

The Artistic Dividend:

The Arts' Hidden Contributions to Regional Development

Ann Markusen and David King

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Cover and Interior designed by David Simpson. davidsimpson@uswest.net

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JULY 2003

This study is exploratory and the precursor of what we hope will be a larger, national study over the coming years. It was conducted as pro bono work by University researchers without external funding. We are grateful to the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota for the research assistant and the resources to conduct and disseminate the research. The data analysis was supported in part by the National Science Foundation, Program in Geography and Regional Science, Grant No. 0136988. Thanks to Michael Leary, Gregory Schrock, Anne Discher, and Bill Dermody for research assistance and feedback, to Mel Gray of St. Thomas University and Neil Cuthbert of the McKnight Foundation for insights on how the Twin Cities arts economy works, to Bill Beyers and Bruce Seaman on how art worlds operate elsewhere, and to the Twin Cities artists and arts organization leaders we interviewed for their time and reflections. We dedicate this study to Wilbur Thompson, an economist who first challenged us to think occupationally, and Howard Becker, whose depiction of art worlds enabled us to see artists as workers in a cooperative enterprise.

Executive Summary

Artistic activity is often viewed as a discretionary element in a regional economy, rather like icing on a cake of industry, finance and basic services. The economic impact of the arts has generally been gauged by totaling up the amounts that patrons spend on performances and restaurant meals, parking and shopping in districts around major theatres, symphony halls and galleries. The occupation “artist” conjures up dual images of a few star painters, composers and photographers who land the prestigious grants and the many aspiring actors, dancers and writers waiting tables to underwrite creative time in attic rooms.

In this study, we show that this is an impoverished view of the arts and its role in the regional economy. It treats the arts as a consequence of, even a parasite on, a successful business economy. We show, on the contrary, that artistic activity is a major and varied contributor to economic vitality. We suggest that the productivity of and earnings in a regional economy rise as the incidence of artists within its boundaries increases, because artists’ creativity and specialized skills enhance the design, production and marketing of products and services in other sectors. They also help firms recruit top-rate employees and generate income through direct exports of artistic work out of the region.

Using an occupational approach rather than a focus on major arts organizations and venues, we define artists broadly to include actors, directors, performance artists, dancers, choreographers, musicians, composers, authors, writers, painters, sculptors, and photographers. We showcase several artistic careers that are highly entrepreneurial — where the artist is not starving, working menial jobs or waiting for the next grant, commission or role but actively seeking diverse markets and venues for their work. Many artists directly “export” their work to customers, firms and patrons elsewhere, enabling them to live in the region, to contract work from other individuals and to generate work for and prompt innovation among suppliers. Artistic networks, often enhanced by new spaces for working and gathering, are helping to spread entrepreneurial ideas and practices both within and outside the region.

Artists, like firms, have locational preferences and gravitate towards certain regional economies. We show that some metropolitan areas in the US host larger contingents of artists than others of similar size. We proxy the significance of the artistic dividend by the incidence of artists in a regional workforce. We find the pre-eminence of New York and Los Angeles as artistic poles softening as artists spread out toward selective “second tier” cities

such as San Francisco, Seattle, Albuquerque and Minneapolis/St. Paul. Artistic specialization is not a function of rapid growth — fast-growing Atlanta and Dallas/Ft Worth have below-average concentrations of artists, as do slower-growing Chicago, Pittsburgh and Cleveland.

This “artistic dividend” is a product of long term commitments by philanthropists, patrons and the public sector to regional arts organizations, arts education and individual artists. It is enhanced by entrepreneurial activity among artists and fostered by (and contributes to) high urban quality of life. Through extensive interviews with artists in the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul (MN) a region with relatively high artistic presence, we show the importance of amenities, quality of life and an active and nurturing arts community in attracting and retaining artists. For the artists showcased, we document how they have built their careers, why they decided to live and work in the region, and the ways in which their careers have enhanced the success of other individuals and businesses in the regional economy.

Artistic activity as a significant contributor to the regional economy needs nurturing. In comparison to the very modest amounts they devote to the arts, state and local governments pour hundreds of millions of dollars into downtown revitalization, new plant attraction and even big box retail developments in the suburbs. Vis-à-vis the arts, large physical performing and visual arts spaces receive the lion’s share of public and patron support while the labor side of the equation is under-nourished. Our work suggests that artist-dedicated spaces such as older industrial buildings made into studios and new or renovated live/work spaces and occupation-dedicated gathering venues such as the Open Book in Minneapolis deserve public and patron support. Patrons and arts foundations should consider unconventional grants to arts occupational groups to help their members position themselves in larger national and international marketplaces, enhancing the export orientation of the artistic sector. Similarly, channels of connection between regional businesses and the artistic community could be enhanced to facilitate contributions by artists to business product design, marketing and work environments. Finally, among artists themselves, we counsel more attention to and cooperation in entrepreneurial pursuits, including changes in attitude toward artistic careers.

I. Introduction

For decades, arts advocates and cultural economists have tried to make the case that public and philanthropic investments in the arts create a positive economic return for the host community beyond the aesthetic enjoyment of the immediate audience or the incomes generated for workers in the artistic enterprise. Hundreds of arts impact studies have been done, detailing the probable expenditure of arts patrons, including tourists drawn to a region expressly for this purpose, on tickets, restaurant meals, hotels, and other local purchases. Despite the methodological problems that confront such efforts (Seaman, 1987; Beyers and GMA, 1999), these studies document a not insignificant economic return to non-artistic businesses. and the regional economy as a whole.¹

These studies approach the arts as a predominantly local-serving industry, especially in the performing arts where, with exceptions like New York and London, the majority of tickets are purchased by local residents. Visitors may also attend, but they do not base their travel destinations on the opportunity to see local theatre or dance. Few performing artists, then — musicians, dancers, actors and performance artists — export their art out of the region. Other artists — painters, sculptors, photographers, authors — may more easily export their work as well as sell it locally, since it is embodied in a product that stores artistic value for consumption elsewhere. But for the most part, artists in these occupations initially create for a local market. Thus resident artists and artistic establishments are not generally considered a part of the economic base of the region.²

Such an approach seriously understates the full economic contribution of an artistic community to a regional economy. Restricting itself to arts organizations and the impact of events associated with them, it fails to trace the many ways in which a region's artistic talent contributes to regional productivity and output. It cannot capture, for instance, the work that artists do to enhance the design features of a region's manufacturing products or marketing efforts. It does not tally up the success of photographers, painters, authors, poets and graphic designers in exporting their work out of the region over the internet, arts fairs, or via other direct sales routes. Nor does it account for the revenues and income to groups or individual artists who tour with theatrical, musical or dance performances. It does not take into account the incomes earned and human capital created by the many artists who teach others in their craft. Finally, it does not trace the incomes generated for support workers who build sets, edit manuscripts, print books and music, act as brokers or agents and engage in paid promotional efforts outside of arts establishments, links that Howard Becker enabled us to see so powerfully in his book, *Art Worlds* (1982). All of these are components of the *artistic dividend* for a regional economy — the aggregate economic impact that would not occur without the presence of artists.

We employ, instead, an occupational approach that seeks to document the presence and array of artists in a metropolitan economy and compare these with those of other similarly sized regions. Our definition includes actors, directors, performance artists, dancers, musicians, composers, authors, writers, painters, sculptors, and photographers. We have omitted graphic designers and other workers that may consider themselves artists but are generally employed full time by non-artistic firms. We are primarily interested in those who self-identify as artists and have figured out a way to have a career as an artist, be it by grants or commercial contracts or sales of their own original work. We use Census of Population data for this purpose, because it enables artists to state their own occupation. There remains, however, significant undercounting because the Census directs part-time artists whose major source of income comes from another occupation to report only the latter (Wassall and Alper, 1985).

Using employment of those in artistic occupations as our measure, we compare the incidence of artists in Minneapolis/St. Paul, our study region, with other metros of similar size as well as New York, Los Angeles and Chicago. We find that artists as a whole have been dispersing from the largest metros over the decades, though New York and Los Angeles remain attractive and highly specialized poles.

Several second tier cities are increasingly distinguishing themselves as artistic centers, San Francisco, Seattle, Albuquerque and Minneapolis/St. Paul, while several fast as well as slow-growth large metros fall below the national average: Atlanta, Dallas, Cleveland, Pittsburgh. Artistic sub-occupations deploy themselves quite uniquely across these metros, suggesting that differential investments in the arts may have been made and/or that different kinds of artists are drawn to differing bundles of opportunity and amenity.

We then use qualitative methods to probe the complex ways in which individual artists — as actors, dancers, musicians, painters, photographers and so on — conceptualize their work and economic returns, the kinds of economic strategies they pursue in building a career and the extent to which they market their creative skills and/or finished works of art to businesses, target markets and the general public. In this portion of our research, we focus on artists as full-time workers whose primary work is creative, original, independent products of aesthetic quality (which we ourselves do not judge). We showcase entrepreneurial initiatives by artists, by which we mean modest scale explorations of new outlets for works of art and new performance venues rather than starting arts companies. We synthesize responses from dozens of interviews with individual artists to form an impressionistic picture of the complicated ways that artistic work cross-fertilizes with other sectors within the economy and of the ingenious ways that artists patch together various income sources to be able to pursue their aesthetic work full time. Our method is exploratory and not exhaustive — several of the avenues of artistic economic activity that we identify remain under-researched in our account. We hope to be able to explore these in future research and to stimulate others to do so as well.

Because we are interested in their economic contribution, we focus in this study on artists who make a living at their artwork. We acknowledge the presence, talents and hard work of part-time and unpaid artists in creating aesthetic value and in enhancing economic activity much the way those profiled and interviewed do. As arts fans, we continue to believe in art for art's sake and in the tremendous educative, cultural and entertainment value of artistic endeavor. The value of arts in our community cannot be conflated with its economic dimensions. Nor are we able, in the current study, to document the significant neighborhood effects that artists and arts establishments bring to communities within the region (Stern and Seifert, 1998; Strom, 2001; Center for an Urban Future, 2002; Walker, 2002). Our work is modestly designed to articulate the economic development reasons why artistic practice should be nurtured by the region and to suggest ways of doing so.

II. Conceptualizing the Artistic Dividend

Artistic activity produces dividends for a regional economy in two ways — as current income streams and as returns to the region as a whole on past investments. Every year, thousands of individuals in a regional economy labor to produce artistic performances, canvasses and photographs, books and magazine articles, tapes and films and videos that are attended by paying customers or sold via bookstores, galleries, art fairs and art crawls, the internet, private patronage or contractual arrangements (including with government, business and wealthy individuals). To the extent that their work is marketed at all, artists creating such works of art earn greater or lesser amounts of income. They also place orders for materials, equipment and labor, much of which further generates incomes in the region. Furthermore, as we show in specific cases below, the work of regional artists can enhance the quality and salability of products and services of other businesses in the region who are customers of or suppliers to artists.

Artists are thus not simply earning income from local activities. They are contributors to what economists call the economic base of a region — goods and services exported out of the region that enable the producers to earn incomes that are in turn spent in support of local-serving businesses as well as on imports of yet other goods and services. Every region must have a relatively unique economic base to thrive in a world heavily integrated through trade with other regional economies. Artists contribute to this economic base when their work and performances are paid for by consumers and businesses elsewhere. They also contribute to it when their work helps regional businesses to win or expand markets elsewhere.

We can also think of the artistic dividend as a kind of public good, a return to past decades of investments by funders, patrons, businesses, arts organizations, the public sector and artists themselves in the human capital and physical infrastructure that constitute “art worlds” in the regional economy (Becker, 1982). A vibrant arts community encompassing everything from pioneering and internationally renowned regional theatre companies and muse-

ums [like the Guthrie Theater, the Walker Art Center, and the Weisman Art Museum] to the thick and diverse layers of artistic talent in the regional economy will serve as a major drawing factor for the location of new businesses, the recruitment of new employees from elsewhere and further gravitation of artists to the region (Florida, 2002). It also helps reinforce the loyalty of current residents and businesses to the region, providing the “lovability” that is so essential to the future of a high wage region in a fast integrating world (Markusen, 1996).

The artistic dividend compares favorably with economists’ analysis of a professional sports dividend (Noll and Zimbalist, 1997; Seaman, 2000). There are similarities. Like arts events, major league teams draw audiences both locally and from out-state, and people who come to these events spend money at local bars, restaurants and on purchases they make in the environs. Much of this spending — especially that of regional residents — would have been likely spent on other recreational and restaurant purchases in the region, which is also true of theatre and concert-goers. The same business and civic leaders who work to bring professional sports to a region are often important patrons of the arts.

But the location and work behavior of sports players and artists are strikingly different. Professional athletes generally do not live year round in the region where their team is headquartered and thus spend the bulk of their incomes outside of the region (Zimbalist, 2002). A few Broadway plays and Hollywood acts excepted, most artists who perform in a metropolitan region live there as well. Few professional athletes or other members of their entourage apply their talents to other business activities in the region or engage in teaching, whereas many artists do. Because they are not pursuing work in other venues, athletes are unlikely to be indirectly contributing to the employment of others beyond what is already measured with economic impact techniques. Studies of the overall economic impact of a new stadium show an extremely small, perhaps negative effect on overall economic activity and employment and no reasonable return on investment (Noll and Zimbalist, 1997; Coates and Humphreys, 2002), and metros with professional sports teams do no better in the long run than those that do not (Baade, 1994; Chatfield, 2003). Our occupational approach allows us to make the case that artists’ contributions reach more broadly and deeply into the regional economy.

We do not address the impact of artists and arts establishments on sub-regional communities in this study. Other studies have found that both have helped to stabilize and revitalize inner city neighborhoods (Metropolitan Regional Arts Council, 1985). Conscious public and private decisions to support traditional arts centers such as museums, orchestra halls and theatres as well as the staff and companies that work in them have helped. The development of inner city loft spaces has also had a powerful impact (Zukin, 1982; Penne and Shanahan, 1987). When arts venues are decentralized across cities and suburbs, it amplifies the panoply of distinct neighborhoods that draw people across traditional boundaries for entertainment and recreation and adds to the amenities of the region as a whole. Further research on these neighborhood effects is on our agenda for the future.

III. An Occupational Approach

The full size of the artistic dividend goes unrecognized in regional economies because it is generally proxied by what goes on in arts establishments — theatres, orchestras, galleries, museums. The arts' contribution to the economy is conventionally estimated by tallying up the total sales of establishments in this “arts industry” and estimating multiplier effects through localized expenditures on related activities. Such a method does provide us with a picture of an important segment of the arts, and one of its virtues is its inclusion of non-artistic jobs encompassed by these establishments. But it leaves out many important activities and economic impacts.

First, an establishment approach leaves out large numbers of artists who do not work for any public, non-profit or private organization for wages. Even in the performing arts, many actors, dancers and musicians work on contract and are therefore not entered into the wage data that the government uses to report arts employment. Remarkable survey data generated by William Beyers and GMA Research Corporation (1999) shows that only 14% of people working in Seattle dance, theater and music establishments are full time employees, while another 39% are part-timers. Some 47% are not counted as employees at all, but are working on a contractual or student basis.

Second, artists' rates of self-employment are quite high, especially among non-performers — writers, photographers, painters and other visual artists. A recent New England Council study (2000) found, for instance, that the majority of authors, musicians, painters and photographers are self-employed. Many act like small firms, hiring others upstream on a part-time or contractual basis to help with bookkeeping, scheduling, research, technical processes involved in their art and so on. They patronize suppliers of materials, agents, teachers and tutors. Most of these relationships are not tracked through establishment job and sales data, because the self-employed do not have to file wage reports or respond to official business surveys. These activities may be quite small-scale, but in a mid-sized metropolitan area, literally thousands of individuals are generating income for themselves and others in this manner. Many artists' work also supports and feeds downstream business activities in publishing (writers, photographers), printing, galleries and so on, often within the region. These relationships are relatively symbiotic and involve complex chains of activity and connection in which creativity and innovation move both up and downstream. Excellence both in artistry and in the execution and marketing of the results can result in “exports” outside of the region, increasing the size and diversity of the regional economy.

Third, artists often sell their work or services to other firms and organizations in the region, helping to make them more productive by enhancing the quality and design of their products or enhancing the work and customer environments. Sometimes these activities are ancillary to the artist's “real” work, and sometimes

they involve the leading edge of the artist's work. In either case, they constitute an artistic contribution to the regional economy that is not captured in economic studies of arts organizations. There are yet other ways that artists contribute to the downstream regional economy: teaching is a particularly important one only anecdotally explored here.

Studying artistic activity by focusing on artists as decision-makers and members of distinctive occupations offers an alternative to the arts establishment/arts industry approach. In recent years, critics of the way economic development is done in the United States have begun to call for strategies based on occupations rather than industries (Thompson and Thompson, 1985; Markusen, 2002; Markusen and Schrock, 2003). The argument goes as follows. In a fast-integrating world economy, regions are forced to specialize and export more than ever before. Success is based deeply on talents and synergy in the local economy, and these may be better understood and tapped by identifying skill sets and talents embedded in occupations than by studying the organizations that employ them. Indeed, firms may be increasingly drawn to pools of skilled labor rather than vice-versa (Florida, 2002: 218). Furthermore, as outsourcing and subcontracting proliferate, there is greater cross-over of skills among industries, with occupational talent shared more liberally — actors and directors create videos for medical instrument companies, while software engineers program for film companies and arts organizations. In addition, the decreasing commitment of both firms and workers to each other or to localities places greater emphasis on training and networks outside of firms per se, and on attracting and anchoring key workers in the region. Too, the fast-paced and flexible economy places a premium on new firm formation; it is cumbersome to identify entrepreneurial potential by studying industries and much easier to identify it in occupations. Finally, because the digital revolution has made it easier to work from remote job sites, skilled workers are more likely to be committed to a region and neighborhood than to specific firms or industries (Markusen, 1999).

An occupational approach places skills, or what economists often call human capital, at the center of the economic development process (Mather, 1999). It accords individuals as creators, skilled workers and entrepreneurs, a key role, along with firms, in the decision-making processes that shape a regional economy. Arts workers — from managers to the self-employed — decide whether to acquire skills and how to deploy them, given their options in regional labor markets. They decide whether or not to work in the formal economy and how many hours to work. They choose their region and neighborhood in which to live, fellow artists and craftspeople with whom to work, which skills they will share and which networks they will participate in, and how to market themselves and their work. Economists group artistic individuals by their artistic occupations, just as we group establishments — the specific facilities of individual firms — into industries. Probing the arts economy by occupation permits us to view how artistic occupations cluster by region and to use interviews to probe how artists make their individual decisions about where and how to work.

IV. Gauging the Regional Artistic Dividend

How significant is the artistic dividend in a regional economy and how does it compare with that of other regions? It is impossible to directly measure a region's full artistic dividend, because of its many ramifications. We can estimate performance-related expenditures by major theatres, opera and orchestras, but we miss the many smaller ones. We have no way of tracing the sales of artists to markets outside of their region or of gauging the relative contribution of artists to the productivity and sales of regional businesses. We cannot detect recruiting successes that regional firms owe to the draw of an arts community.

A good first proxy is the comparative regional specialization of artists. Using the US Census³ we compare the incidence of artists in the US economy as a whole with selected metropolitan regions⁴. What economists call a location quotient — the share of artistic occupations in a regional economy compared with their share in the national economy — will be less than 1.0 if artists are underrepresented and greater than 1.0 if they are over-represented. Even this measure understates the size and significance of the community of practicing artists. It does not include artists who work part time and who identify themselves, by Census directives, by another occupation that accounts for a larger share of their income. It will not capture

barter among artists, reputed to be fairly common. But it does enable us to capture the bulk of self-employed artists who are not counted in business data sources.

Looking at these concentration measures over time reveals the extent artists are “footloose” and favor some regions over others⁵. Unfortunately, the detailed occupational data from the 2000 Census may not be available for as much as a year beyond the date of this study. We were thus forced to work with 1980 and 1990 data. We are confident, however, from corroborating sources, that the trends set in places in these decades are persisting into the 21st century. We use here some comparative data from national firm occupational survey data to demonstrate this.

How do artists sort themselves out across metropolitan areas? Our analysis shows definitively that artists are spreading out among larger American metros. Pools of artistic talent are growing more slowly in the traditional centers such as Los Angeles and New York and considerably faster in some of the second tier cities (Table 1). The Twin Cities, for instance, added more than 4000 artists to its base of nearly 7000 between 1980 and 1990, a 56% growth rate exceeded by only Atlanta, Albuquerque and Dallas/Ft. Worth. Rapidly expanding artistic pools are not purely a function of fast over-all economic growth rates — Albuquerque and the Twin Cities outpaced Seattle even though the latter enjoyed faster labor force growth.

Do artists gravitate toward certain regions, and if so, which? In 1990, Los Angeles and New York hosted much higher concentrations of artists than did similarly-sized Chicago or any of the second-tier metros (Table 2). Controlling for the size of each metro's workforce,

Table 1. Size and Growth Rates of Artistic Occupations for Selected Metros, 1980, 1990

SMSA	1980	1990	% Change	% Change Total Laborforce
Atlanta	5360	9241	72%	52%
Albuquerque	1402	2289	63%	14%
Dallas/Fort Worth	8283	13110	58%	33%
Twin Cities	6483	10125	56%	20%
Chicago	17152	25344	48%	9%
Los Angeles	47673	67737	42%	23%
Seattle	6703	9477	41%	30%
San Francisco	15115	20226	34%	19%
NYC/NJ	60501	80565	33%	34%
Pittsburgh	3605	4618	28%	- 10%
Cleveland	3682	4413	20%	- 5%
Nation	616997	887909	47%	

Source: Computations by Ann Markusen and David King using Integrated Public Use Microdata Series <http://ipums.org>, based on US Census.

Artists are defined by SOC: 183 (Artists), 186 (Musicians), 187 (Actors and Directors), 188 (Painters), 189 (Photographers) and 192 (Dancers).

Table 2. Artistic Concentrations for Metro Areas, 1980, 1990, 2000

Metropolitan Area	1980 LQ	1990 LQ	Est. 2000* LQ
Los Angeles	2.21	2.10	
New York/New Jersey	2.27	1.85	
San Francisco	1.52	1.40	
Albuquerque	1.10	1.29	
Seattle	1.36	1.21	1.05
Twin Cities	1.02	1.09	1.23
Atlanta	1.01	0.94	
Chicago	0.84	0.93	0.79
Dallas/Fort Worth	0.92	0.90	
Cleveland	0.70	0.72	
Pittsburgh	0.61	0.71	

Source: Computations by Ann Markusen and David King using Integrated Public Use Microdata Series <http://ipums.org>, based on US Census.

*2000 estimated using Bureau of Labor Statistics' Occupational Employment Statistics, 2000. These 2000 figures are based on employers' reporting of individuals' occupations and do not include the self-employed, thus underestimating the likely levels of artists in each region.

Los Angeles had twice as many artists and New York more than 85% more than the national norm in that year. Among the second tier metros, three groups can be distinguished. San Francisco, Albuquerque, Seattle and the Twin Cities posted rates significantly higher than the national average. Fast-growing Atlanta and Dallas/Ft. Worth had below-average shares of artists in their workforce. Slow-growing Cleveland and Pittsburgh also posted a lower than average share of artist. Neither workforce size nor fast growth rates ensured a region pre-eminence in artistic walks of life.

More important, however, are the shifts in artistic concentrations between 1980 and 1990. Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco and Seattle's strong artistic concentrations were eroding, while those of Albuquerque and the Twin Cities broadened. Atlanta fell below the national average, and Chicago and Pittsburgh posted gains from below-average rankings.

These divergent profiles reflect a redistribution of artists among regions, due to both net migration and differential rates of local artistic formation. How might we interpret this data for a region like the Twin Cities? We can infer that public and private investments in the region's arts environment and in amenities in the region have disproportionately attracted new increments of artists from other places in the country. The relatively high concentration of dancers can be attributed in large part to the University of Minnesota and area Foundations' strong support for this art form, while its large pool of writers may be the product of more diffuse attractors, including writers' own unique membership organizations. We anticipate that the 2000 Census will affirm the continuation this trend. Although the two data bases are not comparable over time, firm occupational data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics suggests that the Twin Cities' artistic prowess has continued to wax over the 1990s, compared with the only two other regions for which we could procure the BLS figures — Chicago and Seattle (Table 2).

Do sub-groups of artists sort themselves out differently among metro areas, and are some sub-occupations more responsible for the rise or decline of artistic centers than others? We know from earlier studies that this has been the case. Between 1970 and 1980, visual artists decentralized from centers like New York and Los Angeles while performing artists continued to cluster there: big city shares of visual artists fell from 43 to 34% while their shares of performing artists rose from 35 to 40% (Heilbrun, 1987: 308).

We found distinctive patterns of specialization among metro areas for the subsequent decade, although these did not neatly sort out along the visual/performing artist divide (Table 3). For 1990, actors and directors continued to be the most skewed among regions, heavily concentrated in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco, the centers of media industry, while other metros are below the national norm. Patterns for other artistic occupations are more complex. Authors are concentrated in Seattle, the Twin Cities and Albuquerque, in addition to the three metros just mentioned. Painters are clustered in New York, Albuquerque and Seattle, while dancers and choreographers are more prominent in New York, the Twin Cities and Atlanta.

Have metros styled themselves as experts in one or more of these occupations? Los Angeles, New York and San Francisco are specialized in writing, music and acting occupations, where their incidence far exceeds other second tier metros. New York also premieres in painting and dance. Albuquerque excels in photography, writing and painting, and falls far behind in theatre occupations. Seattle specializes in writers, painters and photographers but has a deficit in music, theatre and dance. The Twin Cities specializes in dance and writing while falling below average in acting and directing. Atlanta and Cleveland are relatively specialized in dance, and Dallas in photography. Each metro, then, has stylized itself in some fashion as a nurturing ground for certain arts and as a des-

Table 3. Artistic Specializations for Selected Metro Areas, Location Quotients, 1990

Metro Area	Authors	Musicians and Composers	Actors and Directors	Painters	Photographers	Dancers / Choreographers
Los Angeles	2.32	1.86	5.23	1.14	1.48	0.89
NYC/NJ	2.13	1.67	3.05	1.54	1.39	1.80
San Francisco	2.19	1.37	1.38	1.19	1.24	0.95
Albuquerque	1.41	1.11	0.75	1.41	1.65	1.17
Seattle	1.76	0.94	0.96	1.40	1.09	0.53
Twin Cities	1.37	1.03	0.91	1.06	1.05	1.50
Atlanta	0.85	0.88	0.87	0.90	1.09	1.40
Chicago	0.80	0.82	0.95	1.02	1.05	0.66
Dallas/Ft. Worth	0.88	0.84	0.69	0.84	1.17	1.12
Cleveland	0.57	0.69	0.60	0.84	0.70	1.19
Pittsburgh	0.87	0.55	0.60	0.65	0.92	0.68

Source: Computations by Ann Markusen and David King using Integrated Public Use Microdata Series <http://pums.org>, based on US Census.

similar income, artists on the whole are sacrificing money income in order to be able to pursue their artwork. Modern dancers, for example, often complete some post-secondary education and a rigorous apprentice for a career that typically expires in their early thirties and rarely provides full-time work. Our argument is that the work of art does generate substantial and largely unacknowledged incomes for individual artists and the region, some of which is comprised of “export” activity, and

that it simultaneously bolsters supplier activity and the competitiveness of other regional businesses.

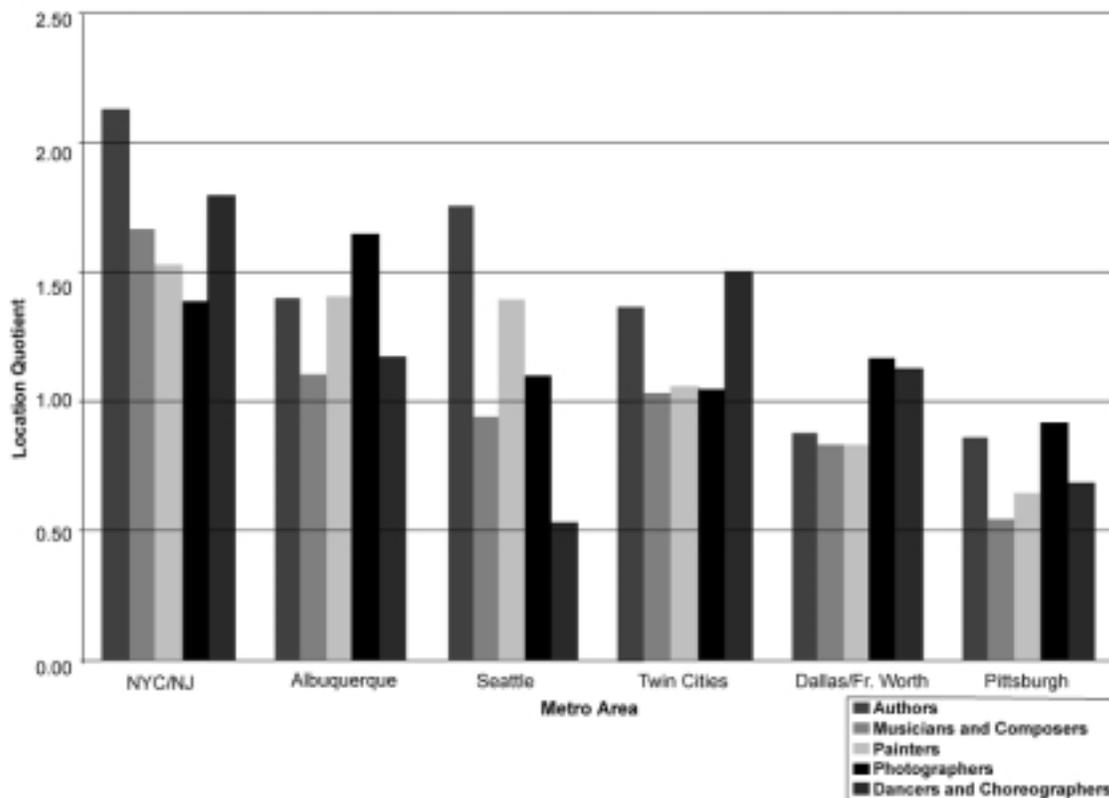
that it simultaneously bolsters supplier activity and the competitiveness of other regional businesses. In sum, our work shows that artists are remarkably “footloose” in their regional orientations. Over the decades, they have sorted themselves out among regions in ways that can’t be explained by either the size of region or rates of growth. The trends suggests a relative decline from the still pre-eminent bi-coastal poles of New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco and a selective concentration in new centers such as Albuquerque, Seattle and the Twin Cities. In the following section, we use interviews to probe the locational choices of artists in our laboratory region, the Twin Cities.

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Figure 1. Concentrations of Artistic Occupations, 1990, Select Metro Areas

Source: IPUMS



V. Attracting, Retaining and Home-growing Artists

A region that desires to nurture its artistic sector should be thinking about why artists might like to live and work in its environs, just as it studies why businesses prefer to locate there. Regional leaders can enhance the artistic pool by working to attract, retain and “home-grow” artists as individuals. Our comparisons among mid-sized metros suggest that artists do gravitate toward some regions rather than others. Why might this be the case?

Since World War II, professional workers, which includes artists,

are twice as likely to make inter-state moves to work as are other workers (Ladinsky, 1967). Research on the inter-regional migration of skilled workers identifies several factors as key to decisions individuals make on where to live and work. Chief among these are wage differentials. Economists generally assume that workers follow jobs rather than that jobs follow workers (Ellis, Barff and Renard, 1993), an assumption increasingly questioned (Markusen and Schrock, 2003), but artists, because of their high rates of self-employment and entrepreneurship, are different. Many do not make their location choice because of a particular job, or if they once did, they decide to stay for other reasons.

To probe our contentions that regional artists gravitate toward regions with certain features and contribute in other ways to the

ARTIST PROFILE

Ginny Herzog

In her woods-view St. Louis Park condo, Ginny Herzog reflects on her career surrounded by her abstract, architectural paintings in Italianate colors. A native Minnesotan, Herzog began painting twenty years ago in St. Louis, Missouri, following a short and varied career in interior design. Having developed a distinctive style, she now makes a solid income selling on average eighty paintings a year, chiefly at juried art fairs all over the US but also on commission and from her website. Her work, with its rich colors and captivating angularity, appeals in particular to architects, many of whom hang her work in their office suites. She continues to experiment with new styles — an illusion series based on multiple-perspective paintings as well dimensional works in relief.

Herzog credits her fine arts BA from St. Cloud State, a Bauhaus exhibit at a Chicago museum, and her interior design work with blueprints and floor plans (“they got into my soul”) as influences on her unique style. Never pursuing grants, she chose the entrepreneurial route, packing her paintings into a van and traveling to art fairs around the country. With encouragement from a large network of art show veterans, she identified and targeted the high quality shows. To save costs and learn more, she traveled with mentors and shared expenses. At art fairs, she displays up to twenty paintings, engaging interested buyers

directly. From the beginning, she has found that her earnings are superior to marketing through galleries, where the turnover is slow and commissions high. Leaving art fairs, with her elegant business cards in hand, clients refer to her website and often inquire later about available work. Herzog keeps track of people who express an interest, and if she is passing through their region, she will call ahead to ask if she should stop. One year, she sold \$20,000 of paintings in this fashion on the way to a Florida art fair. From art fair exposure, she also receives many commissions — often visiting the client’s residence or office, to shoot photos for site-specific works.

In modest ways, Herzog’s painting in the Twin Cities creates employment for others — an art material supplier, tax accountant, bookkeeper, publisher, frame supplier and shippers. By commissioning them to build a new, more contemporary type of frame, she prompted innovation in a local frame shop that resulted in a new product, now sold in large quantities. The same frame shop also ships her paintings at a reasonable price. Interestingly, her work and cooperative efforts with others have enhanced artistic networks elsewhere more than within the region. Seven years ago, with other art fair regulars, she was one of the founding board members of the National Association of Independent Artists (NAIA) which now has over 500

members. Aimed at those exhibiting at high quality art and/or fine craft shows around the country, the NAIA website provides a forum for artists to communicate with each other about such topics as jurying for shows; available resources for the studio; life on the road; dealing with credit cards and tax laws; the use of digital cameras; and how last week’s art fair in such-and-such a city went. The all-volunteer organization also sponsors conferences for artists and show directors, assisting the latter in all aspects of developing high quality shows within their communities across the country.

A single mother, Herzog moved back to the Twin Cities ten years ago to be near her family. She does not need to be in the region for her work. Although she often participates in the Uptown Arts Fair, she has not shown her work in a gallery here for several years. She is not locally-oriented in her marketing and knows only a few local artists. Her closest artist colleagues are those she spends time with at art fairs. Having set up a temporary studio in several other cities, Herzog emphasizes that her location in St. Louis Park is extremely important to her. From it, all the resources and amenities she uses for her business and personal life are easily accessible, with little, if any, traffic congestion. In short, she works in the region chiefly because she loves living here.

regional economy — through their export sales and through their interactions with suppliers, customers and other artists — we first convened two focus group sessions with arts opinion-makers in the region. The participants represented diverse professions including journalism, non-profit arts administration and real estate. The discussions were organized around the following questions: how do members of the arts community view the region as a place to live and create? What roles are the art communities playing in the larger regional economy? What kinds of synergies exist between the arts and neighborhoods? We used the feedback from these focus groups to refine our interview format for artists. Because the third question addresses a whole separate sphere of research, we chose to drop this in our current effort.

We then conducted exploratory interviews with 22 artists in the

Twin Cities. The artists were not chosen to be representative of all artists in the region. We sought a plurality of artists in each occupation who are working full time at their art work, regardless of the venue or income level. Some artists were contacted through mnartists.org, a web portal developed by the McKnight Foundation and the Walker Art Center that allows any Minnesota artist to showcase his/her work and skills through the Internet. Other artists were suggested to us by arts advocates or professionals. All artists were asked to characterize their art work, address the role that their art plays in their standard of living, reflect on the evolution of their careers, explain the features of the region that originally attracted and/or held them here, document ways in which they helped improve the products and services of other regional businesses, and tell us about the networks, foundations and other facilitators key to

ARTIST PROFILE

Vara Kamin

An abstract expressionist painter, Vara Kamin's large, colorful works of art invite the viewer directly into the world of metaphor, places we long to go, that remind us of who we are. She built two artistic careers sequentially in the Twin Cities, first as a writer and then as a painter. Since 1998, at the request of healthcare architects and designers, Kamin's works of art have been replicated and placed in backlit ceiling and wall installations in numerous healthcare environments, from large university campuses to small community hospitals, locally and throughout the country.

Kamin's writing career in the Twin Cities, began with educational video scripts for multinational companies. She also wrote for a number of the local weekly publications including *City Pages* prior to publishing features in national magazines such as *Family Circle*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *Nation's Business*. Her creative writing career culminated with the national publication of a collection of original fables, *The Gold Key in the Mahogany Box*, in 1992. After a reading at an area public library, an audience member requested that Kamin develop a workshop using the fables as a focal point for compassionate conversation. She began to present lectures and interactive workshops for local companies (Cargill and 3M) and for women in prison and other specialty groups. She commenced a travelling speaking career

that took her throughout the country and to South America.

First beginning to paint in the late 80's, Kamin decided to pursue painting in a more focused way in the early 1990s, leasing a studio in Northeast Minneapolis' California Building, a renovated granary. This setting provided creative space in which to work and unexpected support and new opportunities as a result of relationships with other California Building artists. A local private patron supported Kamin's initial period in the studio, which allowed her the privilege to focus solely on the creation of her artwork. Subsequently Kamin's original works began to sell, to private and corporate collectors, locally and nationally. She worked entrepreneurially in pursuing new markets and found success with reproductions for healthcare settings.

Over the years, Kamin's writing and painting have helped to strengthen the productivity and quality of other firms in the region. She wrote video and film scripts for large companies like Medtronic and 3M, including an educational film describing the use of ethylene oxide sterilizers and an instructional audio tape series on pacemakers. Her interactive workshops using the fables helped firms create better working relationships among employees. In creating and promoting both her writing and works of art, she has hired the services

of, and purchased from, a number of local artisans and businesses, including framers, photographers, paint suppliers and other specialty trades associated with the arts. Her company based upon the images of her paintings, Vara Kamin's Impressions of Light, Inc., also contracts for local administrative support, and with financial, sales, marketing, and legal consultants.

A native of Boston, Kamin graduated from the Massachusetts General Hospital School of Nursing and began working as a public health nurse and later as a healthcare administrator. She came to Minneapolis in 1980 expressly to pursue her writing and artistic career full-time. Minneapolis compared favorably to New York, her other option, because of its reputation for a supportive culture for writers, good regional arts funding, and first rate writers' organizations such as the Writer's Loft. Kamin credits many Twin Cities individuals for encouraging and guiding her creative endeavors. She has stayed in Minneapolis because of its extraordinary amenities, including the lakes neighborhood where she lives; a psychologically supportive, health-conscious and spiritual culture; professional and personal friendships; and the continued affordability of housing compared with an artistic center like New York.

their art work and economic success.

Most of the interviewees had been artists for well over a decade and often longer. Four of these artists are profiled at greater length in cameos. They include one home-grown artist who returned after beginning a career elsewhere and the three others who moved from Duluth, Illinois and Boston (via Florida, Kentucky and Connecticut), one to go to school, one to take a job, and one who made a conscious choice of this place among others to begin an artistic career.

In our interviews, we probed several factors that we hypothesized would draw and keep individual artists in the Twin Cities beyond the offer of a job with an arts or teaching establishment. These include the choice of an arts school or college and the decision to remain in the region following graduation; the prospects for arts funding from generous regional philanthropic organizations; supportive networking and learning venues with other artists; amenities and quality of life; and relatively low living and working costs. In our discussion here, we draw examples from the four artists profiled and, without identifying them, the other artists we interviewed. Because we were probing locational and migration choices, we were particularly interested in any interregional comparisons or moves that artists might have undertaken or made in their careers.

A number of Twin Cities artists we interviewed first came to the Twin Cities to study. An example is Wing Young Huie, who moved from Duluth to attend the University of Minnesota, and then began his career in the city that had welcomed him and given him important connections. The Barker Center at the University has been key to the attraction and retention of many dancers, as we show below. Other arts schools, including the Minneapolis College of Arts and Design, have also contributed to the pool of local artists. Theater and dance companies and orchestras, granting apprenticeship opportunities for young artists, have drawn yet others. These institutions also help to “home-grow” artists by offering educations to metro natives as well.

Artists are drawn toward and anchored in a region in part by the visibility and multiplicity of philanthropic organizations and quality arts establishments that target regional artists. These act like a welcome mat for a region, and their reputations are often spread by word of mouth around the country and even internationally. Writer and painter Vara Kamin, for instance, weighed Minnesota’s reputed arts generosity as an important factor in her choice of Minneapolis over New York twenty years ago. Wing’s photographic career owes much to regional philanthropy. The McKnight Foundation’s stated commitment to dance as an important arts genre has helped the Twin Cities

ARTIST PROFILE

Gary Legwold

Arriving in the Twin Cities in the 1970s to take a teaching job, Legwold shifted a few years later to writing for a community newspaper. By the mid-80s, he had expanded his writing into a freelance career. Now the author of five books, including Minnesota-influenced titles such as *The Last Word on Lefse*, as well as countless articles for publications such as *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Today’s Health and Wellness*, and *Esquire*, Legwold’s writing explores niches in health and fitness but also delves into Norwegian food and culture. Legwold blends freelance writing with projects for corporate clients, producing a solid income and satisfying work.

Legwold’s pursuit of freelance writing, took a wholly entrepreneurial route. For a decade, he focused on his writing, developing targeted expertise and pursuing magazine and publishing outlets. In the mid-1990s, he realized he needed more flexibility in his income and work. Active in the Twin Cities chapter of the National Writer’s Union, he

credits the Union’s professional networking and contacts with helping him learn how to improve his freelance career as well as develop and manage a client base through networking and marketing efforts. He began to write corporate reports, press releases, and newsletters for such non-artistic firms as Reehl Precision Manufacturing, Inc. Although marketing to potential corporate clients took time, the stable income it generated allowed him to write his books and pursue more attractive freelance offers, such as longer features. Legwold estimates that he currently spends over 60 % of his time on freelance work with the balance on corporate projects.

Like Kamin and Herzog’s painting, Legwold’s writing brings income into the region. His work also enables local firms to improve their products and communications, making them more competitive, thus enhancing regional economic growth. He invests some of his energies and knowledge back into the economy, by sharing his know-how with

other writers. Through the National Writers Union and The Loft at the Open Book, he is offering workshops on the techniques and methods necessary to develop a financially successful writing career.

Legwold came to the Twin Cities from Dixon, Illinois almost thirty years ago. He doubts his career could be duplicated in many other places, certainly not his hometown in Illinois. He believes this region is relatively unmatched in the writing opportunities and networking it offers, and he emphasizes the contribution of unique organizations and venues like the Writer’s Union and the Loft. The diversity of the Twin Cities business community has produced an ample client base on which he builds his commercial portfolio. Because the Internet and other technologies have made communications much easier across distances, Legwold rarely finds it necessary to travel for business, which he appreciates, because he is an active family member and parent.

Wing Young Huie

A nationally recognized photographer with twenty years of professionally practicing his craft, Wing Young Huie is a life-long Minnesotan, and perhaps best known for his published photo biography of the Lake Street corridor in Minneapolis. His work is compelling in part because he invites his subjects into the photographic act, giving Wing unique access to the emotion of the frame. Wing now concentrates on shooting and developing his photographs into fine-art-quality pieces that are hung in museums and galleries. He recently opened his own space in South Minneapolis to display his black and white photographs.

Wing's career began with projects like weddings and modeling shoots. He estimates 95% of his work was commercial. Methodically, he pursued his craft and set his sights higher, approaching his career in an entrepreneurial fashion, seeking income in multiple venues. He has worked as a photojournalist and freelance photographer, and has frequently applied for foundation funding. Wing succeeded in winning competitive grant support from a

number of regional sources including the Minneapolis Federal Reserve Bank and the Saint Paul Companies. The grants are often for specific projects: presently, he is undertaking a nine-month road trip to document the Chinese-American experience throughout the nation.

Wing earns a living from multiple sources and outlets, including selling work through his gallery. Although direct sales account for a relatively small portion of his earnings, he is able to capture almost all of the income from sales by acting as his own agent. He also teaches and lectures about his work and about photography as an art form (as opposed to how to use a camera.) At high schools and universities, he speaks about how to develop a project and sometimes presents diversity seminars.

Twin Cities businesses that benefit from Wing's work include Ruminator Books, a Saint Paul bookstore and publisher, who produced his *Lake Street* photo essay. Others that benefit directly include photography-specific organizations like the innovative pARTS Gallery, and photo service shops.

His work has had salutary neighborhood effects as well. The *Lake Street* photos hung in the windows of dozens of storefronts along the street and drew people to diverse communities along that corridor, and his gallery is located in a redeveloping part of town.

Raised in Duluth, Wing moved to the Twin Cities to pursue a degree in Journalism at the University of Minnesota. He has spent two decades working on his craft in the Twin Cities, and the Twin Cities are the focus of much of what he does photographically. He chose to remain in the Twin Cities rather than move to a photography center such as New York City because he felt the Twin Cities' environment and arts' funders offered him the opportunity to concentrate on developing his work rather than fighting to beat the competition. Wing lives with his wife in South Minneapolis, not far from his shop. In many ways, his work is a family affair. He credits her involvement with his projects as crucial to his success.

attract dancers and choreographers from around the world.

The Twin Cities hosts a thriving web of organizations and informal networks that offer artist-entrepreneurs an opportunity to improve both their craft and the methods for enhancing their exposure and incomes. Artists interviewed were lavish in their praise of this web and portions of it. Writer Gary Legwold appreciates what he learned in the Writer's Union and at events at the Writer's Loft; he now gives back by running workshops for both to pass on his knowledge. Kamin credits a number of Twin Cities individuals and forums for insights that enabled her to take key steps in her evolution.

Artists gravitate to environments that are high in amenities. They are outstanding examples of the national trend toward workers more likely to be committed to region and neighborhood than to firm or industry (Markusen, 1999). Skilled workers in general prefer locales with livability, and amenities (Penne and Shanahan, 1987; Rodgers, 1989; Florida, 2002). The Twin Cities out-competes many other second-tier cities and even the great artistic centers of New York and Los Angeles on affordability, safety, amenities and general cultural milieu. Painter Ginny Herzog returned here to live and work because she values the affordability and lack of congestion. Kamin fell in love with the lakes district and treasures the spiritual and alternative health communities available to her here. An actress moved to the Twin Cities from Los Angeles because she and her husband are able to work the careers they want and buy a home, health insurance and other necessities that were unattainable in California.

Public sector contributions, often in tandem with non-profit and

private sector groups, play an important role in anchoring the arts community in a region. The Twin Cities' investments in outstanding parks and recreational space and in vibrant neighborhoods and decentralized arts venues have enhanced artists' commitments to the region. The pioneering of artist's buildings and live/work spaces in northeast Minneapolis, Lowertown in St. Paul and elsewhere have helped to draw artists and enhance the quality of their work. The fostering of public concerts, theatre performances, art fairs, and art crawls helps to boost artistic income and to entertain and create an arts-savvy public.

What emerges from this inquiry is a rich mix of organizations, institutions, networks and connections — public, private, individual — credited by artists as the reason for their affection for the region and their decisions to come and stay here. Economists refer to such a mix as an agglomeration, a specialized group of activities with many separate poles of decision-making and creativity. Multiple arts venues, even for a particular sub-occupation, draw artists who can see options for work apart from a single employer or market segment. We hope this account will raise the visibility of this often "hidden" world that goes far beyond the theatres and museums and galleries and training institutions that form a portion of it. The occupational lens enables us to "see" the many overlapping pools of artists learning from each other and cooperating to make the art world regionally a more exciting place and to generate greater artistic income from elsewhere.

VI. The Roles of Philanthropy, Arts Venues, and Education

A region's ability to attract and retain artists is closely related to the activity of philanthropists, key arts establishments, new arts venues, and outstanding educational institutions. These groups of actors, and the organizations they have built over many decades, have created a reservoir of talent and resources that pay important dividends to the regional economy. Places like New York and Los Angeles host major leading arts and writing complexes — Broadway, SoHo, New York's publishing world, Hollywood — that draw young aspiring artists and thousands of tourists annually. Second tier cities have to work harder to foster a vibrant arts sector, but as we have seen above, they have certain advantages in cost of living and livability. Key to the way that some regions distinguish themselves artistically are these groups of actors and institutions. We use the Twin Cities example to sketch these contributions. In many instances, our interviewees mentioned the organizations and venues summarized here as indispensable to their artistic success and livelihoods.

Philanthropy, including private patronage, has been integral to the evolution of regional arts complexes in many regions. Successful businesses, often innovative and unique in their own right, generate wealth that their owners may choose to invest in the arts or into Foundations that in turn support the arts. In the Twin Cities, outstanding and wildly successful companies as diverse as 3M (McKnight Foundation), Honeywell and the Dayton Hudson Corporation (now Target) have played this role. Key business leaders from these and other segments of the economy saw artistic and culture work as crucial to the creativity of the community as a whole. In turn, a vigorous arts sector benefited their companies by helping them attract and retain a larger pool of talented people to the area, a process Richard Florida documents in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002). In the past several decades, the Twin Cities region was struggling to transform itself from an industrial to a high tech economy and strove to attract and retain engineers, scientists and other skilled people here against the lure of California and other western locales. For these leaders, the arts were not an optional feature of the regional economy.

Philanthropic investments of time, energy and money made possible new arts institutions and organizations, such as the ambitious and world-renowned Guthrie Theater, the Walker Art Center and the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra. These helped to diversify the regional arts offerings away from an older, monopolistic model in which a city would have one major fine arts museum, one symphony orchestra, and one repertory theatre company. These new increments created more competition for the existing regional arts audience but also generated more arts interest in the

population, multiplying the numbers of performance and gallery-goers. Through their recruiting of actors, dancers, musicians and visual artists to the region, they began to spawn other new theatres and galleries. In the Twin Cities, the friendly rivalry between the already excellent Minneapolis Institute of Arts and the more modern-art-oriented Walker and the explosion of unique and experimental theater companies — the Children's Theatre, Penumbra Theatre, Theatre de la Jeune Lune, Mixed Blood, Theatre in the Round, the Jungle Theater, and the Heart of the Beast Puppet Theatre helped to diversify and enliven the arts scene.

Philanthropy, too, gives individual artists the time and space to create something of value. Generous and regionally-targeted funds of this sort drew choreographer Bill T. Jones from New York to be an "artist in residence" at the Walker Art Center for a four-year stint. They have also nurtured regional artists and writers, such as Garrison Keillor and Louise Erdrich, encouraging them to stay and/or return. Philanthropy gives some visual and performing artists the chance to produce a permanent installation of their work for public use or display. For example, a local composer and experimental instrument builder received a Jerome Foundation grant to install a "Sonic Sculpture" in Lake Phalen's Poetry Park. The sculpture includes a marimba bench and other instruments that give park users the opportunity to play with sound. This enhances the park and supports a local artist simultaneously.

Artists in turn have created their own organizations and venues, sometimes winning public and philanthropic support for specific projects. Visual artists have banded together to create cooperative galleries. Small, entrepreneurial, and larger chain bookstores host scores of readings by local and national writers each week, possibly outpacing Manhattan offerings in number. Writers, actors and musicians unions offer yet other venues for information sharing, training and creative cooperation. Twin Cities writers founded the Writer's Loft two decades ago, a place for writers to gather and share their work and learn craft and marketing techniques. In 2000, the Loft, a couple of small presses and a major locally-owned bookstore, Ruminator (formerly the Hungry Mind), moved into the Open Book, a three story former factory near downtown Minneapolis that also rents studio space to writers and provides art

printers the equipment to make paper and fine books.

Artistic creativity is enhanced by concerted non-profit and public efforts to create arts districts centered on artists rather than performing arts buildings: examples in St. Paul are Lowertown's Northern Warehouse and Tilsner Artists' Cooperative and Frogtown's Family Lofts. In the Twin Cities, active efforts to create such spaces grew out of the controversy around the warehouse district in Minneapolis, where the new Target sports and entertainment complex unintentionally destroyed a vibrant arts district of small galleries and restaurants, as rowdy sports bars moved in and forced up rents. In 1979, the Minneapolis Arts Commission created Artspace Projects, Inc., to serve as an advocate for artists' space needs in the wake of warehouse district gentrification. Artspace entrepreneured the Lowertown effort, also, working closely with artists. Today, five warehouse buildings and many smaller ones rehabbed into artists' live/work spaces offer an exciting venue for the twice-annual arts crawl that draws hundreds to the Lowertown district. The presence of artists in the neighborhood eight to twenty-four hours a day infuses neighborhoods with energy, unlike large performing arts facilities that are frequented only on certain evenings and weekends.

Arts education — both formally in K-12 and higher institutions of learning, and informally through networks of teachers and studios — plays a significant role in creating an arts economy, through the training and employing of artists and by cultivating artistic tastes and commitment on the part of the larger public. It was beyond the resources of our project to investigate all dimensions of this contribution in depth, but our interviewees frequently acknowledged the economic and aesthetic opportunities provided by schools and colleges.

In a process that involves both generating incomes and creating a future artistic workforce, education offers artists an opportunity to teach their craft to others. Artists teach in many venues — through K-12 schools, community centers and continuing education classes offered through the many Twin Cities outlets. Educational institutions give artists a chance to teach or lecture as chief or supplementary sources of income. Several actors interviewed worked full time at developing performance pieces — his-

torically-themed one-person shows — for schools locally and nationally. In an average year, the actor spends one or two months performing and the balance of his/her time developing new work and marketing the shows. Another artist earns a portion of his income teaching acting at the Stages Theater at the Hopkins Center for the Arts, a suburban Minneapolis arts center, and another portion building and painting sets for theatre companies like the Guthrie and Stages. These actors were drawn to the Twin Cities by the relatively low cost of living compared to other theater-rich metro areas as well as opportunities to connect with the educational market.

By hiring and/or developing nationally-known artists as teachers and academics, the University of Minnesota and the Twin Cities' excellent liberal arts colleges are significant institutional contributors to the region's artistic mix. The University's Barker Center for Dance is exemplary in this regard. Because competition is intense and career lengths short, dancers are both highly educated in their craft and vulnerable to career crises. Most company or freelance dancers have pursued a Bachelor's of Fine Arts degree, if not completed one. The University's BFA trains students in the skills of dance and in complementary skills for earning a living, and it provides a skeletal framework of support for current and former students. It draws talented dancers from around the nation and world who locate in the Twin Cities, some of whom perform more often outside the region than at home but are anchored by the dance community here and by the region's amenities and moderate cost of living. The Center's Artist in Residence program has been particularly instrumental in this regard. For instance, the prestigious Shapiro and Smith Dance Company relocated to the Twin Cities from New York City after a year at the Barker Center. The school also gives dancers a reliable place to return to for career advice and opportunities, and it provides ongoing teaching opportunities for dancers as faculty or adjuncts. Barker's educational role combined with consistent McKnight funding for dance in the Twin Cities has created an unusually creative and successful dance economy in the region.

VII. Artistic Contributions to Private Sector Growth and Productivity

Our working hypotheses regarding the artistic dividend includes the notion that the presence of a large, diverse pool of artistic talent in a region enables businesses in the region to design their products better, enhance working conditions and employee morale, and market their output more successfully. This occurs when artists sell their services or products to companies in the region. It also happens when artists as buyers of goods and services prompt suppliers to improve the latter's own offerings. In other words, artists' creative activity works both upstream (the supply side) and downstream (the demand side). Performing arts companies also generate similar linked innovations when they place orders for everything from stage sets to audio systems or work up an interactive theatre piece for diversity training for corporations, as Minneapolis' Pillsbury House Theatre and St. Paul's Penumbra Theatre have been doing for years.

Other studies have speculated on the significance of these links. Of course, the arts are credited with a major role in tourism in some regions (Sassen and Roost, 1999). The New England Study (2000) mentions the relationship between design and traditional New England manufacturing sectors such as furniture and apparel, and the intersection of the arts and technology in the many new media companies across the region. In Florida's (2002) study, he finds that the incidence of "bohemians," which he defines as artists plus designers, is highly and positively associated with high tech success across American metropolitan regions. His findings are circumstantial evidence of such a link.

Since so many artists are self-employed, it is impossible to use published data to trace these links through an input-output chain of relationships. Even if we knew to whom artists sell and from whom they buy, we could not infer the productivity or innovative result of an interaction. We rely, therefore, on instances of such relationships from our interviews to sketch out the possibilities.

On the supply side, artists rely on a series of suppliers and helpers to finish a work of art and deliver it to patrons, customers and audiences. Howard Becker's (1982) notion of "art worlds" is a powerful way of thinking about these relationships. Becker argues that the dominant tradition, which focuses on the individual artist and his/her work, fails to see the creation of art as a network of cooperation among many. Treating art as the work some people do, he explores the full range of occupations that contribute to a finished work of art — from the creation of ideas to their execution, including support activities, and the criticism, appreciation, and response of others to it. He shows that an artist's dependence on cooperative links constrains the kind of art he or she can do, for some more than others. But at the same time, innovative artists often push the envelope, asking a maker to design an instrument differently or a choir to

sing unconventionally (composer Harry Partsch has done both). "Art worlds," writes Becker, "typically have intimate and extensive relations with the worlds from which they try to distinguish themselves. They share sources of supply with those other worlds, recruit personnel from them, adopt ideas that originate in them, and compete with them for audiences and financial support" (p. 36).

In showing how artists mobilize resources, Becker distinguishes between material resources and personnel, both of which were frequently cited by the artists interviewed. Material resources for visual artists, for instance, include artists' supplies, film, photo finishing, frames, sculpting materials, tools, and increasingly, computers and software. Musicians require instruments and sound systems and people to repair and fine tune them. Personnel needs range from highly unique talents such as back-up musicians and craft work ancillary to building sets to more generic service providers such as accountants and photographers. Kamin relies on Twin Cities' artisans to make the substrate for her paintings and to lacquer her work. Authors employ editors to polish their work and illustrators and graphic artists to decorate it. Not only do artists generate incomes for people providing such goods and services; they sometimes induce new product or service designs. Painter Herzog's search for the perfect frame resulted in a new product for the frame shop with which she works.

Artists also generate employment in the distribution of their work. They hire people to create stages for their performances and showcases for their paintings and sculpture. They work with galleries and agents in trying to market visual art. Wing Young Huie, for instance, worked with St. Paul's Ruminator Books to publish his *Lake Street* photo essay and has exhibited at the pARTS Gallery. Many performing artists and writers also use impresarios or agents to find them bookings or place their work with publishers. Writers often publish with local presses. Common materials that nearly all artists need include brochures, posters and other printed materials for promotions. Some artists hire people to write press releases or to generate publicity for upcoming shows.

The larger business community benefits from the presence of a vibrant arts community, not only because it helps firms recruit skilled workers to the region but also because it provides a pool of talent for them to draw upon for special design, organizational and marketing efforts. Kamin's painting, for instance, is enhancing the attractiveness and sales of medical machinery made in the area.

Kamin's writing has enhanced training exercises within area companies and improved consumer manuals and marketing pitches. Area actors do voice-overs, commercials and videos for yet other companies, and musicians and composers create scores that accompany products. Many of these activities are too small or specialized or occasional for large commercial firms to undertake on their own or to employ people directly to produce. It is our argument that the more diverse and sophisticated and sizeable the pool of artists in a region, the higher the quality of these services with associated positive impacts on firms' bottom lines. In turn, the presence of a large, diversified, and innovative private sector generates income-earning opportunities for artists.

Artists, then, amplify their economic significance to a region by generating work for others who are supplying their materials and service needs and polishing and distributing their work. To the extent that the artistic result is exported from the region, this is work that would not take place without their residency. Artists also help to make companies more successful by working on writing, visual arts or performance projects for specific products. In some instances, the interaction between artist and supplier, distributor or corporate client produces innovations. Although it is impossible to gauge whether these interactions induce modest or large reverberations throughout the economy, their existence forms another portion of the hidden artistic dividend for the region.

VIII. Artists' Views of Themselves as Economic Actors

Our working hypothesis in this project is that many artists defy the dualism of the poor, table-waiting artist and actor, on the one hand, and the elite, big name artist or performer supported by foundations, patrons, or an arts company on the other. Our occupational approach, centered on understanding the economic aspirations and experiences of individual artists through interviews, uncovered a significant number of cases where artists are successfully generating a satisfactory income by working entrepreneurially, often aided by an extensive network of advice and contacts with others in the region. Many do so without sacrificing quality and creative integrity. Some manage to bridge two worlds, achieving critical acclaim on the one hand and marketing to diverse audiences on the other. Nevertheless, we also found that artists are often leery about the business side of their careers, and some feel that it is repugnant or disingenuous to actively market their work.

Maintaining the balance between artistic autonomy and the need to earn income is a major challenge for artists as they build a career. We were surprised to find that few of the more successful grant-winning artists interviewed conceive of their work as economic activity at all. Many artists who rely on philanthropic income sources seem to accept that their career as an artist will limit their standard of living. The constant necessity to write proposals and the vagaries of grant support create a “feast or famine” cycle of income for them, a situation they detest but live with. Grants and fellowships provide short-term income stability, often for the duration of a project or performance run, and will vary greatly in amount and length. At the same time, grants and fellowships are believed to provide greater artistic freedom for the artist. Our interviews confirm findings in the literature concluding that many artists rely almost exclusively on grants, teaching, part or full time jobs loosely or unrelated to their art and/or support from spouses or partners for their livelihoods and are often willing to live very frugal lives to do so (as are their partners or spouses). Surprisingly few consider the entrepreneurial routes explored by the four artists profiled.

Some artists express disdain for commercial uses of their art. Others are attracted to the idea of exploring other markets but fear that if they were to pursue a sideline or alternative outlet, this would damage their status as fine artists. This attitude can block an artist from embracing the role of being his or her own agent or from thinking creatively about unconventional publics and patrons. On the other hand, their fears may be on target. The attitudes of collectors, producers and directors, and foundations may also have to change to facilitate more diversified artistic careers. When they do succeed in more diverse markets, artists have to confront challenges to the integrity of their art, a reality that Becker

(1982) finds is nearly universal in the art world.

Artists, including those we profile, often use agents or gallery owners to market their talents and creative output. This is often an expensive proposition and comes with its own problems, since the intermediary may have his/her own agenda. Howard Becker (1982) shows how gallery owners' interests can hobble a visual artist's career. Others find complementary markets for their skills, piecing together careers from opportunities available and filling niche roles in the regional economy. Examples include set-building and design for small theaters, decorative painting for businesses and residences that would not or could not be accomplished by commercial firms, and design, writing and voice/acting work for corporations. The internet can facilitate finding new markets. Chank (a.k.a. Charles R. Anderson), a northeast Minneapolis painter, supplements his sales of canvasses and murals by selling via his website, downloadable fonts that he designs; customers can buy subscriptions that include a “Font of the Month.” His fonts have been purchased by businesses throughout the nation as well as local giant General Mills.

The Twin Cities, of course, has a number of well-known and less-well-known artists who “export” their work nationally, bringing incomes into the region for themselves and others. Garrison Keillor's “Prairie Home Companion” draws regional paying audiences, while export of his shows generates incomes for the staff and Minnesota Public Radio. Similarly, “St. Paul Sunday,” a local public radio show, and “Right on the Money,” a public television show, are widely distributed, supporting excellence in programming and keeping top talent within the region. Jazz artists Connie Evingson and Sanford Moore export their CDs from the region and travel to perform. Lorie Line, Prince, Mason Jennings, and The Jayhawks are among pop and folk artists doing the same. Josh Hartnett lives in the Twin Cities but works in Hollywood. Innumerable Twin Cities artists sell fine art jewelry, furniture and paintings at art fairs nationally. Profits from the sales of Louise Erdrich's writing support a small Native American bookstore she opened in Minneapolis. Many other writers, and visual and performing artists are living here and bringing in earnings from elsewhere.

Many more artists could explore opportunities to improve their incomes through entrepreneurial activity. This is true even in a tough field like dance, where dancers and choreographers rely almost exclusively on grants to finance development and production of shows. An example might be incorporating dance into a fitness program, yoga, or a general wellness approach to living. Entrepreneurial activity may entail significant costs and high rates of failure (Neff, Wissinger and Zukin, 2000). Yet our interviews demonstrate how creative thinking and networking have helped artists think “out of the box” and how strenuous efforts, involving success and setbacks, can pay off.

IX. Strategies for Patrons, Governments, Businesses and Artists

We live in an era where regions compete and specialize in an ever more integrated national and world economy. Every region hosts a number of “art worlds” and some are able to develop a significant export component to their arts economy. In addition to New York and Los Angeles, we have shown that San Francisco, Minneapolis/St. Paul, Seattle and Albuquerque are among the more successful of second tier US metros.

In this study, we offer a new lens with which to view a regional arts economy. We emphasize the work of artists and the many ways in which their creative activity links with other sectors in the region and with markets elsewhere. We have identified the requisite structural seeds that support a dynamic arts community within a regional economy by investigating why artists choose to work and live in particular locales. Although we have not found a way to measure the resulting overall artistic dividend, we have sketched out a number of its dimensions and shown how it transcends narrower ideas of the economics of the arts.

Our vision of the arts economy suggests that private and public patrons and advocates of the arts might rethink the frameworks used to determine investments and funding allocations for the arts. We confine our suggestions to salutary economic benefits, since we are not qualified to address aesthetic nor, at this juncture, neighborhood dimensions. For economic development practitioners, our view challenges an ongoing preference for subsidizing buildings and physical infrastructure rather than labor skills and networks. When state and local governments give long term tax relief for low wage manufacturing plants or big box retail buildings in the suburbs, are they thinking through how the resulting low wage, dead end jobs compare with artistic careers that might be nurtured by subsidizing artistic venues and networks with their second round payoffs for the region? In the sphere of arts funding, it suggests that foundations, legislatures and city councils evaluate single-site expensive arts facilities like the new Guthrie Theatre in a larger context of the vibrancy of the area arts economy and how best to optimize its creativity and exports from the region. And what about amenities, which loom so important in recruiting and retaining talented people like artists? “Soft” expenditures on environment, parks and viable, diverse neighborhoods are an ingredient in this mix, too, as Jane Jacobs (1961) taught years ago.

Evaluative economic development research is still too primitive to accurately gauge potential economic yields on alternatives that encompass everything from high visibility arts venues and live/work and gathering spaces for artists to K-12 and higher arts education, grants to individual arts and performing arts companies for specific projects, and to cultural events from free music in the parks to art crawls and art fairs. All of these are important, but what are the relative contributions of each? To complicate matters, different agencies, institutions and foundations cover various portions of such turf, resulting in a patchwork whose impacts are often

difficult to track. In what we suggest here, we make suggestions for new and durable strategies that are focused on the creative work at the heart of the arts, centered on artists rather than on buildings or arts organizations and on artists as producers rather than audiences as consumers.

A. Artist-centered strategies for public and private patrons

Historically much of the credit for jump-starting a region as an artist-friendly place goes to private arts patrons, foundations, educational institutions and the public sector. We have suggested ways in which outstanding arts institutions have added to the draw of a metropolitan area for artists by directly recruiting talent from elsewhere, providing stages and galleries where artists work can be enjoyed and compensated, educating publics and artists alike on what makes good art, and providing educational and apprenticeship opportunities for artists. The generosity of foundations and patrons in funding individual artists and arts projects has also been important, especially when these donors are committed to artists in the region. The public sector has also been key in providing infrastructure projects, subsidies, tax breaks and amenities that solidify arts activity in a region. The fruits of each have often intertwined, as we can see in the careers of our featured artists.

Our work suggests that patrons of all these sorts think more broadly about artistic practice and include the softer, more work-oriented frontiers into their mix of support for the artistic community. One such frontier is the further expansion of artistic spaces for creative activity in close association with other artists. Our Twin Cities interviews suggest that artists’ work has blossomed in the dedicated studios in Minneapolis’ refurbished California Building and its Traffic Zone building, the writers’ studios in the Open Book and the live/work buildings in St. Paul’s Lowertown. Inner ring suburb St. Louis Park has built live/work spaces for artists, among others, into its new downtown project. Practice space for performing artists who have none at home or whose homes are too small for group work will facilitate performing artists’ development — the Twin Cities’ Intermedia Arts is one example. If decentralized in particular neighborhoods, groups of these facilities can spawn vibrant art crawls where the public is drawn into artists’ studios in the presence of the artist or performers.

Patrons and economic development practitioners might think about recruiting more artists to the region and creating forums for greater exposure of resident artists’ talent and work to potential audiences and buyers in other regions. Recruitment campaigns akin to those used for business attraction might help convince struggling artists in high cost, congested cities elsewhere to move to the region. Such recruiting is apt to be far less costly than firm recruitment and might involve visits, hosted by local artists, for targeted artists and home-grown artists who have moved away. Web-based promotion can help generate interest in regional artists’ work on the part of parties elsewhere. The Twin Cities mnartists.org website is such an initiative; one interviewed artist reported inquires from this source.

In addition, foundations and economic development agencies might begin working with arts organizations that convene and represent artists directly rather than just with arts institutions and performing arts companies. We have shown how membership organizations such as the Writer's Loft and the Writer's Union were important to two of our showcased artists. In addition, community places such as the Hopkins Center for the Arts give artists space to create, and opportunities for income. Providing space for artists to meet, underwriting events that draw artists together in learning situations and to explore career options, and enabling some of the connections we propose below between businesses and artists could be relatively cost-effective initiatives. Foundations should weigh the trade-offs between focusing funding directly on stipends for artists versus investing in artistic entrepreneurship.

Finally, the centrality of amenities to the nurturing of an artistic community suggests deliberate investments in their creation and preservation. Our work on the Twin Cities case demonstrates the pull of the area's unique lake, river and recreational environment, the plurality of public and free arts venues, and diverse spiritual and health options for artists. As the art that they produce becomes its own increment to the region's amenities, it encourages young people to become artists, induces other artists to come or stay, and helps other non-artistic firms attract workers and talent to the region.

B. Strategies for Area Businesses

We have shown that artists as individuals and in arts companies help regional businesses design better products, raise productivity and more successfully market their output. We infer that regions with a comparative advantage in artistic occupations will thus be relatively more successful in the aggregate. What might businesses in a region do to enhance this symbiotic relationship?

First, business managers might more intentionally consider hiring artists in the region for special projects. Many firms already employ designers for purposes specific to their line of business. But our interviewees reported being sought out for a spectrum of unique activities, from using artwork in the design and function of a product, to tailored writing of manuals and promotional materials, to actors and musicians performing videos for employee or customer education, to interactive theatre for improving employee relations on the job. In a world where competition has intensified, the product that appeals and is easy to use and the production process that moves smoothly because employees are educated and happy to be working can make the difference. Artists have a great deal to offer in helping firms create market niches and energize the workplace. Emerging websites that showcase artists can help firms survey the options. Business groups such as the regional Chambers of Commerce and the Minnesota Business Partnership might consider creating a website that highlights artists' familiarity with their industry or sphere of work. Kamin's first career in health care was an important asset in her subsequent work with several companies.

Second, companies might showcase a region's arts community more in recruiting talent from elsewhere. They might hand a recruit a copy of the current arts magazines — in the Twin Cities,

these might include the Minnesota Monthly, City Pages and two daily newspapers' arts sections — to read while settling into a hotel room. Inquiring into a recruit's tastes in music or theater ahead of time, they might include an evening at a local club or playhouse.

Finally, businesses might help the region's artistic community document the latter's significance in shaping productivity, business success and recruiting. Economic developers generally assert that the arts help lure prospective talent to a region, but how do we really know that? A membership survey by the region's lead business organization could generate real evidence for this truism and raise consciousness about the artistic dividend at the same time.

C. Strategies for Artists and Artists' Organizations

For artists themselves, we stress the potential of entrepreneurship for enabling a career in artistic work. We have showcased several artists who began to think "out of the box" for themselves, developing a portfolio of outlets for their talent and artistic creations. These often involve different market strata, whether distinguished by "high art" versus fine craft, or by the size of the pocketbooks of their patrons and consumers. Thinking entrepreneurially may mean an attitude change of major proportions, regarding the relationship between one's art and its end uses. It will also mean thinking adventurously about new types of art markets and how to reach them.

Networks and organizations where artists can meet others in the same and related occupations are central to the success of artistic entrepreneurship, we have found. Membership organizations, including unions, professional groups, and voluntary groupings, provide a forum for exchange of information and insight, ideas for improvements in one's art, and inspiration from hearing others' stories. Many such organizations run training sessions and workshops in business management, marketing, self-representation and other crucial elements of entrepreneurship, tailored to the art form. Literally every economically successful artist we spoke to credited such forums for helping them at specific junctures in their careers.

Collective ways of providing health care coverage and retirement plans will also facilitate artists' pursuit of their artistic careers. Many artists cling to a non-artistic job and shunt their work to after-hours because they need the benefits of the former for their families. Extension of benefits to artists through region-wide group plans would help solve this problem. Some unions already do this. The National Writers' Union, for instance, currently affiliated with the United Auto Workers' Union, offers access to a good health care package to its members, all of whom are independent writers.

Finally, it is inevitable that some artistic careers, especially in the performing arts, come to an early end. Beyond teaching or working for arts organizations, we know little about how talented artists segue into other careers. What helps those exiting a performing arts career find a new path? Artist's membership organizations might think about showcasing alternative second careers.

X. Conclusion

Despite our upbeat assessment of the size and quality of the regional artistic dividend, we conclude that artists are nevertheless facing very difficult times. Markets for art tend to be quite cyclical, so that in recessionary times, as at present, it becomes more difficult to earn a living. New mass media and internet channels favor the largest metropolitan areas as centers for artistic creativity. In most regions, philanthropic support from major businesses has dissipated as firms have merged or been bought up, moving corporate decision-making elsewhere. In the Twin Cities, for instance, Honeywell, once a major patron of the arts, has ceased most local giving since merging with New Jersey-based Allied-Signal. The loss of business support for the arts is compounded by government cutbacks in arts funding at state and national levels. Foundations, too, are currently cutting back as their portfolios sag following the bursting of the stock market bubble.

In this environment, entrepreneurship and networking, facilitated by artists' organizations and their partners in the regional economy, offer the best options for strengthening the community of artists and the resulting artistic dividend. We have suggested a number of strategies for public and private sectors, foundations and artists themselves. These strategies are designed to encourage artists to develop their unique talents, cooperate with other artists, organize by occupational group for networking and addressing common problems, think more broadly about their artwork as a

career, develop entrepreneurial skills and more consciously value their interactions with and contributions to non-artistic sectors of the economy.

Much additional research could be done to document the significance of and delivery mechanisms for the artistic dividend. More in-depth interviewing of more artists in more regions would help to determine just how much artistic entrepreneurship there is in a regional economy, whether it varies by region and how much it contributes to the region's economic base. Similarly, qualitative work on the degree to which non-artistic businesses in a region rely on and benefit from artists' work could help us understand the size of this portion of the artistic dividend. Research using secondary data on artists' interregional migration patterns would help us understand the relative draw of various metropolitan areas. The contribution of artists to neighborhood and sub-regional economies begs to be researched. Finally, there are pressing policy evaluation agendas waiting for talent and resources: what is the trade-off between spending on large, physical performing arts projects versus artistic live/work spaces versus the "softer" funding of artist's individual work and activities of their membership organizations? What, for that matter, are the trade-offs between funding the arts versus other forms of entertainment (e.g. casinos, sports facilities, shopping malls) and other economic development strategies?

An occupational focus acknowledges that many individual artists export their work from the region. They are therefore part of the region's economic base. Their interactions with other business sectors are currently underplayed in arts impact analysis. The imperative for regional economies to specialize will continue through the next two decades. Every region would do well to train its sights on attracting and holding artists through amenities and artistic development and organizational support.

Notes

1 The best of these studies, in our view, is that by Beyers and GMA (1999) on Seattle. Based on an extensive survey of arts organizations and arts patrons, they provide a detailed accounting of arts-related economic impacts for King County. They also compare their methodology and findings with those of a number of recent studies of other major metropolitan areas in the country.

2 The only study we have found that attempts to get at some of these larger impacts is an exploratory piece on the New England economy, *The Creative Economy Initiative* (2000). It continues to use an industry lens, however, defining a “creative cluster” as the applied arts (including graphic, industrial and web design, and advertising), plus the performing, visual, and literary arts, media, heritage (museums) and advocacy and support groups, including funders; it totals up the workers that business establishments in these sectors employ as the measure of the cluster’s size. The excellent Alliance for the Arts/Port Authority of New York and New Jersey study (1993), which attempts to show how its region’s arts complex forms a portion of its economic base, similarly uses industries rather than occupations. Studies of an emerging “culture industry” have an even broader focus; for an excellent overview of European studies on the cultural sector, see MKW Wirtschaftsforschung GmbH (2001).

3 Our data are drawn from the U. S. Census 5% “long form” sample of the population that asks each person in the household of working age to self-report his/her occupation — the one from which they derive the largest portion of their income. People are included in these numbers whether they are employed or not, so our data encompass the artistic labor force, not just those employed.

4 We chose to cover the three largest metropolitan regions — New York, Los Angeles and Chicago, using the Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas, not the CMSA, or Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area. We chose a set of “second tier” cities between 800,000 and 1.5 million in workforce that are regionally representative — Atlanta, Dallas/Ft. Worth, San Francisco/Oakland, Seattle, Minneapolis/St. Paul, Cleveland and Pittsburgh. Because of messy jurisdictional boundaries, we were unable to include the Boston area in this study. We also included one smaller metro area, Albuquerque, because of its strong reputation as an artistic center. In future work, we plan a more expanded set of metros.

5 The definitions of metro areas change periodically as the government decides that previously non-urbanized peripheral counties have grown large enough in population size to incorporate them, or where cities and/or counties have merged or annexed adjacent areas. In order to cope with inconsistencies in the county composition of Census metros over time, the county make up of the metropolitan areas was reconstituted for the periods 1980 and 1990. Using the IPUMS county composition (http://www.ipums.org/usa/volii/county_comp2.html), we matched the 1980 county composition of the metro area with the 1990 composition where possible. This was mostly completed through the addition of counties to the raw 1990 data. In some instances, counties were missing from the 1990 or 1980 data and unavailable for this analysis. Every effort was made to construct definitions that were as similar as possible. The following is a list of each metro area and the county composition for each period. Most of the inconsistencies involve counties with small portions of the total metro population samples.

Metro Area	1980 Counties	1990 Counties
Albuquerque, New Mexico	Bernalillo, Sandoval	Bernalillo
Atlanta, Georgia	Butts, Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Forsyth, Fulton, Gwinnet, Henry, Newton, Spaulding, Rockdale, Walton	Barrow, Butts, Cherokee, Clayton, Cobb, Cowetta, DeKalb, Douglas, Fayette, Forsyth, Fulton, Gwinnet, Henry, Newton, Paulding, Rockdale, Spaulding, Walton
Chicago, Illinois	Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry, Will	Cook, DuPage, Grundy, Kane, Kendall, Lake, McHenry, Will
Cleveland, Ohio	Cuyahoga, Geauga, Lake, Medina	Cuyahoga, Geauga, Lake, Medina
Dallas/Fort Worth, Texas	Collin, Dallas, Denton, Ellis, Hood, Johnson, Kaufman, Parker, Rockwall, Tarrant, Wise	Collin, Dallas, Denton, Ellis, Hood, Johnson, Kaufman, Parker, Rockwall, Tarrant
Los Angeles, California	Los Angeles	Los Angeles
Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota	Anoka, Carver, Chisago, Dakota, Hennepin, Ramsey, Scott, Washington, Wright, St. Croix (WI)	Anoka, Carver, Chisago, Dakota, Hennepin, Isanti, Ramsey, Scott, Sherburne, Washington, Wright, St. Croix (WI)
New York City, N. New Jersey	Bronx, Kings, New York, Putnam, Queens, Richmond, Rockland, Westchester, Bergen (NJ), Passaic (NJ)	Bronx, Kings, New York, Putnam, Queens, Richmond, Rockland, Westchester, Bergen (NJ), Passaic (NJ)
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	Allegheny, Beaver, Washington, Westmoreland	Allegheny, Beaver, Washington, Westmoreland
San Francisco-Oakland, CA	Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, San Francisco, San Mateo	Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, San Francisco, San Mateo
Seattle-Everett, Washington	King, Snohomish	King, Snohomish

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