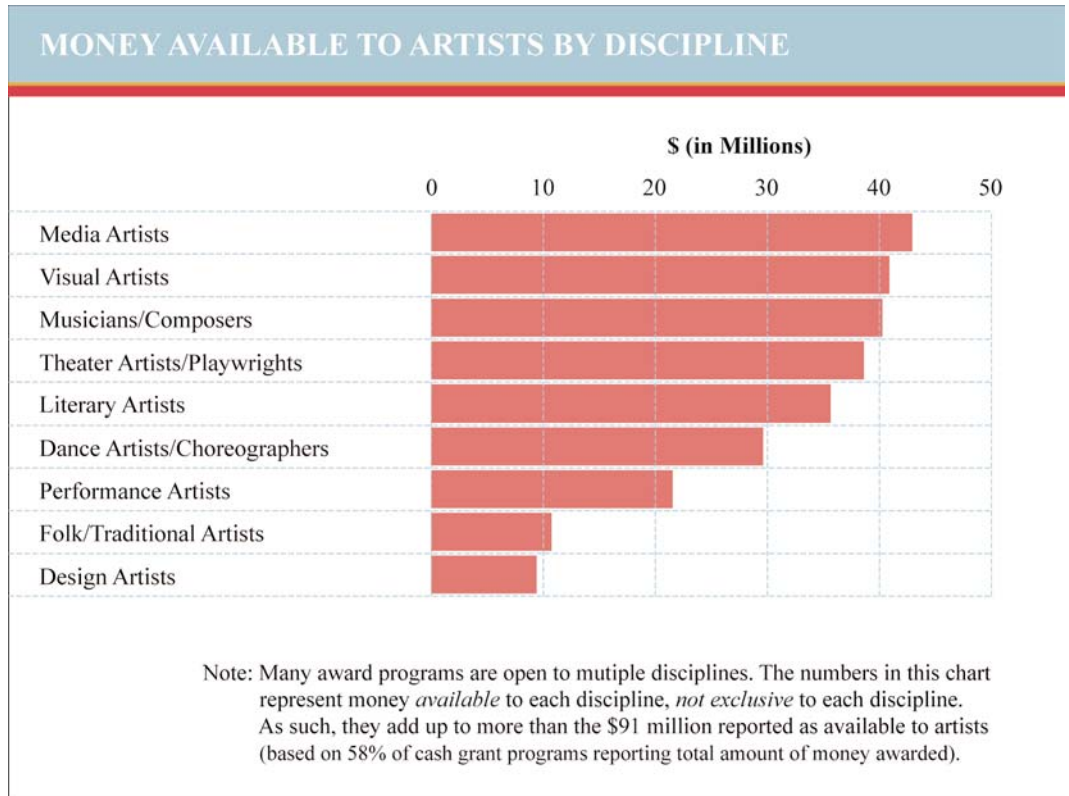Only about 7 percent of awards are restricted to particular demographic (race, gender) or special interest groups.

∗ Distribution of money

The number of awards available is not the end of the award-resources story. What these awards represent in monetary value is also important. However, our current data on the monetary value of awards are not precise. Often it is not possible for reporting organizations to quantify the value of "in-kind" awards such as residencies, equipment access programs, and space programs. Also, as noted earlier, some organizations have not shared financial data on even their cash grant programs. NYFA Source currently contains information on the *total amount of money awarded* for 58 percent of all cash grant programs in the database. It contains information about *standard size of award* for 48 percent of cash grant programs in the database.

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67. This number includes 16 Local Cultural Council Regranting Programs – award programs that are funded by the Massachusetts Cultural Council and regranted (administered) by Local Cultural Councils throughout the state. NYFA Source researchers found that most Local Cultural Councils administering these awards do not restrict them to artists in their local area, thus they are included in the 21 state-specific awards. However, in many cases these grants are for specific projects, which do have to take place in the community providing the grant. This illustrates the complexity of geographic eligibility.
68. Some awards are targeted to two of three career stages, which is why the total of all awards targeted to career stage (25 percent) is less than the sum of the awards targeted to each career stage (17 + 7 + 5).

Having consulted with experts in the philanthropic community, we know that we have captured financial data for most of the largest and best-known awards. However, there are a large number of organizations that have yet to report this financial information. Based on the data we have, we know that there is more than $91 million available in cash grants to artists each year[69] and that there are differences in the distribution of this money by artistic discipline.

MONEY AVAILABLE TO ARTISTS BY DISCIPLINE

$ (in Millions)

Discipline	
Media Artists	
Visual Artists	
Musicians/Composers	
Theater Artists/Playwrights	
Literary Artists	
Dance Artists/Choreographers	
Performance Artists	
Folk/Traditional Artists	
Design Artists	

Note: Many award programs are open to mutiple disciplines. The numbers in this chart represent money *available* to each discipline, *not exclusive* to each discipline. As such, they add up to more than the $91 million reported as available to artists (based on 58% of cash grant programs reporting total amount of money awarded).

While some disciplines have many opportunities to apply for awards, the money available to artists in those disciplines is not necessarily greater. So while literary artists have the most opportunities (1,023) to apply for awards, media artists have access to a larger pool of funds. Of course, working in media arts is often much more expensive than working in some other disciplines given the cost of equipment, materials, and so on. It is interesting to note that both opportunities to apply for awards and money available are the lowest for folk/traditional and design artists.[70]

While these differences by discipline are valuable knowledge for the field, it is impossible to judge the efficiency of this distribution. Inherent difficulties in identifying and surveying artists mean we only have rough information about how many professional artists there are in each discipline, or how many reside in

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69. How much more is unclear. This number is the total awarded by the 58 percent of cash grant programs that reported total amount awarded.
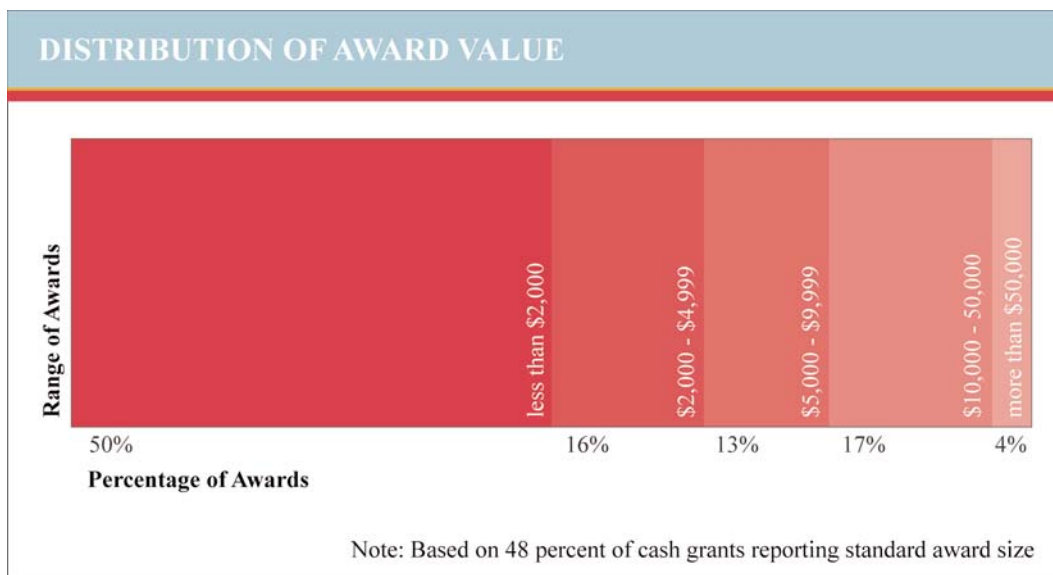70. Although included in NYFA Source, design artists were not a priority population for our field work.

each state, let alone the extent to which artists in each discipline rely on award programs.[71] Previous research suggests that fewer than 20 percent of artists receive a grant in a given year.[72] Our fieldwork indicates that awards constitute an important element of support for many artists, but that many suspect the current distribution of awards is inequitable in different dimensions including geography, race/ethnicity, gender, aesthetic, and other factors. As gaps in NYFA Source data are filled, and our knowledge of artists grows, we hope to be able to assess the validity of this perception.

* Award value

Artists value awards for a variety of characteristics – flexibility, monetary value, prestige, duration, and comprehensiveness of support. Comprehensiveness of support can include the bundling of money with other material resources such as space and marketing help, as well as the responsiveness of the funder.

According to our case study data, artists value fellowships and other forms of unrestricted money the most, because of their flexibility. Artists also, hardly surprisingly, find large awards (more than $20,000) more helpful than smaller ones (less than $10,000) – although unrestricted use compensates to some extent for lower monetary value. While even a small grant can have a large impact on an artist's ability to make work, it often only makes a minor dent in the cost of living. Many respondents told of the life-changing impact of a large fellowship and, more generally, of the relief from constant fund raising that a large grant provides.

DISTRIBUTION OF AWARD VALUE

Range of Awards

less than $2,000

$2,000 - $4,999

$5,000 - $9,999

$10,000 - 50,000

more than $50,000

50%   16%   13%   17%   4%

Percentage of Awards

Note: Based on 48 percent of cash grants reporting standard award size

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71. More discussion about difficulties in identifying and sampling artist populations appears in the Employment section of this chapter and in the chapter on Information (VIII).

72. Jeffri 1997a, b. It is important to note that this survey population, derived from organizational membership lists, may overlap with our primary focus on artists in this study, but it is not the same.

The following statistics are based on the 48 percent of cash grant programs that provided information about standard awards to NYFA Source, and should not be interpreted as representative of all cash grants in the database. That said, based on the information we do have, half of standard cash grants are less than $2,000, nearly two-thirds are less than $5,000, and more than three-fourths of cash grants are less than $10,000.

Woolly Mammoth Theater

As well as remarking on the value of large grants, many respondents made the related point that they value grants of long duration, because they provide some relief from the uncertainty of having to continually piece together a living. Specifically, respondents indicated that they want multi-year funding. Sixty-nine percent of reporting organizations shared information on the expected duration of their award programs. Where this information was provided, 23 percent of award programs have an expected duration of less than one year and 42 percent have an expected duration of one year. Only 3.2 percent have an expected duration of 2 years, and 1.3 percent have an expected duration of 3 or more years. Thirty percent of award programs reported expected duration as "unspecified" or "other."

With respect to comprehensiveness of support, numerous respondents praised Creative Capital Foundation as being responsive, and attuned to artists' needs. Respondents perceived the awards to be monetarily generous. However, respondents noted that Creative Capital was too small a program to make a significant impact on the field given the demand for support.[73] The NYFA Fellowships are an example of a smaller fellowship program that respondents held in high regard. NYFA was generally considered a responsive funder, and an artists advisory committee is involved in designing its fellowship program, so that artists' particular priorities are better reflected in NYFA's policies. Respondents also thought highly of the Artist Trust/Washington State Arts Council fellowships. Artist Trust, which administers the program, has currency among artists because its expressed mission is to support them. The Ohio Arts Council fellowships were also praised. Artists in Cleveland appeared to have a closer relationship with their state arts council than do artists in our other sites, in part because they do not have a local arts agency, but also because the Ohio Arts Council appears to be particularly attentive to artists' needs. Some artists also praised the Rockefeller Foundation's Multi-Arts Production Fund awards. These were described as more generous than most other awards (ranging from $14,000 to $40,000 in 2002) and supportive of cutting-edge work. However, these awards are very highly competetive.

73. In their 2001-2002 cycle, the Creative Capital Foundation received over 2,300 applications and gave out 40 awards. See Creative Capital 2002 Year end Report.

* Access to awards

Many artists told us that they do not participate in the awards system. Some artists were not very aware of the availability of awards, other artists prefer to participate solely in the commercial or informal markets, and some artists exclude themselves from the award process for altruistic reasons – they leave the awards for those they perceive to have greater need. But many of the artists we spoke to simply felt that the award system did not adequately suit their needs. Either they were discouraged by the process, and chose not to participate; or, they felt excluded.

Non-participation: Many artists said they decided not to apply because they felt that either the application process was too cumbersome, or the chances of being selected were too low, or the small monetary amounts of awards were not worth the effort, or some combination of the three. These sentiments were strongly registered in our fieldwork.

Exclusion: Many felt excluded from the system because of their demographic or artistic characteristics. We heard repeatedly from artists of color that they believe that long-standing racial prejudice persists and negatively influences their ability to get resources. Many white artists, in contradiction, felt they were being excluded in favor of minority artists. Artists working in emerging forms, such as new media/new technologies, and artists working in folk/traditional/ethnic forms thought they were being excluded because their work did not fit into conventionally recognized artistic categories, and/or was not appreciated or even understood. Recent graduates from non-elite schools thought awards went mostly to established artists or recent graduates from elite institutions.

Many artists perceived barriers based on geography, although there were internal contradictions within this group of responses. For example, a Chicago artist contended that national fellowships generally go to the two coasts, whereas a Los Angeles artist claimed that West Coast artists do not get national fellowships. We do not have sufficient data about characteristics of applicants or award recipients, so it is difficult to assess the validity of these perceptions.

There is also a perception that many awards – or at least the "better" awards – are by nomination only, and not open to application. It is true that several high-profile and high-monetary value awards are by nomination only. In fact, 16 of the top 20 awards were available by nomination only (see chart below). However, NYFA Source indicates that the vast majority of award programs (79 percent) are open to application. Relatively few are awarded by nomination (14 percent), and only 4 percent require an incorporated nonprofit (501(c)3) fiscal sponsor.

Probably the strongest perceived barrier to emerge from our case studies was grantwriting. Many respondents felt that grantwriting is a skill that is

independent of artistic ability – and that grant recipients are usually the best grant writers, not the best artists. Funders and artists alike saw lack of grantwriting training or experience as a significant obstacle and agreed that a subset of artists was particularly adept at navigating the award process.

20 LARGEST AWARDS BY APPLICATION PROCEDURE

Programs by Nomination Only: Values of Highest 16 Awards		Programs with Open Applications: Values of Highest 4 Awards
$500,000	$117,000	$115,000
$500,000	$115,000	$100,000
$350,000	$105,000	$ 65,000
$250,000	$100,000	$ 52,000
$250,000	$100,000	
$200,000	$100,000	
$200,000	$100,000	
$150,000	$ 64,000	

Note: Based on 48 percent of cash grants reporting standard award size

General facilitating factors: Our case study responses indicate that two factors can help facilitate getting awards: networks and incorporation as a nonprofit. A strong and extensive network was seen as an important mechanism, not only in getting an artist nominated for an award, but also in providing an artist with information on other awards open for application. Incorporation as a 501(c)3 organization was seen as important by some artists because many more grants are available to organizations than are available to individuals.[74] Again, grants to organizations are not included in NYFA Source. From most funders' perspective, nonprofit organizations and individual artists are distinct, and grant programs are almost always targeted to one or the other. For many artists, however, the dichotomy between an individual artist and a small nonprofit is a distinction without much difference. For example, a small nonprofit dance company with largely volunteer performers hardly differs from a similarly small group of dancers without organizational structure – except for the administrative work required to become a 501(c)3 nonprofit, which includes creating articles of incorporation, filing with the Internal Revenue Service, building a board of directors, and so on. For some artists, the effort required to become and maintain a nonprofit organization was worthwhile, for others not.[75]

> **For many artists, the dichotomy between an individual artist and a small nonprofit organization is a distinction without much difference.**

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74. The Foundation Center reports that in 1996, 4 out of 5 foundations made grants in the arts. See Renz and Lawrence 1998. Our work indicates that the vast majority of grants made are to organizations rather than individuals.
75. This is discussed further in the Employment section of Chapter V, Material Supports.

∗ Observations on funders

Our respondents' observations about funders add up to a general perception that funders are not sufficiently responsive to artists' needs and mostly out of touch with the realities of artists' lives. Some funders seemed to recognize this, and others appeared uninformed. Here are the major concerns we heard from inside and outside the funding community:

   ∗ Many funders do not effectively articulate their particular priorities. For example, while artists often view nomination (as opposed to open application) as a barrier to access, many funders say they find nomination a more effective way to ensure diversity in the grantee population. If funders are correct in this, they need to articulate this important perspective to artists, and to the rest of the arts community.

   ∗ Funders are often reluctant to fund individual artists, as opposed to organizations, for two primary reasons – the perception that artists are less accountable than institutions and that funding individuals involves more effort. But those who do fund individuals do not, generally, find accountability to be a problem nor do they think that funding individuals involves more work than other kinds of grant programs.

   ∗ Funders are perceived to be increasingly outcome-oriented and awards are perceived to be tied to specific projects, rather than unrestricted. Although this is the dominant perception in the field, NYFA Source data indicate that the majority of cash grants (60 percent) are still unrestricted – spent at the artist's discretion, and not limited to a particular project or expense.

   ∗ Funders do not do enough strategic targeting of artists by career stage and artistic discipline. NYFA Source data support this perception, indicating that less than 30 percent of awards are targeted to a specific discipline and only one-quarter are targeted to career stage.

Space

It is important to acknowledge that of all the categories of material supports treated in our research (employment; insurance and similar benefits; grants and awards; space; and access to equipment and materials), artists and advocates seem to have devoted most attention to affordable space issues. Affordable space is a key resource that can facilitate or impede artists in doing their work. We stress the word affordable because we are focusing primarily on low and moderate income artists. They, like other higher income people, can afford the living and working space they need.

∗ Distinct needs for space

Artists have two separate needs for space although many of the more promising solutions to artists' space problems involve a combination that serves both needs. The first is living space (housing). The second is space in which to do various aspects of work. The former depends importantly on life stage and family size and is, at least conceptually, much the same need that faces other low- and moderate-income groups. The second – work space – depends to some degree on artistic discipline but also distinguishes artists as a group from most other types of professions. Work space for many artists includes studio/rehearsal space for making work; space where they can do business, and gather to critique one another's work and thus strengthen their craft; space to perform or present their work; and (for some) space to store work.

∗ Limitations of research to date

Research to date on the space needs of artists is confined largely to particular geographic areas, and to the space needs of arts organizations rather than individual artists.[76] Much of it has been sponsored by city agencies in collaboration with nonprofit agencies and arts organizations, funders, and other key local players – responding to an existing or emerging space crisis related to rising real estate costs, often in the context of gentrification.[77] Some studies of arts space needs are parts of overall arts-based redevelopment strategies or development of cultural districts as well as general planning processes.

Although some of the existing studies focus on artists' space issues within the wider social, political, and economic environment, virtually none seeks to identify cross-cutting space issues that face artists wherever they live and work. Moreover, in general, existing studies are not evaluative. That is, they do not examine and assess the extent to which responses to space needs have succeeded or failed.[78] It is especially noteworthy that – while space issues are a big concern for artists and their advocates – university research centers, public policy think tanks, and research entities specializing in cultural policy issues have paid very little attention to artists' space as a topic of importance.

That many artist focused organizations are fragile is a major weak point in the material support structure for artists.

Our main contribution is to highlight four major factors that apply to all our case study sites and to all artistic disciplines: (1) the role artist-focused organizations

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76. Examples of exceptions include arts-based re-development strategies in specific locations such as those undertaken by ArtSpace Projects, Inc. (a nonprofit arts focused real estate developer). These include surveys of artists as part of their market analysis. Seattle, San Francisco, and Boston have all conducted research on artists' need for space.

77. Gentrification is defined as a demand on real estate in an area that causes prices to rise and become out of reach for many current residents including moderate and middle-income populations. Modified from Turner and Snow 2003.

78. An example of some effort to assess the viability of various responses can be found in the NEA's Lessons Learned Essays. Also, in *Culture Counts: Strategies for a More Vibrant Cultural Life for New York City* there is some assessment of responses to space needs in the New York City area.

play in meeting space needs; (2) the relationship between artists and gentrification; (3) under-explored opportunities to create and secure artists' spaces; and (4) artists' capacity to organize, advocate, and act on space needs. We address each in turn, after a brief review of our general findings.

* Our findings in brief

Of all the artistic disciplines, dance and the visual arts seem to be the most affected and active about space issues. The reports we reviewed often affirmed this and in our fieldwork, we saw evidence of stronger organizing and advocacy emanating from these two disciplines.

Our case studies revealed that arts space concerns are everywhere, but that some places are closer to being in obvious crisis than others. In Seattle, San Francisco, Boston, and New York the situation is already acute.[79] Washington is not far behind. Chicago and Los Angeles seem to offer more opportunities. But it appears to us that artists' space in both these cities is at risk. Houston and Cleveland are the case study cities with the most opportunities for affordable space for the arts and artists. Our exploration of rural places suggests that they are generally in better shape than large cities.

The most common ways space needs are currently addressed are through creation of live-work and other combination spaces; passages of ordinances or adjustments in zoning regulations, often including the re-purposing and renovation or conversion of industrial and manufacturing spaces; creation of formal arts districts; establishment of formal and informal artists' communities and cooperatives; use of affordable housing tax credits; use of historical preservation funds; and utilization of mixed-use development strategies. We also found some evidence that various kinds of community organizations, such as churches, community centers, and the like provide usable – if not generally optimal – space. Service-oriented businesses such as cafes, restaurants, nightclubs, bookstores, and other retail outlets also provide space of varying suitability. Artists' residencies can also be a space resource, but often only for a limited period. For all these types of responses, the record is mixed. Everywhere we visited we found a few successes. But we also found many challenges and some failures. Given the state of research on this topic, we are not in a position to make judgments about what strategies may be most effective – with effectiveness varying by place as well as other factors. This is an area for future investigation.

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79. Since the fieldwork was completed, there have been changes in the economy that affected the real estate market. In some cases, such as in San Francisco, there is indication that real estate prices have dropped.

∗ **Major cross-site themes**

The following four themes, in our judgment, should be important considerations in any efforts to address artists' space needs whether at the local, regional, or national levels.

> ∗ **Artist-focused organizations play a critical role in meeting the space (and other) needs of artists, but they are often fragile.**

Artist-focused organizations are currently the most prominent players in meeting artists' space needs – often taking advantage of funding and specialized subsidies not so easily available to individuals.[80] In this capacity they perform two distinct space-related functions.

As space providers. Artist-focused organizations provide physical space for artists in a variety of ways. Some provide space where artists can live and/or make work. Others provide space to show work. Still others provide space for artists to meet and share experiences and expertise. Some meet all these needs, at least to some extent, in a single location or a complex of neighboring locations. Examples of such organizations include CELLspace and Ninth Street Media Consortium in San Francisco; ART/NY in New York City; Poets and Writers' League and ArtHouse in Cleveland; Self-Help Graphics and Art and the Harbor Arts Center in Los Angeles. Our field research also found some examples of "co-location initiatives." These are efforts that went beyond creating partnerships solely with other cultural entities. Such initiatives involved collaborating with community centers, churches, city agencies, juvenile justice groups, and similar non-arts organizations that are friendly to the social purposes served by the arts and artists. Examples of these include Arts Partners in Residence Programs in Chicago, Cultural Odyssey in San Francisco, and Gala Hispanic Theater in Washington. Also, many of the organizations listed in the previous cluster of examples engage in collaborations with non-arts agencies on a temporary basis. Such collaboration is a particular challenge, demanding skills in dealing with agencies whose core mission is different from one's own and the willingness to make compromises, discussed more fully below.

As advocates for space provision. The same organizations that provide space directly for artists and arts activities often find themselves playing a space advocacy role as well. In this role, however, they typically find themselves in a weak position. This is due in part to staff preoccupation with actual provision of space and the services tied to the space including maintaining presentation facilities, making equipment available, and so on. But it is also, and more fundamentally, because the staff of such organizations tends to not have the

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80. Interestingly, traditional community development corporations – usually nonprofit organizations concerned primarily with physical development in neighborhoods – were not mentioned frequently in our interview conversations about space.

background, skills, or presence to interact effectively with the powerbrokers and gatekeepers such as city hall, developers, funders, and community leaders who ultimately control the keys to the space in question. Even the few who may have these skills often lack the full information needed to make a strong case for their position, also discussed more fully below.

The fact that artist-focused organizations are fragile is a major weak point in the material support structure of artists. In addition to the vulnerability they share with most nonprofits – due to low levels of core operating support, the need to bend to their funders' orientation, and related concerns – artist-focused organizations are often uniquely threatened by redevelopment and the rising real estate costs typically associated with it. This is the case because they are often located in centrally accessible places. Moreover, as discussed below, they frequently have an impact on areas that seems to catalyze revitalization and gentrification. We saw instances where rising rents and sometimes rising taxes literally forced organizations to move or shut down. Examples include Randolph Street Gallery and N.A.M.E. Gallery in Chicago; Dancers' Group and Brady Street Dance Center in the San Francisco Bay Area; and a number of theaters in Pioneer Square in Seattle. And in many cases the organizations thus affected became nomads – moving from space to space as the eviction notices came in. Examples of such organizations include Kearney Street Workshop in San Francisco, East-West Theater Group in Los Angeles, and KanKouran West African Dance Company in Washington. Because of their current importance to the artists' scene, the demise of these organizations can be expected to have significant detrimental effects – impeding the making of work, the advancement of the craft, creation of community, connections to audiences and students, and ability to generate income for both organizations and individuals.[81]

* **Gentrification poses a particular threat to artists' spaces and to the stability of geographic communities where artists congregate.**

Gentrification threatens artists' spaces in many different kinds of communities and real estate markets. The problem is particularly acute because development of an artists' presence in a low-income neighborhood, *in and of itself*, can help catalyze a gentrification or revitalization push. This process was evident in every one of our case study cities – even in Houston and Cleveland, the study sites with the most robust real estate opportunities for artists.

Generally, the process works in the following way. Artists move into a neighborhood they can afford. As a result of their presence – and with it the manifestations of their creativity – the neighborhood becomes more colorful, taking on an eclectic character that becomes attractive to real estate developers who can see the potential for new investments. Developers use such

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81. The San Francisco Space for the Arts Study (MacDougall and Company 2002) examines the leasing structures of arts organizations in the San Francisco Bay Area to determine risk of displacement.

neighborhood characteristics to attract young, trendy professionals with money, who enjoy the aesthetics that come with artists' presence. These people, in turn, drive up real estate prices and make the place unaffordable, not only for the very artists who helped to catalyze the neighborhood transformation, but also for other low-income groups that may have been living there prior to the artists' arrival. Examples of neighborhoods that have undergone (or are undergoing) some version of this process include the Mission District in San Francisco, Williamsburg in New York, Fort Point in Boston, Pioneer Square in Seattle, Silver Lake in Los Angeles, Bucktown in Chicago, Adams Morgan in Washington, Montrose in Houston, and Tremont and the Flats in Cleveland.

Anthony Salgado

People concerned with maintaining affordable housing and mixed income communities sometimes associate artists with the negative social effects of gentrification. This association is exacerbated when artists set themselves apart from the rest of the community and, as a result, are not seen as engaged in collective issues. However, our research for this study suggests that artists can indeed contribute to neighborhood revitalization, and with it potentially gentrification, but that they are not the only or even the fundamental factor driving these processes. Other research suggests that key factors leading to gentrification include being a low-priced area that is adjacent to higher priced areas, has good access to public transportation (especially metro systems), historic architecture, and being a low-priced area that has experienced recent real estate appreciation.[82]

What is badly needed in efforts to counteract a sense that artists "cause" the social fall-out from gentrification is research on the role artists actually play in neighborhood transformation processes. This includes answers to the following types of questions: Is there a tipping point – a critical mass of artists that causes neighborhood change? Are there examples of places where artists have changed the neighborhood but where real estate values have not skyrocketed? What are the characteristics of such neighborhoods?

We did find evidence that advocates such as ArtSpace Projects, a non-profit arts real estate development organization based in Minneapolis, are aware of the need for this type of information, and that they are making progress in protecting artists. ArtSpace Projects does this by highlighting in their advocacy efforts artists' positive contributions to neighborhood revitalization, and by negotiating safeguards against artists being priced out of the area just as revitalization efforts are bearing fruit.

82. See Turner and Snow 2003.

**✻ Opportunities do exist to secure suitable places for artists which have
 not been fully exploited.**

In several of our case study sites, potentially usable spaces were available but
were deemed by many people we spoke to as "undesirable." These often
included inner-city neighborhoods with dilapidated housing stock, poor
amenities, and high crime, or distant suburbs. Reasons artists gave for avoiding
these areas included the perceived exorbitant cost of conversion or renovation,
apprehension that audiences and other supporters would not be attracted to
places that could be viewed as unsafe, lengthy commuting time that detracted
from the ability to create community and make work, and the fact that many
artists seek proximity to amenities and other artists, though a minority said they
preferred working in isolation. Examples of such urban neighborhoods include
the Anacostia neighborhood in Washington, and the Austin (West Side)
neighborhood in Chicago. Examples of distant suburbs include Lowell,
Massachusetts outside of Boston; Racine, Wisconsin outside of Chicago;
Bremerton, Washington outside of Seattle; and Richmond, California outside of
San Francisco. Other spaces appeared suitable on their face but had not been
considered as sites by the people we spoke to; prominent examples include
former military facilities.

The encouraging news is that there are certain groups of artists and organizations
that have not been deterred by such arguments. Often these groups have a
community improvement agenda tied to their artistic mission. Additionally such
artists and organizations are often focused on serving specific ethnic and low-
income groups. Examples of such initiatives include Venice Arts Mecca and
Harbor Arts Center in Los Angeles; Project Row Houses and Talento Bilingue in
Houston; Karamu House in Cleveland; El Centro de la Raza in Seattle; the Point
Community Development Corporation in New York; Artists for Humanity and
Zumix in Boston; Galeria de la Raza and Brava Theater in San Francisco; Muntu
Dance Theater and Mexican Fine Arts Center in Chicago; and Dance Place in
Washington, D.C.

In places where it is active, ArtSpace Projects uses a combination of strategies to
remedy the common physical and economic neighborhood deficiencies in
addition to site acquisition and development. Specifically, they choose spaces
near public transportation, work to attract other business sectors to the area, and
advertise the availability of the space to artists' communities. In this way they
seek to diversify the groups they attract and thus diminish the upward pressure
on prices that comes when the inward movement is restricted primarily to high-
income professionals seeking simply to live in the area.

As these examples make clear, and our earlier discussion has already noted,
major space initiatives require investment and risk. Thus, they are unlikely to be
successful unless the lead players have particular sets of skills that artists
generally cannot be expected to bring to the table on their own. These include

the ability to work with a wide range of actors – city officials, community development corporation leaders and staff, community leaders, and various types of funders both in the arts and in other fields. Necessary skills also include the ability to understand the details of finance and regulations, particularly in the field of real estate investment. Artists and arts administrators need both the opportunity to develop such skills and access to expert advice. Some entities that are attempting to meet these needs through websites, periodic seminars, and handbooks include ArtHouse in the San Francisco Bay Area; City of Seattle in collaboration with the Seattle Arts commission; and ArtSpace Projects, Inc. (national).

> ∗ **The ability of artists' communities to organize, advocate, and act on space issues, with few exceptions, is limited.**

In our case study sites, artists' communities did not seem to be very organized about space issues except in the three cities – San Francisco, Seattle and Boston – where the effort to organize was stimulated by the acute space crises already upon them. In Los Angeles and Houston, in contrast – where space needs, though substantial, are less acute than in San Francisco and Seattle – there was little evidence of proactive anticipation of the space crisis, which is likely around the corner. When the galvanizing issue is clear, it can create a lasting infrastructure that can ensure proactive stances in the future. But playing catch-up is certainly not the most effective strategy in the shorter run.

One important factor impeding effective activity around the space issue is that the arguments for arts' and artists' space are often not made in ways that command effective support. In response to the question of why artists should get special treatment when others are dealing with similar issues, for example, the case often rests on the assertion that artists are somehow special and intrinsically valuable to a community. This entitlement argument does not resonate particularly well with city planners when there is no hard evidence to back it up. An economic impact argument can also be made. But this is only partially effective given that the focus of most existing economic impact studies is on large arts organizations or institutions to the neglect of both artists themselves and artists-focused organizations. The social impact argument that artists contribute to various aspects of community improvement such as social capital and civic engagement, crime prevention, youth development, and education is potentially the most persuasive to people who are already stakeholders in a community or potential stakeholders.[83] But it cannot be made very strongly as yet because the contributions of artists are not well documented but rest largely on anecdotal evidence. All these arguments are further weakened because they are typically made in isolation, rather than in conjunction with other well-understood arguments – such as the need for affordable housing generally, or the

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83. This is addressed in Jackson and Herranz 2002.

economic arguments justifying small business activity for which there are persuasive data.

Coalition building with other groups concerned about affordable housing is often crucial to making the arguments for artists' space prevail, but it is difficult. For one thing, as noted in the gentrification discussion, artists are sometimes viewed negatively as the catalysts for displacement of other low-income residents. As suggested earlier, artists can also hurt themselves in the process – as in cases where they move into low-income neighborhoods but draw antagonism by keeping themselves aloof from the larger community. In Boston, for example, the Fort Point Arts Community (an artists' advocacy group concerned with space) had to contend with resentment from various low-income groups that felt excluded from FPAC's efforts.

We found examples of advocates for artists outside the cultural realm that both help to articulate artists' contributions to society and facilitate coalitions around issues important to artists and other kinds of groups. These include Sheriff Michael Hennessey in San Francisco who has been a supporter of artists' work in relation to public safety and criminal justice issues, and Councilman Joe Cimperman in Cleveland who has actively supported space ordinances benefitting artists. Greg Nickles, mayor of Seattle, was also identified as a supporter. Additionally, former mayors Tom Bradley in Los Angeles and Mayor Marion Berry in Washington were identified as allies for artists. But many more people who can play this advocacy and connecting functions are needed to ensure that coalitions will form that align artists' and other groups' interests.

Although securing space to work can make or break a career in some artistic disciplines, this does not generally appear to be part of the survival skills taught in university and arts school training programs.

A final underlying factor reducing the effectiveness of artists' efforts to secure space is the pervasive lack of understanding of the complexity of real estate issues among many artists and arts administrators. Our research and the existing literature affirm that better education about space and real estate is essential to proactively securing long-term affordable space. The National Performance Network's session on real estate at its 2002 annual meeting illustrated the lack of awareness among artists about the range of information needed – information about accessing capital for down payments on personal properties, lobbying local politicians and the commercial sector to make available existing space and buildings, as well as information about working with local planning and zoning departments to effect necessary changes.

Two factors are particularly important contributors to this problem. The first is that, although securing space to work can make or break a career for an artist, this does not seem to be part of the survival skills taught in university arts programs or art schools. The second is a faulty perception of artists' place in the economy on the part of artists themselves. Often, they do not organize or see themselves as entities needing to develop the business plans and skills that

almost all of them inevitably need. Thus, they frequently do not have a strong position in applying for loans, mortgages, and so on. And on a more general level, this faulty self-perception prevents them from allying themselves with business interests, even though such alliances could provide them with a more strongly documented case for support, and a potentially powerful ally in the struggle for affordable space.

Equipment and materials

Access to equipment and materials can greatly influence the career of an individual artist, and can even affect the health of an artistic discipline.[84] Equipment consists of reusable devices artists need to do their work – musical instruments, video cameras, kilns, lighting and sound, and the like. Materials are items generally consumed in the artistic process – film, clay, and so on. Our focus here is on acute needs that are unmet because of barriers that include cost, scarcity, and restrictions on use.

∗ Acute needs and access barriers

Equipment needs and access barriers vary substantially by artistic discipline. Our fieldwork indicates that most visual and literary artists, for example, generally, do not have substantial unmet needs in this area, and that performing artists do not typically think of their needs for lighting, audio, and set design equipment as distinct from their needs for space.[85] Media artists and folk/traditional artists, in contrast, have acute unmet needs according to both our case study interviews and other research.[86]

Media artists. The acute need for these artists is equipment, with expense being the primary barrier. Artists working in film, video, digital, and other emerging technologies, for example, frequently use expensive equipment in their work. Editing equipment was mentioned often, as were cameras, projectors, and computers. Although the prices of some equipment (particularly digital) have been dropping in recent years, our fieldwork indicates that equipment expense remains a significant barrier for many media artists.

Folk/Traditional artists. The acute need for certain types of these artists is materials, particularly for those who use natural materials in their work. Here the major barriers are scarcity and restrictions on use. Economic development and

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84. McCarthy and Ondaatje (2002) assert that the lower cost of digital equipment has caused a boom in the number of media artists. Peterson (1996) details how the scarcity of materials is threatening certain kinds of traditional basket weaving.

85. We discuss space needs in the previous section of Chapter V. It should be noted, however, that the increasing use by performing artists of nontraditional spaces may bring into prominence the independent need for equipment for lighting, sound, and set design.

86. See McCarthy and Ondaatje 2002; Peterson 1996.

environmental degradation, for example, threaten many of the plant and mineral resources used by folk/traditional artists in crafts such as basketweaving and jewelry making. And regulations often prevent artists from gathering natural materials except at specified times in specified locations. Moreover, the use of pesticides can threaten the health of the artist in addition to the continuity of the artform.

Other artists. Artists in other disciplines also use equipment and materials (sometimes expensive or scarce) in the production of their artwork. Literary artists use computers to produce and sometimes to disseminate their work; visual artists may use expensive materials, especially in the production of large-scale work, or equipment such as that used for printmaking; musicians' instruments are often expensive and sometimes scarce; and artists in all disciplines are increasingly employing advanced technological equipment. However, while our respondents in the media arts and folk/traditional arts repeatedly stressed their unmet needs for equipment and materials, respondents in other disciplines did not. The following discussion focuses on media artists and folk/traditional artists, but we do not mean to diminish the equipment and material access needs of artists in other disciplines – we simply did not learn as much about them. That said, the barriers to access are the same across disciplines – cost, scarcity, and restrictions on use – and the lessons learned in addressing the equipment and material needs of media artists and folk/traditional artists may help guide the way for artists in other disciplines.

∗ **Addressing the access issue: Equipment**

Accessing equipment, as noted, is fundamentally about cost – which typically comes down to finding ways to share equipment use. Arts organizations and artists' networks are two important ways of achieving this end. Avenues outside the cultural sector *per se* are also becoming increasingly possible. We focus on media artists as the group with the most acute equipment needs.

Art schools and other arts organizations. Arts schools and universities are an important source of equipment access for many artists. These institutions are now spending substantial funds on new technologies, and many artists have equipment access that is adequate to their needs while enrolled – and in some cases as alumni after graduation. Some universities even allow artists to establish an institutional affiliation that does not depend on student status (e.g., research affiliates at the MIT Media Lab). Our fieldwork indicates, however, that many if not most artists cannot readily access equipment at the colleges and universities in their geographic area.

Other organizations that facilitate equipment access include media arts organizations across the country, which often provide film and video equipment use to artists at a discounted rate. Funding for these organizations has been greatly reduced in recent years, however, as both the NEA and the MacArthur

Foundation have eliminated their media arts programs.[87] Media arts organizations generally provide equipment as a service, at a discounted rate, rather than as an award, free of charge. NYFA Source reveals few explicit equipment access awards (36 of 2,659 award programs). The strength and efficacy of media arts organizations appears to vary. Artists in San Francisco spoke especially highly of their media arts organizations – in particular, the Film Arts Foundation, and the Bay Area Video Coalition.

Artists' networking. Many media (and other) artists access equipment by building networks and similar groupings that enable sharing and mutual support. Counteracting these advantages, however, is the disadvantage of requiring a critical mass of like-minded artists with similar equipment needs. This is often not feasible for rural artists, who may live and work at great distances from one another, or even for artists in smaller cities.

Outside the cultural sector. Some media artists have found employment in the technology sector that enables them to access equipment through their employers – although the demands of these jobs distract many from their artistic focus.[88] A few companies are beginning to involve artists in testing their equipment, sometimes allowing artists to pursue art-making in this context. A few companies have established artist-in-residence programs, which give artists equipment access without having to be distracted from their art (e.g., Sanitary Fill Company and Kohler).

∗ Addressing the access issue: Materials

The major barriers to materials access, as also noted, are scarcity and regulations on access. Our fieldwork reveals that arts organizations can play a limited role in addressing these problems, as can artists' networks. But to a larger extent than for equipment access, lasting resolution to the materials access problem may lie outside the cultural sector – in the realm of public regulation. We focus primarily on folk/traditional artists as the group in most acute need of materials access help.

Arts organizations. Organizations such as the California Indian Basketweavers Association (CIBA), based in Nevada City, California, have been formed to advocate for the interests of folk/traditional artists – which include a range of issues primarily outside the cultural sector (see further below). However, these organizations are typically financially fragile and not necessarily expert in the skills needed to advocate outside the arts world.

Artists' networking. Artists' networks are also involved in addressing barriers to materials access. But their activities appear largely informational – addressing

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87. See McCarthy and Ondaatje 2002.
88. See McCarthy and Ondaatje 2002.

where and when to find scarce natural materials, rather than the actual sharing of materials.

Outside the cultural sector. As alluded to briefly above, the issues involved in facilitating access to artists' materials fall largely outside the cultural sector. For artists who use scarce natural materials, these issues include the environment, economic development, and the control of public lands. For media artists a prominent issue relates to copyright regulation, which can restrict access to materials they might incorporate into their current work. Examples include musicians sampling copyrighted recordings, or filmmakers incorporating copyrighted footage. Organizations such as CIBA and Public Knowledge, a public interest advocacy organization based in Washington D.C., are advocating outside the cultural sector for the material access needs of artists. But addressing these and similar issues fully will require the coordination and mobilization of a large and diverse group of people and organizations.

∗ Addressing the access issue: Making do

Artists who bring up the issue of materials access are often told to "make do" with what they have in the way of substitute equipment or materials. Many of our respondents expressed extreme concern about this sentiment, saying that the consequences for artistic quality can be great. Some told us that the shift many media artists have made to using digital equipment instead of film – for cost rather than aesthetic reasons – could threaten the quality of their work. Others said that use of local public access television stations as a resource, also motivated by cost, was another development that was threatening quality and artistic progress, because the equipment provided was generally outdated.

Our respondents were even more discouraged about the problem of scarce natural materials. The consensus seemed to be that there are no easy substitutions and that, in the absence of the traditionally used natural materials, crafts such as basketweaving are more likely to become extinct than to evolve.

VI. TRAINING AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Jen Steinkamp

Our approach to the issue of artists' training and development keys off our findings that (1) an artist may pursue many different kinds of career paths over the course of his or her professional life and may engage in multiple markets, either simultaneously or at different periods, and (2) navigating these complex career paths requires competence in diverse skills, many of which have little to do with art. After a brief review of current literature and practice, we discuss the many ways artists are actually accessing training and development. We then highlight artists' most salient training and development needs.

Existing literature and conventional practice

Most of the research literature on, and practice of, training and professional development for artists does not do justice to the complexity of their career patterns. The research is often discipline specific and descriptive, which we think appropriate and useful.[89] But it has focused, for the most part, on training in artistic discipline or craft and on conventionally recognized career paths – the traditional artist/audience and artist/consumer dynamic in mainstream cultural venues. Relatively little research and practice focuses on artistic training combined with professional development including business and marketing skills. Even less attention is given to training combined with professional development for markets that are less recognized such as markets for artists working outside traditional cultural venues (in schools, prisons, libraries, and parks) and/or markets for artists working at the intersection of arts and other fields such as community development, youth development, and health, among others.

In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to the need for artists to develop business and marketing skills along with continued artistic training. According to our respondents, among the best examples of this more comprehensive approach are the programs of the Creative Capital Foundation. Also, some attention has been paid to training for artists working in education (teaching art), artists working as arts administrators, and artists working in communities (mostly in social change initiatives). Examples of initiatives that help train artists to work in schools include the NEA Artists in Education residency programs, which support local artists, usually through local arts agencies, to participate in school-based, mostly K–12 residency programs. Examples of initiatives to help artists work as arts administrators include training programs provided by the National Association of Artists Organizations' as well as the National Association of Latino Arts and Culture's mentorship program.[90]

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89. See Jeffri 1990a, b, c, 1992, 1993, 1994.
90. It is important to note that while the programs of NAAO surfaced as important, in recent years, the organizations has experienced significant challenges.

Examples of initiatives geared to help artists work in communities more effectively include the efforts of the Community Arts Network, which has assembled numerous essays focused on community arts practices and the skills needed to succeed in community contexts. Americans for the Arts' Institute for Community Development and the Arts has produced a publication, *Artists in the Community – Training Artists to Work in Alternative Settings,* which provides guidelines for practice. Also, *Building the Code*, a project of the National Performance Network, is documenting the practices of community artists and developing training materials aimed at the next generation of artists working in communities. These examples are encouraging signs of a more progressive understanding of artists' markets. But they are not well recognized and many of the organizations supporting them are not robust.

How artists currently access training and professional development

When thinking about artists' training venues, conventional university-based arts programs and arts schools are the institutions that come immediately to mind. However, as suggested in our summary of research and practice above, our study reveals that artists get important amounts and types of training and professional development from other sources. These sources can be formal or informal and they include local arts agencies, artist-focused organizations and networks (local, regional, and national), community-based organizations, familial networks, peer-to-peer and mentoring relationships, and web-based networks. Also, for some artists of color, some immigrant artists, and some artists in rural areas, community organizations and entities that are not primarily arts based, such as community centers, ethnic clubs, and churches, as well as some programs based in university Ethnic Studies departments, surfaced as important sources of both formal and informal training.

∗ Universities and arts schools

Universities and art schools are major institutions in the arts world and are centers for training, criticism, and review of work. The people we spoke to perceived them as havens of "arts for art's sake" – places where students can hone their crafts, take artistic risk, and experiment. Respondents also saw these as places that create and provide access to networks that are often important to professional development.

In addition to these positive perceptions, several less positive views surfaced. With few exceptions, most of these institutions were perceived to pay little attention to the provision of business training. Examples of schools attempting to integrate strong business components into their curriculum include the Corcoran School of the Arts in Washington, D.C., the School of the Arts Institute in Chicago, Columbia University and Parsons School of Design in New York, and the California Institute of the Arts in Los Angeles. Additionally, most arts

schools and universities were perceived not to expose their students to the broad range of career opportunities available to them outside the traditional cultural sector. Exceptions in this regard include the California Institute of the Arts and the Otis College of Art and Design in Los Angeles, California State University at Monterrey Bay (Curriculum for Socially Engaged Public Art), and Columbia College in Chicago.

∗ Local arts agencies

Local arts agencies – often public agencies or nonprofit agencies playing a public/municipal role – were described as important sources of training and professional development. They often are the mechanisms through which national and state funds earmarked for training, or programs containing training elements, are channeled. As noted earlier, NEA grants have been awarded to local arts agencies specifically for training and professional development as part of Artists in Education programs. Examples of local arts agencies offering training and professional development include the Cultural Arts Council of Houston and Harris County (CACHH), the Seattle Arts Commission's Business of Art program, and the Illinois Arts Council Artists' Services and Technical Assistance Program. Our fieldwork strongly suggests that the impetus for an agency to offer opportunities for professional development is often an enterprising agency staff member who recognizes the need for training and finds some way to meet it. Sometimes this need is met informally through staff's generosity – continually providing guidance and references to other resources when possible. There was evidence of staff providing such services with no designated budget for them (often this activity was not part of the job description), but burnout often followed. In the best cases, staff ultimately applied for and received designated funding. Often, however, such funding is fleeting, making it difficult to meet the demand for services over a sustained period.

∗ Artist-focused organizations and networks

While not often recognized as important training venues in the cultural sector, artist-focused organizations, which include arts centers, service organizations, colonies, and networks, provide important discipline-specific and career-stage-specific training and professional development opportunities. The focus of many of these organizations on the practical skills needed to sustain a career came through as particularly valuable – and in sharp contrast to the lack of such offerings at university arts programs and arts schools. The forms in which these organizations provide services can include practical technical assistance in craft and business provided by experts, opportunities for peer learning and critique and, in a few cases, provision of residencies and opportunities for artistic exchanges. Examples of organizations providing such training opportunities include: Dance/USA, a national service organization; the National Performance Network (NPN); Artist Trust in Seattle; Poets and Writers, Inc.; ART/NY; the

Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) and Center for Cultural Innovation in Los Angeles; the Aurora Picture Show in Houston; Kearny Street Workshop; the Bay Area Video Coalition; and Galeria de la Raza in San Francisco.

What is remarkable is that despite the important training and professional development roles that they seem to fill, many of these organizations are not primarily in the training and professional development business and are often not explicitly funded for that purpose. They do it, however, despite other organizational pressures, because they are keenly aware that these needs are not being adequately met elsewhere.

The issue for the field is that the infrastructure supporting many of these organizations – funding, space, staff, governing boards – is often tenuous, and their ability to sustain training programs is weak. Many artists and arts administrators with whom we spoke noted this fragility as a source of grave concern.

✳ Community-based organizations

Community-based organizations such as social service or self help organizations, churches, ethnic clubs, and familial networks are important sources of exposure to the arts for many artists early in their lives. Additionally, they are important, ongoing sources of craft training for some ethnic-specific, rural, and immigrant artists. They also provide, though to a much lesser extent, professional development (business skills) for these groups. In our fieldwork and background research focused on immigrant communities, there was evidence of community organizations and ethnic clubs serving as hubs for preservation of traditional art forms as well as the creation of new forms. Examples of this include Haitian immigrant societies in Boston and New York as well as Mexican and emerging Hmong organizations in Fresno and rural parts of central California.[91]

Zwelethu Mthethwa

✳ Peer-to-peer and mentoring relationships

Respondents emphasized the critical nature of peer-to-peer and mentoring relationships for training and professional development across the discipline spectrum. These can be formal or informal. They often rely on many of the kinds of organizations mentioned earlier, particularly for space. But they are inclined to be quite fluid – changing frequently in structure and place – which makes them difficult to track and not well suited for typical forms of financial support.

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91. There was also some evidence of small businesses – restaurants and bookstores – providing space and informally serving as hubs for immigrant artists to advance their craft.

* New web-based forms of artistic exchange

New web-based forms of artistic exchange are developing to help the artists and art forms for which the established training and professional development mechanisms have little to offer. This is especially the case for new media artists and, to a somewhat lesser extent, writers and poets. An example of a web site focused on training and professional development needs of artists is the City of Seattle's Arts Resource Network,[92] which provides information and resources on artists' professional growth, arts education, public art, and community arts. Web sites hosted by artist-focused organizations also often provide important training and professional development information and resources.

* A note on foundations

There is encouraging evidence that foundations such as Surdna, Duke, Tremaine, Jacob Lawrence, and Irvine are beginning to pay more specific attention to the training and professional development needs of artists. This often takes the form of direct grants and direct programming for artists, as well as the funding of the various types of organizations discussed here. But the current, apparently sparse, nature of such funding is not nearly enough to meet demand or reduce the fragility of many of the organizations and programs that are critical to artists' training needs.

Artists' most salient needs

Targeted life-long learning opportunities. Artists need and want training and professional development that helps them make shifts throughout their careers – in artistic skill level, from emerging to mid-career to master levels; business skills such as those required in nonprofit, public, and commercial markets; and in skills for a variety of arts-related employment. Targeted opportunities for mid-career artists in various fields were identified in our fieldwork as a particularly acute need. However, our analysis of data in NYFA Source (the national database of awards, grants, services, and publications for artists) reveals that such programs are scarce. There is evidence in the dance field of concerted efforts to better understand and address artists' career transition training needs given the physical demands and the short career duration in this discipline.[93] But more of this kind of attention to transitions is needed in dance and other disciplines as well.

> **Targeted training opportunities for mid-career artists in various disciplines were identified as a particularly acute need.**

Training in arts-related employment. As already noted, artists need to be equipped to engage in employment that combines art-making with skills relevant

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92. http://www.artsresourcenetwork.org.
93. See Levine 1994; Bannon 1995.

to other fields. Currently, most of this type of training comes as baptism by fire in the field. Arts administration is the only such field that seems to have received concerted attention from funders and university programs. With respect to teaching, although an artist may be able to simultaneously obtain an "arts education" certificate along with an MFA, generally it is difficult for artists to gain teaching skills outside a university setting. With few exceptions, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, such training can be hard to obtain. And, also as noted earlier, there is a similar problem for artists and community work. While there is a long history of artists working in communities, practices have not been well codified and the wealth of wisdom that artists have in the field is just now beginning to be harvested.

Centralized training sources. In several sites we heard artists expressing the need for more stable, reliable, and centralized sources of artistic training and professional development. Outside conventional arts programs in universities and arts schools, many of the organizations that provide such services are fragile, and service availability appears to be as sporadic as the funding to finance it. In this respect, it is encouraging to note that several organizations' use of the web seems to be improving the centralization and stability of training opportunities – although here, too, the resources to sustain and improve these tools are very limited.

> **Travel and exchange, both domestic and international, was recognized as very important, especially for performing artists and mid-career artists in various disciplines.**

Peer-to-peer and mentoring relationships. We heard repeatedly that these relationships are extremely important to successful career transitions. University-based networks seem to be important sources for this kind of activity. But they often do not include many artists of color and they are difficult to access for mid-career artists. As stated earlier, for artists of color, new immigrant artists, and rural artists, in particular, community-based and artist-focused organizations with long-standing ties to these communities are the hubs for this kind of exchange.

Travel and exchange. Travel and exchange, both domestic and international, was noted as very important for performing artists and mid-career artists in all disciplines. Travel is especially important, we were told, for artists based in places that are not nationally recognized as cultural magnets. A few national networks, such as the National Performance Network, are important sources for such opportunities. However, our fieldwork and our analysis of data from NYFA Source reveals that opportunities for travel grants and residencies are limited, with the latter negatively impacted by the space crisis in many places, as discussed in Chapter V.[94]

Evaluating best practices and lessons learned. We have examples of promising programs in most of these areas of need. But unlike school curricula, these initiatives are not generally exposed to rigorous evaluation or comparative study. Filling this gap is a priority.

VII. COMMUNITIES AND NETWORKS

Communities and networks are vital to an artist's career. They facilitate access to sources of validation, material resources, training and professional development, and dissemination of artists' work. They provide emotional support for people pursuing a profession that, for many artists, often has little status. And they are essential in giving artists a political voice. Some are value-driven; others are pragmatic. In our research, we found a range of networks and communities that affect what artists do. They include various configurations of artists themselves; closely knit associations of institutional directors, curators, and administrators; intellectual clubs and networks of a city's top government, business, and arts gatekeepers; "old boys" and "old girls" networks; ethnic networks; and social scenes. The importance of the sixties generation of leaders who came out of various progressive movements also figured prominently in our respondents' discussion of networking.[95]

Previous research on artists' networks has focused primarily on how they influence access to career opportunities in specific artistic disciplines. These studies confirm that networks are important. They also suggest, as does research on labor force networks, that many weak ties are more valuable than fewer strong ties when it comes to job opportunities.[96] Other research on artists and networks has focused, to a limited extent, on the role that artists play in conventional concepts of the cultural world – in relation to large cultural institutions and gatekeepers.[97]

Our research emphasis is somewhat different. We are not focusing only on how networks and communities lead to jobs or opportunities to distribute work; nor do we focus primarily on what role artists play in a larger notion of the cultural sector. In this chapter we discuss various kinds of networks in which artists are engaged and how these networks, as well as networks in which they may not be as engaged, facilitate or impede their work.[98]

Types of networks

Our respondents were unanimous in recognizing the importance of internal networks, or networks within the cultural sector, for artists to do their work. External networks were less explicitly recognized. But our research suggests that artists' involvement in networks outside the cultural sector is also crucial to an artist's career advancement, and sometimes to the viability of artist-focused

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94. NYFA Source data indicate that 215 out of 2,659 award programs explicitly include support for travel.
95. In this chapter, we are not concerned primarily with professional associations that provide services.
96. Faulkner 1987; Anheier et al. 1995; Giuffre 1999
97. Becker 1982.
98. Although we recognize that communities and networks are distinct – with networks being looser affiliations and communities being more intimate connections – we do not focus on this distinction here.

organizations. Our discussion is organized around issues considered relevant to communities and networks inside and outside the cultural sector. But first we describe a range of the types of communities and networks that surfaced in our field research. (Some of the organizations noted here have also been noted in other parts of our report, because they figure prominently as sources of many kinds of support for artists.)

* National networks

Several national networks featured prominently in our research. They are particularly important for performing artists seeking assistance with touring their work outside of their local area. National networks also make possible connections among artists, administrators, and presenters in different parts of the country who otherwise might not meet or have opportunities to work together. Many of the most prominent networks have roots in artist-centered organizations, and artists play leadership roles within them. For example, the National Performance Network (NPN) consists of 55 partners – presenting organizations and artists – across the country. It provides fee subsidies to presenters in support of residencies as well as commissioning support to independent performing artists at all career levels. Its national conference provides an opportunity for performing artists to present their work, receive professional development and training, connect with peers, and form working partnerships.

The National Association of Latino Arts and Cultures (NALAC) is "dedicated to the promotion, preservation, and development of the cultural and artistic expressions of the diverse Latino population within the United States." It does this through advocacy, leadership development, and public relations initiatives, as well as through the promotion of networking among Latino arts organizations and Latino artists. NALAC has been active in creating greater visibility for artists and their work by teaming up with nationally recognized filmmaker Hector Galan to produce "Visiones: Latino Art and Culture," a three-part documentary television series that "captures the rich and varied cultural and artistic expressions and contributions of Latino artists and communities throughout the U.S."

The National Association of Artists' Organizations (NAAO), which has been dormant for a few years, also featured in our research as an important source of advocacy in support of freedom-of-speech issues during the culture wars in the 1980s and 1990s. It too has played a national convening role through periodic meetings.

∗ Regional networks

Regional networks were seen as especially valuable in rural and sprawling urban areas, where long distances separating artists and isolation from peers are problems. Alternate ROOTS, for example, is an organization based in Atlanta that supports artists in the southeastern United States whose work is "rooted in a particular community of place, tradition or spirit." It does this through its Community Residency & Tour Program, convenings, festivals, and publications that make these artists and their work visible. Its annual meeting provides opportunities for artistic and professional training, performance, and critique of work in progress. The organization re-grants resources and provides support and training to community-artist partnerships. Alternate ROOTS also helps to create a sense of community and regional identity among the community-based arts organizations and presenters that it serves.

Other examples of regional networks include the Alliance for California Traditional Artists, which supports an apprenticeship program for folk and traditional artists, and the Asian Arts Initiative's Artist and Community Training Program, which serves emerging artists of color in the mid-Atlantic region. The Maine Indian Basketweavers Alliance works to build respect for Indian basketweaving as an art form that merits preservation. It also assists basketweavers market work.

Radio Bilingue in the Central Valley region of California is an example of how radio can anchor a regional network that also has international reach (in parts of Latin America). It is a community radio station that supports farm workers and folk and traditional musicians, among other artists. Through its network the organization is able to develop and distribute original programming with its sister radio stations.

∗ Networks based in local artist-focused and community-based organizations

Artist-focused organizations are hubs and sources for both formal and informal networks. Many different artist-focused organizations surfaced in our research as essential to artists in the places we studied. For example, CELLspace, an organization in San Francisco, is a gathering point for many artists across various disciplines. It is a place where artists come together, both formally and informally, to create, critique, and present their work. Staff at CELLspace is active in many local and national initiatives relating to artists' needs, including fund-raising, space, political advocacy, and organizing. They are well connected to the local and national cultural sector and thus provide artists with a pathway to other, sometimes larger networks.

Appalshop is a "multidisciplinary arts and education center" located in Whitesburg, Kentucky. The center provides education and training focused on

community arts and helps artists produce original films, videos, theater, music, spoken word and photography. Through its numerous initiatives and productions, Appalshop has become a center for many artists and others engaged in the community and rural arts fields in the United States.

In Seattle, And/Or, an exhibition and performance space, featured prominently as a hub for artists during the 1970s. It is no longer in business, but respondents noted many important And/Or spin-off projects, collaborations, and other initiatives, some of which still exist. Galleria de la Raza in San Francisco and Self-Help Graphics in Los Angeles were viewed as important hubs for artists, particularly those connected with the Chicano movement. In Boston, Tribal Rhythms was noted as an important hub for both older and contemporary African-American artists. In Chicago, the Old Town School of Folk Music serves as a hub for some musicians. Also, Franklin Furnace in New York figured prominently. Although it is now primarily a web-based virtual organization, it still plays a role in helping to create and sustain networks.

It is important to note that several national networks were incubated in local artist-focused organizations. The National Performance Network, American Festival Project, and National Association of Latino Arts and Cultures were all nurtured by such organizations – Dance Theater Workshop (New York City), Appalshop (Whitesburg, Kentucky), and Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center (San Antonio, Texas), respectively.

For some artists of color, immigrant artists, and rural artists, various kinds of community organizations, not exclusively or even primarily concerned with arts, were important hubs for networks. For example, the Central Valley Partnership in California, a social change initiative that was involved in organizing the Tamejavi Festival, a community celebration including arts and culture as a dimension of civic dialogue, includes many artists. El Centro de la Raza in Seattle, which deals primarily with social services, has a large artists presence.[99]

* Networks based on institutional affiliations

Some networks – often informal – form around institutional affiliations. For example, in Los Angeles, there are tight-knit communities and networks tied to the leading art schools: California Institute of the Arts, Art Center College of Design, University of California at Los Angeles, and to some extent the University of Southern California. In Houston, there is a community of visual artists and administrators tied to the Glassell School's Core Fellows program. In Chicago there is a tight community tied to prominent theaters such as Second

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99. Also historically, artists had a strong presence in settlement houses and schools – community organizations concerned with social welfare and social improvement particularly in poor communities, immigrant communities, and communities of color.

City and Steppenwolf. These communities are important gateways to jobs, validation, and other sources of support.

∗ Funder-driven communities and networks

Kathleen Browne

Our research also found important formal and informal networks tied to funding initiatives. Funders – foundations and public funding programs – sometimes convene grantees for periodic meetings. In other cases, informal networks based on affiliations with the funder can emerge. There is a network of artists who have benefited from Creative Capital. The Animating Democracy Initiative, funded by the Ford Foundation and administered by Americans for the Arts, has resulted in another network of artists, administrators, and presenters. Another example is the network of artist-centered organizations that were involved with the Andy Warhol Foundations' initiatives to strengthen small and mid-size visual arts agencies.

∗ Networks outside the cultural sector

Our research revealed that for many artists and artist-focused organizations – especially those with hybrid missions in which the arts intersect with other issues such as community development, youth development, social services – networks outside the cultural sector were very important. For example, in Chicago, the Muntu Dance Company relies not only on other cultural organizations but also on local schools, churches, and community action groups to do its work. Similarly, Art House, Inc., a newly developed neighborhood arts center in Cleveland, has relied on a network of support that includes artists, a community development corporation, local schools, churches, the YMCA, and social service organizations. Another example of an artist-run organization that has extensive networks inside and outside the cultural sector is Project Row Houses in Houston, which works in the historically African-American Third Ward. In many of our cities (Houston, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington D.C. and Cleveland), connections to churches were noted as very important. For some of the artists we interviewed, especially some African-American artists, churches provided financial resources, space for rehearsal and presentation, as well as assistance with audience development.

Yet another example of important networks that operate outside the cultural sector exists in Chicago. Our field research indicates that during the early 1980s, a network of civic entrepreneurs who cared about artists and art, but were not necessarily in the cultural sector, emerged. Over the years, these individuals – working in parks and recreation, foundations, the city's cultural affairs department, other city divisions, and in the corporate sector – have informally and formally collaborated in support of various cultural initiatives, including festivals and employment opportunities for artists. This network has come to be a defining characteristic in how Chicago addresses support for artists and

cultural participation. In fact, this network sets the city apart from our other study sites, where such networks are not as prevalent.

Our field work also points to the importance of networks based in social movements such as Chicano, civil rights, gay and lesbian, environmental, and women's movements. Artists make important contributions to these movements and also derive important benefits that help them to persist in their artistic and societal endeavors. Several of the artist-focused organizations we encountered in our research had some tie – direct or indirect – to various social movements.

∗ Personal networks

Personal networks – connections to family, friends, and social organizations – also featured as important. We found several examples of artists relying on family and friends (when resources were available) to provide space, financial subsidy, and access to audiences and people who might buy their art. There were also examples of artists relying on personal networks to pay for health care and even burial expenses. In some cases, artists saw their personal connections as a primary source of support. In other cases, personal networks were regarded as a safety net.

Insights into networks: Functioning strengths and limitations

As the previous examples illustrate, our field research reveals a wide range of networks and communities that matter to artists. Here we discuss further insights into how they function and their characteristics.

∗ Informal networks can be difficult to access and can reinforce social inequalities.

Our fieldwork suggests that while informal networks are important, they can be difficult to access. Foundations and similar entities offering awards and grants were perceived by some respondents as creating networks of "anointed" artists – artists who had been validated or certified and therefore were more likely to continue to get resources within the awards and grants "system." There was sentiment among some of our respondents that if one was not in those networks, there was little chance of accessing those resources, as discussed in Chapter V. Also, in certain cities – Los Angeles and Boston, for example – informal networks based on university and art school affiliations were very effective in providing access to material resources, professional development, and mentoring. However, many artists, particularly some of color and many immigrants, who often do not matriculate through those institutions, as well as mid-career artists, who had left universities and art schools years ago, lamented that they did not have access to such institutions and, by extension, the networks that stem from them.[100] The impact of such exclusion was noted as significant in places that did

not have a viable compensating mechanism, such as a strong infrastructure of nonprofit, artist-focused organizations and community-based organizations through which networks are often formed.

There were a few examples of people being proactive about opening up networks perceived to be exclusive. Some funders are making special attempts to reach populations of artists who are currently under-represented in their programs. For example, in some state arts councils, folklorists have the job of identifying artists who are not likely to know about public funding opportunities. Additionally, well-connected individuals – often established artists or arts administrators who have access to people in foundations and other sources of support – surfaced as important help for artists. For example, in Houston, Michelle Barnes, founder and executive director of the Community Artists' Collective, was noted as an important connector for African-American visual artists. There were also examples of new alternative networks created as a result of exclusion. These are frequently ethnic-specific, and sometimes motivated not only or necessarily by exclusion, but by specific needs that cannot be adequately met elsewhere.

∗ **Artist-focused organizations can be fragile.**

Artist-focused organizations, crucial to artists as discussed throughout this report, tend to be perennially fragile. First, many of them lack financial capital, staff, and space to adequately and consistently meet artists' needs. These organizations often take on projects and responsibilities for which they have few or no resources – relying on volunteers and sweat equity to fill gaps in various kinds of support including training and professional development, assistance with marketing and dissemination of work and incubation of other organizations which no one else is addressing. Second, the range of activities they undertake in support of artists, and sometimes in support of communities in general, often goes undocumented and unrecognized, thus making it difficult for staff to raise additional resources. Third, with overcommitted staff, few resources to hire professional grant writers, and limited personal connections to funders or other potential benefactors, fundraising can be daunting.

To deal with these challenges, some staff and leaders of artist-focused organizations are making efforts to strategically diversify their boards to include people with access to financial and in-kind resources inside and outside of the cultural sector. Also, as noted in our discussion of artists' space needs in Chapter V, there are several examples of artist-focused organizations that share space and sometimes equipment with each other and with entities outside of the cultural

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100. Our research also suggests that the formal efforts of university art departments or art schools to stay in touch with alumni are less robust than those efforts of law schools, business schools, medical schools, and other professional schools.

sector. Increased strategic planning, new organizational partnerships and new approaches to programming are all efforts to strengthen these organizations.

Despite strong evidence that many artist-focused organizations are fragile, it is important to note that we also learned of several such organizations that are resilient and persist. In fact, they have important programs and long histories. Dance Theater Workshop in New York, DiverseWorks in Houston, Liz Lerman Dance Exchange in Washington, D.C., and Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) in Los Angeles are all examples.

∗ **National and regional networks are frequently under-resourced and stretched.**

Regional and national networks are fragile for many of the same reasons discussed in relation to artist-centered organizations. Fundraising presents a particular challenge for regional and national networks, however. Much of what networks do – connect people to each other, make visible common interests, create a sense of community and identity – is by its nature elusive. Thus, like many networks outside of the cultural sector, it is difficult to document and evaluate their activities, which is often a requirement for continued support.

In an effort to keep the organization afloat financially, staff and leaders of such organizations are sometimes tempted to stray from their mission as a network. They may apply for resources to support projects that are relevant to the constituency they seek to serve, but far from the core mission of serving as a network. One consequence is that the network can be perceived as competing with its members or constituency, thus diminishing its effectiveness as a network.

Improved documentation practices that help to confirm and provide evidence of the contributions that networks make are important. However, this is something that network staff and leaders cannot do alone. Network members and affiliates have to be active players in this role – remaining mindful of the benefits they derive from their affiliation with the network and being willing to document those benefits. Similarly, the case for the value of these organizations has to be well articulated and supported by those who benefit from them.

∗ **Tight-knit communities can be a double-edged sword.**

In all our case study sites, respondents said repeatedly that there was not just one artists' community, but many. However, it seemed clear that some cities have more tightly knit artists' communities than others – with San Francisco standing out as the city with the most tight-knit communities.

We heard from some respondents that although tight-knit communities have advantages, they have disadvantages as well. Advantages include the ability to galvanize quickly around issues and needs – in other words, to have a strong

voice. Drawbacks include what some perceive to be a weak critical presence. Everyone is overly polite to one another, which militates against good criticism and the influence such criticism has on the strength of artists' creative work.

∗ Long-standing leadership networks are at risk.

In several cities, an older generation of artists, arts administrators, and advocates for artists – those who play key roles in facilitating artists' work in their communities – is nearing retirement. We heard substantial concern about the ability to sustain networks and the functions they perform without the participation of these people. This concern was particularly pronounced in Chicago, as reflected not only in our field work, but also in an Illinois Arts Alliance study focusing on the issue.[101] Chicago arts administrators are proactively addressing the problem by considering ways in which up-and-coming arts administrators and advocates for artists outside of the cultural sector may be supported.

Jean-Pierre LeGuillou

Also responding to concerns about leadership development, the National Association of Latino Arts and Culture's Leadership Institute provides training for leaders of community-based Latino arts and culture organizations. Galleria de la Raza mentors young leaders through the Regeneration Project; and the National Association of Artists' Organizations, through its Co-Generate Project in the late 1990s, convened artists and arts administrators in their mid-30s and younger to develop leadership skills and discuss important issues in the field. In addition, the National Arts Administration Mentorship Project was created as a partnership among the National Performance Network, National Association of Artists' Organizations, DiverseWorks, and Arts Institute of Chicago. Its purpose is to mentor the next generation of arts administrators working in small to mid-sized artist-centered organizations through a process of value-based learning.

∗ People with the ability to create bridges within and outside the cultural sector are important.

Our study found that people who have the skills to speak and strategize across artistic disciplines, cultures, professional fields, and policy areas are essential to creating and sustaining external networks. These cultural brokers come from both inside and outside the cultural sector, and they seem to be especially effective when they are in sustained positions of power and influence.

Inside the cultural sector, these players are able to assert the views, needs and aspirations of artists in cultural contexts where artists' interests are overshadowed by big institutions, the presentation of work (often divorced from the artist) and audience development. Outside of the cultural sector, key players are active in

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101. See Illinois Arts Alliance 2003.

city councils and other government entities, such as public works departments, planning councils, and other realms in which decisions about allocation of resources affect artists. They help to make the case for artists and also help to build a constituency or network of others with similar values, thus broadening the potential resource base to support artists' work. Examples of people who serve these roles inside and outside of the cultural sector (some of whom have been mentioned previously in other parts of the report) include Umberto Crenca, an artist, arts administrator, and developer in Providence, Rhode Island, who has made significant strides on artists' space needs; Michael Hennessey, Sheriff in San Francisco, who has for years employed artists to work in correctional facilities; Joe Cimperman, a City Councilman in Cleveland, who has advocated for artists' space and various initiatives in support of their work; Susan Hartnett in Boston who is an advocate for artists and now is director of economic development at the Boston Redevelopment Authority; and Silvana Straw, an artist and foundation program officer in Washington, D.C. While certainly a boon for artists, these external networks are vulnerable to the extent that they rely exclusively on such individuals.

∗ **Networks often form around a crisis, but these can be difficult to sustain or reassemble once the crisis has disappeared.**

An important impetus that has brought artists together with other community members and organizations has been struggles to save important community cultural organizations such as the Committee to Save Watts Towers in Los Angeles and, equally important, stands against injustice such issues as police brutality, immigration, and civil rights. The California Indian Basketweavers Association, for example, has effectively organized its members to advocate for their health and environmental concerns to the Forest Service, Environmental Protection Agency, Department of the Interior, and the U.S. Congress. They describe their strongest weapon as "basketweavers speaking for themselves." In San Francisco, artists joined forces with other residents and mobilized against gentrification and displacement in the South of Market area (SOMA) of the city. Additionally, in many cities, and nationally, artists have organized around Freedom of Speech and censorship issues.

While a particular crisis or circumstance may provide opportunity for network building, not all these efforts have been sustained in the long term. Once the crisis or issue has been resolved, the need to coalesce becomes less crucial. Yet, when substantial resources have been invested, resulting in the creation of viable infrastructure including web sites, mailing lists, space allocation, and power brokers, it may be valuable to sustain at least some of these networks to address other related issues. This requires concerted efforts along many fronts, including forming alliances outside the arts, more involvement in policy arenas, and diversified fund-raising.

* It is important not to underestimate the value of external networks.

In some cases, artists described to us stronger alliances outside the arts than within them. One artist facing censorship, for example, found that her strongest support came not from the arts community, but from the American Civil Liberties Union. The challenge here is how to build the long-term relationships necessary to effect social change without losing sight of the specific pressing needs of the arts community's own membership.

Artists' networks have certainly been reaching out to networks and organizations in other sectors to further their connections and get their voices heard in the policy debate. The National Association of Latino Arts and Culture, for example, invited Dolores Huerta, a farm workers rights organizer, to their annual meeting to reinforce the historical connections between many of their members and the farm workers. But gaining access to the policymaking process, which often happens within an already-established institutional relationship, can be hard. This was a topic of conversation at the National Alliance for Media Arts and Culture (NAMAC) 2002 conference, at which the NAMAC director asked why there were so few artists' voices at local, state, and federal policy tables.

Diversified funding is obviously key to sustaining networks, whether informal or formal, both within the cultural sector and outside it. When networks rely on a single stream of funding, the loss of such funding can have serious effects. The decline in NEA funding for artist-run organizations and national artists' networks during the late 1990s was reported to have greatly diminished many previously important opportunities for artists to connect. Older respondents (typically over 40) indicated that NEA peer review panels, as well as other periodic meetings and programs sponsored by NEA, enabled the creation of connections and networks to other artists that would not otherwise have occurred. Many respondents spoke, for example, of long-term connections they had made by serving on NEA panels, having a voice in NEA policy discussions, and meeting artist peers through NEA site visits.

The decline of NEA funding for artist-run organizations and national artists' networks during the 1990's diminished many important opportunities for artists to connect.

VIII. INFORMATION

Good decision-making about the allocation of resources and program design requires good information and knowledge. The monitoring of trends, patterns, and changes in any field relies on information that is collected consistently and reliably over time. In the arts and culture field, such data are severely limited in several areas. As discussed throughout this report, most of the available information focuses on arts organizations and, within that category, on fiscal status and audience counts. Recent work has made some progress in addressing the impacts of cultural participation, but it has focused primarily on economic and educational impacts, with social impacts lagging far behind.

Data about artists themselves and their contributions to society are especially poor. Previous chapters in this report present our findings on artists and their support structure. Here we focus on the continuing major information gaps our research has revealed. We begin by discussing information about artists as a demographic/professional group. We then turn to information about the social contributions of artists. We follow this with a section discussing the types of data our work has identified as required to document and track changes in artists' support mechanisms – arranging them according to our conceptual and measurement framework. We end the chapter with a short discussion of the general barriers and opportunities we see for collection of the information we seek.

Information on artists as a professional group

According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), in 2001, the population of artists in the United States numbered about 2.1 million, less than one percent of the adult population and less than 2 percent of the labor force.[102] Between 1970 and 2000, the number of artists increased 300 percent, from 700,000 to 2.1 million. Even though this estimate uses a relatively inclusive definition of "artist" – including architects and persons who classify themselves as "designers," such as florists and interior decorators – analysts agree that it is almost certainly an undercount. A major reason is the definition of work and the employment period used by BLS ("did you work for pay last week?"), which excludes many who are employed as artists because they only "work for pay" sporadically.[103] In our nationally representative poll of U.S. adults' attitudes toward artists, 20 percent said they think of themselves as artists, and 5 percent reported making some income from their artwork.

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102. The National Endowment for the Arts (2002) reports that, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2.1 million people were employed in *primary* jobs as artists in 2001, reflecting an increase of 72,000 workers over the 2000 figure. Additionally, 315,000 people held *secondary* jobs in artist occupations.
103. For discussions of methodological challenges to identifying and counting artists, see Menger 1999; Karttunen 1998; Mitchell and Karttunen 1992; Alper and Wassall 1992; Frey and Pommerehne 1989.

The construction of a representative sample is a key step in survey research intended to generate findings that can be generalized to a larger population. And the problems in constructing a representative sample of the population of artists are, in fact, very real. First, the field lacks a generally accepted definition of who is an artist, rendering any estimates open to question, as well as potentially inconsistent with one another.[104] Second, and perhaps more fundamental, many artists are unaffiliated with formal organizations and networks, rendering membership lists and other conventional methods of drawing a sample inherently incomplete. A method must be developed that will reliably include the many who work as artists but are unaffiliated with formal "artists'" groups.[105] The issue is further complicated by the extremely varied demographic characteristics of those who say they are artists. All ages, races/ethnicities, socio-economic groups, religious affiliations, political persuasions, geographic communities, and citizen status groups are represented. And some of these subgroups are not reliably captured in official statistics.

Information about the social contributions of artists

Most formal studies of the contributions of arts and culture to community life focus on economic and education outcomes and on the impacts of audience and amateur participation without regard to the role that working artists play in helping achieve these outcomes. As mentioned in Chapter III, although practitioners in the cultural field, particularly those involved in community arts, have great wisdom and much anecdotal information about artists' contributions to society, documentation of such contributions has been very limited for the most part. Practitioners – artists and arts administrators – seldom have the chance to step back, reflect on, and articulate the theories that guide their work. Their wisdom about artists in communities has not translated into the collection of data that can effectively inform policy choices in public and private realms. But, as noted earlier in this report, promising examples of artists and arts organizations working with researchers in the social sciences and humanities to accomplish this do exist. The need is to focus, as we do throughout this report, on bringing into relief (a) the many ways in which artists engage with audiences and with amateurs and similar participants, and (b) the life and use of an artists' work.

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104. See Alper and Wassall 1996; Jeffri 1997a , b; Throsby 1992.
105. Researchers recently reported improved scientific sampling methods for artists based on a new form of chain-referral – "snowball" sampling – originally developed for studying difficult-to-identify populations, such as HIV-infected individuals, the homeless, and runaway youths. Jeffri (2003) used this approach to study jazz musicians and describes the approach in an earlier publication. See also Heckathorn and Jeffri (2000).

Information about artists' support structure

Our project widens the definition of artists' support structure beyond the conventional focus on monetary compensation and awards to include the other major dimensions of support that prevail (or do not prevail) in the places where an artist works. We know from our research and that of others that the research and information infrastructure needed to monitor and track these dimensions of place is underdeveloped, needing substantial attention and resources. Here we discuss what we see as primary research and data needs in relation to our definitional and measurement framework.

∗ Validation: The ascription of value to what artists do.

In the early chapters of this report we noted that there is great diversity in the ways in which artists pursue their careers – what motivates them, where they work, what they do, how they connect to publics, and how their work contributes to society. However, we still lack sufficient information and language to make useful distinctions about types of careers pursued and the contributions made. This lack of information and language is a barrier to more adequate validation of artists by the public, media, and critics, as well as funders and policymakers inside and outside the cultural sector. Without such information, it is difficult to transcend narrow, commonly held conceptions of artists, which do not do justice to the real diversity that exists.

Information contained in NYFA Source is already helping us to better understand opportunities available for validation through awards and grants. As the reporting practices of agencies sponsoring such programs improve, and financial information as well as information about applicants and recipients is more complete, we will be able to have an even better sense of validation practices.

The national and local polls we did on public attitudes toward artists are also a basis on which to build an important measure of validation. If repeated periodically, these polls can provide some indication of demand for artists' work, as well as the extent to which artists are respected or valued in various communities and for what reasons.

Another research and information gap, to some extent related to the lack of language to describe distinct artistic careers and contributions, is concrete information about mainstream and alternative media coverage of artists in all of their forms. Our field research suggests that demographic and artistic diversity is not well-served, but we do not have reliably or regularly collected data that can tell us with more precision just what the coverage actually is – in newspapers,

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106. Jeffri (1989, 1997a, b) collects information on artists' health insurance coverage. However, these surveys are not regularly conducted and are based on a sample that, as discussed earlier, may not be fully representative of the artist population.

radio, television. The New York Foundation for the Arts has made some effort through NYFA Source to gather information on publications for and about artists, many of them focusing on arts criticism. This is an important step in getting a better sense of at least the critical journals available and the general topics that they cover. But the question about how diversity is served or not still remains to be answered.

Yet another information gap concerns the extent to which artists and their concerns feature, or not, in such things as quality-of-life measurement systems, major policy discussions and documents, city plans, official tourism materials, and the like. Our research suggests that artists currently don't feature prominently, or at all, in most of these policy realms. But again, there is no consistently and reliably collected information that can tell us to what extent this is actually the case and whether things are improving.

* **Demand/Markets: The appetite for artists and their work and its translation to financial compensation.**

Much of the discussion on research and information gaps in the previous validation section relates to our understanding of demand and markets. Our study also points to the need for better information about (a) how the nonprofit, commercial, public, and informal sectors relate to one another; (b) where artists are actually working and where their skills are potentially needed; and (c) what kinds of assistance they need in connecting to various markets and how those needs are being or can be met.

* **Material supports: Access to the financial and physical resources needed for work – employment and related benefits, awards and grants, space, equipment and materials.**

Employment. Surely one of the most pressing needs is to get better information about the artist population as a labor force. This includes getting more detailed information about employment trends, including multiple job holdings, earnings, and career paths in arts-related jobs, as well as the employment of artists in nonarts contexts and markets, as suggested previously. Also, finding ways to minimize what we suspect is a population undercount is important on many fronts.

Insurance. With regard to health and retirement insurance and similar benefits, we need (a) much better and more up-to-date information about who has insurance and who does not;[106] (b) information about the various and most advantageous ways in which artists currently get insurance and also promising ways in which they may be able to obtain it in the future; and (c) information

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107. Jackson and Herranz (2002) report that art and culture are often missing from quality of life measurements because of narrow definitions and underdeveloped data collection systems associated with art and culture.

about advocacy efforts for health and retirement insurance inside and outside the cultural sector. Specific information about groups with which artists may become allied would also be useful.

Awards and grants. Sustaining and strengthening NYFA Source is essential to understanding the kinds and levels of financial support available to artists directly. It is necessary to get better information about the level of resources available for and allocated to the artist-focused organizations that our research points to as being so central to many artists' lives. This would require comprehensively and systematically identifying these organizations, distinguishing them from other kinds of cultural organizations, and gathering a wide range of information about resources available to them that would be similar to the kind of information gathered in NYFA Source about resources available directly to individual artists.

Space. In Chapter V, Material Supports, we point to different kinds of space needs and some responses to them, and we allude to the potential roles that artists play in neighborhood revitalization and gentrification processes. However, there has to be a more systematic, comprehensive, and in-depth look at all of these issues. Research and information about this topic needs to be centralized and made accessible. This would include better information about the role of artists in neighborhood development, examples of different kinds of artists' needs; case studies of responses to those needs through zoning ordinances, housing and economic development strategies, loan programs, and so on; case studies of artists' roles in neighborhood change; and examples of advocacy efforts and resource organizations dealing with these issues within and outside of the cultural sector such as ArtSpace, the Local Initiatives Support Corporation, and Neighborhood Housing Services. Here again, information about various national and local groups with which artists may align is also needed.

Feather Dancers

* Training and professional development: Conventional and life-long learning opportunities.

One of our most important findings with regard to information needs related to training and professional development is that, whereas clearly there is a need to better prepare artists to pursue diverse careers, consistently and reliably collected information about course offerings to address various career paths or for professional development needs at universities and arts schools does not currently exist. Nor is there any accessible compilation of best practices in this regard. Similarly, there is little evaluative information, nor is there a central repository of information about exemplary training and professional development opportunities offered outside school settings. Some foundations and others concerned with this issue have started to identify and collect information from relevant programs around the country in and outside school settings, and this is a good start. But the information is not centralized or organized in a way that people outside those organizations who wish to act on this issue can use.

Our research also points to the need to better understand how training is provided by artists' and community organizations, by churches, and by other types of mechanisms that often underserved populations – immigrants, populations of color, and others – rely on. Better information is also needed to understand how robust these entities are and how they may be strengthened, if strengthening is necessary.

* **Communities and networks: Inward connections to other artists, outward connections to non-artists.**

Our research indicates that artist-focused organizations and networks are essential to the livelihood of artists. As noted earlier, better information is needed – reliably and consistently collected data – about the presence, roles, and viability of these organizations. We also need some way to monitor the extent to which artists and advocates for artists figure in spheres of influence (at various levels) outside the cultural sector. Such information would be useful in designing various kinds of advocacy strategies as well as strategies to channel necessary resources to artists.

Wider concerns about the potential for adequate information gathering and monitoring

Our research casts substantial doubt on whether there exists the necessary strong and sustainable demand for, and corresponding resources to gather, all the information discussed in this chapter. The integration of artists' concerns into the broader cultural sector measurement system and the inclusion of artists' concerns in broader quality-of-life measurement systems is difficult to catalyze, and even more difficult to sustain, without a strong constituency base.[107] And artist advocacy is weak in many places.

Addressing the information needs as discussed here is crucial if progress is to be made in delineating and monitoring the support structure for artists. We have made some progress through this study and through the work of others cited throughout this report. But going about collecting the information in a sustained way will require creation of new data collection initiatives and the organization of a constituency sufficiently large and forceful to find the resources to support those initiatives over time. Stepping stones toward creating the body of knowledge we seek will involve cultivating the skill, will, and resources of artists and administrators in arts and arts-related fields and researchers capable of collecting the information in a way that both adequately reflects the field and makes it amenable to rigorous and consistent analysis over time. As well, funders who will sustain this important basic infrastructure-building work are necessary.

Addressing information needs is crucial if progress is to be made in delineating and monitoring the support structure for artists.

The task is further complicated by the long history of exclusion and inequality, which affects the arts as much as any arena in our society. Because of this legacy, a variety of racial, ethnic, new immigrant, rural, and other artist groups (such as new media artists) have created alternative systems of support that also encompass all the elements of our framework. Some of these systems interact with the mainstream artists' support structure, but others do not. An important part of the information task is to delineate these alternative systems more fully and to identify where they do and do not intersect with the mainstream system as well as the extent to which such systems and their intersections need to be fostered and supported.

IX. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Our study presents a comprehensive framework for analyzing, monitoring, and improving the support structure for artists in the United States. Our concept includes the conventional grants and awards typically associated with support, but it encompasses much more because it recognizes the importance of the wider environment in which an artist works. Our framework includes six interrelated dimensions, which we repeat here for convenience:

* **Validation:** The ascription of value to what artists do.

* **Demand/markets:** Society's appetite for artists and what they do, and the markets that translate this appetite into financial compensation.

* **Material supports:** Access to the financial and physical resources artists need for their work: employment and health insurance, awards and grants, space, and equipment and materials.

* **Training and professional development:** Conventional and lifelong learning opportunities.

* **Communities and networks:** Inward connections to other artists and people in the cultural sector; outward connections to people not primarily in the cultural sector.

* **Information:** Data sources about artists and for artists.

Given the comprehensiveness of this framework, the actions we suggest to enhance support for artists cover a vast terrain. There are roles for many different kinds of players – artists themselves, funders of art and other fields in which artists work and contribute, policy leaders, educators of artists, arts administrators, arts advocates, and others who care about creativity and quality of life in American communities.

To be effective in improving conditions for artists, the framework as a whole, and the individual dimensions in it, need stewards at all policy and action levels – local, state, regional, and national. These stewards can be artist-focused organizations, funders, training institutions, public policy officials and other players. Even if their primary work focuses on only one dimension of artists' support, the stewards need to keep their eye on the whole framework, and work together to address its weaknesses. This requires better coordination among key players in the various dimensions of the support system, as well as new alliances with groups outside the arts that have aligned interests such as advocates for affordable housing, community development, and better health coverage.

No single entity is capable of assuming responsibility for all that our research indicates must happen. Addressing the issues raised in this report in a thoughtful way that recognizes how they are interrelated will not simply happen spontaneously. Strategic hubs are needed – networks of people and organizations inside and outside the cultural sector – that can help make sense of, track, and influence the activities of the many players crucial to each dimension of the support structure for artists.

We do not – nor do we think it appropriate to – set out a rigid blueprint for what needs to happen. But our research clearly points to a set of priorities.

Priorities for action

Encourage better public understanding of who artists are, what they do, and how they contribute to society. A large part of this involves addressing the artistic and demographic diversity of artists. We list this priority first because many of the other priorities hinge on it. Arriving at a better public understanding of artists requires gathering better information about the broad array of artists working in the U.S. today, the diverse career paths they take in pursuing their artistic goals, and the multiple ways in which they contribute to society. It involves creating language to better convey artists' diversity and contributions. But it also requires people inside and outside of the cultural sector – educators, the media, art critics, public policymakers, funders, community leaders, cultural brokers, and artists themselves – to move beyond only an "art for art's sake" concept and support a more expansive interpretation of artmaking that is consistent with artists' realities. For many players, this will require a significant change in how they think about and relate to artists; for others, it will require thinking about artists as potential partners in a wide range of societal issues for the first time.

Strengthen artist-focused organizations, including local, regional, and national entities, which work directly with diverse artists and are already addressing the critical functions and deficiencies our study has identified. These organizations are the backbone of support for artists, but as we have noted, although sometimes resilient, many of them are perennially at risk – with overstretched staff and insufficient budgets. Moreover, they seldom have the necessary sustained forums, money, information, and leadership for planning and strategizing together about how they might operate most effectively.

Establish broad-based networks of stakeholders at national, regional and local levels that hold this broader way of thinking about support for artists. Stakeholders – artists, arts and artists' organizations, service organizations, training institutions, funders, researchers, and public officials – at local, regional and national levels must be encouraged to work together more effectively to monitor and address conditions in all six dimensions of the framework. This can

be achieved through funding and/or the provision of other resources such as staff, research and data, and connections to potential assets and allies outside of the cultural sector.

How these networks should be configured at regional and local levels depends on the specific characteristics of that place – the locality in general and the locality in relation to specific artistic disciplines or demographic groups. At the national level, configuration of such networks also depends on the strengths and limitations of key players operating in the national realm.

At any level, questions for private or public funders as well as other leaders in the arts (e.g. artists, arts administrators, educators of artists) to consider in creating these networks include the following: Who are the key people already dealing with the various dimensions of the framework? Who already understands or is prepared to understand and address the interrelated nature of the various dimensions? Can players who are already dealing with some of the issues identified, assume any additional responsibility for holding the big picture, animating progressive change, or monitoring progress? Are there entities already in place that can serve the functions described here, or must new entities be created? What are the most fruitful ways in which to incrementally address the various needs identified?

As a result of the ongoing dissemination dimension of this project, including the vetting of preliminary findings with various stakeholders, new networks are emerging in several of our case study sites – including Los Angeles, San Francisco and Boston – that are poised to take on priorities identified in the study. Leveraging Investments in Creativity (LINC), a 10-year effort to strengthen the environment of support for artists at national, regional and local levels, has been launched with seed funding from the Ford Foundation and is providing resources to propel these local planning efforts, among other initiatives.

Create the information infrastructure to monitor the big picture. Throughout this report and particularly in Chapter VIII on Information, we note the many areas where better information is needed to establish a baseline, monitor progress on specific fronts, and make available material on best practices related to a particular area. Better information about artists' contributions to society and how they are represented to the public, artists as a labor force, artists' needs for health insurance and similar benefits, the availability and distribution of awards and grants (by discipline, geography, and demographic characteristics), space needs, and training and professional development opportunities all surfaced as high-priority items. This report gives a sense of the state of research and available data, identifies clear gaps in information, and points to specific areas on which to build such as NYFA Source, the national and local polls on public attitudes towards artists, current research on artists in communities, existing research on

health insurance, and emerging data collection about various training and professional development opportunities.

Our research also points to the need to centralize and make available information relevant to the various dimensions of support indicated in our framework. Thus, the creation of an information clearinghouse that brings together existing research and data and can capture new information is essential. This will require coordination and collaboration with university research centers such as the Cultural Policy and the Arts National Data Archive at Princeton University; the Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt University; and the National Arts Journalism Program as well as the Research Center for Arts and Culture, both at Columbia University. It will also require collaboration with policy research organizations currently involved in work on this topic such as the Urban Institute, RAND Corporation, and the Center for Arts and Culture as well as various kinds of artist-focused organizations and networks such as National Association of Latino Arts and Culture, National Alliance for Media Arts and Culture, the National Performance Network. Collaboration is also necessary with national, regional, and local funders as well as other entities currently collecting or capable of collecting information in the future.

Strengthen the capacity of artists to advocate on their own behalf on the many crucial aspects of their support structure. This involves identifying cultural brokers to help in making common cause with other groups that have related interests, both inside and outside the cultural sector. Our research indicates that advocacy on validation of artists, space issues and health insurance is urgent. Effective advocacy in these areas relies on better information about needs and solutions. But it also requires the creation of strategic alliances with groups outside the cultural sector – on issues related to validation, alliances with the media; on space issues, alliances with the community and economic development fields; on health insurance, alliances with a wide range of advocates and practitioners operating in the health field. Particularly in relation to space and health insurance needs, there are important opportunities for artists to bring their unique skills to the ongoing efforts of other people struggling with similar issues.

Cultivate existing and potential diverse markets for what artists do and make. In addition to the important conventional nonprofit and commercial cultural markets in which many artists work, artists are currently involved in (or have the potential to be involved in) various sectors simultaneously and in hybrid markets as well – markets at the intersection of arts and other fields. However, we find that hybrid markets are not proactively cultivated, and artists tend to have difficulty accessing them. Providing artists with the opportunities to develop the skills to better access those markets is essential, as is the assistance of intermediaries that can work to cultivate those markets and connect artists to them. Again, the need for better information and language about what artists have to offer to various markets is key, as is the role of cultural brokers.

Identifying, training, and funding or hiring people to act as cultural brokers to cultivate markets and help connect artists to them is necessary. Additionally, in order to prepare artists and create optimal intermediaries, better information about the nonprofit, commercial, public, and informal arts sectors and how these sectors relate to each other is needed.

Encourage changes in artists' training and professional development to better address the realities of the markets in which they operate. While some progressive and innovative programs in universities and art schools as well as in artist-focused organizations and other agencies are attempting to address market realities, these are scarce. Moreover, there is little evaluative information that can help illuminate best practices. More training and professional development opportunities are necessary, as is evaluative information and information for artists about where good programs reside. In cases where good training and professional development opportunities are offered, those programs should be bolstered and held up as examples for the field. Moreover, opportunities are needed for people offering such services to come together and assess what they are doing as colleagues.

With regard specifically to university-based programs and art schools, monitoring the extent to which necessary training and professional development opportunities are offered and required as part of their programs is also important.

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Strengthen the awards and grants system. Many artists depend on awards and grants to do their work; some artists would like to benefit from such supports but do not engage the system for important reasons that need to be addressed. Applications for awards and grants are frequently cumbersome and inappropriate – not responsive to the diversity of artistic endeavor. These need to be reassessed, improved, and streamlined. Also, information about opportunities to apply has not been always accessible to artists. While this is now addressed through NYFA Source, such access needs to be sustained and expanded.

NYFA Source data tell us that there are few programs targeted to artists at different career stages, or intended to address specific pressing needs identified in this study – space; insurance; support for travel for training, exchange, and exposure in new and existing markets. Certainly, the paucity of opportunities for direct support targeted to these needs must be addressed. However, better financial information and information about applicants and recipients by artistic discipline, geography, and demographic characteristics are necessary, as are data about the distribution of artist populations and other kinds of support. To arrive at more evaluative conclusions about how much in additional resources may be needed and how it should be allocated, these data and information must be collected and analyzed.

Conclusion

Through their work, artists inspire, celebrate, mourn, commemorate, and incite us to question the human condition. They make visible our rich diversity, help interpret our past, and imagine and construct the future. They are fundamental to our nation's cultural heritage and vibrancy, and important to our social fabric and economic vitality.

Improving the support structure for artists as outlined in this report requires a broad base of stakeholders and a comprehensive, long-term strategy that will bring about (a) a fundamental shift in mindset about how artists relate to society and (b) pragmatic changes that better enable artists to carry out their work. The task ahead is not easy, but it is imperative. And as this study shows, there are many people – artists, community leaders, funders, policymakers, researchers, and others – who are already engaged in this transformation. We hope the findings and recommendations presented here help to illuminate the condition of artists as well as promote the creation of a more comprehensive and robust environment making possible their contributions to society.

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