

MORE THAN ONCE IN A BLUE MOON:

MULTIPLE JOBHOLDINGS BY AMERICAN ARTISTS

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Chapter 1 Executive Summary

Webster's New World Dictionary defines moonlighting as “the practice of holding a second regular job in addition to one’s main job.” Unless otherwise noted, in this study a moonlighting worker’s main, or primary, job is defined as the one in which he or she works (or usually works) the most hours.¹ It has been recognized for several decades that artists as a group often hold multiple jobs throughout their careers, either by moonlighting or by switching among several short-term jobs.² Although the term “moonlighting artist” implies that the artist job is the primary job, artistic jobs can also be, and often are, held as second jobs. Several labor market studies of artists have noted and documented their multiple jobholding behavior.³ This monograph, however, represents the first systematic study of multiple jobholding by artists.

To place the practice of moonlighting by artists in proper context it is useful to understand (1) why workers in general moonlight, (2) whether artists moonlight for the same reasons, and (3) whether artists in other countries, often working under vastly different support systems, engage in moonlighting practices similar to American artists. As a consequence, this survey is broadened to incorporate a general discussion of moonlighting in the American labor force, and to the extent that information is available, multiple jobholding practices of artists in other countries are also investigated.

Moonlighting in the American Labor Force

A great deal is known about moonlighting in the American labor force, thanks to researchers, using the monthly Current Population Survey (CPS) and longitudinal databases such as the Panel Study of Income Dynamics. However, virtually all these studies have concentrated on issues relating to moonlighting across the entire labor force. Some general findings from these sources are summarized below:

Moonlighting by Gender and Ethnicity

Over the 1970–97 period, the moonlighting rate of all workers has varied from 4.5 percent to 6.2 percent, with rates equal to or greater than 6 percent

1. This is the definition employed in the Current Population Survey, for example.

2. The first study to document moonlighting activities among artists in a quantitative manner was Ruttenberg, Friedman, Kilgallon, Gutches and Associates (1978). This study focused only on performing artists who belonged to unions.

3. See for example the discussion of multiple jobholding among artists in Wassall, Alper and Davison (1983), and among authors in Kingston and Cole (1986).

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throughout most of the 1990s.⁴ In the 1970s, the moonlighting rate of men averaged roughly twice that of women, but this gap has narrowed over time. Since 1994, the moonlighting rates of men and women have become essentially equal. In fact, it has been the increase in moonlighting by women that has driven the overall rate upward over this period while moonlighting by men has remained at roughly the same level throughout. Over the same period, the moonlighting rates of whites have consistently been greater than that of blacks and Hispanics.

Moonlighting and the Economy

Moonlighting appears to be pro-cyclical. Although no statistical test of this hypothesis was conducted, a casual observation of moonlighting and unemployment rates suggests that they are inversely correlated. In other words, moonlighting is more common when unemployment is low and the economy is strong.

Moonlighting by Age, Educational Attainment, and Marital Status

Differences in moonlighting rates are also associated with differences in certain other characteristics of workers. Moonlighting tends first to increase with age, peaking in the 36–45 year age bracket, and then declining through the rest of one's working years. Moonlighting also increases at higher levels of education. Married men moonlight more often than those never married and formerly married men. However, married women moonlight less often than formerly married women, who in turn moonlight less often than never married women.

Moonlighting Among Occupations

When examining moonlighting among occupations, it is important to understand that this behavior can be analyzed in two ways. First, one can focus on the occupation of the primary job, in which case moonlighting is defined by those in the primary occupation working in any second job. Second, one can examine the same occupation when held as the second or moonlighting job. Here, the primary jobs held by such workers can be in any occupation.

For example, in 1995 the occupation with the highest percentage of its workers holding any second job was firefighters, with a moonlighting rate of 28.1 percent. In that year there were 24 primary occupations in which workers had moonlighting rates in excess of 10 percent; of those, 4 were artist occupations.

In contrast, the occupation that was most frequently held as a second job was musicians and composers; 39.0 percent of all persons working this occupation

4. These rates refer to the percentage of persons in the labor force holding two or more jobs in a given week. Over the course of a year, the percentage of workers who moonlight at any time during the year is higher; one study (Paxson and Sicherman, 1996) placed it at roughly three times higher.

indicated they held it as a second job. In that year, there were 32 occupations in which more than 10 percent of all workers in that occupation worked it as a second job. In 1995, there were 32 occupations with moonlighting rates as a second job in excess of 10 percent. Of these, 7 were artist occupations.⁵

Hours Per Week Spent Moonlighting

Those workers who held a second job have spent roughly the same number of hours at that job over the 1970–97 period. The number of hours per week spent moonlighting has held steady at 13 to 14 throughout the period.

Why Do Workers Moonlight?

Motivations for moonlighting can be complex, and the information available on motivations is limited. Although the Current Population Survey has asked workers why they moonlight (but only at selected times between 1974 and 1991), the choices it offered respondents were narrow; essentially most represented variations on financial motives. Of these, the one most often selected (other than “other”) was to pay for regular household expenses.

Economic theory approaches the issue of moonlighting as a problem of constrained hours at the first job. If a worker needs more earnings, why not simply work more hours on the first job? Job market and contractual constraints may limit the hours a person can work on a principal job; hence the need for a second job. This theory has been verified in empirical studies. However, some of these studies have uncovered other motives for moonlighting. Among them are (1) working two jobs in which complementary skills are required, (2) reducing risks of unemployment and low earnings by working in two unrelated occupations, and (3) working a second job to gain skills and contacts unavailable in one’s first job. These studies have also reported that taking a second job becomes more likely with (1) lower wages on the first job, (2) higher wages on the second job, (3) younger workers, (4) more educated workers, and (5) less hours worked by one’s spouse.

Moonlighting Among American Artists

In many ways, artists are unusual members of the labor force. Since “unusual” is a relative term, it is important to cite a frame of reference. Although all workers represent a possible comparison group to artists, *all professional workers other than artists* are compared instead. This group is typically referred to as *other professionals* throughout the narrative. The eleven

5. While the Census recognizes over 500 “three digit” occupational categories, there are only 11 Census occupations regularly included by the National Endowment for the Arts in their Research Reports.

artist occupations are found within the Census professional workers occupational group. Artists' personal characteristics, in particular their average educational attainment, more closely resemble those of other professionals than other occupational groups. However, artists tend to experience labor market outcomes more adverse than those of most other professionals. Over the past several decades artists have experienced unemployment rates roughly twice those of other professionals and have had annual earnings ranging from 77 to 88 percent of the average earnings of other professionals.⁶

Similarly, artists have higher rates of multiple jobholding than do persons in the overall workforce, higher than even those of other professionals.⁷ However, unlike higher unemployment and lower earnings, higher rates of moonlighting in an occupation are economically ambiguous; one also needs to look at the reasons stated for taking a second job before concluding that that choice is made out of financial distress. Thus one has to examine carefully the evidence on moonlighting by artists to determine whether this practice reflects distress, opportunity, or a mix of factors.

The information on moonlighting by artists presented in this report was extracted from monthly Current Population Survey data files. For selected years between 1970 and 1991, the CPS queried all workers about moonlighting practices only in its May survey. Since 1994, most questions about moonlighting practices have been asked every month. Also, between 1970 and 1997 artists ranged between one and two percent of the labor force. Thus for the years 1970 to 1991, this small sample of working artists reporting their moonlighting behavior (or lack thereof) led to the aggregation of the eleven Census artist occupations into four occupational groups in order to gain increased sample reliability. These aggregated occupational groups are (1) architects and designers (both original Census artist occupational categories), (2) performing artists (musicians and composers, actors and directors, dancers, and announcers), (3) visual artists (painters, sculptors, craft artists and artist printmakers, and photographers), and (4) other artists (authors, college and university teachers of art, drama, and music, and artists not elsewhere classified). For consistency of reporting, these classifications are continued for 1994 and beyond, even though the sample size has increased for these years.

6. For more detail, see Wassall and Alper (1999).

7. Recall that a "multiple jobholding artist" is one who is an artist in his or her primary job.

Artist Moonlighting Rates

As noted, artists moonlight more frequently than all workers in the labor force. They also moonlight more frequently than other professional workers. Rates of moonlighting by all artists ranged from 7 to 14 percent between 1970 and 1997. In every year, they exceeded the moonlighting rates of other professionals; over the period they averaged 40 percent (about 3 percentage points) higher. Other professional moonlighting rates exceeded those of all workers in every year as well.

Within the artist occupation groupings, some consistent distinctions can be observed. The highest rates of multiple jobholding were experienced by performing artists and by other artists, each peaking at just below 20 percent in some years. In most years, visual artists experienced lower rates of multiple jobholding, and architects and designers still lower rates.

Artist Moonlighting by Gender and Race

An examination of moonlighting by gender and race shows patterns that are not quite the same as those of other professionals or of the entire labor force. In virtually all years, both men and women artists moonlighted more frequently than their other professional counterparts. However, while moonlighting by other professional women rose gradually throughout the 1970–97 period (as it did for all women in the entire labor force), women artists had relatively constant moonlighting rates. Throughout this period, they held second jobs at rates approximating those of men.

Because of small sample sizes, moonlighting rates of whites were compared only to all other races, called “non-whites.” Among artists, the moonlighting rates of whites were higher in 12 out of 18 years. However, this pattern of greater multiple jobholding by whites was even more consistent among other professional workers; whites had higher rates in all but three years. White artists consistently moonlight more often than white professionals; their rates were higher in all but two years. Non-white artists had higher moonlighting rates than non-white professionals in all but six years.

Artist Moonlighting by Age, Educational Attainment, and Marital Status

There was no consistent pattern of moonlighting rates among artists when broken into age groups. Younger artists often had moonlighting rates as high as, or higher than, older artists. This seems to be consistent with the often-observed phenomenon of young artists finding it difficult to “make it” in their chosen careers, and thus needing to fall back on other sources of income. Other professionals, like all workers, showed moonlighting patterns that first

increased with age, most frequently up to the 36–45 age bracket, and then declined across the remaining age brackets.

Artist moonlighting is positively related to greater levels of education. The most prominent reflection of this trend is that in 15 of 18 survey years, the highest rates were observed for artists with over 16 years of education. A similar pattern holds for other professional workers, but the pattern of increasing moonlighting rates with increasing education is smoother.

There was little or no pattern to moonlighting by marital status among artists. Among other professionals, never-married professionals typically held multiple jobs more frequently, probably reflecting the higher percentage of women in this occupational group.

Artist Moonlighting by Region

Breaking the country into four regions, it was found that artist moonlighting rates are highest in the west and mid-west. The highest moonlighting rates for other professional workers usually occurred in the west.

Characteristics of the Second Job

There were greater differences in hours worked on the first job between artists and other professionals than in hours worked on the second job. Other professionals averaged almost 38 hours a week in their first job, over 4 hours a week more than artists. The time spent by moonlighters on the second job was virtually the same for both groups, averaging just over 12 hours.

The most common type of second job held by artists was a job in the professional and technical occupations, including that of artist. Between 1970 and 1997, between 55 and 75 percent of artists with second jobs held them in these occupations. However, since 1985, the number of moonlighting artists holding a second job as an artist fell from about three in five to one in three. Over the same time interval, the number of moonlighting artists holding second jobs in the professional and technical field *other than artist* rose from about one in ten to one in three. Despite the often-cited stereotype, just under 20 percent of moonlighting artists (one in five) held second jobs in sales, clerical, or service occupations.

Moonlighting Artists Versus Non-Moonlighting Artists

In any given week, the majority of artists do not moonlight. The differences between artists who moonlight and artists who do not are the same as those that have shown up in studies of moonlighting in the entire work force. Artists who moonlight tend to be younger, better educated, more likely to be men, and more likely to be white. Although artists without a second job worked three

hours per week more in their primary job, the total weekly hours worked (first plus second job) of moonlighting artists were nine hours greater.

Artist Occupations as Second Jobs

The artist occupations are also common choices as second jobs for those with primary jobs in other occupations. Among the four artist occupational groupings, performing artist was the most common choice for a second job, followed by other artist, visual artist, and architect/designer in that order. Moonlighting workers who were artists in their second jobs were older, better educated, more likely to be men and more likely to be non-white than moonlighters who were artists in their first jobs. Moonlighters who worked as artists in their second jobs worked four hours a week more in their first job but worked over an hour per week less in their second (artist) job than moonlighters who worked as artists in their first jobs.

Reasons for Moonlighting

When asked by the CPS why they moonlight, artists most frequently indicated that they did so to meet regular household expenses. Although this also was the most frequently cited reason by other professionals, they cited it less frequently. Meeting household expenses is consistent with the constrained hours theory of multiple jobholding: the need to take on a second job, instead of working more hours at one's primary job, to make ends meet. Among artist occupational groups, this reason was checked least often by architects and designers—occupations which more closely resemble the “traditional” professional occupations than other artist occupations.

Enjoying the work on the second job was the reason given second most often by artists for moonlighting. This reason was also the second choice of other professionals, and was chosen as frequently by them. The artists' third choice was the desire to obtain a different experience; for other professionals the third choice was “other.”

When non-artists work as artists in a second job, the relative frequency with which they offered the above reasons for moonlighting were significantly altered. Compared to moonlighters working as artists in their main job, persons working as artists in a second job more often cited enjoying the work and obtaining a different experience, and less often cited the need to meet regular household expenses, as reasons for moonlighting.

Information on Moonlighting from Surveys of Artists

Besides the CPS, one-time surveys of artists reveal additional information about multiple jobholding practices. These surveys have often asked artists whether they held any jobs other than their primary artist job *at any time during the course of a year*, but not whether they held two or more jobs in the same week. The reported annual rates of multiple jobholding in these surveys naturally will exceed the rates of moonlighting in a given week reported by the CPS. Another difference found in these studies is self-selection; virtually everyone surveyed self-identifies (and is classified) as an artist, even if more time is spent working in a non-artistic occupation. However, these studies permit the exploration of other issues, such as the amount of time spent in different jobs throughout the year, the earnings derived from different jobs, and in some cases, more detail about the nature of the second jobs and why they were chosen.

The most thorough explanation of these issues can be found in Wassall, et al (1983). In that study of over 3,000 New England artists, the authors found that only 24 percent of the artists surveyed reported that they worked only in their artist jobs during 1981.⁸ Other studies have revealed similar statistics. For example, Ruttenberg, Friedman, Kilgallon, and Associates (1981) found that 61 percent of performing artists held jobs in 1976 not in their primary profession.⁹ Also, Kingston and Cole (1986), in their survey of authors, found that 70 percent had earnings from work outside their profession. In addition, Netzer and Parker (1993) reported that 80 percent of choreographers surveyed in their study held second (or additional) jobs in 1989.¹⁰

Wassall et al also reported on weeks worked in and earnings from all three types of job. In 1981, New England artists worked 36.1 weeks as artists, 17.3 weeks in arts-related jobs, and 11.8 weeks in non-arts-related jobs. These numbers exceed 52 because much of the time spent in these jobs involves true moonlighting—working in two or more jobs at the same time. Artists' earnings in 1981 were distributed in the following manner: 41.0 percent from arts work, 30.3 percent from arts-related work, and 18.7 percent from non-arts-related work.¹¹ Both the Census and the monthly CPS attribute all earnings to the primary occupation, and thus reveal nothing about the sources of earnings of

8. Other jobs were defined as “arts-related” or “non-arts-related.” Among the arts-related occupations were teaching in one’s art which, at the college level, is defined by the Census as an artistic job.

9. This survey was limited to performing artists who were members of a performing arts union.

10. All these studies measured the number of second jobs held throughout the survey year, rather than in a reference week, as the CPS does.

11. Similar results were found in a follow-up study of artists in Rhode Island. See Alper and Galligan (1999).

multiple jobholders. The artist survey evidence suggests that this Census procedure gives an incomplete picture of how artists earn a living.

These surveys often ask artists about reasons for taking a second job. In the 1981 New England survey, “better pay” was the most frequent response, followed by, in descending order, “better job security,” “not enough artistic work,” and “complements artistic work.” In the 1976 survey of performing artists, “not enough work as a performing artist” was the most frequent response, followed by “complements your work as a performing artist,” and then “greater job security.”

Given the evidence from the CPS and from direct surveys, artists’ moonlighting behavior, though complex, can be summarized as follows. Those who work as artists in their primary jobs utilize the second job as a source of extra income, particularly during the intervals, which occur most frequently in the performing arts, when little art work may be available. Because sporadic employment opportunities are a common phenomenon in the arts, the end result is higher moonlighting rates for artists than in most other professions. Those who work as artists in their second jobs are more likely to be either trying out the artistic job as a new profession, or recognizing that their art job cannot provide sufficient earnings to support them. Second job artists are less likely to hold their art job because of hours or income constraints on their first job.

Multiple Jobholding by Artists in Other Countries

Since there are differences in government attitudes toward artists and differences in the openness of labor markets across countries, it is interesting to see whether moonlighting is a common practice of artists everywhere. It is especially interesting to compare the labor market experiences of American artists to those of artists in countries where there are explicit policies of financial support for working artists.

In some countries, data exist which enable such comparisons. However, these data are not completely comparable across countries. Also, they were collected through direct surveys of artists, and report on multiple-jobholding over a period of time (typically a year) rather than on moonlighting during one week. The most surprising finding gleaned from a review of these studies is that multiple-jobholding by artists occurs at roughly the same rates in all of these countries.

For example, evidence from Finland, a country with strong government support for artists, shows rates of multiple-jobholding comparable to those in the United States. One survey noted that only 21 percent of fine artists held no other job outside their occupation, though levels of multiple-jobholding among performing artists were lower (Karhunen, 1998). A survey of Dutch visual

artists reported that more than one-third of their earnings came from teaching and more than one-quarter of their earnings came from non-arts work (Rengers, 1998). The Netherlands government also provides extensive support for artists.

In a similar survey, 20 percent of Canadian visual artists reported working in some type of job outside their occupation (Bradley, 1978), as did 63 percent of writers in another Canadian survey (Harrison, 1982). Several surveys in Australia have turned up comparable results. For example, Throsby and Thompson (1995) found that in 1988 almost three-quarters of artists held some other job in addition to their artistic work. A 1994–95 survey of British visual artists found that only 11 percent earned all their income from working as artists. Although these three countries have economic systems more like the United States, their governments also support individual artists more extensively than the United States.

Given the United States' history of minimal government support for working artists, one would expect that an explicit policy to limit the need for multiple jobholding would be very low on any political agenda. The presence of similar multiple jobholding rates in countries which administer programs of financial support for artists suggests that such traditional public support, whatever it accomplishes, does little to reduce artists' choices to hold second jobs. The unique characteristics of the artist labor market make it very likely that its high moonlighting rates (as well as its high part-time jobholding rates) will persist in the future.

CHAPTER 2 MOONLIGHTING IN AMERICAN LABOR MARKETS

The major objective of this study is to investigate and report on multiple jobholding by artists. The phenomenon of multiple jobholding, however, is prevalent in the entire labor market, although at different rates in different occupations. This chapter reviews and summarizes the state of knowledge about moonlighting activities in American labor markets.

The research on moonlighting has focused on two broad areas. One involves measuring the extent of multiple jobholding in the economy, both over time and across occupations, using large labor market databases. The other involves using economic models of labor markets to unearth the reasons underlying decisions to moonlight. A survey of the work in these two areas is presented in this chapter.

There are several dimensions to the issues raised by multiple jobholding. These can be summarized in the following four paragraphs:

(1) The most basic set of questions can be addressed using *descriptive information about moonlighting practices*. The first question to be addressed with this information is: How widespread has moonlighting been in the American work force? This leads to several related questions, such as: Is multiple jobholding growing over time? Is it concentrated in certain occupations and not in others? Are there differences in rates of multiple jobholding across gender or race? Do age, family status, and education affect choices to moonlight? What reasons do workers themselves give to explain their moonlighting behavior? All these questions are addressed in this chapter, primarily by citing findings from the Current Population Survey.

(2) A second set of questions addresses factors affecting decisions to moonlight in a more rigorous framework. Here the results of economic studies are examined to gain greater insight into the reasons behind workers' decisions to hold second jobs. By using multivariate statistical models of moonlighting behavior, hypotheses relating to the factors affecting moonlighting choices can be held to tests of statistical significance. These models enable economists to examine issues such as: Why do workers moonlight? Do financial reasons dominate, or are issues such as the lack of full-time work or inflexibility in hours at the primary job, important as well? How do wealth, family size and the presence of a working spouse affect moonlighting choices? What factors affect the

length of time that workers hold second jobs? These issues are also discussed in this chapter.

(3) A third set of questions—the core of this study—addresses *multiple jobholding among artists* in the United States. A similar set of questions emerges regarding the degree and extent of moonlighting and factors affecting the decision to moonlight. Has the rate of multiple jobholding among artists changed over time? Is it higher than in comparable professions? What kinds of jobs do artists hold when they hold more than one? Is moonlighting related to measures of career success? These questions are addressed in Chapter 3.

(4) A fourth dimension is the comparison of moonlighting practices of artists across different countries. Do artists in all countries engage in multiple jobholding? Do they engage in unusual amounts of multiple jobholding? Is the extent of moonlighting related to the amount of external support for artists? Are there other factors that influence the rate of multiple jobholding in other countries not present in the United States? These issues are addressed in Chapter 4.

Tracking Multiple Jobholding in the United States

To measure and track a complex phenomenon such as multiple jobholding requires a random, comprehensive and regularly updated database of persons in the labor force. To document multiple jobholding behavior within occupations such as artists, who constitute less than two percent of all workers, further requires that the database be large. (An alternative is to conduct direct surveys of artists that focus on their labor market behavior.) Some of the longitudinal databases available to social scientists have extensive information on multiple jobholding of workers. However, given the sample sizes of these databases, it is generally possible to analyze moonlighting activity only for all occupations combined. A larger database is required for an examination of moonlighting in narrowly defined occupations, such as artists.

The necessity for larger sample sizes points researchers to the Decennial Census and the Current Population Survey (CPS). The Census, unfortunately, has never asked respondents any questions about multiple jobholding. However, information about this phenomenon can be found in the CPS.

The Current Population Survey is a monthly survey of about 50,000 randomly selected households, and is used to provide basic demographic, labor force, and income information about Americans.¹ Selected households participate in this

1. For example, the unemployment and labor force statistics released monthly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics are drawn from information collected by the CPS. The CPS is also the source of annual reports on the poverty status of Americans and the distribution of income within the country.

survey for a total of eight months.² Although the CPS provides information on several hundred attributes and characteristics of persons in the survey, not all information is collected every month. For example, its frequency of coverage of multiple jobholding has been inconsistent.

From 1970 to 1980 information on multiple jobholding was requested of households in the CPS only once a year, as part of its May survey. During the 1980s and early 1990s, the collection of multiple jobholding information became sporadic. Information was collected and released in May 1985 and May 1989, and again in May 1991. In January 1994 the CPS was redesigned, and information on multiple jobholding has been collected and released monthly since then. Some questions on this topic are asked of every respondent each month; however, a more detailed set of questions is asked of a quarter-sample each month.³ Much of the information presented in the section below is compiled from various Current Population Surveys. Virtually all of the information presented in Chapter 3 on the moonlighting practices of artists comes from the CPS.

Multiple Jobholding in the United States: Some Basic Information

As noted, most of the information on multiple jobholding presented below is drawn from the CPS, either from survey articles and releases published occasionally in the *Monthly Labor Review*, or from the authors' own tabulations using CPS raw data files. The additional information on moonlighting presented later in this chapter is drawn from studies which have relied on several longitudinal surveys of American workers.

Before discussing findings from the CPS it is important to understand how this survey defines and measures multiple jobholding. Respondents are asked questions about their work behavior during a reference week, typically the week prior to the administration of the survey. Those who indicated that they worked during that week are then asked if they held more than one job. In asking questions about other jobs held, the survey defines the *main job* as "the one at which you usually work the most hours." The second job (or jobs) is referred to as the "other job."⁴ The CPS then defines a multiple jobholder as someone who either had a job as a wage and salary worker with two employers or more, combined

2. More precisely, they participate in the survey for four consecutive months, are "rotated" out of the survey for four months, and participate for a final four months period.

3. All respondents are asked if they had more than one job last week. If they answer yes, they are further asked about the number of jobs they held and the hours worked at each job. A quarter of the sample (the "outgoing rotation" of survey participants) is asked more detailed questions about the class of worker, industry, and occupation of the second job.

4. The statements inside quotations are taken directly from the survey questionnaire.

a wage and salary job with self-employment, or combined a wage and salary job with one as an unpaid family worker during the reference week. Persons with combinations of two or more self-employment jobs and unpaid family jobs are not counted as multiple jobholders.⁵

As noted, prior to 1994 annual information on multiple jobholding was found only in the May survey (when available at all). Since 1994, core questions about holding extra jobs have been asked monthly, and comparable information from the CPS since 1994 reported herein is taken from the twelve-month sample. This may make the statistics cited for 1994 and subsequent years not entirely comparable to the “May only” statistics for prior years. On the other hand, the twelve-month sample is more statistically valid and accurate. Nevertheless, the CPS provides a consistent summary of how the practice of moonlighting has evolved between 1970 and 1997.

Trends in Moonlighting: 1970–1997

The most basic piece of information that can be examined from this source is how *rates of multiple jobholding* have evolved over this period, and how these rates vary with personal characteristics.⁶ Rates of multiple jobholding between 1970 and 1997 are shown in Chart 2.1. Since 1970, the rate of moonlighting dropped to a low of 4.5 percent in the mid 1970s, and since then has gradually risen. In the 1990s it has held steady at over 6 percent. Though a complete annual time series is lacking, moonlighting rates appear to be pro-cyclical, positively related to employment rates and inversely related to unemployment rates.

Moonlighting Trends by Gender

Detail is also available on moonlighting by gender, race, age ranges, marital status and educational attainment. Differences in moonlighting practices by gender can be seen in Chart 2.2. Over the 1970–97 period, moonlighting by men remained relatively constant in the 5–7 percent range. Moonlighting by women, however, rose from just over 2 percent to over 6 percent. Rates of moonlighting for men and women are now virtually identical. Thus the growth in the overall rate of moonlighting can be largely attributed to the growth in holding of multiple jobs by women.

5. For more detail, see Stinson, (1997).

6. The information reported herein on moonlighting rates for all workers men, women, whites and blacks between 1970 and 1991 is taken from Stinson (1997). The rates between 1994 and 1997 are calculated by the authors.

Moonlighting Trends by Ethnicity

Over the same period rates of multiple jobholding by ethnicity can be examined, as shown in Chart 2.3. Because of small sample sizes, only white versus black and Hispanic moonlighting rates are reported.⁷ Multiple jobholding rates of Hispanics were not reported in the CPS until 1977. Over the entire period, whites have been more likely to hold multiple jobs than blacks or Hispanics, and since 1989 blacks have been more likely to hold multiple jobs than Hispanics. Moonlighting rates for all three ethnic groups are higher in the 1990s than in earlier decades.

Moonlighting Trends by Age Range

Moonlighting rates by age group are presented in Table 2.1 for the years 1970, 1985, and 1997, years which represent the beginning, midpoint and end of the CPS time series.⁸ In each year, moonlighting rates for all workers rise with age and then decline after the 36–45 age bracket, likely reflecting increasing security at one's primary job and then, ultimately, the general withdrawal from labor force activity that occurs with aging past 50. In all years, the rate of moonlighting starts lower in the 16–25 bracket. However, relative to other brackets, women moonlight more frequently in the 16–25 bracket, and less frequently in the over 65 bracket. Using data from the 1984 Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), Conway and Kimmel (1992) observe that moonlighters in their sample are younger than are other workers.

Moonlighting Trends by Marital Status

Marital status (Table 2.1) has an effect on moonlighting rates as well. The data show a consistent pattern of gender differences. While never-married women moonlight more than their married and non-married counterparts, married men moonlight more than their never- and non-married counterparts. This relationship is consistent with several well-known labor market behaviors. One is that, despite labor force advances, the married woman's labor supply may still be considered secondary to the man's within the household. When income or hours constraints are met, the man more typically works an extra job. Further, traditional gender roles when children are present in the household constrain the women's leisure time (and thus her potential time for moonlighting) more than the man's. In their sample from the SIPP, however, Conway and Kimmel find that moonlighting men are more likely to be single than non-moonlighting men.

7. Prior to 1977, data reported by Stinson for blacks included all races other than whites.

8. The information on multiple jobholding by age group and marital status are from Stinson (1986) for 1985. The 1970 and 1997 statistics are from authors' calculations.

Moonlighting Trends by Educational Attainment

Examining moonlighting rates by level of education reveals a gradual increase in this practice with increasing amounts of education. The only exception is the lower rates experienced by those with professional degrees. This exception is probably explained by the typically long hours and high compensation of persons in occupations requiring professional degrees. Both these factors would work against moonlighting. These findings are again consistent with data from the SIPP, as reported by Conway and Kimmel. Moonlighters in the SIPP had almost one more year of education than other workers.

As noted, the moonlighting rates extracted from the CPS are based on workers' behavior during the week prior to the survey. It is likely that some workers surveyed by the CPS might not hold a second job at the time of survey, but may do so at some other time during a calendar year. Much higher rates of multiple jobholding during an entire year are reported using annual data. For example, Paxson and Sicherman (1996), using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), report that in the years 1976 to 1989, multiple jobholding rates for men averaged 21.1 percent; for women the average was 12.2 percent.⁹ This suggests that workers do move in and out of second jobs over the course of a given year.

Moonlighting Frequencies Among Occupations

It has been demonstrated that the rate of multiple jobholding varies considerably among occupations. Amirault (1997), in an examination of 1995 CPS data, identifies 24 3-digit primary occupations in which more than ten percent of workers held other jobs, shown in Table 2.2. Heading the list are firefighters with a moonlighting rate of 28.1 percent. Rounding out the top five are physicians' assistants, announcers, artists not elsewhere classified, and psychologists. Four of the 11 artist occupations regularly reported on by the Research Division on the National Endowment for the Arts appear in the top 24. (Artist occupations appear in capital letters in this table.) In examining the nature of occupations on this list, Amirault observes that moonlighting "is driven more by the opportunities that highly trained and educated workers have to obtain additional jobs than by a need for earnings to meet basic living expenses" (p. 11) .

9. Some examples: In 1976 the CPS reported 2.6 percent of women and 5.8 percent of men holding multiple jobs during the reference week. The PSID, in the same year, reported 11.0 percent of women and 22.9 percent of men holding multiple jobs at some time during the year. In 1985 the CPS reported rates of 4.7 percent for women and 5.9 percent for men; the PSID reported rates of 14.8 percent for women and 20.5 percent for men. (Paxson and Sicherman, 1996, Table 1, page 360).

Amirault also identifies 32 occupations that more than 10 percent of workers held as second jobs (Table 2.3). The highest rate of second jobholding within an occupation was 39.0 percent for musicians and composers. Rounding out the top five in this ranking were news vendors, athletes, announcers, and street and door-to-door salesworkers. Seven of the eleven artist occupations appear in this top 32. There is considerable overlap between occupations in this list and the primary job moonlighting list.

Evidence also exists on how the frequency of moonlighting is related to weekly wages. For example, Amirault reports on weekly earnings of moonlighters in the primary job. Breaking reported weekly earnings into quintiles, he finds that increased earnings are associated with lower rates of multiple jobholding. Less information is available on weekly earnings in the second job. Paxson and Sicherman (1996) report a ratio of mean wage in the second job to mean wage in the first job of 1.84 for men and 1.72 for women, based on data from the PSID between 1976 and 1989. They also report ratios of 1.20 for men and 1.14 for women using data from the 1991 CPS.¹⁰ However, they caution that these figures could be biased because of large amounts of missing observations in both data sets.¹¹

Time Spent in Second Jobs

The CPS also provides information on hours per week spent moonlighting. Hours devoted to a second job, for those who had second jobs, are reported in Table 2.4. From 1970 to 1980, median hours are reported; for 1985 and after, mean hours are reported. These data do not show any growth or decline in hours worked over this period. However, there are some consistent patterns. For example, men work more hours in second jobs than women, and blacks and Hispanics work more hours in second jobs than whites.

Reasons for Moonlighting

Prior to 1994, the CPS asked moonlighters to choose among a menu of reasons why they held second jobs. The responses to this question are also tabulated in Table 2.3 for selected years starting in 1974. Unfortunately, the choices allowed in the CPS do not include some of the principal reasons for moonlighting that show up in other surveys. Respondents were asked to pick among the following reasons: to meet regular household expenses, to pay off

10. Ratios of *median* wage on second to first job are lower, roughly 1.0 from the PSID sample and less than 1.0 from the CPS sample.

11. Conway and Kimmel (1992, 1995) also have information on wages in the primary and secondary jobs. However, they define the primary job as the one for which the individual has the highest earnings, potentially biasing observed wage rates in the primary and secondary jobs.

debts, to save for future contingencies, to gain experience in the second job, and “other.” They were allowed to choose only one reason.

In most years the reason most frequently picked was “other,” with the need to meet regular household expenses ranking mostly second and occasionally first over the same period. These two reasons were commonly cited three to four times as much as any other. Ranking third in most years was saving for future contingencies, followed by gaining experience and paying off debts.

The above discussion summarizes what is known about the frequency of moonlighting, the nature and characteristics of persons who moonlight, the occupations in which moonlighting is most prominent, and the reasons individuals gave when asked why they moonlight. One may draw tentative conclusions from this discussion about some apparent relationships between personal, family, or job characteristics and the probability and frequency of holding multiple jobs. However, the factors affecting moonlighting behavior are often complex and interrelated. For example, moonlighting rates were shown to increase with increasing years of education, but more education leads to a higher income in the primary job, which by itself would predict a lower probability of moonlighting. Issues such as these are better sorted out in the context of econometric analysis of models of moonlighting behavior. A survey of these studies follows.

Why People Moonlight: Theory and Evidence from Empirical Studies

In this section, the empirical literature on the determinants of moonlighting behavior is examined. Specifically, the results of econometric studies of moonlighting behavior are discussed. All these studies employ some form of regression analysis, in which the dependent variable reflects some measure of moonlighting behavior, such as the percentage of the sample that moonlights, the number of second jobs held during the period of analysis, or the length of the second job. These studies typically analyze moonlighting using longitudinal databases. Longitudinal databases often contain more information about characteristics of the first and second jobs than the CPS. For example, since they cover labor market behavior of persons over a length of time, they may provide information on the number of moonlighting episodes per year, and the length of these episodes.

As noted above, a drawback of longitudinal databases is their smaller sample sizes. Because of this, these studies have largely focused on general issues that span the entire labor force.

Research in this area evolves from and tests the implications of the basic economic model of labor supply found in any labor economics textbook. Standard

economic theory of labor-leisure choices predicts that a person determines how many hours to work at the current wage rate based on preferences for more income versus more leisure. As the wage rate rises, the model does not unambiguously predict that a person will work more hours (or less). Offsetting factors are: (1) a higher wage implies a higher opportunity cost of not working, so the worker substitutes hours worked for hours spent on leisure activities (the *substitution effect*), and (2) a higher wage means a higher income from working a given number of hours, causing hours worked to fall as the person spends more time pursuing now affordable leisure activities (the *income effect*). At any possible wage rate an equilibrium trade-off between income and leisure can normally be attained, as long as the worker can choose the number of hours worked per period of time.

A person's desire to take on a second job depends on whether it is possible to work enough hours in the primary job to satisfy income-leisure objectives, reaching the equilibrium noted above. If the primary job is hours constrained, a person cannot reach this equilibrium trade-off and may choose to work additional hours at a second job. Hours will be worked on a second job as long as its wage rate exceeds the worker's reservation wage. The reservation wage, in turn, does not have to be greater than the wage rate on the primary job, but must raise the worker's level of utility (satisfaction) from working the extra hours.

Because of the offsetting income and substitution effects of labor supply, one cannot predict whether a worker will work more or less hours in the second job if the wage in the primary (hours-constrained) job goes up. Similarly, one cannot make unambiguous predictions about the effect on hours worked in the second job when the number of constrained hours on the primary job goes up.

The implications of this basic model have been tested on empirical data by several authors. These empirical studies have generally yielded results consistent with theory. In one of the earliest empirical papers, Shisko and Rostker (1976), using information from the Income Dynamics Panel, examined factors affecting the number of hours worked on the moonlighter's second job. They found that an increase in the wage rate of the second job, a decrease in the wage rate of the first job, and a decrease in the number of hours worked on the first job were all correlated with an increase in hours worked on the second job. All these findings are consistent with the basic theory outlined above. Shisko and Rostker also find that a larger family size (viewed as a proxy for greater spending needs) was associated with more hours spent moonlighting, and that hours spent moonlighting diminish with age.

In addition to hours constraints, moonlighting may be encouraged by liquidity constraints. Abdukadir (1992) investigates this issue using data from

Florida Consumer Surveys. In this model the dependent variable is the decision to moonlight. Abdukadir finds that moonlighting is positively and significantly related to age, being a male, increased education and family size, and negatively and significantly related to family income and being married. He also finds a significant positive correlation with an individual's plans to buy a car or a house. He concludes that liquidity constraints (current spending needs in excess of short and long-run income expectations) also create incentives to moonlight. However, he lacks information on hours worked and thus can not test for hours constraints in his model.

Several observations lead to less than full support for the hours-constraint theory of moonlighting. First, the theoretical models define the primary job as the one with the higher wage rate. Yet, noted above, there is evidence that this is not always the case. Second, the vast majority of multiple jobholders have second-job occupations that differ from their first job.¹² One would expect that, for most workers, the most efficient way to moonlight would be to take a second job in the same occupation utilizing the same general and specific job skills.

These observations lead to a discussion of reasons for holding multiple jobs other than simply to make up for a lack of income from hours-constrained first jobs. In general, researchers have focused on three other causes of moonlighting. These other factors can be explained in the context of a job portfolio theory, "in which workers choose packages of jobs so as to optimize over the mean and variance of income" (Paxson and Sicherman, p. 361). Types of job packaging include the following: (1) A limited number of occupations may require skills or traits which are complementary to those needed in different occupations. Some examples include the police officer and security guard, musician and music teacher, and athlete and coach. (2) The primary and secondary jobs may be linked by risk aversion. In this case, holding multiple jobs could be seen as a portfolio of earnings opportunities, in which average earnings from all jobs could be raised while earnings risk is reduced as long as the earnings streams in each job are uncorrelated with each other. Careers in acting and athletics are examples of occupations with substantial earnings risk; thus a second job for persons in an unrelated occupation such as taxi driving or construction may smooth the pattern of earnings over time. (3) A second job may be held because it provides training, networking or contacts that the first job doesn't provide. An example of this phenomenon is moonlighting in a sales oriented job.

12. For example, Paxson and Sicherman note that in the 1991 CPS, 83 percent of men and 72 percent of women who held second jobs held them in different occupations. They also observe that the comparable figures from the Panel Survey on Income Dynamics between 1984 and 1989 were 78 percent for men and 72 percent for women. Occupations were defined at the two-digit level.

It should be noted that several of the moonlighting scenarios described above potentially apply to artists. However, it should be expected that the motives that lead artists to moonlight are complex, and that no single motive will explain all moonlighting behavior by artists.

Conway and Kimmel (1992) directly test the hours-constraint hypothesis against the job-packaging hypothesis. The sample they draw from the SIPP consists of working men between the ages of 18 and 55.¹³ They estimate *decision to moonlight* equations and *labor supply* equations, as measured by weekly hours worked, for both the primary and secondary jobs. They find that in their sample most workers have constrained hours in their primary jobs, and conclude that this is the primary reason for moonlighting. But they note that their findings also lend some support for the job heterogeneity hypothesis. Their estimating equations show that hours supplied on the second job are positively related to its wage, negatively related to the primary job wage, negatively related to age, and positively related to the level of education.

Conway and Kimmel (1995), using the same database, estimate hazard functions to test for factors affecting the *duration of the moonlighting episode*.¹⁴ In this model, age, being divorced, and having more children all significantly predict longer moonlighting episodes. The nature of the occupation of the second job is also a significant factor; men in farming, sales, service, professional, and technical occupations moonlight for longer periods. The nature of the primary job did not affect the duration of moonlighting. Also, the level of education is not a significant predictor in this model.

It is useful to compare factors affecting the choice to moonlight that are revealed in the econometric studies cited above to the actual reasons for moonlighting as given by participants in the Current Population Survey. First, the CPS does not offer respondents the choice of an “hours constraint” reason for holding a second job. Second, other than the “experience” option, it does not offer respondents any choice consistent with the job-packaging hypotheses discussed above. Essentially, the CPS limits choices to financial reasons for moonlighting. It is no surprise that the “other” option is most frequently picked by respondents.

Another extension of the theory of moonlighting applies it to married couple households (Krishnan, 1990; Highfill, Felder and Sattler, 1995). Economic theory posits that the household is the decision-making unit, so the choice of one

13. Within this group, men between ages 18 and 25 were excluded, as were men who were self-employed or in the military. In addition, they defined the primary job as the one that had the highest earnings per episode or the most hours worked per week.

14. Specifically, the hazard function shows the probability that a moonlighting episode will end any period t , given that it has lasted t periods already.

spouse to moonlight is to some extent a substitute for the choice of the other spouse to work, or work more hours, or to moonlight as well.

For example, Krishnan (1990) identified 219 moonlighting men in the sample of 4,448 married couples in the Survey of Income and Program Participation in 1984, a moonlighting rate of 4.9 percent.¹⁵ He estimates *moonlighting participation functions* for the entire sample of married men, and *labor supply functions* for the moonlighters' second jobs. He finds that increased labor force participation by wives deters moonlighting by husbands (although the wife's wage has no significant effect on hours spent on the second job). He also finds that longer hours and higher income on the first job deter moonlighting as well (as have others, noted above). These findings are consistent with that part of standard labor supply theory that regards the primary cause of moonlighting to be an hours constraint on the primary job.

Unlike other researchers in this vein, Krishnan utilized information determining the amount of general versus specific training that workers in the sample received.¹⁶ He finds that larger amounts of specific training deter moonlighting when the second occupation is the same as the first. However, larger amounts of general training increase the likelihood of moonlighting but have no effect on hours spent moonlighting.

Conclusion

In general, this review of statistical information on the moonlighting behavior of Americans was drawn from general surveys of the entire work force. Information is most often cited from the Current Population Survey because of its monthly sampling procedure, its relatively large sample size, and its regular questions (once a year for selected years from 1970 to 1991, and once a month since 1994) about moonlighting. However, the CPS does not provide information on some important aspects of the multiple jobholding experience. The CPS does not report on the duration of moonlighting episodes, or the number of times a year that workers moonlight. To examine these and other more complex issues, most researchers have mined longitudinal databases, such as the Panel

15. Both Krishnan and Conway and Kimmel use the 1984 SIPP as the basis of their studies. Each uses a different methodology to identify the moonlighting men in the sample. Each, however, finds moonlighting rates (4.9 percent of married men for Krishnan) that are lower than those found for men in the CPS at roughly the same time (the closest period in the CPS is May 1985, for which the moonlighting rate for men was 5.9 percent).

16. General training (an extra year of college, e.g.) raises general productivity and enhances one's worth at virtually any job. Specific training makes one more productive on one's current job but not others. A computer programmer taking a course to learn C++ would be receiving general training. The same person, when updating company-specific software, is receiving specific training.

Study of Income Dynamics and the Survey of Income and Program Participation. A drawback of these databases is their smaller sample sizes. The statistical limitations posed by these smaller sample sizes have forced the focus of researchers to remain on all occupations combined.

In the next chapter, we examine the moonlighting behavior of artists. Because artists have constituted from one to two percent of the labor force over the 1970–1997 period, we are constrained to using the CPS in our analysis.

Table 2.1
Moonlighting Rates by Personal Characteristics, 1970, 1985 and 1997

| Characteristic | All | | | Men | | | Women | | |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| | 1970 | 1985 | 1997 | 1970 | 1985 | 1997 | 1970 | 1985 | 1997 |
| Overall | 5.2 | 5.4 | 6.6 | 7.0 | 5.9 | 6.6 | 2.2 | 4.7 | 6.6 |
| By Age: | | | | | | | | | |
| 16-25 | 3.3 | 5.3 | 6.2 | 4.3 | 5.3 | 5.6 | 2.2 | 5.2 | 7.0 |
| 26-35 | 6.3 | 5.7 | 6.5 | 8.1 | 6.2 | 6.7 | 2.5 | 5.0 | 6.3 |
| 36-45 | 6.6 | 6.2 | 7.1 | 9.0 | 7.1 | 7.2 | 2.3 | 5.2 | 7.0 |
| 46-55 | 5.3 | 5.1 | 7.0 | 7.3 | 5.9 | 7.0 | 1.9 | 4.1 | 7.0 |
| 56-65 | 4.1 | 3.7 | 5.6 | 5.2 | 4.4 | 6.0 | 2.2 | 2.9 | 5.1 |
| Over 65 | 3.1 | 3.2 | 3.5 | 3.9 | 3.5 | 3.9 | 1.8 | 2.7 | 2.9 |
| By Marital Status: | | | | | | | | | |
| Married | 5.9 | 5.3 | 6.4 | 7.8 | 6.2 | 6.9 | 1.8 | 3.8 | 5.8 |
| Never Married | 3.3 | 5.5 | 7.4 | 4.0 | 5.2 | 6.6 | 2.6 | 6.0 | 7.9 |
| Widowed/divorced/separated | 3.5 | 5.5 | 6.5 | 4.7 | 5.6 | 5.9 | 3.0 | 5.4 | 7.3 |
| By Education: | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than high school | | | 3.2 | | | 3.1 | | | 3.4 |
| High school graduate | | | 5.4 | | | 5.5 | | | 5.2 |
| Some college | | | 7.6 | | | 7.7 | | | 7.6 |
| Associate's degree | | | 8.6 | | | 9.0 | | | 8.3 |
| Bachelor's degree | | | 8.0 | | | 8.1 | | | 7.9 |
| Master's degree | | | 9.0 | | | 8.8 | | | 9.2 |
| Professional degree | | | 7.1 | | | 7.5 | | | 6.2 |
| Doctorate degree | | | 10.2 | | | 10.2 | | | 10.3 |

Sources: Stinson (1986); Authors' calculations for 1970 and 1997.

Table 2.2
Primary Occupations with Moonlighting Rates of
10 Percent or More, 1995

| Primary Occupation | % with 2nd Job |
|---|----------------|
| Firefighters | 28.1% |
| Physicians assistants | 23.4 |
| ANNOUNCERS | 19.3 |
| ARTISTS AND RELATED WORKERS, N.E.C. | 16.0 |
| Psychologists | 15.6 |
| Therapists | 14.5 |
| Dental hygienists | 14.4 |
| Teachers, college and university | 14.1 |
| Teachers, secondary school | 13.3 |
| MUSICIANS AND COMPOSERS | 13.0 |
| News vendors | 12.3 |
| ACTORS AND DIRECTORS | 11.8 |
| Teachers, n.e.c. | 11.7 |
| Supervisors, police and detectives | 11.7 |
| Hotel clerks | 11.4 |
| Administrators protective services | 10.9 |
| Police and detectives | 10.8 |
| Dietitians | 10.8 |
| Bartenders | 10.6 |
| Veterinarians | 10.2 |
| Editors and reporters | 10.0 |
| Managers, service organizations, n.e.c. | 10.0 |
| Social, recreation, religious workers | 10.0 |
| Pharmacists | 10.0 |

Source: Thomas Amirault, "Characteristics of multiple jobholders, 1995," Monthly Labor Review, March, 1997, 9-15. Artist occupations are in Capital Letters.

Table 2.3
Secondary Occupations with Moonlighting Rates of
10 Percent or More, 1995

| Secondary Occupation | % with 2nd Job |
|--|----------------|
| MUSICIANS AND COMPOSERS | 39.0% |
| News vendors | 35.0 |
| Athletes | 34.4 |
| ANNOUNCERS | 33.6 |
| Street and door-to-door sales workers | 32.3 |
| Teachers, n.e.c. | 23.3 |
| ARTISTS, PERFORMERS, AND RELATED WORKERS, N.E.C. | 22.8 |
| Bartenders | 22.0 |
| Farm operators and managers | 20.8 |
| AUTHORS | 19.9 |
| Small engine repairers | 17.0 |
| Psychologists | 16.7 |
| Religious workers, n.e.c. | 15.9 |
| PHOTOGRAPHERS | 15.6 |
| Teachers, college and university | 15.1 |
| Clergy | 14.3 |
| Demonstrators, promoters and models, sales | 14.2 |
| Guides | 14.0 |
| Manager, properties and real estate | 13.4 |
| Management analysts | 12.7 |
| Guards | 12.7 |
| Attendants, amusement and recreation facilities | 11.9 |
| Sales workers, retail and personal services | 11.9 |
| Janitors and cleaners | 11.7 |
| Editors and reporters | 11.4 |
| ACTORS AND DIRECTORS | 11.3 |
| Animal caretakers, except farm | 11.0 |
| Waiters and waitresses | 10.8 |
| Physicians assistants | 10.6 |
| Therapists | 10.4 |
| PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, CRAFT-ARTISTS, ETC. | 10.4 |
| Bus Drivers | 10.4 |

Source: Thomas Amirault, "Characteristics of multiple jobholders, 1995," Monthly Labor Review, March, 1997, 9–15. Artist occupations are in capital letters.

Table 2.4
Reasons for Holding Second Jobs and Hours Worked in Second Jobs, 1970-97

| Category | Year | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1985 | 1989 | 1991 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 |
| Reasons for holding second job (%): | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Meet regular expenses | | | | | 32.1 | 34.6 | 30.0 | 33.1 | | 30.4 | 31.9 | 31.6 | 35.5 | 31.0 | | | | |
| Pay off debts | | | | | 6.3 | 5.0 | 5.4 | 5.3 | | 6.7 | 7.0 | 9.3 | 8.9 | 9.1 | | | | |
| Save for future | | | | | 9.5 | 9.0 | 8.3 | 8.2 | | 9.5 | 10.5 | 13.0 | 16.2 | 9.0 | | | | |
| For the experience | | | | | 6.4 | 6.8 | 6.6 | 6.4 | | 8.5 | 7.6 | 17.0 | 14.7 | 8.3 | | | | |
| Other | | | | | 45.7 | 44.7 | 49.7 | 47.0 | | 45.0 | 43.0 | 29.2 | 24.6 | 42.6 | | | | |
| Hours worked in second job: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| All | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | | | | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 14.2 | 13.8 | | 13.1 | 13.2 | 13.0 | 13.1 |
| Men | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | | | | 14 | | | 14 | 15.0 | 14.5 | | 14.1 | 14.2 | 13.9 | 14.0 |
| Women | 10 | 9 | 11 | 11 | | | | 11 | | | | 12.9 | 13.0 | | 11.9 | 12.0 | 12.0 | 12.0 |
| White | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | | | | 10 | | | 13 | 14.0 | 13.6 | | 12.8 | 12.9 | 12.7 | 12.8 |
| Black | 14 | 15 | 15 | 14 | | | | | | | 16 | 16.8 | 17.2 | | 15.3 | 16.3 | 15.8 | 15.4 |
| Hispanic | | | | | | | | | | | | 15.1 | 15.3 | | 14.4 | 14.3 | 15.2 | 19.3 |

Notes: Hours worked are reported as medians from 1970 to 1980, and as means thereafter. Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Multiple Jobholding in May, various issues, and authors' calculations.

Chart 2.1
Multiple Jobholding Rates: All Workers

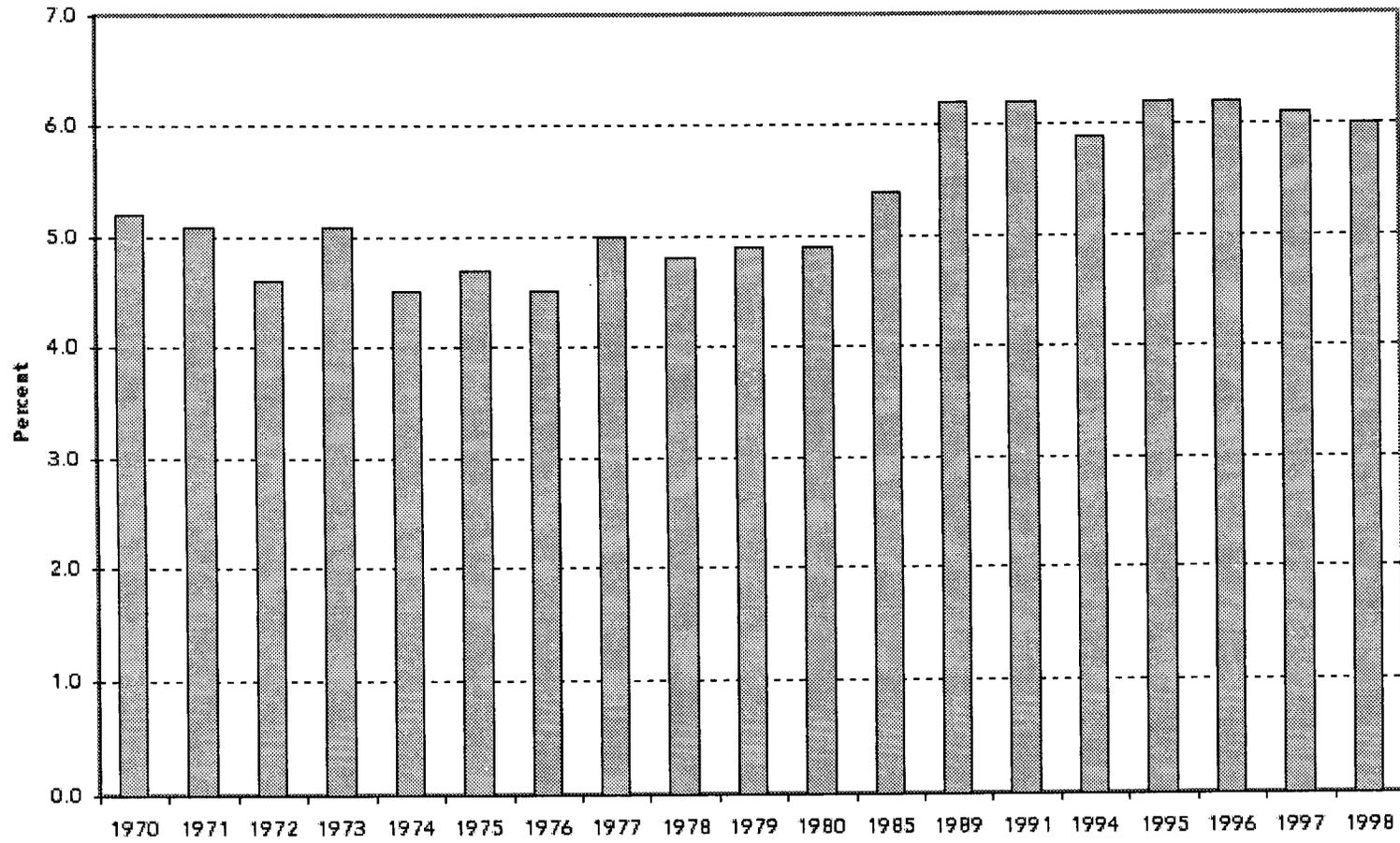


Chart 2.2
Multiple Jobholding Rates:
All Workers by Gender

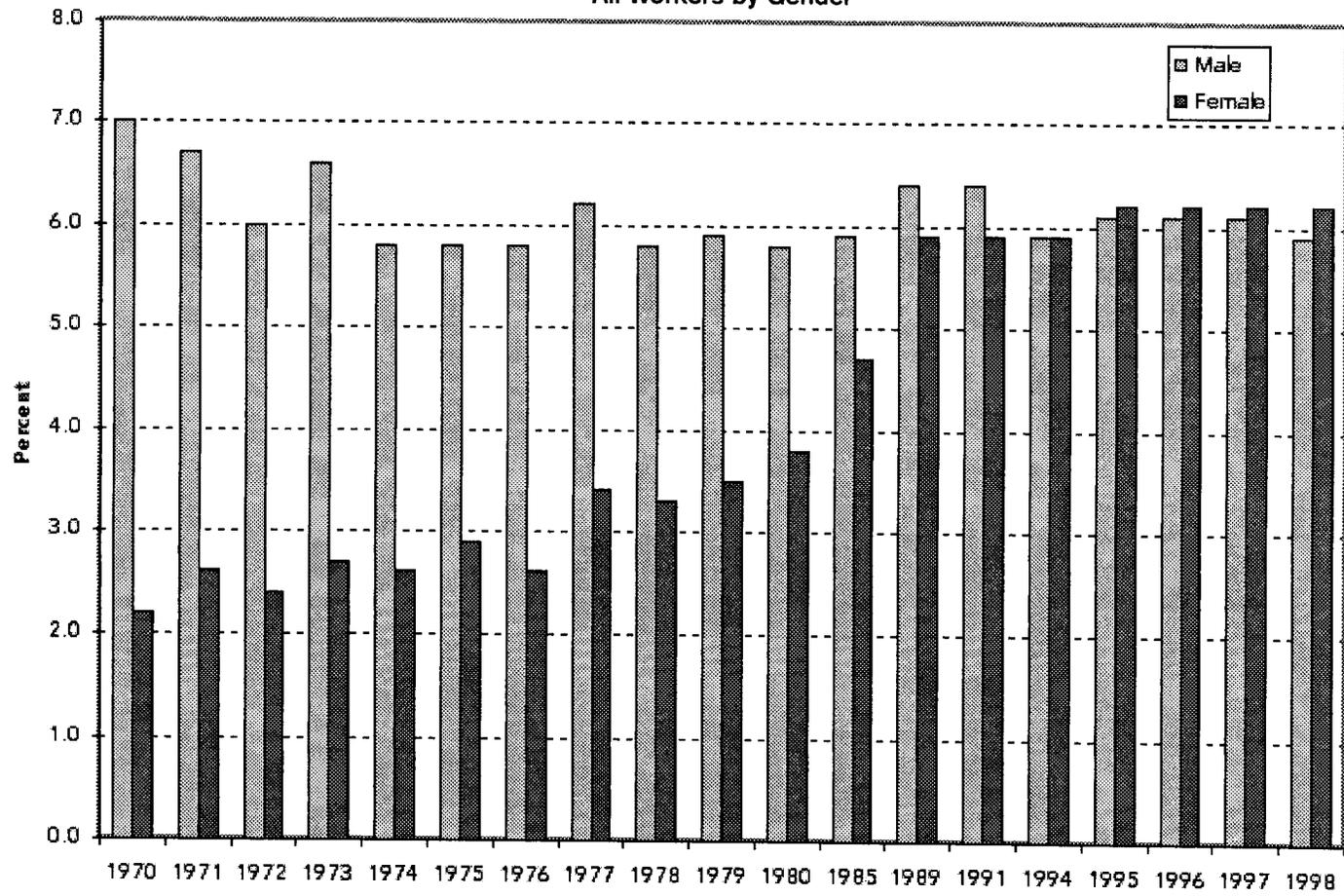
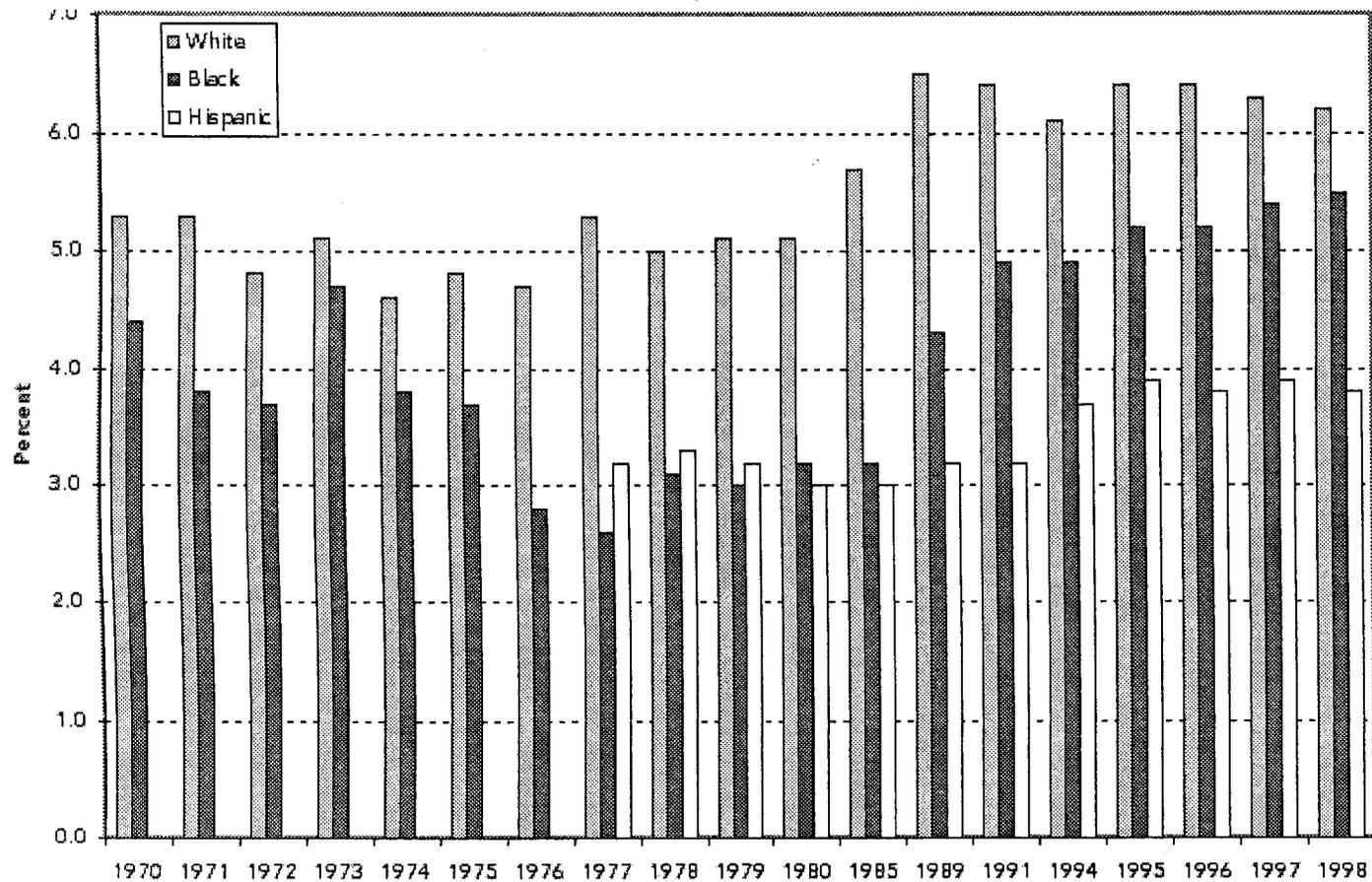


Chart 2.3
Multiple Jobholding Rates:
All Workers by Race and Ethnicity



CHAPTER 3 MOONLIGHTING BY AMERICAN ARTISTS

Introduction

In this chapter several aspects of artists' multiple jobholding behavior for the period 1970 to 1997 are examined. First to be examined will be trends in multiple jobholding rates, i.e., the percentage of people who have indicated that their primary occupation is that of artist but who also indicated that they worked at a second job during the CPS survey week.¹ There will be a comparison of those artists with second jobs to a comparable group of multiple jobholding professional workers (excluding artists, who are also classified as professional workers by the Census and CPS). This will be followed by a comparison of the artists who were multiple jobholders to artists who indicated that they only worked at one arts job. For two somewhat shorter periods, due to changes in the CPS during this twenty-seven year period, there will be an examination of the reasons given by artists to explain why they held multiple jobs (1974–1991). There will also be an examination of the characteristics of those people whose primary occupations were non-artistic, but who indicated that they also held artistic second jobs (1985, 1989, 1991, and 1994 through 1997). Finally, there is an examination of the characteristics of the second jobs held by multiple jobholding artists, and an examination of who the multiple jobholding artists are and where they live.

As discussed in the previous chapter, during the period 1970 to 1980 and irregularly through 1991 (1985, 1989, and 1991), information regarding the multiple jobholding behavior of artists, and for that matter all workers in the United States, was obtained through an annual supplement to the May Current Population Survey. Since 1994 information on multiple jobholding has been obtained monthly through the CPS. Although the CPS surveys between 50,000 and 60,000 households nationwide each month, artists have accounted for between one and two percent of the workforce during the period under study (Alper and Wassall, 1996). This means that the information on the multiple jobholding behavior of artists must be viewed carefully. The estimated averages and percentages reported in the narrative (and in the accompanying charts and tables) have larger statistical errors than do estimates for the entire labor force. The uncertainty of the estimates

1. The CPS is undertaken monthly during the calendar week that includes the 12th day of the month.

becomes increasingly severe as the artists are disaggregated into various groups. The larger the number of groups that are used, the smaller the number of artists there will be in each group, and the less reliable are the estimates. For this reason we have limited the amount of disaggregation.

The CPS-defined artists are combined into four groups based on their primary occupations, rather than the eleven Census groups generally used in National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) research reports. *Architects and designers* are combined into one group. (As noted earlier, the job market for this group most closely resembles that for other professionals.) The Census' musicians and composers, actors and directors, dancers, and announcers categories are combined into a single and relatively homogeneous group of *performing artists*. The *visual artists* group is also relatively homogeneous, and combines the Census painters, sculptors, craft-artists, and artist print-makers category with the photographers category. The fourth group is a catchall group called "*other artists*." It includes the Census categories of authors, postsecondary school art, drama and music teachers, and artists, performers, and related workers not elsewhere classified. College teachers of art, drama, and music often (though not always) perform or create art as part of their academic work. In other respects they resemble their academic peers, with high educational requirements and a less-than-twelve-month-work year. Artists not elsewhere classified is particularly diverse, encompassing occupations such as calf roper, astrologer, juggler, and clown.

Note that the racial breakdown has been limited to two groups (whites and others), also due to sample size constraints. Further, the geographical breakdown is limited to four regions (northeast, midwest, south and west), and information on the occupation of the second job to four broad groups (professional, managerial and technical workers; artists; sales, clerical and service workers; and other).

The last section of the chapter will explore the multiple jobholding behavior of artists in the United States utilizing surveys that were specially designed for the uniqueness of their experiences. These surveys will be used to confirm the behavior identified by the CPS and to explore questions that cannot be answered by the CPS. Their strength can be found in the recognition that artists' work behavior is, in many ways, unique and cannot readily be captured by national surveys such as the CPS or the Decennial Census. Their weakness is that the information they collect may not be truly representative of all the artists in the country.

Trends in Multiple Jobholding Rates: All Artists

Throughout this twenty-seven year period, artists were more likely to be multiple jobholders than their peers in other professional occupations (Chart 3.1).² The moonlighting rates for all artists, which ranged from just under eight percent to almost fourteen percent during this period, averaged almost 40 percent higher than the rate for professional workers. This difference between artists' moonlighting rates and those for professionals ranged from 3 percent to 88 percent.

By Gender

There does not appear to be a readily discernable pattern in the multiple jobholding rates of male and female artists (Chart 3.2). In half the years the rate for men exceeds the rate for women; in the other years the opposite is true. The male artists' multiple jobholding rates range from 8.3 percent to 15.4 percent. The female rates range from 5.8 percent to 13.8 percent. Among professional workers there is a clear pattern of male multiple jobholding rates exceeding female rates throughout this period. In comparison to their professional peers, female artists were consistently more likely to hold a second job. This was true throughout the twenty-seven year period (Chart 3.3). The same cannot be said for the male artists relative to their professional peers. Though in the majority of the years (13 of 18) male artists' multiple jobholding rates were higher than the rates for the other professional males, the differences were not as large as the differences in female rates (Chart 3.4).

By Race

In most years the multiple jobholding rate for white artists was higher than the rate for non-white artists (Chart 3.5). The white artists' multiple jobholding rates ranged from slightly more than seven percent in 1971 to 14.0 percent in 1977. The non-white artists' rates ranged from just under four percent in 1980 to more than 15 percent in 1985. The same pattern held for professional workers. In all the years, except for 1978, the white artists' multiple jobholding rates were higher than the white professionals' rates (Chart 3.6). The pattern was much less consistent for non-white artists compared to non-white professionals. In one-third of the survey years, non-white professionals were more likely to be multiple jobholders than non-white artists (Chart 3.7). A similar, though not quite as consistent, pattern exists when comparing non-Hispanic artists' and

2. The information in the charts in this chapter, and in the appendix, are based on authors' calculations using data in raw CPS files. The tables from which these charts are constructed, as well as additional data extracted from the CPS files, are available from the authors by request.

professionals' multiple jobholding with Hispanic artists and professionals. In general the rates are higher for the non-Hispanics than the Hispanics, but this is less true for the professional workers than it is for the artists.

By Age Groups

There does not appear to be any pattern with regard to the artist's age and the likelihood of multiple jobholding (Chart 3.8). When grouped into 10 year age cohorts, the only pattern that seems to hold across most years is that the artists in the oldest category, those more than 65 years old, tend to have the lowest multiple jobholding rate of all artists. For non-artist professionals the relationship between age and the likelihood of holding a second job follows an inverted 'U' shape for most of the twenty-seven year period. That is, multiple jobholding rates initially increase with age and then decrease. The pattern changed somewhere in the early 1990s; for each year starting in 1994 the youngest cohort of non-artist professionals had the highest multiple jobholding rates.

For most years in the twenty-seven year period, the multiple jobholding rate for artists tended to increase with the amount of schooling they received (Chart 3.9). That is, artists with more schooling were more likely to have a second job than artists with less formal schooling. In the early 1970s the pattern was not as clear, but even during those years (1970–1974) artists with the most schooling, more than 16 years of formal education, tended to have the highest multiple jobholding rates among the artists. A very similar pattern also exists for the other professionals.

By Region

Over the period, artists' multiple jobholding rates tended to vary based on the region of the country in which they resided. The highest rates were found among artists who lived in the mid-west and the west (Chart 3.10). For professional workers, the highest multiple jobholding rates were almost always found among the professionals who lived in the west. This was true for all but five years, with three occurring in the 1994–1997 period.

By Marital Status

The artist's marital status does not appear to consistently affect the likelihood of multiple jobholding. In some years married³ artists have the highest rates, in others it is the widowed, separated, and divorced with the highest, and in still others it is the never-married (Chart 3.11). For professional workers,

3. From 1970 to 1985 the CPS considered people who were separated but not legally divorced as married. Starting in 1989 the CPS included them with those who were widowed and divorced.

those who indicated that they were never married almost always had the highest multiple jobholding rates throughout the 1970–1991 period. During the 1994–1997 period, widowed, divorced and separated professionals consistently had the highest multiple jobholding rates.

Trends in Multiple Jobholding Rates: Details for Artists' Occupations

Although artist multiple jobholding rates are high, there are consistent differences among the artistic occupations over the 1970–97 period (Chart 3.12). Other artists (authors, post-secondary school art teachers, and artists not elsewhere classified) had the highest average annual multiple jobholding rate of 14.3 percent. For more than half the years they had the highest rate, and for almost a third of the years they had the second highest rate of multiple jobholding. Performing artists had the second highest average rate, 13.4 percent for the period. In more than sixty percent of the years they had the second highest rate and in almost one-quarter they had the highest rate. Visual artists ranked third, with an average rate of 10.0 percent for the period. Architects and designers were by far the least likely to hold second jobs during the period. The average multiple jobholding rate of 7.1 percent was about half the rate of the “other artists.” The average rate for the architects and designers was comparable to the average moonlighting rate for all other professional workers, which was 7.7 percent.

A brief reminder is necessary at this point regarding the reliability of estimates because the artists are disaggregated into groups. All the estimates become subject to greater variability about the mean as the number of groups, and the size of the groups gets smaller. While this may not seem to be a problem when examining gender differences, it is important to note that there were some artistic occupations, like architects, where not that many years ago the proportion of women or the proportion of non-whites employed in that occupation was very small. For example, in 1970 only four percent of the architects were women, but by 1995 the proportion had increased to 20 percent female (Katz, 1996, 17).

A closer examination of multiple jobholding rates by gender reveals some interesting relationships related to artistic occupation (Appendix Charts A–3.1 to A–3.4). The decade of the 1970s tended to have the largest gender differences in multiple jobholding rates regardless of artist type. By the 1990s, there was very little difference between the multiple jobholding rates of male and female architects and designers, performing and visual artists. The difference in the

likelihood of holding a second job relative to gender persisted to a greater degree among the other artists.

The volatility in the estimated multiple jobholding rates, due to the limited number of non-white artists in the surveys, is quite apparent when examining racial differences across artistic occupations (Appendix Charts A-3.5 to A-3.8). With the number of minorities in each occupation increasing over the years, it is better to focus on the period after 1980. For the entire post-1980 period, except for 1985, white architects and designers had a greater chance of holding a second job than their non-white colleagues. In each of the other occupations the racial group with the higher multiple jobholding rate varied from year to year.

The age specific multiple jobholding rates for each artistic occupation illustrate almost random variation from year to year and from artist group to artist group (Appendix Charts A-3.9 to 3.12). For example, in 1971 and 1977 two groups of architects, those aged 16–25 and those aged 36–45, had multiple jobholding rates that were in excess of 20 percent. This was the highest of any of the architects' and designers' age cohorts in any other year. In the same years, the same age cohorts among the visual and other artists groups had some of the lowest multiple jobholding rates for the entire twenty-seven year period. It is interesting to note that prior to the mid 1980s it was rare to find any evidence of moonlighting among the oldest cohort, artists over 65, for each artist group. During each survey year since 1989 there is evidence of considerable moonlighting among the oldest artists. The only exception is visual artists.

Moonlighting Artists Versus Moonlighting Other Professionals

As already shown above, multiple jobholding rates for artists differ from multiple jobholding rates for the other workers classified by the United States Census Bureau as professional and technical workers. This section of the report will present a comparison of moonlighting artists to moonlighting other professionals in order to help explain these differences in their moonlighting rates.

An area where there appears to be a difference is in the number of hours worked by the artists who held two jobs compared to the professional workers who also held two jobs. Professional workers averaged significantly more hours per week working at their first job than the artists averaged over this period (Chart 3.13). Professional workers averaged 37.7 hours per week while the artists averaged 33.4 hours at their first job. It is also true, though to a lesser degree, that professional and technical workers worked more, on average, at

their second jobs than artists (Chart 3.14). Professional workers averaged 12.3 hours per week at their second jobs, while artists averaged only 12.1 hours per week, not a significant difference. The number of hours worked on the second job by the artists ranged between 20 percent and 50 percent of the hours worked at the first job over this period. For professional workers the variation was much smaller with the second job hours ranging between 30 percent and 35 percent of the hours worked on the first job.

The gender composition of moonlighting artists changed considerably over this period. The major change appears to have occurred during the 1980s (Chart 3.15). Over the early period of this study, 1970–1980, the percentage of moonlighting artists who were men averaged 72 percent. For the later period of time, 1985–1997, this percentage decreased to 56 percent. While this change was considerable, it was not unique to this group. There was a similar decline in the proportion of men among moonlighting professional and technical workers, and among the artists who were not multiple jobholders. In fact, by 1994 the proportion of female professional and technical workers who were multiple jobholders was greater than one-half.

Multiple jobholding artists were both younger and not as well educated as other multiple jobholding professional and technical workers. This was true throughout the entire period, except for 1997, when multiple jobholding artists were slightly older than multiple jobholding professional and technical workers. Artists with second jobs averaged 36.9 years of age and 15.3 years of formal schooling (excluding 1994–1997, when the CPS changed its method of measuring the amount of formal schooling completed).⁴ This does not include schooling outside the traditional primary, secondary and higher education institutions. Professional workers were, on average, 38.2 years of age and had completed an average of 16.2 years of schooling (excludes 1994 to 1997). The average age of multiple jobholding artists at the end of the 27 year period was five years greater than at the beginning, while the average age of the professional and technical multiple jobholders had only increased by a little more than one year.

There was a considerable difference in the proportion of multiple jobholding artists by race over the twenty-seven year period. The proportion minority (non-white) ranged from approximately two percent to almost fourteen percent over the period. The reliability of these estimates is of concern given the relatively small numbers of minority multiple jobholding artists in most years. In

4. Starting in 1994 the CPS measured the highest level of formal school completed or degree received, not years of schooling completed.