



# LOCATING ART WORLDS

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## Abstract

This paper uses a varied literature to define “art” as literary, musical, or visual creations, and theatrical, dance, or musical performances that: are not motivated by utility; play some role in interpreting a culture or place; and are recognized as art by some number of audiences, vendors, producers, and critics. Thus, art benefits cultures and places through its interpretive value.

The production and dissemination of artistic creations requires a constellation of materials, standards, techniques, producers, and vendors that is called an “art world” relevant to that type of art. Though the impulse to create art is universal, art worlds are manifested unevenly across cities within a country and across districts within a metropolitan area. These distributions differ for different types of arts and artists, but have some dependence on the division of labor and on economies of scale. Therefore it is not surprising that New York and Los Angeles dominate (different types of) art worlds and art creation in North America. However, some much smaller metropolitan areas exhibit proportional concentration in specific art fields. In addition, large metropolitan areas contain quite-separate districts of art production and dissemination. This paper concludes with a brief case study of visual-arts districts in New Orleans.

# Locating Art Worlds

## Importance

(1) Why are arts important? (2) Worth supporting? (3) Worth measuring? (4) Why do economic geographers research and write about arts?

The breadth of what I mean by “arts” will vary according to my data source, and I’ll try to be explicit in what follows. First, I’ll make sure we start with a broad appreciation for the importance of arts.

1. The creation of art necessarily deepens the creator’s self-expression and thus, self-identification.
2. The corpus of art produced in a culture or sub-culture is a key artifact of the culture’s expression, self-identification, self-assessment, and development.
3. Thus, members of the culture who do not produce art gain the benefit of cultural expression, assessment, and development.
4. Geographically, art is one way in which neighborhoods or small cities can recognize or even create identity. Communities are manifestations and protectors of culture; arts are manifestations of culture. Locally generated arts are powerful sources and holders of community identity.
5. Economically and geographically, arts motivate production, consumption, and exports (in other words, income entering a region or country, providing employment in the arts and in supporting activities), and artistic skill can improve the productivity or utility of other production in the location or across the globe – artistic skills are components of other economic activities.

## Definitions

### What is art?

In his much-cited book *Art Worlds*, the sociologist Howard Becker [2008: 138] wrote:

“When we say ‘art,’ we usually mean

something like this: a work which has aesthetic value; a work justified by a coherent and defensible aesthetic; a work recognized by appropriate people as having aesthetic value; a work displayed in the appropriate places [museums, concert halls, bookstores, etc.]. In many instances, however, works have some, but not all, of these attributes.”

### Do those works count as art?

Becker also quoted Arthur C. Danto, 20th century philosopher and art critic [1973: 15]:

The moment something is considered an artwork, it becomes subject to an interpretation. It owes its existence as an artwork to this, and when its claim to art is defeated, it loses its interpretation and becomes a mere *thing*” [italics added].

Art results from conscious interpretation, and evokes interpretation and reflection. Danto was focused on the recognition of everyday objects as art in the hands of Marcel Duchamp or Andy Warhol. However, I think this is a useful quote in general. It certainly explains why some writing is functional and some rewards third and fourth readings, why some photographs are snapshots and some lay claim to art status, or why, seeing a wet mop lying in a public space, I ask myself “Is that art?” If I saw that same mop in a janitor’s closet, I wouldn’t try to interpret its meaning. It also explains why some would claim that a set of sounds is art and others would not – some feel that they can place a useful interpretation on the work, and others do not. The difference is the individuals’ **cultural capital**, as introduced by Pierre Bourdieu [1979, t. 1984].

### Art worlds

The institutional theory of art holds that “if practicing artists want their work accepted as art, they will have to persuade the appropriate people to certify it as art.... But if art is what an art world ratifies as art, an alternative exists... the strategy of organizing *de novo* an art world which will ratify as art that which one produces” [Becker 2008: 156]. This may require new resources and materials, new presentation venues, new aesthetic principles, and a new set of crit-

ics. In some instances, this will also require new musical instruments, new musical software, new materials, perhaps even a new language or a newly created folklore. These inputs and production venues, fellow artists, and the critics and scholars who help the public interpret and judge the resultant works – these comprise an **art world**.

Artists, characterized by their relationship to organized art worlds

Becker [2008] reiterated and extended others' characterizations of artists, by emphasizing the artist's relationship to art worlds.

**"Integrated professionals"** are trained and socialized to meet the creative and market expectations of an art world. "What they do is the bulk of what goes on in the name of art in any society" [232]. These artists do not have a unique hold on skill, quality, or innovativeness, but they regularly engage the selection and critique provided by an organized art world. This group might be subdivided into: **professional artists**, who are able to make their living from producing art works and teaching art production; and **aspiring professionals** (a.k.a. **"emerging artists"**) who rely on non-labor or part-time labor income in order to devote themselves largely to their acting, painting, writing, dance, or musical performance.

**"Mavericks"** are aware of an art world's expectations (for styles, materials, instrumentation, presentation), but flout important elements of these expectations. Mavericks tend to be self-supporting, since orchestras, publishers, galleries, and other distribution systems cannot or will not produce or market their works.

Between "integrated professionals" and "mavericks" are artists who are quite aware and accepting of most of the expectations of a given art world, but cannot or choose not to meet all the expectations. Finney [1993] used the categories of "serious amateurs" and "hobbyists." **Serious amateurs** actively participate in non-paid performances, or sell physical works in informal or non-selective contexts (booths in public markets, outdoor spaces in tourist districts). **Hobbyists** pursue some art form for enjoyment.

**"Folk artists"** pursue an art form based on traditions they have received, applying their own creativity.

**"Naïve artists"** operate outside of any particular

tradition, setting out to produce what they want or feel called to produce, rather than flouting particular expectations. Think of works like Simon Rodia's *Watts Towers* or James Hampton's *The Throne of the Third Heaven of the National Millennium General Assembly*, or individual houses covered with found objects. These artists work from an intensely private vision, with materials not manufactured for their purposes.

### Art distribution

"Fully developed art worlds ... provide distribution systems which integrate artists into their society's economy" [Becker 2008: 93]. Those distribution systems become a way to distinguish marginal from fully developed art worlds, just as participation in those systems becomes a way to distinguish "fully integrated artists." However, if an artist has the means to obtain necessary materials (and in some cases, assistance) without external funding, the artist may produce works without any buyers, patrons, producers, or audience. Amateur musicians, writers, and visual artists, and most mavericks, operate this way – and will not appear in the statistics on occupation or industry that I'll use in this paper.

Most performance-based art forms require more resources for production than most individuals can muster, and thus require a production company that compensates the artist and sells tickets. These producing organizations, supported by many patrons and perhaps by government, intermediate between artist and audience. Self-recorded music, self-painted or –sculpted works, poetry, plays, and fiction can be sold directly to buyers – the internet has been a boon to artists. However, the uniqueness of each work – which is its "selling" point – and the vast number of artists able to create and to try to sell these unique works make it difficult to connect buyers and sellers. Thus, even these individual artists of non-performance works benefit from a marketing intermediary, such as a publisher or a gallery.

Producing and intermediary organizations (theaters, cinemas, orchestras, bands, publishers, galleries):

- attempt to create and maintain an audience, through publicity and subscription sales;
- may specialize in either "hallowed" works or in new works;
- face logistical constraints on the kinds of work they

can produce or distribute (instruments, materials, size);

- exist in a hierarchy of the large, seemingly permanent, and well supported to the ephemeral; and
- the more permanent organizations require a sufficient quantity of work to feed the distribution system.

If the artist aspires to recognition by an art world, “participation in the established distribution system is one of the important signs by which art world participants distinguish serious artists from amateurs” [Becker 2008: 97]. This opens up possibilities for *and* brings constraints to the artist, because (after Becker 2008: 107):

- 1) Distribution systems have logistical constraints, noted above.
- 2) Distribution systems require people or institutions who will spend money on art. However,
- 3) Individuals will buy what they can afford and have learned to appreciate and enjoy.

### Economics of art production and consumption

There is a long history and pre-history of instrumentality of art-like work: from the glorification of gods and their earthly representatives to civic indoctrination and on to civil dissatisfaction and rebellion.

By Western tradition since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, “art” by definition provides no use value or quantifiable benefit to the owner.<sup>1</sup> However, art does require resources to produce. The producer must obtain these resources through

- receiving exchange value<sup>2</sup> for the artwork,
- using other assets (wealth),
- earning from other work besides the production of art, or
- receiving subsidy from the state, the church, a patron, or a relative.

The location of art production and art markets reflects

1 On page 74, Mattick quotes George Kubler (1962, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things*; Yale University Press): “We are in the presence of a work of art only when it has no preponderant instrumental use, and when its technical and rational organization are not pre-eminent” [16].

2 What determines the exchange value of artwork? The agreement of a market that evaluates artwork.

these requirements.

Everything above is focused on what we might call “fine art,” art without economic instrumentality, *l’art pour l’art*, art that signifies that the producer and appreciator have surpassed mundane material needs and can focus on higher pursuits. However, I’ve already suggested some of the other uses of fine art, including self-definition, cultural definition, culture-wide assessment and development.

In addition to these implied uses of fine arts, much of the policy interest and empirical study of arts are *indeed* based on the mundanity of economic development. Household, corporate, and government purchases of arts support artists and their suppliers; some of these purchases are from other parts of the country or the world, transferring revenue into regional economies. Some artists complement fine-art production with teaching, product design, instructional videos, creative consulting (consulting on creative matters, *and* consulting on other matters more creatively than a non-artist might), and other activities that add value or productivity to others. Art exports, art tourism, and artistic value-added to production combine to form what Ann Markusen and Greg Schrock [2006] labeled “the artistic dividend.” Some empirical portions of this paper rely on this broader definition of arts and their impact, and at times include graphic design, industrial design, architecture, and all videography within the arts.

## Location of Artists And Art Production in the US

### Localization of art worlds

Once an art world is well-established – with accepted conventions of type, format, materials or instrumentation, skill – manifestations of that world can crop up anywhere there’s the opportunity for sufficient scale. We have orchestras and orchestra houses, contemporary-music bands and appropriate venues, poets and poetry readings, painters and galleries, or some sort in each metropolitan area.

However, if a particularly creative, intrepid, and ambitious artist pursues some new form that is not just innovative – and innovation is *necessary* in post-Medieval art worlds – but is so innovative that it cannot be produced, performed, or appreciated by extant art worlds, then she’ll have to create not just a new art form, but a new art world. No

matter how intrepid, she can't do this alone.

Collaboration can indeed occur across long distances. But a new art form or format, like a new idea that is not yet quite a patentable invention, is hard to communicate. Proximity is required for the co-creation of new inventions, and for the co-creation of new art forms. For "integrated professionals," inspiration may come from serendipitous interaction with "mavericks" and "serious amateurs." Furthermore, the need to develop new production inputs (instruments, people capable of playing them, software, material for sculpting) and new production venues (small yet multilevel halls, 4-D printing facilities (whatever that may be), galleries in which viewers can be shrunk to fit inside miniature sculptures) requires many different skills in proximity. This sort of rich juxtaposition of vastly different skills is the hallmark of a very large metropolis.

### Empirical overviews

We all know that New York is the geographic locus of the North American visual, theatrical performance, and written arts worlds, and that Los Angeles is the geographic locus of the cinematic performance and production worlds in North America. As it turns out, this commonplace knowledge is true, but worth contextualizing.

Appendix A shows US Census data on occupations of metropolitan area residents (hereafter, "metro area" or "MSA" for "metropolitan statistical area"), compiled using American Community Survey data (which replaced the decennial Census "long-form" sample), averaged over areas surveyed between 2006-2010 (there were 366 metropolitan areas in 2010). It contains 13 tables:

- a ranking of the 28 metro areas in the US with civilian labor forces<sup>3</sup> larger than one million;
- separate rankings of the metro areas with the

<sup>3</sup> The **civilian labor force** of a geographic area is defined as everyone 16 years old and older who:

- worked for pay, in their own business or on their own farm, in the specific "reference week," or
- performed at least 15 hours of unpaid work in a family business or on a family farm, or
- had a job during the reference week but were away because of illness, vacation, or labor dispute, or
- who were not employed but actively looked for work during the previous four weeks or are waiting to be called back from a temporary layoff, *and* are available to take work immediately.

Unpaid work in one's household and volunteer work outside the household are not included. Institutionalized people are not included. People on active duty in the U.S. Armed Forces are not included. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, n.d.: 64.

greatest *number* of people who self-reported their main occupation<sup>4</sup> as actors, artists, dancers, designers, musicians, and writers;

- separate rankings of the metro areas with the greatest *proportion* of the labor force who self-reported their main occupation as actors, artists, dancers, designers, musicians, and writers.

Immediately below each table is further detail on what's within the occupational category, if the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (Occupational Employment Statistics, *May 2016 Occupation Profiles*) provides more detail.

The primacy of metropolitan New York and Los Angeles is overwhelming, if not surprising: these are the two largest metro areas in the US, and are widely regarded as centers of international art worlds. New York has more people whose primary occupation is Artist, Dancer/Choreographer, Designer, Musician, or Writer than any other metro in the country; metro LA is home to more Actors than any other metro; the two metro areas take the top two spots for each arts-producing occupation except for Dance. Metro Chicago ranks third in three of these six occupations.

Ranking the 366 metro areas by the percentage of the civilian labor force in each of these occupations yields results that are interesting and, in some cases, inexplicable. The concentration of Musicians in Nashville is no surprise. Santa Fe readily comes to mind as an arts center. Boulder has among the highest concentrations of self-identified Artists, Designers, Musicians, and Writers of any MSA in the country. I have no ready explanation for the high percentage of visual artists in Brunswick, Georgia (metropolitan population of 112,000 in 2010) or of dancers and choreographers in Jacksonville, North Carolina (metropolitan population 178,000 in 2010). A next step in this research is to undertake statistical analyses of these rankings against economic and demographic characteristics of all metro areas, attempting to generalize about the patterns.

Others have looked into this, of course. Carl Grodach et

<sup>4</sup> Occupation is operationally defined as the Standard Occupational Classification whose description most closely matches the tasks that the respondent performs in their employment, or (if the respondent is employed at more than one job) in the job at which they worked the most hours during the reference week, or (if the respondent is unemployed but looking for work) in their most recent job.

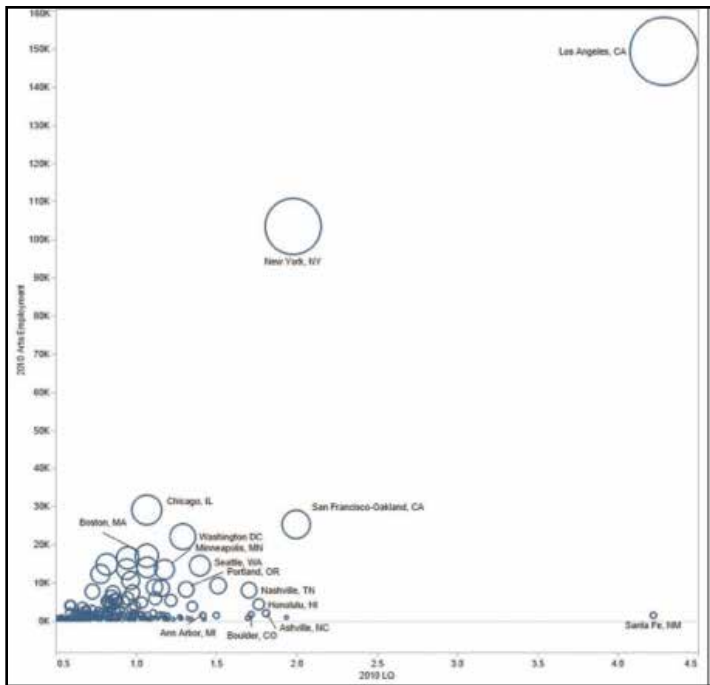


Figure 1: Metro area arts employment and concentration, 2010 [Grodach et al., 2014]

al. [2014] compiled 2010 Census data on employment in 22 detailed (NAICS six-digit) arts industries<sup>5</sup> (recall that Appendix A refers to individuals' occupations). Figure 1 reproduces their Figure 1, in which metro areas are represented as circles indicating their total employment in this set of industries, and are placed in a two-dimensional space oriented by arts employment on the vertical axis and relative concentration<sup>6</sup> on the horizontal axis. Using this set of arts industries, Los Angeles has by far the greatest amount *and* concentration of arts employment. Note the location of New York, Chicago, and San Francisco in the two-dimensional space. Now note the extremely high concentration of arts employment in Santa Fe, with its low *absolute* total of arts employment.

Grodach et al. used the regional co-occurrence of specific industries among the 22, to identify five types of arts clusters: (i) arts support services<sup>7</sup>, (ii) music production and

<sup>5</sup> Art dealers; motion picture, video, television, and audio recording production and post-production; music publishing; sound recording; architecture and landscape architecture; interior, industrial, and graphic design; commercial photography; fine arts schools; theatre and dance companies; musical and other performing arts groups; independent artists, writers, and performers; museums.

<sup>6</sup> Concentration is measured by Location Quotient, which is arts employment as a proportion of the metro area total employment, divided by arts employment as a proportion of US total employment.

<sup>7</sup> They refer to this cluster as "cultural products services"; teleproduction, sound recording, and graphic design are the industries that load most strongly on this factor.

recording, (iii) visual arts and theatre, (iv) arts education, and (v) film production. They then noted which metro areas, and which districts *within* those metro areas, had high concentrations of each cluster. Most metro areas and arts districts are quite specialized by *type of arts cluster*.

Jonathan Denis-Jacob [2012] posed a different question, one of great relevance to arts advocates in smaller cities and towns: "Cultural Industries in Small-Sized Canadian Cities: Dream or Reality?" He used 2006 Canadian census data to generate the proportion of total employment involved in a fairly broad set of "cultural industries"<sup>8</sup> in each of the 109 Canadian cities with populations between 10,000 and 100,000 outside of major metropolitan areas. Which small cities had a high proportion of employment in cultural industries?

- Those that were provincial capitals (these cities were more likely to have heritage museums and CBC affiliates);
- those that were closer to major metro areas;
- those with relatively high housing costs (this was very related to proximity to a major metro area, despite the fact that all 109 cities were beyond major metro areas); and
- those with a higher proportion of residents over 65 years old.

Statistically, these variables "explained" 36% of the variation among these 109 cities' proportion of employment in the broad category of "cultural industries," and 42% of the variation in their proportion of employment in the narrow category of "arts and related services."

Studying the distribution of artists (of different disciplines) across the 125 largest metro areas in the US, using the 1970 Census, Judith Blau et al. [1985] found:

*Economic inequality* is associated with more artists per capita. "The greater the differences among economic classes with relatively distinct subcultures,<sup>9</sup> the more

<sup>8</sup> Book & music retailers, newspaper & book publishers, movie, video, and audio recording, radio & television broadcasting, design services, advertising, "the arts and related services," and "heritage institutions."

<sup>9</sup> Thus, I'd expect that ethnic heterogeneity would also lead to a higher proportion of artists in a metro area.

diverse the market demand for a variety of cultural products and artistic services. The more diverse such demand is, the larger the proportion of the labor force who must work in a variety of artistic occupations to supply it" [317].

What about *wealthy people* in general? "The presence of a large proportion of affluent persons has a slight positive relationship with the independent variable [artists per capita], but the positive influence of economic inequality is much stronger" [316].

*Educational inequality* among the adult population "is inversely related to the number of artists" [309]. Even if there's a great deal of social, ethnic, and income heterogeneity in a region, people need to be at least moderately educated to support artistic activity relevant to their cultural tastes – and to provide those varied artistic services and products.

Here's a subtle distinction: the *dominance of manufacturing* in a region's economy was negatively related to the proportion of performing artists, but positively related to the proportion of nonperforming artists [326]. The difference? Most performing artists must live within some distance of their most usual venues, which are more sparse (per capita) in manufacturing centers. Visual artists and writers may sell their works over distances: Blau and colleagues suspected that manufacturing jobs might provide income and yet psychic space for art production "after work." I'll add that, perhaps later than 1970, many manufacturing based regions of the US faced economic decline, reducing the cost of housing and allowing artists to exist on lower incomes than in thriving metropolitan areas.

## Explanation and interpretation

Our two indicators, absolute numbers and relative proportions, mean different things for artists and art production. The reasons New York and Los Angeles maintain their supremacy are two related economic principles: **division of labor** and **economies of scale**.

Division of labor. In today's world, the isolated artist can read and view the latest trends online, and can order standard materials online for shipment. However, procuring non-standard materials requires interaction with those who can produce them. More pointedly, the performing arts require an incredible number of specialists – just view the credits at the end of any film, or read the credits in any theatrical or musical program. No performing arts

organization, and *certainly* no screenwriter, playwright, or composer, can employ all these specialists in house. Some can fly in for a production, but most form a dense network of local artists and arts-support specialists. The denser the network, the more fine-grained the variety of specializations at hand, the more excellent – or unusual – the productions can be. This is the quintessence of a huge metropolitan agglomeration.

Economies of scale. However, the economic maintenance of such a network – so many people, each needing several projects to sustain themselves, their families, and their art – requires a prodigious **scale** of productions. Even in a wealthy country, only a few cities can hope to attain this scale of artistic output. Thus we get the concentration of arts production in our US centers of New York and Los Angeles (and some other specialized centers, like Nashville). The economic and cultural forces, including the mobility of young artists toward these arbiters of global art worlds, tend to reinforce their centrality, despite their high costs and the efforts of other places to share that supremacy.

For the city, the *relative proportions* of artists and – more specifically – of art products indicate the potential for the arts as an export activity. In Appendix A, take a look at the metro areas with high relative proportions of the selected arts occupations: you can recognize that Los Angeles films and Nashville music are consumed worldwide; in some cases, you can recognize arts centers to which people travel for performances or visual arts; a few other cases may be as mysterious to you as to me, but it's likely that those artists are part of a cluster bringing revenue into the region. When a place reaches a threshold of arts production well beyond its population size, it attracts art-focused tourism. In the extreme, the name of the place becomes a sort of trademark: Ashland, Bayreuth, Cannes, Santa Fe, Stratford.

Given the importance of specialized artists and supporting services and the importance of scale economies in arts production, what accounts for arts clusters *outside* of large metropolitan areas?

1. Artistic work that can be relatively easily transported, so that production can occur far away from consumption: all but very large visual art works; creative and music writing; film making; recorded music.

2. Artistic work that can be produced without extensive division of labor: much visual art; creative writing; music compositions. Film making and recorded music generally require many specialized artists and workers working on a project basis, benefitting from proximity to lots of these potential projects.
3. Smaller places with even modest living standards have a local market for performing and visual arts that are expensive to move around (orchestras, theatrical shows, dance troupes, and museum collections), and thus may support non-export-oriented arts activity.
4. With enough of a specialization in an arts discipline, a smaller metro area can attract tourism from major metropolitan areas. This is more likely in smaller cities within a day trip of a major metropolitan center.

## Location of Art Production And Transactions within Cities

When and where do artists and art production cluster within metropolitan areas?

Poverty, “bohemia,” or “artists’ cluster”?

The mercantile and industrial revolutions that began in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and roil, worldwide, to this day led to the development of a middle class and a private market for arts and literature, outside of patronage by the church, the state, and the very wealthy. Aided by the European Romantic ideal of the artist as a free genius pursuing his own ideas, such a market draws self-declared artists with more ideas than money. By necessity they are drawn to low-rent areas; by creative need they are drawn to congregate in urban districts. (*Which* urban districts is another question, with which we must grapple.) Artists revel in their independence, and rebel in whatever ways possible against the necessity to engage in market transactions to support their art. This creates a culture of independence from mainstream society: “Bohemian adherents [in the 19<sup>th</sup> century] maintained aristocratic commitment to distinction via cultural capital, mocking the tastes [and the livelihoods] of the bourgeois and by and large ignoring those of the folk” [Lloyd 2010: 55]. Today, this marginal financial existence is supported through parents, student loans, and part-time office or service jobs, but also includes popular entertain-

ment such as bars, cafes, and theatre. When these entertainments collect in a particular district, appealing to artists and others, an arts district is formed.

“Bohemian,” or “artistic”? After studying and interviewing artists, anthropologist Stuart Plattner opined “Without a body of artwork to justify the deviance [from social norms], this lifestyle degenerates into bohemianism. [The protagonists of *La Bohème* spring to mind.] ‘Real’ artists are not bohemian, in the sense that their purpose in life is to create art, and their lifestyle is an efficient, low-cost means to that end. For [true] bohemians, the lifestyle is an end in itself. Serious artists, who tend to be self-centered workaholics, despise this as mere hedonism” [1996: 26].

In *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Richard Florida noted “the Creative Class people I was interviewing... bridled at the suggestion that they were in any way ‘bohemian.’ ... They also disliked terms like ‘alternative.’... Bohemians are alienated people, living in the culture but not of it, and these people didn’t see themselves that way” [2002: 210]. From my reading and observation, Florida’s creative class and his measures of urban creativity are in/of the corporate creative industries (gaming, cinema, graphic design), very different from (and yet intertwined with) the lifestyles, livelihoods, and locales of those pursuing individualistic or politically motivated artistic expression. Florida’s emphasis makes sense – he’s speaking to the economic development community, which is focused on increasing capital investment in their respective cities and regions.

In the same study mentioned earlier, Carl Grodach and colleagues [2014] statistically related arts-sector employment as a proportion of total employment, by ZIP code, to 15 other demographic and economic variables for each ZIP code, in each of the 366 metro areas in the US (using 2010 Census data). The strongest and most statistically significant variable, by far, was the relative size of a set of economic activity they called “an innovation district.” This itself was a statistical creation, which basically reflects the proximity of industries that employ commercial designers, programmers, and researchers, financial businesses, universities, and coffee shops, restaurants, and bars.<sup>10</sup> To

<sup>10</sup> I kid you not. This variable, employment in an innovation district within the ZIP code, was the result of factor analysis of the density of many different economic activities, to see which activities tended to co-locate in a ZIP code. One set of co-located activities included the combination of activities named here. Indeed, the activity whose location was most correlated with this

restate, across all the ZIP codes of all the metro areas in the US, the variable they measured that had the strongest correlation with the proportion of artists employed in the district, was the co-location of these very industries that Richard Florida [2002] has called the creative industries. This relationship was stronger for visual and theatre arts employment than for arts-education employment or tele-production, sound recording, and graphic design employment.

Some caveats:

□ The importance of some of the other variables of ZIP code areas (unemployment rates, age of housing stock, race and national origin) varied for different types of arts clusters (visual and theatre vs. music vs. arts education vs. graphic design). But employment in what Grodach et al. called an innovation district was always the strongest and most significant variable.

□ The dependent variable was proportion of art-sector employment in the ZIP code area (art dealers;

sort of district was “coffee and juice bars.” Of course, what’s going on is not that coffee and juice bars attract financiers, programmers, and designers, but that these occupations garner disposable income and acculturation that makes their concentration a good market for coffee and juice bars.

film, video, TV production; architecture and design; performance companies; independent artists and writers). Some types of artists may be able to produce art while primarily employed in other sectors.

□ Because of the nature of the dependent variable, these results do not (necessarily) reflect where artists live.

Gentrification?

Observation and urban lore suggest that artists cluster in dense urban districts with low rents for housing and work/rehearsal space, because the building stock has depreciated without sizeable re-investment. Older buildings also provide spaces with higher ceilings than modern residential or commercial buildings. Property whose structures have depreciated while the land has become more valuable due to metropolitan growth, is property with redevelopment potential. Does the presence of artistic activity signal imminent redevelopment? Do artists somehow cause gentrification?

Geographers Neil Smith [1979] and David Ley [1986; 2003] have (separately) written extensively on urban gentrification. Though they have differed in precise conceptual-

Stage	Neighborhood characteristics	Resident characteristics
1	18 <sup>th</sup> or 19 <sup>th</sup> century manufacturing or middle-upper-income apartment housing	Manufacturing operations or middle-upper-income residents
2	Disinvestment in structures and infrastructure because of lower effective demand for structures of these types	“Down-filtering” to less-profitable commercial uses or lower income residences
3	Older building stock and physical infrastructure, proximate to major commercial center: low-value structures on potentially high-value land	Lower income residents in depreciated housing stock
4	Limited services	Influx of residents (often without children) with high cultural capital and low economic capital, in depreciated housing and commercial spaces
5	Small-scale, locally owned retail and service activity (requiring only modest capital resources) catering to culturally rich, medium income residents	
6		Influx of residents with moderate cultural capital and moderate economic capital
7	Increased awareness by others in the region; increased demand for public and private services	Influx of residents with moderate cultural capital and moderate economic capital
8	Greater commercial interest (residential developers, national retailers, employers needing high cultural capital), which can be accommodated only with large-scale capital investment, which is expensive to amortize	Influx of residents with high economic capital

Table 1: Conceptual sequence of neighborhood and resident characteristics, in cases that culminate in re-investment and gentrification

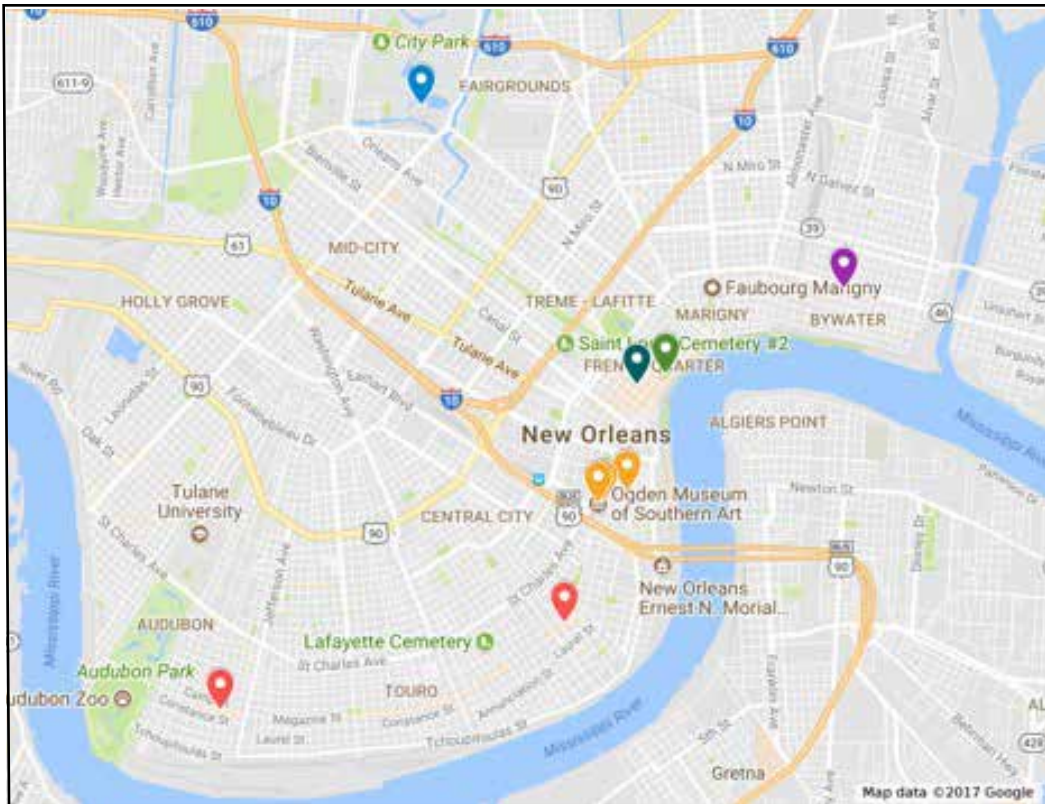


Figure 2: Arts districts in New Orleans [base map: Google Maps; locations pinned by the author]

ization and empirical operationalization (see Smith [1987] and Ley [1987]), each emphasizes the timing, motivations and results of large-scale capital investment into specific urban districts. In one study, Ley [2003] explicitly considered and measured the role of artists, and the economic activities that employ artists, in the timing of capital investment and neighborhood change. I have adapted this for my purposes in this paper, in the form of Table 1.

The attraction of national or international capital is key in linking arts districts to gentrification. In his sociological study of Chicago's Wicker Park district, Richard Lloyd [2010] drew distinctions between (1) the aspiring and the would-be artists and writers who congregated in the neighborhood in the 1980s and 90s and (2) the professional design and game firms that located in and drew artistic labor from the district in the late 1990s and 2000s. These firms had and sought contracts from major global companies. Their interest in having operations in the district led to rising rents and higher incomes that attracted larger real estate and commercial investment, which attracted higher income households. By the mid-1990s, global capitalism embraced the district as the source of flexible creative labor *and* as an investment opportunity. Extrapolating from this, Lloyd implied that a connection to global capital is what gentrifies urban neighborhoods rich with artists *into* sanitized districts – safe for capital investment and middle-

class families.

### Multiple arts districts

In Autumn 2014, I spent time with a young, African American artist in New Orleans. Leaving the Ogden Museum of Southern Art, we exited into what's known as the Julia Street Arts District. I asked her if she spent much time in the art galleries that populate every block around. She replied, "Those galleries don't show art I'm interested in. I don't know anyone whose work is shown in any of them."

I asked her whether there were galleries of interest to her, and where. She described St. Claude Avenue, in the Bywater district – two districts east of the French Quarter. The next day, her sister, also a visual artist, took me on a tour of St. Claude.

Since then, I've visited and read about the geography of art districts in New Orleans. I gained questions and insights from the book *High Art Down Home* by economic anthropologist Stuart Plattner [1996], describing the separate visual art worlds in St. Louis, their geography across the city, and their uneasy connections to the New York art world.

I think one can identify five very different visual arts districts in New Orleans (mapped in Figure 2), each manifesting a different set of art worlds.

The oldest and largest is in the **French Quarter**, where galleries with storefronts along Royal Street (and in hotel spaces, and some upstairs spaces) serve as art dealers, reselling older works. There are also galleries selling contemporary art, and in the quieter precincts to the east, a few artists still live and work. This district manifests what I'll call a middle-level world of resale art in the single to tens of thousands of dollars, and a popularized contemporary art ("Oh, look at that blue – that would be great in the living room!") that caters to tourist traffic. With street front retail space renting for \$30-40 per square foot per year,<sup>11</sup> the emphasis on high-margin art appealing to upper-middle-class tourists makes sense. From my preliminary observation, the practicing artists who can afford studios in the French Quarter participate in either a middle-high-end tourist art market or a high-end market that isn't primarily transacted in the Quarter. The most comprehensive guide to art galleries in the city [New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation 2017] lists 44 galleries or open studios in the district, 39 of which seem to be focused on original art or photography, and 10 of which showcase the work of a single artist.

Also in the French Quarter, but completely removed from the Royal Street scene, are street artist-vendors, surrounding and within **Jackson Square**. From my observation and just a few interactions, these are self-taught artists who make at least part of their living from selling paintings to and painting portraits of tourists: Finney's "serious amateurs."<sup>12</sup> In this same sub-district are small shops selling New Orleans themed art posters and painted art alongside T-shirts and mugs.

**Magazine Street** is a long, narrow arterial running parallel to the Mississippi River, less than a half-mile

11 Lease rates (almost all triple net) are taken from listings on Loopnet.com or (for some New Orleans listings) LACDB.com, during October 2017.

12 Unsurprisingly, there is a hierarchy among these artists. I had a conversation with a young white man whose mother had moved from rural Kentucky to the Lower Ninth Ward of New Orleans, as it was slowly being re-settled after total flooding from the Hurricane Katrina caused levee breach. Her housing cost was low enough that she survived on sales of handmade art objects which she spent a few months making and then several months selling in Jackson Square. He said that other artists made fun of her creations and tried to minimize the sidewalk space she occupied.

inland. It connects the upscale Garden District to Audubon Park and the Tulane University area, and is lined with small, locally operated shops and restaurants operating out of former houses. Many of these shops sell visual arts, high-end textiles, and crafts. Unlike any of the other districts, many of these galleries are owned by a single artist, features that artist's work, and are co-located with the artist's studio. Lease rates for currently available space vary widely, from \$14 to \$45 per square foot. The guide I've referenced lists 34 art shops, 30 of which seem to focus on original art or photography, and 16 of which showcase the work of a single artist.

The **Art District New Orleans** is the name of the organization that promotes and coordinates arts and entertainment establishments in the Julia Street district. Its maps and publicity material list 15 art galleries,<sup>13</sup> all of which sell new art works (as opposed to dealers of older art), and 5 art museums. The district got its start from City designation and support as an arts center, with slow but now quite hot interest from real estate developers, very much continuing after Hurricane Katrina. The only street level spaces posted online are in buildings under construction, asking \$38-45 per square foot.

The **Bywater** or **St. Claude district** features over a dozen visual arts spaces, at least two of which are cooperatively owned and run by artists.<sup>14</sup> There are at least two buildings holding artists lofts, with some presence of video arts. In addition, several inexpensive cafés host exhibits by local and regional artists. The attractiveness of the area is based on its older building stock, relative proximity to the French Quarter, and extremely diverse population. Visual arts activity here predated Hurricane Katrina, but was definitely fanned by artists' interventions to maintain grassroots art after the flooding [Bookhardt 2012]. Current lease rates approximate \$15 per square foot.

Recall the finding I reported earlier, that economic inequality in metro areas is associated with more art per capita.

13 The guide I referenced above lists 14 galleries.

14 The Tourism Marketing Corporation website lists 15 galleries, two of which are cooperatively owned by artists. It doesn't list the largest exhibition space in the district, which houses a small, community-oriented private gallery.

Art marketing, production, and appreciation in each of these districts require very different stocks of cultural capital. The Jackson Square vendors are socially extremely diverse, and to their middle-class, largely white, tourist audience, they sell a sense of “otherness.” The buyers’ appreciation of the work stems in part from the quaintness of its purveyors. The visual scene and the visual art on Royal Street and in the Julia Street district are both very white – pedestrians, buyers, gallerists, figurative art, and the traditions from which the abstract art spring. This is in a city that is 60 percent black, in a metro area that is 34 percent black.

To quote Fry and Willis [1989: 114-5]: “The so-called cultural relativism of the First-World art world that encourages difference is in reality a type of ethnocentrism, for while the value system of the other is acknowledged as different, it is never allowed to function in a way that would challenge the dominant culture’s values.... Difference is constructed almost exclusively on a binary model and is therefore bound up with the West’s internal dialogues and is a manifestation of its crises and anxieties.” The authors were actually writing about the thrall that Westerners have with Aboriginal Australian painting, but I find this an apt description of non-white themes and non-white artists in “mainstream” US visual art worlds. Visual art presentation in the St. Claude district is different: artists and representations of cultures of quite different backgrounds are shown as equal parts of the art world.

## Conclusions – For Now

I’ve reviewed several ways in which art consumption and art production are important for the individual, culture group, urban district, and metropolitan region. I’ve presented ways in which art worlds can be conceptualized and distinguished, and how those distinctions help explain what we see in the urban landscape. The several reasons why art is important and the several ways of defining and distinguishing art worlds explain why artists and arts persist in every metro area, and in multiple districts within metro areas – despite the overwhelming dominance of metro New York and Los Angeles in US (and global) arts production and markets.

That dominance, and the dominance of other, more specialized centers, is explained by the basic principles of division of labor – more important in some art worlds than others – and economies of scale. I tell my urban economics students every session: if I wake you up in the middle of the night and ask you a question about urban economics, the safest half-asleep answer is “economies of

scale.”

The arts benefit from national or metropolitan wealth, but even more from education. Wealth disparities within a metro area generally result from differential access to economic and social capital, but can in fact increase the demand for artists to satisfy the fractured cultural markets – so long as there is some relevant *cultural* capital in each market.

Artists and their services (including galleries) don’t gentrify neighborhoods. Artists and artist services attract economic sectors that make use of artistic skills; this brings neighborhoods *that are proximate to major commercial centers* to the attention and attraction of commercial operations, residents, and developers with more access to capital. New capital investment may be viable because of the proximity to commercial centers, but must be amortized by higher rents and prices – or by public subsidy.

Arts policy must be multi-faceted, because of the quite different demands, circumstances, and players in different art disciplines and different art worlds. Arts administrators, urban planners, and others should create spaces and organized activities that encourage serendipitous mixing of disciplines and worlds. I suggest that a particularly powerful role for arts policy – but only one of many roles – is to foment opportunities for many people from many cultures to produce and perform art that expresses, defines, and furthers the identities and goals of the individual and the culture.

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APPENDIX A

Detailed Census Occupation (among civilian labor force 16 years and over),  
 by U.S. Metropolitan Statistical Area:  
 EEO Tabulation 2006-2010 (5-year ACS data)

US metropolitan areas with civilian labor force >1 million, 2006-10 ACS

Rank	Metro Area (largest cities)	Civilian LF
1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	9,654,290
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	6,510,485
3	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	4,936,190
4	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	3,240,180
5	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	3,073,915
6	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	3,067,930
7	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	2,915,695
8	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	2,809,665
9	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	2,730,620
10	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	2,498,630
11	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	2,306,445
12	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	2,166,755
13	Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	2,009,550
14	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	1,901,430
15	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	1,840,260
16	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1,833,705
17	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	1,497,805
18	St. Louis, MO-IL	1,464,850
19	Baltimore-Towson, MD	1,438,090
20	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	1,372,115
21	Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	1,371,265
22	Pittsburgh, PA	1,200,920
23	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	1,169,465
24	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	1,109,310
25	Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	1,100,965
26	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	1,081,565
27	Kansas City, MO-KS	1,074,060
28	Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	1,056,940

14 US metropolitan areas with the largest numbers of Actors

Rank	Metro Area	N	Pct.
1	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	17650	0.27%
2	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	9465	0.10%
3	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	1340	0.03%
4	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	870	0.08%
5	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	765	0.03%
6	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	690	0.02%
7	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	600	0.02%
8	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	590	0.03%
9	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	585	0.02%
10	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	525	0.02%
11	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	510	0.05%
12	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	455	0.02%
13	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	440	0.01%
14	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	430	0.02%

14 US metropolitan areas with the largest numbers of Artists & Related Workers\*

Rank	Metro Area	N	Pct.
1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	22235	0.23%
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	20470	0.31%
3	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	7370	0.32%
4	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	6480	0.13%
5	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	3890	0.13%
6	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	3795	0.14%
7	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	3710	0.11%
8	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	3590	0.12%
9	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	3515	0.14%
10	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	3505	0.19%
11	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	3450	0.13%
12	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	2930	0.16%
13	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	2735	0.23%
14	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	2715	0.18%

\*Art directors, craft artists, fine artists, multimedia artists, all other.

## 14 US metropolitan areas with the largest numbers of Dancers & Choreographers

Rank	Metro Area	N	Pct.
1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	2165	0.02%
2	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	1710	0.17%
3	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	1480	0.02%
4	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	830	0.03%
5	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	770	0.02%
6	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	635	0.05%
7	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	525	0.01%
8	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	510	0.02%
9	Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	510	0.03%
10	Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	405	0.04%
11	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	400	0.01%
12	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	365	0.02%
13	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	330	0.02%
14	Honolulu, HI	325	0.07%

## 16 US metropolitan areas with the largest numbers of Designers\*

Rank	Metro Area	N	Pct.
1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	85295	0.88%
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	60335	0.93%
3	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	32020	0.65%
4	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	22445	0.97%
5	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	18485	0.57%
6	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	17105	0.56%
7	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	16825	0.67%
8	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	16740	0.54%
9	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	16515	0.59%
10	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	15495	0.57%
11	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	14615	0.79%
12	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	14565	0.50%
13	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	13735	0.63%
14	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	13685	0.75%
15	Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	10925	0.54%
16	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	10190	0.68%

\*Commercial & industrial, fashion, floral, graphic, interior, merchandise display, sets and exhibits, all other designers

## 15 US metropolitan areas with the largest numbers of Musicians, Singers, & Related Workers

Rank	Metro Area	N	Pct.
1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	17630	0.18%
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	16315	0.25%
3	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	6520	0.13%
4	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	4765	0.58%
5	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	4600	0.17%
6	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	4145	0.13%
7	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	4020	0.13%
8	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	3930	0.14%
9	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	3505	0.11%
10	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	3200	0.14%
11	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	3160	0.13%
12	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	2765	0.09%
13	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	2460	0.13%
14	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	2360	0.11%
15	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	2360	0.13%

\*Music directors and composers, musicians, and singers.

## 11 US metropolitan areas with the largest numbers of Writers & Authors\*

Rank	Metro Area	N	Pct.
1	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	24785	0.26%
2	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	18230	0.28%
3	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	9765	0.32%
4	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	7450	0.15%
5	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	5840	0.25%
6	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	5660	0.23%
7	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	4330	0.14%
8	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	3445	0.19%
9	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	3380	0.18%
10	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	2950	0.09%
11	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	2910	0.11%

\*Excludes technical writers.

US metropolitan areas with Actors > 0.05% civilian labor force

Metro Area	N	Pct.
Brunswick, GA	150	0.28%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	17650	0.27%
Hanford-Corcoran, CA	70	0.12%
Yuba City, CA	80	0.11%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	9465	0.10%
Santa Fe, NM	70	0.09%
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	870	0.08%
Sandusky, OH	30	0.08%
Medford, OR	75	0.08%
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	305	0.07%
Burlington, NC	50	0.06%
Manhattan, KS	35	0.06%
Albuquerque, NM	260	0.06%
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Goleta, CA	120	0.06%
St. Joseph, MO-KS	35	0.06%

US metropolitan areas with Artists & Related Workers\* > 0.25% civilian labor force

Metro Area	N	Pct.
Santa Fe, NM	815	1.07%
Flagstaff, AZ	335	0.48%
Boulder, CO	725	0.44%
Napa, CA	300	0.43%
San Luis Obispo-Paso Robles, CA	510	0.39%
Pittsfield, MA	220	0.32%
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	7370	0.32%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	20470	0.31%
Glens Falls, NY	200	0.31%
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA	420	0.30%
Missoula, MT	180	0.30%
Medford, OR	295	0.30%
Asheville, NC	620	0.30%
Bend, OR	230	0.29%
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Goleta, CA	590	0.28%
Farmington, NM	155	0.28%
Naples-Marco Island, FL	405	0.28%
Prescott, AZ	255	0.27%
Charlottesville, VA	265	0.26%
Eugene-Springfield, OR	455	0.26%
Santa Rosa-Petaluma, CA	650	0.26%

\*Art directors, craft artists, fine artists, multimedia artists, all other.

US metropolitan areas with Dancers & Choreographers > 0.05% civilian labor force

Metro Area	N	Pct.
Jacksonville, NC	190	0.31%
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	1710	0.17%
Kokomo, IN	55	0.12%
Steubenville-Weirton, OH-WV	65	0.11%
Myrtle Beach-North Myrtle Beach-Conway, SC	120	0.09%
Coeur d'Alene, ID	60	0.09%
Laredo, TX	80	0.08%
Logan, UT-ID	45	0.07%
Spartanburg, SC	95	0.07%
Honolulu, HI	325	0.07%
Topeka, KS	85	0.07%
Sherman-Denison, TX	40	0.07%
Lewiston, ID-WA	20	0.07%
Hinesville-Fort Stewart, GA	20	0.06%
Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	140	0.06%
Clarksville, TN-KY	65	0.06%
San Germán-Cabo Rojo, PR	25	0.06%
Duluth, MN-WI	80	0.06%

US metropolitan areas with Designers\* > 0.74% of civilian labor force

Metro Area	N	Pct.
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	22445	0.97%
Boulder, CO	1580	0.97%
Bend, OR	760	0.95%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	60335	0.93%
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA	1225	0.89%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	85295	0.88%
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	4125	0.87%
Corvallis, OR	355	0.81%
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	9390	0.80%
Kingston, NY	770	0.80%
St. George, UT	460	0.80%
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	14615	0.79%
Norwich-New London, CT	1120	0.78%
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	7085	0.75%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	13685	0.75%

\*Commercial & industrial, fashion, floral, graphic, interior, merchandise display, sets and exhibits, all other designers

US metropolitan areas with Musicians, Singers, & Related Workers > 0.24% civilian labor force

Metro Area	N	Pct.
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	4765	0.58%
Anniston-Oxford, AL	165	0.31%
Boulder, CO	470	0.29%
Kingston, NY	270	0.28%
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA	370	0.27%
Jackson, TN	150	0.26%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	16315	0.25%
Danville, IL	95	0.25%
Cleveland, TN	135	0.25%
Naples-Marco Island, FL	355	0.25%

\*Music directors and composers, musicians, and singers.

US metropolitan areas with Writers & authors > 0.25% civilian labor force

Metro Area	N	Pct.
Santa Fe, NM	365	0.48%
Boulder, CO	670	0.41%
State College, PA	255	0.33%
Ithaca, NY	175	0.33%
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	9765	0.32%
Salisbury, MD	195	0.31%
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	1480	0.31%
Ann Arbor, MI	565	0.31%
Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	775	0.30%
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA	405	0.29%
Bloomington, IN	275	0.29%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	18230	0.28%
Kingston, NY	265	0.28%
Iowa City, IA	235	0.27%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	24785	0.26%

\*Excludes technical writers.