

C r O S S O V e r

How Artists Build Careers across
Commercial, Nonprofit and Community Work

Ann Markusen | Sam Gilmore | Amanda Johnson | Titus Levi | Andrea Martinez



For The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation | The James Irvine Foundation | Leveraging Investments in Creativity



the James Irvine foundation





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Cover photos feature the artists and their work profiled in this study.
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Crossover

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The Arts Economy Initiative
Project on Regional and Industrial Economics
Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota

October, 2006

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Contents

Preface	5	Crossover and Artistic Development	52
Executive Summary	7	Conclusions and Recommendations	59
Commercial, Nonprofit and Community Crossover: the Theory	11	Complex Attitudes towards Art and Commercial, Nonprofit and Community Sectors	
Delineating the Commercial, Nonprofit and Community Sectors		What Artists Can Do	
How Artistic Sectors Differ Operationally		What Educational and Training Institutions Can Do	
How Artists Navigate Sectoral Divides		What Artists' Service Organizations Can Do	
Insights from Prior Research	21	What Commercial Sector Employers Can Do	
Crossover Surveys and Related Studies		What Nonprofit and Community Arts Organizations Can Do	
Biographies and In-depth Case Studies		What Funders Can Do	
Studies of Bay Area and Los Angeles Artists		What the Media Can Do	
Survey and Interview Content	27	What Government Agencies Can Do	
Reaching Los Angeles and Bay Area Artists	31	What Arts Advocacy Groups Can Do	
Methodology in Brief		Networking among Sector Leaders and Managers	
An Overview of Respondents		Appendix I.	
How Artists Crossover: the Results	37	Survey and Interview Methodology	85
Crossing Over for Income		Appendix II.	
Working Time Crossovers		Census vs. Survey Portraits of Los Angeles and Bay Area Artists	89
Desired Changes in Mix		References	97
Spanning Artistic Disciplines		Inside Back Cover:	
Crossover in Career Stages		List of Organizations Participating in Survey Request	
Crossover with Arts Administration and Teaching			
Crossover Between Regions			
Mixing Arts and Non-arts Work			
Volunteering as a Route to Crossover			
Crossover Skeptics			

Preface

For decades, the art world and the general public have viewed artists and arts activity as compartmentalized into three separate spheres. In the commercial sector, artwork is organized by for-profit organizations and marketed by self-employed artists and companies in a hotly competitive and highly segmented marketplace. In a nonprofit sector that has rapidly expanded since the 1970s, the work of artists and arts organizations is mission-driven and motivated by factors other than financial return, relying heavily on patronage and philanthropy. In the community sector, artwork is rarely remunerative but pursued for cultural, political and aesthetic reasons.

During the past four decades, stereotypes about artistic conventions, innovativeness, quality of work, freedom of expression, and audience appeal came to encumber the way that we look at art-making in American society. Arts industry employers, arts funders, arts presenters and even the public tended to pigeon-hole artists as belonging to one sector or another, and to judge only activities in certain sectors as worthy of investment, encouragement and a hearing. The borders between sectors appeared heavily guarded by mindsets as well as gatekeepers and difficult for artists to cross.

In 2005, several foundations, including California-based The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and The James Irvine Foundation and New York-based Leveraging Investments in Creativity (LINC), commissioned this study of the reality of these three spheres from the point of view of artists in two regions: the Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay areas. They asked whether these conceptions jibe with artists' contemporary experiences, how artists cross over among the sectors, and what barriers, if any, make it hard for them to do so.

Why artists? The art world or worlds, as Howard Becker (1982) taught us, are highly complex, consisting of tens of thousands of overlapping private, nonprofit and public organizations, intricate supply change relationships, a myriad of informal networks among participants, and changing degrees of separation between artist and audience. Artists are very likely to be self-employed, many of them working on contract or funded on a project-by-project basis and others marketing their completed work themselves. The organizations and individuals that train, hire, fund, commission, produce and present artists often have only a foggy idea of the full extent of artists' activities – where they get their ongoing inspiration, where they are exposed to the best in their fields and to new techniques and media, how they make a living, why they decide to make a commitment to particular art forms, forums, employers, and a place to live, and how they develop a following. We believed at the

outset that asking artists directly about their experience across sectors would produce insights that would help the art worlds' many participants work better together.

In this study, we delineate the three sectors and address how they are organized, including the motivations and conventions that govern each sector. We pull together a number of hypotheses about how artists navigate these sectoral divides. To reach artists, we used a web-based survey, soliciting responses by working with dozens of arts and cultural organizations in the San Francisco Bay and Los Angeles metropolitan areas, which host the two largest artistic populations in California and rank first and third in the nation in density of artists in the workforce. We paid particular attention to part-time, ethnic and community-based artists who are often left out of surveys and undercounted in the Census. We also interviewed more than fifty artists from a diverse mix of disciplines, age, race, ethnicity, immigrant status, and income about their own experiences at crossover.

We found the results rather astounding. Artists move among sectors far more fluidly than we had thought, and if money were not an issue, most would cross over even more than they presently do. They report that each sector provides distinctive channels and support for artistic development. We believe that the study findings have far-reaching implications for how leaders in each sector might acknowledge the contributions of the others and cooperate to encourage greater cross-fertilization. We do our best to articulate some productive avenues for change.

For their financial commitments and active engagement in this study at various junctures, we would like to thank our program officers and their staff: Moy Eng at The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation; John Orders, Marcy Hinand Cady, Jeanne Sakamoto and Emily Sevier at The James Irvine Foundation; and Sam Miller and Judilee Reed at Leveraging Investments in Creativity (LINC). Other grantmakers who gave generously of their time and ideas include Frances Phillips of The Walter and Elise Haas Fund, John Killacky and Sherwood Chen of The San Francisco Foundation, Claire Peeps of The Durfee Foundation, and Angie Kim of the Flintridge and Getty Foundations.

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Preface

Regional Arts Council in St. Paul (MN), Paul Ong of UCLA's Department of Urban Planning, Karen Chapple of UC-Berkeley's Department of City and Regional Planning, Elisa Barbour of the Public Policy Institute of California, Melissa Potter and Ted Berger of the New York Foundation for Artists, Janine Perron and Andrew Campbell of the Los Angeles Arts Commission, Tom Backer of the Human Interaction Research Institute, Carole Rosenstein of the Urban Institute, and Claudia Bach of AdvisArts Consulting.

We would like to give profuse thanks to the many directors and staff of industry, union and nonprofit arts organizations, public agencies, foundations, listservs and community groups that put us into contact with thousands of artists; to the more than 2200 artists who took the time and care to complete the survey, often writing long and remarkable responses to the open-ended questions; and to the artists we interviewed in depth, for their marvelous stories and insights.

I would like to thank the following members of our team. Research associate Amanda Johnson for her talent and willingness to be a jack-of-all-trades and, in addition to her interviews, her masterful management of the survey. California colleagues, Sam Gilmore and Titus Levi, for important input into survey design and the rich interviews that they contributed. Andrea Martinez for coming onto the study midstream, conducting interviews and keeping track of all the organizations with which we worked. Katherine Murphy for her extraordinary marshalling of the study through all its stages of publication. Kim Dalros for layout and graphic design. Greg Schrock and Kate Nesse for the Census data analysis. Paul Singh for the maps of the two regions. Pat Shifferd for her statistical work on the survey results. Antonio Rosell for translation services.

I am grateful for the financial and staff support of the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs and to UCLA's Department of Urban Planning for the invitation to serve as Harvey Perloff Visiting Chair in the fall of 2005, which greatly facilitated the groundwork in California.

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Executive Summary

A large portion of artistic creation and dissemination has always taken place in the commercial sector. In the 20th century, an innovative non-profit sector began to offer alternative routes for artists to develop their work and reach larger publics. In the past few decades, previously under-appreciated community artistic practices have won recognition for novel new art forms, some based on traditional ethnic or immigrant art. Many people inside and outside the art world perceive significant divides among commercial, nonprofit and community sectors. In this study, we report how artists in the Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay metros develop their work and careers across the three arenas, how each sector affects their artistic development, and what barriers could be eliminated to facilitate greater crossover.

We define the sectors as follows. The commercial sector encompasses for-profit firms that employ artists, contract with them for services, buy their work or process, and package and market their work for distribution. It also includes work that self-employed artists create and market directly, as in art fairs, on the web, via commissions, performances on tour, and individual teaching for pay. The not-for-profit sector encompasses work done for or with the support of the public sector or legally incorporated nonprofit organizations, such as museums, orchestras, opera houses, nonprofit presses, religious and social service organizations. It includes public art commissions and work supported by nonprofit foundation grants. The community sector encompasses forums and organizations often called informal, traditional, or unincorporated, where artists create and share their work unmediated by either markets or not-for-profit organizations, whether paid or not.

We used a web-based survey to reach artists in both metro regions, supplemented with in-depth interviews. We define a working artist as anyone who self-identifies as an artist, spends ten or more hours a week at his/her artwork (whether for income or not), and shares his/her work with others beyond family and close friends. This definition includes artists who work at a non-arts job to make a living who would not be included in official

occupational data reported in the US Census. We targeted artists in Los Angeles County (the Los Angeles metropolitan area) and in nine Bay Area counties (San Francisco, Oakland, Santa Clara, Marin, San Mateo, Contra Costa, Solano, Napa and Sonoma).

In the web survey, we asked artists about their cross-sectoral experiences in time spent and income earned and about the impact of each sector on their careers and artistic development. More than 80 arts organizations in the two regions helped us reach artists by email, listservs, newsletters, websites and flyers. The organizations included, for instance, the Screen Actors' Guild and the Musicians' Union, listservs for documentary filmmakers and graphic artists, theatre and writers' service organizations, ethnic dance companies, community music and arts schools, and the Alliance for California Traditional Arts.

We received nearly 1800 usable survey responses. Our pool includes more part-time artists, artists of color, women artists and immigrant artists than the Census 2000 estimates. Visual artists comprise a larger share of our artist pool than in the Census, as do Bay Area artists. In an appendix, we compare our respondent pool with the Census and speculate on ways in which each might be unrepresentative. We supplemented the survey with over fifty interviews, half from each region.

We find that crossover is quite pervasive among artists in both regions. Surprisingly large percentages of artists split their arts time among the three sectors. Overall, 39% spend most of their arts time (65% or more) in the commercial sector. Another 19% do no commercial work, and 42% engage part-time in commercial artwork. Smaller shares of artists spend most of their arts time in not-for-profit (public and non-profit) sector work (29%), and 55% report working part-time in that sector. Only 6% devote most of their art time to the community sector, but 69% work in community arts at least some number of hours.

Overall, the artists surveyed make a higher percentage of their arts income in the commercial sector than the percentage of time they devote to it. Conversely, artists make smaller percentages of arts income in the not-for-profit sector than the hours they spend there. The gap between time devoted and compensation is even larger in the community sector.

If money were not an issue, participating artists reported that they would increase their crossover among sectors rather than focus their work in any one of them. More than a third would choose to work in the commercial sector between 35% and 65% of their artwork time. Some full-time commercial artists would decrease their time commitment to that

An artist is defined as anyone who

- self-defines as an artist;
- works as a writer, musician, visual or performing artist;
- spends ten hours or more a week on his/her artwork whether or not for income, and;
- shares his/her artwork beyond family and close friends.

Crossover is Pervasive

- Large numbers of artists split their arts time among the three sectors
- 39% spend most of their arts time in commercial work
- Only 19% do no commercial artwork and only 17% do no work in not-for-profit arts
- 69% spend at least some artwork time in the community sector

Arts Income Share vs. Time Spent

- Artists make larger shares of their arts income in the commercial sector than they devote time to it
- Artists spend larger shares of their time in community and not-for-profit arts than they earn there

Executive Summary

sector, and many currently working only modest hours or not at all in commercial artwork would increase their hours. More artists now specialized in the community or commercial sectors would increase their not-for-profit work hours. The biggest gap between current reality and preferred mix involves the community sector, where many more artists would choose to spend time, albeit at modest levels of time commitment. The share of artists reporting no community-oriented artwork would drop from 30% to 10%. We interpret the desire for greater crossover to mean that all sectors offer valuable artistic experiences to artists beyond purely financial returns.

How do experiences in each sector fuel artistic development? More artists rank the commercial sector highest in offering greater understanding of artistic and professional conventions, broader visibility, networking that enhances artwork opportunities, and higher rates of return. Artists rank the not-for-profit sector highest for increasing aesthetic satisfaction, exploring new media, collaborating with artists across media, and satisfying emotional needs. The community sector ranks highest as a place to enrich community life, affirm cultural identity, and pursue political and social justice goals.

The ranking differences were sometimes narrow. The commercial and not-for-profit sectors are ranked evenly by artists for interaction with peers and mentors and for expanded opportunities for feedback and enhancing artistic technique. Not-for-profit and community work vied equally for top marks in deepening the spiritual meaning of one's work. Yet quite a few artists made iconoclastic remarks about such divides, crediting commercial work as the source of tremendous aesthetic satisfaction or intellectual freedom, or not-for-profit work as a more stable basis of income, or community work as a place to create new artistic conventions.

In interviews, we uncovered many fascinating stories of sequential crossover in the course of building careers. For instance, a community visual artist becomes well-known because of the quality of her work and finds commercial outlets for it. A jazz musician making a living in commercial clubs wins a nonprofit grant to explore new musical forms for new audiences. An actor in nonprofit theatre decides to supplement her income with commercial work and finds it surprisingly challenging and instructive. A commercial film artist hankers to do more experimental work, winning a nonprofit grant to do so. A community-based ethnic dance choreographer wins not-for-profit support for the innovativeness of his work. A media artist working full-time in

If money were not an issue...

- fewer artists would specialize in any one sector
- 36% would spend between a third and two-thirds of their artwork time in the commercial sector, double the current rate
- artists specializing in the commercial and community sectors would devote more time to not-for-profit artwork
- many artists would choose to spend more time in the community sector

Top Ranks for Artistic Development

Commercial sector:

- understanding of artistic and professional conventions
- broader visibility
- networking that enhances artwork opportunities
- higher rates of return

Not-for-profit sector:

- aesthetic satisfaction
- exploring new media
- collaborating with artists across media
- satisfying emotional needs

Community sector:

- enriching community life
- affirming cultural identity
- pursuing political and social justice goals

a Silicon Valley firm finds a community to work with and wins a grant for them to work together. A writer who began working with a small nonprofit press successfully publishes with a larger commercial publisher.

The Los Angeles area offers greater opportunities for crossover, while San Francisco Bay Area artists are more apt to specialize in one sector or another. Because Los Angeles is a world hub for the entertainment industries, LA-based actors, musicians, visual artists and writers find it easier to work across sectors. Bay Area artists are focused on not-for-profit and community work, with the result that more of them rely on teaching and nonprofit arts administration for income support. Although Bay Area artists, visual artists in particular, enjoy commercial opportunities in the new media industry, the economic recession of the early 2000s substantially reduced such lucrative opportunities.

Artists also produce and market their work across the two regions. Many of those interviewed received their training in one region and now work in the other, and some shuttle back and forth to perform or exhibit or market their work. Substantial numbers of artists in both regions have strong international artistic and personal connections, and thus they are as apt to sell their work internationally, nationally or elsewhere in California as in the other region.

Recommendations for Removing Barriers to Crossover

Despite substantial crossover, artists articulated many continuing barriers, perceived and

real. They made many suggestions for changes in the regional cultural system. Here, we summarize the most-often mentioned, organized by groups and institutions addressed, in no particular order of significance. In the conclusions to the study, we explore these in greater depth and showcase efforts already in place to address the recommendations. Because we did not study the views of funders or arts organizations about crossover, these ideas do not reflect their views.

Artists

- Develop an open mind towards crossover.
- Aggressively pursue diverse skills and knowledge during and after training.
- Spend more time documenting and marketing one's work.
- Learn business skills and "soft" (i.e. social) skills.
- Devote time to networking across sectors and disciplines.
- Find role models and mentors working in different sectors.
- Volunteer in another sector.

Educational and Training Institutions

- Offer more classes in artistic techniques relevant to the commercial sector.
- Offer internships that place students in various sectors while in school.
- Require faculty to stay current on new technologies and offer classes on their use.
- Monitor the external art world, especially new media, materials, and art forms.
- Offer and require classes in skills for making a living as an artist.
- Devote more research to contemporary artistic practice.

Artists' Service Organizations

- Hold forums for artists on crossover experiences.
- Convene artists around larger arts issues that offer them opportunities to meet and network with artists in other disciplines and sectors.
- Collectively market members' work, such as via the internet.
- Provide career counseling and workshops on generic business skills and grant-writing.
- Advertise innovative services being offered.
- Create funding devices, such as a revolving loan fund, to enable artists to position themselves for work in a new sector.

Commercial Sector Employers and Trade Associations

- Provide employees with modest amounts of time and space to pursue nonprofit or community work.
- Give artists greater feedback on their work.
- Train artists in skills valued in the commercial sector.
- Donate larger amounts to nonprofit and community organizations that are training and innovating in various art forms that will benefit the commercial sector.

Nonprofit and Community Organizations

- Pay more attention to the cultural industries and encourage artists to move between sectors.
- Create more accessible work and networking space for artists.
- Develop residencies that help artists move into a new sector.
- Alter formal and informal practices that limit inclusiveness.

Foundation and Public Sector Funders

- Encourage commercial artists to move into not-for-profit or community work and help community artists break into not-for-profit or commercial work through collaborative or paid training grants.
- Leverage residencies and internships across sectors.
- Build new venture capital funds for artists wanting to take an idea into new spheres.
- Make grantmaking processes more transparent, including giving artists feedback on unsuccessful applications.
- Ask for-profit employers to give more credit and money to not-for-profit and community arts activities.
- Permit unincorporated grantees to use fiscal sponsors.
- Help artists learn how to apply for grants.

Media

- Improve reporting and reviewing of arts events to encourage attendance and patronage.
- Expand new web-based art review and informational sites that compete with newspaper reviewing monopolies.
- Carry more timely information on work opportunities and upcoming performances in arts-focused publications, including websites.

Government Agencies

- Continue and expand funding of grants for artists.
- Create new not-for-profit artists' live/work and studio spaces.
- Use the creative economy buzz to strengthen arts infrastructure and map out ambitious plans for the cultural economy.
- Adopt living wage ordinances, universal health insurance, and pension portability.
- Reform tax codes to make it easier for artists to donate time to the not-for-profit and community sectors.

Arts Advocacy Groups

- Collaborate with cultural industry leaders and community leaders to integrate the needs and concerns of each into state, regional, and local arts policy agendas.

Sector Leaders and Managers

- Work together on issues faced in common.
- Convene at the state, regional or local level, as fits the problem.

In sum, our findings reveal broad crossover practice and artists' desires to move more fluidly among the sectors. They demonstrate that experience among different spheres often enriches artists' development, work quality, incomes and visions of the possible. Artists articulated many good ideas on how the regional arts ecology can become more crossover-friendly. Many of these ideas involve inexpensive attitude shifts or smarter uses of existing space, staff and programs. Others require commitments of new, expanded and more strategic resources. Both are good investments for not-for-profit, community and cultural industry leaders.

Artists are the regions' core cultural workers, producing economic, social and cultural dividends across all three sectors, a contribution largely unrecognized in either arts impact studies or cultural industry analyses. They are key to the two metros' top rankings as national super-arts metros – #1 (Los Angeles) and #3 (San Francisco Bay Area). Their uniquely high self-employment rates and long, often slow, and challenging career paths require a singular set of institutional supports and policies. These findings on the extent and desirability of crossover among artists powerfully make this case.

Jo Kreiter

Jo Kreiter runs her own nonprofit San Francisco-based aerial dance company, Flyaway Productions. She also teaches dance in a number of settings, including the inner city. Her work exposes the range and power of female physicality in creations critiquing contemporary political life. Although she has done some commercial work and also teaches private students, her artistic energies are almost wholly devoted to nonprofit and community work.

Kreiter grew up as a gymnast on the east coast. As a political science major at Duke, she was headed for a career in international development. But she found she couldn't stop being physical and began to understand how art could be a vehicle for social change. Moving to San Francisco, she worked her way into the dance community, first doing a political farce, *Nutcracker Sweetie*, in a community arts project with the Dance Brigade, a local dance company. She was then hired to dance with the Zaccho Dance Theatre and also began to do their administrative work. In 1996, Kreiter founded her own nonprofit professional company, Flyaway Productions. Although the Bay Area is home to other aerial dance companies, Kreiter wanted to devote her choreography to political themes.

For Flyaway, Kreiter combines high production values with explicitly feminist content, intertwining art and politics. "I work at how to communicate with an audience, to balance spectacle and subtlety," she says. "It takes lots of skill and practice. Aerial dance is rigorous, and we must be OSHA-aware."

Some Flyaway works are site-specific performances. In Kreiter's current *Live Billboard Project*, dancers are suspended within a billboard design to challenge the corporatization of public space, to "put out there a representation of women in public that is not about anything being bought and sold at our expense," Kreiter states. Flyaway also initiated the "Ten Women



JOSEF NORRIS

Campaign," a community-based project that showcases female leaders with core feminist values in and outside of the arts, bestowing dance-performed awards on winners.

The quality and originality of Kreiter's work has landed her commissions, including a \$40,000 piece for Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. She has also won a number of university residencies.

Kreiter has done work for commercial companies on occasion. But, she says, "I hate it. I once danced inside the New York Stock Exchange. It destroys my soul. I am willing



EMPAC STAFF

Solo performance

to do it if it comes my way, but I won't work at it." The political content of her art makes corporate work highly unlikely. "I like having artistic control and working with ideas that are not in the mainstream. Corporations won't pay for that."

To supplement her income and support her dance company work, Kreiter teaches at private schools that charge high tuition as well as in community programs where instruction is free, supported by contributions and grants. She also runs a workshop every semester for adults and teaches private lessons, as many as ten hours a week, at competitive prices.

Much of Kreiter's teaching involves community outreach. In Zaccho's Arts Education Program, free to underserved and at-risk youth in the Bayview Hunters Point district, she teaches dance to African

American youth. "Through dance, I introduce them to a culture of possibility for themselves and a different relationship to the city. These are students who may not end up on the streets," says Kreiter. "You really feel how effective the arts are in building confidence and discipline, and it folds over into other areas of their academic life."

At present, Kreiter spends about fifty percent of her time on teaching, twenty percent creating art, and thirty percent administering her company and marketing. Time management is a challenge. "If I am in full-time production, I can't be teaching. There are months when I do only production, so I really have to work on my schedule. That means project management as well as production oversight."

Flyaway Productions requires a minimum of \$100,000 a year to cover costs, including dancers' pay. Earned income sources are scarce: ticket prices average \$20, but much of the site work is free, and commissions are unpredictable. Kreiter works hard to market her productions and write grant proposals to a small number of increasingly competitive sources. Large project funds are difficult to secure, and only two foundations make three-year operating awards that she has yet to win. She worked for two years to raise the funding for the Billboard Project. Kreiter looks for co-producers, and she subsidizes her company with about \$30-40,000 of free administrative work, wondering if this is sustainable.

Kreiter dreams of five years of solid support for artists and production fees so that she can be relieved of the stress of running her business alone and devote herself to creative work. She needs staff, funds for paid advertising, and good website design. "I spend so much time reinventing myself—between January and the end of March this year, I wrote twenty grant proposals. I want tenure!" Kreiter would not stop teaching, though. "It's part of my political commitment, and it really moves me working with low income kids."

Commercial, Nonprofit and Community Crossover: the Theory

From the industrial revolution to the early 1900s, most artists worked in the commercial sector as self-employed sellers of their work, employees in cultural industries, or on commission from patrons. Foster's (1994) remarkable short history of live theatre, for example, shows how heavily dependent actors were on the private sector for work far into the 20th century. The emergence of a nonprofit sector, a counterpart to the Progressive and Populist movements in American history, changed this landscape progressively over the course of the 20th century, so that by the 1960s, a clearly and legally delimited nonprofit sector coexisted alongside a continuing commercial cultural industry. More recently, a realm of artistic practice outside of either of these two sectors has been recognized and studied in its own right – the community sector. In this section, we explore the definitions of each of these three sectors and the distinctions among them, including how organizations in each operate and are constrained by law and custom. We then present a number of hypotheses about how we expected, at the outset of the research, artists to negotiate career building and artistic development across the sectors.

Delineating the Commercial, Nonprofit and Community Sectors

In a contemporary regional arts ecology, artists make their way by choosing how to cultivate their talents, where to live and practice their art forms, and how much time to devote to them, given their abilities to make a living and their degrees of commitment. From an artist's point of view, distinctions between the organizational sectors in which she allocates her work time and derives art income are not always apparent. Yet the art worlds, as Becker (1982) famously termed them, that structure her work and create opportunities are firmly embedded in organizational formats distinct from each other.

Artists have very high rates of self-employment – 45% overall and as high as 68% for writers (Markusen and Schrock, 2006). Many visual artists and writers do their work in solitary settings, and yet, along with performing artists and musicians, they are among the most heavily networked of occupations and rely heavily on multiple external venues and organizations. Three kinds of organizations frame the work that they do and the choices that they make.

The commercial sector encompasses for-profit firms that employ artists, contract with them for services, buy their work or process, and package and market their work for distribution. These firms are disproportionately found in the movie and TV, media, advertising, and publishing and recording industries (Power and Scott, 2004;

Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Heilbrun and Gray, 1993; Hirsch, 1972). But many non-arts-related industries also harbor firms who need artistic talent for product design, marketing, and employee relations (Markusen and King, 2003). The commercial sector also includes art markets (galleries, art fairs, on-line websites) and for-profit performing arts spaces (theatres, music clubs, restaurants) that enable artists to connect with their audiences. Many visual artists directly sell their work on commission, to the public, or on the web – these exchanges are purely commercial. Teaching that artists do out of their homes, storefronts or studios, if not structured as nonprofits, are also commercially structured.

The nonprofit sector covers those organizations explicitly fashioned under this now mature alternative (legally and tax-wise) to for-profit businesses. Since the enormous growth of patron, foundation and state-funded arts programs that began in the 1960s (Kreidler, 1996), this new format has allowed artists and art lovers to create spaces and support systems that do not aspire to make profits and that avoid a considerable tax burden, especially federal business taxes. Most museums, orchestra halls, opera houses, college and church performance spaces, artists' centers and community arts facilities are nonprofit. Nonprofit artwork includes artistic activity supported by grants, nonprofit commissions, teaching or sales and royalties through a nonprofit organization (sales through an art organization's shop, for instance, or publishing with a nonprofit press). Nonprofit arts organizations have been intensively studied (e.g. Gray and Heilbrun, 2000; Kreidler, 1996; Miller, 2005; Americans for the Arts, 2003) and have come to shape the way many artists and publics conceive of art worlds.

The divide between for-profit and nonprofit arts sectors received historic attention in a 1998 meeting of the American Assembly (Pankratz, 1999). For the most part, the participants (including nonprofit and for-profit arts, high tech industries, higher education and foundation people) focused on how organizations in each sector operate and what might be done to bring them more closely together (Arthurs, Hodsoll, & Lavine, 1999). A summary concluded that while data on artists are sparse, "anecdotal evidence offers a preliminary conclusion – that crossover activity by artists has largely been informal and at times accidental in nature," but did call for research that would explore the "careers of artists who work back and forth between the not-for-profit and for-profit arts. Such research could identify pipelines to encourage crossover activities by artists and funding mechanisms to support their pre-professional and professional artistic development" (Pankratz, 1999: 109).

But these two sectors do not exhaust the organizational forums that foster artistic practice and careers. There is also a third sector, the community sector, where artistic activity is organized by actors outside of either for-profit or formal nonprofit status. The community sector is variously called informal, traditional, or folk art. In one of the first articulations of this sector, Peters and Cherbo (1998) describe it as unincorporated:

The unincorporated arts are usually small and organized informally, with little economic interchange (recorded expenses, income, payrolls); or they generate income that goes to an over-

arching institution such as an educational or religious organization or an artist's agent. They can flow in and out of existence, can be volunteer-based and hard to locate, can lack permanent addresses, and can have little or no staff to respond to requests for information (p. 117).

Some community arts organizations are unincorporated but use or work out of facilities provided by not-for-profit organizations such as churches, community centers or social service organizations. For some critics, "unincorporated" is a negative ("un") term that suggests lower quality, lack of commitment, or ephemeral status. They point out that it ill-fits many artists who never aspire to become incorporated or earn income from their work yet consistently develop their art form and share it with others. Pioneering studies of

community-based artists (Peterson, 1996; Wali, Severson and Longoni, 2002; Jackson, Herranz, and Kabwasa-Green, 2003; Walker, Jackson, and Rosenstein, 2003; Walker, Scott-Melnyk, & Sherwood, 2002) celebrate this third sphere, the legitimacy of its art forms, its changing character, and service to communities.

In a critique of "formal" sector designations that reflect notions of "high art" as distinct from folk, traditional or amateur arts, Alvarez (2005) provocatively entitles her study of this sector in Silicon Valley as *There's Nothing Informal About It*, and uses the term "participatory arts" to encompass arts experiences of both amateurs and professionals that take place mostly in non-arts spaces and outside of the art world's organizational formats (p. 15). However, Alvarez found that artists interviewed understood the technical term "unincorporated arts" as referring to a particular

Ben Caldwell

Filmmaker Ben Caldwell is part artist, part business owner, and part social activist. He describes his seven films, including *Medea and I and I*, as experimental with influences of magical realism. They show he is a filmmaker with a conscience. In Leimert Park, the heart of the African American arts community and cultural scene in Los Angeles, Caldwell has for twenty years run KAOS Network, a state of the art multi-media center that offers young musicians and filmmakers a place to do their work. His work and career span community, commercial and nonprofit sectors in a fruitful mix.

Caldwell began making films at UCLA where he did his master's in the early 1970s. He became part of the Los Angeles School, a group of politically-minded black independent filmmakers. With his films, he searches "for an African vision for how we black people look through the lens. I want my approach to be more like jazz, to be more African."

Caldwell made a commitment in the early 1980s to live and work in Watts and later Leimert Park as a way of serving the community while also building a career. "As a filmmaker I touch more money than most other artists, but I can't just get money and make a movie. To be a filmmaker you have to run a business. I have to look at my resources as my community as well." Early on, he won a grant from the California Arts Council to teach video and run an after-school video program.

Caldwell founded KAOS in 1984, which



Ben Caldwell Self-Portrait

consists of a small store, a screening room, and a space used for open mic hip hop, yoga classes, teaching, and other activities. He keeps the usage fees low enough to ensure accessibility, but by staying active and open most nights of the week, enough money is generated to cover costs. For many years, he has directed the Community Arts Partnership (CAP) Youth Digital Arts program at KAOS, which operates in nine Los Angeles community sites, in conjunction with the California Institute of the Arts, where he also teaches classes in video production, television, and film. He hopes KAOS will become a model replicated in other Black communities, from Los Angeles to Baltimore, Havana to Lagos.

With film, Caldwell has been documenting the work of Los Angeles African American artists, including legendary jazz pianist-composer-community-icon Horace Tapscott and artists associated with the Watts Towers Arts Center. Caldwell sees this work as a

long term investment in his career and for the artists' families: "Those documentaries are like my bank. I'm brokering those pieces, and I've cut a deal that can help Horace's family and mine as well. I've built the archive about twenty years ahead of where I think the market will be."

Much of this work needs grant support, especially individual artist grants. "As a total nonprofit you can't do this. Individual artists' grants allowed me to propel my life forward and have more flexibility. Those grants have been hugely helpful. They personalized how I could work in the community." Caldwell is leery about nonprofit organizations. He once applied for a grant for new equipment that took so long to fund that the computers described in the proposal had become obsolete by the time the funding arrived.

Ben Caldwell is a cultural entrepreneur. He is an artist who has worked and earned income in both for-profit and nonprofit sectors and a community activist who has used his talents to create important space and life-changing opportunities for young black and brown artists. He runs KAOS as a commercial enterprise and relies on nonprofit teaching and grants for support and income, while his documentary and distribution work are investments for the future. Taken together, these activities support and demonstrate an economically self-sustaining system for producing and distributing art and supporting the community in which it resides.

choice of organizational formats and not associated with value or quality of chosen art form (p. 16).

Reviewing the lively debate over these labels, we have chosen the community descriptor because it is free from objectionable inferences and is ample in its reach. The community sector involves the many forums and activities created by unincorporated community groups. It can include murals and other public art, youth cultural activities, informal social networks, blogs, and performances at cultural festivals, parades, public or community events, whether paid or not. Many artists are deeply engaged in community artistic practices for diverse reasons: to pass on cultural heritage, for political goals, as collective artistic expression, and more. Many artists crossing over into other sectors may get their start in the community sector (Peters and Cherbo, 1998) or find that the quality of their art work elsewhere is enhanced by the experiences and learning they encounter in the community sector.

Even within sub-disciplines, artists may organize themselves variously across these sectors. A survey of chamber music ensembles by Chamber Music America (1992) found that the majority of them (57%) fall into the unincorporated sector and consisted of informal partnerships or sole proprietorships rather than legally incorporated for-profits (2%) or nonprofit corporations or associations (41%).

We chose to structure this study along these lines because the possibilities for individual artists to build careers and develop their unique art forms are so heavily constrained and enabled by these distinctive organizational formats. Because the motivations and behaviors of lead actors in each organizational form vary so markedly, we speculated at the outset that artists would often crossover, drawing income or valuable experience, developing their styles and skills from each, and cross-fertilizing among them. Understanding these connections will help leaders in each of the art worlds develop their training, recruiting and operations

Michael Berlin

Los Angeles resident Michael Berlin has been writing and producing screenplays for television and film for over twenty years for shows such as "Miami Vice," "MacGyver," and "Murder She Wrote." Berlin has produced several television shows, written and edited nonprofit films and documentaries, taught screenwriting, and programmed several films series. His career exemplifies the rewards and pressures of working in the competitive world of Hollywood and the artistic benefits of working the nonprofit margins of the commercial industry.

Berlin started out his career as a trained psychologist in New York, moving to Los Angeles because of his "unrelenting love" for the movies. While working as the Dean of a psychoanalytic training center in LA, he and a friend, Eric Estrin, wrote a spec script for the TV series "CHIPS" that was guaranteed by a veteran of the business. Berlin is ever indebted for this favor that allowed him to "break the code."

Writing spec scripts as a freelancer in Hollywood brings with it uncertainty. "Your task is to sit outside the writers' room, not knowing the actors or the inside scoop on the show, and you try to out-think *them*. Almost impossible. I can spend a week watching a show to familiarize myself with it. Then I go in and pitch my odd and creative stories. Fifteen minutes later, they



KAREN KASS

tell me they are not interested." But there are the lucrative rewards of getting a script accepted --\$30,000 for the first and second showings, residuals from syndication, and the chance to show your potential, which may lead to future collaboration.

In 1985, Berlin and Estrin broke through with three scripts written over just months for "Miami Vice," "Hunter," and "Cagney and Lacey." All three prime time shows screened over the same weekend. Their agent, the William Morris Agency, took out an ad in the trades declaring, "For your consideration, best opening week by a new writing team." The industry regarded them as hot, and they received a number of writing and editing offers to become full-time staff.

Berlin acknowledges the downsides of commercial work. Screenwriters lack control over the pacing of work and the profit-focused development of the storylines. The typical hour-long drama requires 44

minutes of script at about one page per minute. After the story outline is pitched and accepted, the writer has only three weeks to complete the script, get feedback from the writing staff and producers, and turn in the final draft. "The production company doesn't care how it gets done, only that you abide by the production schedule." He recalls some wild and crazy nights making deadlines.

Berlin moved into the nonprofit sector for greater creative control and access to a different set of opportunities. When "writing on your own dime" in the nonprofit sector, the development time is longer, stories can be more complex, and you don't have to battle an executive producer for writing credit residuals. In recent years, Berlin has written a musical and is currently writing and producing an independent film about a young boy's battle with cancer. Berlin has found new artistic interests in teaching film and screenwriting at several universities, programming several film series, and curating the film archive at a local museum.

Like the sectoral distinctions in other art worlds, the line between sectors can be blurred in Hollywood. Berlin's experiences document the tension between financial benefits and creative control at the core of the industry. His career reflects how writers move between for-profit and nonprofit sectors to balance the advantages of each.

in ways that strengthen their own success and creativity in the society as a whole.

How Artistic Sectors Differ Operationally

Artistic and cultural activities in each of these sectors are organized around a set of distinct priorities and parameters established by law, custom and economic imperatives that are historically evolving. Commercial, or for-profit, activity is driven by “bottom line” concerns. The entrepreneur, who can be the artist herself, an agent or gallery owner, or firm managers and owners, organizes production and marketing to maximize the returns given the investments they make and the costs they face. Commercial enterprises face imperatives to make money, i.e. for receipts to exceed expenses. In order to borrow for working capital or investments in space, supplies, or inventory, they have to have a proven record of success and assets against which to borrow. In addition, they are only permitted to write off costs against taxes if they make positive returns at least once every five years. Commercial artistic enterprises face competition from more successful firms in the same line of business, but also from alternative bidders for talent and investment capital.

Work in commercial sector firms is thus quite cost-conscious and time-conscious (Vogel, 2000). Firms and independent proprietors struggle to meet deadlines, important to their reputations, but also to keep quality as high as possible. Marketing is apt to be more important and professionalized in the commercial sector, as in the hype around new film or recordings releases. There are pressures to produce something fast that sells well. For instance, recording companies push newly successful recording artists to cut second and third albums before they are really ready, a disappointment to their

fans and a blow to their budding reputations. On the other hand, for-profit companies have greater financial flexibility and access to cash reserves that can enable them to take risks and lose a few without panicking (Ivey, 1999). For artists, this means working in relatively elaborate organizational systems that exert tight control over their work. The emphasis is on virtuosity and skill because tightly coordinated, interdependent activities leave little room for innovation (Gilmore, 1988).

Artistic products in the commercial sector can be, as a result, less innovative and distinctive but more lucrative, serving a mass market. Not all critics agree, however, on a blanket judgment about quality. Commercial markets for artistic work are quite highly segmented, so that a modest audience for quality jazz or folk recordings can be served alongside a huge market for “top of the charts” country or pop recordings. Many small enterprises and individual artists persist in the commercial sector without making much, if any money, but do it for love of the work and satisfaction of a small, devoted coterie of art lovers. Yet many commercial efforts fail on a project basis or even overall, and the principals disperse into other activities.

Arts and cultural groups operating in the nonprofit sector face starkly different challenges. The broad 20th century nonprofit movement was a response to widespread dissatisfaction with the Darwinian impulses of the private sector, periodic structural crises, and market failures that left many needs in society unmet. Nonprofit organizations are distinguished by their special tax-free status under the federal tax code, governance structure, and sources and disposition of revenues (Hall, 1992). The nonprofit arts sector emerged slowly over the 20th century but grew rapidly after

Joel Jacinto

Los Angeles resident Joel Jacinto is a dancer, choreographer, educator, and a founding director, with his wife Ave, of the nonprofit Filipino dance company *Kayamanan Ng Lahi* (Treasures of our People), one of the premier ethnic dance companies in Los Angeles. He has received a number of ethnic arts honors including a Durfee Sabbatical Program award designed to give creative leaders the time to rejuvenate their spirits and reflect about the work they do in the arts. As Executive Director of Search to Involve Filipino Americans (SIFA), Jacinto has built it into the largest Filipino-serving human services and economic development organization in the country. Jacinto is active in many ethnic arts programs and organizations, sitting on



Joel Jacinto with his family

the board for the Alliance for California Traditional Arts. He sees integration, not separation, between the work he does for

the community and nonprofit sectors both as an artist and as a community activist.

Born and raised in a multicultural neighborhood in San Francisco, Jacinto describes being surrounded by Filipino culture but being unaware of it. Things changed when he went away to college at UCLA. There, he developed a love for Filipino culture through participating in the student dance troupe *Sayawan ng Silanang* (Dance of the East), where he discovered that he was part of a larger Filipino American community.

Jacinto then did field work in the Philippines to explore more authentic versions of Filipino dance. “We were like sponges without any water. We were hungry, and there were so few

1960, when the National Endowment for the Arts was founded to nurture and showcase innovative American art.

Arts nonprofits are governed by a self-perpetuating board of volunteers, rather than by owners or paid board members, and may encompass a mix of artists, relevantly skilled people and donors. They cover the costs of their operations – including space rental or ownership, grants to artists and other organizations, artistic events and performances, pay for teachers of classes and for staff, newsletters and marketing – with a mix of contributed income (from donors, foundations, individuals) and earned income (e.g. memberships, performances, sales of artwork, work for schools or community groups, and fees for classes, events or studio and equipment rentals). Nonprofits can operate more cheaply than commercial firms because they enjoy substantial tax advantages (no property taxes, for instance) and because they do not have to make normal (on the order of 5-10%) rates of return on invested capital (Gray and Heilbrun, 2000).

Arts nonprofits often endure severe growth pains. They are often started by artists or visionaries who must then acquire management skills or hire professionals to survive, i.e. morph from visionary impresarios to a nonprofit bureaucracy. In a study of twenty-two artist-serving centers (including two that failed after two decades of existence), we found that ongoing challenges include identifying and serving a constituency; creating, financing and using dedicated space; right-sizing and funding a balanced portfolio of services; and embracing diversity. Future challenges include dramatic technology-induced changes in art forms and ways of reaching audiences; increasing mixing of media; greater blurring of the boundaries between nonprofit and for-profit art worlds, and population mobility and dispersion (Markusen and Johnson, 2006). Almost all

arts nonprofits faced significant funding cutbacks following the implosion of National Endowment for the Arts funding in the mid-1990s and parallel cuts in state arts funding (Kreidler, 1996; Galligan and Alper, 2000; Ivey, 2005).

More free from short-term profitability pressures, nonprofits enjoy a license to focus on artistic quality and community outreach in ways that for profits cannot. Grants programs may be tailored to support emerging artists or career initiatives for professional artists. Values and visions of members and board members can be reflected in committed support to low earned-income activities that are cross-subsidized by other activities. A literary magazine that pays writers, for instance, can be financed from earnings from class offerings or writer's studio rentals. Nonprofit arts organizations can serve inner city youth or disabled people or suburban housewives if they can find funders willing to support their intents. In the process, they may pay salaries to artists that help keep them afloat while they create their own work.

Some experts believe that while the nonprofit sector can provide artistic freedom and long-term stability, it is also risk averse, because high community expectations feed a fear of failure (Ivey, 1999.) And although nonprofits do not have to make a rate of return on investment, they still must pursue contributed and earned income to survive (Wyszomirski, 1999) and may face scrutiny or conditions from funders or patrons that alters their programming.

Artistic activity in the community, or unincorporated, sector is insulated from the scrutiny and pressures faced in legally-structured and regulated for-profit and nonprofit settings. By and large, community sector activities are lead by small groups of people working informally, perhaps intermittently, without dedicated

resources. We needed to educate ourselves, because we have a responsibility to do it right. We were just entranced. It was so different than what we do on the stage. We began to understand the distinction between "village" and "stage."

This distinction inspired Jacinto to rethink his role as an artist. He could not simply import indigenous music and choreography to the American stage. He had to reinterpret village performance for Filipino Americans. In the process, he challenged the notion that authentic dance has to be a static form, transforming it into a living tradition for a new social context.

In parallel fashion, Jacinto redefined his concept of an artist to fit the community arena. He sees the artist as a tradition bearer as opposed to a hoarder of cultural resources for-profit and self-aggrandizement, sometimes referred to as a

"culture as commodity" process. As a tradition bearer role, the artist is no longer on a pedestal, but focuses on creating, sharing and maintaining cultural resources in the process of community building. Jacinto says he sees himself as channeling community rather than standing outside of it. He does not see art as a competition among artists. He plays an active role in building and maintaining an archive of cultural resources for use by other artists and in organizing conferences to strengthen a collective Filipino cultural identity.

Since 1990, Kayamanan Ng Lahi has presented over five hundred performances in settings that range from major downtown performance venues to museums to schools and community centers. Jacinto's dance group is a model for other community-based arts organizations in Los Angeles.

Jacinto has no problem integrating his role as an artist with that of a social services administrator. Both serve to build community. For many artists, this combination of different jobs and responsibilities, inside and outside of the arts, produces a sense of occupational schizophrenia. But for Jacinto:

The symbol of SIFA is a woven rattan ball, with all these different strands woven together to form a single ball. I use that analogy, because it not just being an artist, or an administrator, or a father, or all these things we do. Everything is part of you. And you make decisions and you react and you do your work with all these different layers and components. I don't want to be an administrator by day and an artist by night. So I work to bring things together. And it helps my creativity. It's my greatest tool.

space. Many types of activities fall under this rubric – festivals organized by ethnic or affinity groups; gatherings for artistic sharing and performance in people’s homes or parks; community networks of bartered artistic services, lessons or products; informal, ongoing support groups of artists themselves. Some of these activities morph into nonprofit organizations, or individuals participating may sell their work commercially within their arenas.

The community sector may be highly creative and innovative, a place where ethnic traditions are kept alive and new, synthetic or oppositional art forms take shape. It may offer artists who work in other spheres a chance to contribute their skills and contacts to their own or others’ communities on a volunteer or unpaid basis. A desire to preserve community, to help under-served and low income groups, or to bridge across communities may motivate organizers and artists to spend time and energy on community arts activities, even for little or no pay or compensation. At the same time, community arts sector activities may be fraught with money problems, personality conflicts, delays, and managerial deficits that reinforce their fragility and inability to sustain themselves. The failure and regrouping rate is likely highest among community sector arts activities, but the range of experience more varied.

Artists understand these differences, although they are not always clear on how their own work is structured by each. As Becker showed in *Art Worlds* (1982), each act of artistic creation often requires a series of relationships with suppliers, employers, distributors and customers to reach fruition. A photographer, for instance, requires cameras, filters, film, developing and printing equipment – things he purchases from suppliers. To earn income from his work,

he needs one or more of the following: an employer who pays for his work (a newspaper, for instance, or an advertising firm); a customer who buys his work directly (wedding photos, portrait commissions, a buyer at an art show); a gallery that hangs, markets and sells his work; an agent who represents him; or a website through which he sells his work. To complicate matters, he may win grant support for his work from a foundation or teach photography at a for-profit studio or nonprofit college or public high school. For performing artists such as actors or orchestral musicians, the chain of relationships in an art world is even more complicated. A pioneering effort to model this arts ecology can be found in Kreidler and Eng (2005). As we shall see, some artists have difficulty identifying the sectoral sources of their incomes and artistic development, even though they understand the formal distinctions among sectors.

There is also a fourth sector – government, or the public sector. At all levels – the federal, state and local – artists are hired, are eligible for grants, and can be commissioned to do public artwork. This sector operates differently from the others. But because artists’ employment and income flows from the public sector are small, a fact we know from the Census, we combined it with the nonprofit sector under the rubric “not-for-profit,” as many others have done. In what follows, we use nonprofit only when speaking of the sector or individual organizations that are formally incorporated as nonprofits.

How Artists Navigate Sectoral Divides

The notion of crossover among these sectors in the arts has attracted considerable interest in recent years. Although there are many

Jeff Raz

Jeff Raz is a performer whose talents span many kinds of theatrical skills. Although he’s best known as a clown, his artistic work includes a wide range of physical theatre, and he also currently works as a teacher, playwright and director of the Clown Conservatory in San Francisco. He has performed with many leading circuses, theatre and performance companies in the Bay Area in work that not only bridges the commercial world of the circus and the nonprofit world of the theatre, but follows in the tradition of the Eastern European circus and *Cirque du Soleil*, redefining the boundaries of entertainment and art in the theatre.

Raz became interested in performing at age 14 when he took up juggling at the annual Renaissance Fair “because it was cool and people liked it.” Because of his success, he moved out of his mother’s



home at 15 to perform in and around Berkeley. He was attracted to street performance because of its thin entry barriers and its casual commercial culture. Street performance, however, while potentially lucrative, can be cutthroat.

Performance skills, survival skills and business skills are closely linked in this world. Raz learned how to improvise to attract customers, deal with hecklers and thieves, and negotiate the immediate face-to-face relationships street performers have with the audience. “If you try something new, and it doesn’t work, abandon it. You can’t afford to work at it for 3 or 4 weeks...If you see someone else making more money than you, you steal that.” Although he did very well, making upwards of \$50 to \$100 per day, Raz broadened and stabilized his revenue stream by selling leather and purses.

In 1975 the newly formed Pickle Family Circus offered Raz the ringmaster position because he was eloquent and a good juggler. Two years later, he also started performing with the Bay City Reds, a noted juggling troupe; and in 1978, he joined *Make a Circus*, a community-based

excellent studies of arts nonprofit organizations and some pioneering recent studies of the community arts sector, very few studies have tackled how artists themselves bridge across these sectors. Here, we articulate a number of expectations about how artists do so. These hypotheses form the basis of our survey and interview questions. Towards the end of this section, we reflect on some of the more interesting findings available from prior research on crossover.

1. Artists frequently crossover among sectors in building careers and earning income

We expect that many artists, especially the self-employed, will work in one or more sectors as a way of pursuing a career in the arts and supporting themselves, especially since the dramatic shrinkage in public grant funding in the mid-1990s. By 2005, total inflation-adjusted state, local and federal arts grants was less than in 1992, and the arts' share of all giving, nonprofit and public, declined by nearly one-third over the same period (Ivey, 2005). Thus we expect more artists to have ventured into the commercial sector than previously, and to combine commercial artwork with not-for-profit or community work. We anticipate that fears of adverse judgment of artistic work produced in the commercial sector will have subsided somewhat since then, out of necessity. Though not the focus of this study, many artists work in non-arts jobs to survive and pursue their work, and many do so because the pay is better (Wassall, Alper, & Davison, 1983) or because there is not enough available work in their art form (Entertainment Economy Institute, 2004). We do, however, ask about non-arts work time and income in our survey.

2. Artists' crossovers may be sequential rather than contemporaneous

We expect many artists to have started out in one sector and subsequently have moved to or added work and experience in another. An immigrant artist beginning to present her work in a community forum may find funding subsequently from a nonprofit organization or begin to sell her work in a commercial art market. A musician beginning to play music in commercial clubs may subsequently develop projects that win not-for-profit support or land him a job in a nonprofit orchestra. An actor making it big in Hollywood's TV and movie industries may decide to do serious nonprofit stage acting later in her career. A successful writer may decide to mentor community spoken word artists as a community service and learning exercise.

3. Artists' crossovers may be driven by artistic development goals rather than income or notoriety

Many artists may seek out experience or work in a particular sector as a way of developing technique, satisfying aesthetic or social goals, and making connections rather than for short-term financial returns. A commercial studio musician, for instance, may audition for a nonprofit chamber group to benefit from the rigor of practice or the excitement of playing new, experimental music. A nonprofit stage director may be curious about commercial film – how the potential of film alters the way dramatic messages are delivered – and try her hand at it. A composer wholly supported by nonprofit grants and commissions may decide to work with a community group to experience their musical traditions or be challenged to create music with a novel purpose.

collective that presented free shows and taught classes in poor urban neighborhoods. From this latter group, he learned the business side of the circus, like how to book a gig, handle finances and manage personnel. He commented, "If you come from the street, you want to do it and know it all yourself."

Shortly after this experience, Raz started attending the Dell'Arte School to develop greater depth in his performances. Formal instruction taught him what the street could not: a structural approach to mime skills, body expression, mask skills, and acting. After his time at the school, he landed acting work, but it did not pay much compared to what he could make on the street with less effort. It was not until he was cast for *A Comedy of Errors* at the Goodman Theater in Chicago that Raz' nonprofit career began to develop. He joined Equity and worked as a juggler and

an acrobat in a large show that included other acts such as The Flying Karamazov Brothers and members of the Pickle Circus. He later established his own physical theatre group, Vaudeville Nouveau, with two other partners.

The group gradually developed their nonprofit and commercial legitimacy as it rose in critical esteem, but it struggled with the business side of things. They played a wide variety of venues: 1) nonprofit venues; 2) self-produced plays that were loss leaders but audience builders; and 3) commercial street shows and corporate parties. In New York in 1987, they played Broadway for five months, and they hired an agent. Shortly afterwards, Raz met John Sullivan from the California Arts Council (CAC) and began further establishing his nonprofit status. He started writing grants to expand his support, receiving \$100,000 – \$300,000 from the CAC for doing about

300 shows a year, including variety shows, full performances, and plays.

Raz left the group in 1989 and traveled to Eastern Europe for five months to explore different forms of circus and theatre. Upon returning to the area, the Dell'Arte Company hired him to teach and write a show based on his travels in Europe. In 1991, he reunited with the Pickles, helping them work their way out of bankruptcy and culminating with a high profile performance at the Kennedy Center. Raz now mostly writes, directs and teaches at the Clown Conservatory in San Francisco. He also picks up occasional work as a director and performer. His writing projects include an adaptation of *Oedipus* for three people, solo plays, and a rewrite of *The Book of Esther*. Through his work in the commercial and nonprofit sector, he continues to explore the intersection of art and entertainment.

Morningstar Vancil

Filipino and Native American (Lenape/Delaware) performer and "butch" visual artist Morningstar Vancil lives in San Francisco's Mission District and works assiduously to find markets for her diverse art forms. She writes and works in multiple visual art media – sculpture, ceramics, beadwork, and painting, while making most of her income currently dancing drag king in burlesque. While her work reaches her publics mainly in commercial forums, she has received nonprofit grants to support particular projects and is a community activist on several fronts.

Vancil grew up in the Philippines and is of Asian (Filipino), Native American (Mohican tribe) and Black Negritos (African) heritage. As a young girl, her mother discouraged her desire to study art. She came to the United States with her family to gain political asylum in 1984. Her artistic career grew out of a cancer survival experience, when her therapist encouraged her doodling. "I was angry at the world – art was my way out!" In the late 1990s, she enrolled at City College and studied drawing, ceramics and sculpture. During her recovery period, she also journeyed weekly to Healdsburg on the north side of the region to study beadwork with a Native American artist. She entered and won contests and gave away the work. Finally, a friend asked her why she was giving it away for free, and encouraged her to market her art.

Vancil's sculptural work incorporates diverse materials. One highly acclaimed piece involves a ceramic structure on top of bamboo, where a rice pattern is textured into the ceramic. She makes spirit dolls and does beading on leather jackets. She markets her work wherever she can – websites, coffee shops, powwows, political events, art fairs. Wherever she goes, she hands out cards with her website contact and encourages people to view her work online. She competes for public art



STUART LOCKLEAR

commissions and grants, and has been commissioned to create work for patrons as far a field as China. Her work has been bought by the San Diego Museum and has been shown in several commercial galleries.

Vancil's most lucrative art form involves her burlesque performances, generally group shows, as a butch dancer. She fell into this work, winning an amateur contest she entered on impulse. She then took classes in movement and dance to hone her skills. Pioneering a revived art form – there are few women

alternating tableaus, the women perform theatrical portraits based on real life experience: a butch-identified lesbian applies for political asylum with the INS, two queer moms help prepare their six year old daughter for school, a lesbian couple bickers about what to wear for their first couple's therapy session, and a young woman prepares to go to a heterosexual salsa



LI BELTRAN

Dalagas & Tomboys: A Family Affair

club...Kreatibo's work, which has been described as humorous, provocative and political, explores the themes of gender, sexuality and Filipino identity as experienced by lesbian, bisexual and transgender Pinays. (www.pinoyexpats.org)



MORNINGSTAR VANCIL

who dance drag king, Vancil has performed at Los Angeles' Brown Derby, Phoenix' Rhythm Room, New York City's Knitting Factory, and Boston's Milky Way Lounge. She is a member of several dance ensembles: Kreatibo, a queer-pinay performance troupe; Butch Magic, a drag king group; and Fat Bottom Review. Kreatibo's spring 2005 show, "Dalagas & Tomboys: A Family Affair," at the Mission district's Bindlestiff Studio, was described by Jenesha (Jinky) de Rivera as follows:

Lights up on a small stage in San Francisco's Mission district. The silhouettes of seven bodies appear onstage. They are all women, all Filipinas, who identify as queer. In

Describing herself as a People of Color (POC) activist in the areas of immigration, human rights, domestic partnership and tribal alliance-building, Vancil serves on the Lesbian Gay Bi-sexual and Transgender (LGBT) Advisory Board of the Human Rights Commission (City of San Francisco), LGBT board member of American Cancer Society, and San Francisco Pride, helping to produce the 2006 Gay Pride Parade and Festival. She is a founding member and has been active for thirteen years in the Bay Area Indian Two Spirit Group, devoted to creating space and ceremonies for gay, lesbian and transgendered Native people, following ancient indigenous beliefs that there are as many as three and four genders in tribes, each with their gifts.

Vancil uses her artistic talents in her political work. At the same time, her networks and contact through this nonprofit work raise the visibility of her visual and performance art work. She continues to develop all of her art forms, exploring magic trick dancing to vary her burlesque act and creating new visual art. She hopes to increase the amount of nonprofit grant funding and gain greater recognition in the nonprofit art world.

4. Some artistic disciplines will exhibit different crossover mixes than others

In general, we expect that musicians will be more likely to spend arts time than other artists in the commercial sector, because of the way musical venues are structured, though musicians may differ from each other according to music sub-discipline. Jazz, rock, hiphop and pop musicians will spend more time performing in private clubs, classical musicians in the nonprofit sector, and ethnic, folk and immigrant musicians in the community sector. Many writers will rely on commercial publishers and contractual work for commercial companies for their incomes, though they may crossover into nonprofit publishing as well. We expect performing

artists, especially dancers, to rely more heavily on the not-for-profit sector. The mix for visual artists, because of the range of media in which they work, is more difficult to anticipate.

5. Artists' personal preferences for work styles are important determinants of their sectoral mix

Artists' choices of sectors in which to work may be shaped by their personal preferences for work styles. Some artists will prefer the independence of working in the commercial sector on commissions, art fair sales, royalties or gallery representation, free from structured workplaces with hierarchical human relations. Others will prefer the gregariousness and challenge of complex projects.

Jeff Stott

Jeff Stott is a San Francisco-based oud player, record producer, recording engineer and record label owner who plays in and produces work with various world music outfits in California. He recently launched a commercial



record label, Embarka. To supplement his income he works as a production and stage manager for four nonprofit performing arts organizations: The Berkeley Symphony, New Century Chamber Orchestra, the SF Choral Society, and the Traveling Jewish Theater. In addition, he picks up stage production work with community and nonprofit festivals and special events.

Stott came to music in high school; he transferred into a beginning guitar class by accident where he then immersed himself in playing the guitar, and he started playing in various projects that leaned towards non-mainstream music. As he veered farther out to the periphery of guitar technique and composition, he happened upon two festivals programmed by opera director Peter Sellers. In 1990, he attended numerous events at the Los Angeles Festival, where he received his first intensive exposure to world music. Three years later he went to the Edinburgh Festival, working as the Music Director for members of the Reduced Shakespeare Company, where he heard oud player Hamza El Din. A new world opened up for him.

After returning to LA where he picked up the oud, he relocated to the Bay Area looking for a creative community that was more focused on exploration than on commercial success. He made contact with the burgeoning

electronica and hip-hop scenes in San Francisco because he discovered a close affinity between these genres and the rhythms and structures of Arabic music. He offered lessons to persons interested in the oud, which included those who had grown up in the Middle East but who had lost

contact with their musical culture. He found other artists who shared his passion for Middle Eastern culture and art, as well as those who were interested in using art to create community. "I'm not trying to be a traditional artist. I'm more interested in building a dialog with the culture rather than being part of it. There's a whole nation that's said 'we need more soul in our lives; and they've borrowed and hybridized this music and this art, but the process has connected people to a kind of spirit."

His exposure to electronic music and the studio production techniques used in that field has opened up new vistas. He teaches digital music media and production at the community arts and education center, Cell Space, in the Mission District; he has cultivated work as a producer with numerous musicians; and now he's established his own label, Embarka Records.

His primary collaborators have been singers, including Som'ma, Lumin, and MC Rai (see p. 74). This work involves performing live shows, composing together, and co-producing. He now plans to release work from these projects on his label. "I've wanted to have a record label for a long time. Working with MC Rai, I finally had the right release to put out. Having a commercial label

has really opened doors. Guys I had tried to get in touch with for years are calling me back. I'm taken much more seriously. But it's also added new pressures. I spend a lot of time at the post office and running errands. And it's a stretch financially."

His work in production and stage management has connected him to various parts of the Bay Area nonprofit arts world. While working on a collaboration between Jewish and Palestinian choreographers, he met Kirstin E. Williams of the Strong Current Dance Company. The two have formed an artistic relationship that allows Stott to stretch into more experimental territory. Their most recent collaboration was *Tic Toc*, which premiered in spring 2006 at the ODC Theater.

Stott has connected deeply to the Bay Area music scene, but he still feels restless. "I wonder if I'm done here since my collaborators are leaving. I'm beginning to feel that I'm ready for the next wave to push me in a new direction." At the very least, he's spending more time in his home town, Los Angeles. "You need to have a conversation with LA because there's so much music there and so much of the music and media industry. It's also an important touring destination." Beyond geographical considerations, he plans to move toward an emphasis on commercial concert performances in place of some of his dance-oriented performances. "There's a difference between listening audiences and dance audiences. In a concert setting it's more forgiving. I can relax about the steady pulse of the rhythm, and just be more open, even more avant-garde. And I hope that the pay will be steadier."

Commercial, Nonprofit and Community Crossover: the Theory

Some will spurn competitive pressures of profit-driven projects while others will seek them out. Some will seek opportunities for cutting edge work in the not-for-profit sector or in the chaos and informality of the community sector.

6. Artists' political and social values/beliefs are important determinants of their sectoral mix

We anticipate that artists' belief and value systems will color their orientation to sectoral mix. Some will choose to work only in not-for-profit or community sectors where they feel that politically, culturally or religiously themed work is more welcome. Some will believe in the competitiveness of the market and aspire to succeed in the commercial sector. Some will devote all their work time to community, because of their desire to serve or to pass on traditions, perhaps working in non-arts-related day jobs to pay the bills.

7. Teaching and arts administration are important arts-related crossover experiences and sources of income for many artists

We expect to find that many artists turn to teaching and arts administrative jobs that provide part or all of their incomes and enable them to pursue their art form without the need to make a living at it. We expect the bulk of these jobs to be in the nonprofit and public sector. Some artists may teach out of their homes or their own for-profit studios, and some may end up as art directors for companies in the cultural industries, but for the most part these opportunities will not be in the commercial sector.

8. Artists in the Los Angeles area will be more likely to work in the commercial sector than artists in the Bay Area, though in both regions, artists' commercial work will exceed the national average

Because of the pre-eminence of the media industry in the Los Angeles metro, we expect artists to have greater crossover opportunities in that region than in the Bay Area. The latter will employ visual artists and musicians in the dot.com and video games industries, though the dot.com bust of the early 2000s will have curtailed many such opportunities. We expect the not-for-profit sector to offer more opportunities for artists in the Bay Area and to loom larger in sectoral mix. In both regions, we expect to find higher participation in community arts than nationally, given the marked diversity in the populations of each region.

In addition to these working hypotheses, we expect to find that crossover experiences vary by discipline, by age, gender, race and ethnicity, immigrant status, and region. In the following section, we explore what can be gleaned from prior studies on these relationships, followed by a brief description of the methodology we designed and implemented.

Insights from Prior Research

Very few research efforts have explicitly considered the way artists cross sectors in constructing their unique artistic practice and careers. Most studies of individual artists focus on how their careers evolve professionally and artistically, on their incomes and how these vary by discipline or socio-economic characteristics, and on their needs for support structures. However, a number of empirical studies, summarized here, offer snapshots of how individual artists navigate sectoral channels.

Crossover Surveys and Related Studies

One of the few studies to explicitly address crossover between sectors is Galligan and Alper (2000). Although the Census data do not directly ask how artists combine jobs in different sectors to make a living, Galligan and Alper were able to use the Census to see the extent to which self-employed performing artists nationwide also worked for wages and salaries as some portion of their income. They infer from the data that a quite sizeable group of artists do combine for-profit with nonprofit work.

Of surveys that explicitly ask about sectoral experience in California, the Zucker (1994) Los Angeles study comes closest to giving us baseline data on how LA County artists crossed over between sectors in the early 1990s. Zucker's study found substantial crossover between commercial and not-for-profit sectors. Of the artists surveyed, 53% worked solely in for-profit arts, 21% solely in nonprofit arts, and 24% in both. In other words, one in four artists worked in both sectors. This may be a low estimate of life cycle crossover—some of these artists may have previously had significant experience in a sector other than the one in which they are currently working.

Since the early 1990s and into the 21st century, artists may be crossing sectoral lines more than ever before, especially towards the commercial sector. Their high rates of self-employment give them the freedom (and the necessity) to bundle together work across diverse sectors and to crossover, too, between arts and non-arts work and work in different artistic disciplines. At the national level, writers (68%) and visual artists (50%) have higher rates of self-employment, especially when secondary jobs are included, than musicians (39%) and performing artists (24%) (Markusen and Schrock, 2006: Table 8). This is far above the rate of 5% for self-employment in the workforce as a whole. Circumstantial evidence for the increasing significance of the commercial sector in artists' careers comes from the shift in the density of artists in the 1990s towards Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York. Each of these regions, private sector cultural industry-rich economies, increased their lead over mid-sized arts-rich cities like Seattle, Boston, Minneapolis/St. Paul, and Washington, DC (Markusen

and Schrock, 2006). From other work, we also know that artists combine and move sequentially between arts, arts-related (teaching and arts administration) and non-arts work. A study of writers nationwide from 1970 to 1990 found that 70 to 90 percent of them work at other jobs during the years, often simultaneously with their writing, and many of these jobs involved teaching (Alper, Wassall, Jeffri et al., 1996). The New England study of the early 1980s, a large mail survey of over 3000 artists, found that only 24% worked solely as artists, 50% also worked in an arts-related job (and 80% of these in teaching), and one-third also worked in non-arts jobs (Wassall, Alper and Davison, 1983; Galligan and Alper, 2000). A detailed look at the extent to which artists moonlight can be found in Alper and Wassall (2000).

Biographies and In-depth Case Studies

Some insight into how artists cross over between commercial and not-for-profit work is afforded by two sequential studies of how ensembles of four or more members – including string quartets and newer non-traditional musical groups – manage the economic side of their work lives (Rubin, 1989 and 2001). Rubin's most remarkable finding is that ensembles fare best when they can land residencies at not-for-profit colleges or public school systems that pay part-time or full-time salaries and often benefits. These residencies provide a stable income for members, plus time and space to rehearse. The string quartets surveyed, including younger and more established ensembles, all highly reviewed, are almost all for-profit entities and must travel to perform many times a year to secure the reputation required to land or maintain residencies. Our profile of Sandy Walsh-Wilson, a founding member of the Alexander String Quartet, explains the synergy of nonprofit and for-profit activity of his ensemble. In contrast, the newer non-traditional ensembles are more likely to have taken the not-for-profit route and to raise a significant share of their revenues and incomes from grants from mainly public but some private entities.

Few studies have asked artists whether and how their artistic development – their style, technique, knowledge of conventions – has benefited or changed from sectoral crossover. One important exception is a study of three musicians' experiences in commercial and nonprofit music (Allen, 1998): Hollywood composer/conductor Arthur B. Rubinstein, who has recently founded a nonprofit orchestra, Symphony In The Glen, to perform classical concerts for free; Los Angeles' bassoonist Julie Fevre, who makes 75% of her income teaching and performing chamber and orchestral music but also works as a studio musician for film and TV; and Theodore Mook, New York cellist, whose work time is split 60% on performing and running several world-renowned nonprofit ensembles and 40% on commercial work (Broadway musicals and jingles).

Each musician offered powerful insights into the choices he/she made in structuring work and how experience in one sector affects artistic development and income in the other. Mook saw as a big problem the trade-off between playing interesting

Insights from Prior Research

music well versus the ample income he can earn playing simple, commercial music, noting that 90% of the time commercial work is not as complex or challenging:

I keep the nonprofit stuff going because I love music and I love to spend time with it on the highest possible personal level...The music that really interests me has a null commercial value. You practically have to pay people to let you play (p. 146).

Fevre prefers the nonprofit work, too, because she feels it's more creative:

In an orchestra where you work with the same people, you're creating a wind section sound. In commercial music, your job

is to do the best you can in making your part work – fitting in, blending, having it in tune, having a sound that records well. Somebody else is responsible for the creative aspect, putting it together (p. 146).

In addition, the musicians spoke to the differences in technique and instruments that each sector requires. Mook stressed that in serious orchestral and chamber music, "information content, stylistic attributes and aims are light-years more demanding on the player and the audience... Technical instrumental demands are higher as well." While commercial work demands great familiarity with the feel, notational shorthand and style of the music, he feels that it is "more like a façade movie set than the real building" (p. 147). Also, sight-reading is

Laurie Moore

Unlike many string players who rely on formal training in a conservatory or university setting to develop a foundation for their careers, Santa Rosa-based Laurie Moore picked up her skills through exposure to both academic and non-academic teachers, as well as through playing in various formats. Along the way she has worked in Reno clubs, the Santa Rosa Symphony, the Turtle Island String Quartet, and all sorts of "casual" jobs. The combination of commercial, orchestral, and casual performances has become her template for making a living as a musician.

Rather than going to college at the age of 18, Moore moved from Los Angeles to work in a Lake Tahoe casino. While there, she met Al Tronti, conductor of the Sahara orchestra, who hired her based on her strong reading skills and musicality. She was also introduced to Vahe Khochayan, conductor and founder of the Reno Chamber Orchestra, and soon she found herself in another working venue. These two nonprofit groups gave her access to other casual commercial gigs like weddings.

In the late 70s she moved north to San Francisco. In order to sharpen her classical performing skills, she studied privately with Gennady Kleiman, an instructor at the San Francisco Conservatory of Music. From there, she continued her studies at Sonoma State; however, she had no intention of finishing a degree, rather she just wanted a structured environment for playing music and for



KRISTIN HALGEDAHL

studying and performing chamber music under the direction of renowned teachers. She studied with Don Ehrlich, also of the San Francisco Conservatory, who helped prepare her to audition for the Santa Rosa Symphony, which she joined in 1977.

Orchestra life is attractive because it provides the chance to play steadily through the year since the season includes seven philharmonic concerts and three pops shows – all which require intensive rehearsal. Overall, it contributes to a third of her income. The nonprofit orchestra also supports their musicians through their contracting office which matches potential commercial clients with musicians in the orchestra. When Moore uses this approach, she knows that the orchestra will take a percentage of the money made on the gig as a referral fee. However, if she gets hired for a similar gig without intervention from the orchestra, she keeps more for herself, but it takes more time and effort on her part. She mixes the two strategies to round out her contract work.

The environment for getting contract work has changed in recent years in reaction to macroeconomic conditions and new business conventions. "The Santa Rosa economy has experienced a lot of layoffs and this has created uncertainty. When clients are uncertain, they don't want to pay a lot of money for entertainment." References through the orchestra have also become more contested. "Because there are so many

good players, and because so many of the members commute from around the Bay Area to play in the orchestra, jobs go out to fewer local players." Competition has stiffened in other ways. Many potential clients want to visit a website to learn more about ensembles before hiring them. Listening to music clips online or on an "audition" CD has also become more common. Moore sometimes feels that marketing has surpassed musicianship. She feels the impact of such changes since she charges more per gig to accommodate the additional promotion costs. Her approach to reaching clients has also changed, and she focuses more on live performance. She says, "Recordings reward microscopically perfect presentation, but they don't give a real representation of how a group will play live."

When she's not working for the orchestra or playing small commercial gigs, she plays jazz, which she refers to as her first love. While she has a strong feel for the swing of jazz, she has not concentrated on playing professionally; rather, her career is focused on the linkage between commercial and nonprofit sectors in classical music. For the time being, though, doing instrument repair and bow re-hairing at Loveland Violin Shop provides the majority of her income. The job keeps her connected to the music community, but it hasn't directly yielded many connections to gigs; however, it does provide flexibility. Even as circuitous as her path has been, she still stays true to the dictum of freelancers: don't turn down gigs.

a very high priority, the ability to play it perfectly on a first reading. Fevre finds that in commercial work, her instrument has to be first rate:

The keys can't be clicking, the kind of reeds, the kinds of sound...It can't be buzzy and bright or fuzzy and unfocused. Those same tonal colors can be used as an expressive tool in an orchestra or in chamber music (p. 148).

Each musician reported that his/her way of creating music and organizing work had changed as a result of crossover experience. For Mook:

Working in the commercial sector has changed the way I prepare music as a cellist because I am much more aware of the sound surface of a performance, so I really take more time on cranky passages to get them to sound better. Working in the nonprofit sector has conditioned me to a budgetary rigor that makes some commercial projects seem profligate (p. 150).

Rubinstein reflected that as a commercial television and TV composer, he had always thought in terms of music cues, music bites. In his work with Symphony In The Glen, he now finds himself "creating in larger musical spaces than the normal music cue – I'm thinking in longer melodic lines" (p. 150). He feels that as a result of his nonprofit work, he now uses more economy in his studio work, trusting the players more and giving him a greater personal conviction in the musicality he brings to the film. Fevre bought a new instrument for commercial work and now uses it for both:

My previous instrument didn't have the best of intonation. It had a beautiful sound and that's why I bought it, but I had to work hard to keep everything in tune on it, and that's just not okay in commercial recording...Now I use the new instrument for everything...I've sacrificed sound for intonation...I made that choice because I can't be changing instruments back and forth – that's too confusing (p. 152).

John Warren

Berkeley resident John Warren is the founding director of Unconditional Theatre, a community-based arts organization. The theatre explores contemporary events and issues through the actual words, stories and participation of impacted individuals and communities. First as an actor and a stage designer, then later as a teacher, director and playwright, Warren has had the desire to make a lasting impact on the world through the arts. His theatre company has a reputation as an uncompromising, socially-focused organization that seeks to raise consciousness among audiences and play an active role in social change. His work in the nonprofit and community sectors shows his fierce determination to meet his artistic and ideological goals.

Raised in Greenwich Village, Warren was surrounded by theatre. As a child, this exposure influenced him to take acting lessons, and eventually he developed a serious commitment toward theatre in high school where he acted and also focused on learning lighting and set design. He continued to develop technical skills through internships at theatre festivals and at Brown University where he



ASHLEY BOYD

majored in theatre.

At Brown, Warren was devoted to the theatre department where he spent many nights at the student-run Black Box theatre. Since they directed and produced more than a dozen plays a year, it became the center of his social and professional life. As he watched older students perform a myriad of tasks, Warren knew that he could have a greater impact in the arts by taking on a larger and more controlling role in the theatre. He felt this could be accomplished by becoming a director.

As Warren worked at becoming a director, he found he was faced with two career paths in the nonprofit theatre world. He could either follow the institutional route by joining an existing large nonprofit theatre as an assistant director where he could try to work his way up the institutional ladder, or he could take the "rebel" route and produce a show wherever he could find space, such as the back of a pub or a storefront. The former would give him the opportunity to learn from others while the latter would force him to learn to directly "by the seat of his pants." Warren tried the

institutional route, but after a short stint at a large repertory theatre, he realized that in order to create the impact as a writer and director he had always dreamed of, he would have to find the alternative rebel path. He took a short hiatus from the art world in the mid-1990s, but then got the itch again and moved to San Francisco in 1994.

In San Francisco, Warren shifted his vision from making an individual impact in the arts to having an impact on society through the arts. By using the job listing resources at Theatre Bay Area, he started this new focus by becoming a theatre educator, teaching acting and directing to middle and high school students. In more recent years, he has focused on working with community and student groups to develop plays that challenge participants and audiences to take a new look at themselves and society. Since founding Unconditional Theatre in 1994, he has made a career of creating and directing community-based documentary theatre, a sector of the theatre world that embraces social change.

For Warren, the "rebel" path in the theatre, working in both the community and nonprofit sectors, has been aesthetically and politically very satisfying.

Insights from Prior Research

We cite these examples at length here because they are fascinating windows into how cross-fertilizing experience can be in a single discipline. Pay, quality demands, working style, and instrument choice vary across the sectors, and each of these musicians has blended the two in unique ways.

Biographies of individual artists also reveal successful and failed attempts to straddle the three spheres. In Joan Jeffri's (1994) edited portraits of actors, for instance, Alan Alda reflects that he would take any job, in or out of the theatre, to be able to pursue his dream of acting as a career, while others, Mary Alice, for instance, managed to avoid non-acting work and to be choosy about roles. Although this and Jeffri's other two edited collections of artist profiles (1992, 1993) are not explicitly focused on the commercial/not-for-profit/community divide, some of the artists themselves speak to the choices and tensions among them.

Studies of particular artistic disciplines sometimes offer deep insights into how work is structured in a particular sector, sometimes comparing it to other sectors. Faulkner's (1983) intensive study of Hollywood composers and their careers in film, for instance, probes the collaborative nature of the role of composers in commercial work and the tensions surrounding it, especially challenging for those who first composed for nonprofit organizations.

In such studies, the community sector receives very short shrift. An emerging body of work has begun to explore, using case studies, the ways that artists, whose work is first focused on and in service of communities, begin to bridge into commercial work (through marketing their music, textiles, and performances, for instance) and into the nonprofit sphere, through getting grants, starting nonprofit organizations and teaching (Peterson, 1996; Walker, Jackson, & Rosenstein, 2003; Alvarez, 2005). Peterson argues that all artists are local, all live and work in some kind of community, yet notes that most cultural funding has favored artists who come from "somewhere else" and concentrate on delivering artistic resources to communities from outside (p. 12). Her report showcases a number of instances – mariachi, Cambodian classical dance, basketmaking, bluegrass – where artists begin to make these transitions. Alvarez includes a case study of community artists working out of a strip mall arts and crafts store. Walker et al. (2003) include several case studies of Native American artists' efforts, organized tribally (Cherokee, Navajo, Paiute), to bring community artwork into commercial and not-for-profit income-earning settings.

Studies of Bay Area and Los Angeles Artists

Some recent surveys help us to place the Census in context and understand how its estimates of artist populations may differ from what surveys generate. An on-line survey of San Jose (Silicon Valley) artists in 2005 (response rate = 172) also garnered much larger shares of visual artists than the Census estimates, which researcher Patricia Zenk (2005) attributed to both the high proportions of non-professional and part-time visual artists and the mailing list method. Musicians were also under-represented compared with the Census, and short-term residents were likely to be under-represented. In another question, artists confirmed their profession-

al commitment to art work and relatively high levels of expertise. Zenk did not ask questions about sectoral crossover.

The Zucker study of Los Angeles used three organizations' lists to reach artists in a mail survey, sending randomly 1862 surveys to members of the Screen Actors Guild, 2029 to the Musicians' Union Local 47, and 4000 to people on the list of community Arts Resource, Inc., with a response rate of 22%. As the author acknowledges, the results of this survey may or may not be equally true for those professional actors or musicians who work outside of all unions (Zucker, 1994). It is quite likely that this survey does not adequately cover the experience of many younger and ethnic musicians and performers who do not belong to unions. This may account for the much higher incomes found in the Zucker study than among our survey respondents.

The Zucker study revealed fascinating crossover among artists between arts and non-arts sectors and between disciplines: 53% of responding artists' income was derived from arts activities. Arts activity accounts for the largest shares of incomes for musicians (71%) and directors/actors (64%). It was lower (less than half) for writers, dancers, and visual artists. More than 74% are involved in more than one discipline: 20% of actors are musicians, composers or singers, and 44% are writers; 42% of dancers, 24% of musicians and 38% of writers are also actors. Visual artists are least likely to have secondary areas of interest as musicians or performing artists but 31% also write! The Zucker survey also found higher than average LA area incomes among respondents.

Jeffri (2004a) surveyed San Francisco Bay area artists three times over a fifteen-year period in 1988, 1997 and 2004. In the most recent of these, she conducted a mail survey of 1000 artists covering the same Bay Area counties as we use in our study. Sampled artists were chosen from merged lists of 18 organizations in the Bay Area. The survey response rate was 25%. Although Jeffri found that more artists considered artwork to be their career in 2004 than previously, she also found that 78% work at more than one job, they have less time to spend on their artwork than they did previously, and fewer of them are earning money on their artwork.

Hiro Kosaka

Buddhist priest, archer, calligrapher, curator, community organizer, and multi-media artist Hirokazu Kosaka has become a fixture on the Los Angeles cultural scene. Working from his Buddhist and Japanese traditions, he creates art works that address community issues and celebrations and have been performed and hung in museums and cultural centers. These include his large multi-media staged works *Contemplations on the Asymmetry of a Bow* and *Charcoal Pit*. He

also serves as Director of Visual Arts for the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center (JACCC). His career trajectory shows how art forms deeply rooted in community tradition and spirituality can be innovative and vital and a route to nonprofit work and grant support as well as service to the community.

A 22nd generation Buddhist priest for his family's temple in Kyoto, Kosaka grew up in a tradition where creativity permeated life. Calligraphy, painting, flower arranging and many other arts had a place within temple life. But unlike the Western tradition, where a visit to a museum shows the viewer another person's work, these Japanese art forms direct the viewer's gaze inward. As a young man, Kosaka arrived at the Chouinard Art Institute wanting to hone his artistic skills, but was utterly flummoxed by training focused on outward expression of ideas rather than inward reflection. After finishing his degree, he went home to Kyoto for a few years, returning to Los Angeles in 1978 to lead the congregation at the Koyasan Buddhist Temple in Little Tokyo.

Kosaka's work moves back and forth from community-oriented projects to formal work. His multi-media staged *Hanamatsuri* (Buddha's Birthday) celebration became part

of the temple's annual celebrations. In the early 1980s, when the nonprofit JACCC opened the Japan American Theater, producers of the Explorations series, Julie Lazar of the Museum of Contemporary Art and Judith Luther of CalArts, asked Kosaka to perform a variation of the *Hanamatsuri*. Kosaka's integration of cutting-edge art with kyudo and other movement elements into a work titled *Contemplations on the*



Asymmetry of a Bow created a minor sensation. This and follow-up work led to his current Directorship of Visual Arts Programs at JACCC.

Kosaka's work at JACCC provides his basic living as well as a connection to a large and active community of artists. It also provides access to gallery space, the Japanese American Theater, and the grounds and people connected to the JACCC, all of which contribute to his output. At the JACCC, he has deepened the scope of his stage work by combining elements of archery, teaching, calligraphy, movement, woodblock printing, farming, and even child rearing, as in his recent collaboration with dancer/choreographer Oguri, *Charcoal Pit*. In this piece, he covers the stage with charcoal and integrates sculptural and dance elements: "Charcoal is a filter. It is medicine. It's what I use to make my calligraphy, what we call 'fire painting' because the charcoal is created

through fire. And when I make the calligraphy, it is not black or white, but all gradations of gray. This lets everyone have their own insight."

Kosaka also works on projects that focus and catalyze community artistic and cultural resources. In *The Ruin Map*, he used Japanese woodblock print technology to help elderly Japanese immigrants recall and create their own maps of the towns they grew up in. Kosaka taught the group printmaking basics and drew upon their knowledge to create a limited edition book that he distributed to Little Tokyo businesses and gathering places. The project has since been repeated for residents of Philadelphia's Chinatown with support from the Asian Arts Initiative in Pennsylvania.

Kosaka also has created installation works, such as his piece *Veranda* for UCLA's Fowler Museum in 2004. *Veranda* is a Sanskrit word roughly meaning the meeting place, the space where things come together. Kosaka says in thinking of this piece and his body of work generally, "I want to live in in-between space. Not outside. Not inside. That's where I want to live. It's not yes or no. It's infinite maybes."

Kosaka has been able to support his work in part through nonprofit grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Brody Fund, the John Paul Getty Trust, the City of Los Angeles Department of Cultural Affairs, the Pew Trusts, and the New England Foundation for the Arts. He credits his grant-getting success to what he has learned about the grantwriting and fundraising process as both artist and administrator. He also does a bit of touring, taking his pieces to Jacob's Pillow, Colorado Dance Festival, and the Berlin Festival.

Seth Gordon

Seth Gordon is a young Los Angeles-based filmmaker, entrepreneur, teacher, and community volunteer. The first full-length documentary film he co-created as producer and editor, *New York Doll*, was screened at Sundance in 2005 and became a

commercial success along with his first foray into feature film, *Cry_Wolf*, which also came out in 2005. Gordon's firm, LargeLab, specializes in motion graphic design. He and his partner work for hire as cameramen, editors, and motion graphic designers for VH1 and MTV shows in development every season. They documented the Dixie Chicks' world tour in 2004 and have been called back to make DVDs and accompany them on shorter gigs. They also make industrial videos. Gordon is invited to teach in the LA schools and Apple stores, does *pro bono* work for community groups, and helped found a professional service organization in the region.

Gordon was an undergraduate architecture student at Yale, and even though he was not a film studies student, Yale offered him access to their state-of-the-art equipment. He taught himself to edit—resulting in a documentary used at the UN. Moving back to hometown Seattle after graduation, Gordon taught film editing at a nonprofit and taught photography and film editing in an inner city magnet school. He also gained valuable experience working as a program manager for Paul Allen's company, ApexLearning (Vulcan), developing curricula for teaching high school students advanced placement courses over the internet. In 2000, Gordon moved to Los Angeles and landed a job as director of streaming media for a media company. When that firm went under in the dot.com implosion, he and a colleague there started their own dot.com, which became LargeLab, an entrepreneurial graphic design and video-editing house.

In describing his work as a filmmaker, Gordon says, "I use different aspects of filmmaking to make a living while I explore creative interests of my own on the side. I am either behind the camera or behind the keyboard." Post-production work also absorbs much of his time.



BOOTSY HOLLER

In the last three years, Gordon, with various partners, has also completed three full-length films and is working on a fourth. Each required ingenuity in assembling the resources, taught him new skills and brought him expanded contacts and visibility. For

Cry_Wolf, Gordon and two colleagues won a \$1 million production budget in a Universal Pictures/Chrysler contest at the Cannes Film Festival. They paid themselves to test-market the film, and ultimately the film found wide distribution on 2000 screens and a DVD. It has been a commercial success for the investors and "great for our resumes." *New York Doll* was made on spec with the unpaid time of Gordon and two other colleagues and \$20,000, using skills they developed by doing "boring" industrial videos. After the film made it into Sundance, they sold it for the equivalent of retroactive salaries and costs. Distributed in 2005-6, the film has made money; there is a DVD, and it is even being shown on airlines. Gordon notes, "This is our strategy as a small business—volunteering strategically on projects that have a chance to turn a profit."

Gordon regularly spends time on volunteer community work, often involving teaching. He started an organization called Nine/Tenths, based on the idea that nine-tenths of education is encouragement. As a nonprofit, a group of young professionals with skills but little money use their combined professional expertise to benefit progressive educational organizations. Their time is donated, built on friendships and relationships. "We had all done community service in school but found little opportunity in professional life. We want to do something effective with our time and skills." In one

such project, Gordon co-created a seven-minute film about alums of St. Anne's, a residence and day care center for foster care girls pregnant or with toddlers. The film was integral to a fundraising campaign that netted the charity \$13 million.

Gordon estimates that he now works a 70-80 hour week, about seventy percent in for-profit and commercial enterprises and thirty percent in nonprofit and community-oriented activities. He is making a living in a field

where many would like to but can not. The work is stressful. He is always working on more than one project at a time, often to pressing deadlines, trading off production and marketing activities. He frequently teaches at Apple stores and was commissioned to make a training DVD. "In the fluid, fast film and video worlds of Los Angeles, work comes to you by word of mouth and connections."

Of the future, Gordon says that his dream is to use energies, contacts, and

skills he has accrued to direct documentaries and "real films," spending any extra time on nonprofit activities. He also has story ideas that he would like to write. He hopes that Ninth/Tenths develops an educational arm so he can teach filmmaking.

Gordon has built his filmmaking career by combining commercial, nonprofit and community experiences. "The for-profit industrial projects led to volunteering to do *New York Doll* as a home movie, and that turned into a for-profit proposition. The community/nonprofit work with St. Anne's produced a relationship and the energy to put together the short piece submitted to Sundance. The spec work we did in the contest for Universal led to the salaries we paid ourselves to make *Cry_Wolf*, and we got 'published' from that." Various skills acquired in one sphere have been applicable in the others, and his artistic sensibilities have been nourished by all three.



GREG WHITELEY

Survey and Interview Content

Because secondary sources and extant studies tell us very little about the crossover phenomenon, we designed two empirical exercises for artists in the Los Angeles and Bay Area metropolitan areas. First, we designed a survey to elicit from artists their cross-sectoral experiences, probing their motivations, their disciplinary focus and socioeconomic characteristics, and the impact of each sector on incomes, careers and development of their art forms. Because it is difficult to fully appreciate the complexity of artistic experience in a survey format, we supplemented the survey with over fifty interviews, about half from each region. The survey and interview methodologies are addressed in the following section.

The questions in the survey closely reflect the hypotheses stated above. Because of the Zucker (1994) Los Angeles study findings that many artists practice more than one discipline, we first asked artists to state their primary and secondary art forms, by the numbers of hours per week they devote to each. We asked them at what ages they began training in their primary art form and began working in it, their level of arts educational attainment, and over the past three years, how many hours a week on average they work on their art form. We asked them to check any of the following motivations that explain why they became an artist:

- Ambition to become well-known
- Aspire to affect social change
- Desire to create
- Desire to help the community
- Encouragement from friends or family
- Encouragement from mentors
- Express values, identity or traditions of the community
- Interest in working outside the mainstream
- It felt right
- It was something I was good at
- Liked the intellectual challenge
- Opportunity to express individuality

- Opportunity to make money
- Pleasure from arts experiences
- Serendipity or happenstance in career
- To meet my emotional needs

We also asked them to specify the shares of their arts income earned from five sources:

- Advances, royalties, copyright permissions
- Wages or salaries as an employee (including art teaching)
- Art work on contract for firms or organizations
- Direct selling of art work (via galleries, stores, commissions, art fairs, web sales, copies of work, publication, performances, community events)
- Grants, awards, fellowships for artistic work (including residencies with income-in-kind)

We also asked what percent of their non-arts income was earned from employment, asset income, self-employment, or social security, unemployment compensation or welfare.

We then asked them to distinguish how much of their arts activity time was devoted, over the past three years, to work in the commercial, not-for-profit and community sectors. In each case, we defined the sector and gave examples of arts experience in each. We also asked how much of their arts income was derived from each sector, and whether, if money were not an issue, they would change their arts time allocation across sectors.

We then asked them to rank the three sectors in importance in their overall artistic development over the last three years. These questions were designed to probe beyond the income and career consequences of crossover between sectors, to elicit types of enrichment suggested in the biographical profiles mentioned above. To distinguish the qualitative ways in which experience in each sector contributed to their artistic development, we asked them to rank each for their contributions to the following:

- Understanding social and professional conventions in the art world
- Interact with peers or mentors to improve the quality of work or ability to make a living as an artist
- Expand opportunities to receive feedback from others
- Network with others to increase the number of work, sales and commission opportunities
- Broaden the vision of your work

Survey and Interview Content

- Increase the profitability of your work
- Increase the aesthetic satisfaction of your work to you personally
- Explore activities in new artistic media
- Significantly increase your skills in specific artistic techniques
- Refocus your artistic work for political purposes
- Meet your emotional needs
- Deepen the spiritual meaning of your work
- Strengthen your focus on cultural or ethnic identity
- Contribute to programs or activities that enrich your community
- Begin, work on, or finish artistic projects previously delayed or put off
- Collaborate with artists across different media

We asked a series of questions on spatial location: county of residence, zip code, shares of arts income from outside of their region of residence (in the other metro area, elsewhere in California, elsewhere in the US and outside of the US), length of residency in the region, features that are important to them in their choice of residency, and their preference for other regions should they move. We asked them their age, gender, racial/ethnic identity, citizenship status, approximate annual artwork income, total annual individual and household income from all sources.

Finally, we asked two open-ended questions. First, could they provide one or more examples of where work in one sector has directly led to work in another sector or changed the nature of your work in another sector? Second and related, for one of the examples above, could they suggest ways that this transition from work in one sector to another could be made easier? From these last questions, we hoped to identify more individual stories than we could investigate in the limited number of interviews we conducted.

Our interviews followed a similar line of questioning, but permitted greater in-depth mapping of individual career evolution and how sectoral crossovers shaped career paths, artistic choice and unique artistic skill and expression.

Claudia Bernardi

East Bay printmaker, painter, and installation artist Claudia Bernardi creates art that is heavily influenced by war-torn political climates. Her need to depict the fall-out of war has driven Bernardi to build a career that spans all three sectors. She founded a community-based arts school in Perquin, El Salvador. Her prints have appeared in commercial and nonprofit galleries in Northern California and at Segura Publishing, a printmaking center in Mesa, Arizona. Well-renowned national and international museums and academic institutions have also presented her work, which is described as simultaneously being both vibrant and introverted. In many works, human figures seem to drown in fields of red; in others, dismembered body parts float untethered but trapped in the painting field.

Bernardi developed as an artist during her first few years in college in 1976 when Argentina faced military oppression and political upheaval. Increasingly, she had to navigate treacherous waters as many of her colleagues and fellow classmates disappeared during the Dirty War of the late 70s. In fear, she left South America in 1980 and migrated to UC-Berkeley, a city, unbeknownst to her, that had a national reputation for being a politically-minded community.

The Latin community embraced Claudia and exposed her to Latin American causes and politics, particularly with a focus on the growing refugee situation. This community work pushed her into new directions. She says, "The art work is not just about production, but it's about community outreach, and the constant reinvestigation of the meaning of society under these conditions."

Her community work is not isolated, but is embedded within all of her arts activities



VALEERIA GALLISO

associated with both income and time. At the California College of the Arts and at Mills College, where she earns her livelihood, she teaches courses on and about arts and human rights. Beyond this, she picks up additional income through direct sales and private and public grants from such sources as The Potrero Nuevo Fund, the LEF Foundation, the California Council for the Humanities, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. A steady stream of California Arts Council grants, combined with infrastructure support via a partnership with the Kala Institute, helped produce a large mural at the Oakland Worker, a sanctuary and shelter for political refugees and their families from Latin America.

Bernardi pours this revenue into a special account that pays for future art production and community projects. For example, in 2004, she recalled her work in galleries and auctioned it off in order to fund an art school in rural El Salvador, where she spent

the following year helping the locals establish the educational institution. While this drove her own artistic output to zero, she describes it as deeply rewarding work.

The Creative Work Fund provided her and choreographer Kimi Okada, of ODC/San Francisco, with the largest grant she's received, \$35,000, to collaborate on the piece "Flight To Ixcan." This piece grew out of a mutual interest in the political violence in Guatemala: Okada's brother, a doctor, had been murdered there in 1976. "It was not a political piece, per se, but it was about the political conditions that changed our lives... this grew out of our interest in recognizing the role of art in transforming communities."

Since returning to the Bay Area, she has settled into a routine of teaching and making work when she can. Trips to Segura Publishing, which offers an artist-in-residence program in Mesa, Arizona, provide a respite from teaching and a focal point for producing, showing, and distributing her artworks. Typically she spends from several days to a few weeks there, accessing the equipment she needs to make prints and working with the assistance of a master printer. The financial rewards of her output are split between herself and Segura, particularly since the organization sells and places many prints with institutional and individual collectors in the Southwest and the rest of the country. This led to an exhibition and lecture series at the Tucson Museum of Contemporary Art. This is only one of many examples that highlight Bernardi's community activities and connection as an artist through the links of the commercial, nonprofit, and community sectors.

Marilyn McNeal

Marilyn McNeal works in digital media, producing documentary and conceptual audio and video works, teaching multimedia skills in diverse settings, and advising artists and social justice/community groups on website design, production and strategy issues. San Francisco-based McNeal has been teaching at private and public colleges and for nonprofit clients, worked for a commercial dot.com firm, and since the bust, earns supplemental income designing websites for nonprofit and community groups. She lives modestly on her teaching and consulting income, donating substantial time and artistic skill to community organizations.

In McNeal's evolving career, social justice commitment forms a central core. While working as a counselor at New School for Social Research in New York, she began to see the power of digital media as an avenue for change when she took an audio production class in the Media Studies department. She recalls seeing a sound wave for the first time and "getting hooked on digital media making." Her interest piqued, McNeal decided to pursue a masters degree in media studies at the New School, specializing in digital audio and community documentary making.

McNeal's interest in digital media connected her to the dot.com boom when a friend working at a start-up encouraged her to apply for a position as an HTML coder. She accepted, and within a month the art director resigned, leaving McNeal to coordinate the workflow of several groups of artists. McNeal stayed with the start-up for only 5 months. While the money was "phenomenal," McNeal recalls, "I couldn't handle going on the subway and seeing



people earning \$9 an hour to do hard work, while I was going to a cushy job coding pop music. I couldn't justify it."

Bored with the meaningless work opportunities available, McNeal took her video and sound skills to the streets to document Haitian protesters who were vocalizing their anger at police brutality in their community. With the sound footage and photography she captured, she created a website—stoppolicebrutality.org—that



Lunch Truck (Baja, Mexico)

continues today as part of her portfolio website, marilynmcneal.com. McNeal continues to document local events, from anti-death penalty meetings to the struggle to keep a local community center out of the hands of developers.

In 2003, McNeal moved to San Francisco and began teaching at multiple venues. As a computer training coordinator at the Positive Resource Center, she taught beginning level computer skills to the center's clientele—people living with HIV/AIDS. She has taught student interns at Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center, and adults at the Express to Success Employment Centers.

McNeal now teaches at the private New College of California and the public City College of San Francisco, where she instructs students on how to use programs like Photoshop and DreamWeaver. From her teaching, she makes enough income to cover her basic living costs and the overhead involved in her art and web design work. The teaching allows her the freedom to work and volunteer her talent for organizations who could not otherwise afford it. It has also helped to refine her skills with the software that she uses in her own artwork.

Through word of mouth and her website, which she calls her virtual resume, McNeal attracts digital media projects. For Global Exchange, an international human rights organization, she researched and documented outreach through blogging. From scratch, she has designed websites for Sul da Bahia and Mary Ann Brooks; for the latter, she posts the site on her own virtual host server at no cost to the artist.

Despite her passion for teaching, which she describes as one-third of her art form, McNeal

would like to do less of it in the future. Still learning to balance time and energy with teaching, she would like to spend more time investigating sound and music. She continues to invest in her computer-based digital editing system with which she has created soundtracks for two local performance artists. She plans to apply for grants and hopes to win a residency within two years.

With the decision to focus more on her personal art form, McNeal recently moved into the Million Fishes Artist Co-op, just outside of downtown San Francisco. There she feels surrounded with creativity in thought, action, and living.

Reaching Los Angeles and Bay Area Artists

In designing our study, we had to address the following questions. Who is an artist? Which jurisdictions should be included in the two regions? Should we use a mail or a web-based survey? How could we identify and reach artists for the survey? How should we identify and approach artists for interviews? In this section, we review briefly our methodology, elaborated upon at greater length in Appendix I. We then characterize the respondents overall.

Methodology in Brief

Our definition of artists closely follows the government's occupational coding schema, which covers performing artists, musicians, visual artists and writers. We broke out dancers and choreographers separately from actors, directors and related performance arts occupations. We also broke out filmmakers, photographers, video-makers, animators, media artists and new media artists from other visual artists, and added a separate classification of multimedia artist. We do not include designers, architects, art teachers or art administrators. These choices are further addressed in Appendix I.

We permit artists to define themselves as artists in the survey without using language such as "professional" and without requiring that artwork be a major source of income. We asked two questions to distinguish between serious artists and those who do their work mainly as a hobby. To be included in the analysis, artists must work ten or more hours a week at their art form, whether or not for pay, and they must share their art work outside of family and close friends. Thus an art teacher or arts administrator who is also a practicing artist will be included if he or she devotes a minimum amount of time to art work and shares it more broadly. We adopted this definition in order to include artists who use their work to pursue community goals or simply to share it with a broader public, without concern for compensation.

For this study, the Los Angeles area is defined as Los Angeles County, the equivalent of the federal government's Los Angeles metropolitan statistical area. The Bay Area includes five smaller metro areas: San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, Santa Rosa and Vallejo, comprised of the following counties: San Francisco, San Mateo, Marin, Alameda, Contra Costa, Santa Clara, Sonoma, Napa and Solano.

We chose to use a web-based survey for several reasons. Compared with mailed surveys, they enable more answer options, permit more interaction, facilitate skip patterns with questions designed for particular groups, can be designed attractively, and offer tremendous savings in time and money costs (Dillman, 2000). Recent evaluative studies have found that web survey response rates are higher than for mail surveys and yield longer and more original answers to qualitative questions (Kiernan et al., 2005). Our initial concerns that we would not reach as many minority and older web-phobic artists than with a traditional survey turned out not to be warranted.

To recruit artists for the survey, we used the internet and other information channels: organizational email lists, listservs, websites, newsletters, snail mail lists, flyers and announcements at meetings and events. We approached over one hundred organizations that represent, service, fund or employ artists in the two regions, and dozens of them agreed to distribute the request to participate in the survey (listed inside back cover). We provided them sample text for websites, emails to artists and listserv postings. To help capture folk and traditional artists, we mailed a request to participate to several hundred individual artists and arts organizations from the Alliance for California Traditional Arts (ACTA). Artists could request a mailed hard copy of the survey, download it from the site and mail it in, or take the survey in Spanish.

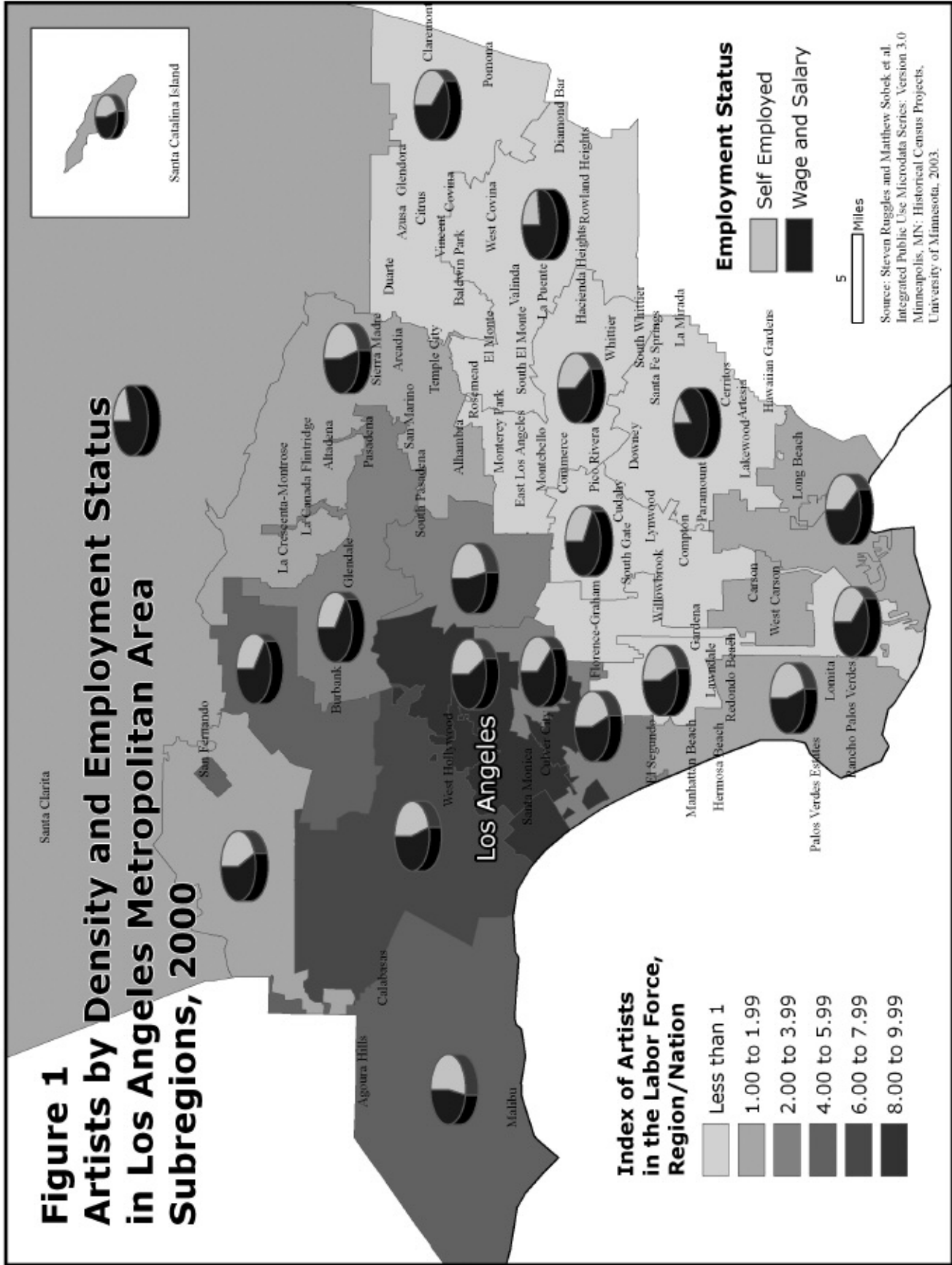
We did not sample from the artists reachable by the diverse set of organizations. Web-based surveys can handle large numbers of responses almost costlessly, so there is no reason to sample—all artists were invited to respond. Because we did not know the total universe of artists reachable by the organizations cooperating in the two regions nor how many artists were ultimately reached by our request, we cannot compute a response rate.

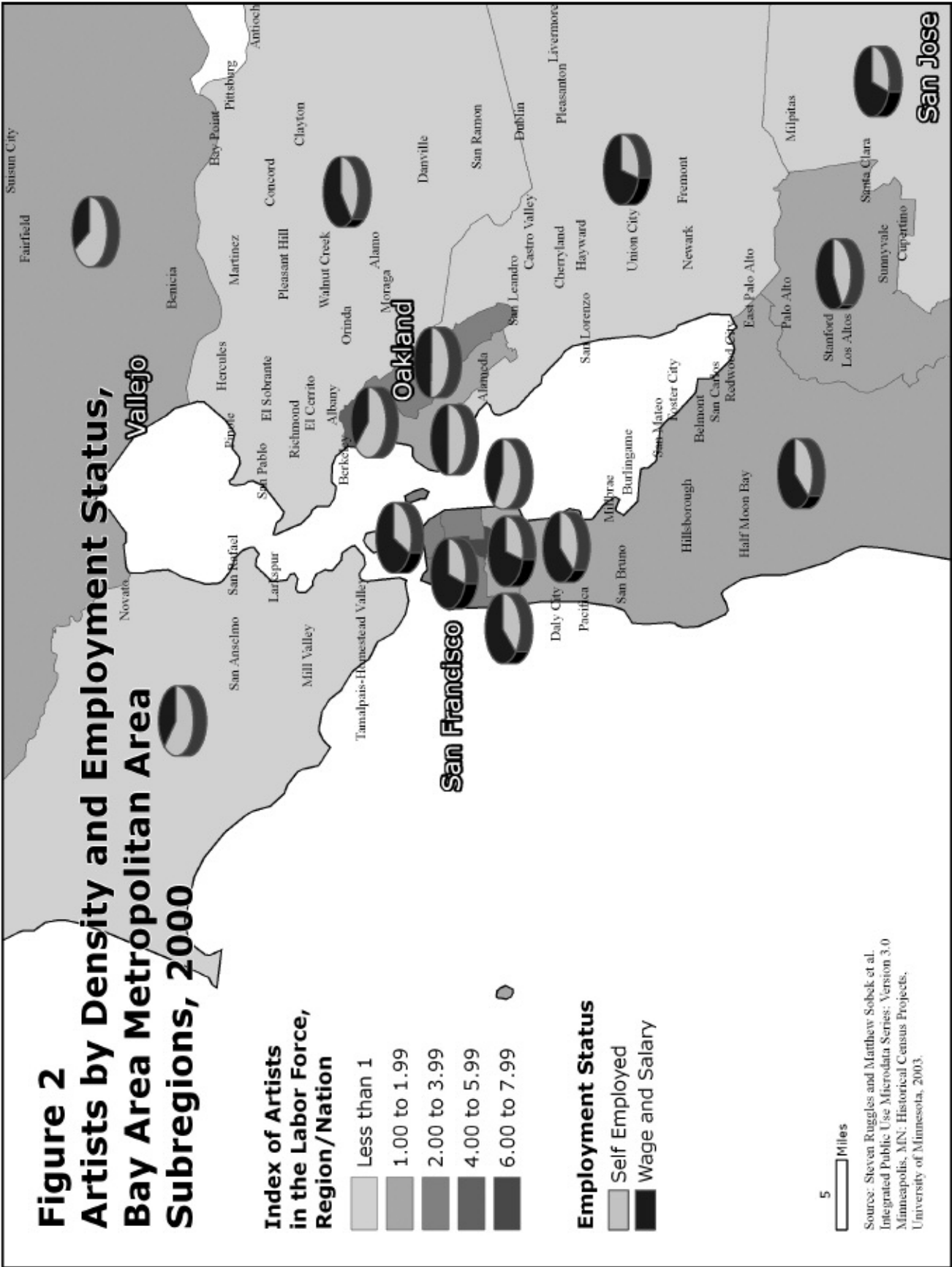
To probe individual experience with crossover, especially dimensions we could not include in the survey, we conducted a series of in-depth interviews with individual artists, half in each metro area. We could afford to do fifty interviews, and we chose to split them between the two regions and include as much variation by discipline, age, gender, race/ethnicity, and immigrant status. We chose to over-sample artists with known crossover experience and to ensure that all sectors were represented in the mix.

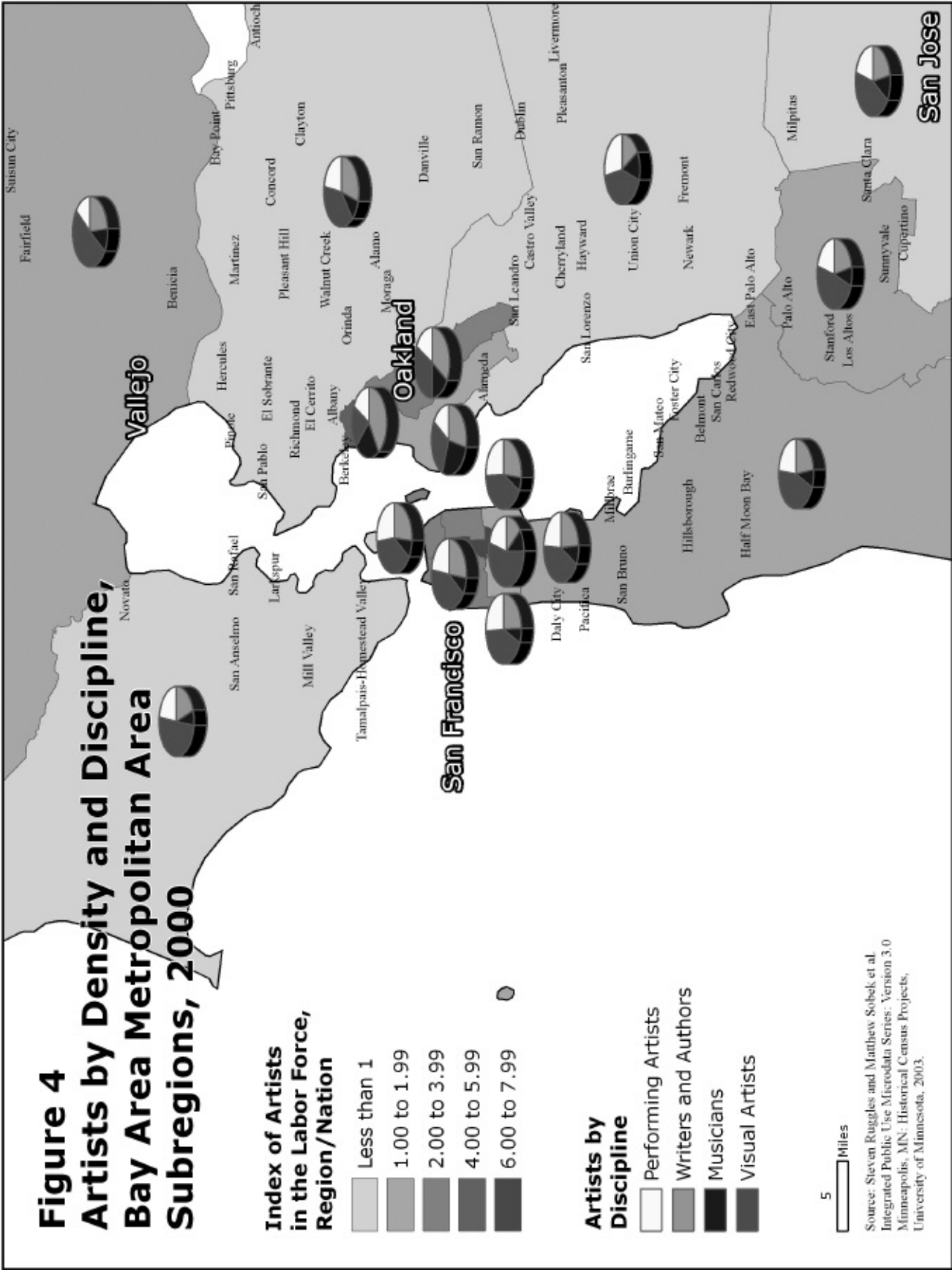
We also paid some attention to location within each major region, to ensure that artists living in more peripheral portions of the regions were represented more or less in proportion to Census estimates. To ensure a minimal population of artists, we aggregated the Los Angeles Public Use Microdata Area (PUMAs) into twenty Los Angeles County sub-regions (Figure 1). For the Bay Area, we aggregated PUMAs into fifteen sub-areas, some multi-county (in the case of Sonoma/Napa/Solano) and some sub-county (in the case of San Francisco, Alameda and Santa Clara) regions (Figure 2). A longer discussion of our regionalization exercise can be found in Appendix I. From the Census, we derived sub-regional estimates of degrees of self-employment (Figures 1 and 2), and concentrations of artists by discipline (Figures 3 and 4). We used these in choosing interviewees. From more than ten dozen artists suggested to us by a wide range of arts ecology watchers in each region, we chose fifty to interview, a subset of whom are profiled throughout this study.

An Overview of Respondents

Some 2255 artists responded to the survey, launched between April 27 and July 1, 2006. Of these, we eliminated those that reported working less than ten hours a week on their art work and those that do not share their artwork beyond family and close friends (13%) and those who reported living outside of the defined regions (8%). This left 1788 usable responses. For primary art form, 19% are performing artists (including theatre and dance artists), 11% musi-







Reaching Los Angeles and Bay Area Artists

cians, 48% visual artists, 9% writers, and 14% filmmakers, photographers, animators and media artists (Table 1). Among the 60% practicing a second art form, more reported being writers, filmmakers or media artists than as a primary art form. Artists responding were evenly divided across the regions, with 45% from Los Angeles County (the LA metro) and 55% from the Bay Area – 36% from the two core counties of San Francisco and Oakland (Alameda County), 11% from surrounding counties in those metros, and the rest from the San Jose metro (5%) and the three northernmost counties (3%). In Los Angeles, actors and directors, film and videomakers, photographers, animators, media and new media artists, writers, musicians and composers account for a larger share of respondents, proportionally, than they do in the Bay Area, where dancers and visual artists are more prominent. We compare these with Census regional distributions in Appendix II.

Respondents include proportionately more visual artists than the Census reports for the two regions (48% versus 33%), fewer performing artists (19% versus 35%), slightly fewer musicians (11% versus 13%), and fewer writers (9% versus 19%). The higher proportions of visual artists may reflect our ability to reach media artists and photographers who are not counted as artists by the Census, our inclusion of all artists who put at least ten hours a week into their artwork even if it is not their primary occupation and they do not make money from it, and our contact lists that reached many specialized visual arts groups.

By race, ethnicity and immigrant status, our respondents closely mirror the Census, with slightly higher minority presence in all groups except Hispanics. Age-wise, our coverage matches the Census in the mid-age ranges, but with fewer artists under the age of 24 and more over

Table 1. Los Angeles and Bay Area Artist Respondents, Discipline

	Primary Art Form	%	Secondary Art Form	%
Actor, director including [or] stage, lighting, costume designer	240	13	110	6
Dancer, choreographer	98	6	50	3
Filmmaker, video-maker, photographer, animator, media artist, new media artist	185	10	212	12
Multimedia Artist	68	4	0	0
Musician: composer, instrumentalist, singer, conductor	189	11	128	7
Visual artist: craft artist, painter, sculptor, performance artist	852	48	255	14
Writer: fiction and non-fiction, playwright, screenwriter, poet, storyteller	153	9	311	18
Total	1785		1066	

the age of 54. Respondents are disproportionately female (64%), though in other ways musicians by gender reflect Census specializations – there are proportionally more men musicians and film/video makers, graphic artists, photographers, animators and media artists than dancers, actors, visual artists and writers.

Artists responding reported smaller shares of income from their artwork, on average, than in the Census and other California surveys, and greater reliance on non-arts income, especially employment, a dimension we explore at length below.

In Appendix II, we compare our respondent group’s socio-economic and income status

with the Census estimates and with several other survey and Census-based analyses, speculating on biases in each that may account for these differences. However, the large number of survey responses enables us to break out disciplinary groups and regions, comparing overall results among and within them in what follows.

The survey results capture the disciplinary breadth of artists in California with an ample number of responses. We have been able to distinguish filmmakers, animators, photographers and media artists separately from other visual artists, an achievement of no other survey. We were delighted to reach 68 multi-media artists. We are gratified to have reached sizeable numbers of minority and immigrant artists, including 12 Native Americans, 160 naturalized citizens, 71 non-citizens, and also 7 transgender artists. While our responses account for only a fraction of Census estimates of 109,000 artists in the two regions (and that surely an undercount), the observations are greater than other comprehensive surveys of artists in these regions. We believe our method enabled us to reach a more diverse group of artists than other surveys that rely on just a few mailing lists.

How Artists Crossover: the Results

Crossover is quite pervasive among artists surveyed, with surprising shares of artists splitting their arts time among the three sectors. Most would, if anything, increase the crossover they are doing rather than focus their work in one sector, especially if money were not an issue. While 39% of respondents work more than two-thirds of their arts time in the commercial sector and 29% do so in the not-for-profit sector (nonprofit and public), only 26% and 16% respectively would continue to specialize if working their optimal mix.

On average, artists make larger shares of income in the commercial sector than they spend time there. While 51% of all artists make more than two-thirds of their arts income in the commercial sector, only 39% spent more than two-thirds of their artwork time there. Conversely, artists make modestly smaller shares of their arts income in not-for-profit work than of the time they spend there. The gap between time devoted and compensation is even larger in the community sector.

In this section, we explore these findings with survey data and illustrations from our profiles. Artists quoted are among those interviewed, many of them profiled throughout the study. Artists not identified by name shared their views with us on the open-ended questions at the end of the survey.

Crossing Over for Income

We asked artists, on average over the last three years, how their arts income is generated across the sectors (Table 2). Of those responding, 51% reported making most (defined as more than 65%) of their arts income in the commercial sector, while 32% made most of their arts income in the not-for-profit sector. These income shares are higher than the share of artwork time artists devote to these sectors, especially for those in the commercial sector. Thus commercial work is more remunerative than not-for-profit work. Artists appear to cross-subsidize their work in not-for-profit and community sectors with income earned in commercial work and sales. For example, Los Angeles violinist Tamara Hatwan makes much more from her Hollywood studio work – in 18 years, she has played on 500-600 soundtracks – than from her work with several LA nonprofit orchestras. But the aesthetic rewards are worth it. “That’s my joke. My studio work supports my classical habit.”

As for income from community artwork, 45% of responding artists make no income in the sector, and another 39% make less than 35%, con-

firmed the low level of compensation for such work. Yet 15% do make a third or more of their arts income in this sector, not negligible. Artists earn income in the community sector when unincorporated community groups pay them for teaching or performances or purchase their artwork. Many community groups choose to remain unincorporated, avoiding the hassles of applying for not-for-profit grants and complying with reporting.

A majority of artists (52%) working in the not-for-profit sector make little or no arts income from it. But 46% make more than a third of their arts income in the nonprofit sector. These artists often split their work time across sectors, making relatively more income in the not-for-profit sector or commercial sectors and devoting unpaid time to community work. San Francisco choreographer Jo Kreiter is an example of the latter. Choreographers face greater challenges than most artists in charting career paths. Some dance work is available in film and commercial theatre, but it is limited. Kreiter runs an aerial dance company in San Francisco. She struggles to raise the \$100,000 a year to keep her nonprofit company working but also spends significant time helping inner city girls find themselves through dance.

Many artist respondents thus move among sectors to cobble together arts income. Overall, 85% of the respondents receive some income from work in the commercial sector, 78% earn not-for-profit arts income, and 54% make some money, mostly small amounts, in the community sector.

In these income-earning patterns across sectors, men and artists over the age of 50 earn significantly larger shares of their arts income from commercial sector work than do women and younger artists. Naturalized citizens earn larger shares from not-for-profit work than both native-born citizens and non-citizens. We found few differences between artists in the Bay Area and those in Los Angeles, except that Bay Area artists are more apt to earn larger shares of their arts income in the not-for-profit sector than their Los Angeles counterparts. By artistic discipline, 61% of

Table 2. Actual, Desired Shares of Time, Income by Sector, Number and %

	Time Allocation among Sectors				Total number
	None	Less than 35%	35%–65%	More than 65%	
Income Earned by Sector					
Commercial %	16	21	13	51	1548
Not-for-profit %	23	29	16	32	1380
Community %	45	39	10	5	1099
Time Allocation by Sector					
Commercial %	19	24	18	39	1582
Not-for-profit %	17	33	22	29	1504
Community %	29	52	13	6	1304
Desired Time Allocation by Sector					
Commercial %	10	27	36	26	1453
Not-for-profit %	6	43	36	16	1582
Community %	10	56	27	7	1494

How Artists Crossover: the Results

visual artists and 60% of the “filmmaker” group (filmmakers, video-makers, photographers, animators, media artists, new media artists) make more than two-thirds of their arts income in the commercial sector compared with only 24% of dancers and 16% of multimedia artists. Dancers (58%), actors (47%) and writers (36%) are more apt to earn most of their arts income from the nonprofit sector than other artists, and visual artists the least (23%). Multimedia artists are most likely to earn significant arts income in the community sector, but musicians and dancers earn more of their arts income from community than other disciplines and are least likely to earn no arts income from community work. Writers have the greatest within-group variation in income from community work.

Working Time Crossovers

We asked artists how they allocated their artwork time among the three sectors over the past three years. Overall, 39% of responding artists spend most (greater than 65%) of their arts time in the commercial sector, considerably lower than the share of income derived from it (Table 2). For instance, Los Angeles filmmaker Seth Gordon, with two commercial documentary successes and a robust contractual business in motion graphic design for Hollywood, makes all of his income in the commercial sector but devotes some artwork time to community and not-for-profits that help generate material for films and satisfy political commitments.

Another 42% engage in for-profit artwork part-time. Many of these are self-employed artists selling their work in the marketplace or working on commercial contracts but not on salary for an employer. Some 19% of respondents spend no art time in commercial work, though they may have commercial income from royalties or copyrights from past work.

More artists spend at least some artwork time in the not-for-profit sector than is true for the other two sectors. This could reflect the fact that nonprofit and public sector organizations often provide less than full-time employment or support artists through public art projects, grants or residencies that last only a defined period of time. An ethic of being open and inclusive could also account for the engagement of more artists in not-for-profit experience than is the case for the other sectors.

Only a fraction (6%) of the artists spend most of their artwork time in the community sector, but 65% devote at least some of their arts time to work in community arts, mostly at less than a third of their time. The remaining 29% of artists spend no art-making time in community artwork. Yet even small commitments of artwork time in community settings can be important to artists. For instance, San Francisco cartoonist and hip-hop musician Keith Knight spends 80% of his time on commercial artwork. He earns income from his cartoons in for-profit independent weekly newspapers and nonprofit royalties from his book, *Beginners Guide to Community-Based Art*, written to serve community audiences. Both the cartoons and the book are inspired by his community experiences, where he spends up to 20% of his time.

Bay Area artists are more apt to spend most of their arts time specializing in either the commercial or the not-for-profit sector than Los Angeles artists – it may simply be harder to cross over between sectors. Combined with the income findings above, these results confirm that Los Angeles offers more commercial opportunities for artists to earn income and of the sort that are not incompatible with crossing over into other sectors. In the Bay Area, we may be observing the fact that musicians, performing artists, writers and visual artists simply do not have the same opportunities to cross over that their peers do between Hollywood and not-for-profit opportunities in Los Angeles. Composer Dennis Dreith, musician Tamara Hatwan and screenwriter Michael Berlin enjoy these opportunities in Los Angeles, where Bay Area musician Laurie Moore has fewer such options. Although Bay Area artists have Silicon Valley at their doorstep, it may be that jobs for artists in electronics, computing, aerospace and telecommunications are more apt to be full-time and firm specific.

In contrast to higher paying commercial arts income for men, there are no significant gender differences in time spent on arts work by sector. But older workers are more apt to do their artwork full-time in the commercial sector, while naturalized citizens and non-citizens are more likely to spend a lot of arts time in community work.

By discipline, a higher proportion of visual artists (50%) spend most of their arts time in the commercial sector than other artists, and there is less of a gap between their shares of income and time spent in commercial work than for filmmakers, perhaps because many of them are directly selling their work through commercial channels rather than making good salaries in industry or high returns from successful films. Writers are just as likely as dancers and musicians to spend significant amounts of arts time in the community sector.

A number of artists interviewed move seamlessly between two or more of these sectors and enjoy working in each. Covina singer Lauri Goldenhersh, for instance, who generally sings in nonprofit settings, co-founded a for-profit company, Modern Songtales, to sing modern English language art songs. Bookings are split between for-profit and nonprofit settings. Bay Area oud player Jeff Stott performs commercially with many different groups and genres, teaches digital music media and production at a nonprofit community arts center, and is a production and stage manager for several nonprofit symphonies, festivals and special events. Although once an “outsider” artist, established painter and graffiti artist Chaz Bojorquez now moves fluidly across all three sectors, adjusting scale and other elements of his work to fit the needs of collectors, museums and clothing manufacturers.

Desired Changes in Mix

We asked artists to design their ideal allocation of artwork time among the three sectors if money were not an issue. The responses are fascinating. Many fewer would specialize in any one sector, and many fewer would leave any sector out (Table 2). A whopping 90%

Janaka Selecta and Maneesh the Twister

Music presenters and DJs Janaka Selecta (legal name Atugoda) and Maneesh Kenia (known professionally as Maneesh the Twister), founders of The Dhamaal Artist Collective, began by working entirely in the commercial sector, but now do about thirty percent of their work in the nonprofit sector.



Janaka Selecta



Maneesh the Twister

The Dhamaal Artist Collective was founded to present music, to produce happenings, and to pull a variety of creative artists together under a single umbrella. This allowed the pair to work on cross-promotions in events as they both developed skills and reputations as Bay Area DJs and impresarios working venues as diverse as the Yerba Buena Center and Asian Art Museum (both nonprofits) or in for-profit clubs like Elbo Room, Amnesia, and Underground SF. Along the way they have produced the CD *Dhamaal Soundsystem*, gotten music onto Sony/BMG India's compilation *Shamur*, licensed one piece, "Frankie's Next Move," for the X-Box game *Project Gotham*, and provided music for the film *Hiding Vidya*.

Both living in the Oakland area, both of South Asian heritage, the two have taken related paths to becoming full-time artists. Janaka was a PhD student at Kings College working on IT when his advisor died. He left graduate school and started working in the field, relocating to the Bay Area in 1992. Even though he worked in IT by day, he began spending more time learning to play a wide array of musical instruments (concentrating primarily on bass guitar) and DJing when he could on weekends. He basically learned his craft on the fly in front of audiences.

Maneesh, more of a straight turntablist,

has a longer history with music. While studying at the University of Texas, he worked on the student radio station and eventually landed an overnight shift at the local commercial alternative music outlet. After arriving in the Bay Area, he continued his radio exploits with KUSF while taking music industry and recording classes at San Francisco State University. This helped to connect him to the local music scene. One of his many day gigs, working with local ambient specialty label Silent Records/Pulse Soniq, deepened these connections. These interests and ties led him to DJ in public as well as on the air, and in 1994, he became part of the local dub/reggae night event called "Dub Mission," which slightly predates his involvement with Dhamaal.



Kush Arora, Maneesh, and MC Daddy Frank

Working in hybrid forms has connected them to many opportunities. They've recorded and DJed in the UK and India, as well as finding themselves featured on Bobby and Nihal's BBC Asian Network radio program and even the legendary John Peel's Radio One program. Closer to home, they've been featured on NPR, and once a week they produce *Dhamaalist Radio*, which airs on the *ImaginAsian* network through satellite TV and on Live365 each Friday. *Dhamaal Soundsystem* sold out its first pressing of 2000 units and reached the iTunes' Top 20 on the electronica charts. The group has also put out an EP called "Transition," and members have made guest

appearances on other artist releases such as remixes and performances for ADF, Saul Williams, Swami, Sonik Gurus, Kush Arora, and others.

Dhamaal has provided an excellent platform for organizing and marketing their work, but the time commitment cuts into music making. "Because we're making our living from this, it's business first, music second," Selecta notes. As a result, Maneesh says, "I'm up at 8:00 and I don't go to bed until 2:00 on many nights. I'm handling more than 50 emails a day. I'm sending out promotions, doing design on fliers, getting out press releases, and even stay in touch with international contacts, which really makes this an around-the-clock operation."

Both make trips to the UK and India, the two points of cultural and musical gravity for Desis. Recently Maneesh worked with

Sabir Khan, the son of sarangi player and Tabla Beat Science member Ustad Sultan Khan, while in Bombay. "It's important to work with real classical musicians because they know the music. It's much richer than if we just use samples."

Demography and lack of organization restricts paid touring opportunities, though. Only a handful of cities – Toronto, New York, Houston, and larger West Coast cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, San

Diego, and Vancouver – provide any potential performing opportunities. Maneesh reflects on the distinct role that the Bay Area provides in this mix. "This is not an industry-driven town. It's all independent and more homegrown. I can play my set my way and people will take the journey with me; they are open and interested in new things."

The affection they feel for San Francisco has been reciprocated by the press. In addition to a cover story in *Asian Week*, they've received a steady stream of praise from the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*: Editors Pick Best of the Bay in 2003, Best Electronic Act in 2004, and a Best DJ award in 2004 for Janaka.

How Artists Crossover: the Results

would prefer to spend some time in community work. Twice as many – 36% – would choose to work part-time in the commercial sector than currently do, which would mean fewer hours for some artists and more hours for a larger number. An equal share – 36% – would like to work part-time in not-for-profit sector artwork. Indeed, a significant share of those artists now working more than 65% of their time in either the commercial or not-for-profit sector would reduce those commitments to work in the other sectors. Overall, these responses confirm a strong desire for cross-sectoral work. The small share of artists preferring to specialize in any one sector – 26% in commercial, 16% in nonprofit, 7% in community – is particularly remarkable.

This desire holds equally for Los Angeles and Bay Area artists, for men and women. Older artists would prefer to shift their arts time towards more commercial work, while younger artists would spend less time in the commercial sector. Perhaps this reflects a need to make more money to cover family costs and health insurance. If money were not an issue, artists who are naturalized citizens and non-citizens would allocate significantly more time to community artwork than would citizens.

By discipline, filmmakers and multimedia artists, two groups on opposite ends of the income earning power in the commercial sector, would cut back the most on commercial sector time, if money were not an issue. Filmmakers and visual artists, the groups spending most of their time in the commercial sector on average, would spread their time more evenly across the three sectors and increase their community arts activities by more than other disciplines from their current very low levels of participation. Dancers, already at low levels of artwork time in the commercial sector, would change this least, but they would like more part-time and less full-time nonprofit work and would increase their part-time artwork commitment to the community sector. More musicians would spend more than a third of their arts time in community work than any other group (43%), with dancers (41%) and multimedia artists (40%) close behind. Across all disciplines, artists would engage in greater crossover with less specialization in any one sector.

Many of the interviewed artists shared with us their thoughts on optimal mix. Cellist Sandy Walsh-Wilson, founder of the Alexander String Quartet that works out of San Francisco, would prefer to deepen his group's ties to San Francisco State, where the four of them currently teach and direct the Morrison Chamber Music Center. It is difficult to juggle their strenuous for-profit performance tours that consume four and a half months of the year with their nonprofit Bay Area performing and teaching. A shift towards more not-for-profit work would permit the Quartet members, most with young children, to stay home more.

For aesthetic and career reasons, oud musician Jeff Stott would like to move his mix towards more concert performance in not-for-profit settings and away from dance-oriented commercial gigs. "There's a difference between listening audiences and dance audiences. In a concert setting it's more forgiving. I can relax about the steady pulse of the rhythm, and just be

more open, even more avant-garde. And I hope that the pay will be steadier."

Many artists who hold part- or full-time teaching jobs (often the only way they have been able to pursue a career in their art form), would prefer to cut back on teaching and spend more time in the commercial or community sectors or in other forms of not-for-profit work. Marilyn McNeal, a Bay Area multimedia artist supports her priority community work by teaching, but would like to teach less and make more on the music she is marketing on the web. Susan Muscarella, full-time CEO of the for-profit Berkeley-based Jazz School, would like to return to the nonprofit jazz world. She came from that world originally, but founded the school to give jazz artists a steady and predictable income. With the Jazz School now quite successful, Muscarella would like to do less administration and fund-raising and return to performing.

Some artists articulate the problems they face in achieving their preferred mix. Los Angeles art photographer Carol Charney finds it difficult to pursue grant support for her large-scale Holocaust series. Although she has won several grants, fellowships and awards for this work, she finds the "all or nothing" grant application process to be problematic, especially for awards that amount to only a few thousand dollars. She has found it easier to work in the not-for-profit sector by exhibiting her work in museums. Bay Area choreographer Jo Kreiter spends inordinate amounts of time writing grant proposals and wins very few of them, as does LA choreographer Sarah Swenson. The relatively low success rates of artists in getting grants, its arrival in spurts, and the time-consuming process of writing proposals deters many from trying this route.

Other artists worry about being judged negatively if they venture into new spheres or cross over in ways that provide them personal satisfaction or income but are not conventional. Los Angeles singer Lauri Goldenhersh, for instance, struggled with whether she should put her commercial balloon-twisting on her professional resume. She is proud of the work, and as a successful business, it supplements her income. She reports taking heat at first for deciding to include it, but continues to do so without negative consequences. Bay Area visual artist Tony Tredway works as a building contractor, including for artists and gallery owners. He believes that those who know him as a contractor have a hard time not putting him in that frame, even if they have seen his artwork.

Spanning Artistic Disciplines

As noted in Section IV, an extraordinary 60% of responding artists work in more than one art form. We did not ask artists how they spend artwork time or earn income in the second art form – it made the survey too long and complex. But from the interviews, we learned that interdisciplinary artists appear to enjoy greater opportunities to cross among sectors than those dedicated to a single art form. Bay Area printmaker and mixed media artist Elizabeth Sher, for instance, began marketing her work herself in commercial venues, and after a series of part-time teaching gigs,

Mimi Albert

Novelist Mimi Albert makes a living teaching writing but devotes as much time as she can to her own creative, commercially published work and to a professional leadership role in the nonprofit publishing world. Her novels, *The Second Story Man* and *Skirts*, are about women coming of age in interesting times, as is her soon-to-be published novel, *People of the Air*. Utilizing her writing skills, she has worked extensively with developmentally disabled and institutionalized mentally ill populations and college students at Bay Area universities and colleges.

Albert's love of literature began as a child, when her mother took her to the library once a week, introducing her to various novelists. While studying anthropology and philosophy in college, Albert discovered New York's avant-garde art and was inspired to begin writing. She began to receive recognition through awards and prizes, and won a scholarship to pursue a master's degree in creative writing at Columbia University, which she completed in 1969. Soon after, she began teaching at Brooklyn College and wrote her first novel, *The Second Story Man*, published in 1975 after forty-five rejections.

Albert moved to Sonoma County in the mid-1970s to live collectively with fellow followers of her spiritual leader and also spent a year in India. "My writing has always had an intense spiritual and psychological tie-in; it's not just something I do to get published or get my name out there." Eventually, she moved to concentrate on her writing, teaching at Sonoma State University, Santa Rosa Junior College and Napa Valley College.

Teaching has continued to be Albert's income mainstay, albeit in remarkably changing settings. In Sonoma, Albert began teaching high school in a mental



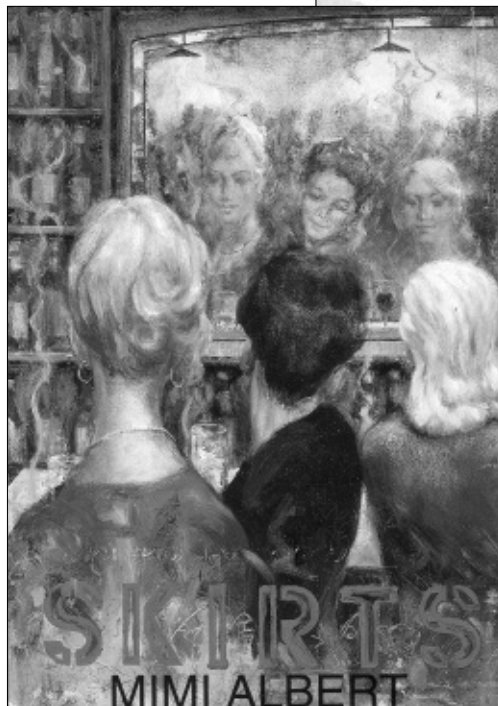
SIGRID DOBAT

hospital. She won a California Arts Council grant that allowed her to teach writing full-time to adult patients. The grant paid two-thirds of her salary and the hospital paid the rest. Albert loved the job, despite exposure to physical danger,

because

the writing helped heal students. Subsequently, the National Institute of Arts and Disabilities hired her to teach poetry and storytelling to their members, also with a grant from the California Arts Council.

When a retina disease worsened to the point where she could no longer



drive, Albert quit both positions and moved to Oakland for better access to public transportation. UC-Berkeley staff suggested that she teach on-line courses,

which she has been doing for them and for the University of Phoenix. She also teaches privately, working with individuals on their novels and short fiction to improve their publication prospects.

Albert also serves as fiction committee chair for the nonprofit Northern

California Book Reviewers, a huge volunteer time commitment. She does so because she "respects the art of fiction in the deepest terms." She makes sure that her volunteer committee members receive and read about 75 books over a three-month period and then meet to discuss and rank them for awards.

Albert's income comes from teaching, which absorbs the majority of her week, with the rest devoted

to critiquing and reviewing books. She uses any time left at the end of the week to write. If she could change the mix, she would spend less time teaching and more time writing.

Albert feels that her writing has benefited from her teaching and from the volunteer reviewing work she has done. Both help shape and enhance her craft. The reviewing role helps to raise her visibility and deepen her knowledge of the publishing world. Over her career, each sector has helped to guide her to another. Her talent was rewarded commercially early on and helped land her nonprofit teaching positions. Her novels, teaching and hard work have brought her recognition as a volunteer critic, reviewer and professional leader. The teaching enables her to continue writing, and she hopes that her track record and visibility will help land publishers for her new work.

landed a full-time teaching job in an arts college. There, she took up filmmaking, and has enjoyed nonprofit grant and presentation opportunities, even though her film company is for-profit. Mission District painter Robert Donald, who markets his work in the for-profit sector, spent an interlude of eight years doing commercial cinematography, moving back to painting following a medical diagnosis. Los Angeles-trained immigrant M. K. Asante, Jr. combines writing with filmmaking, and Bay Area multimedia artist Antoine Perry writes songs, makes films, and performs and records his music.

Crossover in Career Stages

Our interviews offer a broad window into how artists cross over among sectors from one period to the next and sometimes back again in building their careers. Their stories help reveal developmental paths and the barriers that artists must face in moving from one to another sector. Many are getting beyond fears that their more commercial or community work will ruin their chances in the not-for-profit sector, or that they will be misjudged on the basis of a single element in a broadening portfolio. Some, however, still report a fear of revealing the work they have done in the past as they move into a new artistic medium, style, or sector. We explore directional moves in what follows, including late moves into artwork.

From Commercial to Not-for-profit

Many artists begin in the commercial sector, playing gigs, performing in movies or videos, playing music at cantinas, acting in television or film, or selling their visual art at art fairs or over the web, but then venture into the not-for-profit world in part or whole. An example is jazz band leader and bassist Marcus Shelby. This is a

common trajectory, because many artists can't win grant support or don't have access to nonprofit organizational status in initial stages of their art careers. It is often a marginal existence, although some move on to great commercial success.

Some artists who succeed in the commercial world subsequently seek greater aesthetic satisfaction and challenge in the not-for-profit world. Many Hollywood actors who make it in the commercial world of TV or film pursue legitimization as actors on the stage. West Los Angeles abounds with Hollywood actors who are doing small theatre dramas for the benefit of being in direct contact with audiences, which they value as an authentic aesthetic experience, and to demonstrate their acting skills un-mediated by the camera.

Some artists move from self-employed commercial activity into better-paying and higher visibility not-for-profit work as their skills improve and their audiences grow. Physical theatre artist Jeff Raz is an example, as are musician Janaka Selecta and turntablist Maneesh the Twister, the Oakland-based South Asian founders of Dhamaal. They began by working entirely in the commercial sector, playing in clubs, and over time, as the innovativeness of their work gained acclaim, they began performing at nonprofit venues, now doing about 30% of their work in the nonprofit sector.

Visual artists often move in this direction as well. Mary Iron Elk is a Native American artist who began selling her work on the "Pow Wow Circuit," a primarily commercial exhibition of American Indian rituals and crafts. She makes saleable crafts, such as paintings on feathers that are inexpensive and sell well to a general audience. She is now moving into more traditional American Indian art forms for which she is finding nonprofit support. Two painters profiled in this study, Studio City-based Luc Leestemaker and Los Angeles' Chaz Bojorquez, began selling

Keith Knight

San Francisco artist Keith Knight is a founding member of the semi-conscious hip-hop band, the Marginal Prophets, and a successful working cartoonist. His two weekly comic strips, the *K Chronicles* and *(th)ink*, appear in dozens of newspapers, magazines, and websites nationally. He is also a regular contributor to *Mad Magazine* and *ESPN the Magazine*. He has published five collections of his comic strip work, and his latest book, *Beginner's Guide to Community-Based Art*, has been added to the curriculum of over a dozen universities. Credited by Gary Trudeau, the creator of *Dooniesbury*, as "mapping out a previously unknown vector of the vast cartoon universe," Knight has built his career through interchanges



KEN MITBURN

between the commercial and community sectors.

Knight, born and raised in Boston, credits a high school English teacher for encouraging him to write a comic book report instead of a traditional book report about the classic novel

Animal Farm. After graduating with a degree in graphic design, he moved to San Francisco where he was exposed to underground cartoons addressing controversial issues such as race and politics. The city's rampant activism influenced the young African American artist to create comics that "look funny, sound funny, but also have a message." Knight began volunteering at the Just Think Foundation, an organization that teaches media literacy through hip-hop

artist residencies at high schools.

Knight is a self-sustaining artist in both time and income. Eighty percent of his time is devoted to commercial sector artwork while the rest focuses on community work. As an avid marketing guru who has worn sandwich boards at music festivals to advertise his work, his income comes mostly from self-syndicating his weekly comic strips and freelance work. He also spends time traveling to comic book and independent political conventions to showcase his art: "The key is to get my images used as much as possible." In addition to freelance work, he earns commercial income from acting as a voiceover narrator for a local TV station and from playing at music venues.

On the community side, Knight volunteers as a teacher at the Cartoon Art Museum

their work in the commercial sector but have since begun to earn commissions and market their work in the nonprofit sector. As their work and distinctive style began to attract attention, each successfully approached museums to exhibit, commission and purchase their work. An abstract painter originally from the Netherlands, Leestemaker began selling his work to individuals at art fairs and galleries in Los Angeles but decided to aggressively pursue commercial work, setting up a slick booth at a design fair that led to commissions for paintings for the Las Vegas airport, in hotels and casinos in the US and Japan, and for Hollywood films. Bojorquez, an innovative graffiti-based visual and performance artist, has had his large wall-mounted art hung in museums like The Smithsonian and The Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Sometimes, artists branch out from very successful commercial careers into not-for-profit work for non-economic reasons. Los Angeles-based composer and conductor Arthur Rubinstein, profiled by Allen (1998), is an example of a seasoned Hollywood studio musician who decided at a mature stage in his career to start a nonprofit orchestra to play for free in the Los Angeles parks. His track record enabled him to make a go of this enterprise, which has brought him great personal satisfaction.

From Not-for-profit to Commercial

Many artists begin working in the world of nonprofit music and move into the commercial sector as their work matures. Music appears to be a particularly fertile disciplinary art form for crossover, especially movements in this direction. Los Angeles violinist Tamara Hatwan is an example. There may be less stigma in the music world for crossing over, a product of relatively thin not-for-profit funding for musicians outside of music organizations and with the strong role that the unions play in helping

musicians share intelligence on their careers and earn decent rates for their work in the commercial world. Playing at weddings has always been an acceptable side gig for an orchestral musician, for instance.

Several surveyed visual artists and filmmakers related moves from not-for-profit to commercial work. One described how his/her work in a nonprofit exhibition caught the eye of a commercial developer who commissioned the artist to do a large piece for the main lobby of an historic building. Another described how she/he had worked for NASA, producing videos, work that led to nonprofit work and grants for independent films and videos from prestigious sources such as Sundance and the Pacific Pioneer Fund, which the artist believes will lead to more for-profit work. A third was originally managing the space of a nonprofit printmaking society, including a small theatre, and was asked to design backdrops for a production that won an award. From this, the artist found work with a commercial scenic company in Nevada, working in casinos doing faux and decorative finishes and has since worked on projects as far away as Tokyo.

From Not-for-Profit to Community

Some artists move from the not-for-profit sector into the community sector. Often, aesthetic sensibilities and political commitments lead in this direction. An example is director John Warren, founder and administrator of the Unconditional Theatre. After immersing himself in college theatre and deciding to be a director, he worked as assistant director for a nonprofit Milwaukee repertory theatre, preoccupied with technical skills (staging and lighting) and directing. Deciding to take another path, he moved to the Bay Area and founded his theatre as a politically-oriented unincorporated company.

where he also sits on the board of directors. For a small fee, he helped film a documentary called *Do It Yourself* that teaches artists how to do grassroots promotion. He also sits on the board of directors at the Just Think Foundation and 826 Valencia. In a recent collaboration between 826 and the Cartoon Art Museum he led a workshop on cartooning.

Knight does not see a separation between his commercial and community work, but a symbiotic relationship. He says, "Everything informs everything else. The *K Chronicles* is autobiographical, so I will write about working with kids on the importance of media literacy or about the time that I met Maya Angelou." While he



makes commercial royalties off his *Beginners Guide to Community-Based Art*, he wrote it to serve community and nonprofit audiences.

As he has matured as an income-generating artist, his skills in teaching and working with the community have blossomed, too.

In the future, Knight hopes to maintain his current work dynamic across the different sectors. His only wish is to be in a position where he can have greater influence on the world. He says, "I want to not only provide my skills as an artist but my resources and my finances as well." He struggles with the possibility of leaving San Francisco for a bigger market: "in order for you to make it as an artist, you have to leave here and go to New York, which is the capital of the planet. I see San Francisco as my graduate school. You take that knowledge and go somewhere to use it."

From Community to Not-for-profit

A move towards the not-for-profit sector is a common career path for community-based artists. Although their artistic work is often excluded from not-for-profit support by Euro-centric focused arts organizations, they struggle to show that their work is as innovative and as technically sophisticated as symphonic music, classical ballet, museum-exhibited modern art and books reviewed in the *New York Times*.

Ethnic dance artists in particular struggle to overcome the prejudice that they are presenting static, traditional art forms without risk-taking or innovation. Los Angeles' Joel Jacinto, a Filipino dancer, choreographer and arts administrator, has achieved a great deal of nonprofit legitimacy, evidenced by reviews of his work in the *Los Angeles Times* and the access he now has to nonprofit dance venues and grants. He has won legitimacy in the nonprofit dance world by producing his work as a living tradition. Rather than meticulously replicating Filipino village forms, he produces innovative works in this tradition, at once authentic and developmental.

Dancer and choreographer Patrick Makuakane is the founder and executive director of San Francisco's Hawaiian dance company, Nā Lei Hulu I Ka Wēkiu. Makuakane has recently won several national awards and presented his work in not-for-profit venues such as the John F. Kennedy Center in Washington, DC. Like Jacinto, he continues to work in the community sector, but he is trying to "blur" the separation between not-for-profit dance and community-based art, enabled by an increasing respect for multicultural art among mainstream presenters. In Los Angeles, nationally-renowned Asian India dancer and choreographer Ramya Harishankar works hard to present community-based ethnic dance in nonprofit venues and introduce it to the nonprofit dance world.

Community-originating visual artists face the same challenge, and some are succeeding. Los Angeles artist Hiro Kosaka began to develop sculptural and movement pieces for his Buddhist community in Los Angeles. Because of the originality and quality of his work, he was able to win commissions from nonprofits such as the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center (JACCC), Museum of Contemporary Art and CalArts, later joining the

Marcus Shelby and Kate Dumbleton

Founder of a jazz trio and a 15-person jazz orchestra, Marcus Shelby composes tone poems, ballet suites and currently an oratorio for jazz orchestra in the style of Duke Ellington and Billy Strayhorn.



Dumbleton and Shelby at Café Royale

He mixes techniques such as 12-tone serial concepts, composed and improvisational structure, traditional swing, Afro-Hispanic styles and the European waltz. Shelby's ensembles perform frequently, often at San Francisco's Café Royale, run by his business partner Kate Dumbleton, where they nurture other musicians and visual artists by providing space for work, rehearsals and exhibitions. Recently, Shelby has begun composing musical narratives of African American history and politics, bringing them to live and listening audiences. His work in music spans commercial, nonprofit and community sectors.

Exposed to blues-based music in his Sacramento childhood church, Shelby played bass in high school jazz band and orchestra. An outstanding student and athlete, he earned a BA in electrical

engineering at Cal Poly. While in college, he saw Wynton Marsalis play. "I was inspired by someone who looked like me, who I could touch, hold, smell,



Shelby (middle) with his jazz trio

feel. Marsalis represented everything I was interested in – I saw myself in him." Shelby picked up his instrument, joined the college jazz band, and went on for two years of study at CalArts in Los Angeles, studying both bass and composition. He played in LA for six years before moving in the mid-1990s to the Bay Area.

Shelby earns about half of his income from commercial work, chiefly in

performance. His ensembles play at mid-sized jazz clubs in the Bay Area, at festivals, in film scores, and on tour. Yet they often work with nonprofit presenters, producers or cultural centers, demonstrating how fuzzy the line between

for-profit and not-for-profit can be. They play live for the Oakland Ballet and Savage Jazz Dance, for theatre scores such as Howard Korder's *The Lights*, and in a tribute to Langston Hughes commissioned by SF Performances and performed at SFMOMA. "I've tried to exploit every way you can use the jazz orchestra," reflects Shelby, who is also music director for the nonprofit Antigua Jazz and Dance Ensemble and UC-Berkeley's Youth Jazz Orchestra.

In recent years, Shelby has been composing music on dramatic African American themes. His work *Port Chicago*, commissioned by the Equal Justice Society, explores the racism and politics of a 1944 Bay Area Naval Base explosion. Shelby has brought this piece to diverse audiences in the Bay Area as a way of remembering and healing, and has recorded it on the Noir label.

Currently, Shelby is researching the life of Harriet Tubman for a commissioned jazz

JACCC as an arts administrator. He still does his artwork and continues to spend time sharing it with his community.

From Community to Commercial

Some community artists move from the streets directly into the commercial world. Multimedia artists Antoine Perry, an inner city San Francisco-based rapper, writer and actor, began putting together shows for friends and fellow students at the College of Alameda and built from this a promotional business and several other businesses in recording and film production. One surveyed artist noted that popular television and films featuring hip-hop as well as jazz dance have spun off from “American Idol,” just as “Fame” and “Flashdance” spun off from “Saturday Night Fever,” giving jazz dancers legitimacy that they have had a difficult time finding in the not-for-profit sector.

Francis Wong’s journey to becoming a founder of the Asian-oriented jazz scene in San Francisco is another instance. Wong, long a political activist, began playing Asian instruments like the wood flute and performing in community festivals. Following the first SF

Asian American Jazz Festival in 1983, Wong and colleague Jon Jang self-financed a new recording company, Asian Improv Records, to document the rise of this new Asian community music. In turn, although not profitable, this commercial effort gave them stature enough to begin winning nonprofit support for their work and recording efforts.

A writer who began working with community-based informal actor/writer groups as a way to try new material recounted how this experience led directly to work with a for-profit production company, creating a new multi-disciplinary work of live theatre. Two of this artist’s short plays that also emerged from the informal group work have been produced at commercial venues in Los Angeles.

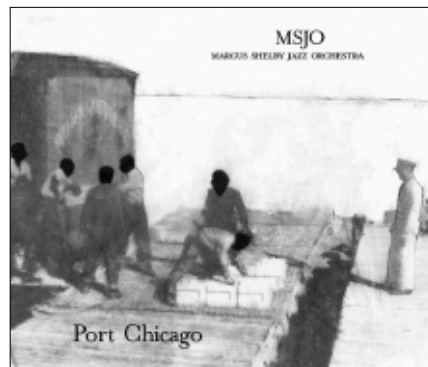
From Commercial to Community

Some artists described a start in commercial work, enough to make a living, and later taking their skills into the community sector. Most have done so out of political commitment or affinity with the community. Todd Brown is an example. Relocating to the Bay Area from the East Coast to pursue his multimedia art-

oratorio about her life. He has linked resources from the Haas Foundation’s Creative Work Fund with a fellowship at Stanford University that also involves teaching. This nonprofit funded time is precious for him—he can read history, study other scores and talk with music scholars about creative work. The compositions that result are infused with history and politics, filtered through the language of jazz. “Historical narrative is my love now,” he states.

Shelby’s business partnership with Kate Dumbleton enables him to focus on composing and research. Dumbleton had managed Club 11, booking Shelby’s ensemble once a month. When the club burned down seven years ago, Dumbleton and Shelby decided to work together, she building their business model and taking the lead role on bookings, fund-raising, accounting, and communications, and managing the Noir jazz label that they started. “We are a team,” says Shelby, “whether we are working on commercial or nonprofit efforts. Kate is a great mentor and envisions. She gives me balance.”

In 2000, Dumbleton purchased Café Royale, envisioning a performance space with a nonprofit feel where musicians, writers, visual and spoken-word artists could come



Port Chicago CD Cover: photo illustrated by the Erik Jacobsen; Art Director for the CD design, Melissa Chevalier

together and feel a stake in the place. Besides food, drink and live events, Café Royale offers a large downstairs rehearsal and discussion space and two painter’s studios that are bartered for visual arts services. Shelby notes, “This place is not just a performance space, but a place of spontaneous connections. We end up working together.”

Shelby also devotes time to outreach, both to the arts community and to arts audiences. In 2005, during Black History month, he began a series of jazz talks at Café Royale, playing important recordings and reviewing the history of jazz. “We did early forms of the blues, then big band and

on to bebop. We explored the historical context, including slavery. The talks were successful in drawing the community here.” He has also begun talking about his music as part of gigs. “The other night, I was sitting close to people, and after a piece, I said suddenly, ‘does anyone have any questions?’ and we started to dialogue about the music and the playing. When I have to articulate this, it makes me more in tune and refines what I am working on.”

Shelby and Dumbleton envision an ongoing mix of composing, presenting, projects like *Port Chicago* and *Harriet Tubman*, and a continuing role in bringing together jazz musicians, artists and their audiences. It is hard work. Jazz recordings don’t sell well, and documenting the work is difficult. “The heart of jazz is still the performance,” says Shelby. Audience development is hard—“not necessarily numbers,” says Shelby, “but an educated, engaged audience.” He and Dumbleton ruminate on performing space and how to extend what happens at Café Royale, marketing for the art form and continuing the collective mix between audience and performers. “For me, it’s not just playing music. It’s a much bigger vision—how music can be used to tell stories, teach, discover oneself, and how it works in the community.”

How Artists Crossover: the Results

work, Brown struggled until he landed one decent commission that enabled him to produce a body of small works. These he sold for the capital to open the Red Poppy Art House in San Francisco's Mission district, which offers other artists working studios, a gallery, classroom and performance space. He subsidizes the space and services with sales of his artwork and by teaching tango.

Occasionally, a serendipitous event enables unanticipated diversification. One artist related how a music theatre project involving very large-scale invented musical instruments prompted the audience, without invitation, to come up on stage to get a closer look at the instruments. By allowing the audience to play them, the group realized that it could develop an educational component to its work, now offered to schools and community groups as a second and stabilizing source of income.

Crossover with Arts Administration and Teaching

Many artists cobble together careers of artwork and arts-related work as art administrators or teachers. Although our survey did not ask this question of artists directly, many of our interviewees explained how they came to this mix, how grateful they are for the work, how it inspires their work and/or makes it harder to find time to do their art, and how they would change it if they could. Los Angeles jazz artist Dennis Dreith and classical oboist Phil Ayling moved from working as musicians to being active administrators and leaders for the Film Recording Musicians Union.

Some artists who began their work in ethnic communities have moved into nonprofit arts positions as artistic directors without sacrificing anything in their work (as with Hiro Kosaka's work at the JACCC, noted in the previous section). Innovative Filipino choreographer Joel Jacinto works as Executive Director of Search to Involve Pilipino Americans, the largest Filipino-serving human services and economic development organization in the country. In his profile here, he shares that he finds no difficulty in combining the two roles.

Sometimes the offer to become an arts administrator comes early in an artist's career. Dancer and choreographer Sherwood Chen accepted a two-year program fellowship in arts grant-making at The San Francisco Foundation in 2004. Designed to bolster and expand his arts management and advocacy skills, the fellowship made it difficult for him to focus on his dancing, training, and teaching at the Body Weather Laboratory. Working intense, full-time hours left only a few hours a week for dance work. He considers his arts administration work to be artwork: "Yes, it is – it supports the creation of art. Is it artistic work? It's hard for me to say so, though it certainly engages creative processes, imagination and problem solving applied in artmaking. Yes, conditionally for some, yes, absolutely for others." The fellowship energized Chen to contribute to the arts field as an arts manager, though he would like to continue dancing and teaching. After finishing his fellowship in the summer of 2006, Chen left for the Cultural Exchange Station in Tabor, Czech Republic, where

he presented new collaborative work alongside a multinational group of visual and performing artists.

We have related, above and in the profiles, how many of the artists interviewed teach as a serious part of their artwork: Mimi Albert, Sandy Walsh-Wilson, Marilyn McNeal, Jo Kreiter, Claudia Bernardi, Sarah Swenson, and Jeff Stott are examples. While some consider it a godsend, especially in certain stages of their careers, others have expressed a desire to teach less. San Jose wearable artist Charlotte Kruk works full-time as a high school art teacher, a job that keeps her quick but leaves her less time for her artwork than she would like. But for others, especially younger people who have struggled to make an income and gain visibility in various sectors, the movement into a teaching job is a very welcome step up in their careers, aesthetically as well as economically. Writer and filmmaker M. K Asante, Jr., for instance, is pleased with his recent professorship at Morgan State University, a step up from being on the lecture circuit.

Crossover Between Regions

We asked surveyed artists to tell us whether they receive income from salaries or sales of artwork outside of their immediate region. In general, artists in both regions were more apt to be marketing their work nationally than elsewhere in California. Among Bay Area artists, 20% reported some income from Los Angeles, 38% from elsewhere in California, 44% from elsewhere in the US and 17% internationally. Los Angeles artists are more apt to sell their work outside of the metro, but fewer earned income from elsewhere in California, earning more from sales or work in the Bay Area, elsewhere in the US or internationally.

Some artists perform or sell their work mainly in California. Photographer Carol Charney's work has been shown throughout urban California, including for-profit galleries in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and nonprofit exhibitions in San Francisco, Santa Rosa, San Jose and Los Angeles. Some artists move back and forth between the two major metros to perform or show their work in museums or art fairs or have moved their base of operations from one to the other. Jazz big band leader Marcus Shelby, for instance, originally from Sacramento, went to CalArts for graduate work in jazz, played there for several years and then moved to San Francisco. He continues to travel to Los Angeles to perform, more often than anywhere else. Musician and record label owner Jeff Stott, an aficionado of the guitar and world music from his youthful days in Los Angeles, moved to the Bay Area in search of a creative community that would nurture exploration rather than commercial success. Musician/singer MC Rai brought the music of his native Tunisia into hip-hop and rock circles in the Bay Area, where he learned digital production technologies. Later, he relocated to Los Angeles to get closer to the heart of the music industry.

Not all artists are sure they will stay in their current home, and their reasons for staying differ sharply between the two regions. In the survey, a whopping 46% of Bay Area artists ranked non-work-related features of their region first in their willingness to live in the region, and 21% ranked commercial

Patrick Makuakane

Patrick Makuakane, who lives and works in San Francisco, is the director of the Hawaiian dance company, Nā Lei Hulu I Ka Wēkiu (translation: "the many feathered wreaths at the summit, held in high esteem"). The company, founded in 1985, has performed nationally and in a variety of contexts including appearances on "Good Morning America," at Carnegie Hall and the Lincoln Center, the Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City, and opening ceremonies for the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian in New York. The company also has presented in San Francisco at venues such as Golden Gate Park. For his company's innovativeness in both the ethnic community and nonprofit dance worlds, Makuakane has received multiple honors: the "Local Hero of the Year" by KQED TV and Union Bank of California, an Irvine Fellowship in Dance, and an Isadora Duncan Dance Award (Izzie) for his work in the Bay Area dance world.

Born and raised in Honolulu to a Caucaisan mother and Hawaiian father, Makuakane was reared by his Hawaiian grandmother. His desire to learn and sing Hawaiian music initially sparked his interest in hula. In the seventh grade, a teacher encouraged him to join the Hawaiian club. On the first day of instruction, the club director made it clear that he could not just learn the music, he also had to learn to dance the hula. After two weeks he was hooked. "I recognized that the hula is a vehicle to understand my culture even more than I had intended...Because of all the chants, dances and songs, you learn about



everything – genealogy, history, the chiefs, environmental issues, social issues."

The 1970s were a crucial period for Makuakane and the native peoples of Hawaii. During what is known as the cultural renaissance, there was a resurgence of interest in tribal Hawaiian culture and tradition. In the hula community, there was an explosion of male dancers, and all-male Hawaiian troupes became very popular.

Under the tutelage of Robert Cazimero, Makuakane was introduced to a broad repertory of Hawaiian chants, songs and dances that often included contemporary western music. He was attracted to Cazimero's athletic and often flamboyant style of dance – a style that traditionalists criticized as lacking authenticity. But within the modern approach, there was still

a standard repertory of hula that was fundamental to understanding the spirit of the dance. This turned out to be critical in developing the "hula mua" or "progressive" style and broadening the appeal of Makuakane's work in hula in the general community and in the nonprofit dance world.

Makuakane had always been dedicated to preserving the two traditional forms of hula: the ancient kahiko and the modern auana. He sought out the more traditional forms under the tutelage of Aunty Mae Kamamalu Klein who was a disciple of Maiki Aiu Lake, considered the mother of the hula. Aunty Mae had taken copious notes on hula that she had acquired from her elders. Like many tradition bearers in the community sector, she was adamant that those who teach the cultural arts be properly qualified. In hula, this

entails an elaborate process called the uniki, (translation: "to graduate") an ancient ceremonial ritual the hula dancer must undergo to be trained and validated as a teacher. Because of his previous training, Makuakane completed all three of the unikis in three years of traveling back and forth from the mainland to Hawaii and in 2003 passed through the ceremonial rite.

Makuakane uses his knowledge to serve anyone in his community interested in learning about Hawaiian dance. In the community sector, this translates as the preservation of tradition. In the nonprofit sector, the focus is on innovation and skill. Makuakane seeks to combine the two foci of preserving and popularizing and sees no problem with an innovative presentation of tradition in both teaching and performance.

How Artists Crossover: the Results

work opportunities first, above opportunities to work in nonprofit or community sectors or in a non-arts job. In contrast, 38% of Los Angeles artists ranked opportunities for work in the commercial sector as most important in their willingness to live in the region, and another 24% ranked not-for-profit work opportunities first. If they were to move, a third of both Bay Area and Los Angeles artists would prefer to live outside of the United States, with almost as many preferring somewhere else in the US outside of California. More Angelino artists ranked the Bay Area as a first choice first (16%) than vice-versa (7%), with the rest preferring elsewhere in California.

In our interviews, younger artists expressed greater interest in moving than older artists. Keith Knight, the young hip-hop musician and successful cartoonist now working in San Francisco, thinks of his current city as his graduate school and believes he may have to leave for a bigger market: “In order to make it as an artist, you have to leave here and go to New York, which is the capital of the planet.” Oud player, teacher and stage manager Jeff Stott, who relocated from Los Angeles to San Francisco, is thinking about returning and is already spending more time in L.A. “I’m beginning to feel that I’m ready for the next wave to push me in a new direction.”

Mixing Arts and Non-arts Work

Some artists do their artwork in just one sector and prefer it that way. Others work in just one sector and hold down a non-arts job if they cannot make ends meet or prefer to not cross sectors. Just under one-third of the artists surveyed make \$5000 or less on their artwork annually, and only 9% report making more than \$60,000 from artwork, including multiple disciplines (Table 3). Median income from artwork is in the \$10,000-\$20,000 range. Income for individual artists, including non-arts sources, is quite a bit higher, with 11% reporting incomes below \$10,000 and a median between \$20,000 and \$40,000. The inference is that artists in the survey make on average as much from non-arts sources as from their artwork.

Artist respondents live in households that have yet higher incomes. Median household income is slightly above \$60,000. Artists, therefore, are making relatively low levels of personal artwork income that is complemented by their income from non-arts sources (jobs, self-employed and asset income, and social security, unemployment compensation and welfare) and by the income others bring into their households.

Artists in Los Angeles earn higher incomes than their counterparts in the Bay Area, a corollary of the finding that Bay Area artists earn more of their income in the not-for-profit sector. While 36% of Bay Area respondents earn less than \$5000 on their artwork annually, only 25% of Los Angeles artists are in the same boat. Yet the distribution of income for Bay Area artists from all sources is quite close to that in Los Angeles. The inference is that Bay Area artists are making more of their individual income from non-arts work. In Appendix II, we compare

Table 3. Annual Average Individual Arts, All Sources, Household Income

	% Responses		
	Individual Art Work	Individual All Work	Household Income
\$5,000 or less	31.1	5.3	1.3
\$5,001 – 10,000	16.7	5.5	1.9
\$10,001 – 20,000	15.5	13.7	6.4
\$20,001 – 40,000	19.3	30.2	19.6
\$40,001 – 60,000	8.8	22.2	19.4
\$60,001 – 75,000	4.6	11.6	14.7
\$75,001 – 100,000	2.0	6.2	15.0
\$100,001 – 150,000	1.1	3.3	12.2
\$150,001 – 200,000	0.5	1.0	5.4
Above \$200,000	0.4	1.0	4.1

the income distribution of our survey group with the Census and findings from other California surveys on income. In general, our findings on income are modestly higher than other recent work on the Bay Area and modestly lower than found in Los Angeles.

Artists’ arts income from their primary discipline is spread across various income types, reflecting their movement across sectors and between self-employment and work for others (Table 4). Just under a third of respondents reported working for wages or salary for more than 65% of their income, and a slightly smaller share earned in this range by directly selling their work. Half or less of the artists made any money from contract work, grants and awards, or asset income (advances, royalties, copyright permissions). However, 18% made more than a third of their arts income working on contract, with another third making at least something. Only 11% made more than a third of their income on grants, awards, fellowships or residencies, the much sought after “no strings attached” and chiefly not-for-profit sources; another 36% made up to a third of their income from these sources. Only 8% of artists made more than a third of their incomes on asset income, but another 30% made some income in this form. Since we did not ask about arts income from secondary disciplines, we do not know how these differ or would change the picture for those disciplines – writers, visual artists, and filmmaking/photographer/media artist with high rates of crossover.

Table 4. Sources of Arts Income from Primary Discipline, Percent

Percent	Wages or Salary	Direct selling	Contract work	Grants, awards fellowships residencies	Advances, royalties, copyrights
Not applicable	26	19	48	53	62
35% or less	24	39	34	36	30
35-65%	18	13	10	7	5
65% or more	32	29	8	4	3
Totals	1470	1530	1249	1193	1289

Artists by discipline have starkly distinct income streams from these diverse sources. Wages account for more than two-thirds of income for only 25% of writers but 39% of actors, with the rest somewhere in-between; but filmmakers (31%), visual artists (33%) and writers (33%) are most likely to do no wage-earning work in the arts.

Writers (18%), actors (13%) and filmmakers (9%) are most likely to make more than a third of their arts income from royalties. Some artwork on contract is most common among dancers, multimedia artists, and musicians, but actors (27%) and filmmakers (27%) are more likely to make more than two-thirds of their income on contract. The most distinctive income stream is the extraordinarily high reliance by visual artists on direct selling of art-

work – 42% rely on these channels for more than two-thirds of their income, more than twice the rate for all others except filmmakers (22%). Dancers (42%) and writers (30%) are most likely to do no direct selling. Finally, actors (70%) and visual artists (60%) are most likely to have no grant income, while multimedia artists (22%), dancers (19%), and musicians (15%) are most likely to make a third or more of their income from grants. Again, since we did not ask about income streams from secondary disciplines, these may not reflect the full picture.

Artists' non-art income is also varied. Of those responding, 59% worked for non-arts employers, 42% earned self-employment income, 34% reported some dividends and 26% had social secu-

Velina Brown

Velina Brown is a veteran actress and singer who has appeared in theatrical productions that range from classical works at the American Conservatory Theatre to new works at the Denver Theatre Company and Berkeley Repertory, traditional plays at the San Francisco Shakespeare Theatre, political comedies at the San Francisco Mime Troupe, and avant-garde works at companies like The Magic Theatre and Word for Word. Despite this high degree of professional visibility in the Bay Area and across the country, Brown has experienced a lack of full-time professional opportunities in the nonprofit theatre world. As a result, she supplements her income by working in the commercial sector where she acts and branches out into other areas, such as voiceovers and television commercials.

As a young girl Brown saw her father, a career army officer, act in a local production of *Guys and Dolls*. By the end of the performance, she leaned over to her mother and said, "I want to do this." She participated in a number of school productions, and she eventually started working in college theatre at San Francisco State University. Brown loves the collaborative nature of the theatre – while playwrights and directors have a significant say over characters and their expression, actors bring characters to life. This is particularly true on the stage where actors engage audiences face-to-face. Brown believes that live theatre is an "actors' medium" in terms of artistic presence, control and legitimacy. It is physically and emotionally demanding work. As she put it,

"You have to stand and deliver." While at SFSU, Brown went on her first professional audition and was hired for her first, paid professional show: a six week run, non-equity production at the Julian Theatre.

Though she was thrilled to be validated as an artist, she continued her studies at SFSU because she saw the benefit of having a "back up" career in professional counseling. She soon found that she could not do both due to the financial and emotional commitments of starting a private practice and an acting career. However, she found that her background in psychology helped advance her acting skills. She says, "Because you're an actor, you're always a student. Being in psychology and counseling was helpful for me as an actress, because I naturally thought about why characters do things or think in a particular way." She also enhanced her chances of success in the performing arts by developing acting skills such as learning how to collaborate with people and working with their ideas and expression.

During this period, Brown hired an agent who brought in new options, much of them in the commercial world, often for higher pay than she made in the nonprofit sector. Over

the last year, one-third of Brown's income was from voiceovers. Work included industrial



Brown as The Ghost of Christmas Present with Giles Havergal as Scrooge from the American Conservatory Theatre's 2005 production of *A Christmas Carol*.

KERSTI MALVIYE

training films, voiceovers, and television commercials. As an African American female, Brown found many opportunities in this area. For example, in voiceovers, physical type doesn't come into play. "When I first heard about doing voiceovers, I thought, why would I want to do that? I want to be on stage, I want to be on camera. But I found it to be freeing. You can do lots of things that you wouldn't get to do otherwise." She also finds working in the commercial sector professionally challenging and that it enhances her creative work in

the nonprofit sector. She says, "If you can make some of the commercial scripts or corporate dialogues sound interesting, you can certainly make the lines given to you by a professional playwright work."

As an African American actress, Brown hopes to help expand the number of opportunities for African American actors in terms of what types of productions are being programmed and what types of characters are being presented. She says, "We need to expand the range of what people perceive African American actors can do." Brown uses her experiences in the nonprofit and commercial sectors not only to make a living, but also to change perceptions about the range that she can accomplish as an artist.

How Artists Crossover: the Results

ity, welfare or unemployment compensation. Most made several forms of non-arts income. Because of these multiple streams of arts and non-arts income flows, artists report being challenged by book-keeping and tax reporting chores. In addition, if self-employed, they must keep track of their expenses and understand which may be deductible under tax law.

Our interviewees are on average more likely than the survey respondents to make a significant share of their personal income on artwork, even if they live very modestly by choice. Still, a number of artists interviewed work mainly in non-arts or arts-related day jobs to generate the income they need to cover their living expenses and buy their arts materials. Forestville violinist Laurie Moore has been repairing instruments and re-hairing bows at the Loveland Violin Shop for her bread and butter for twenty-five years, because she does not make enough in the nonprofit Santa Rosa Symphony and playing weddings and other gigs on the side. Los Angeles art photographer Carol Charney works as an art director/designer in advertising, an arts-related job that has contributed to her photographic acumen but squeezes her art time into small interludes. Sausalito visual artist Andrea Rey works five hours a day restoring wooden boats.

Some artists prefer non-arts jobs that permit purity, control and focus in their artwork. A sculptor/painter doing robotic figures for Universal Studio's theme park in LA realized that "I could not 'sell' my artistic skills or I wouldn't have the energy to make my own artwork." The artist took up advising undergraduate art students as a day job, happy to "work in an art environment all day and still have energy to paint in my free time." Some artists do their day jobs as a way of subsidizing their community work. Wilson Mah, for instance, works as an electronics technician for the San Francisco Opera as his day job, so that he

does not need any income from the operation of his lion dance troupe. One surveyed artist works as a management consultant to "have time to make my own art."

Volunteering as a Route to Crossover

A surprising number of artists described volunteering as a way to develop their art form and obtain paid work across sectors. A Bay Area theatrical costumer began by volunteering at a local high school, moved into a job at a regional theatre company within a year, and ten years later, works throughout the region and runs a costume rental business. A theatre company director related how her volunteer work in community organizing and political campaigns, as well as work as a facility/production manager for a larger theatre, had taught her skills useful in promoting and producing theatre. A visual artist recounted volunteering as a board member for various nonprofit arts organizations that "brought me in contact with serious collectors in my field who have then taken a serious interest in my work and purchased work directly from me or through a nonprofit venue." Morningstar Vancil's volunteer activities with the San Francisco Human Rights Commission, the American Cancer Society, San Francisco Pride, and Bay Area American Indian Two-Spirits group have helped her market her performance and visual artwork.

Crossover Skeptics

Although the majority of artists responding to the survey wished for more crossover opportunities and felt that the art world would be better for it, there were some dissenters. Some artists believe that it is structurally impossible. Some are totally uninterested in, even hostile to, the community sector. Some have standards for their work, including political or aesthetic aspirations, or such personal

Lauri D. Goldenhersh

Covina singer Lauri D. Goldenhersh plays many gigs, from churches to the professional stage. She has served as a regular soloist at the Sinai Temple and is currently the alto soloist at St. Edmund's Episcopal Church in San Marino.



She is a co-founder of Modern Songtales, a series that performs and presents modern English language art songs. She is a writer and a professional balloon twister, the latter a business that creates income. As a Los Angeles-based artist, she continually bridges nonprofit, community, and commercial sectors.

Goldenhersh developed her singing craft from Gaelyne Gabora, a teacher she met at music camp in Victoria, British Columbia.

Gabora brought with her a larger-than-life style that inspired Goldenhersh to become more confident with her own work. The message was: "If you're going to be a singer you have to believe you are so that others believe it." Goldenhersh moved to

St. Louis to continue studying with Gabora. She completed an undergraduate and master's degree at Washington University before returning to Southern California.

Goldenhersh also credits Ann Baltz, Artistic Director of OperaWorks, and Phil Young, a respected coach-accompanist, as important mentors. Andrew Goldenhersh, a professional magician and guitarist, taught her about the importance of performance. "Magicians think about performance in a

different way than musicians. The emphasis stays on the audience: Are they having fun? Are you fooling them? You can't think, 'Am I singing well?' They think more about presentation and imagery, first impressions, and are very methodical about it. I see that becoming necessary for singers."

As a singer, Goldenhersh has worked with choirs, soloing with churches and doing freelance gigs with more than fifty different churches, temples and performing organizations in the LA area. She has contributed to a handful of recordings with the Los Angeles Master Chorale, the professional choir attached to Disney Concert Hall, the Los Angeles Chamber Singers, and the Ocean Park Chamber Singers, a pick-up choir organized to sing the choral music of local composer David

need for independence that they do not believe that they could work for the commercial sector.

San Francisco playwright/actor Michael Sullivan is an example of the latter. Sullivan creates political satire for the San Francisco Mime Troupe that is designed to prompt audiences to think and motivate social change. He has been encouraged to put the Mime Troupe on television, but he holds television in low regard – “twenty-two minutes of drivel and thirty seconds of message” – and has a hard time imagining it working without giving up aesthetic control and political punch.

Some artists think that crossover pales in comparison to other arts community issues:

A facilitated migration of artists from one sector to the other... to what end? Certainly the presence of an artist in each of the sectors this survey focuses on (commercial, nonprofit, community) is value-added, but the real value is in stocking these sectors with people from all walks of life who share an appreciation for the arts, nurtured by arts-rich educational systems, literate in the principles of cultural work and their community heritage, with an expectation that the arts will be a part of every successful enterprise.

Others say that for them personally, the sector doesn't matter—it's their ability to do the work they want to do:

We're artists. This just happens organically, I think. If you are constantly working on your art, you will naturally seek out places to contribute. I do that with very little attention to whether it is commercial, nonprofit or not. It is most important to me that the environment is in keeping with my belief system

and allows me to create freely. For example, as an actor, I could not possibly consider doing a political ad for a cause that I don't believe in, and at the same time, I'll do a play that I think no one will come to, if it's in keeping with my values. Granted, I look for opportunities to be compensated, but I also try to keep my expenses low enough so that I can do community work (for me, political work) as much as possible.

In the next section, we explore the ways that work in each sector affects multiple dimensions of artistic development.

Avshalomov. She has also appeared on the recording *City of Angles* by the Industrial Jazz Group that extends the language of Frank Zappa and Charles Mingus. Most recently she sang on a demo for Kensington Choralworks and performed Negro spirituals arranged by Michal Connor to accompany his book, *Slave Letters*. She says of commercial recording, “It's fun. I'd like to do more of it. But I'm not in the channels that would get me a lot of big recordings.”

As her career unfolded, Goldenhersh took an interest in modern English language art songs, founding the performing and presentation series *Modern Songtales* with Angelica E. Eclar. For now, the two fund *Modern Songtales* out-of-pocket. However, as bookings increase in both for-profit and nonprofit settings, they

hope to win grants and underwriting to cover some of the series' costs. They also hope that selling recordings will increase overall income. She says, “We've bought recording equipment, and we record all of our performances, which we'll edit down to make a disc. We see the recordings as a way of getting more bookings.”

Goldenhersh supplements her income by balloon-twisting, a craft she learned through magic circles. “I've been really uncomfortable with that on my résumé, and I took heat for it at the beginning, but now I really own it. It keeps me grounded. It's a real business. I'm good at it, and that confidence feeds into everything else. I don't want to give any of it up right now. Even though it leaves me a bit fragmented, I'm happy.”

In the coming years, Goldenhersh plans to write more. An essay of hers was recently included in the anthology on prayer, *In Times Like These: How We Pray*, edited by the Malcolm Boyd and J. Jon Bruno. She plans to write a book to help singers understand how to think and live like a singer, and to use it as a centerpiece for offering workshops on everything from how to pick a town conducive to your musical interests to the legal ins-and-outs of working around children. She would like to teach in various settings: “I have a huge drive to give back, to help other singers.”

Goldenhersh is comfortable with crossover. “Doing all these things makes my life something of a puzzle, but I like the problem-solving aspect of this. I'll probably always work across different worlds.”

Crossover and Artistic Development

Artists construct their crossover mix from opportunity and necessity, trading off money, fame, emotional needs, political goals, personal aesthetic, or work style preferences with desires to create alone vs. with others, preserve cultural traditions, or solve community problems. From the outset of our study, we were interested not just in how artists allocated time and made money across sectors, but how the mix of sectors contributed to their artistic development and along which dimensions. The survey, then, asked them to rank sectors on the contribution of each along sixteen dimensions of artistic experience. In our interviews, we asked artists why they originally became artists and how they came to their contemporary mix. Many of them gave us insights into just how crossover enriched their artistic practice. We use some of these insights to illustrate the findings of the survey in what follows.

When asked which of the three sectors contributed most to their overall artistic development, artists were fairly evenly divided. 36% responded that the commercial sector topped their list, although another 31% ranked that sector third (Table 5). There

appear to be extreme experiences in this regard, something confirmed by a number of interviewees. Some 33% of artists responding ranked the not-for-profit sector first, while 22% ranked the community sector first. Both the not-for-profit and community sectors were more highly ranked as a second choice than was the commercial sector. These responses suggest that no sector is most prominent in nurturing artists' style, technique or artistic maturation overall.

Yet each sector ranked highest along several developmental criteria. The commercial sector received the highest marks from artists on several dimensions. More artists find it superior for understanding social and professional conventions in the art world than the other two sectors. An example is what young violinist Tamara Hatwan learned in her first summer job in the All-American Symphony at Disneyworld. But many artists ranked the nonprofit sector first for understanding conventions. When a visual artist exhibited her work at San Francisco Women Artists Gallery, a nonprofit organization that requires artists to take turns staffing the facility, she learned first-hand what sells and what doesn't and how different viewers react to different art. The relatively low ranking of the community sector for deepening understanding of artistic conventions suggests that society-wide norms are still set in commercial and not-for-profit spheres and helps to explain the struggle that community-originating artists have in gaining legitimacy, funding and presentation opportunities in the not-for-profit and commercial sectors, discussed above.

More artists ranked the commercial sector highest as a forum for networking with others in ways that would increase work, sales and

Elizabeth Partridge

Berkeley-based Elizabeth Partridge writes biographies and novels for young adult readers, including acclaimed biographies of Woody Guthrie and John Lennon. She is currently working on a historical novel. Her writing time is split in thirds across commercial, nonprofit and community sectors.

From a family of professional photographers, Partridge was not at first drawn to an artistic career. She became one of the first white acupuncturists in the US and loved her work. But by her mid-thirties she found it stressful to juggle the demands of her profession with the needs of her two pre-schoolers. She wondered, "Who am I, anyway?" While still practicing acupuncture, she helped her sister produce a film on photographer Dorothea Lange. What began as an accompanying study guide became an



RONDAL PARTRIDGE

academic book with Smithsonian Press and was soon followed by a children's biography of Lange with Viking Press.

Partridge discovered that she loved writing for younger readers and began developing a niche in biography. She's written a novel for young adults based on the life of one of her patients and has published a book on her father's photography with nonprofit Heyday Books in Berkeley. "You don't make money on these. They are heartfelt projects, labors of love."

Leaving acupuncture four years ago, Partridge now thinks more strategically about her work and the markets for it. With her editor, she sought a biography candidate, "someone we could spend a couple of years with." She is drawn to politics, art, and a complex main character. She proposed a book

on Leadbelly, but the mainstream press felt it wouldn't sell well. She walked away from other projects that she felt were too commercial – a book to accompany the movie, *Spirit*, for instance.

Eventually, she settled on Lennon: "his music...a very politic peace guy, and a feminist because of Yoko." She enjoyed going to Lennon's house in Liverpool, mucking around in books and getting a feel for him. Lennon talked to interviewers frequently, leaving a paper trail Partridge mined. Partridge's twenty years of acupuncture, with its intimate, tender, grounded relationships where the "patients need to say everything about themselves," helped her go deeply into characters. "That's where the power is for me. Why John Lennon did it, not what he did."

Now writing full-time, Partridge struggles to make a living. The Lennon book, which

commission opportunities. For example, Tony Tredway thinks that the commercial art world is a “who you know” affair. “Getting in is about building a relationship with people. You need to meet them to establish a reputation.” Others find excellent networking opportunities in the community and nonprofit sectors. San Francisco-based Morningstar Vancil has found networking in community organizations and on nonprofit boards in the areas of immigration, human rights, domestic partnership, gay pride, and tribal alliance-building to be a great way of finding new markets for her visual artwork. Some artists find such opportunities in all three sectors, as this surveyed performer and visual artist recounts:

Once, while performing in a nonprofit theatre, I met a fellow performer who owns a gallery. He now is producing my first solo, visual art show at a for-profit gallery. While emceeding a university event, I met producers and agents working for high-profit companies. And, most recently, while performing at a nonprofit theatre, I met the director of a nonprofit, community house for autistic adults where I now regularly volunteer.

Commercial settings ranked first for broadening visibility of an artist’s work. Los Angeles painter Luc Leestemaker, for instance, won great visibility by having his work placed prominently in Las Vegas’ airport and a number of its casinos, helping him create a

Table 5. Ranked Contributions to Overall Artistic Development

Rank	Commercial	Nonprofit	Community
1	36	33	22
2	19	30	30
3	31	23	28
Not working in sector	14	15	19

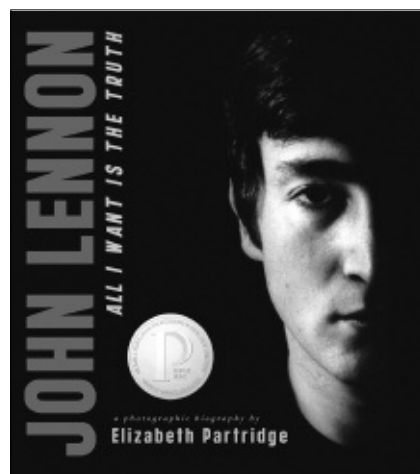
body of work and style that he was able market subsequently to museums. One survey respondent, a choreographer and director of a for-profit ethnic dance studio in the Mission District, won a role in a world touring nonprofit theatre performance that in turn established her as a solo dance artist in the nonprofit arena. Some artists rank the not-for-profit sector highest. As committee chair for the nonprofit

Northern California Book Reviewers, writer Mimi Albert coordinates a team of volunteers who read about 75 books in a three-month period, discussing and ranking them for awards. The leadership role helps to raise her visibility and deepen her knowledge of the commercial publishing world (where she hopes to place her third and fourth novels) and shape her craft through exposure to critical review of the work of other writers. Yet a young playwright credits a nonprofit with a first opportunity to see his/her work staged as a segue into other programs and projects. The commercial sector also received highest rankings for its ability to increase profitability of artists’ work.

For expanded opportunities for receiving feedback from others and interactions with peers and mentors that help improve the quality of one’s work or ability to make a living, artists divide their top rankings equally between not-for-profit and commercial sectors. An actor recounted getting feedback from directors, other actors, and casting directors in nonprofit theatre, whereas “commercial auditions are a one-time shot and then we hear nothing.

took her three years, yielded \$60,000, but she spent \$17,000 of her own money on photographs that were not in the budget. She is working with commercial presses – Dutton and Viking – both part of Penguin. It’s tough: “Whatever you give, they’ll take.” She hired a marketing person to generate bookstore readings and radio and TV coverage for the book, despite the press’ objections. “It was an investment in my future. I have to do it – have to buzz it out there.” She’d like to be better paid for her work and wonders if she can keep working this way, paying taxes out of her savings.

When under deadline, Partridge reports being insanely focused for months on end. “When I’m doing heavy writing, I hate having to give a talk. It is very difficult, coming up out of that writing place. Yet when I have too many demands I’m not taking care of build up, I can’t work.” After a



long writing spell, she cleans up, does publicity and deals with the business end. Though her artistic time is devoted in thirds to commercial, nonprofit and community spheres, she makes most of her income from

commercial sales. Because she has gotten good press in the children’s lit world, people call her publisher with speaking inquiries, and she has been able to raise her speaking fees to \$2000 plus costs.

Partridge does a fair amount of volunteer speaking at libraries and schools. “I love to have people come to the library. Kids’ questions really get me thinking.” But it takes a day to prep, another day to give the talk, and a third to recover.

Partridge is working on a fiction novel about an Amerasian child adopted by a Vietnam veteran. Why fiction? “I don’t want someone else inside my head for the next few years. I’m in a translucent space with a person I am working on, and John Lennon was very demanding. For this book, I’m doing the same background research I would do for a biography, but I get to make up all my characters.”

Elizabeth Sher

Elizabeth Sher made her reputation in printmaking and mixed media on paper and canvas, showing throughout the Bay Area. But she is better known as a filmmaker, a craft she took up after working her way into an academic job. Sher's films range from early short subject works like *The Training*, a tongue-in-cheek take on the how-to of toilet training to pre-MTV music videos produced with Phil Hopper for such punk outfits as Flipper to the recent documentary films *Alma's Jazzy Marriage* and *Younger, Thinner, Smoother*. Her arts career has moved back and forth from commercial to nonprofit to commercial sectors, and between visual art and film.

Sher's early mentors shaped her interest in making art that reaches the viewer in clear, direct statements. Elmer Bishoff emphasized figurative work, and Gordon Cook encouraged her etching. Notably absent were women mentors: "It was very sexist then. Those of us who came through that time really laid down our bodies for the women who came after us." After finishing a painting degree at UC-Berkeley, she began to show and sell her prints in numerous gallery and museum shows.

Moving into teaching helped Sher to reach out to young people, especially women. After several part-time positions in the Bay Area, she landed a full-time job at the California College of Arts & Crafts, now the California College of the Arts (CCA). Over time, she became more interested in entertaining audiences than in creating objects and took up filmmaking. Film offered a number of attractions: a greater acceptance of humor, chances to break out of the gallery/collector straightjacket, and a less equivocal view about appealing to an audience.



PHIL SCHNAYVERSON

Sher's films have screened worldwide in commercial and nonprofit venues such as the Raindance Festival of Independent Film in London and have been broadcast on television as far afield as Portugal and Taiwan. Her work has also been shown to non-traditional groups such as the American Society on Aging and the Association of Reproductive Health Professionals. Showing in these diverse venues broadens her audiences beyond arts-only presentations.

distributed over public television outlets.

Recently Sher has begun cataloging her work. "I'm trying to make it clear that all this work is me, that there's a through line." The catalog includes her early and more recent prints as well as her films, an important marketing initiative.

Sher appreciates the visibility that her not-for-profit teaching job gives her. She uses the annual faculty show at the CCA as a platform to reach out to gallery owners, collectors, and reviewers.

Of the Bay Area, Sher says: "This is a great place to work but a terrible place to



On her film projects, Sher runs a tight ship, completing dozens of films over 30 years with only a few grants. "Documentaries are funded based on subject matter. When the interests of funders intersects with what I'm doing, then that works. But I don't like to ask for funding. I like to work based on my interests and vision." She generally completes projects under budget and does not have to dig into her pockets to complete work.

Sher's film production house is organized as a for-profit, but can receive nonprofit funding, a crucial point for projects

sell. Commercial galleries are conservative and focus on selling to designers. There aren't enough collectors. Even successful artists are barely making it in some cases. This is a shame. We need to value our artists, fine artists, before they're dead. An injection of money, enough money, can really help to lay the groundwork for doing things that can move a career forward, while protecting one's time. For instance, our curator at CCA won a curatorial prize of \$100,000. We don't have anything close to that for artists, except for the MacArthur Fellowship."

We never know how close we got, or what we could have done better.” A Los Angeles area musician wrote:

The nonprofit folks have given me so much love, specifically Grand Performances and The Durfee Foundation. Without the feeling that the nonprofit has ‘certified’ my talent, I don’t think I would have come across as confidently in my press interviews, my commercial performances, and my commercial recordings. I feel they have validated my work in a lot of ways.

But another artist reported better feedback experiences in the commercial sector:

[In the] nonprofit and community sectors, you do not have a continual process with your client. In the commercial world, it’s collaboration with the client. You get feedback, and you have a chance to improve and work on it until all parties are satisfied with the result. In nonprofit and community sectors, you submit, a panel that you will never meet judges you, and then it’s done.

Filmmaker Seth Gordon’s experiences as a support person in TV and movie production offer him tremendous opportunities to learn by closely observing others’ roles:

I learn different things from different projects. I have the strongest skill set in post-production and editing, and I use these to leverage my way to other parts of this job. For instance, when I am working on a job, I ask whether in addition to the editing I can also ‘second unit direct,’ and do the story board as well. They say yes. It’s easy for them. I’m not asking for more money, and I follow through on what I say I’ll do.

For offering aesthetic satisfaction from one’s work, artists ranked the not-for-profit sector first. In interviews, many artists stressed the degree of creativity and artistic freedom possible in the not-for-profit sector. Choreographer Jo Kreiter, for instance, has danced commercially on occasion. But, as she related in her profile, “I hate it. I once danced inside the New York Stock Exchange. It destroys my soul. I am willing to do it if it comes my way, but I won’t work at it.” The political content of her choreography, including her feminist critiques of advertising, makes corporate work highly unlikely. “I like having artistic control and working with ideas that are not in the mainstream. Corporations won’t pay for that.” Bay Area visual artist Tony Tredway feels a strong affinity for the creative space the not-for-profit sectors provide for exploration. “The nonprofits are not as interested in what’s marketable. They want to develop artists and ideas.” He can work through ideas more completely without the commercial pressure.

Several Hollywood artists agree. Los Angeles screenwriter Michael Berlin contrasts the extraordinary pressures of commercial writing for extraordinary returns and a shot at residuals

with the pleasure he feels stepping out of that world, away from social control, to write on his own dime and on material of his own choosing. A composer spurned Hollywood after the following experience:

I wrote a couple schnippizes [sic] for a documentary, and the directors couldn’t agree, and it was interesting to be part of a project where my work wasn’t fully received, and as much as I tweaked it, they still couldn’t agree with each other, or me...I’ve simply dropped the idea of trying something that’s not natural and easy and joyful for me.

But other artists do not find the commercial sector so constraining. Filmmaker and visual artist Elizabeth Sher relates how her own for-profit film company “allows me to do things differently. I can set up my own show, which is something that you just don’t do in painting. I could send out work to festivals knowing it would be judged on its merits rather than who I knew in the art world.” The not-for-profit sector and commercial sectors were also equally valued for opportunities to begin, work on or finish artistic projects previously delayed or put off.

For increasing skills in specific artistic techniques, artists equally ranked commercial and not-for-profit sectors. A visual artist spoke to drawing skills developed in commercial work:

Through my years working in the commercial art world as an illustrator, I was told by my mentors to keep working on my own art. I did. I was able to develop my own art privately through years of ‘reading the book that is myself,’ as it were, while making ends meet to support my family. With my commercial work, I was also able to create over 500,000 drawings over the years. This opportunity to draw so often has trained my eye and given my lines an intelligence and focus. Commercial drawing in such high quantities has forced my very strokes to become a language for me that helps me create poetry with them. I love my work.

Bay Area actor Velina Brown turned to commercial voice-over work because she could not get enough full-time nonprofit theatre work. She was surprised to find the experience very freeing and creative, as she relates in her profile. As an African American woman, “You can do lots of things that you wouldn’t get to do otherwise. I can be the Swedish maid, I can be the little troll, all sorts of fantasy characters.” She found that the challenge of making commercial lines sound interesting helps her deliver professional playwrights’ lines more powerfully.

For opportunities to explore activities in new artistic media and collaborate across media, the not-for-profit sector ranked first among artists. A textile artist values a nonprofit opportunity to teach adults with disabilities: “my teaching work there encourages me to experiment outside of my regular media and to take part in a sense of exploration and play that I try to offer and communicate to my students.” But a composer finds such opportunities in a commercial day job:

Crossover and Artistic Development

My day job is composing music and sound effects for interactive video games, and it has influenced how I work with technology in my community ("real") work very much. I play computer music in a duo that performs in the Bay Area and make video pieces as well. My composition skills have expanded, and I have much more technical audio knowledge. I feel that in some ways this day job is more useful than my graduate degree in electronic music/recording media. It has made me connect with people outside of the somewhat insular experimental music scene in the area.

Yet many artists ranked the commercial sector first for collaborative opportunities. "My sculptural installation in a for-profit gallery was seen by a dance group with whom I am now working. If my set is used, it will be for a nonprofit dance event."

For meeting emotional and spiritual needs, artists ranked the not-for-profit and community sectors equally. Unconditional Theatre founder John Warren, who creates plays for an unincorporated Berkeley-based company by interviewing people in difficult economic political situations – undocumented workers, prison inmates – or putting them directly on stage, finds his work emotionally fulfilling and politically consonant with his beliefs.

The community sector was ranked first for strengthening one's cultural or ethnic identity. The ethnic dance community is particularly rich with examples. Joel Jacinto's leadership of the Filipino dance company Kayamanan Ng Lahi is closely linked to his commitment to keeping Filipino identity and heritage alive in Los Angeles. Wilson Mah directs the Dragon Horse Lion Dance Association in San Francisco, passing on to young people in the Chinese community their traditional cultural and creative

arts as well as cultivating a sense of identity. Patrick Makuakane directs a Hawaiian dance company in San Francisco, Nā Lei Hulu I Ka Wēkiu, to keep the tradition of hula alive. All of these dance artists combine a respect for traditional forms with innovation, and they welcome learners and participants who are not of Asian or Pacific Islander descent.

The community sector also ranks highest for opportunities to contribute to improving community life. Ben Caldwell is an artist who makes his income in the not-for-profit sector, filmmaking and teaching, but devotes substantial energies daily to his community. Twenty years ago, Caldwell founded a community studio in the heart of Los Angeles' African American community, giving young people access to a live stage, screening room, and film and recording equipment. He runs the studio as a commercial business, covering costs with modest use fees and a burgeoning product line that he sells in a small store on the premises.

For artists who see themselves as coming from privileged backgrounds, improving community life often means bringing skills and opportunities to those who are not of the same cultural background. Los Angeles filmmaker Seth Gordon commits a third of his 70-80 hour work week to community work (the rest is commercial), coordinating a group of young professional volunteers to donate their expertise to progressive educational organizations and using his own video skills to film fundraising shorts for worthy causes.

The community sector receives top rating as a place to focus artistic work for political purposes. Multimedia artist Marilyn McNeal's work is driven by her commitment to social justice. She has pursued skills and work that enable her to develop and

Tamara Hatwan

Tamara Hatwan's fifteen-year career as a professional violinist has been organizationally and stylistically eclectic. She has played with dozens of professional orchestras and is currently recognized as one of the top commercial "studio" musicians for film recording in Los Angeles. How she reached these twin peaks of professional success reflects the closely linked worlds of commercial recording and nonprofit classical music in Los Angeles where each benefits from the



combination of resources and activities that the other provides for elite musicians.

Hatwan knew at a young age that she was going to be a professional musician. She credits the Chicago public school system with getting her started on the violin at the age of nine, especially since the school orchestra leader encouraged her to take private lessons. While at Northwestern

University, where most of her peers studied to become elite orchestra members, Hatwan won an audition to

become a summer concertmaster for the All-American Symphony at Disneyland, her first paying job in the nonprofit classical world. There she bridged into the professional commercial recording world as she networked with visiting popular stars who would share their recording experiences. Subsequently, a prominent TV composer recruited her to Los Angeles to play at ten recording sessions for such television programs as "LA Law" and "Hill Street Blues." These windows into the Hollywood studio world fueled her belief that she could play in this highly competitive world.

Moving to Los Angeles, Hatwan trained to be an orchestral musician to ensure that she could make a living. "I had no interest in being a soloist. You have to be a phenomenal talent to be a soloist, one

use digital media as an avenue for change, beginning with videos of Haitian street protestors in New York and more recently, in the Bay Area, teaching computer skills at organizations that serve low income, minority, and GLBT community members and designing websites for many progressive groups. The nonprofit sector offers this potential to many artists as well. Playwright and actor Michael Sullivan produces political satires for the San Francisco Mime Troupe that addresses civil liberties, poverty, and discrimination and that he hopes will contribute to progressive political change.

Bay Area Latina printmaker, painter and installation artist Claudia Bernardi has reshaped her artwork and sectoral mix out of political commitment. As a mapmaker on an Argentinian forensic anthropology mission to El Salvador, she began to see that her art had to be about ethics. "Something happened to me there that pushed my art." She began teaching about art and human rights and committed to raising money to start an art school in rural El Salvador. Unable to raise enough nonprofit funds, she called her work in from the galleries where it was placed and auctioned them at Intersection for the Arts, enabling the school to open. Since working on this project, her artistic output has fallen dramatically. Her nonprofit sector teaching positions give her an income cushion and permit her the academic freedom to pursue this work.

Overall, we found tremendous diversity in artists' tributes to the three sectors for artistic development. No sector was not passionately spoken for on every single criterion. For instance, a theatre artist now working at a university emphatically made the case for the community sector as an overall contributor to artistic development:

All the best personal growth work I've done in the arts began in the community. However, no one can survive there, and if an artist wants to devote their life to their artwork, as I do, then an income needs to be made which does not come from the community... The big jump is from community to commercial, the way an artist makes a relationship with an audience. The non-academic nonprofits were the worst places for my individual growth. Community work – where artists as individuals found their own funding (no grants) and did shows – made me ready for more 'mature' work in academia and the professional (commercial) worlds.

Sometimes, the lines of cross-fertilization among sectors are so complex that they defy rankings. A choreographer with an impressive resume that includes television ("Frasier"), Broadway, and nonprofit dance (Carmel Ballet), described a commercial sideline:

I have a seasonal gig with a small business to manage and coordinate programs for Japanese students coming to the states to gain exposure in various arts and entertainment fields. Everything about this job has affected my opportunities and scope in my 'art work' arena – mostly in terms of being able to work directly with musicians, acting instructors, industry professionals, as well as in building my resources and practice as a theatre performer and arts event producer. Likewise, my work in the community and nonprofit art sector has brought a lot to the company I work for – and what they see as a great asset is the fact that I'm a working artist with a deep and active connection to community work.

of the top .0005%." She took a Masters class at USC to help develop the necessary audition skills. She recalls being one of a few students who took the Excerpts class seriously. Hatwan's career took off as she performed for three major regional orchestras: the Pacific Symphony in Orange County, the Los Angeles Chamber Orchestra, and the Long Beach Symphony. This nonprofit work won her notice by peers working in the commercial studios, such as the concertmaster of the Pacific Symphony who was also a significant concertmaster in the studios.

Since then, Hatwan has performed on an estimated 600 film soundtracks. She finds that while the atmosphere in the studios is more laid back than in the serious world of the classical orchestra, "Once the 'red light'

goes on, the pressure is on and you better know your stuff. When the producers are paying \$10,000 an hour, and they need to do a second take because of you, you don't get a callback."

In addition to technique and sight-reading skills, Hatwan believes that good studio musicians also have to be stylistically flexible, knowing how to play techniques from hard rock to country and everything in between. The financial rewards are significant, and the big payoff comes from the residuals musicians receive when their work is performed or sold in multiple formats or cross-media.

Equally valuable for Hatwan, however, is the artistic satisfaction she receives from playing in the nonprofit classical sector with orchestras and chamber music

groups, even though the monetary returns are leaner. "That's my joke, you know, that my studio work supports my classical habit. And it puts me in contact with performers that are on my level." She says that a number of elite performers and composers regularly do crossover, working in both sectors to make a living and to express themselves artistically.

Hatwan believes that commercial work can also be artistically satisfying, that it is a mistake to treat either sector as one-dimensional. Both studio and traditional classical concert performance offer corresponding, but variable, aesthetic challenges, organizational conditions and financial rewards for the working musician. Cross-sectoral work is thus desirable and, where available, the optimal mix for Hatwan.

Crossover and Artistic Development

And artists working across media report thick artistic networks that criss-cross the sectors. A writer/curator/ performer puts it this way:

I work with poets, artists and filmmakers in a variety of capacities. I was the co-director of a small gallery for several years in San Francisco and met many of the artists, poets and other writers I am in regular contact with now. I have done freelance writing and editing work for former colleagues from the gallery, and I have also done freelance work for organizations run by people I know in the poetry community. My work as writer, curator, and performer is intimately networked across all these communities in the Bay Area. For example, I worked

with several filmmakers in a curatorial capacity and soon found myself collaborating with one of them doing film/text performance work.

Artistic development, we conclude, is a joint product of all three sectors.

M.K. Asante Jr. |

M.K. Asante Jr. is a young author and filmmaker who has published two books of poetry, both to considerable acclaim, including the American Academy of Poets' Jean Corrie Prize. He has written non-fiction articles for *USA Today*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and *Black Girl Magazine* and was a contributor to a volume entitled *The Encyclopedia of Black Studies*. Asante has lectured at more than 50 colleges, high schools, and community centers throughout the United States. Recently he accepted a professorship at Morgan State University where he teaches creative writing and screenwriting. His work across commercial, nonprofit and community sectors provides financial stability and multiple venues for creativity and impact.

Born in Zimbabwe and raised in Philadelphia, Asante began writing seriously as a teenager. In describing his work, Asante says, "Good art is about taking people past where they were to a place they have not considered." While still a sophomore at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, he published his first book of poetry, *Like Water Running Off My Back*, following up three years later with *Beautiful. And Ugly Too*, both with commercial presses. He later moved to California to complete an MFA in Screenwriting at UCLA's School of Film and Television. Asante's film, *500 Years Later*, tells the story of the African Diaspora by exploring the psycho-cultural effects of slavery and colonialism in an uplifting way. It won the Best Documentary honors at the Pan-African Film Festival and the Best International Documentary at the Harlem



CLEM MURRAY/PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

International Film Festival.

Asante's interest in film and video stemmed from frustration at his inability to reach an economically and ethnically diverse audience via writing. He wanted to find a way to connect more deeply with African American audiences. In addition to making *500 Years Later*, he has also produced *Focused Digizine*, a community-based arts, culture, and lifestyle magazine targeted to African Americans and produced on DVD rather than in print. "Being able to express myself in those different genres is like speaking different languages. Filmmaking is like English – it reaches the widest audience – but if you write nonfiction, articles in small journals, then you are speaking a much less familiar language."

Working across disciplines and sectors enables Asante to make a living through creative work. Soon after his first book came out, colleges began to invite him to speak on

campus. At first, he made \$500 and expenses, but now earns upwards of \$5000 per engagement. He also writes for popular magazines, earning a few hundred dollars per article.

Asante's artistic focus goes beyond the commercial sector; working with established nonprofits he can engage community groups. "They need to see me to understand where I'm coming from, and I need to see them to see what their needs are." He regularly speaks in communities, high schools, and middle schools. When they cannot afford to bring him, he encourages them to ask a nearby college to invite him and then piggybacks community visits on these trips.

Asante is now completing the film *Kwanzaa*, his directorial debut. Narrated by Dr. Maya Angelou and produced by Maulana Karenga, the creator of *Kwanzaa*, the film explains the history of Kwanza, in celebration of its 41st anniversary. He also has begun writing a film entitled *Super Immigrante* that compares undocumented Latino immigrants to Superman: both are illegal aliens who contribute greatly to society.

Asante has achieved success by reaching out to the masses through different artistic genres. While writing connects him to some audiences, he looks to video and film to reach those who are not avid readers. His inspiration in working across multiple genres comes from examples laid down by Nelson George, Gordon Parks, and most importantly, Amiri Baraka. This mixed genre approach has proven to be an effective strategy to reach varied audiences across different artistic sectors.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The arts are important contributors to the economic, social and cultural health of metropolitan regions. Artistic creativity generates public value far beyond the modest sums spent on it by government, non-profits or markets. A generation of arts impact studies, public value of the arts research, findings on the relationship between the arts and intelligence, and work on the artistic dividend has documented these contributions time and time again (California Arts Council, 2004; Moore, 1995; Markusen and Schrock, 2006). Compared to the enormous sums spent on professional sports and science and technology infrastructures by state and local governments, far too little is spent on the arts in all their diverse disciplines and venues.

Artists are under-appreciated actors in the generation of public value in the regional arts ecology. Regional arts impact studies of the economic value of the arts do not generally include artists' contributions as self-employed direct exporters of their work and the resulting income they bring into and spend in the local economy (Markusen and King, 2003). They do not take into account artists' contributions to productivity in cultural industries and non-arts-related businesses through work they do on contract that improves product design, production processes, marketing efforts and human relations on the job. The significance of their presence in a region as an attractor and retainer of talented people in other industries is not quantified, nor is the work they do to stimulate innovation on the part of their suppliers who are in turn then more successful. These are the hidden economic dividends of hosting and supporting artists in the region. And these economic contributions may be less important than the role artists play in social, intellectual, political and philosophical life of the community at large.

Crossover is synergetic for the arts, for each sector and for artists themselves. The skills and creations in one sector spill over into the others. Thus artists' views on facilitating crossover are important for the larger cultural economy and life of the community. From our research, we find that artists in the two California regions have tremendous potential to make larger contributions to their communities and economies, and many want to do so. Crossover is a way that they can further develop their artistry, improve their financial situation, and hedge against unforeseen adversities or opportunities in any one sector or changes in their health or family status. They have pioneered paths between sectors that many arts organizations have never dreamed of.

The Los Angeles and San Francisco metros, along with New York, are the three super-arts regions in the US. They each host

much higher shares of artists in their workforce than does the nation as a whole (Markusen and Schrock, 2006). In these two largest of California's urban regions, artists of all disciplines, ethnicities, and ages cross back and forth among commercial, not-for-profit and community activities. They do so concurrently and often sequentially in their careers. They are more comfortable with it than widely held perceptions would suggest. Yet the barriers they document to desired fluidity of movement are still formidable.

The desire is strong for more crossover opportunities. Artists surveyed make more of their art income in the commercial sector than they spend art time there, and more time in the not-for-profit and community sectors than they make income. If money were not an issue, artists would crossover even more than currently. More artists would elect to work at least part-time in all sectors and spend fewer hours specializing in any one sector. Artists gravitate to the different sectors for different reasons – aesthetic, political, community service, cultural identity, and artistic and personal development – as much as for financial gain. And while on average each sector may offer greater advantages along some of these dimensions, not all artists find this to be the case.

Although no studies have been done of crossover at the metro level elsewhere, we believe that California artists in these two regions are engaged in greater crossover experience than artists in almost any other region of the US. Much of this can be attributed to opportunity. California's commercial arts worlds, from Hollywood to Silicon Valley, are robust and internationally competitive, attracting artists from all corners of the globe to find work and build careers. Many, many artists we surveyed and interviewed attested to this draw. In New York's performing arts, where theatre artists move back and forth between Broadway and the nonprofit theatre worlds all the time, there are likely comparable rates of crossover. Perhaps crossover is also happening in other arts-rich cities like Seattle, Portland, Boston and Minneapolis-St. Paul. Elsewhere, sectors are more delineated and siloed. Yet even in the California regions, there are barriers, sustained barriers, to crossing over.

In this concluding section, we explore what artists think would enable and ease greater crossover experience. Others have written about what commercial and nonprofit organizations might do to facilitate crossover (Arthurs, Hodsoll, and Lavine 1999; Ivey, 1999; Pankratz, 1998 and 1999). Although the community sector receives less attention than it deserves in the organizational debate, the recommendations are ambitious and have in some circumstances been implemented. Here, we relate what artists believe would help them diversify across sectors, relying on the open-ended responses to our survey and interviews conducted.

We first address artists' perceptions about the divides between sectors. We then turn to what artists think they themselves can do to facilitate crossover. We cover artists' views on what educational and training institutions, membership organizations, commercial sector employers, funders, nonprofit organizations, community arts groups, the media, and arts advocacy groups can do. Where possible, we showcase pioneering efforts to provide forums and services that help artists scale the divides.

Sandy Walsh-Wilson

Sandy (Alexander) Walsh-Wilson co-founded the Alexander String Quartet in 1981 in New York and now works with his musician partners out of San Francisco. Although the Quartet is a for-profit venture, members earn about two-thirds of their income from college residencies and performances at nonprofit venues. Funding cuts at the state arts council level and a changing audience for classical music have prompted them to explore new musical forms and venues, easier to do in San Francisco than many other cities.

As a child of a musical family in Northeast England, Walsh determined to play the cello after hearing one poorly played. By high school, he was performing with orchestras in Scandinavia, Germany and Israel. Skipping the final two years of secondary education in favor of professional training, he studied in Glasgow, London, and Copenhagen, playing for two years as principal cellist with a Swiss orchestra. Restless, he enrolled in a masters degree program at Yale.

After Yale, Walsh-Wilson and his partners formed the Alexander String Quartet, operating out of New York City for eight years. The group worked hard to develop audiences, promoting their concerts and seeking out less conventional venues such as homes for the aging and residencies at area colleges, where they would perform and discuss chamber music, relating it to the broader culture. Though they seldom made very much money, they covered costs.

In 1988, San Francisco Performances President Ruth Felt asked Walsh-Wilson to consult on constructing a new residency for a Bay Area-based string quartet. The Alexander String Quartet applied for and was appointed to the resulting residency at San Francisco State University, funded by the May Treat Morrison Chamber Music Center, San Francisco Performances and the University. San Francisco became the Quartet's new home.



Although the standard string quartet repertoire is their "meat and potatoes," the Quartet also explores cross-genre music. "We can no longer assume there is an audience for what we do, as there was forty years ago when European immigrants lived and breathed this stuff," says Walsh-Wilson. They commission new work, especially from California composers, and regularly premier and perform new works by composers from all over the world.



Alexander String Quartet

Quartet members are comfortable with their for-profit status, even though it means they cannot compete for funds from the city's hotel franchise tax. They feel it is philosophically wrong to double-dip, since they receive support from San Francisco Performances, as well as other foundations and nonprofits in the community. "It would be costly to maintain a nonprofit," says Walsh-Wilson. "We have not imposed supervisory charitable hierarchy, and this way we have complete control over what we will or won't do." Last year, each member derived \$31,000 from the Quartet's performances, which require traveling four and a half months of the year, mostly in North America but occasionally in Europe and Asia. The proceeds also cover their travel and expenses for an agent and New York-based manager and a part-time administrative assistant. The Quartet has run a small recording company

since 1992. Each also teaches a handful of individual students.

Quartet members' income from the nonprofit sector includes \$13,000/year each as ensemble-in-residence for San Francisco Performances, anchoring educational outreach with a series of in-classroom visits to three high schools a year. Eight or more Saturday mornings annually, they participate in main stage "Informances" (lecture/concert combinations) that draw 900 to the Herbst Theater, attracting an audience ranging in age from adolescents to the elderly in a non-traditional setting. They also draw salaries as 65% time faculty members at San Francisco State where they direct the May Treat Morrison Chamber Music Center and work with students on campus.

Cobbling together these different sources of income is time-consuming and stressful. In addition to performances and teaching, the Quartet rehearses five days a week. If they could change the mix of what they do, the Quartet would like to develop more substantial compensation from the University, expanding beyond the College of Creative Arts with a humanities core social history program taught via music. A deeper commitment to interdisciplinary syllabi would enable them to cut back on hours spent teaching, make travel more efficient and enable them to spend more time with their families.

Walsh-Wilson appreciates the tremendous diversity in the Bay Area music community. "I believe San Francisco is to the beginning of the 21st century what Paris was at the beginning of the 20th, though we're not overly self-conscious about it." At SFSU, he works with students from all over the world: "We have incredible diversity, including the real diversity: socio-economic diversity." The Quartet produced a Kulintang performance in addition to an Afro-Cuban jazz ensemble for a recent Chamber Music America Education Residency Institute. "We had 18 students on the stage, no two skin tones the same. A diaspora right there. They made fantastic music together."

Complex Attitudes towards Art and Commercial, Nonprofit and Community Sectors

As we have seen, many artists have surprisingly favorable attitudes towards working in two or more sectors, for themselves and for others. Many of the open-ended answers offer satisfied accounts of the economic and artistic benefits of doing so. When we asked artists to rank sectors along multiple dimensions, more of them found the commercial sector superior for income, visibility of their work, understanding social and professional conventions in the art world, and networking that would lead to future work and income opportunities. Yet some artists found the not-for-profit or community sectors preferable for the same. More artists ranked the not-for-profit sector best for increasing aesthetic satisfaction, exploring new artistic media, collaborating with artists across different media, and meeting emotional needs. But again, many other artists found the commercial or community sector to offer better opportunities along these dimensions. More artists ranked the community sector first for opportunities to strengthen cultural or ethnic identity, contribute to community-enriching activities, and focus artistic work for political purposes. But again, many others found the superior opportunities in the other two sectors. In only one case – increasing profitability of your work – did more than 50% of artists agree on ranking the commercial sector first. Our most striking finding – that artists would on average specialize less in any one sector if money were not an issue – confirms an overall strongly positive attitude towards crossover.

However, the art world also harbors gross stereotypes towards each of the three sectors. Among the open-ended answers to our survey, we found the following derogatory and dismissive attitudes among at least some artists: that the commercial sector only use artwork if it is profitable and does not respect artists or afford them any control over their work; that the nonprofit sector continually supports a stable of insiders who then do not have to expose themselves to the market and who pre-empt funding that might go to younger, aspiring artists; that the community sector is coddled by funders who pay for superficial, mediocre events and performances; that the commercial sector panders to a lowest common denominator and won't produce edgy or politically challenging new work; that the nonprofit sector is fickle and will not provide support for career artists when they need to re-gear, go for additional training, or leave aside non-arts work to focus on a new project (especially in the lower income art forms such as poetry and dance); that the community sector welcomes only certain community members and not others; that the commercial sector tags some artists as “too community,” closing the doors to them; that nonprofit grants are too complicated to apply for and too little money and too much reporting; and that the nonprofit sector is the only place where truly original, leading edge and critical work can be done.

Overall, these are dissenting voices, expressed by only small numbers of respondents. The artists profiled here, and the majority of those responding to the survey, have created work lives that are powerful evidence against many of these beliefs and attitudes. Employing, granting, commissioning, producing and presenting

organizations in the different sectors are indeed governed quite differently and managed with different incentives and missions in mind. But many artists have been able to branch out from one to another over the course of their careers, and many work in two or all three of these sectors at once. Yet even these artists believe that much work needs to be done to celebrate crossover synergies and to get beyond traditional dismissive views of participants in one sector for those in others. As one artist put it:

Sometimes it seems that there is a tendency to look down on artists, especially musicians, who work commercially. I would love to see more open-mindedness and less judgment. I would like to see more artists encouraged to work in all three sectors and not have the work be less valued depending on which sector it is for.

A strategic and ambitious project would involve a public relations campaign by artists' membership groups (including unions and professional associations), artist-employing industry trade groups and nonprofit and public sector leaders to showcase successful artists who cross over and to underscore the aesthetic and economic gains to a more accepting regional posture towards crossover. The traditional divides are deeply dug from continual crossings by the same culture-shaping vehicles. University arts schools treat only some sub-disciplines as art – jazz, for instance, has only recently become an academically legitimate musical genre, while diverse folk music forms are not. As in other fields of knowledge, universities often fail to relate to the larger communities of artists around them, even their own graduates, and reward faculty research on the meaning of art rather than on innovative production and performance. While some major newspapers are replacing separate arts and entertainment sections with hybrid formats such as the *San Francisco Chronicle's* Datebook, they still tend to over-review Euro-centric art forms, and the arts are rarely covered in other sections. Funders design grant competitions with labels and subtexts that discriminate among art forms. A concerted effort by arts ecology leaders could turn this situation around, a point we return to in closing.

What Artists Can Do

Many artists offered us examples of how they had pursued crossover in their lives. Many of them recalled being surprised at how easy or interesting crossing over could be: “It never occurred to me that my knowledge of theatre/performance could be applied so effectively to something other than theatre,” one artist wrote in the survey. Others suffer from excessive amounts of it and would like to alter the mix, as Mimi Albert and Sandy Walsh-Wilson's profiles demonstrate. What has worked for artists, and what do they think other artists could do to make diversification easier?

Artists stress the importance of having an open mind about moving into another sector. They see themselves and others as having closed minds about this or that sector and not being willing to think about it; that going after commercial work is selling out, for

Conclusions and Recommendations

instance, or that going after nonprofit money is a form of going on the dole. Artists report changing their own ideas by talking with other artists and hearing their stories, or observing how high profile artist – actors on TV and stage, for instance, or artists whose work hangs in casinos and fine arts museums – have been successful. Few forums exist where crossover is explicitly examined, and artists would like to create more of these.

Artists endorse arts training that prepares one for art work across sectors. With encouragement from foundations such as The James Irvine Foundation, more arts colleges now offer courses that focus on art techniques important in the commercial sector. Tamara Hatwan, for instance, took a college excerpts class designed for musicians who might want to play for the media industry. At CalArts, media arts faculty work with Los Angeles industry people on animation techniques (Backer, Guy, & Shapiro, 2005). But some artists recall shying away from such classes, fearing that would suggest less-than-serious ambitions, a view regrettably reinforced by some faculty.

In the crucial period after graduation, artists coming through the formal educational pipeline are most apt to abandon their aspirations and give up a career in the arts. Many hold out for the big break-through, and if it doesn't come, follow a different path. In this period, trying out different roles and sectors is a fruitful way of exploring multiple career paths. Many young artists fear the negative judgments of gate-keepers or peers if they do so, but the stories shared here demonstrate how important a chance gig, job or arts event has often been to a career. The young Laurie Moore, for instance, was not averse to playing in Lake Tahoe's Sahara Casino

orchestra and found an eventual route to a Bay Area nonprofit orchestral position from this entertainment industry debut.

Whether or not they have come the college route, artists can find post-graduate training opportunities outside of four-year colleges and graduate art schools. Many proprietary training institutions and technical colleges offer courses in artistic techniques and art forms that enable artists in one media to branch into another; private instructors and nonprofit organizations that host classes are another route. Artists who emerge from distinctive community experiences, from an ethnic or immigrant community, for instance, report the significance of training and upgrading opportunities that strengthen their work and help them navigate the large art world. Artists urged other artists to search for such training in unorthodox places, at any age.

Artists who successfully cross over counsel strenuous efforts to market oneself as a way of breaking into a new sector. At his deepest moment of distress and discouragement, Los Angeles painter Luc Leestemaker applied prior business acumen in marketing his work to interior designers, galleries and nonprofit museums. San Francisco performance and visual artist Morningstar Vancil considers every personal and community encounter a marketing opportunity and pursues every arts organization and website that relates to her work. Because they involve self-promotion and time taken from artwork, marketing efforts are often particularly difficult for those with artistic sensibilities, time-consuming community, politics or family commitments, or "day" jobs. Yet, artists report that a positive attitude towards marketing is just about the most important post-training investment one can make to improve his or her crossover

Wilson Mah

Bay Area native Wilson Mah organizes and directs the Dragon Horse Lion Dance Association, one of the premiere community dance troupes of its kind in San Francisco. He's the folk arts director of the Lunigate National, works with the Peninsula Association for gifted students, and serves on the San Francisco Arts Commission. His group sustains itself through payments and honoraria it receives for performing throughout the Bay Area, most notably at the Chinese New Years celebration, and at a variety of community functions, festivals, corporate and civic events. Firmly based in the community, yet organized as a nonprofit, it primarily makes money through commercial transactions.

Mah was exposed to the arts at an early age. His mother was a child prodigy who sang in the Cantonese Opera, and his



father was a concert violinist. This inspired him to learn dance, traditionally a more culturally exclusive art form both in China and in the US. Mah says, "Within the Chinese community, Asian dance/musical clubs are often private and exclusive partially to maintain clannish cultural tradition back in the old country. In the dynastic days, it was about honor and respect. You didn't want to share the techniques because you didn't know how people would use or abuse them." According to Mah, many of the clubs in the US were built on this basic organizational perspective. But as the Chinese martial arts opened up to outsiders, other art forms like lion dance have followed.

Mah started teaching lion dancing as part of a community service requirement imposed on him in order to obtain

conscientious objector status after the US Army drafted him in 1970. Mah, along with his brother-in-law, Tony Lee, founded Dragon Horse Lion Dance Association, a creative workshop based in Chinatown to teach children of Asian heritage their cultural and creative arts and to cultivate a sense of identity. Initially, the group relied on payments from the students' parents, but today they enroll anyone who has the interest and commitment to learn the dance.

For Mah, opening the doors of his dance school marked the culmination of his goal to pass on cultural knowledge and values to the community. Inspired by his fortieth birthday and a fire that burned down his home, Mah refocused his artistic efforts on "leaving something to pass on, something that would survive." In the world of lion dance, like many community-based ethnic arts traditions, the relationship of cultural

options. In some cases, collective marketing is a superior strategy, and we return to this subject below.

Some artist service organizations teach artists how to market themselves. The Los Angeles branch of The Actors' Fund of America runs an Actors' Work Program that helps anyone in the entertainment industry find dignified sideline and parallel careers. They have given workshops for hundreds of artists on how to network at a cocktail party, including how to greet people, hand them your card, or give the elevator speech, such as "well, if you need a grip boy in the industry, look me up." The Actors' Fund welcomes all creative agents in the film and TV industry to join, as in "everyone was an actor in old Hollywood."

Documenting one's work, which often requires learning website design, digital photography and recording skills, is important, artists report, and is particularly difficult for performing artists. Dancers and choreographers, for instance, often have no footage to show of their creations. Even visual arts slides or digital images can be poorly done, making it hard for gallery owners or museum curators or funders to see the work. A museum website that maintains digital catalogs of past shows can be particularly important, placing artists' work in context.

Paying attention to the business side of one's arts career is essential to successful crossover. Artists seeking paid employment in the commercial sector must study the particular firms and industries that offer work opportunities. They must do research, in other words. There are many sources of contemporary information on arts industries and how they work – trade publications, the federal government's industrial outlook, specialized magazines. Many

artists report luck in making connections; far fewer actively seek them out. Union apprenticeship programs, where they exist, are good for this, but you may have to get a job in the industry first.

Artists wanting to pursue grant support must identify funders, figure out what they are interested in, and talk to them, which many artists are loathe to do. Whether or not they are from the community, artists wanting to do community work must spend time learning the community's inner workings, introducing themselves to leaders, and building trust.

It helps to network and find role models or mentors working in the industry, occupation or community group to help explain how it works. As one artist wrote:

It makes the transition easier when you use networking with peers across all sectors to learn what it takes to make a good impression in the new area. Not to just imitate your network contacts, but to actively ask them to mentor you, ask for help, ask for guidance and direction as you transition from one sector to another. The network then recognizes your work and invites it, and has an interest in seeing you succeed.

A few unusual mentorships have been created to help young people of under-represented groups in the entertainment industry in Los Angeles. Film Independent's cultural diversity program Project:Involve places young filmmakers of color with major mentors of the same ethnicity to shadow them for nine months and offers them filmmaking workshops, community screenings, and job placement.

identity, meaning, and learning how to live life are closely integrated. Mah believes that participating in the arts and developing one's cultural identity is not separate from one's normal life. "Lion dance is a metaphor for life...it's the basis for survival. Once you put the costume on, you become the lion. It teaches you to adopt the principles and the values that make the lion strong and powerful, and guide you in overcoming life's obstacles."

Mah takes great pride in his approach to lion dance for many reasons. What separates this dance group from others is that it is "family oriented" and yet is open to non-Asians. It accepts men and women of any age or ethnicity, and even offers a "mothers' team" called Phoenix Rising. It operates free of charge, and all of



Lion Dancers

the money that the children raise through donations goes back to the dance troupe. Mah and his four brothers who operate the

troupe take nothing. To earn a living, Mah works as an electronics technician for the San Francisco Opera, an internationally renowned nonprofit.

Bridging the nonprofit and community sectors is a fundamental motivation for Mah and for most other arts groups. It has become the defining aspect of his school and dance troupe. Mah also believes that the spread of lion dance to countries all over the world has helped break down the competitive nature of lion dance and cultivate a greater brotherhood of lion dance among troupes, maintaining cultural ties while establishing cross-cultural communication. He calls it "the golden age of lion dance."

Sarah Swenson

Choreographer Sarah Swenson faces the unique challenges of running a commercial dance company based out of Los Angeles. As co-founder of Sarah Swenson & Vox Dance Theatre, she balances the demands of being a commercial artist with being a nonprofit dance teacher. While the teaching supports both herself and her company, it keeps her away from her own creative work.

In 1976, Swenson moved from Boston to attend New York University, but she left after two years to focus on performing as a dancer. Early on in her career, she worked with Jubilation Dance Company and Alvin Ailey's third dance company in a piece entitled *Northside*. In 1984, she began studying at the Alvin Ailey American Dance Center and eventually started teaching, working in repertory and performance coaching. Teaching provided stability and allowed her to make a living exclusively in dance through teaching, dancing, and making new pieces.

While still on the East Coast, she began to choreograph, earning a positive review in the *New York Times* for a piece she developed in 1990. By 1995 she had co-founded Seraphim Dance Theatre with the late Raymond Harris, performing in New York venues such as the Aaron Davis Hall, Alice Tully Hall, and the United Nations. A few grants trickled in, including support from the Brooklyn Arts Council.

After burning out on New York, Swenson came to LA. She decided to attend graduate school at California State University-Long Beach, where her choreography blossomed. "It was there that I started doing important work, when I was sure I had something to say as an artist." After finishing her MFA, she landed a job as a choreographer with The Long

Beach Opera for a performance of *Euridice* by Jacopo Peri. She gravitated toward the stability of academia, taking a job at Missouri Valley College, in Marshall, but resigned after two years and returned to Los Angeles.

With Sarah Swenson & Vox Dance Theatre, she has choreographed several pieces, some of which have been produced in festivals, such as the Festival



CHRIS MCCALEB



CHRIS MCCALEB



TIM AGLER

Under the Stars in Palm Desert, the South LA Contemporary Dance Festival in Torrance, and most prominently, the FIDA International Dance Festival in Toronto, which invited the company to return for a performance in the summer of 2006. Some of these appearances provide artist fees, and some awards. In each case, payments tend to be small. Even so, Swenson makes

it a point to pay the dancers most of the money to help cover their expenses.

Funding the project is a pressing issue. Swenson harbors reservations about becoming a nonprofit organization. "For me to be competitive I ought to have a nonprofit organization, but doing that will probably make my life even more impossible than it is, and I'm not sure what I'm going to get out of it because there is so much competition for so few grants." In addition, she doesn't see a clear path to attracting corporate sponsorships, although Adobe has contributed support. "And I would have to change my style, my choreography, who I work with, my contacts... everything. These worlds aren't compatible."

She covers her living expenses teaching courses at Cal State-Long Beach, Loyola Marymount University, and Saint Joseph Ballet. But this hardly keeps her head above water, especially as she continues to do the basics of promotion and incurs expenses for website design, renting rehearsal space, buying sets and costumes. "I spend a huge amount of time and money on how I am presented."

This leaves her between a rock and a hard place: "I could teach more, but I'd be in a panic because I couldn't keep the company moving." She's considering working with a dance agent in order to help focus her marketing, publicity and organization efforts. And somehow, amidst all this, she continues to work as a dancer, most recently in a performance of the works of Rudy Perez at REDCAT.

Since some established artists are more willing to mentor than others, artists seeking mentoring must not stop trying if rebuffed. Another artist advocates cross-disciplinary networking:

If there were more cross-disciplinary communication among people from different disciplines (music, art, dance etc), we could through networking assist each other in discovering and creating more opportunities to both expand skills as artists and hopefully, make more money.

In the community arts sector, informal training via inter-personal mentoring is especially important and can be a very haphazard process. In some cases, older masters of ethnic arts are dying before their knowledge can be passed on (Peterson, 1996). To deal with the thinness of networks, the Alliance for California Traditional Arts provides mentoring to traditional artists in various forms. The

Santa Monica-based Durfee Foundation supports Master Musician fellowships that pair advanced students with master musicians in intensive apprenticeships in any genre, with priority given to artists whose musical traditions are not taught at established institutions. The masters teach their apprentices how to keep the craft alive, including how to do promotion and marketing of the work, get a recording contract and reach out to the community. Recently, for instance, a master bagpiper was funded to work with a young woman at University of Southern California. These artist-articulated needs and examples of programs that attempt to meet them underscore the importance of weak (e.g. workplace or occupational) ties versus strong (e.g. family or neighbors) ties in creating opportunity, an insight developed by Granovetter (1985) in his work on occupations.

Several artists mentioned that “soft skills” vary by sector and are important to learn. As one survey respondent put it:

Andrea Rey

Andrea Rey is a painter, sculptor and construction artist in Sausalito who also works in boat restoration to make a living. Her art studio in the Industrial Center Building (ICB) is close to her day job, so she can move between both worlds without exhausting herself. The location gives her easy access to galleries in Marin County where she hopes to exhibit. She has been able to forge an art career that works between the commercial and nonprofit sectors.

Born in Argentina, Rey's working class family encouraged her take up more “practical work.” But two mentors encouraged her to explore her artwork. She studied ceramics and painting, and began developing a broader intellectual engagement with the world. She moved to Buenos Aires to study, but the environment was not supportive: “It was hard for me to find peers, so I did my work alone.”

Rey underscores the importance of finding work for pay and a living situation that complements her work as an artist. Upon arriving in the US in 1996 as an immigrant worker, she picked up jobs on a “catch-as-catch-can” basis. Eventually she grew tired of the instability. She quit her job and rented a house in Oakland where she built a studio to paint and make miniature sculptures out



Rey with her sculpture, *Upwind*

of found materials. “I loved working in my house alone, and that’s how I made the transition to being an artist here in the US.”

Eventually, Rey moved in with her partner in Sausalito. She found a studio within walking distance of home, and she found a boat restoration job where she plies her craft and woodworking skills. This work gives her financial stability and the flexibility to make art. She works on the boats from 10:30am to 3:30pm, allowing her to squeeze time in the morning at her studio and a longer stretch in the afternoon and evening.

The restoration work does not cover all the bills, especially in times of inclement weather. But it does provide a substantial portion of her income. Her partner covers any living expenses, but they still find it difficult

to meet their basic living expenses. “I haven’t had health insurance in years, and my partner covers a lot of our house expenses, even though she isn’t rich and works for a nonprofit.”

Most of Rey’s arts income comes from the commercial and nonprofit sectors. She has shown work at such nonprofit centers as La Pena in Berkeley, the Mission Cultural Center, temporary exhibit space at a recent Latino Film Festival, and The Highland Center for

the Arts in upstate New York. She makes a large portion of her commercial earnings from an open studio event that ICB hosts twice a year where clients come to the artist. This event connects her to a larger audience-buying network, and it has allowed her to sell a small but growing number of pieces since 2003.

Rey continues to balance the financial and creative demands between her non-arts-related work and her own artwork. “For many years I have struggled to accept myself as an artist. It has taken a process of fifteen years to do so.” She says the work she does for the nonprofit and commercial sectors has helped her to “powerfully embrace myself as an artist.”

JOHN VAN DAM

Conclusions and Recommendations

[The nonprofit and commercial sectors] may utilize the same skills, but being geared to different markets, they require different approaches to gaining employment. I rarely feel like I have to sell myself to a nonprofit. That is not the case for a commercial audition. The former requires relational skills, the latter commercial appeal.

The social aspects of making it in any art world cannot be underestimated, though some refuse to play the game, waiting to be discovered. But then, the artist who is too aggressive in self-marketing can often suffer as a consequence.

Finally, artists recommend volunteering in another sector as a route to deeper involvement, including grant support, teaching, a cultural industry job or commercial or nonprofit commissions. A

media artist with a full-time Silicon Valley job recently won grant funding to do a collaborative community project when her long track record in volunteering for that community group convinced a decision-making panel to lay aside its bias that she didn't need the money. Jazz artist Marcus Shelby's volunteer work at Intersection for the Arts ushered him into nonprofit funding.

What Educational and Training Institutions Can Do

Many artists in our survey and interviews believe that educational and training institutions, while they have added much to their careers, poorly train them for a life of work in the arts, remain detached from the surrounding external art world and are inaccessible to artists no longer enrolled. Artists echo what other artists

Chaz Bojorquez

Los Angeles-based Latino painter and graffiti artist, Chaz Bojorquez entered the arts from two directions: formal training in drawing and sculpture, and the streets, where he learned the craft and meaning of graffiti, including the activity of "bombing" or writing one's name and/or the names of one's cohort or gang, on walls, buildings, posters, stickers, and just about any other surface. His work now appears on walls, stickers, and skateboard decks, as well as in galleries, museums, and private collections.

As a boy Bojorquez took sculpture and drawing classes through community and museum programs. At the same time, he had been exposed to the uses, values, and craft of graffiti through neighbors and friends. Bojorquez had access to this knowledge because he grew up in Highland Park, dead-center in the territory of The Avenues, the dominant gang in the area.

As his interest in art progressed, he enrolled at the Chouinard Art Institute, forerunner to the California Institute of the Arts (CalArts). He left before finishing a degree, and moved toward a more streetwise and street-engaged path that included



"tagging," or painting graffiti on walls, buildings, and other public spaces. This, in turn, pushed him to make his living outside of standard forms of remuneration such as teaching and seeking grant support.

Bojorquez refers to himself as the O.G., or original gangsta, of graffiti art, a mantle that commands respect from writers and taggers. His work is featured in commercial magazines and documentaries devoted to graffiti and in commercial galleries such as Crewest. Bojorquez did not find this to be an easy path. For ten years, he struggled against graffiti writers who regarded his effort to gain access to galleries and museums as an affront while many in the art world regarded him as an unruly interloper.

Bojorquez has worked tirelessly to create and present his work. Steering clear of the grant apparatus has forced him to find commercial outlets for his work. He has developed designs for t-shirts, caps, hatbands, shoes, skateboard decks, stickers, and posters. His work has appeared in motion pictures such as *Turk 182* (about a mischievous outlaw tagger). He creates "performance" pieces where he "tags" a space for a live audience. His large wall-mounted art hangs in The Smithsonian, The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and private collections

of individuals such as Nicolas Cage.

Bojorquez has developed an innovative visual language using graffiti-based forms. He has built his own R&D operation, with notebooks filled with experiments documenting varied lettering styles, assorted character-based images, and large-format ideas. He splits his work time into thirds of commercial work, research and investigation of new designs, and working on artwork for sale.

Bojorquez creates his largest and most resource-intensive works to fit the scale of museums, where small work can be lost in cavernous spaces. For galleries and private collectors he makes modestly scaled work that will fit into smaller spaces and not dominate a room. For commercial work, he takes into account the needs of a given manufacturer in applying his well-known signature design styles. Even though he works on commercial contracts, he is selective about the work: "It's important that the company show respect" for the culture and community of graffiti art. He turns down about as many projects as he takes for this reason.

Bojorquez spends a good portion of his work week circulating among his peers and potential clients. He gives lectures in venues as diverse as The Smithsonian and CalArts. He attends community gatherings and openings of artists working in his field. He works to get profiles into magazines devoted to graffiti art, hip-hop culture, and various community gatherings. He is thus a continual participant in the evolution of graffiti art, successfully crossing over among all three sectors.

have reported in a rare published survey of arts alumni (Backer, Guy and Shapiro, 2005) and in-depth interviews with post-training artists (Markusen and Johnson, 2006). The consensus of alumni in a study of a prestigious California arts school was that their alma mater “should pay more attention to finding a balance for each student ‘between the mountaintop and the marketplace’ (to use Rollo May’s expression)” (Backer et al., 2005; p. 13). Graduates felt that the teaching of “the skill of critical thinking about art – how to critique one’s own work, and to use feedback in a productive way” was the most valuable aspect of their education, but many felt that the school did not fully follow through on its promise to provide an interdisciplinary education or adequately provide in-school and post-graduate support (Ibid., pp. 13-14).

In our study, surveyed artists asked for more courses that focus on techniques important to the commercial sector, prepare them for the competitiveness and isolation of a career as an artist, and expose them to a broader range of practicing artists in their fields. One artist bemoaned the absence of courses on the business or practice side of art worlds in Bachelor of Fine Arts programs. Another wrote, “Until recently, higher education in theatre design did not focus much on opportunities outside of the stage like film/TV/parades/festivals/themed environments/museums that use many similar skills.” Artists from various disciplines believe that there is significant technological innovation in the commercial

world that schools are slow to digest and teach. It is very expensive for colleges and universities to keep up with the cost of ongoing technological innovation. One artist suggested inviting commercial vendors and area businesses to yearly on-campus art fairs, so that students and faculty can continuously update themselves about new materials.

Some artists believe that faculty in arts schools and universities should pay more attention, in their research and teaching, to what is happening in commercial, nonprofit and community sectors. “We need the academics of performativity to get off their butts and write about more of the work that is happening around them right now,” wrote one artist in the survey. They would like to see more schools develop internships that place students in industry, community and not-for-profit arts organizations while still in school. They would also like to see more adult education courses and arts extension services at the premier arts schools in the regions, as are often available in other disciplines.

Some schools do provide curricula and internships like these. The curricula at one art school includes a class on how to fill out your tax forms and other skills important for self-employment, but many students think it is boring. As one artist said ruefully, “Kids read the course description and say, ‘that’s a waste of my time. I’ll take semiotics and Kant instead.’” One artist suggested making such classes mandatory. A CalArts professor, Karen Atkinson,

Michael Sullivan

Actor and director Michael Sullivan is the head writer for the internationally renowned and Tony Award-winning San Francisco Mime Troupe, which creates and produces socially relevant theatre. To make this work accessible the Mime Troupe performs its shows in local parks for free. In his theatre work, his foremost concern as an artist is to create new work that connects entertainment to complex social, psychological and political themes. His adaptation of George Orwell’s novel *1984*, under the direction of actor Tim Robbins, exemplifies this approach. It has since played in LA, Greece, Australia, and is in preparation for a national US tour. His body of work places his activities across the nonprofit, commercial and community sectors. For Sullivan, his choices are as much about personal ethics and social concerns as they are about money.

Sullivan plays many roles with the Mime Troup: he co-directs, co-writes, acts, and periodically teaches. By working in these different capacities, Sullivan is able to better



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understand how to treat actors during his screenwriting. For example, as an actor/playwright, he tries not to give the actors rewrites to scenes right before they go on stage because he knows that even if they remember what he gives them, it is hard for them to

integrate those changes into the play.

Although successful at directing, Sullivan admits it can be frustrating at times to see the actors up on stage without him. Nevertheless, he feels just as satisfied because he is able to see the reaction of the audience. He says, “I see the audience get it. I see them jump to their feet at the end of it. It is such a wonderful experience.”

Sullivan believes that theatre work he does is more aesthetically legitimate than television/film work. He thinks the biggest difference between them is that in film you “under” act because of the proximity of the camera, while on stage you “over” act in order to reach out and interact with the audience. Even though Sullivan has had producers tell him that the Mime Troupe needs to be on

television, he doesn’t see this happening any time soon due to his own negative attitude towards television programming.

The lack of connection with the local community is also an issue in terms of the type of programming put on by mainstream San Francisco theatres. Regarding the relationship of theatre and the community, Sullivan said, “Even if you’re not focused on your audience being Asian, if your audience is a group of white people living in a town that’s Asian, it’s still important to have diversity in your programming. The challenge for the theatre is to expand people’s minds to be aware of the world they live in...The challenge to theatres is to show the audience a completely different culture than the one they think they’re living in.”

Ultimately Sullivan believes that “theatres don’t challenge themselves enough.” He hopes that eventually a multi-cultural theatre world will update the shows they produce to include minorities and represent them in a meaningful way. With his successful career as actor, writer, and director, he is helping to lead them in that direction.

Conclusions and Recommendations

teaches a course called GYST (Get Your Sh*t Together) through Side Street Projects, a visual arts organization she co-founded to give artists of all ages the ability and means to support their creative endeavors. She advertises it as a ten-week career course showing artists “the stuff you should have learned in art school.” The course includes a Curator Review Panel, a speed-dating styled event where you can get honest feedback in a nice environment from some of the area’s best curators.

Paid summer internships for college students are offered by the Getty Undergraduate Internship program and Los Angeles County Arts Internship Program. Students work in administrative, curatorial or production areas of museums and visual arts organizations (Getty program) or performing or literary arts organizations (County program).

Finally, one artist referred to “a huge clash between core subject educators and art educators” and recommended a more comprehensive professional development program for art educators whether in museum programs or public schools. College and university arts schools generally lag behind in preparing graduates for the teaching of art in school or community settings. With the regrettable and broad cuts in K-12 arts funding, more artists are now teaching in the schools or community after-school programs as practitioners or on contract, with very little training in pedagogy. Los Angeles County is addressing this problem with its ARTS FOR ALL: The Los Angeles County Regional Blueprint for Arts Education, designed to reintroduce sequential arts education into all K-12 public schools in the county. It contains a compo-

ment that trains artists in the state’s visual and performing arts standards and provides opportunities to prepare, create and present lesson plans in classrooms, training more than 400 artists over the past few years.

What Artists’ Service Organizations Can Do

Artists join membership organizations that offer them services designed to advance individual careers. Some join unions that bargain with employers, producers or publishers over matters of compensation and working conditions. Some artists praised service organizations’ performance, and others think more could be done.

Some artists believe that their service organizations could do more to collectively market their work or generate good publicity in advance of events. One artist gave examples of how this works:

To promote our annual Clay and Glass Sale in Palo Alto, the Association of Clay and Glass Artists of California hired a consultant who got us excellent media coverage by focusing on a large clay mural.... Silicon Valley Arts Council’s publicity for fellowship awards helped sales too. It is much easier to get really good coverage when the marketing effort comes from a large organization or arts council than from an individual. Name recognition makes the sales of other work much easier.

Some arts organizations have tried to develop web-based marketing outlets for artists. For instance, the Western States Art

Francis Wong

Bay Area musician Francis Wong is one of the founders of the Asian-oriented jazz and improvisational world music scene. Through this work, he connects music to activism, art to identity, and culture to commerce. Over the last three decades he’s performed with many like-minded crossover musicians and worked with artists connected to



KALLAN NISHIMOTO

the Bay Area’s Asian American community, such as members of the San Jose Taiko group and the San Francisco Gagaku Society. He regularly performs in community

venues and festivals, including Asian American Jazz/SF, where he serves as the Executive Producer. He has also played and composed with a wide range of artists, including jazz luminaries such as John Tchicai and James Newton, traditional masters like Liu Qi-Chao, and community-based Asian American artists like choreographer

Sachiko Nakamura and poet Richard Oyama. Many of these collaborations have found their way onto recordings with the label Asian Improv Records.

Like many professional musicians, Francis Wong started playing music at a young age. He started on the violin at the age of 9, joining the school orchestra and playing European classical music. When the junior high orchestra was eliminated due to budget cuts the band teacher suggested that Francis take up the flute in order to develop his musical talent. Band became a large part of Francis’ life and he spent much of his free time there. The band teacher noticed his commitment, and being a jazz musician himself, introduced Francis to the saxophone. In high school he continued playing both saxophone and flute.

After high school, he enrolled in Stanford University as a chemistry major, with an interest in medicine. But while at Stanford he gained exposure to more jazz and world artists, and a greater sense of his own identity. He left Stanford and from 1976 to 1992 worked as a full-time

Federation, based in Denver, has set up a web-based gallery that provides sales opportunities, designed especially for rural artists. LatinArt.com is an on-line gallery that promotes and sells the work of Los Angeles Latino artists.

Many artists praise the financial and working conditions gains that their unions secure for them. Others offer ideas on how unions might ease movement among sectors. One complained that the American Guild of Musical Artists could help transition members into the Screen Actors Guild or the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, but isn't. Another suggested that if teacher's unions would ease up on restrictions in the schools, more practicing artists could bring their expertise to students while achieving greater job security and schedule flexibility.

Self-employed artists report benefiting enormously from career advising and generic business skill courses and workshops available in the two California regions. The Alliance for California Traditional Arts coaches artists on how to fill out grant applications and decipher the interests of funders. The National Writers Union offers members contract consultation and classes in getting books and magazine articles published. The Business of Art workshops of Los Angeles-based Center for Cultural Innovation, where artists can access discipline-specific training, counseling, and business skills courses, help artists bridge the gaps between the commercial, nonprofit and community worlds. In the Bay Area, Kala Art Institute offers courses in website design and other skills that enable artists to manage their businesses better. Ninth Street Independent Film Center and Bay Area Video Coalition offer similar classes and

workshops for media artists. Other Bay Area organizations offer free lectures/symposia for artists ranging from how to write an artist statement or grant to discussions about the current intersection of art and politics. One artist writes of such discussions:

These discussions and presentations are very important for artists. We all need more resources, more free sharing of information and even more crossover between sectors of the art world. More than anything, I think that artists who focus on community and non-profit work find themselves distanced from the commercial art sector and vice versa. This kind of disconnect is bad for either side.

Loan funds to help artists make career investments are available in both regions. Los Angeles' Arts Loan Fund is run by the Center for Nonprofit Management in collaboration with the Center for Cultural Innovation and gives loans to individual artists, whereas similar funds elsewhere offer them only to organizations. A Bay Area artist in an outlying county related a failed effort to create a revolving loan fund for artists, especially those wishing to crossover from commercial or community work into new and financially remunerative work. The fund gave artists with track records cash up-front, enabling them to finish their work. Once the work was presented to the public, the loan would be paid back, and funds could be given out again to other artists.

Thus while some innovative services are being offered, many artists have no idea that such services exist, and there is a scarcity

activist, organizing strikes and "things like that." By 1992, the political movement had "lost steam" and music became his principal activity. He was, nevertheless, determined to maintain connections between working as a musician and culturally-focused community activism. He returned to Stanford as a political economy major, becoming more integrated into the budding Asian arts scene at the school. He began to spend more time playing wood flute and working with Asian performers.

In 1981, he participated in the first San Francisco Asian American jazz festival, which he cites as a major benchmark in Asian American jazz. In addition to defining a new jazz hybrid and identity for Asian improvisers, the festival connected Asian performers to African American performers, composers, and frontmen. As a way of documenting this nascent scene, Francis, along with Jon Jang, established Asian Improv Records (AIR). The label was

formed with an economic, cultural, and political strategy. It was self-financed and capitalized so Wong's socio-economic training background was helpful. In 1987, the label released its first album, *The Ballad or the Bullet* (AIR), a paean to the life and work of Malcolm X. Although not commercially successful, it helped brand the players as professional artists. Wong states, "it gave us position," which was the real design of the label— to achieve legitimacy. It led to reviews in magazines and later, performances.

A major fiscal sponsor of Asian Improv was the Life on the Water Theater, a multicultural theatre group with similar politics. With the theatre's help, AIR applied for and received grants from the California Arts Council. Eventually this external support allowed Wong and Jon Jang to make their livelihood through music. Writing grants proved relatively simple because it involved what they

"knew about communication... writing an argument." Wong also won support from other sources like the National Endowment for the Arts and Meet the Composer New Residencies. He also got involved with arts projects and historical projects, connecting with his community and activist work. Writing grants helped Asian Improv "dig roots even deeper." Wong increased the organization's viability by teaching during an 8-year residency at Cameron House in Chinatown, doing recitals that combined avant-garde jazz with compositions, children's songs, and poetry, all linked to community development.

Wong continues to work with Asian Improv by writing grants, developing funding, consulting and helping with strategic planning. He also teaches Asian American studies courses and music. He has continued to elevate his stature as a composer, fusing jazz, free improvisation, and Asian music.

Conclusions and Recommendations

of certain types. As one artist wrote in the survey: “Show me a service that gives advice, training or resources to the artist...I have never been helped by any agency. I am at a loss as to how to make involvement between sectors work for me.” For artists like these, services with a good track record need higher visibility and more funding. Service organizations need to be particularly pro-active in searching out and approaching artists and informal arts organizations in the community sector, and this is expensive. Clearly, there is insufficient investment in small artist-centric organizations and services so crucial to realizing the artistic dividend in California’s large metropolitan economies.

Realizing that many service organizations don’t reach new clients, the Los Angeles County Arts Commission and five municipal funders (the City of Los Angeles, Santa Monica, Long Beach, Pasadena and Glendale) teamed up with arts groups to launch the innovative Arts Tune Up Fairs. These are Saturday community-based roundtable sessions where artists can access information from consultants and practitioners in marketing, arts education, fundraising, training and how to gain access to galleries, among others. City of Los Angeles Grant Programs Director Joe Smoke describes it as follows: “It’s like speed-dating. You come in and see 25 round tables, each with a centerpiece that says “grants” or “marketing.” You can choose whichever you want and sit there for 25 minutes, asking any question of the facilitator. Then you move on to another table.” This example shows that municipal arts program directors can be important mentors for artists, encouraging and coaching them on how to navigate the art world.

One approach that has worked is the development of artists’ centers, discipline-based or community-based dedicated spaces (mostly nonprofit but not always) that any artist can join for a nominal annual fee and have access to non-credit classes, working space, mentors, opportunities to present work or teach or experiment with collective art forms, studios for dance, stages for performance, and equipment such as kilns, dark rooms, and printing presses (Markusen and Johnson, 2006). Most have received financial support, including regranting funds, and counseling from foundation arts programs on a sustained basis, and many have benefited from subsidized space, renovation support and programming funds from state and local governments. Bay Area examples include National Alliance for Media Arts and Culture, Theatre Bay Area, Kala Art Institute, Film Arts Foundation, Bay Area Video Coalition, and The Grotto (a self-organized group of literary artists).

In Los Angeles, LA Stage Alliance provides theatre artists services, and cooperative art galleries include Self-Help Graphics and Art, LA Arts Corps, and LA Art Association/Gallery 825. Santa Monica’s 18th Street Arts Center provides live/work space for artists, opportunities for performing and exhibiting, and international residencies and exchange programs. Through Side Street Projects GYST course, artists can have access to a new Artist’s Business Center at Pasadena’s Armory Northwest. Los Angeles-based Visual Communications promotes the creation, presentation, preservation and support of media works by and about Asian Pacific Americans and includes media training for members.

Service organizations are desperately needed in the low-end nonprofit and community sectors. This is an area where greater government support could produce much greater impact. But one dilemma is whether funding should go to build organizational capacity or go directly to artists involved in production or presentation. Because of scarce resources, service organizations targeting these constituencies are often too small to support a large variable and geographically expansive set of artists and arts activities. In California, the geographic expanse of the state is a major infrastructural issue, especially for groups like the Alliance for California Traditional Arts.

We were not able to determine whether there are more services for artists or greater respect and communication among sector leaders in San Francisco than Los Angeles. Some artists and arts ecology watchers suspect that Los Angeles is under-resourced given its much larger population of artists.

What Commercial Sector Employers Can Do

Artists have lots of ideas about what for-profit employers might do to encourage crossover work. Artists working in the commercial sector most often wished for employer contributions of time or space for them to do nonprofit or community work. One artist suggested it would help if companies would give employees flex-time, whether paid or not, to pursue artistic activities that have a community benefit. Another proposed that “private companies allow space and time for individual creative practice outside of the work schedule – allow three hours a week, for example, to be put to personal creative tasks.” These artists felt that their workloads were too demanding to allow them to contribute to or explore other sectors.

Artists trying to break into the commercial sector found the absence of feedback regrettable. One artist put it this way:

When I audition in theatre, I get feedback from directors, other actors, casting directors, but commercial auditions are a one time shot and then we hear nothing. We never know how close we got, or what we could have done better.

If prospective employers would give them even the smallest advice on a failed attempt, they might be better able to improve their work for the next time around. Others felt that commercial employers need educating on the value of artists’ work. One artist related the following story:

Every time a new manager was hired at this computer company for whom I record voiceover training sessions, I had to justify my fees, and then sometimes be hired to re-record a session because they tried to use non-professional talent at cut rates. In the non-profit world, generally speaking, the money is lousy but at least your work as an artist, as a professional, is valued.

Some artists would like to see large investments on the part of commercial firms in crossover. One envisioned the co-location of commercial and nonprofit organizations:

MC Rai

MC Rai sings rai, a popular musical form of his home country Tunisia. After achieving stardom there, he decamped for the US in order to reach a larger market. While this move has reduced his popularity, he has learned many new skills. Through crossovers in the community and commercial sector he has integrated new musical forms into his own singing and started a production house.

Rai is a singing and musical style from North Africa (strongly associated with Algeria) known for its commentary, broad humor, satirical elements, and plainspoken language. Rai in Arabic means "opinion." MC Rai learned to sing Arabic music as part of village life. At an early age he showed a strong interest in and facility with learning music and musical expressiveness. By the time he was 16 he had taken the moniker MC Rai, and by 17 he was performing professionally. At 23, he was a star. The last concert he gave in Tunisia attracted 15,000 people.

The only logical step for Rai in building his career was to leave Tunisia. But he wanted to distinguish himself from his countrymen who followed a well-worn trail to studios and music labels in Europe, especially France. So by chance, he took off for San Francisco in 2001. His first concert in the Bay Area attracted five hundred people, an audience size that impressed his bandmates but left him feeling very disappointed.

Beyond singing and playing in his eponymous band, Rai sings in a variety of other configurations, including singing from time to time with various Arabic ensembles in California. The type of

ensemble depends on a number of factors: who leads or sets up the gig, how much money is available, or whether there is an additional payoff (e.g., reaching a new audience) that makes the extra effort or expense worthwhile.



While in San Francisco he picked up on how to operate various production technologies, such as a studio board (desk), ProTools, and other music related software. This allowed him to begin actively integrating influences from hip-hop, dance, trance, and house music, all genres he had become familiar with while living in Tunisia.

Since arriving in LA he has continued working with some of his San Francisco cohorts, while also developing a close association with Egyptian guitarist, oud player and producer Omar Fadel. Together they have launched a production house, Souk 77, aimed at capturing some of the soundtrack work and music supervision business. Using their expertise in Arabic and Middle Eastern music they provide original music and research to movie and TV producers, commercial directors,

industrial film producers, and music video makers.

Rai and his associates look for gigs in a variety of ways: by calling booking managers at clubs; contacting festivals, especially those programming world music; finding music event producers at college campuses, especially those with a supportive radio station or community for world music and/or Arabic music. Some gigs come to the group and its members through references. Sometimes the process is quite mysterious.

Performances in the spring of 2006 included a show at UC-Irvine and a performance in Santa Monica at The Temple Bar, a nightclub with a dance and world music community. He has also

recently performed at a synagogue in Manhattan Beach.

Performances may pay as little as \$300 and as much as a few thousand. Rai makes sure to have at least two paying performances a month, but aims

for two or three times as many. These may be in smaller configurations (a duo, with himself and an instrumentalist) or more full-band set-ups (as many as seven musicians). His goal is to make at least \$1500 per month.

Beyond leaving San Francisco, Rai produced a record called *Raivolution*. This recording builds on his rai roots, but fuses the music with production elements more strongly associated with hip-hop, dub and other musical forms. The record has garnered praise in a few places, mostly notably KPFA-FM, a Pacifica Radio outlet in Berkeley and scored some visibility at KPFK-FM, LA's Pacifica outlet.



PAUL INMAN

Conclusions and Recommendations

The commercial sector and the other sectors seem so separate to me. Perhaps housing nonprofits or community organizations in an extra room in a corporate office can increase their professionalism and offer the corporate world some more connection to the community and artistic worlds.

Such an experiment flourished from 1993 to 1999 at Xerox PARC (Palo Alto Research Center) when the corporation hosted six artists-in-residence who were not required to produce anything, but just do their work in proximity to and hang out with scientists (Harris, 1999).

Others would like to see for-profit corporations or trade associations extending more individual nonprofit subsidies and grants to artists or nonprofit organizations that fund artists. They feel that nonprofit and community work produces a tremendous body of skill for free for the commercial sector, without much payback. Some argued that these could be a form of speculative investment for companies. An illustration of this can be found in our profile of Seth Gordon, whose team won a competitive \$1 million production grant from Universal Pictures/Chrysler to make the film *Cry_Wolf*; Universal then sold the distribution rights to Focus Features, a subsidiary, that has netted an estimated \$8 million since then.

In areas of the entertainment economy where demands for technical artistic skills are high, California arts industry employers have been more proactive in working with external nonprofit and trade associations to provide technical training. For the motion picture and television industry, for instance, the Los Angeles-based Entertainment Economy Institute has been documenting how publicly-funded workforce and economic development programs and community colleges can facilitate crossover of production, post-production, visual effects and animation and distribution workers between this industry and others (Entertainment Economy Institute, 2005).

What Nonprofit and Community Arts Organizations Can Do

Many artists report extraordinary loyalty to and admiration for the nonprofits and community groups they work with. Some express exasperation with the ways that some of them operate or the conditions under which they have to work. Many artists feel that nonprofits have to spend too much time on staff and chasing funding at the expense of programming. Others feel that they spend too much time on programming and too little on marketing the work or documenting it via the web or in brochures that will endure beyond an exhibition or performance run. Some characterize nonprofits and community groups they have worked with as disorganized.

One artist recommends that nonprofits pay more attention to the commercial world and think about how to encourage artists to move across borders:

The occasions where nonprofits have provided training have been tremendously educational and ultimately make for a more satisfying work environment. However, my opinion is that the nonprofit world only encourages crossover into the community world (which

is even less profitable/sustainable than the nonprofit world). In my experience it rarely helps artists move into the commercial world and has no idea how to think outside of the nonprofit model.

Some artists feel that performing artists and musicians are underserved by service organizations and centers. Artists in these more collective art forms, where several to dozens of people with different skills create or present work together, need access to space, mentoring, training, and networking. Some organizations do serve these needs – the Dancers' Group, Theatre Bay Area and Baulines Craft Guild are Bay Area examples. Several artists suggested that presenting and service organizations develop paid residencies as a way to provide stability, income and interactions with peers and audiences. This is happening. San Francisco Performances and San Francisco Friends of Chamber Music have done this with the Alexander String Quartet (see the Sandy Walsh-Wilson profile). San Francisco jazz is home to Joshua Redman's SF Jazz Collective.

Others suggested that more established theatres and art centers adopt independent artists and smaller companies for periods of three to five years. An example is Intersection for the Arts' artist-in-residence model. Its current Resident Theater Company, Campo Santo, cultivates playwrights, fiction writers and poets to work in a small community-based space with actors, designers, directors, and audiences to create new theatrical experiences. Berkeley Opera hosts artists-in-residence, currently Clark Suprynovicz and John O'Keefe. San Francisco's the LAB currently hosts Beth Custer as curator and composer-in-residence.

In our survey, surprisingly few artists addressed what community groups or organizations can do to help artists cross over. Perhaps this is because community groups are so diverse that it is difficult to address them generically. And then, many community groups develop into nonprofit organizations as they mature, often reaching different audiences. For instance, Patrick Makuakane's hula organization (see profile) drew huge audiences when playing in Cowell Theater as a community-based organization. Now operating his dance group as a nonprofit, he has moved into different venues and draws a different, but not larger, audience.

However, one artist raised issues of inclusiveness in community groups by addressing the difficulty that jazz dancers and choreographers have had in being accepted into ethnic dance as well as establishment dance circles:

Jazz dance has historically been rejected as a low-brow renegade that raided traditional dance (for its entertainment value) without respect, and therefore, deserved none....Jazz has its roots in traditional African Dance, specifically Congalese and West African, where slavery owes its history, a fact ignored by even the Ethnic Dance Festival, and especially by modern dance choreographers, who incorporate jazz into their idioms without acknowledgment.

Even in the community sector, then, there are boundary issues that deserve attention.

Tony Tredway

San Francisco-based artist Tony Tredway refers to himself as a “blue-collar artist” because he makes a living as a commercial contractor and he uses these trade skills to further develop his own installation work that is inspired by photography, painting, and multimedia wall-hangings. Moreover, he believes that even though he makes most of his income through work as a tradesman, he spends most of his time on creating work. He says, “I make art because I want to make beautiful things; if it pays, great, but mostly it’s about being true to my work.” Today, his work is shown in Bay Area commercial galleries like Traywick Contemporary, a.o.v.

gallery, and for nonprofit exhibitors like New Langdon Arts and Yerba Buena Center for the Arts and Los Angeles’ Spiral Gallery. Tredway feels a strong affinity for the nonprofit spaces and the sector has been supportive in other ways as well. In 2001, Tredway received a grant from the Art Council now known as Artadia. “The nonprofits are not as interested in what’s marketable. They want to develop artists and ideas. Without that commercial focus I can work out ideas more completely.”

His art education began at the San Francisco Art Institute where he finished his BFA in 1991, and his development continued as he completed his MFA at Mills College in 2000. He credits teachers such as Ron Negel and Dave Hickey with his aesthetic development because both practiced art in a straightforward, uncomplicated fashion. Between earning these degrees, he worked as an assistant to commercial photographers like Jim Goldberg (*Raised by Wolves*) and Kit Miller. These artists helped him understand how to financially and



Tredway in front of his installation piece, *dumb*

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spiritually survive as an artist. He says, “They have faith and they have focus about the importance of their work. They devoted themselves to their work and they put the effort into realizing it.” Tredway passes along these insights to students that he interacts with in guest lectures and other public events at local high schools and arts schools such his alma mater, the San Francisco Art Institute.

Even though he started off in photography, he spread out into other forms of wall hanging art, including paintings and multimedia pieces. He now focuses on installation work, but this has made it even harder to sell work because there are fewer commercial galleries who carry this kind of work. As a result, he has targeted museums and nonprofit spaces as potential exhibitors, buyers, or collectors of his works. However, one long-time commercial ally, Katrina Traywick of Traywick Contemporary, has continued to carry his installation-type pieces alongside his more object-oriented work that was focused on photography.

His work tends toward site-specific installation pieces due to practical considerations as well as aesthetic interests. He says, “My sales flattened out over the last few years except for what I move through auctions. And since I was creating objects that take up space and don’t sell, they accumulate. It’s not economical to create things that build up and collect dust.” He has also called attention to his work through engaging the public by displaying pieces on the street with the intention that anyone who wanted to take a piece home could do so. He also creates work that can be given away, usually to family, friends, and fellow artists.

Tredway says that he is much more interested in ideas than the commercialization of art, which raises a range of troubling issues for the artist. “The gallery system is like a strange insular thing where you get invited to a private party once in a while and then you meet the bigger players and sell more work. Getting in is about building a relationship with people. You need to meet them to help build relationships and establish a reputation. This is especially true in working around the Bay Area. All the regions are separate; it’s a different group of collectors in the East Bay than in the City or Silicon Valley; an artist has to focus on one area or be prepared to form relationships in each separate community.” While his early arts education as an apprentice and as a contractor have prepared Tredway to find market opportunities, he does not have the available time to make full use of every opportunity because it takes away from his art work. As a result, he uses the various sectors to help maintain the balancing act of creating and selling work.

Conclusions and Recommendations

What Funders Can Do

Artists are perhaps most opinionated about what funders might do to ease crossover transitions, and their views often conflict. Those who have been enabled to cross sectors with funding are grateful and enthusiastic about the programs that have helped them do it. Those who have not, or who can't figure out how to scale the foundation world walls in a very competitive world, are critical, sometimes from an insular point of view. We summarize here the more innovative ideas that artists have about how funders could encourage them in crossover efforts. Some artists make the point that if funders would encourage grantees to pursue commercial returns, those artists may be less dependent on grant funding in the future. Others would like to see arts funders take community-based innovative and ethnic art more seriously.

Many artists believe that the nonprofit foundation world is increasingly encouraging commercial or nonprofit artists to work with communities through grants and incentives structured into awards. For the Creative Work Fund, supported by the Walter and Elise Haas Fund, the Flora and William Hewlett Foundation, and The James Irvine Foundation, an artist proposes to collaborate with a community group to do an arts project. The artist receives at least two-thirds of the funding and the community the rest. Several artists suggested that programs fund artists to do their own work but ask them to donate volunteer art time to communities as a payback. As an example, Artadia: The Fund for Art and Dialogue, has asked artists awarded fellowships to give back one day of service, such as teaching at a local high school.

Sometimes, artists employed in the commercial sector find it particularly difficult to win nonprofit funding to work with communities or to develop new, cutting edge work. Funding sources might dismiss such bids on the grounds that full-time commercial professionals – media artists working in Silicon Valley, for instance, or Hollywood actors – make plenty of money. Why spend resources on them when other artists doing worthy work are scraping the bottom of the barrel? Shouldn't well-paid artists just donate their time? Funders might reflect on this potential source of bias and develop more inclusive ways of encouraging commercial artists who want to shift gears. Some foundations do not allow artists to apply for funding through fiscal agents – relaxing this policy would also help.

Artists would like to see funders encourage new projects that help position them for entry into the commercial sector. But funders may be reluctant to fund a project that might have a big commercial payoff. Of course, grants to visual artists who chiefly sell their work at art fairs or on the web, or funding jazz musicians whose resulting income will come from playing in commercial venues is funding commercially-oriented work. But other artists find it difficult to convince a funding source that time to develop new work that might reach a broader audience – through commercial presses or newspaper comic strips, television, filmmaking, popular music and so on – is worthy of funding. This is ironic, since in other foundation program areas such as poverty alleviation or workforce development, funders support programs that get people into jobs, any jobs.

Several artists charged that decision-making processes often end up funding the same, proven art work rather than risky new work,

Robert Donald

Mission District-based painter Robert Donald sells his abstract paintings to make a living. He has used a variety of venues to show work: his studio, a furniture store, living rooms, commercial galleries, and his website. He's begun reaching out to museums and colleges to help build visibility for his work. While he started as a cinematographer, he was attracted to work as a painter because he could regulate the amount of work he would take on and he would have greater control over his work. His cinematography credits include *Butterfly*, Doug Wolens' biopic on environmental



CHRIS RICHARDS

activist Julia Butterfly; a political satire entitled *The Day Arnold Kicked My A*** by Abner Zurd; and a feature, *Winter's End*, which recently won the Best Picture award

at the Hollywood Digital Film Festival.

Donald started painting as a child in his native Ireland, before taking up formal study in 1991 at the College of Marketing and Design in Dublin. The following year he enrolled at the University of Arizona, which admitted him on a golf scholarship. While at the university, he met a student director who asked Donald to shoot his film. For the next eight years, Donald focused on commercial cinematography as his sole craft.

Donald left San Francisco in 2000 and returned to Ireland. While there he shopped his reel and began making connections. Eventually, a known director, Pat Kenny,

simultaneously missing the opportunity to help wean emerging artists off the grant cycle. As one artist put it:

When I was most active in the nonprofit world, I realized that many artists I encountered were earning their living through grants, year after year. I could see that, just like the for-profit world, the same people seemed to be getting the majority of the money. Programs that are open to newcomers and new ideas at the beginning, quickly succumb to "a sure thing" syndrome and eventually go for the obvious, most predictable choices. It is probably just the nature of programs and people but, I see the trend toward greed and mediocrity accepted as the norm much too often. I think nonprofit organizations should encourage and support participants to move back and forth between the profit and nonprofit world.

Artists surveyed and interviewed had several ideas on how funders encourage crossover. Artists who receive grant support for projects with commercial potential might be asked to give back some portion of the ultimate proceeds – small percentages of royalties, for instance, or shares of the box office or sale of artwork. Seasoned artists could apply for sabbaticals that would enable them to get new training or start a new body of work that might channel them into the commercial sector. "Paid training!" wrote one artist in our survey. "It's extremely difficult to change from one type of media to the next without some sort of paid transition period. I was only able to do it because I received worker's compensation from an on-the-job injury working as a painter for a scenic company. I then was

able to complete video training and an internship because of the benefits I received." Funders could subsidize artist internships with the commercial sector that would permit artists to work in the for-profit environment, receiving a salary and health care benefits while diversifying their career options. Funders could also encourage other nonprofits, colleges and universities to develop long-term residencies for outstanding artists, leveraging them with initial matching grants and slowly reducing their contributions over time.

New York-based Creative Capital Foundation is pioneering an effort to help innovative artists position themselves for broader impact and improved income, and a very large number of artists competing for their support live in California. Creative Capital provides advisory services and professional development assistance along with multi-faceted financial aid and promotional support to each grantee. It began with a goal of recouping payback from artists who become successful, but it is not clear whether much has flowed back. Other funders have developed versions of program-related investments that achieve these ends, or ask artists to give back in kind, from the sale of a print, for instance, or to pass on to another struggling artist an artwork of value that he or she could either keep or sell. Another arts ecology watcher would prefer to see any returns to grants or artist services go into a quasi-endowment fund that lessens that particular artist's dependency on grants in the future.

Even the cutting edge strategies, however, are mainly about training independent artists to think about multiple markets. One arts ecology observer believes that the arts community needs capital strategies that enable ideas generated by artists to fully realize

wanted to hire him to work on an independent feature, *Winter's End*. Although shot in 2001, it wasn't released until 2005. Even though this could have been the stepping stone to more work, Donald was diagnosed with Type I diabetes at the end of the shoot and he took it as a sign to set aside the hectic world of commercial film. While in Ireland, he had spent his free time painting, completing 27 pieces while looking for film work. These works went into a nonprofit exhibition at the Davis Gallery in Dublin City as part of a self-produced solo show. He sold almost every piece. This, and his new health condition, pushed him toward painting: "It felt completely right." A key part of this comfort is the feeling of creative control. "I don't have to call anyone to ask if I can use this brushstroke or color."

Donald recognized the importance of finding new outlets for his art. A crucial outlet was Home, a furniture store in the

Castro. The volume of work moved through the store supporting Donald and his growing family for over a year, which helped him launch his painting career. However, when the store folded in October 2005, it had not paid-in-full for paintings sold. He's also shown in cafés, private homes, his studio, and the Hang Art gallery on Sutter since November 2005 and the Michelle O'Connor Gallery since April of 2005. "I can't be too proud about where I show as long as the work is true." His hard work has also landed a few commissions and places in collections. Collectors include Denise J. Levy of Art Find Associates; commissioned works now appear at The Visiting Nurse Service of New York and the Department of Public Works in Dublin, Ireland.

He typically puts in at least forty hours a week at his studio in the Mission District. His space in the Blue Studio provides a place to connect to other artists, and as

important, to participate in studio tours. The clutch of artists who work in the space organize twice-a-year events and promote them widely. The October 2005 event proved especially successful for Donald: he sold eighteen paintings, his best single sales day. He also attracts a steady trickle of persons to his studio who find him online. One successful deal that he put together at his studio helps illustrate what he calls the "peculiar sales process." "I had a woman come to my studio and look at one of my large abstract paintings and say, 'I see a motorcycle coming straight at me.' I never included any such image in the painting so it surprised me. Then when her husband showed up, he looked at the same painting and said, 'I see a motorcycle coming out of the painting toward me.' Even though I didn't see it, they did, and the connection that they made led them to buy the painting."

Conclusions and Recommendations

their market potential. If an artist wants to explore a new material in any medium, for instance, or a performance piece, can he or she get the capital to explore turning it into a movie, a game, or a video? To develop prototypes, to produce a sample reel? One artist's struggle to raise the capital necessary to transform her abstract expressionist paintings into light-projected images in health care facilities has been documented elsewhere (Markusen and Schrock, 2007). Because artists have little to offer as collateral, conventional venture capital firms and financial institutions shy away from such projects. But funders, in a version of program-related investments, may be able to figure out an innovative capital strategy.

Artists also would like to see funders and nonprofit arts organizations initiate discussions with cultural industry employers and trade associations, asking them for contributions to artistic development grant funds and for internships for artists. Commercial employers of artists benefit from the investments that funders, philanthropists, and nonprofit organizations make in artistic talent and careers, and it seems reasonable to ask for support for activities that provide free benefits to cultural industries. Labor economists are observing that fewer and fewer firms train employees inside their companies, because such investments can be usurped by competitors in a hot labor market. They are thus more dependent on external training institutions – schools, unions, artists' service organizations and nonprofit cultural institutions – to develop that stock of skills (Parker and Rodgers, 1999). This varies by discipline and industry. In the fluid and project-based world of Hollywood, many artists get their training when they are hired onto projects, watching everyone else's roles closely and learning the lore. Seth Gordon (see profile) reports this as his best learning environment.

Many artists believe that foundations are best able to articulate for the commercial sector the value of nonprofit organizations such as symphonies, ethnic dance companies, and nonprofit presses as training venues for creative capital and thus to encourage them to contribute through philanthropy to funding for independent artists and their organizations. In general, it is only in the theatre world that the synergy between nonprofit and commercial performing arts is well-understood, thanks in large part to the work that Theatre Communications Group has done in documenting the large number of Broadway plays that have originated in New York and regional nonprofit theatres.

Artists also would like to see funders seed more nonprofit outlets for work in areas where markets are thin. One poet put it this way:

As a poet, I find it extremely difficult to get to publication and sales. I am still struggling. There is no great venue for Native American poetry, and very few publishers that will publish poetry or market it. I would love to see a Native-owned and operated publishing company, especially in California. I think it would encourage literacy and provide jobs, as well as give opportunities for talented poets.

The National Endowment for the Arts and a handful of Bay Area foundations support Small Press Distribution, the only surviving, nonprofit distributor of small press books to libraries, bookstores,

and individuals. Such books, along with literary magazines with small circulations, provide major developmental experience and exposure for writers. Los Angeles is home to Red Hen Press, a small operation with a national reputation, supported by the National Endowment for the Arts as well as Los Angeles County Arts Commission. Regrettably, LA's Smart Art Press, an avant-garde book publisher and distributor that the City of Los Angeles had supported, ceased publishing new books in the mid-1990s.

Learning how to apply for grants is a critical aspect of surviving in the nonprofit sector, and artists and community arts organizations are often slow to understand this. They are often dismayed by the amount of paperwork necessary to achieve success in either public or nonprofit grant competitions. Funders have been working to make applications more accessible, and the extent to which this has been effective is unknown.

Artists frustrated with trying to win nonprofit grant funding made fascinating and challenging suggestions about the grant-making process that would open it up to more artists and provide more feedback to losing applicants. Some, observing that individual artists sometimes might end up winning several competitions simultaneously, suggest that foundation staff compare notes on grant applications and try to avoid such concentrations of awards. Another suggested that foundations, who spend considerable resources evaluating candidates' work, give all applicants an opportunity to attend panel decision-making discussions and summarize for them afterwards the criticism and feedback that determined why they did or did not receive an award. Another seconded this idea, noting that foundations also do extensive site visits and could share their impressions more publicly.

Many of these ideas have advocates among seasoned American arts leaders. In a provocative call for a new system for supporting the arts, Bill Ivey (2005) writes the following:

Once foundations get beyond the old model, they will see a horizon of new possibilities. Some may choose to finance for-profit art galleries or literary presses that have a good track record of nurturing new artists or art forms. (Remember, for years the NEA has supported boutique presses and literary journals by making grants to nonprofit intermediaries). Other foundations might subsidize a local music act or, less directly, support nonprofit film and music festivals that advance the work of commercial artists. Still others might direct their resources to nonprofit organizations dedicated to influencing public policy, corporate practice, and public opinion to secure the public interest within the cultural system.

Tax law is a barrier, however, to foundation grants to for-profit galleries or literary presses.

Artists understandably place many more demands on the funder plate than the latter can possibly cope with. But a more sustained and interactive dialogue on many of these ideas would be welcome.

What the Media Can Do

Many artists expressed disgruntlement with their regional media's

reviewing culture and coverage of upcoming events. Whether individual performers, members of theatre groups or dance troupes, writers, or visual artists with upcoming shows, nonprofit or commercial or community, artists rely very heavily on reviews to draw audiences. Many artists feel that major regional newspaper reviews focus too heavily on highbrow performances and rarely cover innovative, edgier work or excellent community-based or ethnic art. "We all need the press to step up and review contemporary performance," wrote one artist. Reviewers can differ wildly in their assessments, and there are almost never two reviews. The Bay Area is served by the San Francisco Arts Monthly, published with Grants for the Arts support and distributed widely, including as a local insert to the *New York Times*.

Artists have in some instances developed reviewing alternatives, especially on the web. In the Bay Area, dance community artists furious about gratuitously negative dance reviews started a web-based alternative, *Voice of Dance*, underwritten by a wealthy board member of a nonprofit dance company and fea-

turing new reviews on its home page daily. Another such alternative was begun in 1998 as San Francisco Classical Voice, by a retired newspaper music reviewer who wanted to broaden the number of classical music events previewed and reviewed, now published weekly. He mentored reviewers and writers, who now include more than 70 musicians-composers, performers, and musicologists. As newspapers, under severe competitive pressures from digital media and mergers that make them less regional in character, cut down even further on reporting staffs, such artist-initiated alternatives may become more important and more common.

One arts ecology watcher suggested that funders could design a prize for the most innovative solution for the reviewing crisis. It could be a commercial solution, he suggested, such as a Zagat's Guide to the Bay Area (or Los Angeles) Performing Arts. Another artist related an effort to start a free quarterly arts and cultural magazine in a Bay Area county, relying on local advertisers to cover costs. Such efforts have succeeded elsewhere, sometimes

Antoine Perry

Rapper, writer, actor, and all around "entrepre-mogul" Antoine Perry uses the material from the streets of San Francisco – stories of grit and struggle – to inspire his art making. Writing has been central to his career: "I'm a writer; I can write anything. I can tell you a story. All I have to do is write about what I know. I get into my pain and emotion. I got songs talking about my grandma, life, God as my personal savior... I always involve my story in my work." In 2002, he received the King of the Bay award at a freestyling contest sponsored by the hip-hop and R&B radio station KMEL-FM. Perry's career as a multimedia artist has been fashioned by combining work in the community and nonprofit arenas as a youth counselor with his self-driven commercial ventures.

Perry backed into professional art making. While attending the College of Alameda, he organized, promoted, and booked a student show. From this experience, he developed his own for-profit agency and management company, *Starving Artist Entrepreneurs*, to raise his visibility and that of street-level musicians who were rappers, producers, and DJs. Booking gigs at community events such as *Peace on the Streets*, churches, clubs, and parties, he gained public exposure. As the host for *Higher Ground* on Comcast Cable



FRANCIS BAKER

Access in the East Bay, he broadened his connections outside of his native Bayview environment. "So many people from The Hood are more focused on who is from The Hood and rappers from around the way, but I talked to people who could connect me to resources beyond that." As he put together live shows for himself and his cohorts, he began recording in 2000.

At the end of 2003, Perry's solo career was interrupted by a series of violent events in San Francisco. After nearly a decade of steady declines, the number of homicides in San Francisco jumped from 69 in 2003 to 100 in 2005, including many young Black men – Perry's friends, neighbors, peers, collaborators, and rivals. Perry decided to lower his profile and get involved with social service organizations in poorer neighborhoods. He worked with Inner City Youth to get kids off the streets and reduce gun violence. With others, he built a recording studio available to young musicians in the Ocean View, Mission, and Bayview neighborhoods, focusing on creativity rather than self-destruction. This nonprofit venture attracted support from Youth Funding Youth Ideas, Mayor's Office of Community Development, and the Department of Children Youth and Families.

Parallel to this, *Starving Artist Entrepreneurs* worked out deals for other groups such as *Swoop*, *C-Lucciano* and the *Killa Squad*, giving needed visibility to local artists. He decided to re-enter the scene by appearing on a self-titled disc by *Apartment Three 2000* and was on *Swoop's* album titled *Old Enough to Know, but Young Enough to Not Care*, available on *Git Paid Entertainment* and distributed through *SMC/Fontana*. He continues to spend time in the studio, developing beats, and writing. His latest project is a documentary on the Bay Area hip-hop scene called *Independent Hustle* that he is producing through his own *Striva Struggle Entertainment* company.

By staying active and committed, Perry has begun to enjoy modest breakthroughs. He acted in *Streets Have Spoken* by *Colored Ink*, a piece that enjoyed reviews and led to profiles in the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* and *San Francisco Magazine*. Perry says, "By the Grace of God with His Love, Guidance and Mercy, I'm coming out of that hole I was in... and I've done it on my own. I'm a self-made man. I'm doing this on drive and determination. And I won't let nothing stop me." His ability to crosswalk between commercial and nonprofit worlds for income has enabled him to dedicate his time and skills helping young people in his community as well as to pursue his own creativity.

Conclusions and Recommendations

on ad revenue from nonprofits. Still, web-based reviewing and informational sites and more local print publications don't yet have the clout that newspapers do, and they reach many fewer people in the general public.

Artists also expressed the wish that various trade and artist-targeted periodicals would carry more information on work opportunities in other sectors. One artist wrote:

I wish that there were something like Theatre Bay Area Magazine that also included film and other gigs. For instance, if I played the saxophone I might find a job doing that, or as a vocalist, etc. It seems that jobs like that either have to be found by word of mouth or connections or just dumb luck. I'm new to the Bay Area and have been looking for a job like this for over a year. I wish TBA included things like these, or there was a magazine for all other artists.

What Government Agencies Can Do

In the US and many other countries, political leaders and arts advocates have newly come together around themes of the "creative economy," "creative city," "creative region." First formulated in Europe (e.g. Landry et al., 1996), these themes gained much currency thanks to Richard Florida's popular book, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002). The rush to create local cultural policies and to embed cultural policy in the spatial and community fabric of cities, suburbs, and small towns, has run far ahead of state and local governments ability to finance them, but they are a major context for movement forward on the cross-sectoral front.

Artists offered a number of recommendations for what state and local governments can do. Artists are grateful for grants from funds operated at the county and city levels, including the Los Angeles County Arts Commission's Organizational Grant Program, the City of Los Angeles' Cultural Grants Programs for artists and nonprofit arts organizations, and the City (also the County) of San Francisco's Grants for the Arts and Cultural Equity Grants, funded by a portion of the city's 14% hotel tax. They would like to see more funding for these programs, which have lost ground to other priorities in recent years. Los Angeles County Arts Commission bucked the tide this past year when its arts grants budget doubled from \$2.3 million to \$4.5 million. Although the County's grants go only to organizations, a significant share of that supports the creation of artistic work. And a San Francisco Arts Task Force (2006) laid out an ambitious set of organizational reforms and resource commitments to take the City/County into the future.

One oft-mentioned issue is a living wage for artists. Some artists articulated how wage differentials among sectors make it difficult for them to cross over, as in nonprofit or community groups being unable to match commercial (including unionized) salaries, or generally low wages in these two sectors making it impossible for artists to earn a living at their art work. One artist stated the remedy as follows:

All three sectors should support a living wage for artists and not expect them to 'donate' their time for 'exposure.' Any artist, regardless of who called who, should be paid a reasonable fee for the time provided to the project. Artists should be educated to demand it, and presenters should be educated on the benefits of paying.

Carol Charney

San Francisco-based photographer Carol Charney's art and work life illustrates many of the challenges facing artists. During the day, she works as an art director/designer in advertising. This commercial work provides two resources: financial income and practice with design tools that have sharpened her facility in creating and refining her photographs. As an artist, she has focused on two main bodies of work over the course of her career: a series on traumatic memory and Holocaust survivors entitled *Marked For Life*; and a body of more commercial work that she calls *Interior Landscapes*. Currently she works with a small group of distributors, many of them near her home base in the Sunset section of San Francisco. Her landscape work has shown



MICHAEL CRUZ

at a combination of for-profit spaces such as the Patricia Sweetow Gallery and Limn Gallery in San Francisco, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art Artist's Gallery, and the George Billis Gallery in Los Angeles. On the nonprofit side, she has exhibited at SF Camerawork, WORKS Gallery in San Jose, the Museum of Contemporary Art in Santa Rosa, and the Korean Cultural Center in Los Angeles.

Charney came to photography through painting. She studied at San Jose State, UC-Santa Cruz, and The School for Photographic Studies. She also credits Gail Antokal for helping her to not just develop her technical skills but to also connect her art making to cultural concerns and identity issues. This direction became manifest in the Holocaust work that

consists of large format photographs. She then composites these images digitally and reprints them. This is an expensive and timely process; however, Charney does not cut corners on any part of this process because it would diminish the artwork and jeopardize her business strategy, which is to focus on high end collectors, galleries and museums.

She pursues a two-track marketing strategy that divides her two main bodies of work into two different distribution channels. Works from the *Marked For Life* series goes to nonprofit spaces, art museums and art centers; her more saleable *Interior Landscapes* series is sold in high-end galleries and is placed into private collections. Her art making schedule varies widely. Through about five months of 2004 and 2005 she took time away from her "day job" to make more art.

State and local governments have been leaders in recent years in minimum wage and living wage campaigns, and artists fully endorse these efforts.

Closely-related concerns are lack of health insurance and portability of pension plans. Many artists, as with workers in other sectors, are trapped in commercial arts or non-arts jobs, or rely on teaching or nonprofit administration more than they otherwise would, because they need health care and retirement benefits. States can and have created safety net healthcare programs for residents that low income artists can access – the MinnesotaCare program is an example. In the State of Washington, Artist Trust and Leveraging Investments in Creativity have created the Washington Artists Health Insurance Project to develop a state public insurance program for self-employed artists. Stop-gap models among unions and artist-serving organizations include MusiCares, a project of the Grammy Foundation that provides a safety net, including medical assistance, for music people and the comparable Actors' Fund of America. In 2003, Actors' Equity Association, the American Federation of Radio and Television Artists, and the Screen Actors Guild formed the ongoing Performers Health Care Council to explore options for the uninsured among their members. The Center for Cultural Innovation has set up a health discount program that lowers costs for artists. Since 2005, San Francisco's Mayor Gavin Newsom has made a Universal Health Access Plan for the city's uninsured a top priority. Pension portability has to be addressed at a national level, or by artist service organizations that could replicate what college teachers have – a defined contribution plan, including employer contributions, that is portable across employers and regions.

Artists also raise questions about tax codes that make it difficult for them to cross over. The requirement that an artist filing as self-employed must make a profit three years out of five to be able to deduct expenses can make it difficult to initiate a for-profit effort. One artist wondered why the tax code does not allow artists to donate time to nonprofit or community arts activities and take this off their taxes. The IRS does not allow deductions for the value of time given away, because it would be very hard to value it (is an hour of Meryl Streep's time worth more than an hour of a young hip-hop artist?). However, the donor may deduct all direct costs of volunteering, such as mileage, parking, and supplies.

Artists also recommend that local governments take the affordability of live/work space more seriously. As one artist put it:

Here in the Bay Area it's all about the economy and being able to afford to live and have a studio here. I've been working out of a storage unit for the last five years because studio space has morphed into yuppie lofts and unaffordable space.

And another:

Affordable dance studios in Los Angeles are very uncommon. I know many choreographers who are unable to afford to pay rent for rehearsals or teaching classes. I would like to find a way to purchase a space, or I would like to see an organization help to subsidize space rental for artists.

Artists observe that Los Angeles and San Francisco, for cities of their arts significance and wealth, lag behind other cities and even

This allowed her considerably more time to produce pieces. However, because production costs are high (between \$500 – \$1000 and 50 hours per piece), money to produce the works became the new

constraining factor. Making and selling her art is essentially a breakeven proposition. In the last 12 months or so, she has completed relatively little new original work, which is also partly due to the demands associated with working in commercial advertising.



Remembering Poland 6

CAROL CHARNEY

work that can be produced on awards of only a few thousand dollars.

Charney sees her approach to making a living as both traditional and logical. She says, "I want to stay at a high

level and maintain a high status for my work." This keeps her focused on certain key galleries and museums as points of distribution. However, broadening this effort works against her and remains out of reach because of time and money constraints. "I'd love to have a serious, fully funded museum show so that I could really focus on making a body of work, since right now I'm not able to sell enough, or make enough money from the sales I make, to really work in the way I would like to."

received some grant support. In 2000 she received a fellowship from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. In the previous year she received some project support for her Holocaust work from SF Camerawork, though nothing monetary. She also won an award from the Nagler Jewish Photography Competition at the Judah L. Magnes Museum. She occasionally seeks out additional support through similar channels, but finds the "all or nothing" aspect of the process to be problematic, especially the small amount of

Conclusions and Recommendations

small towns in the US in addressing the unique need for live/work and studio space for artists. Elsewhere, nonprofit developers have built and continue to operate large-scale live/work units, often initiated or invited by local governments and facilitated by arts-sensitive planning and zoning regulations. Such access enables artists to work less non-arts time and to cross more fluidly between sectors. In many cases, large live/work buildings have made substantial contributions to host neighborhoods both economically and socially (Markusen, 2006).

What Arts Advocacy Groups Can Do

Arts advocacy groups at national, state and local levels could play a larger role in encouraging crossover than they do. Several prominent

arts leaders, including former National Endowment for the Arts Chair Bill Ivey, have argued vigorously for diversifying the American arts support and advocacy system (Jacobs, 2005; Ivey, 2005). Ivey's experience as Director of the Nashville-based Country Music Foundation for twenty-five years enables him to see synergies in shared projects between the nonprofit sector and for-profit arts industries. His Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy at Vanderbilt University has recently launched an Arts Industries Policy Forum in Washington, with support from the Ford Foundation, to bring sector partners together on national policy issues affecting the arts, such as artistic intellectual property rights issues, cultural heritage preservation, regulation of radio and television access, and merger policy in the arts and cultural industries.

Dennis Dreith

Los Angeles-based Dennis Dreith is an accomplished composer who writes for nonprofit concert halls while serving as composer, musical director, and conductor for film and television ("The Punisher" and "Columbo") and film orchestrator and arranger (*Braveheart*, *Jurassic Park*, *The Rock*). He has composed for orchestras and toured with rock bands such as the Beach Boys. He also works full-time as an administrator for the Film Musicians Secondary Markets Fund.

Coming from a family without a strong connection to the arts, Dennis took an interest in music, especially music composed for movies. Even before he could play an instrument, he became fascinated with soundtrack music. It inspired him to learn to play the wind instruments—saxophone, clarinet, and flute. Two things sparked an interest in composition: playing jazz and hearing Igor Stravinsky's music, which "blew my mind. From that point on, that's all I wanted to do."

At the age of 19, Dreith moved away from home and supported himself by going on the road with rock and roll bands. Dreith then joined an exclusive amateur jazz band led by Ollie Mitchell, a top session trumpet player in the 60's and 70's. With this group, Dreith had the chance to make arrangements of standards and pop songs. "If you wanted to be an arranger you would write an arrangement, you would bring it in, and the band would play it. If it was any good, they'd keep it in the book." Through these



commercial gigs, he learned various skills, from being a performer, an arranger and an interpreter to learning how to "behave in the band." He broadened his knowledge of music—where school bands emphasized traditional jazz, this band also played rock and roll arrangements. He also met and "hung out" with older musicians who were doing the top session work such as Bob Enevoldsen of the original Tonight Show with Steve Allen.

In between these commercial gigs, he finished a degree in composition at Cal State-LA. He wanted to expand his skills in orchestration, so he took orchestration classes and wrote arrangements for jazz and classical ensembles at the college. Eventually, he began private study with Dr. Albert Harris, one of the top orchestrators in Hollywood at the time. He believes he got his real education in private study with the best people in the field.

At the clubs, with professional musicians dropping by, students were often picked up to

go on the road. Dreith never gave up the notion of being a great jazz artist, but he knew he needed to "pay the rent" and he eventually "embraced commercial music with a new-found fervor." His early career consisted of working local clubs with different groups, playing pop and jazz. Later he began to go on the road with the Beach Boys and Paul Revere and the Raiders, and he served as music consultant for Barbara Streisand's live performances in the 1990s.

Living in LA also gave him access to multiple studio opportunities, including film and television work. He has completed original scores as well as orchestrations for many large and small budget projects. While pursuing a career in television and film music, Dreith still creates music for the concert stage. He believes that some of his commercial scores are really avant-garde classical music. Dreith sees his work in both the commercial and nonprofit worlds as mutually beneficial. Commercial music is a way to expand "the palette of the listener" and provide a doorway to symphonic and classical music for people who would not listen to orchestral music otherwise.

Currently Dreith writes music for a variety of venues and musicians. His goal is to make music accessible so that those interested in film might become more open to concert music and vice-versa. He feels that music and art are "for the masses." By doing both commercial and nonprofit music, he can bring together larger and more diverse audiences.

Other artists and arts ecology watchers in the two California regions envision a broader agenda and leadership role for Americans for the Arts and regional counterparts. Americans for the Arts remains pretty much a public sector platform for arts policy, but could lead in a more diversified effort. Recently, Los Angeles has mounted its first arts advocacy organization, Arts for LA. They will work with Americans for the Arts to build an Action Fund in LA, in which people who care about arts join as members. Now there will be a central place for Angelino artists to call about national arts issues. State and local arts councils could also pay more attention to the commercial and unincorporated arts in their jurisdictions and look for ways of leveraging resources and impact.

Networking among Sector Leaders and Managers

Arts advocacy groups need not be the only leaders in creating greater dialogue and forging a revitalized cultural policy agenda at the regional or local level. Leaders in the nonprofit and commercial sectors have much to contribute as well. A significant American Assembly convening of commercial, nonprofit and public sector arts leaders took place in 1998 to explore collaborations and how to formalize and expand them (Arthurs, Hodsoll, & Lavine, 1999; Pankratz, 1999). The 1998 meeting, held at the Getty Center in Los Angeles, explored in particular the possibilities in the media and performing arts. It included representatives from industry, such as Time Warner, Fox Television, Viacom, and the Walt Disney Company; from trade associations such as the

Todd Brown

San Francisco-based painter Todd Brown has built a career as both a commercial artist and as a community arts administrator. As the co-founder, director and resident of the Red Poppy Art House (a working artist studio, gallery, classroom, and performance space) he has created an intimate artist community, partially funded by his commissions and the programming and teaching he organizes at the Art House.

Brown received a painting degree from the University of Vermont in 1993. He stayed on the East Coast for five years where he picked up odd jobs that gave him the flexibility to cultivate his interests in Cuban and Haitian dance and music until he relocated to San Francisco to focus on visual arts. He combines various media such as sand, paper, and photographs where the rough-hewn surfaces roil with textual and imagistic information. Brown is also integrating his guitar and percussion into his visual art.

Early in his career, he made a living selling his work to a few private commercial collectors in the Bay Area, and he picked up an occasional commission. In 2001, he became a full-time artist due to a \$6500 commission that allowed him to paint continually for months, producing an abundance of small work that was easy to sell as well as larger work that was more expensive. The earnings from this work provided much of the capital needed to open the Art House.

Late in 2002, Brown searched for a new space where he could live and work that would also connect him to the community.



Brown working on *Story of La Pecheuse* at Red Poppy Art House

Since he relies on galleries to show his work, he also needed the new space to be suitable for exhibitions. He found an affordable 650 square foot space in the Mission District that he renovated into the Red Poppy Art House, which serves dancers, musicians, and painters. Recent performances include the Indian-Jazz fusion ensemble Vidya and Bay Oracles, a group of African American actors, novelists, poets, and playwrights. At the Art House Brown is both an arts administrator and artist. The Art House survives on his commercial artwork sales and the money he raises by teaching Argentine tango classes.

The Art House community inspired Brown to create the Mission Arts & Performance Project (MAPP), a street-level cultural arts festival that happens every other month. He organized a dozen individuals, businesses, and organizations to produce this event that emphasizes the use of alternative spaces. MAPP takes place in a motley collection of venues – garages, gardens, cafés, a beauty salon, and an artists' collective

– as artists of different disciplines and skill levels participate. MAPP's goal is not to sell work, rather, it is about marshaling local resources to build a foundation for making and showing art. Brown says, "This is becoming a big event, but here in the Mission, there's not the buying power yet. But over time that may come and it will help empower artists to continue their work." Brown sees the MAPP template as a tool that could be used to help foster local community interaction for other neighborhoods in order to expand art appreciators and art buyers.

Brown tries to balance the financial and time commitments of being a community arts administrator and commercial artist. To maintain the space at Art House, he has focused most of his time on his administration work. As a result he has not aggressively updated and developed the look and contents of his press packet and portfolio. "I know in terms of business that I need to organize myself more as an artist. And as I make more sales, it relieves some of the financial pressure on running the space, since my sales pay for part of the operating costs." Brown acknowledges that he does not want to shoulder these dual loads indefinitely. "If everything rests on me, I'm not empowering the space and the artists who work here. Right now, if I were to leave, it's over. I don't want that, so this year is a transition into something more self-sustaining." He is focused on moving the Art House into a full-blown organization so he can return to spending more time on his commercial work.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Hollywood Radio and Television Society, the Motion Picture Association of America and the Recording Association of America; and from Americans for the Arts and Grantmakers in the Arts. Although one commentator regretted the absence of visual arts, labor union and art education leaders in this convening (Chartrand, 1998), it was a huge step forward and built some enduring connections.

At the regional level, leadership can come from any one sector to bring together the others. In New England, nonprofit arts leaders reached out to arts industry and government leaders in the late 1990s to produce a "Creative Economy" framework that would build arts policy visibility for the region as a whole (New England Council, 2000). Since then, many cross-sectoral initiatives have blossomed at what one arts observer calls "the very tribal level." Smaller towns like North Adams or rural regions like the Blackstone River Valley, cities like Portland, Maine, and the state of Maine have fashioned arts cluster initiatives that foster synergies, often spatial, among commercial, nonprofit, public and community arts sectors (see, for example, www.newenglandcouncil.com/pdf/rep_webReports/rep_creativeEconomy.pdf).

Cross-sector coalitions can also be discipline-specific or focused on a particular neighborhood or commercial strip. For instance, commercial and nonprofit publishers, distributors and bookstores might get together with writers' groups and funders with an interest in literature to explore strategies for expanding audiences for writing, joint business training for independent writers and editors, and a jobs clearinghouse. Or at the local level, visual artists could meet

with gallery owners, museum staff, studio space providers, artists' service centers, and training institutions to explore the potential for greater main street or cultural district visibility.

Despite the complaints, discouragement and skepticism expressed by some artists about crossover potential, many have embraced it and believe that art worlds are becoming more inter-related without endangering the integrity of art work. Some see this has happened from the ground up, from community initiatives that make such waves that the nonprofit and commercial sectors have had to pay attention – hip-hop and world music are examples. The nonprofit and commercial sectors have encouraged greater cross-fertilization as well. Artists who survived the lean years of the deep funding cuts in the 1990s and younger emerging artists with few illusions about easy public or nonprofit support are becoming savvy about art worlds and more articulate advocates of the value of their work to the broader community. New technologies permit the proliferation of market niches and make it easier for art lovers to connect with artists and others in particular art forms and disciplines. There are still sectoral walls to be scaled, but the means and will to do so, at least in California, appear to be growing.

As a one-time boost to crossover-friendly attitudes and arts policy, we recommend a publicity campaign by a coalition of forward-looking cultural industry business leaders, not-for-profit managers and community arts leaders to showcase artists who have successfully built careers across sectors. Imagine billboards and magazine ads and TV commercials, the domains of cultural industry leaders who could donate the space as public interest advertising, spotlight-

Charlotte Kruk

San Jose artist Charlotte Kruk (a.k.a, Charlotte Kruk n' Kempken) makes wearable art. Even though her work looks like clothing, she calls it sculpture. This work, which includes all sorts of "dresses," vests, headpieces, handbags, jewelry, and accessories, melds the satirical and serious by integrating elements of familiar consumer products within original, highly polished, and hand-crafted pieces. She has shown and sold work through Christmas art shows organized by Cherri Lakey and Brian Eder of Two Fish Design in San Jose. She also shows at Red Ink Studios and Works, both located in the South Bay. In 2000, she exhibited work at the Legion of Honor in San Francisco as part of the Artware show organized by Melissa Levinton, which led to a show at COPIA in Napa County. Kruk is



CHRIS SCHWAUCH

an example of an artist who started out strongly in the commercial sector but who has also had to rely on nonprofit teaching opportunities to help make a living as an artist.

Kruk developed her work while studying at San Jose State University where she was introduced to ceramics by Linda Walsh. Another professor, Rand Schiltz, also had a big impact on her work. He taught classes working with small metals and jewelry fabrication, pushing students to meet exacting standards. She praises him by saying, "He taught me to get things right and to work creatively. He made the world of art real for me."

Her BFA showing received positive coverage in the *San Jose Mercury News*. The article attracted the attention of photographer Shawn Kermani, who came and took pictures of Kruk's work. Later, she received a call from an Italian TV producer

named Franco Scipani, who had seen the pictures in *The National Enquirer*. The commercial spread included a number of color photographs of her work modeled by a friend, as well as a page-long profile. Receiving coverage in a nationally distributed weekly led to other media opportunities: "Crook and Chase", "Home and Family Network", "Roseanne" Barr, and "To Tell The Truth." However, the television media moved on, leaving her with no sales, no gallery, no collectors, and no clear career prospects. She had to figure out how to make a living, and this led her to teaching in the nonprofit sector.

When working, she says, "I don't think about time... I don't keep track of it because that's not how I am. I can work in the studio for hours and not talk to anyone." As an art teacher at Lynbrook High School, which is only a few miles from her home, she has time in the evenings, winters, and summers to focus on art making. "The summers are

ing a Marcus Shelby, Jo Kreiter, or Ben Caldwell, who are masters of their art form, have benefited from public and nonprofit grants, and have given back to their communities many times over. Or a Tamara Hatwan or Michael Berlin or Dennis Dreith, whose work in Hollywood is enhanced by their forays into nonprofit performance, writing and composing. Or a young artist like Seth Gordon, who began in the crowded commercial wannabe sector, or Chaz Bojorquez or Antoine Perry out of the rough-and-tumble streets, producing work so good that they now are welcome in, and have time for, nonprofit and community work.

We see this as a beginning to the crossover conversation, not an end. As researchers, we hope to continue work on crossover, which we suspect is less well-developed elsewhere. We look forward to debate over policy and planning and expect California's arts-rich metros to be national leaders.

my time to focus on my art work. I get up early and get right to work, and I'll work straight through the day into the night and do it again the next day."

Teaching not only provides a living and the time to work, but it steered her away from a more traditional path. She has misgivings about the more commercial aspects of the art world, saying, "I hate that part! I wouldn't mind if the work sold more, but I dislike having to put a price tag on it. I just like making the work. The creative act compels me." She also notes an on-again-off-again relationship with all of the groundwork that artists have to engage: managing paperwork, building and updating a portfolio, making slides and keeping them updated, and so on. She also professes a dislike of computers. "Sometimes I wish I



Kruk (third from left) and models wearing her work

had a secretary," she quips.

She has sold three large pieces, priced at over \$1000 each, in commercial auctions conducted by the nonprofit museum, San Jose Institute of Contemporary Art (SJICA). As with auction sales in general, only about 20% of the gross revenue comes back to the artist. She has also sold smaller

works in the \$200 - \$600 range, such as purses, various accessories, and what she calls "pages," which are smallish panels of work making use of pop art sensibilities, illustration, text, collage, and various textile elements. Finally, she makes and sells smaller items such as her bezel work, necklaces, lunchboxes, and various small, but intricate work. Some of this work is sold through the commercial stream via various stores, notably the Triton Gift Shop. However, much

of it ends up being used as gifts and trade. She notes that her work, "isn't making much money, but I can use the sales to buy art sometimes." Overall, Kruk needs both her work as a commercial visual artist and as a nonprofit teacher in order to continue to be active creatively and to allow her to live in the Bay Area.

Luc Leestemaker

Luc Leestemaker is a Los Angeles landscape painter who has built a self-sustaining career as an artist. His open landscapes invite comparisons to the work of J. M. W. Turner, Mark Rothko, and earlier painters such as Jacob Ruysdael and John Constable. His entrepreneurial approach links the two different worlds of corporate art designers with the nonprofit and commercial gallery scene. Each sector benefits by reaching new markets and clientele, generating greater artistic legitimacy for Leestemaker among peers and curators.

Born in Holland, Leestemaker came to painting through a Dutch business he ran that worked to capitalize art objects as assets for investment purposes. This kind of work sharpened his understanding of how art and markets intersect. Eventually he sold his firm because he wanted to take the plunge and make his own art, taking a highly entrepreneurial approach to distributing his work.

A self-taught artist who grew up in the art-rich Netherlands, Leestemaker chose to leave Europe for Los Angeles to reinvent himself. Upon arriving in LA, he painted feverishly for five years, working out a style of his own. Living near the Pacific Design Center in West Hollywood, he tried to get his work into art fairs and galleries with little success. "I wondered why no one was buying my art. I had to get my back against the wall before it clicked that I had to run my art distribution system like a company."

Leestemaker then shifted his focus toward the commercial sector, particularly the interior design market. He landed a huge commission to produce over three



MARTIN COHEN

dozen paintings for the National Airlines concourse at the McCarran Airport in Las Vegas. The commission generated a substantial check, a very special professional credit, a connection to an entirely different clientele, and validation of a different way of making a living as an artist. "If I had gone through the art world, or through a

competition, I never would have gotten that job. I learned that you need to bring the art to those who want it and who will buy it."

Though financially successful, Leestemaker then struggled to achieve creative legitimacy in the art world. He approached commercial art galleries, bringing his buyers to curators to entice them to show his work to new buyers. "Once I had a clientele, I could go to galleries and ask for a partnership instead of for permission. Along with my slides, I

brought a database of my network of clients and sales and made a business pitch. These are small businesses, often facing great risk in their markets. They need sales, and they need clients."

He used this buyer-centered approach to access nonprofit spaces as well, offering his work to strong regional museums such as the Bakersfield Museum of Art and the West Valley Art Museum in

Phoenix. He sent them letters of introduction with a custom-made catalog of his work targeting to what he saw as the problems of particular museums. He received numerous invitations to show his work. After each exhibition, he leaves some pieces with the museum to bolster their collection and to deepen his résumé. With this varied portfolio, he began to get the validation he had been pursuing for fifteen years.

To juggle the needs of financial stability with creative freedom, he continues to work with rental and institutional clients who provide him income and visibility. The list includes travel-related establishments such as the Bellagio and MGM Hotels/Casinos, San Diego's Omni Hotel, Bahama's Four Seasons Hotel, the Miyako Hotel and Mitsubishi in

Tokyo. His media clients include Miramax Films and The Newman Scoring Stages at Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation. His works appear in several films including *Bringing Down the House*, *Spiderman*, and *Erin Brockovich*.

Leestemaker credits his assertive marketing approach over the past fifteen years with his ability to parlay commercial commissions into visibility and success in the nonprofit and commercial gallery world.



Voyager #39

GENE OGAMVI

Appendix I. Survey and Interview Methodology

Who is an Artist?

In conceptualizing the universe of artists in the two regions, we faced two choices: which arts-related occupations to include and what degree of engagement in the art form qualifies one to be a working artist. Arts-related occupations in most social science studies are confined to the US Census/BLS occupational categories of visual artist, performing artist, musician and writer, although some researchers include designers, architects, art teachers and arts administrators (see discussions on defining artists in Karttunen, 1998 and Filicko and Lafferty, 2002). The ranks of working artists given our stricter definition totaled 850,000 in the US in the 2000 Census. We exclude architects and designers because they are less likely to be self-employed and quite unlikely to be working outside of the commercial sector (Markusen, Schrock and Cameron, 2004). Some studies also include arts administrators and art teachers. When these groups are included, the national total rises to around 1.67 million, and if artists doing art work as a second job is also included, as high as 2 million. Artists are three times as likely as other members of the workforce to hold a second job (Horowitz, 1993).

In this study, including in our Census analysis, we focus on the four stricter definitions of artists. However, because we permit people to self-identify as artists in the survey, those whose work includes teaching or arts administration are permitted to count this as part of their artwork. We reached this decision after intensive discussions with foundation staff and other experts who pointed out how essential teaching or administrative work is in many artists' ability to pursue their art form, because of the income, financial stability and benefits. But in addition, teaching has been reported by artists in other studies to have positive feedback effects on their artistic work (e.g. Markusen and Johnson, 2006), and the same experience is anecdotally reported by arts administrators as well, who among other things have a bird's eye view of large segments of a regional arts ecology and of artistic and career strategies that other artists use.

We also created a relatively low hurdle to separate out artists who do art work simply as a hobby for a few hours a week or intermittently or who do their work only for self-fulfillment from the artists whom we consider "working artists." Artists in the survey were asked how many hours a week they worked at their art forms, on average, and if they worked less than ten, we eliminated them from the analysis (but did not bump them from the survey). Similarly, we asked all respondents, "Do you share your art work in any form—performance, exhibition, readings, sales, community events—with others beyond your family and close friends?" If the answer was no, we eliminated them from the analysis (but again, not from the survey). In the analysis, we thus include as artists all those who 1) self-identify as an artist in one of seven artistic disciplines, 2) work at their art form (in terms of hours, not income) ten or more hours a week, on average, and 3) share their work with others outside their immediate friends and family, either through a commercial or non-profit relationship, or in community life.

Delineating the Regions

Our spatial framework, determined in consultation with our spon-

sors, involved Los Angeles County (the primary metro statistical area [MSA] for LA) in the south and the multiple MSAs of the Bay Area (San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, Santa Rosa and Vallejo MSAs).¹ This choice takes into account the historical artifact that the county boundaries in the Los Angeles area are many times more expansive than they are in the Bay Area, so that Los Angeles county encompasses a much larger share of the Los Angeles Basin conurbation than does San Francisco County or even the entire San Francisco conurbation in the north. In addition, the resident artistic populations in the outlying metros of the greater Los Angeles region are quite thin, much less so in the outlying areas of the Bay Area. Nevertheless, readers should keep in mind that our study does not include the metros neighboring Los Angeles (Orange County, Riverside/San Bernardino, Oxnard/Ventura) and thus covers a smaller portion of the Los Angeles consolidated metropolitan statistical area (CMSA) than does the Bay Area definition (which is equivalent to the San Francisco CMSA minus Santa Cruz county). Because we could not precisely target artists in the survey outreach, we included a question in the survey that asked artists to identify their county of residence. This we used to verify that our respondents were within the defined areas and to compare their distribution with 2000 Census estimates.

Why a Web Survey?

The contemporary art world is awash in possibilities driven by new technologies, and the same is true for those who study artists and art forms. Web-based surveys are increasingly being used by researchers, especially as more people come on-line. Compared with traditional hard copy, mailed surveys, they offer tremendous savings in time and money costs, enable more answer options, permit more interaction, facilitate skip patterns with questions designed for particular groups, and can be designed attractively (Dillman, 2000). New proprietary companies have emerged to manage surveys inexpensively for researchers – Zoomerang and Survey Monkey among them. A recent study finds that web-based survey response rates are higher than for mail surveys and yield longer and more original answers to qualitative questions (Kiernan et al., 2005), although this survey was administered to a relatively homogeneous population of computer literate people.

Web survey drawbacks include respondent lack of familiarity with on-line formatting and fears about confidentiality. Many of the interface problems appear to have been solved by Zoomerang and other web survey firms, though one expert worries about the impact of the rise of spam and viruses on willingness to respond. Confidentiality issues can be addressed by the ways in which respondents are approached.

A web-based survey may be less likely to reach certain populations than a traditional survey. In general, we expect that more highly educated, more fully employed and younger artists will be more apt to be web-savvy and using email. We anticipate that a survey conducted on the web will reach higher shares of younger, more educated and higher income artists, even with strenuous efforts to reach folk, craft, traditional, immigrant and community artists by multiple means, described below. But most other survey methods (phone, mailed hard copy) experience the same difficul-

Appendix I. Survey and Interview Methodology

ties. Encouragingly, two pioneering directors of traditional and folk art organizations – Amy Kitchener of Alliance for California Traditional Arts and Betsy Peterson of the Fund for Folk Culture – both reported at the outset of our study that surprising numbers of such artists use the internet. For our study, the population targeted is simply so vast and the cost of a mail survey so prohibitive that we chose the web survey route and worked very hard to reach many different kinds of artists.

How to Reach Artists for the Survey

From the outset, our biggest challenge was figuring out how to reach artists in the two regions. We sought a true representation by discipline, socioeconomic characteristics, and sub-geographic location. Because of widespread disappointment that responses to prior surveys have not adequately captured lower income, immigrant and minority artists, we researched different possible routes into these populations in particular. We decided upon a strategy that recruits artists very widely via internet and other information channels by relying on many different organizational email lists, listservs, websites, newsletters, snail mail lists, flyers and announcements at meetings and events. Although researchers have warned that such a method might not reach grassroots artists (Jeffri, 2004b), we committed to a strenuous effort to do so.

A central methodological issue for all survey researchers is the validity of the sample as a mirror of the overall population. In this research, the size and character of the overall population is only imperfectly documented in secondary data sources. As a second best, we use the 2000 Census data as a baseline against which to compare the distribution of survey responses. This is a method used by others, including the seminal study of Los Angeles County artists (Zucker, 1994), surveying artists regionally. Snowball sampling methods, an ingenious method developed by sociologists studying health and poverty populations (Jencks, 1992; Edin and Lein, 1997; Heckathorne, 1997; Jeffri, 2004b) in which subjects sequentially identify others until the entire population is approximated, can be used where there is cohesion and community among the target population, as in Heckathorne and Jeffri's (2001) remarkable work on jazz musicians. This is not the case with the ambitious scale of our project.

However, the Census data, as we describe at greater length below, under-captures lower income, minority and immigrant artists, and it is now six years old. It has the virtue of including self-employed artists, but only if artwork is their major occupation, defined in the number of hours they devote to it each week. (In contrast, state employment data covers only artists who work for wages and salaries for employers above a certain minimum size – see Markusen and Barbour, 2003). It does not cover those who do artwork as a second occupation or who engage in it regularly but not for compensation (Alper et al., 1996). Thus although we compare our respondent sample to the Census, we cannot assume that the latter is a more accurate profile of all artists in the two regions than our sample. We decided to live with this ambiguity and to try to reach as many artists as possible, rely on self-definitions as artists and use the screens of hours devoted to artwork and the sharing cri-

terion to constrain the sample. To encourage participation, we offered ten \$100 prizes through a random drawing if artists taking the survey elected to be in the pool.

We consulted widely with a group of key California arts ecology experts in fashioning a strategy on how to reach artists.² We concluded that the only possible way to approach such a large subject population is to work through organizations that represent, service, fund or employ artists. In the Los Angeles County study (Zucker, 1994), the authors, employing the same definition that we do, chose three organizational lists to use in their mail survey: the Screen Actors Guild, the Los Angeles chapter of the Musician's Union, and a Directory of more than 1000 LA County nonprofit arts organizations compiled by the then-existing Community Arts Resources Inc. Their results closely reflected the Census mix of artists by discipline, although they did not compare the socio-economic profiles of respondents against Census data.

By working with our key informants and many others they suggested, we compiled a large list of Los Angeles and Bay Area organizations that serve artists as an explicit part of their mission. Some of these, including the Foundations, the Los Angeles County Arts Commission and Los Angeles Department of Cultural Affairs, and the Center for Cultural Innovation, in turn possessed large lists of organizations that they contacted on our behalf. We also purchased from the Urban Institute a full list of nonprofit arts and cultural organizations in the two regions drawn from IRS records.³ The number of organizations totaled 10,603 in the Los Angeles area and 894 in the Bay Area within the zip codes that correspond to our spatial coverage. With these, we asked key partners to eyeball the lists and identify those most likely to reach artists. These lists provided an important increment to our original list.

Although we considered asking all these organizations for their email lists so that we could directly contact artists, we decided against this strategy for several reasons. First, we believed that the response rate would be higher if these organizations themselves asked artists to fill out the survey and articulated the benefits in doing so. Second, we anticipated that many organizations would balk at sharing their email lists, for obvious reasons. (The Zoomerang protocol ensures that no artist's identity or email address is used for any other purpose.) Third, organizations have multiple ways of communicating with their members and constituents – mailed newsletters, listservs, website postings, mass emails, blast faxes, and flyers or announcements at meetings. Constraining ourselves to email lists seemed a mistake. Finally, the sheer scale of our project meant that attempts to negotiate for and handle multiple email lists would be extremely time-consuming and costly. We thus decided on a two-stage process. First, we asked our key partners to request that various organizations commit to connecting artists to the survey or, in lieu of a partner's willingness or contact, we approached them directly ourselves. Then, given a response from them, we sent sample text for websites, emails to artists and listserv postings and asked them to let us know when and how they approached artists. We prompted organizations twice thereafter to re-alert their constituents about the survey. The survey

was launched on April 27 and closed on July 1, 2006. If artists contacted us for a hard copy, we mailed it to them.

We made one exception to our method of contacting artists only electronically or via other organizations. In an effort to target traditional, folk, immigrant and minority artists, we procured a mailing list of several hundred individual artists and arts organizations from the Alliance for California Traditional Arts (ACTA) and mailed them a request to go to the website to take the survey (or in the case of organizations, to contact their members to do so). We did so because many researchers have found that broad surveys of artists stubbornly turn up rather unrepresentative response rates – more male, white, non-immigrant and professional than what we know even from the Census. There are many hypothesized reasons for this. Fewer organizations represent and network among these groups of artists. Many do not think of themselves as artists but as doing community or cultural work or self-expression. Many do not know each other, even in their own communities. Minorities in particular are less likely to identify themselves as artists if they are not making money (Gilmore, 1993). Language barriers may be high, and the degree of trust is lower, as is belief that it matters to respond (Peterson, 1996; Wali, Severson, & Longoni, 2002; Staub, 2003; Walker, Jackson, & Rosenstein, 2003; Bye, 2004; Moriarity, 2004; Alvarez, 2005). We also posted both English and Spanish language versions of the survey on the website.

Many organizations agreed to solicit artist participation in the survey (listed inside back cover), and a subset of these notified us that they had indeed done so, in many cases telling us how and giving us an estimate of the numbers of artists reached. Many artists are apt to have been contacted multiple times, because they are on multiple lists, but the Zoomerang access system prevents any artist from filling out the survey twice. As a check on which organizations sent out requests, we asked artists in the survey to identify the organization through which they had learned about the survey.

One drawback of our method is the inability to determine response rates. Response rates on other surveys of artists, especially cross-disciplinary surveys, generate returns of between 20 and 30%; 22% in the 1994 study (Zucker, 1994) and 25% in the Jeffri (2004a) mail survey of Bay Area artists. In our case, since we did not have an explicit total for all artists in the two regions nor a clear count of how many artists were reached by our request to do the survey, we cannot compute a response rate.

Identifying Artists for Interviews

To buttress our findings, we decided to conduct a series of in-depth interviews with individual artists about their crossover experience, half in each metro area. The number of interviews possible was limited to sixty, because interviews are expensive to conduct in terms of time and travel. We developed a relatively large list of potential candidates by canvassing a group of about twenty arts ecology experts in the two regions, drawn from the ranks of funders, public arts commissions and offices, and cross-disciplinary artist service organizations that had previously expressed interest in our research and agreed to help. We asked each to suggest two or three artists, stating in a couple of sentences why their crossover stories are important, including

their discipline, approximate age, gender, race/ethnicity/immigrant status, other distinguishing characteristics, language other than English, and how to reach them (address, phone, email). We deliberately sought to over-sample artists with extensive crossover experience, in order to highlight unique experiences.

To ensure that we reached artists across each metro, we first mapped them across a series of subregions, and used these patterns to help in choosing artists for interviews. To do so, we created subregions, or macro-neighborhoods, out of the Census Public Use Micro-Data Areas (PUMAs).⁴ For the Los Angeles area, a highly heterogeneous and spatially segregated region along racial and income lines, we consulted two prior studies that identified intermediate-sized subregions, distinguishing among them on multiple socio-economic criteria.⁵ We aggregated the Los Angeles PUMAs into twenty Los Angeles County subregions (Figure A1). Our subregions closely parallel the fifty neighborhoods defined by Ong et al. (2003) in their aggregation of zip code areas into socially and/or historically recognizable communities with distinctive racial composition and income distributions. We also consulted the socio-economic mapping of 1990 Census tracts by Allen and Turner (1997). For the Bay Area, we aggregated PUMAs into fifteen sub-areas, some multi-county (in the case of Sonoma/Napa/Solano) and some sub-county (in the case of San Francisco, Alameda and Santa Clara) regions (Figure A2).

From a list of about ten dozen artists, we chose two dozen in each region to approach, ensuring representation by artistic discipline and sub-discipline, residential location within the region, age, gender, and race/ethnicity/immigrant status. We also sought a range of sectoral mixes – some artists working in all three sectors and others crossing over between any two of them.

1 The counties include San Francisco, San Mateo and Marin (the San Francisco MSA); Alameda and Contra Costa (the Oakland MSA); Santa Clara (the San Jose MSA); Sonoma (Santa Rosa MSA); Napa and Solano (Vallejo MSA).

2 These include arts program directors and staff of Foundations (The Durfee Foundation, The James Irvine Foundation, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, The San Francisco Foundation, and Leveraging Investments in Creativity); public sector arts programs (Los Angeles County Arts Commission, City of Los Angeles Department of Cultural Affairs, Music Center of Los Angeles); nonprofit arts initiatives (Silicon Valley Initiative, Center for Cultural Innovation); folk, traditional and immigrant arts groups (Alliance for California Traditional Arts, Fund for Folk Culture); university-based arts researchers from diverse disciplines at UCLA, UC-Irvine, and UC-Berkeley; and leaders and researchers of national or regional organizations with a strong research record on artists (New York Foundation for Artists, Metropolitan Regional Arts Commission (St. Paul, MN), The American Composers Forum (St. Paul, MN), and the New England Foundation for the Arts).

3 The data are based on the IRS Form 990 Return Transaction Files and include descriptive information and financial variables from Form 990 for 501(c)(3) organizations required to file (those with more than \$25,000 in gross receipts).

4 PUMAs are Census areas of approximately 100,000 to 200,000 population, which are usually contiguous geographically, often consistent with county, municipal or neighborhood boundaries, and generally organized around demographically similar areas. The Census Bureau uses the PUMA system to ensure statistical reliability and confidentiality, since the records included in the files are those of actual long form respondents. While PUMAs do not cross state boundaries, they do occasionally span federally-defined Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) boundaries, combining counties that lie within the MSA with those that do not.

5 There is no definitive way of drawing boundaries for neighborhoods or subregions. The Census Bureau does not provide descriptive information about the PUMAs (e.g., neighborhood, street boundaries), making it virtually impossible for someone without local knowledge to complete this task. Generally, a subregion should be contiguous and physically distinct, demarcated by land forms or significant transportation corridors, and possess a degree of homogeneity and cohesion in population character. Researchers using these criteria often end up with neighborhoods that are not reflected in residents' perceptions. In practice, researchers must work with the spatial units used by secondary sources to compile data – Census tracts, zip codes, municipal and county units. See Ong et al. (2003) for a review of the literature.

Figure A1
Artists by Density and Race/Ethnicity
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area
Subregions, 2000

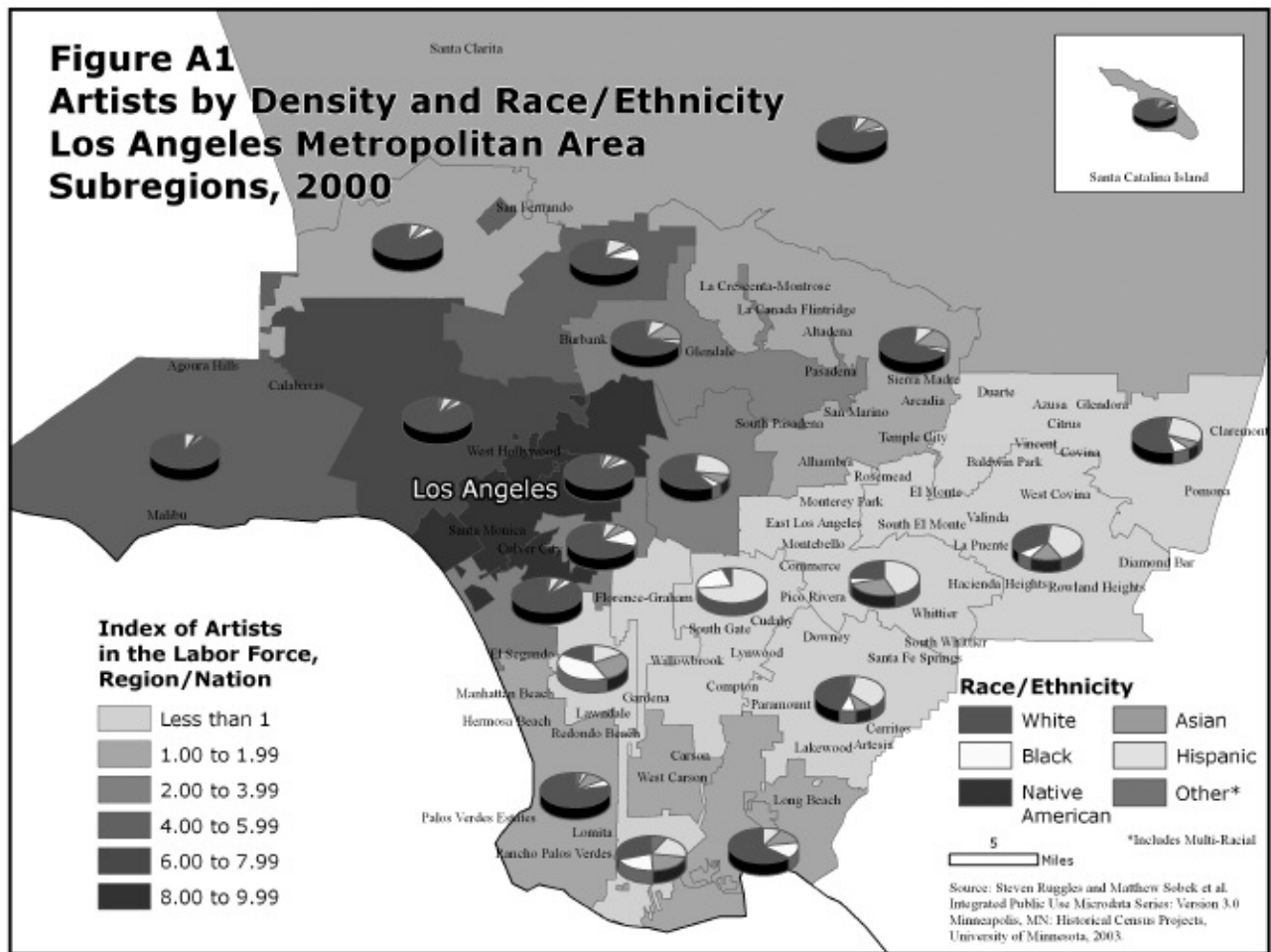
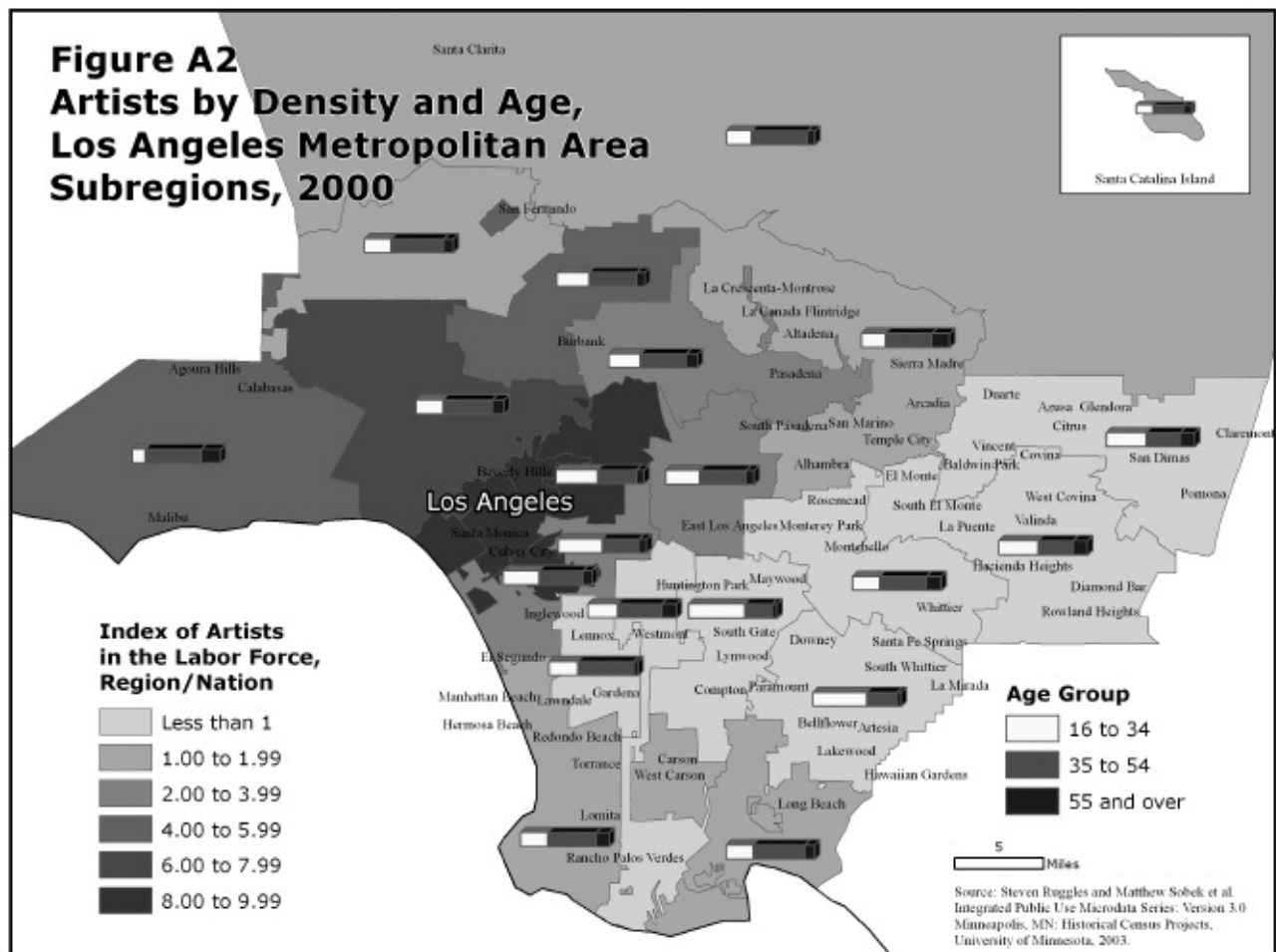


Figure A2
Artists by Density and Age,
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area
Subregions, 2000



Appendix II.

Census vs. Survey Portraits of Los Angeles and Bay Area Artists

In our survey and interview distributions, we worked to reflect the breadth and diversity of the artistic workforce in the two regions. To place both groups of artists in perspective, we here compare them with what we know from the 2000 Census, which paints the best available, if incomplete, portrait of artists' residential location, artistic discipline, and age, gender, race, ethnicity, immigrant status, education and income. In this appendix, we analyze artists' location and socio-economic characteristics in the two regions, and compare the Census profile to that of our survey respondents.

The Census estimates for artists are generated from the Public Use Micro-data Sample of 5% of Census respondents and are far from perfect. Respondents are asked their primary occupation, gauged by the numbers of hours worked. As a result, the Census misses artists who have non-arts day jobs and does not accurately allocate multi-disciplinary artists among disciplines. The Census under-counts lower income and immigrant populations. The Census does not distinguish musicians from dancers, or media artists from visual artists. The most recent Census estimates are for 2000, at the leading edge of the dot.com bust and recession and well before the recent recovery, whereas our survey responses were gathered six years later.

Nevertheless, the Census is the best benchmark we have. Here, we use it to explore the disciplinary and socio-economic characteristics of artists in the two regions, and their location between and within each region. We end with reflections on how and why we think our respondents differ from the population of artists as a whole in the two regions.

Los Angeles and Bay Area Artists in the 2000 Census

In 2000, the Census Bureau estimated that 76,000 working artists lived in the Los Angeles metropolitan area and 33,000 in the greater Bay Area (Table A1). Although the Los Angeles metro hosts more artists of every discipline in its workforce than does the Bay Area, each region possesses a distinctive artistic mix. Visual artists account for a larger share of working artists

in the Bay Area, especially in the San Jose metro and the northern metros of Santa Rosa and Vallejo, and writers are also more prominent, especially in the San Francisco/Oakland sub-region. In contrast, performing artists account for twice as large a share of Los Angeles' working artists.

Compared to artists employed nationally, Los Angeles hosts very high concentrations in all four disciplinary groups. Its concentration index for performing artists, for instance, is 5.40, meaning the share of artists in its overall workforce is 5.4 times the national average (Table A1). The Bay Area ranks very high in all disciplines except musicians and composers, where it is close to the national norm. Within the Bay Area, the San Francisco and Oakland metros have higher concentrations of artists of all types, and writers and visual artists are also prominent in the northern reaches of the Bay. Readers should keep in mind that if we included the outlying por-

Table A1. Los Angeles, Bay Area Artists, Discipline, Self-Employment, Sector, 2000

	Los Angeles	Bay Area	San Francisco Oakland	San Jose	Santa Rosa Vallejo
All Artists					
Employed	76090	32921	24688	4677	3556
% Self-employed	40	45	44	36	64
% Private employer	54	42	43	52	25
% Nonprofit, public	6	13	13	12	11
Visual artists	22063	13854	9912	2119	1823
% Self-employed	41	51	48	45	76
Performing artists	30873	6812	5479	909	424
% Self-employed	28	20	21	6	40
Musicians, Composers	10184	4201	3037	677	487
% Self-employed	51	44	45	43	36
Writers	12970	8054	6260	972	822
% Self-employed	57	55	55	40	67
Index of Artists as % of Workforce Metro/Nation	2.90	1.47	1.81	0.83	1.16
Visual artists	2.10	1.55	1.81	0.94	1.48
Performing artists	5.40	1.40	1.84	0.74	0.63
Musicians, composers	1.97	0.95	1.13	0.61	0.80
Writers and authors	2.70	1.97	2.50	0.94	1.46
Median Personal Income	40000		38400	40000	26000

Source: Our estimates using 2000 decennial population Census data from Steven Ruggles and Matthew Sobek et al. Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0 Minneapolis: Historical Census Projects, University of Minnesota, 2003.

*Counties in each metro area(s): Los Angeles (Los Angeles County); San Jose (Santa Clara County); San Francisco/Oakland combined PMSAs (San Francisco CA PMSA: Marin, San Francisco, San Mateo; Oakland CA PMSA: Alameda, Contra Costa); Santa Rosa and Vallejo (Sonoma, Santa Rosa, Solano)

Appendix II. Census vs. Survey Portraits of Los Angeles and Bay Area Artists

tions of the Los Angeles region, the overall density would be somewhat lower, because the incidence of artists is relatively low in the outlying metros. Both regions, however, rank in the top three nationally, comprising what Markusen and Schrock (2006) call the “super-arts cities,” along with New York.

In all four regions, Census estimates show that artists of color are under-represented given their presence in the LA workforce, and more so than is the case nationally (Table A2). But since these regions are far more diverse than the nation, they are home to large populations of artists of color. In the San Jose metro, 69% of artists are white, 13% Hispanic and 9% Asian, while in the north Bay counties, only 7% of artists are other than white. In LA, Hispanics form the largest group of artists of color, while Asians do in San Francisco/Oakland. With the exception of Santa Rosa/Vallejo, the other regions in our study all host higher shares of non-native born artists: 18% in LA, 13.5% in San Francisco/Oakland, and 15.3% in San Jose.

Artists are much more apt to work for wages and salaries in the private sector in Los Angeles (54%) and San Jose (52%) than San Francisco/Oakland metros (43%) or north Bay metros (25%). In contrast, 6% of LA artists and 13% of those in the Bay Area worked for nonprofit or public sector employers in 2000 (Table A1). Many of the 40% of LA and 45% of Bay Area artists classifying themselves as self-employed may work for the commercial or nonprofit sectors on contract, however. In a study of Seattle area nonprofit organizations, Beyers and GMA Research (1999) found through survey work that 44% of those employed worked on contract rather than receiving wages or salaries. From this, we might speculate that the shares of artists working principally in the nonprofit/public sector might run twice as high as the Census estimates with the rest marketing their work in commercial forums. It is possible, too, that artists benefiting from nonprofit grants and services in-kind under-report these forms of income in their Census assessment. The commercial sector also purchases artists’ services on contract. Research on the Los Angeles

media industry demonstrates that work often takes a project form, involving many contractual relationships (Scott, 2005). A very rough estimate of the commercial versus nonprofit/public mix of work in the California regions, based on the Census, might run something like 65-80% commercial and 20-35% not-for-profit. Since community work is largely uncompensated, its share of artistic effort and work time is difficult to infer from these secondary data sources.

Artists’ work opportunities by industry vary markedly across the two regions and within the Bay Area. We mapped the five largest employing industries for each artistic discipline from Census data (Table A3). In Los Angeles, the motion picture industry employs 49% of performing artists and 20% of visual artists and writers, more than twice as large a share as in the Bay Area (Table A3). Larger shares of San Jose area artists work in professional services, computer systems, specialized design services, and the video games industry than in the other metros. In the northern Bay Area metros of Santa Rosa and Vallejo, visual, performing artists and writers are more apt to work in industries that serve other residents, such as restaurants and elementary and secondary schools. These counties also have significant shares of writers working in publishing and scientific and technical consulting.

Opportunities across industries appear to be more open to some ethnic groups than others, as shown by the Census. Black, Latino and Asian American artists are more apt to find work with religious organizations than in other sectors. Asian Americans find better opportunities in publishing, while Latinos do relatively well in radio and TV broadcasting, sound recording and professional, technical and scientific services. African American artists are more apt to work as temp workers for employment agencies than artists of other racial and ethnic groups. Artists’ work options, then, vary dramatically between and within the two California regions. In general, artists of color are significantly under-represented among employed artists compared to their group’s share of the population.

To what extent do artists in the LA and Bay areas move here from other regions? Net migration rates into the regions during the period 1995-2000 exceeded those in most other US regions, notably New York (Table A4). More than two artists moved into LA County for every one that left, a net addition of more than 10,000 artists. The other southern California metros – Orange County, Riverside-San Bernardino, and San Diego – experienced relatively robust net in-migration rates as well. The San Francisco/Oakland area gained almost 2000 artists in this period, 33% net in-migration, while the San Jose metro lost about 300 artists to

Table A2. Employed artists by race/ethnicity & citizenship status, % of Workforce, 2000

Race/ethnicity	Los Angeles	San Francisco Oakland	San Jose	Santa Rosa Vallejo	United States	Survey Results
White, non-Hispanic	74.1	78.7	69.3	93.0	83.9	68.6
Hispanic, all races	10.7	6.4	13.0	2.0	5.4	5.2
Black or African American	5.8	3.5	1.0	1.7	5.2	4.3
Asian	6.4	7.2	8.8	0.4	2.8	9.8
Native American, Native Alaskan						0.8
Other races, including multiracial	3.0	4.2	8.0	2.9	2.7	11.3
Citizenship status						
Citizen, US-born or born abroad to US parents	82.0	86.5	84.7	90.1	91.5	85.0
Citizen, naturalized	7.8	5.1	6.7	6.6	3.8	10.4
Non-citizen	10.2	8.4	8.6	3.4	4.7	4.6

Source: Same as Table 1 and survey results.

out-migration. Of course, regions “home-grow” artists as well as attract them. A net out-migration region, such as Minneapolis/St. Paul, may add substantial numbers of new artists from its training and artistic support systems (Markusen and Johnson, 2006). It is quite likely that the Los Angeles and Bay Areas augment the ranks of their artists through both net in-migration and nurturing young and aspiring artists from within their borders.

Artists are in general fairly mobile, migrating between regions, especially at young ages but also once careers are established or in retirement, when many of them continue working. The Census estimates that 22% of Los Angeles metro artists and 28% of San Francisco/Oakland artists were new to their regions between 1995 and 2000 (Table A4). Our survey under-captured this most recent wave of artist arrivals. In each region, 13% of the respondents had lived there five years or less. Many were long-term residents of their region, living there more than 20 years: 53% in the Bay Area and 50% in Los Angeles. Many of our interviewees, as the profiles show, had originally come from elsewhere in the US, and some from Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Other studies have found that artists often work non-arts jobs as a way of supporting themselves and their families and that those who have spouses, partners or other household members bringing in income enjoy higher household income than those who do not. Artists in general make significantly less than their similarly educated counterparts. Our survey data confirmed this for the artists surveyed in the two regions. Household incomes for the survey group are slightly above the California profile for 2004, when median income for the state was variously estimated by federal sources (Current Population Survey and American Community Survey) as between \$49,000 and \$52,000. But median personal income is substantially below the levels recorded in the 2000 Census. We infer from this that we have captured many aspiring and community-oriented artists in our survey who do artwork for little or no compensation, artists unlikely to be captured by the Census. Many are not poor only by virtue of their earnings in non-arts work or income from other household members.

Artists across Communities within Each Region

Artists, like urban populations generally, are not ubiquitously spread throughout a region. They may choose to live in areas closer to their employers or to the venues in which they perform or market their work. Because they span the gamut in terms of incomes and socio-economic characteristics, they will gravitate

Table A3. Employed artists by discipline and top industry sectors, % Employment, 2000

	Los Angeles	San Francisco Oakland	San Jose	Santa Rosa Vallejo	United States
<i>Visual artists</i>					
Independent artists	24	27	26	35	27
Professional, scientific, technical services	14	17	20	16	20
Specialized design services	6	8		12	6
Advertising and related services	4	8			5
Toys, amusement, and sporting goods			6	4	4
Motion pictures and video	20	7			3
Computer systems design			4		
<i>Performing artists</i>					
Radio, television broadcasting, cable	16	18	28	22	28
Independent artists	23	22	16	32	21
Motion pictures and video	49	23	8	23	20
Advertising and related services	1	6			3
Other amusement, gambling, and recreation			7		2
Computer systems design			9		0
Apparel, fabrics, and notions wholesalers				6	0
<i>Musicians and composers</i>					
Independent artists	65	55	62	35	47
Religious organizations	10	19	24	29	32
Sound recording industries	7	6			3
Restaurants and other food services	4	4		9	3
Elementary and secondary schools			6	12	2
Motion pictures and video	3				1
<i>Writers and authors</i>					
Independent artists	45	38	29	45	36
Advertising and related services	4	8			10
Publishing	6	8		23	8
Motion pictures and video	20				3
Radio, television broadcasting, cable	7				3
Management, scientific, technical consulting				6	3
Other information services		7	6		1
Computer systems design			7		1

Source: Same as Table 1.

Appendix II. Census vs. Survey Portraits of Los Angeles and Bay Area Artists

towards certain communities for affordability and quality of life reasons. Many live in the communities in which they were born, while others migrate from elsewhere. Many artists shift neighborhoods over time as their careers develop and their needs change. To inform our choice of interviewees, we mapped the 2000 Census distribution of artists within each region, as explained above. Here, we explore these patterns.

Both the Bay and Los Angeles areas offer a mosaic of residential and work communities marked by differences in class, race, ethnicity, immigrant status, family structure, and industrial mix. From the Census, we find that historic core regions still attract young, unattached, network-hungry would-be artists, while outlying suburban areas beckon to artists with families or those who have established their careers and seek ample land and studio space. Some subregions are host to new industries such as media and electronics that offer distinctive work and entrepreneurial opportunities for artists.

Within the Los Angeles metro, artists cluster markedly by self-employment status and discipline as well as race and ethnicity, immigrant status, gender and income. More artists are self-employed on the northern side of the basin than elsewhere (Figure 1, p. 35). Performing artists and writers live closer in to Hollywood than other artists, while visual artists form a larger portion of the artistic pool on the eastern side of the basin (Figure 3, p. 37). Musicians are most prominent in the Huntington Park/Compton region and surrounding areas, and are heavily Hispanic.

Artists living in beach communities and on the north side of the basin are more apt to be white than elsewhere, and African American artists are most concentrated in Inglewood/Hawthorne

through South Los Angeles (Figures A1, p. 91). Hispanic artists predominate in the southeast portion of the basin, along with Asian artists. Artists are more apt to be immigrants or naturalized citizens in these areas of the metro than elsewhere.

By gender, 65% of Los Angeles metro artists are male, compared with 56% nationally, and the male bias runs as high as 78% in the Santa Clarita Valley to a low of 51% in Inglewood/Hawthorne/Gardenia. Younger artists, 34 and under, are over-represented in the Hollywood-centric parts of LA and to the southeast of there, in Huntington Park/Compton and Downey/Artesia, while artists over the age of 55 are more prominent in Malibu/Thousand Oaks and the east end of the basin (Figure A2, p. 91). Working artists' median incomes vary from a low of \$14,000-\$17,000 in Huntington Park/Compton and Downey/Artesia to highs of \$52,000-\$58,000 in Topanga/Pacific Palisades and Malibu/Thousand Oaks, and are above those of other employed residents in all areas except in Huntington Park/Compton, Downey/Norwalk, and El Monte/Covina/Walnut (Figure A3).

Bay Area artists' also vary markedly in their residential location by discipline and socio-economic characteristics. As in the Los Angeles metro, artists cluster by self-employment status and discipline as well as race and ethnicity, immigrant status, gender and income. Self-employed artists predominate in the northern counties, the Tenderloin/South of Market/Mission area of San Francisco, and the East Bay (Figure 2, p. 36). Writers account for more than 30% of all artists in the East Bay and Contra Costa County (Figure 4, p. 38). Performing artists are most prominent in San Francisco's

Marina/North Beach financial district and the southern portion of Alameda County. Visual artists form a larger portion of the artistic pool in the northern Bay counties, the Tenderloin/South of Market/Mission district and the northwestern portions of Santa Clara County (Figure 4, p. 38). Musicians are more prominent in the Berkeley/Albany/Oakland region and the southern portions of Alameda and Santa Clara counties.

Artists are overwhelmingly white in the northern counties and San Mateo and Palo Alto areas. They account for only two-thirds of artists in the San Jose area and San Francisco's Castro/Noe Valley district and less than 80% of the population of working artists in the East Bay and Tenderloin/Mission districts. African American artists are most prominent in Emeryville/downtown Oakland (12%), Berkeley/Albany, Contra Costa county, and Castro/Noe Valley (Figure A4). Asian artists account for higher shares of artists in the San Jose/southern Santa Clara County region, southern

Table A4. Migration of artists by selected metropolitan area, 1995–2000

	In/out migration ratio	New artists as % of total	Moved into metro	Moved out of metro	Artists 2000
Los Angeles, CA	2.16	22%	19250	8918	88325
Portland-Vancouver, OR	1.48	24%	1634	1105	6876
Orange County, CA	1.47	26%	2814	1914	10881
New York/Bergen, NY-NJ	1.44	21%	20591	14348	96196
Dallas, TX	1.42	27%	3064	2162	11517
San Francisco-Oakland, CA	1.37	28%	7258	5285	26071
Riverside-San Bernadino, CA	1.34	22%	1519	1135	6992
San Diego, CA	1.25	24%	2680	2144	10961
Atlanta, GA	1.22	26%	3971	3255	15282
Washington, DC-MD-VA	1.14	24%	5436	4749	23016
Seattle, WA	1.11	22%	2482	2244	11428
Boston, MA	0.98	24%	3770	3847	15552
Minneapolis-St Paul, MN-WI	0.97	16%	1994	2047	12275
Chicago, IL	0.83	16%	4379	5288	27612
Philadelphia, PA/NJ	0.82	15%	2248	2753	15498
San Jose, CA	0.81	28%	1379	1699	4904
Cleveland, OH	0.53	12%	669	1255	5805
Houston, TX	0.37	21%	2008	5388	9725

Source: Ann Markusen and Greg Schrock. 2006. "The Artistic Dividend: Urban Artistic Specialization and Economic Development Implications." *Urban Studies*, 43(9), 1661-1686.

Figure A3
Artists by Density and Income,
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area
Subregions, 2000

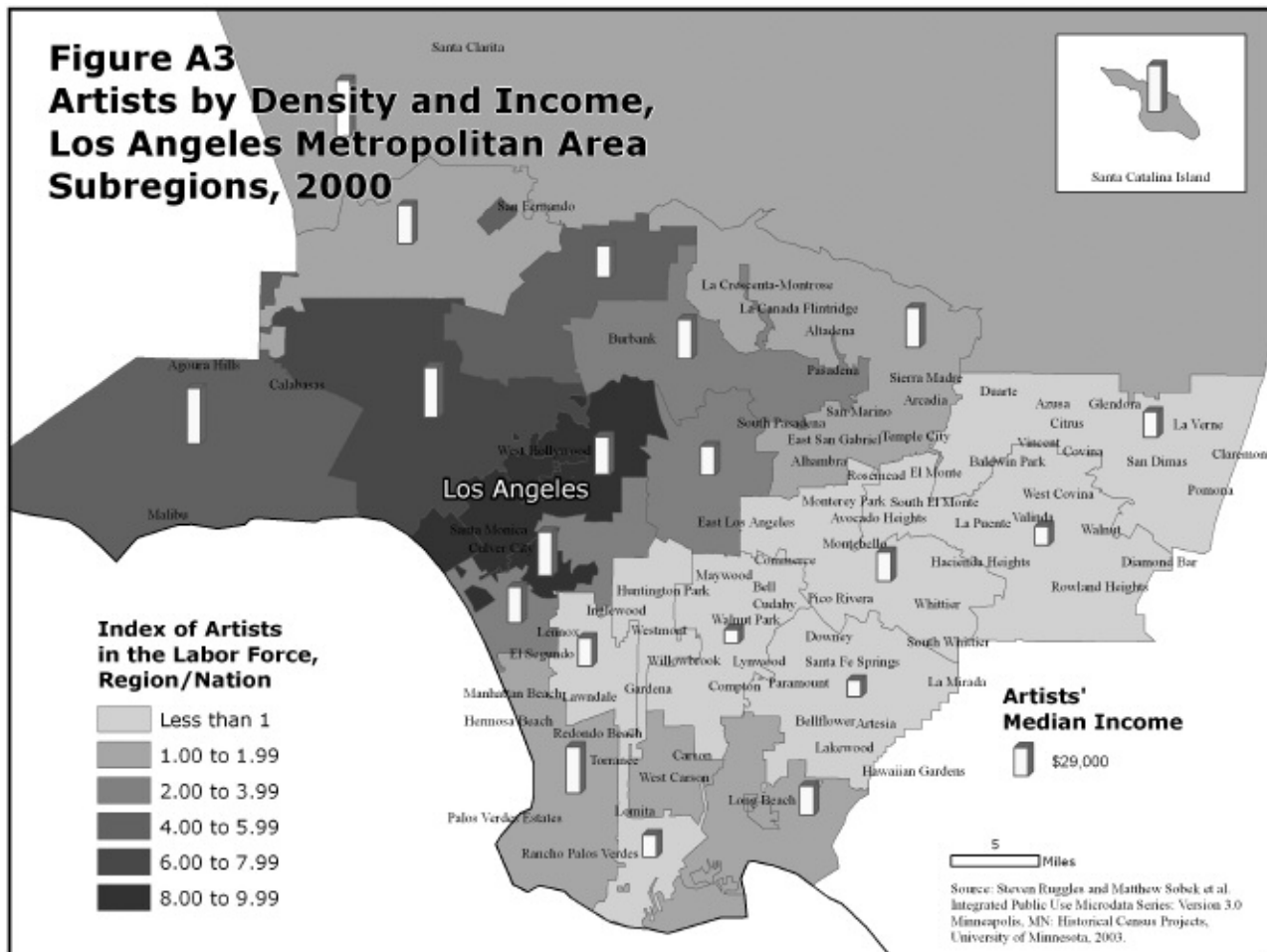
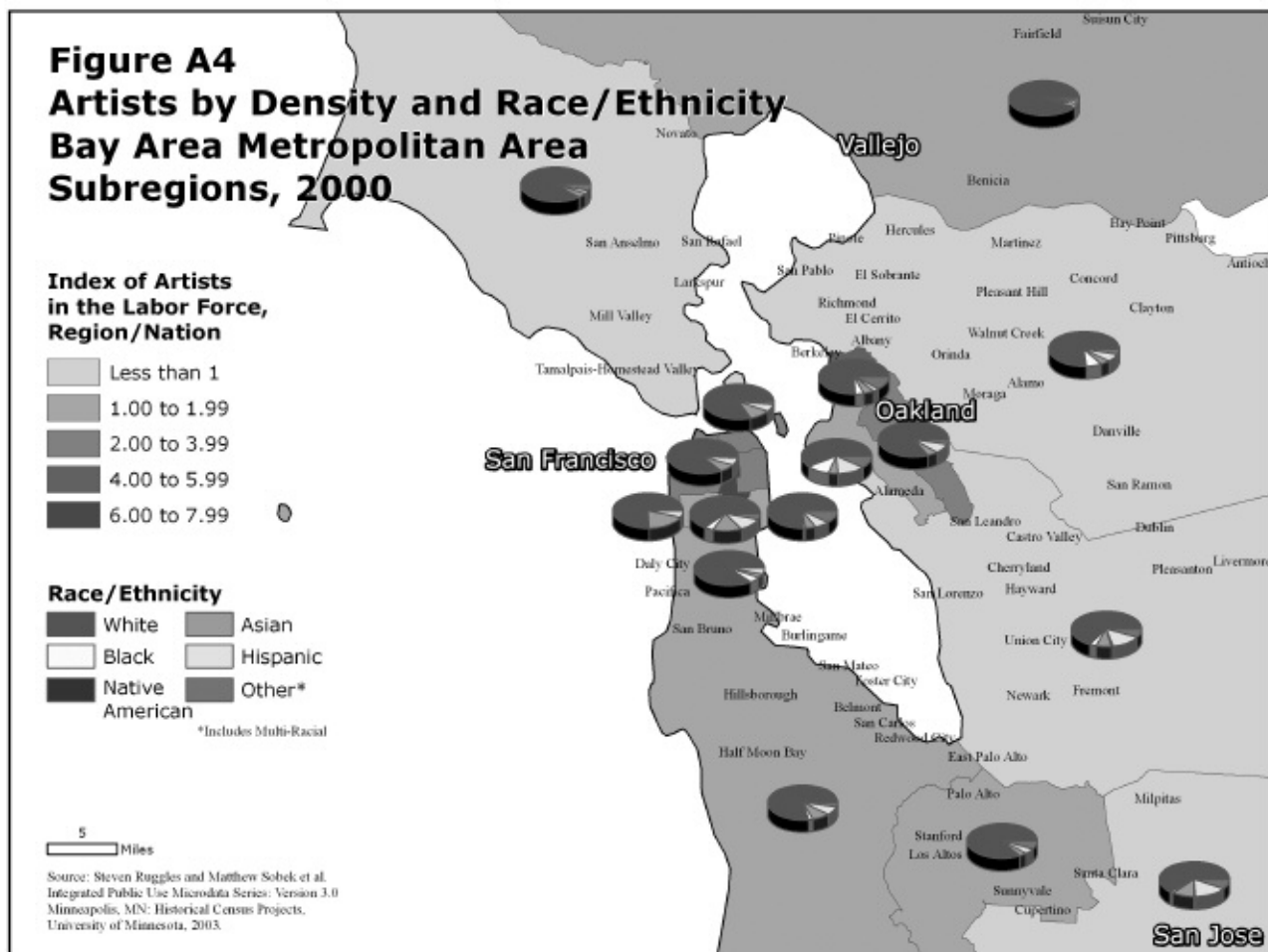


Figure A4
Artists by Density and Race/Ethnicity
Bay Area Metropolitan Area
Subregions, 2000



Appendix II. Census vs. Survey Portraits of Los Angeles and Bay Area Artists

Alameda County, Emeryville/Oakland, Berkeley/Albany and Tenderloin/Mission districts. Latino artists are more prominent in southern Alameda County, Emeryville/Oakland, and Castro/Noe Valley. Artists are more apt to be immigrants or naturalized citizens in these areas of the metro than elsewhere.

By gender, Bay Area artists are 55% male, compared with 56% nationally. Younger artists, 34 and under, make up a larger share of the artistic workforce in the core cities of San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose, while artists over the age of 55 are more prominent in outlying areas (Figure A5). Artists' median incomes are highest in the districts closest to the coast, including San Mateo county, most of the City of San Francisco, Marin County and the Oakland Hills (Figure A6).

Comparisons of Survey Respondents with Census Estimates

Our respondents include proportionately more visual artists than the 2000 Census estimates (48% versus 33%), fewer performing artists (19% versus 35%), fewer writers (9% versus 19%), and slightly fewer musicians (11% versus 13%). We distinguished film and video-makers, photographers, animators, media artists and new media artists (10% of respondents) and multimedia artists (4%). These groups are not broken out by the Census. Some are included in artistic occupations in the Census data, while others that fall under media occupations are not. Newly emerging artistic disciplines such as media artist, new media artist and multimedia artist are not distinguishable in the Census.

Possible sources for these differences include Census under-estimates of artists, artist confusion over whether the survey applies to them, and failure to reach artists through the mailing list method. We do not know the true universe of artists in the two regions, because the Census asks only for primary occupation. Many artists, including some we interviewed and some responding to the survey, work at a non-arts job for the majority of their workweek; thus they were undercounted in the Census. Because performing artists are more likely to be employed for wages and salaries and make higher incomes than other artists, they are apt to be over-counted in the Census while other artists, especially musicians, will be under-counted. This could explain why visual artists show up in higher numbers in our survey than in the Census.

Several features of the survey may have led to greater responses on the part of visual artists and fewer from other disciplines. First, some artists may interpret the term "artist" as referring only to visual artists. Although we explicitly included performing artists, musicians and writers in our initial approach to artists, some may have concluded that the survey did not apply to them.

It is also possible that we were more successful in reaching visual artists than other artists. Nonprofit funders and organizations in contact with visual artists may have been more successful in encouraging them to take the survey. We were able to tap into filmmakers' networks and media artists through a number of connections in Los Angeles. In contrast, we had no luck in reaching the Writers' Union in either region, though some of the smaller writers' organizations did participate. Similarly, it was difficult to reach

all the guilds that represent performing artists, though we were able to reach them through the Los Angeles Screen Actors' Guild and the Los Angeles Musicians' local.

We received a small number of unsolicited "talk backs" from individuals who looked at our survey but decided not to take it (the site was visited by 3616 people, 2254 of whom took the survey). Among these were people who decided that they did not fit the occupational profiles first encountered in the survey. For instance, they might be designers or teachers not practicing a particular art form. A few artists wrote to complain that they didn't see the point – that it is more important to make the case for public or nonprofit support for artists rather than inquire into how artists patch together a living and practice. In addition, several artists stated that they did not crossover between sectors and thus declined to do the survey. We suspect that our artist respondents are on average more apt to crossover than the population of artists as a whole. Since our object is to understand artists' experiences when they do work in more than one sector, rather than how many do, we are not disturbed by this likelihood, but readers should keep this in mind.

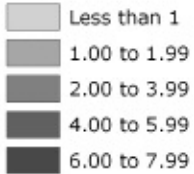
By race, ethnicity and immigrant status, our respondents closely mirror the Census, with slightly higher minority presence in all groups but Hispanics than Census estimates (Table A2, p. 93). 69% of our respondents are white, lower than the Census estimates of 74% for the Los Angeles metropolitan area and 79% for the San Francisco/Oakland metros. African American respondents mirror the Census estimates, but Hispanic responses, at 5%, are below the ranges for Los Angeles, San Jose and San Francisco/Oakland, while Asian artists (10%) account for a larger share. A larger share of our respondents, 11%, characterize themselves as "other including multi-racial" than is true for any of the component metros in the Census (from 3% in Los Angeles to 8% in San Jose). Our coverage of immigrants appears to mirror the Census, with 85% of respondents native born and 15% naturalized citizens and non-citizens. However, our set includes more naturalized citizens and fewer non-citizens than the Census estimates.

Age-wise, our coverage matches the Census in the mid-age ranges, but has fewer artists under the age of 24 and more over the age of 54 than the Census. For young artists, who may be less apt to have joined organizations, our mailing list method may have not adequately reached them. Other surveys based on organizational contacts have had similar results. As with voting and polling, it seems to be harder to reach younger respondents.

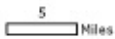
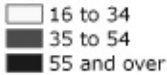
By gender, our respondents are disproportionately female (64%) compared with Census estimates, which range from highs of 48% in San Jose, 47% in the North Bay metros and 45% in San Francisco/Oakland to a low of 35% in Los Angeles. We also reached seven transgender artists, a first. Higher female response rates may be due in part to socialized attitudes towards surveys (i.e. women and older people are more willing to respond to surveys). Our respondent pool may resemble the full population better than the Census. We have reached large numbers of dancers and visual artists, disproportionately female, who would have reported a different occupation as primary in the Census. And

**Figure A5
Artists by Density and Age
Bay Area Metropolitan Area
Subregions, 2000**

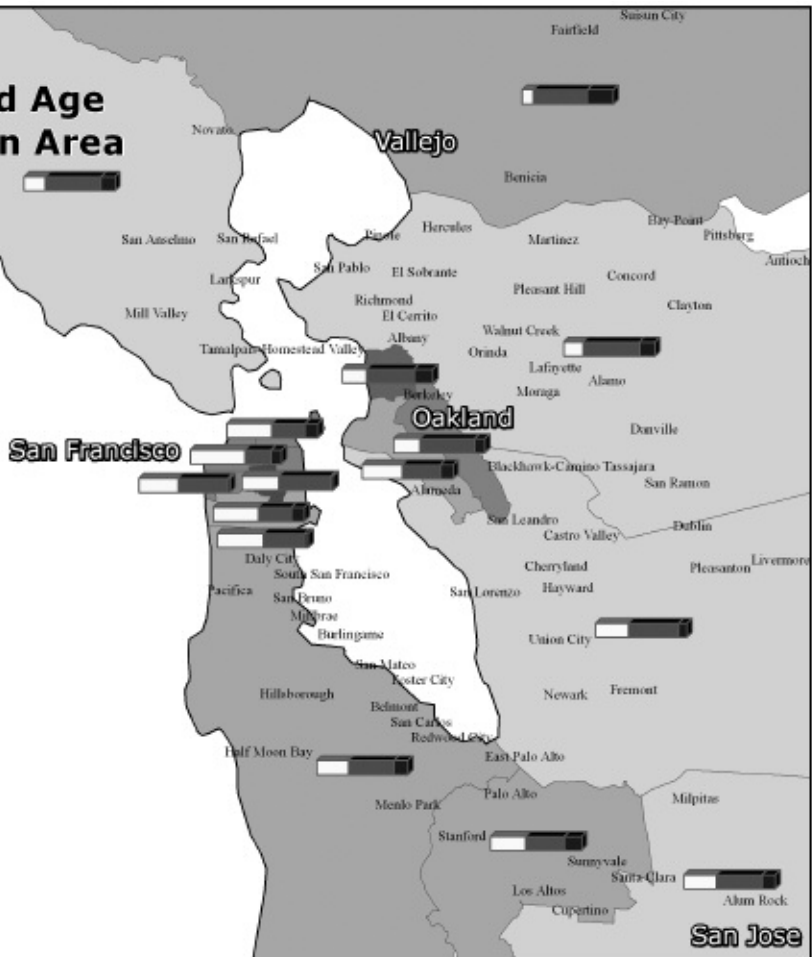
**Index of Artists
in the Labor Force,
Region/Nation**



Age Group

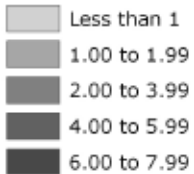


Source: Steven Ruggles and Matthew Sobek et al.
Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0
Minneapolis, MN: Historical Census Projects,
University of Minnesota, 2003.

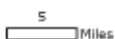


**Figure A6
Artists by Density and Income
Bay Area Metropolitan Area
Subregions, 2000**

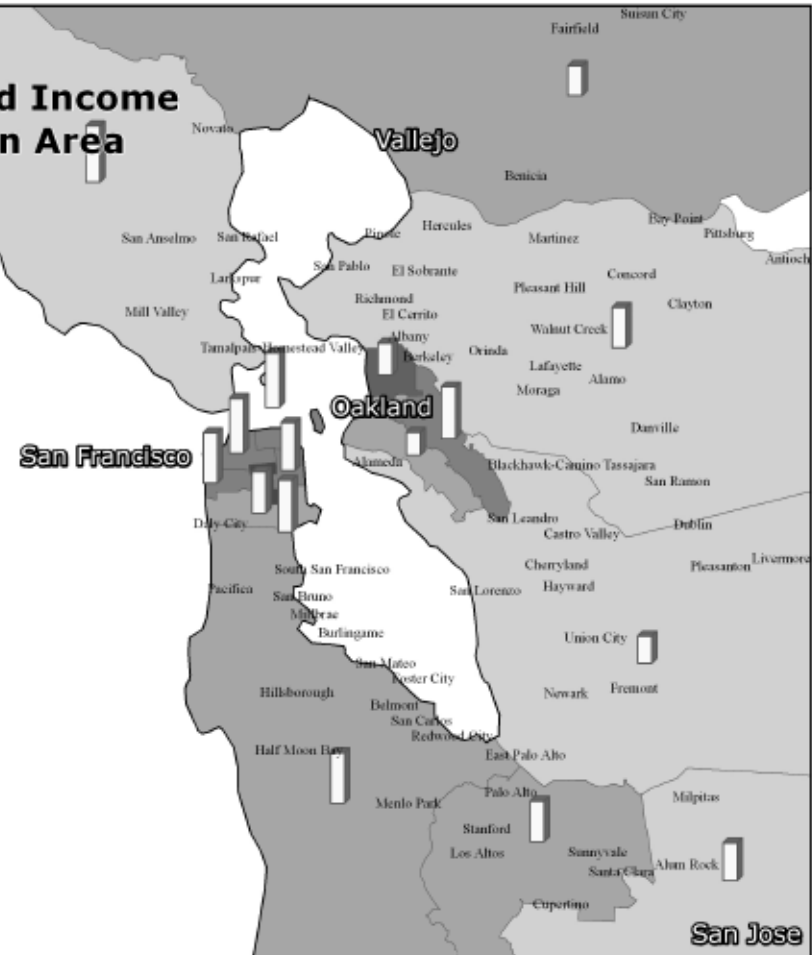
**Index of Artists
in the Labor Force,
Region/Nation**



**Artists'
Median Income**



Source: Steven Ruggles and Matthew Sobek et al.
Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0
Minneapolis, MN: Historical Census Projects,
University of Minnesota, 2003.



Appendix II. Census vs. Survey Portraits of Los Angeles and Bay Area Artists

since women artists earn consistently less than men artists, they are more apt to be working a separate primary job and thus not show up in the Census.

Compared with Census estimates, our artist respondents are disproportionately living in the two central Bay Area metros: San Francisco and Oakland. Of those indicating that they lived within the jurisdictions targeted, 44% lived in this central Bay Area region, compared to just 23% in the Census. Los Angeles respondents accounted for 45%, compared with 70% in the Census. Our respondents from San Jose and Santa Rosa/Vallejo precisely mirror the Census shares, at 4% and 3% each. We believe that this gap is explained by greater coverage and cooperation from Bay Area organizations, with some portion attributable to better under-the-radar artistic activity in this same region.

Comparison of Survey Results with Other Surveys

Other large regional surveys of artists have generated data on artists' incomes and work patterns. It is interesting to compare the results here with these, although each survey asked somewhat different questions and were conducted in different time frames.

One persistent finding is the relatively low level amounts and shares of income artists earn from their artwork. In the ambitious path-breaking New England survey that Wassall, Alper and Davison (1983) conducted for the New England Foundation for the Arts in 1981, individual artists median income from all sources was \$15,644, but only \$6420 from their artwork, and when expenses were subtracted from that, \$3554. Jeffri's (2004a) mail survey of Bay Area artists (N=246) found that gross median income from all sources was \$35,000, but that 63% of artists earn under \$7000 from their art. Indeed, only 43% of her sample of 246 artists made any art income after deducting their arts-related expenses.

Our findings for the Bay Area are somewhat higher – only 36% of the artists in our survey earn less than \$5000 from their artwork, though median individual income from all sources falls in the \$20,000-\$40,000 range. The Los Angeles survey of 1992 (N=1733) found average incomes of \$38,000 for all artists, 53% of which was derived from arts activities (Zucker, 1994). On an inflation-adjusted basis, these estimates are somewhat higher than ours; among our Los Angeles respondents, median individual income from all sources falls in the \$20,000-\$40,000 range, but since the Zucker study used the Musician's Union and Screen Actors' Guild mailing lists to find musicians and actors, the responses are likely to be from better-paid unionized artists in these occupations. Our inference that artists earn only about half their personal income from artwork is comparable to the LA study. Zucker's finding that 57% of respondents work exclusively in the for-profit sector and that another 24% work in both for-profit and nonprofit sectors exhibits less crossover than in our study (and community artwork was not included), but again, the targeted artist groups differ.

A study of the California entertainment industry, using employer-based data (not including self-employed artists or those working for not-for-profit employers), found average payroll wages for entertainment workers in 2002 to be \$56,253, above the average payroll of \$40,769 (Entertainment Economy Institute, 2004) and quite a

bit above our artist pool. The study used a definition based on industry, not occupation, and includes some occupations that are not in our study and excludes many that are. The same study concluded that almost half of these workers rely on non-entertainment jobs for their primary income, close to our estimate of arts to non-arts incomes from our survey.

By gender, Jeffri's Bay Area respondents were 56% female, lower than our gender share at 63% (which is very close to Jeffri's 1989 study). The median age of Jeffri's sample of Bay Area artists was 46, within our median age range. Both the Jeffri and Zucker studies turned up much higher shares of whites among respondents than ours did.

Both the Jeffri and Zucker studies find high levels of volunteer time spent (47% and 50%) on the part of artists in the respective regions studied. Although these shares are below our finding that 71% of artists spent time in the community sector, some of these do receive payment for doing for their work there.

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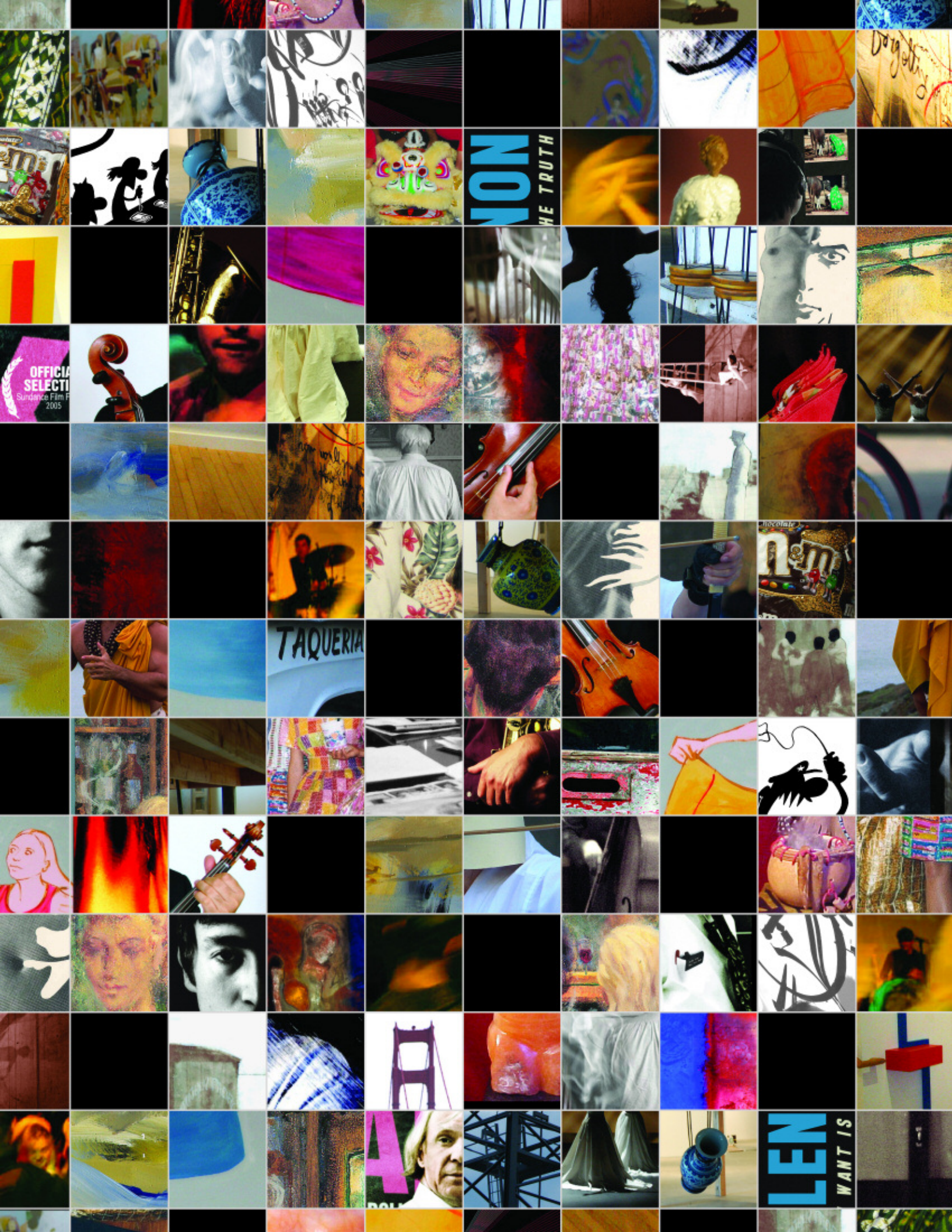
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List of Organizations Participating in Survey Request

We would like to thank the following organizations who contacted artists to participate in the survey and any other organizations who did so without our knowledge.

18th Street Arts Center	Kala Art Institute
Alliance for California Traditional Arts	LA Stage Alliance
Alonzo King's LINES Ballet	Laurie's List
American Composers Forum	Leveraging Investments in Creativity
ArcLight Cinemas	Literati.net
Artadia	Los Angeles County Arts Commission
Arts and Culture Commission of Contra Costa County	Los Angeles Downtown Arts District
Arts Council Silicon Valley	Marin Arts Council
Artspan	Mark Taper Forum
Association of Clay and Glass Artists of California	Maternal and Child Health Access (MCHA)
Avenue 50 Studio	Movimiento de Arte y Cultura Latino Americana
Baulines Craft Guild	Music Center
Berkeley Repertory Theatre	Musician's Union Local 47
California Alliance for Arts Education	National Association of Independent Artists
California Asian American/Pacific Islander Arts Network	ODC Dance
California Assembly of Local Arts Agencies	Otis College of Art and Design
California Traditional Music Society	PEN Center USA
Center for Cultural Innovation	San Francisco Arts Commission
CIRCO ZERO	San Francisco Camerawork
City of Los Angeles Department of Cultural Affairs	San Francisco Dance Center
Community Music Center	Sanchez Art Center
Craft and Folk Art Museum	Santa Monica Cultural Affairs Division
Craft Emergency Relief Fund	Screen Actors Guild
Creative Capital Foundation	Shotgun Players
Crowded Fire Theater Company	The Chitresh Das Dance Company & Chhandam School
Cultural Initiatives Silicon Valley	The Durfee Foundation
Department of Urban Planning, UCLA School of Public Affairs	The Flintridge Foundation
Djerassi Resident Artists Program	The Getty Foundation
DOCULINK	The James Irvine Foundation
East West Players	The Metal Arts Guild
Education Department of Los Angeles County Museum of Art	The Ralph and Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, UCLA School of Public Affairs
Entertainment Economy Institute	The San Francisco Center for the Book
Geralynn Krajeck	The San Francisco Foundation
Human Interaction Research Institute	The Walter and Elise Haas Fund
InnerSpark: California State Summer School for the Arts	The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
Irvine Dance in California Program	Theatre Bay Area
Italian Oral History Institute	Viento de Los Angeles
Julia Morgan Center for the Arts	Visual Communications
	Wajumbe Cultural Institute, Inc



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