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Waiting in the wings? The choice to create

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Abstract

This analysis addresses how individuals self-identify as being in "artistic" versus other professions. Specifically, I examine how job identification varies based upon employment status, and how individuals choose to transition more or less readily into and out of "artistic" versus other professions. Data come from the 1990-2018 United States Current Population Survey Merged Outgoing Rotation Group (CPS-MORG) files. The results provide preliminary support for including creative expression when designing utility metrics, particularly those relating with sectoral employment decisions.

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1. Introduction

Historical data shows that artists experience lower average income and higher income variability compared with other workers.¹ Nevertheless, the occupation of "artist" has been remarkably consistent in its membership over previous decades, during both the upswings and downswings in the business cycle (Menger, 2006). This implies that individuals may be particularly tied to the profession of "artist" despite its relatively low economic returns - and even as higher education becomes more prevalent, they persist in this low-education field. A finding that artists are relatively impervious to economic incentives would represent a major counterargument to public policies designed to smooth employment transitions in times of, for example, structural change.

A few explanations have been offered to explain this peculiar feature of the artist labor market (Bryant & Throsby, 2006). For example, some authors pay particular attention to the role and sources of artists' excess supply through winner-take-all models, others focus on risk-loving attitudes, and still others include creative effort in an optimization decision problem (Rengers, 2000; Bryant & Throsby, 2006). In these models, however, the focus remains on each person's decision to enter an artistic occupation, as opposed to movements into and out of said occupation.

There are two clear examples of researchers who chose to examine these transitions using older data. Smith (2000) uses the 1970 US Census, and Alper and Wassall (1998), use the 1988 National Science Foundation's National Survey of College Graduates (NSCG) to document how individuals move into, and out of, artistic occupations. Both suggest that about 25-30% of artists had transitioned to a non-artist occupation within a five-year period. About a third of these leavers joined professional occupations. These authors found that, while many individuals chose to exit an artistic occupation, there was also significant inflow. Alper and Wassall (1998) found that a third of the artists observed in 1993 were not in the profession as of 1988.

It is in this context that I present a new preliminary analysis. A large, recent, and consistent source of data is employed to examine in- and out-migration regarding the artistic profession. My goal is to investigate whether artists behave similarly to individuals in other occupations when it comes to their choice of occupational transitions. In the present analysis, I veer from the five-year method employed in the previously mentioned literature, and I instead examine transitions over shorter time frames. I do this to more easily observe occupational choice reactions to external shocks. These include, among other factors, business cycle information. The period chosen for the analysis (1990-2018) covers times of expansion as well as contraction (including the Great Recession) which makes it particularly attractive for studying the impact of changing economic conditions on occupation choice. The present analysis can, in some sense, be seen as updating our understanding of how artists have behaved in the modern era and specifically during the difficulties of the Great Recession.² I strongly believe that this provides enhanced insight regarding the "fluid stability" of the artistic professions during the booms and busts that are part of the business cycle. This information will be crucial when considering the extent to which frictional unemployment due to industry changes—or industry restructuring—can be addressed via a shift into or out of being an "artist", and, consequently, how public policy may or may not be effective in addressing industry restructuring.

¹ Alper & Wassall (2006) provide a comprehensive review of this literature.

² Di Caro et al. (2018) provide a policy-oriented analysis of human-capital-augmenting government subsidies after the Great Recession and their role in affecting job transitions. The present analysis can be viewed in this framework, i.e., the effectiveness of these types of subsidies will depend on the degree to which individuals are tied to their goal of being an artist.

2. Materials and Methods

I employed the Current Population Survey Merged Outgoing Rotation Groups (CPS-MORG) for 1990-2018. The CPS is conducted monthly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and households are interviewed for four months, ignored for eight, and then the cycle begins again. In the fourth and eighth interviews for the household, "outgoing" interview questions are asked, and it is the compilation of these answers that is included in the CPS-MORG data. I am, therefore, able to match an individual's responses over time and examine how occupations and other variables have changed in the interim. I chose the CPS-MORG for its unique ability to provide detailed information on occupational codes and how they change over a reasonable length of time in a large, modern, random sample of individuals in the United States.

To determine whether I was seeing the same person at different points of time in the data, individuals within the same household were matched by gender, race, and age to establish pairs of observations for comparison. I then coded professional status based upon eighteen (in 1980) or twenty-three (in 2010) occupational codes and noted changes in occupation over time for each individual. I additionally employed occupational information to create measures of (1) prestige in the stated profession as a (principal) factor-scoring of earnings and educational attainment of individuals in that profession, and (2) the number of other people in the individual's stated profession group.³

Subjects in the dataset were further categorized as being employed or unemployed, and summary statistics examined the fraction of each category of occupations—whether 1980 or 2010 groupings—that fell into the employed or unemployed grouping relative to the total number of individuals in the sample.⁴

In the main analysis, I employed a linearized regression structure to examine the likelihood of switching occupations as a function of initial or final occupation. Specifically, the right-hand-side variables included the prestige of the profession, the number of individuals in the profession in a polynomial up to the fourth degree, earnings per week, a Boolean for the year, and a Boolean for whether it was the period of the Great Recession (2008-2012). Finally, I employed "one" occupational Boolean in each of the separate regressions. I varied whether switching "into" or "out of" a profession was the category of interest. I additionally stratified regressions by gender. I focused my attention on the coefficients and t-statistics associated with each of the occupation variables in each separate regression (the coefficients for the other control factors are available upon request).

Finally, I included an additional data check for primary versus secondary professions since this was not directly observable from the CPS-MORG files. Specifically, I employed the 2003-2018 main CPS for the months of March and July. I focused on individuals who were in months four and eight in their sampling frame to create comparability with the MORG files, and I examined the primary and secondary listed professions for these individuals. Stratifications

³ In particular, the Stata function "factor" was run using both earnings per week and the maximum grade level attained for individuals in the first available year of data. These factor score loadings were then used to "predict" - in Stata terminology - a new variable dubbed "prestige."

⁴ Individuals from the year 2000-2018 were grouped into the newer 2010 occupation codes, while earlier observations used the 1980 occupational codes.

⁵Results were extremely similar for the (marginal) Probit regressions, so the linear model was chosen for ease of exposition. The focus here was not on specific numeric comparisons between results for different professions, but on general rankings, so that the linear model was preferred since rankings were the same in the models.

were employed for the Pre-Great-Recession years (2003-2007), the Great Recession (2008-2012), and the Post-Great-Recession period.⁶

3. Results

Table 1 demonstrates that approximately 2% of individuals chose to be categorized as artists. This was true both for the 1980 (1.69%) and for the 2010 (2.01%) occupation-coded sections of the data. The percentage of artists was also relatively invariant to employment status, with — 1.58% vs. 1.70% of 1980 groups of employed and unemployed stating they were artists, and 2.17% vs. 2.00% of 2010 groups saying the same. From the other 1980 occupation groupings, only social-services-representation was also relatively invariant to employed/unemployed status.

Table 1: Employed and Unemployed by Profession

1980 Occupation Codes

2010 Occupation Codes

	unemp	етр	%unemp	%emp		unemp	етр	%unemp	%етр
artist	<i>784</i>	<i>21,142</i>	0.02	0.02	artist	<i>923</i>	<i>22,199</i>	0.02	0.02
sales	5,695	144,589	0.12	0.12	sales	4,626	113,645	0.12	0.12
support	6,553	187,844	0.13	0.15	support	5,399	143,905	0.15	0.15
farming fishing	1,961	38,489	0.04	0.03	farming fishing	743	8,279	0.02	0.01
transportation	2,785	51,759	0.06	0.04	transportation	3,696	64,569	0.10	0.07
education	980	65,747	0.02	0.05	education	1,765	70,810	0.05	0.07
computers & math	233	12,841	0.00	0.01	computers & math	750	29,511	0.02	0.03
architecture & engineering	437	20,569	0.01	0.02	architecture & engineering	575	23,139	0.02	0.02
social services	268	13,012	0.01	0.01	social services	412	19,549	0.01	0.02
health	345	39,735	0.01	0.03	health	824	64,357	0.02	0.07
science	149	9,772	0.00	0.01	science	223	11,644	0.01	0.01
management	3,793	177,930	0.08	0.15	management	2,573	135,249	0.07	0.14
cleaning	4,486	42,672	0.09	0.03	cleaning	2,465	40,081	0.07	0.04
legal	68	9,381	0.00	0.01	legal	205	14,590	0.01	0.02
crafts & construction	11,738	207,289	0.24	0.17	construction	4,729	56,241	0.13	0.06
technical	1,010	40,797	0.02	0.03	health support	843	23,105	0.02	0.02
service	8,294	158,392	0.17	0.13	installation	1,306	38,401	0.04	0.04
					personal care	1,669	37,090	0.05	0.04
					protective services	712	22,401	0.02	0.02
					production	3,554	68,027	0.10	0.07
					business and finance	1,388	52,064	0.04	0.05
					food	3,190	48,900	0.09	0.05

⁶ 2003 was chosen to start the data, since the coding of primary and secondary professions changed in that year. The period of 2019-2021 was specifically excluded due to Covid-19 related factors.

Table 2 also shows that, from the manually gathered CPS data, artists constituted one of the most highly listed "secondary" occupations as a fraction of those individuals with a primary occupation. This was the case both before, during, and after the Great Recession. There may, however, have been a slight increase in the percentage of artists immediately after the Great Recession.⁷

Table 2: Ranking Professions by Secondary Professions

Post, Pre, and During Great Recession

		2003-200)7		2008-2012					2013-201	8
	2nd	1st	Ratio		2nd	1st	Ratio		2nd	1st	Ratio
Agriculture	660	3,931	16.8%	Agriculture	588	3,693	15.9%	Artist	629	4,837	13.0%
Artist	<i>644</i>	4,077	<i>15.8%</i>	Artist	<i>565</i>	<i>4,170</i>	<i>13.5%</i>	Agriculture	544	4,288	12.7%
Other Services	704	9,085	7.7%	Other Services	757	8,688	8.7%	Other Services	721	9,880	7.3%
Food	966	13,272	7.3%	Food	833	12,946	6.4%	Food	1,041	14,986	6.9%
Management	526	7,737	6.8%	Management	500	7,777	6.4%	Management	465	8,862	5.2%
Professional	650	10,743	6.1%	Trade	1,379	24,973	5.5%	Education	933	18,510	5.0%
Trade	1629	27,578	5.9%	Professional	535	11,274	4.7%	Trade	1,327	26,911	4.9%
Information	247	4,467	5.5%	Health	1,067	22,804	4.7%	Professional	614	13,867	4.4%
Education	839	16,035	5.2%	Education	732	15,937	4.6%	Health	1,142	26,699	4.3%
Health	1074	22,065	4.9%	Information	178	3,942	4.5%	Information	163	3,959	4.1%
Finance	563	12,779	4.4%	Finance	407	11,682	3.5%	Transport	293	8,241	3.6%
Public Admin.	315	8,597	3.7%	Transport	213	7,301	2.9%	Finance	445	13,197	3.4%
Transport	225	7,428	3.0%	Public Admin.	241	8,657	2.8%	Public Admin.	263	10,032	2.6%
Construction	386	14,173	2.7%	Construction	256	12,565	2.0%	Construction	270	13,651	2.0%
Manufacturing	276	20,479	1.3%	Utilities	23	1,523	1.5%	Manufacturing	264	19,198	1.4%
Mining	14	1,075	1.3%	Mining	16	1,181	1.4%	Utilities	23	1,803	1.3%
Utilities	18	1,495	1.2%	Manufacturing	192	17,745	1.1%	Mining	16	1,650	1.0%

Tables 3 and 4 display regression results for each of 54 separate regressions in Table 3, and 66 separate regressions in Table 4. Regressions include only one profession at a time and are shown in three columns, both irrespective of gender and then stratifying on gender status. The results from these tables indicate that, for both the 1990s and the 2000s, being an "artist" had a larger magnitude effect than that for most other variables in its likelihood of individuals switching into that profession—results are also similar for switching out. It take this as evidence that movement into artistic professions is in fact more fluid, with individuals being both more likely to switch in, all else equal, as well as more likely to switch out.

⁷ Appendix Table 2 provides an additional breakout of the fraction of individuals in each profession—whether primary or secondary.

⁸ Descriptive statistics for transitions into and out of various professions are provided in Appendix Table 1.

⁹ Additionally, in separate regressions (available upon request) each profession was interacted with a Boolean for whether the observation came from a year during the Great Recession period (2008-2012). Of the 22 professions in

As a final note, it is also true that there is less fluidity among the female-identified, compared with the male-identified, individuals in the sample. This is perhaps due to differences in how being an artist is experienced both personally and professionally by each gender, with the literature also showing that women are less likely to make extraordinary gains and be recognized due to glass ceilings in pay rates and Female stars contributing less to box office sales (Heo and Yoon, 2017; Treme et al., 2018).

These results are also consistent with Table 2, since the transitioning artists may be "waiting in the wings," initially listing artist as their secondary profession and later moving artist to their primary field after some change in their professional status occurs.

Table 3: 1990-1999 Regressions on Switching Professions

		switch	es are "into	" the	listed'	' professions		
		A 11		Fe	male	_	M	ale
cleaning	0.288	[44.48]**	cleaning	0.384	[28.33]**	comp. & math	0.306	[17.48]**
comp. & math	0.27	[19.61]**	comp. & math	0.207	[9.24]**	cleaning	0.236	[31.00]**
science	0.143	[9.70]**	science	0.165	[7.19]**	technical	0.175	[18.26]**
artist	0.138	[12.71]**	social services	0.13	[7.95]**	support	0.162	[23.04]**
technical	0.117	[17.83]**	farming fishing	0.126	[5.34]**	artist	0.157	[10.11]**
sales	0.08	[18.01]**	sales	0.115	[18.58]**	science	0.148	[7.71]**
management	0.054	[10.58]**	artist	0.114	[7.54]**	arch. & eng.	0.065	[5.79]**
arch. & eng.	0.046	[4.50]**	management	0.092	[13.08]**	management	0.014	[1.83]
social services	0.037	[3.05]**	technical	0.065	[7.27]**	sales	0.011	[1.56]
farming fishing	0.032	[3.20]**	arch. & eng.	0.059	[1.81]	farming fishing	-0.031	[2.75]**
transportation	0	[0.01]	transportation	0.037	[1.90]	transportation	-0.032	[4.63]**
support	-0.009	[2.58]**	support	-0.039	[9.27]**	service	-0.033	[5.36]**
service	-0.051	[12.90]**	legal	-0.04	[1.19]	health	-0.055	[3.07]**
legal	-0.079	[4.19]**	service	-0.047	[8.79]**	social services	-0.072	[4.03]**
health	-0.087	[11.13]**	health	-0.071	[8.10]**	legal	-0.087	[3.78]**
crafts & construction	-0.118	[33.69]**	crafts & construction	-0.073	[10.82]**	education	-0.12	[11.70]**
education	-0.158	[27.32]**	education	-0.172	[24.38]**	crafts & construction	-0.168	[38.73]**

Note: Each coefficient and associated t-statistic comes from a separate regression with each of the listed professions inserted separately. All regressions further control for prestige, a quartic in the number in the new profession, earnings per week, the year, and a Boolean for if it is part of the great recession years (=0 for 1990-1999). * indicates significance at the 5% level, and ** indicates significance at the 1% level. N=133,548 for the full sample, split as 66460 for men and 67088 for women.

the 2000-2018 data, only five (including "artist") did not have a significant coefficient on this interacted variable - with the t-statistic on artists being 0.27 and 0.79 for the regressions "into" and "out of" being an artist. This provides additional evidence for the fact that artistic identity may be invariant to business cycle fluctuations.

¹⁰ In a preliminary step (results available upon request) when interacting gender with the other right-hand-side variables, nearly all of these interacted effects were significant at the 1% or 5% levels, and the gender-profession variable was significant at the 10% level or better in 39 of the 44 profession-regressions for moving into or moving out of a professions.

Table 4: 2000-2018 Regressions on Switching Professions

switches are "into" the listed" professions

	All			Fe	male		Male	
management	0.111	[44.20]**	installation	0.238	[12.70]**	support	0.111	[28.30]**
business & finance	0.084	[23.33]**	construction	0.185	[9.29]**	management	0.085	[25.24]**
farm fishing	0.041	[5.18]**	management	0.139	[36.88]**	business & finance	0.071	[13.17]**
sales	0.039	[14.12]**	business & finance	0.095	[19.59]**	health support	0.047	[2.97]**
artist	0.037	[6.67]**	transportation	0.088	[12.61]**	artist	0.046	[6.03]**
science	0.032	[4.46]**	farm fishing	0.08	[4.84]**	personal care	0.046	[5.38]**
installation	0.031	[8.15]**	arch. & eng.	0.064	[5.21]**	sales	0.038	[10.42]**
arch. & eng.	0.03	[6.37]**	science	0.049	[4.61]**	arch. & eng.	0.026	[5.06]**
support	0.029	[13.12]**	comp. & math	0.04	[4.16]**	installation	0.023	[5.69]**
personal care	0.023	[5.56]**	sales	0.034	[7.46]**	farm fishing	0.02	[2.17]*
health support	0.014	[2.65]**	health support	0.029	[5.25]**	science	0.012	[1.24]
transportation	0.004	[1.46]	personal care	0.026	[5.48]**	cleaning	-0.012	[2.26]*
comp. & math	-0.005	[0.87]	artist	0.025	[3.17]**	production	-0.018	[4.95]**
social services	-0.009	[1.63]	social services	0.019	[2.82]**	comp. & math	-0.019	[3.13]**
production	-0.017	[5.80]**	support	0.001	[0.21]	transportation	-0.025	[7.22]**
construction	-0.029	[8.47]**	production	-0.02	[3.99]**	construction	-0.051	[14.23]**
cleaning	-0.03	[7.70]**	protect & serve	-0.036	[3.12]**	social services	-0.054	[6.30]**
food	-0.073	[22.48]**	food	-0.045	[10.35]**	health	-0.097	[14.17]**
health	-0.084	[22.87]**	cleaning	-0.071	[11.88]**	food	-0.102	[20.67]**
legal	-0.102	[13.67]**	legal	-0.073	[6.53]**	education	-0.114	[21.18]**
protect & serve	-0.104	[20.26]**	health	-0.074	[16.90]**	protect & serve	-0.12	[20.85]**
education	-0.139	[49.47]**	education	-0.149	[44.39]**	legal	-0.133	[13.20]**

Note: Each coefficient and associated T-stat comes from a separate regression with each of the listed professions inserted separately. All regressions further control for prestige, a quartic in the number in the new profession, earnings per week, the year, and a Boolean for if it is part of the great recession years (2008-2012). * indicates significance at the 5% level, and ** indicates significance at the 1% level. N=440648 for the full sample, split as 226252 for men and 214396 for women.

4. Discussion

The present analysis is the first to use recent data, including from Pre- and Post-Great Recession periods, to detail the relative stability of an artist's self-described identity. The overall percentages of artists remain relatively consistent over time, and I also observe a high degree of fluidity in who calls themselves an artist. These findings are consistent with many "latent" (secondary) artists possibly waiting in the wings for their "artistic" opportunity to arise, particularly for men¹¹. This consistency, both relative to economic situations and compared with

¹¹ It is possible, however, that some of these individuals truly desire to have two professions and do not wish to transition into being an artist.

other professions, supports the possibility of employing "artistic expression" as a separate aspect in the utility function, and points to the need for additional future work on the topic.

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	<u>1980 (</u>	Codes		<u>2010 Codes</u>			
	into	out of		into	out of		
manage	35569	36,441	manage	22020	22,283		
	<i>15%</i>	16%		14%	14%		
archeng	4198	3,016	archeng	3654	2,734		
	2%	1%		2%	2%		
compmath	3533	2,763	compmath	4770	3,632		
	2%	1%		3%	2%		
scienc	2428	1,870	scienc	2143	1,560		
	1%	1%		1%	1%		
health	4314	3,727	health	5565	4,934		
	2%	2%		3%	3%		
educ	7847	6,759	educ	5630	5,153		
	3%	3%		3%	3%		
socserv	2640	2,229	socserv	2957	2,501		
	1%	1%		2%	2%		
legal	751	604	legal	1302	988		
	0%	0%		1%	1%		
artist	4808	4,006	artist	3820	2,921		
	2%	2%		2%	2%		
techn	9817	8,573	prod	9591	8,580		
	4%	4%		6%	5%		
sales	30009	21,678	sales	17643	13,383		
	13%	9%		11%	8%		
support	34025	25,499	support	21296	17,956		
	<i>15%</i>	11%		13%	11%		
service	27844	23,458	bizfin	10139	7,659		
	12%	10%		6%	<i>5%</i>		
farmfish	6559	5,436	farmfish	1585	1,195		
	3%	2%		1%	1%		
crafstconst	31419	25,668	const	7782	6,229		
	14%	11%		<i>5%</i>	4%		
transp	8660	8,582	transp	9506	9,345		
	4%	4%		6%	6%		
clean	16085	14,628	clean	5610	5,222		
	7%	6%		3%	3%		
TOTALS	230506	194937	healthsup	3858	3,865		
				2%	2%		
			protserv	2317	2,201		
				1%	1%		
			food	7782	5,996		
				5%	4%		

perscare	6085	5,387
	4%	3%
install	6266	5,577
	4%	3%
TOTALS	161321	139301

Appendix Table 2: Ranking Professions in the CPS

	# Secondary	# Primary	Total	Frac. of Total
Trade	4,335	79,462	83,797	14.21%
Health	3,283	71,568	74,851	12.69%
Manufacturing	732	57,422	58,154	9.86%
Education	2,504	50,482	52,986	8.98%
Food	2,840	41,204	44,044	7.47%
Construction	912	40,389	41,301	7.00%
Finance	1,415	37,658	39,073	6.62%
Professional	1,799	35,884	37,683	6.39%
Other Services	2,182	27,653	29,835	5.06%
Public Admin.	819	27,286	28,105	4.77%
Management	1,491	24,376	25,867	4.39%
Transport	731	22,970	23,701	4.02%
Artist	1,838	13,084	14,922	2.53%
Agriculture	1,792	11,912	13,704	2.32%
Information	588	12,368	12,956	2.20%
Utilities	64	4,821	4,885	0.83%
Mining	46	3,906	3,952	0.67%