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Dynamics of Culture

Social Impact of the Arts Project

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Artists and Their Social Networks, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2004

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Artists and Their Social Networks, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2004

Abstract

This paper reports the rationale, methodology, and findings of SIAP's Philadelphia Area Artists Survey 2004. SIAP undertook the survey as a first step toward the documentation and understanding of the region's artists and their social networks. The study had four objectives: to address a gap in the literature by doing an empirical study of the social networks of artists; to document the informal dimensions of artists' networking in metropolitan Philadelphia; to test methodologies to identify the universe of artists in the region and analyze their network strategies; and, finally, to advance SIAP's understanding of the role of the artist in the contemporary city.

The report documents two types of networking activity: networks that are part of everyday professional life, including nuts and bolts as well as inspiration for the creative process; and networks to get work, that is, projects or positions (over a 12-month period) that tap their capacity as an artist. The picture of social networks presented in this paper differs from the image based on the organization-centered perspective that has dominated policy research. An artist-centered view redraws boundaries of the cultural sector and recasts definitions of informal vs. formal and internal vs. external networks. The findings begin to address the empirical shortfall in research and offer new perspectives on the nature and function of artists' social networks.

Disciplines
Arts and Humanities | Social Statistics | Sociology

Comments

SIAP's methodology for the artist-network survey was based on respondent-driven sampling (RDS), originally developed by Douglas Heckathorn at Cornell University for research on intravenous drug-users and other 'hidden population" groups for which there is no reliable data for more conventional sampling strategies. Joan Jeffri and colleagues used RDS strategy in their 2003 study of jazz musicians (*Changing the Beat: A Study of the Worklife of Jazz Musicians*) for the National Endowment for the Arts. Jeffri's comparison of samples drawn from union membership and using RDS makes a strong case that RDS is the preferred method for studying populations like artists for whom there is no clear sampling frame.

SIAP's companion working paper—*Gauging the Informal Arts Sector, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2004*—provides a full discussion of its use of RDS methodology and success in generating a representative sample of Philadelphia's "hidden population" of artists.

SIAP

**Social Impact of
the Arts Project**

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DYNAMICS OF CULTURE
Working Paper #2005-5

**Artists and their Social Networks,
Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2004**

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October 2005

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CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

The Social Impact of the Arts Project's *Dynamics of Culture* research is based on an ecological approach to the study of the regional cultural sector and its intersection with the contemporary urban community. Related research and policy tend to focus on the nonprofit organizations that are the accessible anchors of resources and activity for those interested in the health of the cultural sector or of particular local communities. As a result, other "nodes" and "links" in the "system"—the role of individual artists, for example—tend to be poorly documented and under-appreciated.

SIAP's previous work has highlighted artists and their networks as important to the vitality of the regional cultural sector and the integration of culture and community. Our working hypothesis is that, due to their unique social roles and economic challenges, artists construct a complex set of social networks to support their work. The networking logic of artists derives from their particular set of circumstances: (1) the collective nature of creative production;[1] (2) the lack of an institutionally organized work environment;[2] (3) the intersection of private and professional networks due to the nature of creative and cultural work; and (4) the uncertainty of employment and marginal social status of the artist in the United States.

Artists therefore function as "nodes" where different networks intersect and thus have the potential to serve a bridging role within urban communities and metropolitan regions. In sustaining their work, artists serve to connect—intentionally or not—individuals with places, organizations, or identity communities as well as local agencies with regional counterparts. In other words, the social capital imperative of artists, which results in their active construction and use of networks, has positive "spillover" effects that contribute to community-building.

To begin documentation of the region's artists and their social networks, SIAP undertook a survey of artists residing in the Philadelphia metropolitan area. The survey, conducted during the summer of 2004, had several objectives:

- to address a gap in the general literature by doing an empirical study of the social networks of artists;
- to document the local and informal dimensions of artists' networking in metropolitan Philadelphia;
- to test methodologies suitable for the study of artists and, in particular, artists and their social networks;
- to advance SIAP's research agenda toward an understanding of the role of the artist in the contemporary city.

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[1] Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1982).

[2] Vera John-Steiner, *Creative Collaboration* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 78.

This document reports the findings of the *Philadelphia Area Artists Survey 2004*. Following this overview, the Introduction discusses the rationale for the research in the context of broader trends in the field and current literature on the subject. Next we describe the methodology, specifically, the design of the survey and the sampling strategy. Chapter II, Profile of the Artists, describes the artists who participated in the survey in terms of their demographic, professional, and networking characteristics. (A companion working paper—"Gauging the Informal Arts Sector, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2004"—compares the sample with two data bases on artists in metropolitan Philadelphia, the 2000 U.S. census and the data base of the Pew Fellowships in the Arts.)

Chapters III and IV, the core of the report, document two types of networking activity: first, networks that are part of everyday professional life, including the nuts and bolts as well as inspiration for the creative process; and, second, networks to get work, that is, to identify projects or positions that tap their capacity as an artist. Chapter III, Artists' Workaday Networks, describes one week of contacts and relationships reported by respondents to meet the support needs of their daily professional lives. Chapter IV, Artists Networks to Get Work, describes the projects and positions held during a one-year period and the contacts and relationships that connected the artist with those positions. Finally, Chapter V concludes with a summary of key findings and new perspectives on artists and networks and makes recommendations for further research.

Rationale

SIAP's study of artists' social networks grows out and builds on a broader literature. Below we first give an overview of several broad social and economic trends that inform the study. Next we look at the status current research on artists and their social networks.

Trends in the Economy and Society

An understanding of working artists and their social networks takes on an increased significance in light of changes in the economy and social life underway at the turn of the new millenium. Four trends are of particular note as a backdrop for the study:

1) the rise of the network society;

2) deinstitutionalization, marketization, and emergence of the network entreprise;

3) changing patterns of cultural participation; and

4) the artist in the new cultural economy.

Rise of the network society

A fundamental transformation of our time has been the information technology revolution, which is associated with both the transition from industrialism to informationalism and the restructuring of capitalism since the 1980s.[3] Observers concur on three general features of the new economy: increasing globalization, increasing

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[3] Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture, Volume I, The Rise of the Network Society* (Malden, Mass and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996) 1-65

decentralization (networks and flexibility), and increase of intangibles (knowledge, information, images and fantasies).

Manuel Castells, an eminent theorist of the information age, argues that one of the fundamental effects of information technology on the contemporary world has been "the rise of the network society." In the first part of his three-volume book, *The Information Age*, Castells concludes:

> "As a historical trend, the dominant functions and processes in the information age are increasingly organized around networks. Networks constitute the new social morphology of our societies, and the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcome in processes of production, experience, power, and culture."

Castells defines the concept of network as follows: "A network is a set of interconnected nodes. A node is the point at which a curve intersects itself. What a node is, concretely speaking, depends on the kind of concrete networks of which we speak…." Networks are wonderfully adaptable to the myriad of needs and settings of modern society.

> Networks are open structures, able to expand without limits, integrating new nodes as long as they are able to communicate within the network … A network-based social structure is a highly dynamic, open system, susceptible to innovating without threatening its balance."[5]

Artists due to the nature of their work have traditionally been both innovators and networkers. The guiding hypothesis of the SIAP study is that the regional cultural sector functions as "a network-based social structure" and that individual artists function as nodes within that structure.

Deinstitutionalization, marketization, and emergence of the network enterprise

Sociologist Paul DiMaggio has observed that the socio-economic and political changes of the late twentieth century have contributed to the erosion of "the current system of classifying art and sponsoring artistic production and distribution." Of particular note has been the decline of *institutionalization*, policies designed to insulate nonprofit cultural organizations from market forces, which has created and nurtured the high culture system in the United States since the nineteenth century. The general thrust of arts policy had been toward "… preventing existing organizations from failing, encouraging small organizations to become larger and large organizations to seek immortality."[6] The more recent and countervailing trend has been away from support through direct public subsidy and philanthropy and toward marketization.

These developments are examined in a series of Rand reports on the state of U.S. arts at the beginning of the twenty-first century. According to these studies, in contrast to the traditional arts world characterized by "a sharp demarcation between a nonprofit sector

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[4] *Op cit*., Castells, 469 - 4.
[5] *Op cit*., Castells, 469 - 470.
[6] Paul DiMaggio, "Social Structure, Institutions, and Cultural Goods: The Case of the United States," in Pierre Bourdieu and James S. Colemen, eds, *Social Theory for a Changing Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991) 38-62.

[7] McCarthy et al, 2001. Recapped in From Celluloid to Cyberspace

producing high arts and a for-profit sector producing mass entertainment," the major divisions in the future "will be along the lines of large versus small arts organizations and those that cater to broad versus niche markets." Large nonprofit cultural institutions, like commercial arts firms, increasingly are marketing and billing celebrity artists to attract large audiences and associated revenues. At the other end of the spectrum, small arts groups are proliferating and diversifying. Small firms are serving niche markets, while low-budget nonprofit and voluntary organizations working to achieve relative autonomy from the market in order to expand creative and participatory opportunities.[8]

Castells discusses organizational crisis and change in the context of a new organizational form that has emerged in response to the new informational and global economy—the network enterprise.

> "…[T]here is a fundamental difference between two types of organizations: organizations for which the reproduction of their system of means becomes their main organizational goal; and organizations in which goals, and the changes of goals, shape and endlessly reshape the structure of means. I call the first type of organizations bureaucracies; the second type, enterprises."[9]

For the first time in history, according to Castells, the basic unit of economic organization is not a subject, be it individual (e.g., entrepreneur, household) or collective (e.g., corporation, organization). Rather, "*the unit is the network*, made up of a variety of subjects and organizations, relentlessly modified as networks adapt to supportive environments and market structures."[10] The SIAP study is an opportunity to examine artists' social networks in an environment that encompasses both traditional bureaucratic organizations as well as network enterprises.

Changing patterns of cultural participation

In at least one respect, these broad social changes are directly mirrored by adaptations in the arts world. That is, the coming of the information age has spurred changing patterns of consumer demand and corresponding changes in arts and cultural participation. Meanwhile, over the past decade, many cultural institutions have been devoting more attention and resources to increasing public participation in their programs and activities. Organizations' increased interest in participation is directly related to the deinstitutionalization and marketization trends mentioned above. While the traditional focus of arts policy was on "supply"—that is, the quantity and quality of arts opportunities provided by an organization, the emphasis has since shifted to "demand"— that is, public access and exposure to the arts. In fact, policy has pushed nonprofit cultural organizations to expand both the social and community benefits of their programs *and* their marketability to increase earned income and overall revenues.

Meanwhile, individual decisions to engage in culture or other leisure activities are responsive to yet another array of forces. On the one hand, the expansion of the commercial and nonprofit arts sectors—in combination with rising incomes, changing lifestyles, and an expanding leisure industry—offer many Americans a wider palette of

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[8] Kevin F. McCarthy and Elizabeth Heneghan Ondaatje, *From Celluloid to Cyberspace: The Media Arts and the Changing Arts World* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2002) 17-18.
[9] *Op cit*., Castells, 171.
[10] *Ibid*., Castells, 198.

leisure time options than ever before. Technology has further increased accessibility through new distribution channels such as the Internet, cable systems, and expanding broadband capacity. On the other hand, irregular work schedules as well as under- and over-employment have increasingly fragmented the time available for leisure and may have actually resulted in a decrease in the overall available free time that Americans enjoyed during much of the twentieth century.

The ways that individuals and households participate in the arts reflect these opportunities and constraints. Two broad trends are noteworthy: one, leisure activities have become increasingly home-centered and, two, people seek to personalize their leisure activities—in the case of culture, they favor "art forms and modes of participation that allow them to determine what they consume, when, where, and how." Cultural participation patterns have changed accordingly: one, the rate of attendance (percentage of population) at live performances and move theaters has been relatively stable; two, an increasing fraction of the public participate in the arts through the media—e.g., via recordings, radio, or television; and, three, an increasing (though much lower) fraction of the public appear to be participating in the arts directly—e.g., by acting, painting, or making music.

So, how to bridge the program with the public? In the new cultural economy, the artist may be a node and a link—the bridge between artistic producers and consumers; between formal programming and informal artistic and cultural practices; between the creative arts, traditional cultures, and entertainment. The Rand reports have found that the number of individuals who identify themselves as artists has been steadily increasing as have the range of artistic identities—from amateur, avocational, or part-time artists to celebrities and superstars. Avocational and part-time artists outnumber full-time professionals by a ratio of 20 to 1, and the gap appears to be increasing. Moreover, the avocational and part-time professional artists appear to be playing an important role in facilitating opportunities for local community involvement as well as hands-on participation in the arts. Finally, as artists incorporate multiple disciplines and adopt a variety of media in their activities and performances, their potential to engage the public in culture and the creative process is magnified.[12]

The artist in the new cultural economy

Political-economic theorists Jim Shorthose and Gerard Strange have coined the term "creative ecology" to describe the practices of artists and other creative producers that characterize "a new cultural economy."[13]

> … [A]rtistic labour often occurs within communities of similarly independent artists, working within radically new, relatively self-determined informal networks and mutual support systems. These independent artistic networks are composed of freelancers, the temporarily employed, sole traders and micro-businesses, and those who occupy a fluid position in relation to formal cultural economy, organisations and jobs. The mutuality, informality, fluidity and continual cultural feedback at the heart of these artistic communities suggests

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[11] *Op cit.,* McCarthy and Heneghan Ondaatje, 12-13.

[12] *Op cit..,* McCarthy and Heneghan Ondaatje, 12 - 18.

[13] Jim Shorthose and Gerard Strange, "The New Cultural Economy, the Artist and the Social Configuration of Autonomy," *Capital and Class*, Winter 2004.

that they are better understood as ecologies of interdependence, rather than as formal economic structures.

Individual artists within the creative ecology exhibit a number of characteristics that are integral to their development of interdependent networks.

o *entrepreneurialism*, which is crucial to establishing the networks that enable artistic workers to migrate between different projects, groups and events. Many artists have 'portfolio careers'—which involves working on a part-time or flexible contract basis in other sectors, usually services or education—to support their independent creative projects.

o *affirmation of membership in the artistic community*. Portfolio careers often imply social and political and other non-economic values that motivate productive activity, ranging from professional interest in community or educational work to autonomy in creative and artistic work that is independent of a market agenda.

o *blurred distinctions between interior artistic life, work life, social life and friendship*, whereby collaborators become friends as well as professional colleagues. For Shorthose and Strange, the intertwining of cultural meanings and bonds with productive activities "signals a social context for de-alienated labour."

o *self-sustainability*, which reflects the "voluntary, cooperative, localised and communitylike nature" of the creative ecology and distributes the benefits of social capital investment beyond the individual to the collective.

Shorthose and Strange are interested in the dynamics of creative ecology, defined by "a relatively autonomous work-life nexus," as a potential model for alternative working patterns, forms of exchange, and flows of social capital under the new economy.

Current Research on Artists and Social Networks

During the past 15 years, the working lives and conditions of artists have increasingly become the subject of research. In many countries, more people are working as artists now than 20 years ago, and more people are interested in why and how they do it.[14]

Joan Jeffri, Founder and Director of the Columbia University Research Center for Arts and Culture, directs and catalogues research on the economic conditions of independent artists in the United States. In a 2004 review of research on the individual artist, Jeffri noted the desirability of more research that explicates artists' networks. "By understanding in detail who artists hang out with and who they have as mentors, apprentices, and colleagues, we gain a much stronger sense of how integrated the artist community is."[15]

A 2003 report by the Culture, Creativity, and Communities Program of the Urban Institute, *Investing in Creativity: A Study of the Support Structure for U.S. Artists*, provides a national overview of the current issues and needs of artists in the United

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[14] Phyllida Shaw, "Researching Artists' Working Lives" (Special Research Feature Lift-out), *Arts Research Digest*, Volume 30, Spring 2004.

[15] Joan Jeffri, "Research on the Individual Artist: Seeking the Solitary Singer," *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society* (Heldref Publications, Vol. 34, No. 1, Spring 2004) 19.

States. The report identifies information gaps revealed by the research—in particular, data about artists as a professional group, about the social contributions of artists; and about artists' support structure—as well as wider concerns about adequate information gathering and monitoring. Communities and networks—inward connections to other artists and outward connections to non-artists—were cited as a key feature of the support structure of artists.

> Our research indicates that artist-focused organizations and networks are essential to the livelihood of artists… [B]etter information is needed … about the presence, roles, and viability of these organizations. We also need some way to monitor the extent to which artist and advocates for artists figure in spheres of influence (at various levels) outside the cultural sector. Such information would be useful in designing various kinds of advocacy strategies as well as strategies to channel necessary resources to artists.[17]

SIAP has explored the relationship of artists, networks, and communities for several years. During the spring of 1999, we undertook a pilot project with four local artists to test the feasibility of a journal entry approach to the study of artists' contacts. Each artist chose his or her own documentation method (blank book and pen, tape recorder, e-mail notation, and transcription of personal notes) and tracked their daily or weekly artistic contacts for three months. The findings were rich and revealing of the reach of the independent artist, suggesting that this topic would indeed be a fruitful pursuit and the approach could certainly inform future depth studies of artists and their social networks.

The study of the Culture Builds Community (CBC) initiative of the William Penn Foundation from 1997 to 2001 was critical to SIAP's shift to an ecological perspective of the community cultural sector and an appreciation of the role of artists in particular.[18] Research involved in the CBC evaluation included: one, development of a data base of over 2,200 artists connected with ten community arts organizations; two, a self-administered mail survey of a sample 65 artists connected with the grantee organizations; three, interviews with key staff regarding the roles of artists and their relationship to their organization; and, four, documentation and analysis of the institutional networks initiated and maintained by the grantee organizations over a three-year period.

As part of the *Dynamics of Culture* research, with Rockefeller Foundation support, SIAP conducted during the summer of 2002 a study of the institutional infrastructure that connects artists with work in metropolitan Philadelphia. That study involved identification of the region's artist-serving organizations and in-person interviews with staff of a sample of 13 of those organizations that support artists as part of their mission.

SIAP's *Philadelphia Area Artists Survey 2004* represents a major advance in developing the means to document the social networks of artists and how they use these networks in their work. The study builds on our previous work and is a first step in addressing an empirical gap in research to date on artists and their social networks.

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[16] Urban Institute citation

[17] Maria-Rosario Jackson, *et al*, *Investing in Creativity: A Study of the Support Structure for U.S. Artists*, (Washington D.C.: Urban Institute, Culture, Creativity, and Communities Program, 2003) 76-82.

[18] Mark J. Stern and Susan C. Seifert, *Culture Builds Community Evaluation, Summary Report* (University of Pennsylvania, Social Impact of the Arts Project, January 2002.)

Research Methodology

After assessing our previous efforts and several alternatives, we decided to use a telephone survey as the most realistic means of carrying out this research. In this section, we describe our sampling strategy and the design and administration of the survey questionnaire.

Sampling Strategy

One of the key elements of our strategy is the use of *respondent-driven sampling* (RDS). This method, originally developed by Douglas Heckathorn at Cornell University for research on intravenous drug-users, is a variation of chain-referral methods that holds the promise of producing data that is representative of the general population from which one is sampling. Heckathorn refers to these as 'hidden population"–groups for which no reliable listing of members can be used as the basis for more conventional sampling strategies. Through the structuring of incentives, Heckathorn has demonstrated that RDS can overcome the problems often associated with chain-referral (snowball) sampling methods and provide unbiased estimates of population parameters.[19]

The promise of RDS is one reason why Joan Jeffri and her colleagues used this strategy in their recent study of jazz musicians for the National Endowment for the Arts. Their comparison of samples drawn from union membership and using RDS makes a strong case that RDS is the preferred method for studying populations like artists for whom there is no clear sampling frame.[20]

The SIAP design began with a set of 'seeds'—artists gleaned from public records or referred to us by local cultural organizations. Seeds were interviewed and then asked to refer up to three other respondents whom they believed would be willing to respond to the questionnaire. To be eligible for the study, the person had to reside in metropolitan Philadelphia (the eight-county region) and self-identify as an artist. Respondents were paid ten dollars for completing the survey and ten dollars for each of the three possible respondents who actually completes the survey. This fee structure reflected the assumptions of RDS because it put the emphasis on referrals and focused less on 'paying' respondents than on recognizing their willingness to recruit other artists to the survey.

Thus the sample for the *Philadelphia Area Artists Survey* was made of two groups: (1) a set of 27 "seed" artists, drawn from lists of local artists involved with Philadelphia area community-based arts and cultural organizations, and (2) a set of 243 Philadelphia area artists who were referred by other respondents during the course of six waves.[21]

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[19] Douglas D. Heckathorn, Respondent-Driven Sampling II: Deriving Valid Population Estimates from Chain-Referral Samples of Hidden Populations," *Social Problems* 49:1 (February 2002): 11-34.

[20] Joan Jeffri, *Changing the Beat: A Study of the Worklife of Jazz Musicians*. Volume III: Respondent-Driven Sampling, NEA Research Division Report #43. (Washington, D.C.: NEA, 2003).

[21] In order to provide population estimates, RDS results must be weighted to take into consideration variations in network size (those with large networks are more likely to be included in an RDS study) and homophily (the tendency of individuals to form bonds with members of their own group). In this paper, we have not weighted the results. Therefore, the findings in this paper should be read as the results of the survey rather than as estimates of population parameters. (See full discussion in SIAP working paper, "Gauging the Informal Arts Sector," October 2005.)
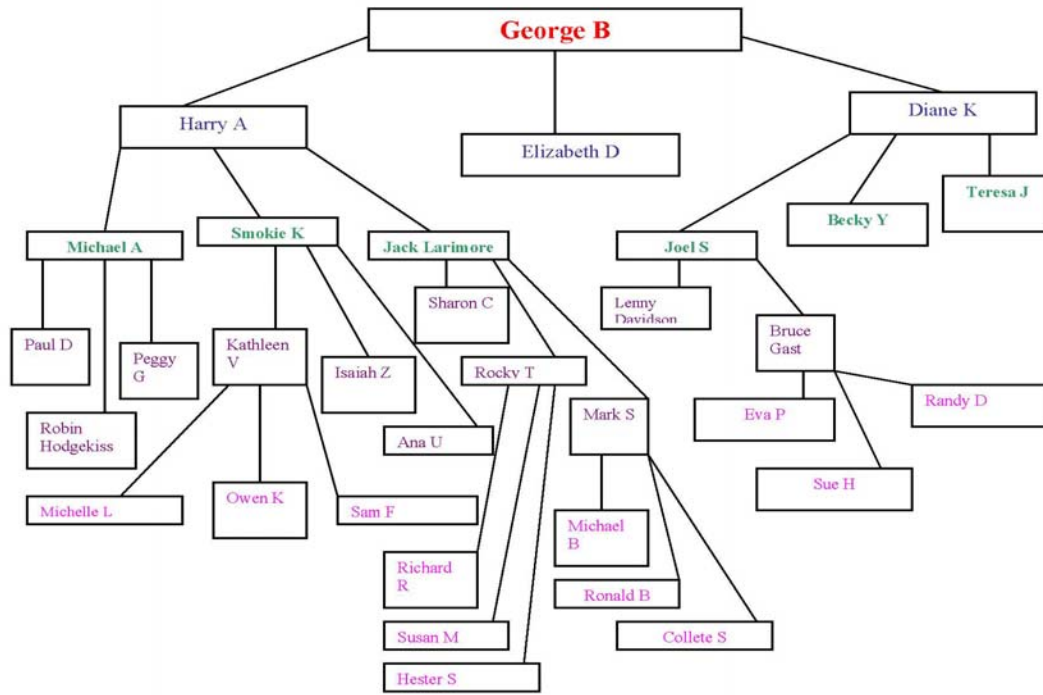
Figure 1-1. Network developed from one 'seed' interview

Survey Design

The other challenge we faced in designing the study was gaining valid information on the frequency and character of artists' professional contacts. Retrospective research methods—that ask about one's behavior in the past—have a tendency to produce data that mix normative concerns ("I *should* have contacted that person") and homogeneous, general estimates ("I did that three or four times in the past year") with accurate reporting. The alternative to retrospective reports is simultaneously-gathered data. For example, in some time-diary studies, respondents are given a beeper and contacted randomly during the study to give reports about what they are doing at that particular moment.

SIAP was attracted to try a study based on simultaneous data-gathering but decided against it at this stage for two reasons. First, these studies tend to be very expensive. It would be foolish to design such a study without substantial consulting with researchers who have used the method. The equipment needs are substantial, and the research requires substantial funding to compensate subjects for the inconvenience of the study method. Second, because artists' networks are still a new topic of research, it would be better first to collect information from a broader sample of respondents to help generate hypotheses about the phenomena before shifting to the intensive study of a small number of subjects.

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Although we decided to make the study retrospective, we insisted on keeping the time frame for the study short. Most questions asked the artist about networking behavior during the previous week. The exceptions were a mentoring question that asked about relationships over the previous month and a 'work history' that examined the respondents' work contacts over the previous year. Our hope was that keeping the time frame short would reduce the homogenizing tendencies of broader retrospective studies.

The survey was designed to be orally administered via telephone by a trained interviewer. Interviews were scheduled at the respondent's convenience and took about 20 minutes to complete. Respondents were compensated both for completing the questionnaire and for referring other artists if they too completed the questionnaire. Adults eligible for the survey were required to reside in the Philadelphia metropolitan area and describe themselves as an artist. The questionnaire asked respondents five types of questions:

- o their profile as an artist,
- o their professional contacts over the past week,
- o their mentoring contacts over the past month,
- o their professional projects and positions over the past year, and
- o general demographic information.

The SIAP study is based on an ecological perspective and working hypothesis that the networks of the working artist strengthen the social fabric and economic vitality of urban communities. An environmental approach was also the basis of a 2003 report by the Urban Institute called *Investing in Creativity: A Study of the Support Structure for U.S. Artists*. The report presents a framework for understanding support for artists which "recognizes that the cultural sector operates, not in a vacuum, but in specific communities whose economic and social characteristics, processes, and policies are integral to how an artist lives and works." Using *place* as an organizing principle, the Urban Institute identified six major dimensions of a place that make it "hospitable or inhospitable to artists." This perspective was useful to consider in the design of the Philadelphia Area Artists Survey. Below are the six dimensions of support identified by the Urban Institute:

Validation—the ascription of value to what artists do or make. Includes direct validation through peer recognition and opportunities for artists to connect with the public.

Demand/markets—society's appetite for artists and what they do, and the markets that translate this appetite into financial compensation

Material supports—access to the financial and physical resources artists need for their work: employment, insurance and similar benefits, grants and awards, equipment, materials, and space.

Training and professional development—conventional and lifelong learning opportunities. Includes peer-to-peer and mentoring relationships as critical to professional training and development.

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[22] *Op cit*., Jackson *et al, Investing in Creativity*, 7.

Communities and networks—inward connections to other artists and people in the cultural sector; outward connections to people not primarily in the cultural sector; and personal networks.

Information—data sources about artists and for artists.[23]

The purpose of the *Philadelphia Area Artists Survey* was to document how Philadelphia area artists make connections with individuals and institutions in the pursuit of their work as well as the identification of opportunity. Thus the SIAP study directly addresses issues raised by the last two dimensions of support—i.e., the need for new *information*, especially about the social contributions of artists, and particularly for better information about artists' *communities and networks*.

The Urban Institute's first four support dimensions helped inform design of the survey instrument. (See Appendix 1 for a copy of the survey instrument.) The survey asked artists about two uses of contacts:

1) *to address ongoing support needs*—to handle the challenges of everyday work-life including *material supports*, *validation*, *training and professional development*—as well as personal support and the core challenge of the creative process; and

2) *to find professional projects and positions*—that is, to identify *demand or markets* for their services as an artist.

Regarding the challenges of everyday work-life, the survey asked about a set of needs that all artists have at one time or another. To capture the day-to-day nature and frequency of networking, we asked the respondents to identify their concerns and contacts during the previous week only. This section of the survey asked the following questions.

Material supports

In the past 7 days, in doing your work as an artist, …

- have you sought technical information—such as, types of equipment, supplies, or techniques?

- have you contacted someone to discuss economic issues, such as housing, workspace, health care, or employment?

Validation

In the past 7 days, in doing your work as an artist, …

- have you sought critical feedback concerning your work?

- have you talked with someone about how to connect with a new audience or community?

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[23] *Op cit*., Jackson *et al, Investing in Creativity*, 7-8.

Training and professional development

In the past 7 days, in doing your work as an artist, …

- have you asked someone for advice about professional development or a career decision?

Personal support

In the past 7 days, in doing your work as an artist, …

- have you talked with or contacted someone about a conflict with a colleague or co-worker?
- have you sought social or emotional support?

Creative process

In the past 7 days, in doing your work as an artist, …

- have you talked with someone about a future project that you have in mind?

Mentoring relationships

The Urban Institute report discusses mentoring in light of its role in professional training and career development. However, the SIAP survey framed mentoring as a potentially unique type of network relationship. In addition to the uses of social contacts, the survey asked respondents directly about mentoring relationships. The time period to be considered by the respondent for this section of the survey was lengthened to one month.

In the past month, in doing your work as an artist, …

- have you contacted someone whom you consider a mentor?
- has someone who considers you a mentor contacted you?

Professional projects and positions

Regarding the need for social networks to identify opportunities and obtain professional work, the survey asked respondents to list sites where they had worked as an artist, either paid or unpaid, during the previous 12-month period.

For each site, respondents were asked to provide the name of the organization or firm, its location (city, town, zip code), the type of project of position, its duration, and how they learned about the position—i.e., through personal contact or another source.

Networking characteristics

For each personal contact reported by respondents—regarding support needs, mentoring relationships, and/or professional projects or positions—the survey asked the following set of questions:[25]

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[24] *Op cit.*, Jackson *et al, Investing in Creativity*, 62, 64

[25] The survey also asked the following question, but we did not analyze the responses: How did you contact him/her (e.g., phone, e-mail, in person, social gathering)?

- Whom did you contact? (organizational identity, position, or occupation of personal contacts)
- Is he/she an artist?
- What is your relationship to him/her?
- How long have you known him/her?

Through the survey, we attempted to gather sufficient data to analyze variability in networking behavior among individual artists as well as characteristics and patterns of the sample as a whole.

II. PROFILE OF THE ARTISTS

In this chapter, we profile the artists who participated in the survey. The sample consists of 270 Philadelphia area artists interviewed between June 10th and August 12th of 2004. All survey respondents, as a condition of eligibility, were residents of the Philadelphia region and identified himself or herself as an artist.

Below we first describe the demographic characteristics of the artists in the sample and, where possible using the 2000 U.S. census, compare the sample artists with the regional labor force and working artists as a whole. Next, we describe the professional characteristics of the respondent artists, including their discipline, training, experience, and scope of arts-related employment. Finally, we describe the respondents' network characteristics as the context for a full discussion of the artists' use of networks that is the subject of the next two chapters.

Demographic Characteristics

Geography

All artists in the sample resided in metropolitan Philadelphia, including both the Pennsylvania and New Jersey suburbs, during the summer of 2004. Although their places of residence were distributed throughout the metropolitan area, fully three-quarters of the sample (75 percent) were residents of the city of Philadelphia.

Location of residence	Artists Survey 2004
Philadelphia Center City	15%
Philadelphia neighborhood	60%
Suburban county	25%
Total population	100%

Age and income characteristics of the artists in the sample are discussed in detail below. However, it is notable that the artists residing in Center City were more likely than average to be 20 to 40 years old or to have an annual household income under $45,000. The artists residing outside of Philadelphia were more likely to be over 40 years old or to have a household income over $85,000.

Over half (56 percent) of all artists interviewed were born in the tri-state region: 30 percent in the city of Philadelphia and 26 percent elsewhere in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, or Delaware. The rest of the sample (44 percent) had moved to the region from elsewhere in the United States (or another country).

Age, gender, ethnicity

Respondents to the survey were adults ranging in age from 20 to 75 years old. As shown on the table below, adults of all ages were relatively evenly represented. The 31 to 40-year-olds, 26 percent of the sample, were the most numerous age cohort. Overall, younger adults between the ages of 20 and 40 comprised 48 percent of the sample, while adults over 40 comprised 52 percent.

| | | Philadelphia Metropolitan Area | |
Age Category	Artists Survey 2004	Labor Force 2000	All Artists 2000
20 to 30-year-olds	22%	23%	26%
31 to 40-year-olds	26%	27%	22%
41 to 55-year-olds	33%	35%	36%
Over 55 years old	19%	15%	16%
Total population	100%	100%	100%

Among all artists in the sample, men predominated at 62 percent, with women representing 38 percent. The youngest age category, the 20 to 30-year-olds, had a somewhat higher than expected ratio of men to women (66% to 34%). By contrast, the oldest age category, the over 55-year-olds, had a higher than expected ratio of women to men (43% to 57%). Generally, however, men and women were represented proportionately in all age categories.

| | | Philadelphia Metropolitan Area | |
Gender	Artists Survey 2004	Labor Force 2000	All Artists 2000
Male	62%	51%	54%
Female	38%	49%	46%
Total population	100%	100%	100%

With respect to ethnicity, the sample artists generally reflected the labor force profile of the metropolitan area as a whole. Relative to the census artists, however, the sample over-represented minority artists. Three-quarters (75 percent) of the artists interviewed, based on their response, were classified as "white" and one-quarter (25 percent) as a non-white ethnic group. Below is a comparison of the ethnic composition of the sample artists with the region's labor force as a whole and census artists, based on the U.S. 2000 census.

| | | Philadelphia Metropolitan Area | |
Ethnicity	Artists Survey 2004	Labor Force 2000	All Artists 2000
White (non-latin)	75%	74%	88%
African American (non-latin)	14%	17%	7%
Latin American	3%	4%	2%
Other[26]	8%	4%	3%
Total population	100%	99%	100%

Latin American respondents were more likely to be 20 to 40 years old, while African Americans were more likely to be 41 to 55 years old. Artists in the "other" ethnic categories were more likely to be 31 to 40 years old.

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[26] "Other" includes the following classifications: multi-ethnic (three percent), Asian American or Pacific Islander (two percent), American Indian (one percent), and non-response (two percent).

Education

On the whole, the sample artists were a well-educated group. Nearly three-quarters of the respondents (73 percent) had attained at least a college degree (BA) and nearly a third of the respondents (30 percent) had a graduate degree (masters or doctorate). All but seven percent of respondents had some college education.

		Philadelphia Metropolitan Area	
Educational attainment	Artists Survey 2004	Labor Force 2000	All Artists 2000
High school only	7%	42%	15%
Some college	20%	28%	29%
Bachelor's degree (or more)	43%	30%	55%
Graduate degree	30%		
Total population	100%	100%	99%

On the whole, the men in the sample (six of ten respondents) had a lower rate of educational achievement than the women. An above average number of men had completed high school or some college only, while an above average number of women had received a graduate degree.

Household size and income

Among all respondents, the number of people per family or household, including children and adults, ranged from one to seven. Two-thirds of the artists lived alone or with one other person: two-person households represented 38 percent of the sample, and singles presented 29 percent. One-third of all respondents (33 percent) lived in a family or household of three or more people.

		Philadelphia Metropolitan Area	
Household size	Artists Survey 2004	Labor Force 2000	All Artists 2000
1 person	29%	14%	16%
2 persons	38%	27%	35%
3 persons	15%	22%	23%
4 or more	18%	37%	26%
Total population	100%	100%	100%

The survey questionnaire asked respondents for their household income (last year from all sources) by category: under $45,000, $45,000 to $85,000 or over $85,000. Over half of the respondents (54 percent) reported an annual household income of under $45,000.

		Philadelphia Metropolitan Area	
Household income	Artists Survey 2004	Labor Force 2000	All Artists 2000
Under $45,000	54%	28%	29%
$45,000 – $85,000	31%	36%	33%
Over $85,000	15%	35%	38%
Total population	100%	100%	100%

Household size and income were related, as expected, in that the likelihood of one's income being higher increased with household size. The most notable fact was that 82 percent of the respondents who lived alone had an annual income of under $45,000. Although households with three or more people were the most likely to have an income of over $85,000, fully 43 percent of these households also had an under $45,000 income.

Household income by size, artists survey 2004 respondents

Annual income	All households	1-person	2-persons	3-7 persons
Under $45,000	54%	82%	43%	43%
$45,000 – $85,000	31%	16%	40%	34%
Over $85,000	15%	2%	17%	23%
Percent respondents	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of respondents	266	74	101	89

Other factors associated with income were ethnicity, place of residence, education, and gender. Respondents who were African American, Latin American, or Center City residents were disproportionately represented in the lowest income category: 70 percent of the black and latino artists and 69 percent of the Center City artists in the sample had a household income of less than $45,000. Respondents who resided in the suburban counties were more likely than others to have a household income of over $85,000.

Education was related to income in that respondents without a college degree were less likely to have an over $85,000 household income and those with a graduate degree were less likely to have an under $45,000 household income. Women were somewhat more likely than men to have a household income of under $45,000, while men were somewhat more likely to have a $45,000 to $85,000 income.

Professional Characteristics

Years as an artist

The survey questionnaire opened with the question, "How long have you considered yourself an artist?" The responses ranged from a few years to "all my life," with the general tenor on longevity of identity as an artist. As shown on the table below, the sample includes artists at all stages of professional development, with somewhat greater representation among mid-career professionals—i.e., those who have identified as artists for more than ten but less than 25 years.

Years as an Artist	Artists Survey 2004 Respondents
0 -10 years	22 %
11 – 25 years	37 %
Over 25 years	28 %
Lifelong	13 %
Total population	100 %

Respondents who reported being an artist "all my life" were represented proportionately across all age groups. Among the 20 to 40-year-olds, 13 percent were "lifers" and an additional five percent reported being an artist for over 25 years. Another path was represented by the six percent of over-40-years-olds who reported being an artist for ten years or less. Generally however, as expected, a respondent's age predicted his or her years as an artist, with 20 to 30-year-olds more likely to have been artists for 10 years or less and the over-40-year-olds more likely to have been artists for over 25 years.

Women were more likely than men to describe themselves as "lifelong" artists (57 percent to 43 percent, respectively). Overall, however, the women in the sample were more likely than the men to be in the earlier stages of their artistic careers. Women were over-represented in the least experienced category (50 percent of the artists of 10 years or less) and under-represented in the most experienced category (29 percent of the artists of 26 years or more).

Generally, income was related positively to years as an artist. Respondents with an under $45,000 income were more likely to have been an artist for up to ten years, while those with an over $85,000 income were more likely to have an artist for over 25 years.

Artistic discipline

The respondents in the sample were working in a range of artistic disciplines. Performing artists of all types encompassed 45 percent of the sample and were the single largest category represented. Musicians alone comprised 34 percent of all respondents while actors, dancers, performance artists, along with puppeteers and spoken word artists made up the balance of those involved in the performing arts.

Visual artists of all types encompassed 38 percent of the sample, the second largest category represented. Painters and artists doing primarily drawings and works on paper comprised 13 percent of the sample. However, the visual arts were dominated by artists building sculpture and other three-dimensional art forms or working in the graphic or computer arts. These "other" visual artists comprised 25 percent of the sample.

The remaining artists, 17 percent of all respondents, represented three additional categories of discipline: artisanry and folk art traditions of all types, the media arts, and the literary arts. The table on the next page provides a full description of the artists by discipline.

ARTIST'S DISCIPLINE	% SAMPLE	DESCRIPTION
Performing Arts: Music	34%	Vocal and instrumental music, including performers, composers, arrangers, and producers; all types of instruments and musical genres (classical, jazz, ethnic/traditional, contemporary, avant garde)
Other Visual Arts	25%	Graphic arts (photography, print-making, computer graphics/ digital media, animation/comics); sculpture and 3-dimensional work (metal, bronze, clay, wood, stone, mosaic/tiles, paper mache, found objects, multi-media, collage)
Visual Arts: Drawing and Painting	13%	Painting and drawing, using a variety of media and surfaces
Other Performing Arts	11%	Theater, performance art, and dance (classical, traditional, contemporary), including performers, producers, and choreographers; parades, pageants, and puppetry; spoken word and poetry
Media Arts	7%	Moving images (film, video), radio, and television
Artisanry	7%	Handcraft, craft design, or folk art traditions, including ceramics, jewelry, metalwork, textiles and fiber, glasswork, wood carving and wood turning, furniture design
Literary Arts	3%	Writing of all types, including poetry, script-writing, and storytelling
ALL RESPONDENTS	100%	

Demographic characteristics intersected with artistic discipline in several ways. Artists of all ages were represented in all of the discipline categories. However, as shown on the chart below, the younger artists were over-represented in music and the other performing arts and under-represented in painting and the other visual arts, while the older artists presented the opposite pattern.

Discipline by age of artist, artists survey 2004 respondents

Age of artist	More likely	Less likely
20 to 30-year-olds	Music Other performing arts	Painting and drawing Other visual arts Media arts Artisanry Literary arts
31 to 40-year olds	Other performing arts Media arts Artisanry Literary arts	Music Painting
41 to 55-year olds	Painting and drawing	Other performing arts Literary arts
Over 55 years old	Painting and drawing Other visual arts Artisanry Literary arts	Music Other performing arts Media arts

Men were more likely than expected to be musicians, while women were more likely to be in one of the other performing arts. Women were more likely to be painters or artisans, while men more likely to be in the literary arts. White respondents were more likely than other ethnic groups to be painters, other visual artists, or artisans and less likely to be in the performing arts other than music. By contrast, African American respondents were more likely to be in the "other" performing arts and less likely to be painters, other visual artists, or artisans.

Education and income were also associated with discipline. Musicians were more likely to have left college without a degree and more likely to have a household income under $45,000. Performing artists other than musicians, painters, artisans, literary artists, and media artists were more likely to have pursued graduate degrees. However, the income of these educated groups was not predictable: other performing artists, like musicians, were more likely to have a household income under $45,000; painters and literary artists were more likely to have a $45,000 to $85,000 income; and artisans were more likely to have an over $85,000 income.

Many respondents, in response to the question "In what media do you work?" reported a variety of work that crossed artistic disciplines. Although all respondents were classified according to the primary discipline reported, over one-third (36 percent) described a multi-disciplinary range to their work. Media artists and performing artists other than musicians were the most likely to be multi-disciplinary, while artisans and painters were the least

likely. Multi-disciplinary artists were somewhat more likely to be 20 to 30 years old or to have a household income of under $45,000 and less likely to be white.

Although the survey questionnaire did not ask directly, many respondents described themselves as educators. Over one-third of all artists (37 percent) reported teaching the arts as part of their work. Although musicians and media artists had somewhat higher rates, teachers were represented across all disciplines except the literary arts.

Professional training

Over half of all the sample artists (54 percent) had pursued "significant professional training" outside of school. They reported an array of professional and technical training in their discipline and other arts-related fields—including workshops, seminars, classes, and conferences; fellowships, residencies, apprenticeships, and teaching; as well as college, university, and art school courses and certification programs. Many respondents have continued their study of art, music, dance, or acting through private lessons. Others attributed significant professional growth to working with "masters" or "some great people" or collectively in "artists' colonies".

Artists mentioned broad training that would support an arts career in such fields as teaching, administration, computers, community activism, and business. Meanwhile, the artists have continued to expand their technical skills in such areas as graphic design, digital editing, screen writing, dance technique, choreography, caustic painting, silk screening, ceramic or glass techniques, carpentry, and juggling.

Many respondents have trained at local institutions—including the Barnes Foundation, Cheltenham Center for the Arts, Fleisher Art Memorial, New Freedom Theatre, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia Mural Arts Program, Scribe Video Center, University of the Arts, Temple University and Tyler School of Art.

A number of respondents traveled to study with artists, teachers, or schools in other cities—including New York and Boston—and other countries, including England, Scotland, Cuba, India, China, Guinea and elsewhere in Africa.

Employment

Many artists are self-employed and, given the nature of their work, their personal and professional lives are not as distinct as in many professions. Artists face the additional challenge in that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between their creative drive and earning a living. At some level, artists are always "working"—i.e., engaged in the creative process—without knowing whether the outcome will bring income or, if so, how much.

Despite the difficulties, we attempted to sketch an employment profile of the artists in the sample. The survey questionnaire asked respondents the following two questions:

- In the past week, how many hours did you work for pay from all types of employment?

- In the past week, how many hours of paid employment were in the arts or an arts-related field?

More than one-fifth of all respondents (21 percent) reported that they had no paid employment of any type during the previous week. An additional seven percent were

employed at some level but had no paid arts-related work. At the other end of the spectrum were the 34 percent of respondents who had 30 hours or more of paid arts-related employment during the week. An additional 11 percent of respondents were employed 30 or more hours, of which 0 to 29 hours were arts-related. The largest single category (38 percent) were the artists paid part-time—between one and 29 hours—for arts-related work.

| | Artists Survey 2004 Respondents | |
Paid employment last week	All paid work	Arts-related work
30 hours or more	45 %	34 %
10 – 29 hours	25 %	27 %
1 – 9 hours	9 %	11 %
None	21 %	28 %
All respondents	100 %	100 %

Paid employment last week	# Respondents	% Respondents
No paid work hours	57	21%
No paid art hours		7%
Total paid work < 30 hours	11	
Total paid work 30+ hours	8	
Under 10 art hours		11%
Total paid work < 30 hours	20	
Total paid work 30+ hours	10	
10-29 art hours		27%
Total paid work < 30 hours	59	
Total paid work 30+ hours	14	
30+ art hours	90	34%
All respondents	269	100%

Annual household income was related to paid arts-related hours at the upper end. That is, among the highest-income respondents (over $85,000), 46 percent reported at least 30 paid arts hours during the previous week, and 33 percent reported 10 to 29 paid arts hours during the same period. It is worth noting, however, that 32 percent of the lowest-income respondents (under $45,000) and 30 percent of the medium-income respondents ($45,000 to $85,000) also reported 30 or more paid arts hours the previous week.

Professional projects and positions

The survey questionnaire asked respondents to list up to six sites where they had worked as an artist during the previous 12 months (summer of 2003 to summer of 2004). Respondents were asked to include all types of projects and positions—whether paid or unpaid—that were related to their artistic work. They were encouraged to include all types of settings including nonprofit cultural organizations, community centers or schools, as well as commercial enterprises such as clubs, stores, or galleries.

Respondents reported engagement with two to six professional projects or positions during the previous year. Although 31 percent of artists reported five to six projects, three projects was the most frequent or modal experience (also 31 percent) for the year.

Professional project and positions last year, Artists survey 2004 respondents

Number of projects	# Respondents	% Sample
Two (2)	36	13%
Three (3)	82	31%
Four (4)	67	25%
Five (5)	44	16%
Six (6) or more	41	15%
All respondents	270	100%

The modal rate varied by discipline. Musicians and other performing artists were more likely to report six (6) positions for the year; painters were more likely to report four (4) positions, while other visual artists were high for five (5). Multidisciplinary artists were more likely to have reported five or six (5 – 6) projects for the year.

There is no clear relationship between a respondent's project rate (number of projects per year) and any other factor. For example, the relationship between income and project rate does not show a discernible pattern. The most prosperous respondents (over $85,000 income) had a higher than expected rate of four (4) projects per year. However, established artists (of 26 years or more) had a high rate of 6 projects per year.

Artists' work space

One feature affecting the geography and dispersion of artists' social networks are their studio sites. The survey questionnaire asked respondents whether they work and live in the same place or have separate rehearsal or studio space.

Artists' studio sites	Artists survey 2004 respondents
Work and live in the same space	57%
Separate work space	35%
Both, depending on the project	8%
All respondents	100%

Two-thirds of the artists in the sample were working and living in the same space at least some of the time. Center City was the most likely location of those with joint live-work space. Of the 42 respondents living downtown, 67 percent worked and lived in the same space, and 33 percent had separate work space. None of the Center City artists reported using different studio sites depending on the project. Respondents who varied work sites were more likely to reside in the suburban counties.

The artists' disciplines affected their work space patterns, as follows:

- *Work and live in the same space*—all of the literary artists, high for media artists, painters, and musicians

- *Separate work space*—high for performing artists other than musicians, artisans
- *Both, depending on the project*—high for musicians, media artists, and multi-disciplinary artists.

Although 60 percent of visual artists other than painters used joint live-work space, their distribution largely follows the pattern of the respondents as a whole.

The women were more likely than the men to have work space separate from their residence. The men were more likely to use multiple studio spaces depending on the project.

Network Characteristics

In this study we look at the role of social networks in sustaining artists, who are at the center of "art worlds," as described by sociologist Howard S. Becker. According to Becker, the artist works "in the center of a network of cooperating people, all of whose work is essential to the final outcome." Thus, an art world is "an established network of cooperative links among participants" and an artist is "the person who performs the core activity without which the work would not be art."[27] Below we describe "network" characteristics of the sample artists, a set of indicators of their connectedness with each other and their respective art worlds.

Why become an artist?

Art worlds are complex forms of collective activity that are essentially social and economic in nature. It appears, however, that the sample artists were not motivated by either social or economic factors in pursuing their profession. In order to develop a profile of the artists, the survey questionnaire asked respondents, "Why did you decide to become an artist?" Responses to this question were remarkably similar.

A great majority of respondents (77 percent) reported that becoming an artist was not a decision or choice but rather something they were compelled to do from within and, for many, could be traced back to childhood inclinations and experiences. "I didn't decide, … it was not a choice, … it chose me." "It's not a choice, it's a calling …, a vocation …, a passion …, an evolution …, an affliction …" Other versions of the seemingly involuntary nature of the profession include: "Art is my passion …, it's something that I love, it's naturally who I am … It came naturally …, it's like breathing …" "Art is challenging …, it is satisfying …, it makes me happy, it makes life meaningful …" "Art has no end, it's ever moving, ever changing…" "Expression is my end and [being an artist] is how I get there."

Most all respondents, in fact, echoed the spirit of the above responses. However, a sizable group (18 percent) also mentioned the importance of artists in their family or as teachers or mentors as significant in influencing their pursuit of the arts as a profession. Eleven percent (11%) mentioned that one or both of their parents or another family member was an artist or that they grew up in "an arts family" or "a musical family." Seven percent (7%) attributed recognition, encouragement, and support to an arts teacher, mentor, or an artist

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[27] *Op cit.*, Becker, *Art Worlds*, 24-35.

outside of their family. "I had a great mentor" or "I've always known an artist or writer …" External inspiration or validation was especially important for artists who "came at it late:" "I was in prison and met a piano player …" "I came to the arts through nursing …"

Only five percent (5%) of respondents talked about their passion for the arts in connection with social meaning, political activism, community arts, or more specifically a desire "to contribute to the world of art," "to contribute something creative to the world," or "to change the world."

Artist and colleagues

Although a typical image of the artist is that of lonely creator, many independent artists in fact work with regularly with other artists. Among the survey respondents, 40 percent worked primarily alone, while 60 percent worked with one or more groups—either regularly or on a project-by-project basis—in pursuing their artistic work.

Artist work habits	Artists survey 2004 respondents
Work alone	40%
Work with one group	7%
Work with many groups	30%
Depends on the project	23%
All respondents	100%

Working alone was more common among painters, other visual artists, media artists, respondents with joint live-work space, as well as those who don't identify as part of "a community of artists." Respondents who were over 55 years old, women, or white were also more likely to work alone.

Working with one group was more common among musicians, other performing artists, and artisans as well as respondents with separate work space or multiple spaces. Respondents who were 31 to 40 years old, African American, or mid-career artists (11-25 years) were also more likely to work with one group.

Working with many groups was more common among musicians, multidisciplinary artists, emerging artists (0 to 10 years), as well as respondents who focus on particular audiences. Respondents who were 20 to 30 years olds or men were also more likely to work with many groups.

"Depends on the project" was more common among other performing artists, multi-disciplinary artists, as well as respondents who were 31 to 40 years old.

Community of artists

The survey questionnaire asked respondents: "Do you see yourself as part of a specific community of artists? If yes, how would you describe that community(ies)?" Of the 270 survey respondents, 209 (77 percent) replied affirmatively. About one quarter of respondents (23 percent) did not consciously connect with a particular artistic community.

Below is a summary of the descriptions by the respondents who identify with a particular community of artists. The respondents' open-ended responses were classified into four broad categories of community based on artistic or cultural identity (54 percent), Philadelphia affiliation (23 percent), groups of artist friends (12 percent), and organizational or institutional identity (11 percent).

TYPES OF COMMUNITIES
Percentage respondents who referenced a "community of artists," artists survey 2004

Artistic or cultural identity
54%   Community of identity based on artist's discipline, interest, or expertise—
        e.g., actors, singers, world music, modern dancers, ceramic artists, freelance
        musicians, arts educators, community artists, "avant garde edge arts," "similar
        serious people working independently"—or association with a particular artists'
        studio, cooperative, or collective.

Philadelphia arts community
23%   Community of identity that references one's artistic identity in the context of
        Philadelphia or its local communities—e.g., Philadelphia musicians, Philadelphia
        sculptors, Philadelphia drummers, Philadelphia film and video artists, West
        Philadelphia artists, New York and Philadelphia artists, or "newcomers to
        Philadelphia."

Groups of artist friends
12%   Social community of friends who are artists, typically based on long-standing
        family or school relationships or current neighborhood or living arrangements;
        personal friends "whom I work with as an artist."

Organizational or institutional identity
11%   Community identity based on affiliation or membership with a formal association or
        organization of artists—such as,
        ACX Artist's Cultural Exchange Group, American Composers Forum, Artsbridge,
        Artist Conference Network, Da Vinci Art Alliance, Dumpster Divers, Goldsmith Film
        Music Society, High Wire Gallery, Inliquid.com, Institute of Contemporary Arts,
        Internet Musician Collaborators, Kelly Writers' House, Leah Stein Dance
        Company, Mill Studio, New York City Poetry Project, Nexus Gallery, Old City Arts
        Association, Philadelphia Independent Film and Video Association, Philadelphia
        Print Collaborative, Philadelphia Sketch Club, Sound Poets, Susan Hess Modern
        Dance, University of the Arts, Vox Populi.

100%   All respondents who referenced a "community of artists"

Artist and audience

The survey questionnaire asked respondents: "Do you focus your work on particular groups or audiences? If yes, please specify." Of the 270 respondents, 114 (42 percent) reported that they do focus on particular audiences, and 57 percent reported that they do not. Below is a summary and classification of the types of audiences described by the relevant respondents. The respondents' open-ended descriptions were classified into three broad categories: arts-driven constituencies (38 percent), market-driven constituencies (33 percent), and service or issue-driven constituencies (29 percent).

TYPES OF AUDIENCES
Percentage respondents who focus their work on "a particular group or audience," artists survey 2004

Arts-driven = 38 percent

19 %   Arts aficionados, sophisticated audiences, open-minded appreciators such as jazz audiences or public television audiences.

19 %   Other artists, including teaching artists, or to advance the art form.

Market-oriented—33 percent

21%   Market niche—commercial or market focus, like the mass market category below, but with reference to a specialized or niche market, including clients, commercial audiences, commissions, or "depends on the project."

12%   Mass market—wide or mass appeal, mass media, the public, accessible to the public, often with reference to specific subject material, such as "landscapes," "still life," "flowers," or "Philadelphia."

Service or issue-driven—29 percent

19%   Social groups with a particular need or interest based on demographic characteristics such as age, gender, or ethnicity.

10%   Social or political purpose, arts activism

100%   All artists who focus their work on a particular group or audience

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Artists survey participation

A final indicator of the respondent's connectedness was, in fact, his or her participation in the referral process. As discussed in the Introduction, the study design was based on respondent-driven sampling—that is, interviewing artists who have been referred by other respondents. Thus the survey methodology provides three potential indicators of breadth of network:

- o the respondent's willingness to refer an artist or artists as participants in the survey;

- o the number of artists (one, two, or three) that the respondent referred; and

- o the number of referred artists who successfully completed the survey.

Of the 270 respondents, a total of 194 (72 percent) referred at least one other artist for participation in the sample. When we exclude the 35 artists in the last wave of interviews (Wave #6), who did not have the option of making referrals, the referral rate is increased to 83 percent.

	Number of Referred Artists		
Sample Participation	1	2	3
Referral	194		
No referral	41	NA	NA
Not applicable*	35	NA	NA
All respondents	270		

*Number of respondents in Wave #6

Respondents who declined to provide artist referrals were more likely to be in the highest income category (over $85,000 household income), a well-established professional (26 years or more as an artist), or a visual artist. Respondents who did not "see [themselves] part of a specific community of artists" or who did not "focus [their] work on particular groups or audiences" were also less likely to refer.

Summary

As discussed in our companion working paper—"Gauging the Informal Arts Sector, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2004"—survey respondents were generally representative of the professional artists in metropolitan Philadelphia. Compared to the "census artists"—all members of the 2000 regional labor force who self-identified as an artist—respondents were somewhat more likely to be a city resident, non-white, over 30, or male. Sample artists were nearly twice as likely as census artists to live alone or to have an annual household income of less than $45,000.

The most notable feature that distinguished the sample artists was educational attainment: 73 percent had a college or graduate degree compared to 55 percent of the region's census artists and 30 percent of the entire labor force. In addition, over half of the respondents had pursued "significant professional training" outside of school. Over a third of the respondents were teaching as well as practicing artists.

The sample included artists of all ages and all stages of professional development; over two-thirds had been an artist for over ten years. A range of artistic disciplines were represented: musicians and other performing artists comprised 45 percent; visual and graphic artists comprised 34 percent; and artisans, media artists, and literary artists comprised the remaining 17 percent of the sample. Over a third of respondents could also be described as multi-disciplinary artists.

Survey respondents reported a range of employment experience. Paid employment during the previous week ranged from artists who had no paid art hours (28 percent) to those who had 30 or more paid art hours (34 percent). Eighty-five percent reported an annual household income of $85,000 or less. Two-thirds of the sample artists worked and lived in the same space at least some of the time.

In addition to demographic and professional characteristics, the study assessed the sample artists' "network" characteristics—that is, indicators of connectedness. For example, 60 percent of respondents worked with one or more groups at least some of the time. Over three-quarters described themselves as part of "a community of artists," the vast majority of which were identity or social communities rather than formal affiliations.

III. ARTISTS' WORKADAY NETWORKS

In this chapter, we present the findings on the day-to-day networking habits of working artists. We look at the variety of networks in which artists are engaged in order to facilitate their work. The centrality of networks to the livelihood of the artist is described in the 2003 Urban Institute report:

> "Communities and networks are vital to an artist's career. They facilitate access to sources of validation, material resources, training and professional development, and dissemination of artists' work. They provide emotional support for people pursuing a profession that, for many artists, often has little status. And they are essential in giving artists a political voice. Some are value-driven; others are pragmatic."[28]

In her book, *Creative Collaboration*, Vera John-Steiner captures the range of networking needs among creative professionals. She elaborates, on the one hand, the importance of interaction to "the artistic process of transformation and discovery." Her case studies of artists demonstrate "artistic interdependence [as] a critical generator of creativity." At the same time, John-Steiner points to the need for supportive partnerships and communities: "Creative people often face loneliness, poverty, and recurring doubts about their abilities."[29]

The Urban Institute report identified and discussed the following types of networks, formal and informal, in which artists are engaged.

- **Internal networks—networks within the cultural sector**

  - national artists networks,
  - regional artists networks,
  - networks based in local artist-focused and community-based organizations,
  - networks based on institutional affiliation, and
  - funder-driven communities and networks.

- **External networks—networks outside the cultural sector**

  - connections with social organizations such as community development, youth development, social service agencies, and churches;
  - connections with civic entrepreneurs, such as city government agencies and businesses; and
  - networks based in social movements.

- **Personal networks**

  - connections to family and friends, and
  - connections to social organizations.

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[28] Maria-Rosario Jackson *et al.*, *Investing in Creativity: A Study of the Support Structure for U.S. Artists*, (Urban Institute, Culture, Creativity, & Communities Program, 2003) 65-70. http://www.usartistsreport.org.
[29] Vera John-Steiner, *Creative Collaboration* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 63-96.

The findings of the Philadelphia Area Artists Survey identified a range of internal, external, and personal networks with an emphasis on the pragmatic use of informal ties and local and regional connections.

Daily Support Contacts

Frequency and purpose of contacts

The survey questionnaire asked respondents about a range of needs that face artists on a regular basis during the course of their professional work. The issues addressed ranged from technical and material needs, to training and professional development, to creative process and validation, to personal support. To capture the variety and frequency of day-to-day networking, we asked the artist-respondents to identify their concerns and contacts during the previous week only.

Overall, of the 270 respondents, 266 (or 98 percent) of the artists reported a total of 1,332 contacts initiated for one of eight support purposes during the seven days previous to their survey-interview. The 1,332 reported contacts represent 62 percent of the maximum contacts potentially documented by the survey (2,160), that is, had all artists responded affirmatively to all eight questions. The number of reported contacts per week per artist ranged from one to seven, as shown below, with an average of five.

FREQUENCY OF CONTACTS FOR SUPPORT NEEDS
Reported contacts during a one-week period for eight support needs

Number of reported contacts		Number of respondents	Percentage of all respondents
None	0	4	2%
One	1	10	4%
Two	2	28	10%
Three	3	54	20%
Four	4	46	17%
Five	5	59	22%
Six	6	47	17%
Seven	7	22	8%
Eight	8	0	0 .
Total		270	100%

The following table shows the purposes and relative frequency of the use of social networks among artists participating in the survey. The respondents' most frequent use of contacts during the past seven days was "to talk with someone about a future project that [they] have in mind." In other words, during the week previous to the survey, more artists (85 percent) used their social networks to consult or collaborate vis-à-vis the creative process and generation of new work than to tap support for the infrastructure needs addressed by the questionnaire. The second most frequent use of contacts was for material support: 70 percent of respondents consulted about economic and/or space needs, and 70 percent sought technical information to accomplish work-in-progress. Two-thirds of respondents used contacts for social or emotional support (65 percent) and for critical feedback on their work (63 percent). Over half of respondents (53 percent) sought

professional development or career advice. The least frequent—although substantial—use of contacts during the previous week (39 percent of respondents) was to talk about a work-related conflict.

PURPOSE AND FREQUENCY OF CONTACTS
Reported contacts during a one-week period

Type of Support	Purpose of Contact	% Contacts	% Respondents
Creative process and validation			
	Future project	17%	85%
	Critical feedback	13%	63%
	New audience or community	10%	48%
Material support			
	Economic or space needs	14%	70%
	Technical information	14%	70%
Personal support			
	Social/emotional support	13%	65%
	Conflict with colleague or co-worker	8%	39%
Training/professional development			
	Professional development or career decision	11%	53%
		100%	

NOTES:
[1] Total number of contacts during the previous week reported by all respondents is 1,332 (100%).

[2] Total number of respondents is 270 (100%). Each respondent reported contacts for up to eight support purposes.

How demographic characteristics relate to support contacts

On the whole, demographic characteristics did not predict patterns of contact for the eight support purposes addressed by the survey. However, a few demographic traits were associated with a few types of support contact. Men were more likely than women to have sought critical feedback on their work and somewhat more likely to have discussed economic issues. Women were somewhat more likely than men to have talked about how to connect with a new audience or community. Artists of color were more likely than white respondents to have sought advice about professional development or their careers.

The respondent's age was associated with a couple of patterns. Age predicted the likelihood of a contact about a conflict with a colleague or co-worker. The youngest artists in the sample (the 20 to 30-year olds) were more likely to consult about a conflict, while the oldest artists (the over 55-years-olds) were less likely. Generally, conflict issues were higher than expected among the artists up to 40 years old and lower for those over 40. In addition, the 20 to 30-year-olds were more likely than other age categories to seek advice about professional or career development. The over 55-year-olds were more likely than other age groups to seek technical information to do their work as well as to seek critical feedback.

Annual household income was associated with a few types of support. The highest income respondents, those with over $85,000 a year, were more likely to have consulted about how to connect with a new audience. The lowest-income respondents, those with under $45,000 a year, were more likely to have consulted about a conflict with a colleague.

Educational attainment did not affect any type of support contact with the exception of conflict. Respondents with a bachelor's degree were more likely than either more or less educated respondents to have consulted about work-related conflict. Respondents with a graduate degree were less likely than others to report a conflict-related contact.

By and large, respondents' place of residence—Center City, another Philadelphia neighborhood, or suburban county—did not affect their pattern of support contacts. The one exception was that suburban respondents were less likely than the others to have sought professional development or career advice.

How professional characteristics relate to support contacts

Overall, it appears that the types of support addressed by the survey are relevant to artists of all disciplines and a variety of professional contexts. Respondents of all disciplines reported contacts during the previous week for the following four purposes:

- to talk about a *future project*;
- to discuss *economic or space issues*;
- to seek *technical information*; or
- to seek *social or emotional support*.

The following four types of support contact were associated with discipline or other aspect of the respondent's professional life as an artist.

- *Critical feedback*—Musicians were more likely than those in other disciplines to have sought critical feedback on their work, while the other performing artists were less likely. Respondents of any discipline who reported a high rate of projects or positions during the previous year (5-6) were also somewhat more likely to have sought critical feedback.

- *New audience or community*—Artisans were somewhat more likely, and painters somewhat less likely, to have consulted about how to connect with a new audience or community. Well-established artists (of over 25 years) of any discipline were more likely than others to have talked about new audiences. To no surprise, respondents who "focus their work on a particular group or audience"—as well as

those who see themselves "as part of a particular community of artists"—were also more likely to have talked about connecting with a new audience.

- *Conflict with colleague*—Musicians were more likely than other artists to have consulted about conflict with a colleague or co-worker, while painters and other visual artists were somewhat less likely. Well-established artists (of over 25 years) of any discipline were less likely to have consulted about conflict.

  The artist's work setting was also associated with conflict. Respondents who worked with many groups (regularly or as needed) were more likely to have reported a conflict-related contact, while respondents who worked alone were less likely. Finally, project rate was associated with conflict. Respondents reporting four to six projects a year were more likely to have had a conflict-related contact, while those reporting one to three yearly projects were less likely.

- *Professional development advice*—Performing artists other than musicians were more likely than artists of other disciplines to have sought advice about professional development or their career.

Whom the artists contact

For each support purpose, whenever the respondent reported a contact during the previous week, the next question was: "Whom did you contact?" This question was intended to elicit the social identity of the contact—i.e., the person's position, occupation, or other social role. We coded the responses, which were open-ended, into the eight categories described below.

- **Independent artist, individual artist or artists**—artist of any discipline, whether or not specified, but with no institutional setting noted. Individual artist's feedback or exchange may have been implied—e.g., "rehearsals".

- **Artists' network, formal or semi-formal**—such as Arts International, Artists' Conference Network, Dumpster Divers—but not respondent's personal (social or work-related) networks. This category also includes on-line artist communities, such as chat rooms, conferences or classes (e.g., www.craigslist.org).

- **Arts/cultural nonprofit sector**—including arts administrators or cultural workers, institutional or organizational contacts; respondent's students or audience (if non-profit setting); a scholar in an arts discipline; or an online nonprofit organization, such as InLiquid.com, Inc.

- **Arts/cultural business (for-profit sector)**—including arts business, professional and technical contacts and experts in fields such as music (e.g., arrangement, recording), theater, film, publishing; roles such as production, promotion, booking agent, curator, set designer, master carpenter, arts supplier, distributor, or facility contact (e.g., club or gallery owner).

- **Other (non-arts/cultural) nonprofit or public sector**—including educational contacts such as administrator or teacher at a school, college, or university; health or heath-related professionals (doctor, therapist) or support group; foundations and fund-raising agents; public agencies and community services such as recreation, library, or fire department.

- **Other (non-arts/cultural) business (for-profit sector)**—including business, professional, or technical contacts such as financial advisor (banker, accountant, insurance agent), lawyer or legal advisor, community developer or real estate agent, business manager, or computer consultant as well as relevant co-worker, associate, assistant, or intern.

- **General social contact**—unspecified personal source of information, such as "different people," "everybody", "anyone," "connections," or "word of mouth."

- **Media/print/web**—public, non-personal sources of information, including the Internet (World Wide Web); books, reference books or materials, bookstore; newspaper, radio, or television.

Artists operating independently were at the core of the respondents' daily support network. As shown on the table below, 70 percent of all respondents contacted an independent or individual artist for one or more support purpose. Of all reported contacts, 44 percent engaged the support of an independent artist. An additional 17 percent of respondents (and six percent of all contacts) involved consultation through a more formal artists' network.

After independent artists, respondents most frequently reported contacts in for-profit or business settings: 44 percent of respondents contacted people in an arts or cultural business, and 25 percent contacted people in another type of business. About one-quarter of respondents consulted non-personal sources, typically print or electronic media or the Internet (24 percent), or their general social network (21 percent). Surprisingly, non-profit settings were the least frequently cited: only five percent of respondents contacted people in an arts or cultural organization, while 13 percent contacted people another type of nonprofit organization.

WHOM CONTACTED FOR SUPPORT NEEDS, PERCENT RESPONDENTS AND PERCENT CONTACTS

Whom contacted	Respondents, total and %		Contacts, total and %	
Independent artist	189	70%	412	44%
Arts/cultural business	120	44%	169	18%
Other (non-arts) business	67	25%	89	10%
Media/print/web	66	24%	73	8%
General social contact	58	21%	71	8%
Artists' network	45	17%	53	6%
Other (non-arts) nonprofit org	35	13%	42	4%
Arts/cultural nonprofit org	14	5%	18	2%

Notes: Total number of respondents = 270 (100%). Percent Respondents refers to proportion who contacted a particular type of person for any type of support need. Percent Contacts refers to proportion of all contacts by type of person contacted. Of the total of 1,332 contacts reported by all artists for all purposes, the number with information available on whom contacted = 927 (100%).

Respondents overwhelmingly made contact with another artist to seek advice or information. Of the 270 respondents, 94 percent had contacted at least one other artist during the previous week; 83 percent had contacted two or more artists for a variety of support needs.

FREQUENCY OF ARTISTS CONTACTED FOR SUPPORT NEEDS, PERCENT RESPONDENTS

Number of artists contacted		% Respondents
None	0	6%
One	1	11%
Two	2	21%
Three	3	20%
Four	4	18%
Five	5	13%
Six	6	9%
Seven	7	2%
Total		100%

Note: Number of respondents = 270.

In fact, as shown on Table 3-1, respondents cited independent artists more frequently than any other type of person for every support need with the exception of technical information. The most frequent reasons for independent artist contact related to the creative process (developing a future project or critical feedback on current work). The next most common reasons were for personal support issues (work-related conflict and/or social and emotional support).

After independent artists, the most frequent type of contact was with a for-profit arts or cultural business. Nearly a third of these arts business contacts (30 percent) were for consultation regarding how to connect with a new audience or community.

It is notable that the most frequent source of information for technical issues was, in fact, non-personal. A third of respondents (32 percent) cited public sources including the media, printed material, or the Internet as their contact for technical concerns—such as, equipment, supplies, or techniques—relating to their work.

Table 3-1. Whom Contacted by Purpose of Contact, Percent Applicable Respondents

WHOM CONTACTED	TYPE OF SUPPORT/PURPOSE OF CONTACT							Professional development
		Creative Process			Material Needs		Personal Support	
	Respondents for any support needs	Future project	Critical feedback	New audience	Economic, space issues	Technical information	Social, emotional	Work conflict	Career, prof development
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Independent artist	70%	57	52	37	41	25	50	56	42
Arts/cultural business	44%	21	12	30	16	20	3	14	24
Non-arts business	25%	6	8	8	13	5	17	19	13
Media/print/web	24%	2	8	3	*	32	3	0	1
General social contact	21%	3	13	6	16	4	14	5	2
Artist network	17%	4	3	7	4	10	10	3	6
Non-arts nonprofit	13%	5	2	5	9	3	3	3	6
Arts/cultural nonprofit	5%	2	2	4	*	1	0	0	6
All applicable respondents		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ARTIST CONTACTS

		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Artist as contact	94%	81	83	76	68	68	74	82	74
Not an artist	6%	19	17	24	32	32	26	18	26
All applicable respondents	100%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

NOTE: All Respondents = 270. "All Applicable Respondents" will vary by type of support. "Artist Contacts" include independent artists as well as those working in organizational or business settings.

*Less than 1 %.

Nature of relationship

For each support contact reported, the survey questionnaire asked respondents, "What is your relationship to [the person you contacted]?" The responses were coded into ten types of relationship which fall into four general categories—friends and family, collegial relationships, business relationships, and general social contacts. The table below shows the types of relationships reported by respondents and their frequency.

Relationship to Respondent, All Support Contacts, Percent Respondents

Relationship to Respondent	% Respondents
Friends and family	
Friend, artist friend, school mate	64%
Family member, intimate	37%
Collegial relationship	
Artist partner, collaborator	57%
Workplace colleague, associate	19%
Teacher, student, educational advisor	13%
Business relationship	
Professional/technical advisor, consultant	55%
Business partner, investor	18%
Personal agent, manager, coach	12%
General social contact	
Local social circle	30%
Arts aficionado	12%

Note: Total number of respondents is 270.

Table 3-2 shows how the respondents' relationships to the persons contacted varied according to the purpose of the contact, that is, the type of support needed. Below we describe the types of relationships, their overall frequency, and the uses associated with each type of relationship.

Friends and family. Overall, the respondents turned most frequently to a friend. Two-thirds of respondents (64 percent) described one or more contacts as a friend—including artists who are friends as well as past or current school or college friendships. Friends were especially important for career or professional development advice as well as for person support—in particular, general social and emotional support, as well as work-related conflict.

Over one-third of respondents (37 percent) described their contact as a family member, spouse, relative or other intimate relationship such as boyfriend or girlfriend, roommate, or housemate. Family or intimates were most often contacted for social and emotional support.

Collegial relationships. After friends, respondents turned most frequently to artists who were partners or collaborators in the creative or interpretive process (57 percent), such as band mate, band leader, or fellow artist in residence. Respondents contacted

collaborating artists, in particular, to discuss a future project or for critical feedback on their work.

Respondents (19 percent) also consulted with workplace colleagues or associates—including co-worker, fellow artist, shop-mate, assistant, or office manager. Colleagues were consulted to help identify a new audience as well as to discuss a workplace conflict.

Some respondents (13 percent) contacted educational associates, such as their teacher, student, mentor, or advisor. Educational colleagues were consulted about material needs, professional development, as well as the creative process.

Business relationships. The third most frequently cited relationship was that of professional or technical advisor or consultant—for example, producer, director, editor, publisher, financial manager, museum staff, curator, real estate agent, or art dealer. Fifty-five (55) percent of respondents cited this type of contact, who were far and away the primary source for technical information. Respondents also frequently contacted consulting professionals regarding their own professional or career development.

A number of respondents (18 percent) described their contact as a business partner or investor, such as a club or gallery owner, recording company, commission or client. Business partners were consulted about new audiences and future work, economic or space issues, as well as work conflicts.

Some respondents (12 percent) consulted with their personal booking agent, manager, or coach. The primary purposes for these contacts were work-related conflicts and professional or career development.

General social contacts. Nearly one-third of respondents (30 percent) contacted people in their broader social circles, such as a fellow tenant, neighbor, club member, or other acquaintance. The primary purposes for these contacts were, first, economic or space issues or, second, new audiences or communities.

Some respondents (12 percent) described their contacts as fans, audience members, media representatives, or other members of their "public." Respondents consulted *arts aficionados*, as we have called them, primarily for critical feedback on their work.

Table 3-2. Relationship to Person Contacted by Purpose of Contact, Percent Applicable Respondents

RELATIONSHIP TO RESPONDENT	TYPE OF SUPPORT/PURPOSE OF CONTACT							Professional development
		Creative Process			Material Needs		Personal Support	
	Respondents for any support needs %	Future project %	Critical feedback %	New audience %	Economic, space issues %	Technical information %	Social, emotional %	Work conflict %	Career, prof development %
Friends and family									
Friend (including school mates)	64%	21	21	21	21	14	39	28	40
Family member/intimate	37%	11	9	6	8	3	30	8	4
Collegial relationship									
Artist collaborator, partner	57%	31	24	19	15	16	13	30	11
Workplace colleague, associate	19%	4	5	10	5	3	3	8	3
Educ advisor, teacher, student	13%	3	4	3	6	5	1	1	4
Business relationship									
Professl/technical advisor, consultant	55%	11	11	16	17	50	1	0	21
Business partner, investor	18%	7	4	8	7	2	0	7	3
Personal agent, manager, coach	12%	4	2	6	2	1	5	10	8
General social contact									
Local social circle	30%	7	4	10	19	5	7	4	5
Arts aficionado	12%	1	16	1	0	1	1	4	1
All applicable respondents		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

NOTE: All respondents = 270. All applicable respondents varies by type of support.

Longevity of relationship

For each support contact reported, the survey questionnaire asked: "How long have you known [the person contacted]?" The responses ranged from "several months" to "my whole life" and were coded in to the five categories listed in the table below. Long-term relationships were the most common pattern: 35 percent of all contacts were relationships of over ten years and were cited by 65 percent of all respondents. Short-term relationships of one year or less described 25 percent of all contacts and were cited by about one third of respondents.

Longevity of Relationship, All Support Contacts, Percent Respondents and Contacts

How long known contact	% Respondents	% Contacts
One month or less	30%	12%
One month to one year	31%	13%
One to five years	59%	30%
Six to ten years	27%	10%
Over ten years	65%	<u>35%</u>
All applicable respondents		100%

Note: Total number of respondents = 270. Number of contacts with longevity information = 961.

Table 3-3 shows how longevity varied with the purpose of the contact—that is, the type of support sought. Generally, short-term relationships of one year or less were associated with exploring new audiences or with requests for technical information. Middle to long-term relationships were associated with economic and space issues, work conflict, professional development, and future projects. Long-term relationships of over ten years were particularly associated with contacts for social and emotional support as well as critical feedback.

Table 3-3. Longevity of Relationship by Purpose of Contact, Percent Applicable Respondents

LONGEVITY   **TYPE OF SUPPORT/PURPOSE OF CONTACT**

How long known contact	Creative Process			Material Needs		Personal Support		Professional development
	Future project	Critical feedback	New audience	Economic, space issues	Technical information	Social, emotional	Work conflict	Career, prof development
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
One month or less	9	13	19	14	21	3	3	11
One month to one year	15	12	21	6	13	12	19	12
One to five years	31	25	34	36	26	20	32	31
Six to ten years	14	10	4	9	5	9	14	15
Over ten years	<u>31</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>31</u>
All applicable respondents	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Mentoring Relationships

While the core of the study focused on the purpose-driven contacts discussed above, the survey also explored one type of relationship-driven contact—specifically, mentoring relationships. A mentor relationship can be viewed as a complex, collegial friendship that involves an interchange of ideas and opinions as well as counseling and encompasses personal as well as professional concerns. Our broad research question was whether and how mentoring fits into an artist's social network. How does mentoring intersect with a flatter, more pragmatic type of support network? It is conceivable, for example, that an artist cultivate *either* a broad support network *or* a long-standing mentor—i.e., a host of individuals to consult for a wide range of purposes or one wise and trustworthy individual to consult for (virtually) everything.

The Urban Institute report discussed mentoring as "one of artists' most salient needs" with respect to training and professional development. "We heard repeatedly that these [mentoring and peer-to-peer] relationships are extremely important to successful career transitions. University-based networks seem to be important sources for this kind of activity." However, the report noted that these networks are difficult to access for many artists of color and for mid-career artists.[30]

The findings of the Philadelphia Area Artists Survey suggest some interesting trends in the informal use of mentoring and pose some interesting questions about the place of mentoring in artists' social networks. Of particular note are the following:

- A great many respondents engaged in informal mentoring relationships, which appeared to broaden and deepen—not substitute for—their other support networks.

- Informal mentoring relationships (in both advisor and advisee roles) were active among middle-aged, generally mid-career, artists.

- Respondents appeared to interpret and report mentoring as peer-to-peer as well as cross-generational relationships.

One question suggested by the survey is whether different generations of artists interpret mentoring differently.[31]

Frequency of mentoring

To determine the frequency and nature of mentoring, we asked each respondent two questions: "In the past month, have you contacted someone whom you consider a mentor?" and "In the past month, has someone who considers you a mentor contacted you?" Of the 270 total respondents, 225 (83 percent) reported a mentoring contact (either as advisor or advisee) during the previous month. About half of this group, 110 respondents or 41 percent of the sample, reported both an advisor and advisee contact.

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[30] Jackson *et al*, *Investing in Creativity*, 64.

[31] The SIAP interview team, in fact, was convinced that the youngest respondent-artists did not understand the term "mentor."

Of the 270 respondents, 151 (56 percent) had during the previous month contacted a mentor. Eight of this group had in fact contacted a second person whom they also consider a mentor. During the same period, 184 respondents (68 percent) had been contacted as a mentor. Five of this group had in fact been contacted by a second person who considered them a mentor.

FREQUENCY OF MENTORING CONTACTS

Reported contacts during a one-month period

Mentoring Relationship	# Respondents	% All Respondents
Involved in a mentoring relationship	225	83%
Served as a mentor	184	68%
Contacted a mentor	151	56%
Both—served as/contacted mentor	110	41%

Note: Number of respondents = 270.

The findings suggest that artists engage in mentoring relationships in order to broaden and deepen their other support networks. Respondents who had contacted a mentor also had more frequent support contacts: they were more likely to have made four to seven (4 to 7) contacts during the previous week and less likely to have made zero to three (0 to 3). Respondents who had served as a mentor were more likely to have made five to seven (5 to 7) contacts during the previous week and less likely to have made zero to two (0 to 2).

The likelihood of contacting a mentor was somewhat higher among musicians and of serving as a mentor somewhat higher among other performing artists. Teaching artists, 41 to 55-year-olds, and artists who work with many groups were more likely both to consult and be mentors. Gender, ethnicity, and educational attainment were *not* associated with patterns of mentoring relationships.

Purposes of mentoring

Respondents discussed a wide range of issues with their mentor. The single most frequent description of what respondents discussed with their mentor was "everything."

- o Everything—personal or life things—e.g., experiences, emotions, relationships, deaths—as well as sports, music, politics, food, real estate.

- o Art—new ideas, new projects, possible collaboration, cultural trends and policy, art and people, the big picture.

- o Critical feedback (on work and work process)—strategies, logistics, technique, technical concerns, time management, confidence.

- o Work environment—work space, materials, digital equipment, computers.

- o Professional development—school or career decisions, teaching and student issues, employment and job opportunities; trends and changes in the business, in the profession.

- "Worldly issues"—business, finances; dealers, pricing, markets, venues, audiences; publicity, promotion; grant-writing, "making it."

Respondents as mentors reported a similar set of issues.

- Everything you can imagine—anything and everything, life, art, music, family.

- Advice—guidance, encouragement, confidence, follow your dream.

- Career development, professional direction—applying to art school, to college, to graduate school; career choices and realities.

- Making a living—how to, leads on jobs or gigs, the Philadelphia arts scene, the state of the arts and us in relation to that.

- Collaboration—critical feedback, a sounding board for ideas, working together.

- Technical skills—building codes, engineering issues, legal business; specific problem-solving, for example, how to make a documentary, how to form a band, how to preserve a neon sign.

- Professional skills—artistic and musical technique, instruction, and exercises; communication, presentation, public performance skills; how to teach people, work with students.

Whom contacted in mentoring relationships

In contrast to the daily support network, nonprofit institutions—especially educational settings—played a prominent role in artists' mentoring relationships. Forty percent of respondents' mentors and 47 percent of respondents as mentors were associated with educational or cultural nonprofit organizations. Over one-third (34 percent) of mentors and 41 percent of advisees were educational associates of the respondent—typically, a current or former teacher, student, intern, or other advisor or advisee.

Independent artists also played a significant role in mentoring relationships—both as respondents' mentors (37 percent) and as respondents' advisees (25 percent). Respondents often described their mentors as older, experienced artists, renowned artists, or "elders." Non-arts business people also consulted with respondents (15 percent) and served as respondents' mentors (10 percent). Respondents often noted mentoring relationships with former colleagues, co-workers, or fellow artists. Regardless of the setting, these mentoring relationships were described most frequently as friendships or artistic partnerships.

Both the mentors and the advisees of respondents were overwhelmingly artists, 94 percent and 97 percent respectively.

Mentoring relationships were characterized by longevity. Two-thirds (66 percent) of respondents had known their mentors for over five years and 47 percent for over ten years. By comparison, 35 percent of respondents had known their advisees for over ten years; an additional 40 percent were relationships of one to five years.

Table 3-4. MENTORING RELATIONSHIPS
Whom Contacted, Relationship to Respondent, & Longevity of Relationship
Percent Applicable Respondents

WHOM CONTACTED	Mentor of Respondent %	Respondent as Mentor %
Independent artist	37	25
Arts/cultural business	8	5
Non-arts business	10	15
General social contact	5	8
Nonprofit organization (educational, cultural, other)	<u>40</u>	<u>47</u>
All applicable respondents	100	100

RELATIONSHIP TO RESPONDENT	Mentor of Respondent %	Respondent as Mentor %
Friends and family		
Friends, artist friends, school mates	24	18
Family member/intimate	5	3
Collegial relationship		
Artist collaborator, partner	18	18
Workplace colleague, associate	7	14
Teacher, student, educ advisor	34	41
Business relationship		
Professl/technical advisor, consultant	8	1
Business partner, investor	*	0
Personal agent, manager, coach	1	*
General social contact		
Local social circle, acquaintance	3	3
Arts aficionado	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
All applicable respondents	100	100

LONGEVITY OF RELATIONSHIP	Mentor of Respondent %	Respondent as Mentor %
One month or less	8	9
One month to one year	0	16
One to five years	26	40
Six to ten years	19	11
Over ten years	<u>47</u>	<u>24</u>
All applicable respondents	100	100

NOTE: *Less than 1%.

Artists Network Index

Finally, in order to summarize and assess the relative networking behavior among respondent-artists, we developed an Artists Network Index. A network rating of 1 to 11 was assigned to each respondent with the number of points based on the following:

> 1 to 8—number of support contacts reported during the previous week
> 1 to 2—number of mentoring relationships reported during the previous month
> 1—if participated in respondent-driven sampling with up to three referrals.

The Network Index therefore, based on the above rating, is an indicator of the frequency and variety of the respondent-artist's connections. "Low" describes the least connected artists, and "high" describes those most connected. The index assigned the label "medium" or "connected" artists to those with a rating of 7. The distribution of survey respondents is shown below.

Network Index	Rating	% Sample
Low	1 – 4	14%
Medium Low	5 – 6	26%
Medium	7	16%
Medium High	8 – 9	33%
High	10 – 11	11%
All respondents		100%

The Artists Network Index was related to the respondent's discipline. Painters and other visual artists tended to score low on the network index. Both groups were above average on low (1 to 4) and medium low (5 to 6) networking. However, the painters overall were somewhat more connected than other types of visual artists. The artisans, who also scored above average on medium low (5 to 6) networking, were somewhat more connected than the painters.

Musicians and other types of performing artists, by contrast, were the most connected disciplines in the sample. Both had above average scores on high (10 to 11) networking. Other performing artists appear to be more highly connected even than the musicians. They were particularly over-represented on medium high (8 to 9) networking, while musicians distributed their scores between medium high (8 to 9) and medium (7).

The literary artists appeared to be reasonably well connected. Five of the seven (71 percent) in the sample scored medium high (8 to 9) or medium (7) on the network index. The pattern among media artists was comparable to that of the sample as a whole.

Below is a summary of other professional and demographic characteristics that were associated with a respondent's network index:

- *Low networking*—more likely than expected among 20 to 30-year-olds and over 55-year-olds; women; those with a $45,000 to $85,000 household income; those with a graduate degree or some college only; mid-career artists of 11 to 25 years.

- *Medium low networking*—more likely than expected among over 55-year-olds.

- o *Medium networking*—more likely than expected among those with over $85,000 household income; established artists of over 25 years.

- o *Medium high networking*—more likely than expected among "lifelong" artists, those with a high school degree only; those with under $45,000 household income.

- o *High networking*—more likely than expected among 20 to 30-year olds, African Americans; men; established artists of over 25 years.

Context appears to be associated with networking behavior. Place of residence, in particular, was directly related to the network index: respondents residing in Center City scored above average on high (10 to 11); those residing in other Philadelphia neighborhoods scored above average on medium (7); and those residing in the suburbs scored above average on medium low (5 to 6) and low (1 to 4). Work habit was also related. Those who work alone scored above average on the lower end of the scale (1 to 7) and those who work with many groups regularly or as needed scored above average on the upper end (8 to 11).

Lastly, two potential indicators that were not incorporated into the Artists Network Index are in fact correlated. Respondents who identified as "part of a specific community of artists" scored above average for high (10 to 11) and medium high (8 to 9) networking, while all others scored above average for low (1 to 4). Respondents who "focus their work on particular groups or audiences" scored above average on high (10 to 11) and medium (7), while all others scored above average for low and medium low (1 to 6).

John-Steiner notes that, even among other creative professionals like scientists and intellectuals, the artist faces a unique set of challenges.

> "A life devoted to creative work in the arts is insecure. In contrast to academics, who can rely on an institutionally organized work environment, most artists have to mobilize personal, emotional, and financial resources in order to fulfill their objectives. Central to meeting such a challenge is belief in oneself and one's talent. Such a belief is seldom built without the support of mentors, personal partners, family, and friends."[32]

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[32] *op cit*., John-Steiner, *Creative Collaboration*, 78.

Summary

Philadelphia area artists maintain active informal networks which function as an alternative to the institutional settings common to creative professionals in other occupations. Virtually all survey respondents initiated up to seven contacts—an average of five—to address eight support needs during the previous week. The most frequent use of contacts (85 percent) was in connection with the creative process, specifically, to talk about a future project. The second most frequent use of contacts was for material support, specifically, economic or space needs (70 percent) and technical information (70 percent).

The survey findings demonstrate that personal contacts are critical and formal institutions marginal to the networks activated by artists on a daily basis to sustain their professional endeavors. Respondents overwhelmingly contacted another artist to seek advice or support for a range of needs—the creative process, personal support, professional development, and material concerns. Artists operating independently, contacted for 70 percent of all support needs, were at the core of the respondents' daily support network.

After independent artists, the most frequent type of contact was the for-profit cultural sector—professional, technical, business, and facility contacts in all arts fields. Respondents consulted arts business people, in particular, about how to develop new audiences or communities. Impersonal public sources—specifically, the media, printed material, or the Internet—were the most frequent citation for technical information. Of particular note was the very limited role of nonprofit arts or cultural organizations—cited by only five percent of all respondents—in the artists' daily support structure.

The great majority of respondents (83 percent) engaged in informal mentoring relationships, which appeared to complement—not substitute for—their other support networks. Half of these artists had both served as and contacted a mentor during the month previous to the survey. Mentoring relationships (in both advisor and advisee roles) were active among mid-career as well as young or emerging artists and among peers as well as across generations.

In contrast to the daily support network, nonprofit institutions—especially educational settings—played a prominent role in artists' mentoring relationships. Forty percent of mentors and 47 percent of advisees were associated with educational or cultural nonprofit organizations. Regardless of setting, both the mentors and advisees of respondents were overwhelmingly artists, 94 percent and 97 percent respectively.

A respondent's network index—our rating based on number of reported contacts and referrals—was associated with discipline and place of residence. The most 'connected' disciplines were other performing artists, then musicians; the least 'connected' were other visual artists, then painters. Respondents residing in Philadelphia's Center City scored high on connectedness, while the suburban artists tended to scored low.

IV. ARTISTS' NETWORKS TO GET WORK

"Getting work" is a central challenge for all members of the labor force regardless of occupation. However, while average job tenure for service sector workers is four to eight years depending on the industry,[33] getting work is a constant challenge for professional artists. Not only does artists' work tend to be sporadic and short-lived, it straddles numerous sectors and markets. The Urban Institute report highlighted the importance of understanding the multiple markets for artists and their work.

> Artists do their work—sometimes simultaneously, sometimes over the course of their careers—in and across various parts of the arts and other sectors. These include commercial, nonprofit, public and informal sectors; arts venues such as studios, galleries, and cultural centers as well as non-arts venues such as schools, parks, and libraries; in strictly arts fields and at the intersection of arts and other fields like youth development, education, community development, health, and the criminal justice system. Artists themselves, moreover, can work as self-employed people, consultants, independent business, or salary-or wage-based employees.[34]

Thus the employment challenge is intensified for artists in that, on the one hand, they tend to work independently and in isolated settings and, on the other hand, they need to comb the landscape regularly to identify the demand that will sustain their work. Activating networks to get work, therefore, are both a lifeline and a way of life for the working artist. In this chapter we take a look at a year of professional work engaged by the artists in the sample and the intermediaries that they used to find that work.

Last Year's Professional Work

The survey-questionnaire asked respondents to list sites where they had worked as an artist—either paid or unpaid—during the previous 12 months (which was generally from June of 2003 through May of 2004). The interviewers encouraged respondents to note all types of settings—including nonprofit arts and cultural organizations, community centers and schools, as well as commercial enterprises such as clubs, stores, or galleries. The script read: "We are trying to understand the everyday experience of the artist, so we ask you to include all experiences related to your artistic work."

Number and Duration of Projects and Positions

Respondents were invited to list up to six professional projects or positions in which they were engaged during the previous year. The 270 artists in the sample reported a total of 1,051 projects and positions (65 percent of the maximum possible of 1,620). Respondents reported at two to six projects for the year, while the average was nearly four. The most common pattern, as shown below, was three stints in twelve months. Over half of respondents (56 percent) reported three to four projects during the 12-month period.

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[33] United States 1999 estimates based on micro-data from the "Job Tenure" supplement to the Current Population Survey, *OECD Employment Outlook 2001* (119).

[34] *Op cit*., Jackson *et al*, *Investing in Creativity*, 21.

Number of Professional Projects and Positions, Last Year, Percent Respondents

Total Positions Reported	# Respondents	% Respondents
2 projects	36	13%
3 projects	82	31%
4 projects	67	25%
5 projects	44	16%
6 projects	41	15%
Total	270	100%

Respondents were asked to provide the start date and end date for each project or position reported. The duration of each position ranged from a one-time event to positions of over ten years to "ongoing" positions. As shown below, nearly half of all positions for which information is available were either short-term projects (24 percent) or ongoing positions (25 percent). Generally, during the course of the year, the sample artists had been engaged with one or more short-term projects as well as longer-term or, in many cases, ongoing part-time positions.

Duration of Project or Position	% Respondents
One month or less, or a few discrete engagements	25%
One month up to one year	17%
One to five (1 to 5) years	19%
Six to ten (6 to 10) years	4%
Ten (10) years or more	9%
"Ongoing" (short-term or long-term)	26%
Total	100%

NOTE: Of the 1,051 positions reported, start and end dates were available for 609 cases.

Several demographic characteristics were associated with duration of professional projects and positions. Respondents who had a household income under $45,000 or were female were more likely than expected to have short-term projects (one-month or less). African Americans were more likely than other respondents to have positions of one month to one year.

The age of the respondent, however, appeared to be the characteristic most directly associated with duration of position. Generally, duration (and variety) increased with age. Positions of one month to one year were more likely than expected among 20 to 30-year-olds; one to five-year positions were more likely among 31 to 40-year-olds; six to ten-year positions were more likely among 31 to 40-year-olds and over-55-year-olds; and positions of over ten years were more likely among over-55-year olds. The 41 to 55-year-olds showed the most variety with greater than expected ongoing positions, positions of over ten years, as well as positions of one month to one year.

Types of Projects or Positions

For each position reported, respondents were asked the name and location of the organization or firm with which they worked and a brief description of the particular project or position involved. An analysis of the institutional settings is presented in our companion working paper entitled, "Gauging the Informal Arts Sector, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2004." Here we present the survey findings on the types of professional work engaged by the respondents and the types of contacts and relationships that connected the artists with their work.

The respondents' open-ended descriptions of projects and positions were coded into eight types of work. The categories are based not on discipline but on the relationship to the artistic process, as follows:

- Producing artist-driven new work—creative work inspired by the artist, such as choreography or composition or opportunities afforded by a fellowship or residency.

- Producing market-driven new work—e.g., a commission.

- Presenting or performing "live" art—e.g., a show, exhibit, performance, or tour of visual, performing, or literary arts.

- Producing art via electronic media—production for a mediated audience or mass distribution through film, television, radio, or recording.

- Producing art via print media—production for a mediated audience or mass distribution through publishing.

- Teaching or learning the arts or the creative process—e.g., running or taking a class or workshop.

- Organizational or institutional role as an artist—including paid or voluntary position in an arts or non-arts organization—e.g., board member, director, or curator.

- Community service or advocacy as an artist

Table 4-1 shows the proportion of projects and positions in each of the above categories and ranks them accordingly. Nearly half (48 percent) of all positions reported were "live" performances or exhibits—including acting, dancing, musical or band performances; exhibiting at fairs, festivals, or craft shows; as well as poetry or book readings and spoken word.   The next two most common types of positions were teaching (15 percent) and "self" or artist-driven new work (12 percent). Together these three categories encompassed three-quarters of all positions reported by the sample artists.

Table 4-1. TYPES OF PROJECTS AND POSITIONS, LAST YEAR

Type of Work (all disciplines)	% Projects and Positions
Presenting, performing, exhibiting "live" art	48%
Teaching or learning the arts	16%
Producing artist-driven new work	12%
Organizational/institutional role	9%
Producing market-driven new work	5%
Producing art via electronic media	4%
Community service or advocacy	4%
Producing art via print media or publishing	2%
All applicable projects and positions	100%

NOTE: Of the total of 1,051 projects and positions reported, description of the type of work was available for 909 positions.

The respondent's age was related to types of positions. The 20 to 30-year-olds were more likely to present live arts; the 31 to 55-year-olds were more likely to be involved with electronic media; the 40 to 55-year-olds were more likely to have an organizational role or engage in community service; and the over 55-year-olds were more likely to produce and create their own new work.

Other demographic characteristics were also associated with the types of professional work. African American and male respondents were more likely to have been involved with producing art via electronic or print media. White and female respondents were more likely to have been involved with their own new work. Whites were more likely to produce market-driven new work. Women were more likely to have teaching or community service positions.

Respondents with a high school degree only were more likely to present live arts, those with a graduate degree more likely to teach; and those with a household income over $85,000 more likely to produce market-driven new work. Organizational positions were associated with respondents having a household income of at least $45,000 or a graduate degree. Respondents either with a high school degree or over $85,000 in income were more likely to produce art via electronic media.

Paid vs. Unpaid Positions

Of all known cases, respondents were compensated for 75 percent and received no pay for 25 percent of their professional projects or positions engaged during the previous year.[35] Community service and organizational roles (other than teaching) were over-represented among the unpaid positions. Teaching positions, market-driven new work, and arts production via electronic media were more likely to be compensated than other types of work. A respondent's demographic characteristics—including income—were not related to whether or not a position was compensated.

Getting Work Contacts

Chapter III described the character of the sample artists' daily support networks. Here we describe the characteristics of the sample artists' networks to get work. For each projects or position reported, we asked respondents how they learned about the position. There were three main vehicles by which respondent-artists learned about the professional opportunities that had turned into work during the previous year: personal contacts, organizational contacts, and public sources of information. As shown below, respondents attributed 90 percent of projects and positions to social and institutional networks.

How learned about project/position	% Projects/Positions
Personal contacts	53%
Organizational contacts	37%
Public sources of information	10%
Total known sources[36]	100%

Personal Contacts

A wide variety of personal contacts were the respondents' source of information for over half of the projects and positions that engaged them over a year. The single most common category of personal contact that led to work was *friends and family*. Of all the positions for which personal contact information was available, 48 percent were described by the respondent as a friend, artist-friend, or family member—including spouse, girlfriend, boyfriend, school mate, or college friend.

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[35] Information about whether a position was paid or not was available for 896 of the 1,051 reported positions.

[36] Note regarding availability of data for discussion of "getting work contacts":
    Total reported projects/positions N=1,051
    Known source/how learned N=811
    Personal contacts N=432
    Organizational contacts N=296
    Public source of information N=83
    Relationship to the person N=406
    Whether person is an artist N=350
    How long known this person N=325.

After friends and family, the most significant types of personal contacts that led to work were professional or work-based relationships. Twenty (20) percent of contacts were attributed to a *business relationship* with the respondent artist. This category includes three types of people:

- professional or technical advisor or consultant—such as a producer, director, editor, publisher, financial manager, museum staff, curator, real estate agent, or art dealer;

- agent—such as a personal booking agent, manager, or coach; and

- business partner or investor—such as a club or gallery owner, recording company, commission or client.

An additional 19 percent of contacts were attributed to a *collegial relationship*— specifically, artist collaborators and partners; other workplace colleagues and associates; as well as teachers, advisors, and educational associates.

The remaining 13 percent of positions attributed to personal contact can be classified as *general social contacts*. This category includes individuals whom the artist has met socially—such as neighbors or acquaintances—or professionally, such as fans, the media, or other members of the artist's "public."

The vast majority of personal contacts that led to artistic work, among all four categories described above, were attributed to a relationship of some duration. In fact, over half of the contacts (52 percent) were individuals known to the respondent for over five years, and 41 percent were long-term relationships of over ten years.

Longevity of Relationship	% Personal Contacts
Up to one year	13%
Over one to five years	35%
Over five to ten years	11%
Over ten years	41%
All known contacts	100%

Regardless of institutional setting or relationship, like their everyday support networks, the respondents' networks to get work were overwhelmingly dominated by artists. About half of the friends and two-thirds of the business and collegial relationships were artists. Overall, 85 percent of all the personal contacts that led to work were fellow artists.

Personal contacts that led to work varied to some degree in relationship to the respondent's age. The 20 to 30-year-olds were more likely than expected to contact family and school friends, teachers, personal agents, and their broader social network. The 31 to 40-year olds were more likely than expected to contact workplace colleagues and professional consultants. The 41 to 55-year olds were more likely to consult with an artist collaborator or business partner. Finally, the over-55-year olds were more likely to consult with a teacher or personal agent.

Organizational Contacts

Over one-third of the projects and positions reported by respondents were attributed to organizational contacts. Respondents described three types of organizational relationships that led to jobs, as follows.

Type of Organizational Contact	% Organizational Contacts
Organization contacted artist	50%
Artist had previous/ongoing relationship with organization	32%
Artist contacted organization	18%
All known contacts	100%

Among all known organizational contacts, half of the positions were initiated by the organization. A third of positions were the result of the artist's ongoing relationship with an organization. Only 18 percent were initiated by the respondent-artist.

The more prosperous (over $85,000 household income) or established (over 25 years as an artist) respondents were more likely than expected to report positions engaged due to organization initiative. Mid-career (41 to 55-year-olds), white, as well as the over-$85,000-income artists were more likely to have ongoing relationships with organizations that resulted in professional work. The 20 to 30-year-olds were more likely to have obtained a position by initiating contact with an organization.

Public Sources of Information

Ten percent of the projects and positions reported by the sample artists were attributed to public sources of information. Respondents reported two types of public information sources: (1) openings and opportunities via the Internet, newspapers, or other media and (2) filing an application or participating in an audition process. Applications and auditions tended to be cited among the over 30-year-olds, while the wider media was more commonly cited by the 20-something respondents.

Table 4-2. LAST YEAR'S PROJECTS AND POSITIONS
Type of Contact and Relationship by Discipline of Respondent

TYPE OF CONTACT Personal Contacts	DISCIPLINE Higher than expected	DISCIPLINE Lower than expected
Friends and family		
Family/intimate	Painting, media	Music, other visual
Friend	Music	Other visual
School friend	Music, other performing, artisan	Painting, other visual, media
Business relationship		
Professional/technical advisor	Other visual, literary	Painting, music
Agent or personal manager	Music, other performing	Painting, other visual, artisan, media
Business partner or investor	Painting, other visual	Music
Collegial relationship		
Artist collaborator, partner	Music	Painting, media
Workplace colleague, associate	Painting, literary	Music
Educational associate, teacher	Other visual, other performing	Music, artisan
General social contacts		
Social circle	Music, other visual	Painting
Arts aficionado	Music	Other visual, media
Organizational Contacts		
Organization contacted artist	Artisan	
Ongoing relationship	Other visual	
Artist contacted organization	Painting, other visual, other performing	

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Getting Work and the Artist Network Index

Finally, we use the Artist Network Index, discussed in Chapter III, to look at the relationship between the respondents' daily support networks and their getting work networks. First we look at the respondents' project rate—the number of projects and positions per year—and their network index. A high network index (10-11) was related to a rate of both six and four positions per year, while medium high (8-9) was related to three positions. There is a broad but noteworthy relationship: the respondents who reported at least four projects or positions for the year (4, 5, or 6) had a network index of at least medium or above (a 7 to 11 rating). Artists' networking capacity is associated with their ability to mobilize multiple projects on a regular basis to sustain their work.

Table 4-3 shows how the artists' network index was related to the types of work engaged and the nature of the contacts that led to work. A low network index was associated with artist-initiated creative work. A medium or medium-high network index were associated with market-driven work (whether custom or mass market). Respondents with a medium index were more likely to have had a community service position and those with a high index more likely to have had an organizational role. (Community service and organizational positions are frequently not compensated).

Regarding the nature of personal contacts, a low network index was associated with a higher likelihood of work through family contacts. More business and fewer personal social relationships were associated with a medium-low and medium network index. Teachers were over-represented as "getting work" contacts among respondents with both the lowest and the highest network ratings.

Table 4-3. PROJECTS AND POSITIONS BY RESPONDENT'S NETWORK INDEX

Respondent's NETWORK INDEX	MORE LIKELY than average		LESS LIKELY than average	
	Type of Work	Personal Contact	Type of Work	Personal Contact
Low (1-4)	Artist-driven new work	Family Business partner Teacher	Electronic media	School friend Arts aficionado
Medium-low (5-6)		Personal agent or manager Business partner Workplace associate Arts aficionado	Electronic media Print media	Teacher/educational General social circle
Medium (7)	Market-driven new work Print media Community service	Personal agent or manager Arts aficionado General social circle	Electronic media	School friend Business partner Workplace associate
Medium-high (8-9)	Electronic media	School friends Workplace associate	Artist-driven new work Community service	Family Teacher/educational
High (10-11)	Org/institutional role	Teacher/educational	Artist-driven new work Market-driven new work Print media	Family, school friend Agent or manager Workplace associate Arts aficionado

Summary

Professional artists work in many capacities—self-employed, contractor, consultant, employee, or business owner—and in and across multiple fields and sectors including commercial, nonprofit, public, and informal. The sample artists engaged two to six professional projects or positions during the year previous to the survey. While the average was four, the most common pattern was three stints in twelve months; 31 percent reported five to six projects. Three-quarters of the reported projects and positions were compensated, and one-quarter were not.

During the year, the artists typically engaged one or more short-term projects as well as longer-term or, in many cases, ongoing part-time positions. Nearly half (48 percent) of all positions reported were "live" performances or exhibits. Teaching and "self" or artist-driven work, 15 percent and 12 percent respectively, were the next most common types of positions.

Activating networks to get work are both a lifeline and a way of life for the working artist. The three main vehicles by which the sample artists learned about the opportunities that turned into work were: personal contacts (53 percent), organizational contacts (37 percent), and public sources of information (10 percent). Nearly half of the personal contacts that led to work were friends or family of the respondent. Respondents' business contacts—including professional or technical advisors, personal agents or managers, as well as business partners or investors—were also an important conduit to work. Most organizational contacts that led to work were initiated by the organization or due to a previous or ongoing relationship. Like their everyday support networks, the respondents' networks to get work were overwhelmingly dominated by artists.

V. CONCLUSION

SIAP undertook the *Philadelphia Area Artists Survey 2004* as a first step toward the documentation and understanding of the region's artists and their social networks. The study had four broad objectives: one, to address a gap in the literature by doing an empirical study of the social networks of artists; two, to document the local and informal dimensions of artists' networking in metropolitan Philadelphia; three, to test methodologies that could both identify the universe of artists in the region and advance the study of artists' social networks; and, four, to advance SIAP's research agenda toward an understanding of the role of the artist in the contemporary city.

What have we learned? The picture of social networks presented in this report differs from the image based on an organization-centered perspective that dominates policy research to date. It is not surprising, however, that an artist-centered view would redraw the boundaries of the cultural sector and recast the definitions of informal vs. formal and internal vs. external networks. The findings of the study offer not only data to begin to address the empirical shortfall in current research but new perspectives on the nature and function of artists' social networks. In this last chapter, we highlight findings that broaden our perspective on artists and their social networks and make recommendations for further study.

What We Learned about Artists and their Social Networks

The survey findings demonstrate that social networks are an important structure of support for artists. Virtually all of the sample artists were engaged in active contacts on a regular basis regarding all aspects of their work. Of the 270 respondents, 94 percent reported between two and seven arts-related contacts—an average of five—during the previous week to address the one of eight concerns identified by the Urban Institute as central to the support structure of U.S. artists.

Respondents' most frequent use of contacts was to consult about the creative process and the generation of new work. More artists (85 percent) used networks to talk about a new project than for any other purpose. Material support was respondents' second most frequent use of contacts: 70 percent consulted about economic and/or space needs, and 70 percent sought technical information for their work.

At the core of the respondents' daily support networks were other artists, such that independent artists could be considered artists' *internal network*. Among the 270 respondents, 70 percent contacted an independent artist during the previous week to meet one or more support need. Artists operating independently were the single most frequent type of contact for every issue addressed by the survey.

Using this framework, organization-based contacts could be considered artists' *external network*. For-profit arts or cultural businesses, cited by 44 percent of respondents, were the most frequently used organizational-based contact. Artists consulted arts businesses, in particular, for advice about connecting with new audiences or communities. For profit non-arts firms (business, professional, or technical contacts) were the second most frequently cited (25 percent) organizational-based contact. Non-profit organizations of any type played the least prominent role in the sample artists' daily support network.

A third category of contacts based in the larger society could be called artists' *public network*," specifically: public sources via the media, print sources, or the Internet (cited by 24 percent of respondents); and general social contacts (cited by 21 percent of respondents). Media, print material, or the Internet were the most frequently cited source of technical information and consulted for this purpose by a third of the sample artists.

These impersonal, public networks were cited more frequently than contacts with any type of formal association or nonprofit organization. Of particular note was the very limited role of nonprofit arts or cultural organizations—cited by only five percent of all respondents—in the artists' daily support structure. It appears that the active informal networks maintained by Philadelphia area artists alleviate organizational dependency and function as an alternative to the institutional settings common to creative professionals in other occupations.

A great many respondents (83 percent) engaged in mentoring relationships, in either an advisor or advisee role, during the month previous to the survey. Not quite half of this group (41 percent of the sample) reported both a mentor and an advisee contact. Mentoring relationships were active among middle-aged, generally mid-career, artists. In contrast to the daily support network, nonprofit educational and cultural institutions were the most common setting (40 percent) for mentoring, and educational associates were the most common mentoring relationship to the respondent.

For all types of networks, individual artists appear to be at the center. Regardless of institutional setting, support issue, or relationship to the respondent—the vast majority of individuals contacted were themselves artists. Among the 270 respondents, 94 percent contacted at least one other artist during the previous week to address one or more support need. Other artists were consulted for every type of support, ranging from economic or space issues (68 percent) to critical feedback (83 percent). Among mentors, 37 percent were independent artists.

Over three-quarters (77 percent) of all respondents see themselves as part of a particular "community of artists." Only 11 percent of these respondents reported community identity based on affiliation or membership with a formal association or organization. Nearly 90 percent reported community identity based on an artistic discipline, expertise, or interest; the Philadelphia arts community; or an intimate community of artist-friends.

Personal relationships played a prominent role in the social networks of sample artists. Among the 270 respondents, 64 percent reported contacting a "friend" during the previous week to help address a support need. Friends were especially important for career advice as well as for social and emotional support. After friends, respondents turned most frequently to artist partners and collaborators. Collaborating artists were contacted, in particular, for critical feedback or to discuss a future project.

The survey did not find significant networking patterns associated with ethnicity or gender. The characteristics most associated with networking were age—which is highly associated with career stage—and discipline. Generally, professional characteristics appeared to be more significant than demographic characteristics with regard to patterns of social networks.[37]

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[37] See discussion of homophily in SIAP working paper, "Gauging the Informal Arts," pages 9-11.

Respondents engaged two to six professional projects or positions during the year previous to the survey. While the average was four, the most common pattern was three stints in twelve months; 31 percent reported five to six projects. During the year, the artists typically engaged one or more short-term projects as well as longer-term or, in many cases, ongoing part-time positions. Nearly half (48 percent) of all positions reported were "live" performances or exhibits. Teaching and "self" or artist-driven work, 15 percent and 12 percent respectively, were the next most common types of positions.

The three main vehicles by which respondents learned about the opportunities that turned into work were: personal contacts (53 percent), organizational contacts (37 percent), and public sources of information (10 percent). Regardless of institutional setting or relationship, like their everyday support networks, the respondent's "networks to get work" were overwhelmingly dominated by artists.

Network Perspectives

Artist-centered networks redefine the cultural sector—that is, what is "external" from an organizational point of view can be "internal" from an artist's point of view. Ultimately, for artists, all of their professional contacts are a part of their art worlds.

The informal and personal character of the artists' professional networks was notable. There are a couple of ways to look at this phenomenon. One interpretation is that artists' social networks are dominated by a "clique" structure. As described by Ronald Burt of the University of Chicago in a study of network structure: "The natural tendency of a network left untended is toward a clique of people known to, and supporting, one another as friends of friends." According to Burt, *clique* networks are small, dense, and non-hierarchical. Dense networks are associated with leisure activities, lack of social capital, and substandard performance.[38]

Another interpretation is that drawn from Shorthose and Strange's discussion of the artist in the new cultural economy referenced in the Introduction.[39] Integral to artists' development of interdependent networks are their "blurred distinctions between interior artistic life, work life, social life and friendship, whereby collaborators become friends as well as professional colleagues." A similar phenomenon has been identified as a key characteristic of individual members of "new social movements."[40]

Most likely, artists' personal networks serve two functions: one is a bonding role through the knitting of communities of identity and cohesion, and the other a bridging role by moving from group to group. The distinction is important in that the bonding network is associated with *statis*—that is, support that contributes to a weak critical presence. The bridging network, by contrast, is associated with change and creativity. In any case,

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[38] **"**The Network Structure of Social Capital**,"** by Ronald S. Burt, University of Chicago and Institute Europeen d'Administration d'Affaires (INSEAD), Preprint for chapter in *Research in Organizational Behavior* (Volume 22, May 20000. Ed. Robert I. Sutton, Barry M. Staw, Greenwich, CT, JAI Press 2000.

[39] Jim Shorthose and Gerard Strange, "The New Cultural Economy, the Artist and the Social Configuration of Autonomy," *Capital & Class* (Winter 2004).

[40] Hank Johnston, Enrique Larana, and Joseph R. Gusfield, ed, *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995).

many artists appear to be tapping their dense, personal networks in a way that would expand their social capital, artistic opportunities, and—hopefully—validation.

In fact, Shorthose and Strange would see the bonding and bridging functions of artists' networks as complementary. They describe independent artists as working in communities within "relatively self-determined informal networks and mutual support systems." They also note "affirmation of membership in the artistic community" as integral to the development of interdependent networks.

The Urban Institute report pointed to networks as "essential to the livelihood of artists" and "vital to an artist's career." However, the report casts the artist in a dependent role with respect to formal networks—even with artist-focused organizations, many of which were described as "fragile," "under-resourced and stretched," and "at risk." While resources and support are clearly a daily necessity for artists, the *Philadelphia Area Artists Survey* found artists taking initiative to identify and get the help they need, wherever that may be, rather than largely dependent on organizational services.

In other words, artists' networks appear to be generally characterized by an "entrepreneurial" rather than a "hierarchical" structure. According to Ronald Burt, an *entrepreneurial* network is the type of structure created by an individual who builds social capital with connections that span structural holes. Entrepreneurial networks, also called broker networks, are built by individuals called "network entrepreneurs." A *hierarchical* network is the type of structure created by an individual who borrows social capital from a sponsor. This structure tends to be large, sparse, and anchored on a central contact. The organization-centered perspective tends to see artists as dependent upon an individual relationship (or relationships) inside an organization to access the services or opportunities offered by that agency.

The three types of network structure discussed above—clique, entrepreneurial, and hierarchical—have different implications for inclusion or exclusion. As noted above, most artists appear to be part of one or more networks that some would describe as a clique. A clique structure by definition is a network with closure—that is, everyone is connected to everyone else. A clique is a small, cohesive group characterized by trust and norms and distinct from the external environment. Because artists' personal networks are interconnected with his or her creativity and livelihood, however, they must be more fluid than a comparable network created strictly for social or recreational purposes.

Hierarchical networks, by contrast, are associated with high performance by outsiders—that is, someone who has successfully gained access to an insider's entrepreneurial network. It is the hierarchical structure that tends to characterize an artist's relationship to an organization that is the focus of concerns about exclusion. As reported by the Urban Institute: "Informal networks can be difficult to access and can reinforce social inequalities." For example, foundation awards or university positions are often perceived to "anoint" certain artists and exclude others—in particular, artists of color, immigrants, or mid-career artists.[41]

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[41] *Op cit.*, Jackson *et al*, *Investing in Creativity*, 70.

The great strength of artists' social networks is their tendency toward entrepreneurialism. Both getting the work and doing the work requires an artist to navigate among different people, projects, and places. As described by Ronald Burt:

> "Networks rich in the entrepreneurial opportunity of structural holes are entrepreneurial networks, and entrepreneurs are people skilled in building bridges that span structural holes ..." "… people who add value by brokering connections between others."[42]

Entrepreneurial networks at their best are large, sparse, non-hierarchical networks and are generally associated with greater creativity and innovation and more rewarding opportunities.

The Urban Institute report found that "people with the ability to create bridges within and outside the cultural sector are important." These "cultural brokers"—people who have the skills to speak and strategize across artistic disciplines, cultures, professional fields, and policy areas—are essential to creating and sustaining external networks. What their study did not explore, however, was the potential role of artists themselves as cultural brokers.

For Further Research

The Philadelphia Area Artists Survey 2004 made a significant contribution to the research on artists and their social networks, in particular:

- generation of a representative sample of metropolitan Philadelphia artists;

- empirical documentation of the social networks of a sample of metropolitan Philadelphia artists; and

- testing of the suitability of sampling and survey methodologies for the study of artists' social networks.

Sampling methodology

SIAP's companion working paper—"Gauging the Informal Arts Sector, Metropolitan Philadelphia, 2004"—includes an extensive analysis of the success of the respondent-driven-sampling (RDS) methodology in generating a representative sample of Philadelphia's "hidden" population of artists.

One question that should be added to the questionnaire is: how many people are in your network? Or, what is the total number of people that you contacted last week with regard to any aspect of your artistic work? Corollary questions are: How many professional artists (all disciplines) are in your network? How many professional artists in your discipline are in your network?

In any case, a sampling frame based on the RDS methodology in a metropolitan area will be biased toward trained artists who are networked. Categories of under-represented artists are likely to include: independent artists living in the exurban or rural areas of the region, self-taught or traditional artists, and first-generation immigrant artists.

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[42] *Op cit*., Ronald S. Burt, 68.

Network documentation and analysis

In further research, it would be desirable to develop a network index that could capture the diversity as well as the intensity of an artist's social network.[43]

What outcome or performance measures should be used in the analysis of artists' social networks? In other words, how should we evaluate the relative effectiveness of artists' networks—vis-à-vis individual or collective social capital accumulation? One possibility is to gather geographic data that would enable us to map artists' networks and see if there is any relationship to community vitality.

A significant subset of the artists' social networks is the artist-to-artist network. It might be desirable, where the contact is an artist, to ask for additional descriptive information— for example, discipline/media, age, organizational or business affiliation, and even their name. (Gathering the names of artist contacts would enable construction of a network web comparable to an institutional network analysis.)

For every contact reported, it would be desirable to request the person's occupation and age and to clarify whether the contact is a personal contact ("informal") or an organizational relationship ("formal").

Artists and the New Urban Reality

The decline of formal cultural institutions requires us to give new priority to understanding the role of artists and cultural workers in the networks that support the local cultural sector. Although Howard Becker's *Art Worlds* debunked the idea of the solitary genius, this image continues to dominate our thinking about artists.[44] This paper is a contribution to a growing body of research that underlines the importance of networking strategies for artists and their importance to broader cultural networks.

In light of the *Dynamics of Culture* research, it may be that artists are well-poised to function as "network entrepreneurs" in the contemporary urban landscape. The relatively flat, decentralized, multi-nodal economy and networked society of the twenty-first century city are rich in the structural holes that are opportunities for those skilled in brokering connections. Enabling artists to become effective "network entrepreneurs," however, would have implications both for the training and support of our creative professionals and for leveraging the productivity of "the creative class" for society at large. In any case, we need to learn more about the practice and potential of artists' networks to build social capital that benefits both the individual artist and the wider community.

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[43] Erickson (1996) used an innovative method to measure network diversity. He asked respondents (members of one occupational group) whether they have friends and acquaintances in each of 19 different occupations. The more diverse the person's non-kin network, the broader their knowledge of diverse cultural genres, sports, art, books restaurants, and businesses. See also Erickson (2001) for methods applied to the informal local economy.

Another measure of network diversity used by Collins (1998) was to look at inter-generational social networks among philosophers. He produced intergenerational socio-grams for each philosopher and measured their effectiveness with respect to the philosopher's reputation.

[44] *Op cit.*, Becker, *Art Worlds*.

[45] See methodology references:

NEA studies of the economic conditions of independent artists undertaken by Joan Jeffri. Review
methodologies: (1) snowball sampling method, (2) survey questionnaire.
Time-study of parents done by _____ . (Mark went to presentation on March 2nd, 2004). See
survey questionnaire for telephone survey—time study of 24-hours of previous day.
Paul DiMaggio's references re: respondent-driven surveys (theory and methods).

[46] In order to provide population estimates, RDS results must be weighted to take into consideration
variations in network size (those with large networks are more likely to be included in an RDS study) and
homophily (the tendency of individuals to form bonds with members of their own group). In this paper, we
have not weighted the results. Therefore, the findings in this paper should be read as the results of the
survey, rather than as estimates of population parameters.