IIPSJ

DIVERSITY AND INCLUSIVENESS IN THE ONLINE CREATOR ECONOMY

The Institute for Intellectual Property and Social Justice (IIPSJ) works to fulfill the social justice obligations of intellectual property protection by embracing the principles of equitable access, inclusion, and empowerment.

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Executive Summary

Before the Web 2.0 era of the internet, purveyors of intellectual property striving to display their works and talent to broad audiences faced formidable challenges. They had to convince a gauntlet of gatekeepers—agents and managers, publishers, film and record companies, art galleries and retailers—to promote and market their work. The internet's user-generated content platforms and other technologies have disrupted this business model by enabling creators to bypass these gatekeepers. This study examines the results across seven creative areas—video, music, writing, podcasting, artisan crafts, art and design, and influencers—and focuses on creative people who are,

- Independent of traditional institutions in the creative economy such as commercial music labels, movie studios, print publishers, and art galleries,
- Produce creative works to be distributed as online content or primarily sell their creative works online,
- Offer their creative works online for a broad audience, beyond friends and family, and,
- Earn income from posting their creative works on online platforms.

We analyzed the dimensions of this new internet-based creator economy, including the income these creators earn online and its diversity and inclusiveness for women and people of color. Here are the topline results:

In 2020/2021,[1] 11.1 million Americans earned $23.6 billion through internet platforms that presented their creative works to the public.

- Women accounted for 53.5% (6.0 million) of those creators and 40.2% ($9.5 billion) of those online earnings, and men accounted for 46.5% (5.2 million) of creators and 59.8% ($14.1 billion) of those earnings.

- People of color accounted for 30.2% (3.4 million) of these creators and 28.8% ($6.8 billion) of the online earnings, and white creators accounted for 69.8% (7.9 million) of creators and 71.6% ($16.9 billion) of those earnings.

Participation in the creator economy by women and people of color relies on online ecosystems that give creative people open, low-cost access to potential supporters and followers. In each creative area, large hosting platforms enable creators to upload their works, manage contacts with supporters and advertisers, and process their supporters' payments. New technologies can also reduce the costs to produce creative works and use the hosting platforms; and social media and a range of other online services can help them distribute and market their works, usually through the platforms.

Participation in this creator economy varied greatly in 2020 by gender, race, and ethnicity and, within each demographic category, across the seven creative areas.

[1] Estimates in this study rely primarily on data for 2020. In some areas, 2021 data were also available and where appropriate we also drew on those data. In all cases, the data cover one year.

- Women accounted for more than 50% of online income-earning creators in writing, crafts, art and design, and influencers, while men accounted for more than 50% of those creators in video, music, and podcasts.
- White creators accounted for 69.8% of income-earning online creators and larger shares of those creators in writing, crafts, and art and design.
- Black creators accounted for 11.1% of those creators and for larger shares in video, music, and podcasts.
- Asian creators accounted for 4.3% of those creators and for a larger share in podcasts.
- Hispanic creators accounted for 11.0% of those creators and for larger shares in video and music.
- American Indians, Alaskan Natives, Native Hawaiians, other Pacific Islanders, and multiracial people—accounted for 3.8% of those creators and for a larger share of online creators in music.
- All people of color accounted for 30.2% of income-earning online creators and for 37.0% of influencers.

While this creator economy has more diverse and inclusive participation than traditional creative industries, participation by women and people of color in many creative areas falls short compared to their shares of the labor force.

- Women accounted for 46.8% of the prime-age labor force in 2020, but substantially smaller shares of online income-earning creators in video, music, and podcasts.
- Black Americans accounted for 12.5% of the prime-age labor force, but substantially smaller shares of online income-earning creators in writing, crafts, and art and design.
- Asian Americans accounted for 6.8% of the prime-age labor force, but substantially smaller shares of online income-earning creators in every creative area.
- Hispanics accounted for 20.0% of the prime-age labor force, but substantially smaller shares of online income-earning creators in every creative area.

In this regard, our analysis found two other notable developments:

- Creative people of color, who identify as American Indians, Alaskan Natives, Native Hawaiins and Pacific Islanders, or multiracial, accounted for 2.1% of the prime-age labor force and for substantially larger shares of online income-earning creators in every creative area; and
- Hispanic and Asian creators participated in the creator economy at relatively lower rates than other groups: Hispanic Americans account for 20.0% of the labor force but 11.0% of creators, and Asian Americans account for 6.8% of the labor force but 4.3% of creators.

Further, participation in the online creator economy in 2020 was more inclusive than the distribution of the income earned in that sector..

- 53.5% of income-earning online creators were women, but those 6.0 million creators earned $9.5 billion online or 40.2% of all creators' online earnings.

- Women made $0.59 in the online creator economy per dollar made by men, on average. This trails the $0.76 made per dollar in the traditional creative industries and the $0.66 per dollar in total U.S. wage and salary earnings.

- Women had a disproportionately smaller share of online earnings in every creative area.

- 46.5% of income-earning online creators were men, and those 5.2 million creators earned $14.1 billion online or 59.8% of all creators' online earnings. The average online earnings by male creators were higher than women in every creative area.

- 69.8% of income-earning online creators were white, and those 7.9 million creators earned $16.8 billion online or 71.4% of all creators' online earnings. Earnings by white creators were especially strong in podcasts, writing, crafts, and art and design, and relatively weak as influencers.

- 11.1% of income-earning online creators were Black, and those 1.3 million creators earned $2.3 billion online or 9.8% of all creators' online earnings. Earnings by Black creators were relatively strong in video, music, and as influencers and weak in podcasts, writing, crafts, and art and design.[2]

- 4.3% of income-earning online creators were Asian, and those 485,000 creators earned $923 million online or 3.9% of all creators' online earnings. Earnings by Asian creators were relatively strong in podcasts and as influencers, and weak in video, music, and writing.

- 11.0% of income-earning online creators were Hispanic, and those 1.2 million creators earned $2.4 billion or 10.4% of all creators' online earnings. Earnings by Hispanic creators were relatively strong in video, music, and as influencers, and weak in podcasts, writing, and crafts.

- 3.8% of income-earning online creators were Other people of color, and those 423,000 creators earned $1.1 billion online or 4.6% of all creators' online earnings. Earnings by other creators of color were relatively strong in music, writing, crafts, art and design, and as influencers, and weak in video and podcasts.

Data on online earnings for creators earning $15,000 or more in 2020 were available in music, writing, podcasts, crafts, and art and design. These earnings remain skewed towards white creators and male creators, but some creators of color were more successful than white creators in podcasts, crafts, and art and design. For creators earning at least $15,000 we found that:

[2] Relative earnings strength is based on a group's share of earnings in a creative area compared to its share of creators in all creative areas.

- In podcasts, Asian and multiracial creators earned more than $1.00 for every dollar earned by a comparable white podcast creator.
- Black, Hispanic, and multiracial creators in crafts earned more than $1.00 for every dollar earned by a comparable white creator.
- Hispanic creators in art and design earned more than $1.00 for every dollar earned by a comparable white creator, and Black creators in art and design earned nearly $1.00 for every dollar earned by a comparable white creator.
- Disappointingly, female creators in all five creative areas earned less than $1.00—$0.66 to $0.94—for every dollar earned by their male counterparts.

The online creator economy, while larger and more diverse and inclusive than traditional creative industries, also manifests the "star" structure of those offline industries, in which a small number of creators earn large incomes while most earn relatively little.

- 9.2 million of the 11.1 million creators or 81.2% earned $1,000 or less online, and another 1.7 million or 15.2% earned between $1,001 and $20,000.
- Of the remaining 3.6% of online creators, 352,000 or 3.1% earned between $20,001 and $100,000, and another 51,000 or 0.5% earned more than $100,000.

Earnings followed a similar distribution across the seven creative areas; a small percentage of creators received the bulk of earnings, while the majority of creators earned less than a livable income.[3]

- Creative areas with relatively large shares of income-earning creators earning more than$1,000 in 2020 include podcasts at 24.1%, writing at 47.6%, and crafts at 35.9%. However, even in those areas, very small shares earned more than $20,000:
    - Only 3.1% of podcasters earned $20,001 to $100,000 online, and only 0.7% earned over $100,000.
    - Only 3.9% of writers earned $20,001 to $100,000 online, and only 0.9% earned over $100,000.
    - Only 5.3% of craft artisans earned $20,001 to $100,000 online, and only 1.1% earned over $100,000.
- The creative areas with the largest shares of creators earning $1,000 or less online were video at 87.8%, music at 97.8%, and influencers at 89.8%; and only 1.2% of video makers, 0.8% of music creators, and 2.5% of influencers earned more than $20,000 online.
- Online creators in art and design are outliers: The available data suggest that more than 90 percent earned more than $1,000 online, including 54 percent who earned $1,001 to $20,000 and 34 percent who earned $20,001 to $100,000. However, even in this area—*albeit* based on incomplete data—less than 3 percent earned over $100,000.

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[3] These calculations do not include creators who earned no online income, who comprise a large majority of those posting creative works online.

Diversity and Inclusiveness in the Online Creator Economy

I. Introduction

The internet's vast network of platform technologies has created new, groundbreaking ways for creative people to present their work and promote their talent. Before the internet, aspiring writers, filmmakers, photographers, musicians, painters, artisans, audio commentators, and other creative people faced daunting obstacles. To gain recognition and earn a living from their creative work, they usually had to be "discovered" by a professional agent or manager with contacts to publishing houses, newspaper and magazine editors, film companies, streaming services, record companies, radio stations, art galleries, and retail distributors. Those fortunate creators who cleared those hurdles next had to convince companies to invest the funds and services needed to promote their work to broad audiences.

The internet has disrupted this business model and greatly diminished the middleman roles of agents, managers, and arts-related companies that have long been gatekeepers for American popular and high culture. Today, aspiring creative people can turn to internet platforms that enable them to present their writing, videos, music, photographs, paintings, spoken commentaries, and crafts to potential followers. Through the internet, they can now draw on an ecosystem of services to help them refine their work and earn income by reaching supporters and customers on local, national, and even global levels.

This web-based creator economy also promotes greater diversity and inclusiveness across creative fields, because the institutions and the companies that traditionally helped creative people produce, distribute, and market their work have favored male creative artists, especially white men. Studies and surveys report that white men wrote 89 percent of books published in the United States since 1950.[4] From 2012 to 2020, 87 percent of successful musical performers were men, and white composers wrote 85 percent of the music they performed.[5] Men also directed 95 percent of the 1,450 most successful films of the last decade, and 87 percent of them white.[6]

This study applies new methodologies and datasets to estimate the current dimensions and demographics of the online creator economy. We cover seven creative areas: Video, music, writing, podcasts, artisan crafts, art and design, and influencers.[7] We found that in 2020/2021, more than 11 million Americans earned nearly $24 billion by posting their creative works on internet platforms in those creative areas. The study also breaks new ground by assessing the diversity and inclusiveness of the Creator economy, by gender and by race and ethnicity–white, Black, Asian, Hispanic, and multiracial and indigenous peoples, who are grouped together in the

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[4] So and Wezerek (2020).
[5] Smith, Pieper, Choueiti, Hernandez and Yao (2021).
[6] Lang, Brent (2020).
[7] This study updates two earlier reports that analyzed the dimensions of the creative economy focused on nine major platform: Shapiro and Aneja (2017); Shapiro and Aneja (2018).

category “Other”. We find that more than 53 percent of people earning income online from their creative works were women in 2020, and more than 30 percent were people of color.

The study also examines the online ecosystems that support creative people working to earn income online. A basic feature of these ecosystems are hosting platforms in each creative area that can present creators’ works to large audiences. These platforms enable creators to upload their works, help them manage their contacts with supporters, process their customers’ payments, and select and manage advertisers. New technologies also have emerged that lower the cost barriers for creators to use these platforms, including digital video-capture cameras, digital audio sequencing and editing applications, and graphic design software. The study also reviews a range of online services that help creators produce, distribute and market their works on these platforms, including extensive use of social media to publicly establish their talent and help build their brands. Finally, the study assesses the various ways that creators earn income online in each creative area, including advertising revenues, direct sales and royalties, affiliate marketing, subscription fees, and branding income.

For millions of creative people, these internet-based ecosystems have supplanted the traditional gatekeepers that long limited access by most artists and artisans to public recognition and support from followers and fans. The result is a more democratic creator economy, although female creators generally still earn less than their male counterparts, and creators who are people of color generally still earn less than white creators. With millions of online creators striving to attract supporters, the online creator economy is a crowded marketplace, and competition for attention and rewards is intense. Much like the offline creative industries, a modest number of stars at the top of each online creative market earn much of the income. Nevertheless, the openness of the new creative economy has enabled millions of women and people of color to earn income by posting their creative works online. In 2020, female creators earned $9.5 billion from their online work or nearly 40 percent of online creative income, and people of color earned $6.8 billion or nearly 29 percent of income by online creators. However more work is needed to ensure parity and transparency within the online economy.

II. Race and Gender in the Online Creator Economy

The creator economy is large and diverse: In 2020, 11.1 million Americans earned income by posting their creative works online, including 6.0 million women and 3.4 million Black, Asian, Hispanic, multiracial and indigenous creative people. The large numbers of women and people of color participating in the online creator economy reflects its openness. Its major platforms apply low monetary or technical barriers to access their services and attract potential supporters. The online platforms and services also apply fewer selection criteria and personal judgements than companies in traditional creative industries, which historically have strongly favored white males.

Table 1. Participation in the Creator Economy as a Share of Population

	Female	Male	Total
Asian	3.0%	1.9%	2.5%
Black	2.9%	3.3%	3.1%
Hispanic	2.0%	2.0%	2.0%
Other	4.4%	3.7%	4.0%
White	4.3%	3.9%	4.1%
Total	3.6%	3.3%	3.5%

In practice, there are significant gender, racial, and ethnic disparities in the creator economy. White creators have higher participation rates than creators of color as shares of the population (Table 1 above) and as shares of the U.S. labor force (Table 2C below). Similarly, among all online creators, a larger percentage of white creators and male creators earn income from posting their works online than creators of color or female creators.[8] Women make less compared to men in the creator economy than in traditional creative industries (Table 7C). White male creators also earn more money online on average, dominate many of the largest creator platforms, and account for a disproportionate share of high-earning creators.

Despite much lower barriers to participation than in traditional creative industries, creators invest time and resources in activities that are not likely to generate significant income. Becoming a successful online creator also requires capital investment—for example, to create a podcast in the top 10 percent globally and earn income, a creator needs access to audio equipment and editing software, funds for a sound engineer, and time and money for marketing and programming. While such obstacles are smaller than those encountered in traditional creative industries, they may have disproportionate effects on participation and earnings by women and people of color.

As the creator economy has grown, concerns about racial bias and gender bias have drawn increasing attention and public scrutiny. Some common criticisms include implicit bias in

[8] The monetization rate of white creators is 8.5 percentage-points higher than creators of color, and the monetization rate of male creators is 6.5 percentage-points higher than female creators. U.S. Census Bureau (2021C).

many platforms' efforts to attract creators,[9] biases in the valuation of creative content,[10] differences in spending power of various groups of consumers, and barriers to resources. Some creator platforms including YouTube also have come under fire for alleged bias in their algorithms that disadvantage Black creators, LGBTQ creators, and other marginalized groups.[11]

This study presents an empirical analysis of participation and earnings by online creators in the United States, by race, ethnicity, and gender. We do not attempt to identify the causes of the various demographic disparities in participation and earnings; rather, we hope to provide a reasonably comprehensive analysis of the dimensions of diversity and inclusion in the creator economy.

Participation in the Creator Economy by Race and Ethnicity

We begin with basic data: Using a range of sources and methodologies, we estimated the number of online creators who earned income in 2020 (or in some cases 2021) in each of seven creative areas, by their race and ethnicity. (Table 2A below). We note again that "Other" includes creators of color including multiracial, indigenous and Pacific Islander creators. Also, for influencers, the data allowed us to distinguish among income-earning influencers who were white and those who were people of color, but not to disaggregate influencers of color further to directly estimate the numbers of Black, Asian, Hispanic, and Other influencers.[12]

With the above caveat, we found that crafts, music, and videos were the creative areas with the largest of numbers of Black, Asian, and Hispanic creators earning income online; crafts and music were areas with the largest numbers of "Other" creators earning income online; and crafts and writing were areas with most white creators earning income online.

Table 2A. Income-Earning Internet Creators in Seven Creative Areas, By Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Others	Total
Video	1,236,000	338,000	82,000	317,000	54,000	**2,027,000**
Music	1,229,000	226,000	53,000	203,000	84,000	**1,795,000**
Podcasts	372,000	72,000	33,000	50,000	13,000	**541,000**
Writing	301,000	13,000	12,000	14,000	11,000	**351,000**
Crafts	2,206,000	106,000	132,000	201,000	81,000	**2,726,000**
Art and Design	94,000	7,000	5,000	13,000	4,000	**123,000**
Influencers[13]	2,214,000	1,300,000				**3,514,000**
Total	**7,652,000**	**1,228,000**	**510,000**	**1,287,000**	**399,000**	**11,066,000**

[9] Hale (2019).
[10] Stanley (2020).
[11] Hale (2020A); Hale (2020B); Hale (2019).
[12] For the total Black, Asian, Hispanic, and Other creators who earned income online in 2020, we applied the aggregate percentages of each group's creators across the other six creative areas to influencers.
[13] Again, since data are not available to support our allocating influencers of color by race and ethnicity, the totals and share estimates are based on the race and ethnic distribution for the other six creative areas.

Diversity and inclusion in the online creator economy can be apprehended more directly by measuring income-earning creators as a share of the population by race and ethnicity (Table 2B below) and measuring the shares of creators in each creative area by race and ethnicity, compared to each group's shares of the prime-age labor force, ages 20 to 55. (Table 2C below) The first analysis shows that relative to their populations, more white Americans and Other Americans earn income in the online creator economy than Black, Asian, or Hispanic Americans.

Table 2B: Income-Earning Online Creators as a Share of Population by Race and Ethnicity

White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Other	Total
4.1%	3.1%	2.5%	2.0%	4.0%	3.5%

Table 2C. Shares of Income-Earning Internet Creators in Seven Creative Areas, By Race and Ethnicity, Compared to their Shares of the Prime-Age Labor Force, 2020

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Others	People of Color
Video	61.0%	16.7%	4.0%	15.6%	2.7%	**39.0%**
Music	68.5%	12.6%	3.0%	11.3%	4.7%	**31.5%**
Podcasts	68.9%	13.3%	6.1%	9.3%	2.4%	**31.1%**
Writing	85.8%	3.7%	3.4%	4.0%	3.1%	**14.3%**
Crafts	80.9%	3.9%	4.8%	7.4%	3.0%	**19.1%**
Art and Design	76.4%	5.7%	4.1%	10.6%	3.3%	**23.6%**
Influencers	63.0%	**37.0%**				
Total Shares	**69.2%**	**11.1%**	**4.6%**	**11.6%**	**3.6%**	**30.9%**
Labor Force Shares	57.8%	12.5%	6.8%	20.0%	2.1%	42.2%

The second analysis shows that white income-earning online creators accounted for larger shares of the creators in each of the seven creative areas than their share of the labor force. White creators were most dominant in writing, crafts, and art and design. Black income-earning online creators accounted for larger shares of the creators in video, music, and podcasts than their share of the labor force, excelling most in video and art and design. Asian and Hispanic income-earning online creators accounted for smaller shares of online creators in every creative area than their shares of the labor force.

Income-earning participation in the online creator economy in 2020 by all people of color was greatest in video and as influencers, accounting respectively for 39.0 percent and 37.0 percent of creators earning income online. Participation by people of color was lowest in writing, crafts, and art and design, with people of color accounting respectively for 14.3 percent, 19.1 percent, and 23.6 percent of income-earning online creators. All told, non-white creative people represented 30.9 percent of all U.S. creators earning income online in 2020, compared to 42.2 percent of the American labor force.

Online monetization of creative work—the percentage of creators in each group that earn income posting their work online—is much higher among white creators than creators of color: That monetization rate among white creators is 8.5 percentage-points higher than among creators of color. This disparity is driven largely by the low rate of monetization by women of color, who earn income from their creative work at a rate 16 percentage points lower than white women and 20 percentage points lower than white men.[14] Black and Hispanic women creators had the lowest rates of monetization.

Earnings in the Creator Economy by Race and Ethnicity

Next, we turn to the income creators earned online, by their race and ethnicity.[15] We will see that creators of color earned less on average for their work than white creators in the overall creator economy, as well as in every individual creative segment except influencers and crafts. White creators earned $16.5 billion from online creative activities compared to nearly $6.9 billion by creators of color (Table 3A below). Further, analysis of the average or mean earnings per-creator by race and ethnicity also suggests that the open character of the online creator economy supports a greater measure of economic opportunity for Hispanic and Asian creators than for Black creators. On average, Black creators earned 86.1 percent as much per-creator as their white counterparts, Asian creators earned 88.9 percent as much per-creator as white creators, and Hispanic creators earned 92.5 percent as much per-creator as white creators.

Table 3A. Total Online Earnings by Creators in Seven Areas ($ Millions) and Average Earnings Per Creator, By Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Others	Total
Video	$4,464	$913	$197	$1,070	$197	**$6,842**
Music	$728	$186	$27	$119	$54	**$1,113**
Podcasts	$1,159	$137	$128	$24	$44	**$1,493**
Writing	$2,233	$127	$78	$86	$168	**$2,692**
Crafts	$4,287	$372	$204	$391	$290	**$5,544**
Art and Design	$2,429	$177	$130	$340	$138	**$3,215**
Influencers	$1,565	$1,171				**$2,735**
Total	**$16,865**	**$2,312**	**$923**	**$2,456**	**$1,079**	**$23,635**
Mean Earnings Per-Creator, By Race and Ethnicity						
	$2,143	**$1,845**	**$1,905**	**$1,982**	**$2,552**	**$2,097**

Another gauge of economic inclusiveness in the creator economy can be derived from the shares of income that each racial and ethnic group earned in each creative area. (Table 3B below) By this measure, the online earnings of white creators were particularly strong in writing, podcasts, crafts, and art and design; and those earnings by Black creators were especially strong in music and video. Similarly, the online earnings of Asian creators were relatively strong in podcasts and arts and design; Hispanic creators' online earnings were relatively strong in video, music, and art and design; and Other creators had strong online

[14] Creative areas with data available for non-earning creators: video, music, crafts, visual art, and writing.

[15] Again, we can disaggregate these earnings data for influencers only for white creators and all creators of color.

earnings in writing, music, and crafts. All told, creators of color earned 28.6 percent of online earnings in the creator economy, with relatively stronger online earnings in video and music and relatively weaker earnings in writing, podcasts, and crafts.

Table 3B. Shares of Income by Online Creators in Seven Creative Areas By Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Others	People of Color
Video	65.2%	13.4%	2.9%	15.6%	2.9%	34.8%
Music	65.4%	16.7%	2.4%	10.7%	4.9%	34.6%
Podcasts	77.7%	9.2%	8.5%	1.6%	3.0%	22.4%
Writing	83.0%	4.7%	2.9%	3.2%	6.3%	17.0%
Crafts	77.3%	6.7%	3.7%	7.1%	5.2%	22.7%
Art and Design	75.6%	5.5%	4.1%	10.6%	4.3%	24.4%
Influencers	57.2%	42.8%				
Total Shares	**71.4%**	**9.8%**	**3.9%**	**10.4%**	**4.6%**	**28.6%**

Analyzing the per-creator earnings of those earning $15,000 or more online from their creative works by race and ethnicity can provide additional insight into the inclusiveness of the creator economy today. We construct data on the median earnings of those creators earning $15,000 or more for music, podcasts, writing, art and design, and crafts, but not for video or influencers. For this category of online creators, Table 4 below presents how much a creator of color earned per-creator for every $1.00 earned by a white creator, by sector. The analysis shows that among those creators, Black, Asian, and Hispanic music creators all earn less per-creator online than white music creators; in writing, Black, Asian, and Hispanic creators all earn less per-creator than white creators; and in art and design, Black, and Asian creators all earn less per-creator than white creators. However, in crafts, Black and Hispanic creators all earn more per-creator online than white creators; and in podcasts, Asian creators earned more per-creator online than white creators.

Table 4. Online Earnings of Creators of Color for Each Dollar Earned Online by a White Creator Among those Earning at least $15,000, By Race and Ethnicity, Five Creative Areas, 2020

	Black/White	Asian/White	Hispanic/White
Music	$0.96	$0.93	$0.94
Podcasts	$0.61	$1.25	–
Writing	$0.99	$0.81	$0.81
Art and Design	$0.99	$0.92	$1.06
Crafts	$1.23	$0.88	$1.27

We also measured the median online earnings for all video online creators—not just those relatively successful—by race and ethnicity. Those results show large earnings gaps: For every dollar earned online by an independent white video maker, Black video makers earned $0.67, Asian video makers earned $0.60, and Hispanic video markers earned $0.81. Among influencers earning at least $20,000 a year, influencers of color earned $1.08 for each dollar earned by a white influencer. However, the only industry report on this subject drew on limited data that may overstate the relative earnings of successful influencers of color, as we will discuss later in the influencer subsection. [16] In addition, among the 97 percent of influencers who earned less than $20,000, influencers of color made only $0.81 per-posting for each dollar earned per-posting by their white counterpart. Further other analysts maintain that influencers of color generally earn less than white influencers.[17]

Finally, we aggregated the relative online earnings per-creator by the relatively successful creators across the five creative areas by race and ethnicity, and then compared those findings to all earnings per-creator in the "creative economy" both online and offline, by race and ethnicity. We also compared those per-creator earnings by relatively successful creators to all wage and salary earnings per-person. (Table 5A below) Across those creative areas, all creators of color earned 7 percent less per-creator than white creators—14 percent less for Black creators, 11 percent less for Asian creators, and 7 percent less for Hispanic creators. The earnings gaps per-creator between white creators and creators of color were greater across all creative and cultural industries, online and offline. This provides direct evidence that for Black, Hispanic, and Asian creative people, the online creator economy is more inclusive economically than all creative industries. Further, the earnings gap between creators of color and white creators is much smaller in both the online creator economy and the total creative economy than in the overall economy. Creative industries both online and offline are more inclusive, as measured by earnings per-creator and per-person, than the overall economy.

Table 5A. Ratio of Creators' Earnings by Race and Ethnicity:
Online Earnings by Successful Creators of Color for Each $1 Earned by a White Creator,
Earnings of Creative People of Color for Each $1 Earned by White Counterparts in Creative Industries, and Wage and Salary Income of Workers of Color for Each $1 Earned by White Workers

	Online Creator Economy	Total Creative Economy	Wage and Salary Earnings
Black / White	$0.86	$0.72	$0.66
Asian / White	$0.89	$0.91	$0.66
Hispanic / White	$0.93	$0.77	$0.58
People of Color / White	$0.93	$0.80	$0.69

We can further assess the inclusiveness of earnings in the creator economy by comparing each group's share of online creator earnings with their shares of all creators and their shares of personal wage and salary income among white, Black, Asian, and Hispanic Americans. (Table 5B below) This analysis shows that white creators earned larger shares of online income than their share of all creators or their share of all household income. For Black creators, creator earnings are less inclusive than creator access, as their share of those earnings

[16] Izea (2020).
[17] Carman (2020), The British Blacklist (2019)

lagged their shares of all creators and all household income. For Asian and Hispanic creators, their shares of creator online earnings equaled or slightly exceeded their shares of creators but lagged their shares of all personal wage and salary income.

Table 5B. Shares of Total Income by Online Creators, Compared to Shares of Creators and Shares of Wage and Salary Income, By Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
Creators' Online Earnings	71.4%	9.8%	3.9%	10.4%
Share of Creators	69.8%	11.1%	4.3%	11.0%
All Salary & Wage Income	72.1%	9.0%	7.5%	11.4%

Participation in the Creator Economy by Gender

Overall, women predominate as online creators: They accounted for more than 6.0 million or 53.5 percent of online income-earning creators, compared to their smaller 46.8 percent share of the prime-age labor force. Accordingly, men accounted for more than 5.2 million or 46.5 percent of those creators compared to their 53.2 percent share of the prime-age labor force. (Table 6 below) Notably, each creative area is dominated by one gender. Men dwarfed women as creators in video, music, and podcasts; and women dwarfed men as creators in writing, crafts, art and design, and influencers. Notably, influencers were the largest creative area by participants, with more than 3.5 million income-earning creators, and 72.5 percent of those influencers were women. Apart from influencers, men accounted for 55.6 percent of the nearly 7.8 million income-earning online creators in the other six areas, and women accounted for 44.4 percent—reasonably close to their respective shares of the labor force.

Table 6. Internet Creators Earning Income in Seven Creative Areas, By Gender, Compared to their Shares of the Prime-Age Labor Force, 2020

	Men		Women	
	Number	**Share**	**Number**	**Share**
Video	1,331,158	65.9%	689,248	34.1%
Music	1,140,380	63.6%	653,620	36.4%
Podcasts	443,310	82.0%	97,232	18.0%
Writing	233,470	42.2%	320,319	57.8%
Crafts	1,068,105	48.7%	1,657,444	51.3%
Art and Design	60,080	39.2%	63,365	60.8%
Influencers	967,151	27.5%	2,546,576	72.5%
Total	**5,243,653**	**46.5%**	**6,027,805**	**53.5%**
Labor Force Shares	**53.2%**		**46.8%**	

As noted, women are significantly underrepresented in videos, music, and podcasts, and well represented in writing, crafts, art and design, and as influencers. We also found that these gender disparities are greater on some leading platforms than across the entire creator industries. Among all income-earning music creators, for example, 63.6 percent are men and

36.4 percent are women—but on Spotify, 81.1 percent of artists are men, and those male artists account for 76.6 percent of all Spotify tracks. Similarly, women account for 51.3 percent of income-earning creators in crafts but more than 80 percent of craft artisans on Etsy. Women also comprise 72.5 percent of influencers but nearly 90 percent of transaction volume on Instagram.

Earnings in the Creator Economy by Gender

Overall, male creators had a consistent advantage over female creators in online earnings, which totaled $23.6 billion in 2020. (Table 7A below) Among creators earning income online, men take home larger shares of the total earning in every creative area than their shares of creators in each area. Even in creative areas such as writing, art and design, and influencers—where women account respectively for 57.8 percent, 60.8 percent, and 72.5 percent of income-earning creators—their shares of the online earnings in those areas were consistently smaller at, respectively, 53.3 percent, 42.6 percent, and 66.7 percent. All told, female creators earned $9.5 billion online in 2020 or 40.2 percent of all such earnings, while accounting for 53.5 percent of all online income-earning creators.

Table 7A. Online Creator Earnings and Shares of Earnings in Seven Creative Areas, By Gender ($ millions)

	Men		Women	
	Earnings	**Share**	**Earnings**	**Share**
Video	$4,993	73.0%	$1,850	27.0%
Music	$788	70.8%	$325	29.2%
Podcasts	$1,305	87.4%	$188	12.6%
Writing	$1,257	46.7%	$1,435	53.3%
Crafts	$1,845	57.4%	$1,369	42.6%
Art and Design	$3,032	54.7%	$2,512	45.3%
Influencers	$910	33.3%	$1,825	66.7%
Total	**$14,130**	**59.8%**	**$9,505**	**40.2%**

Equality as measured by creators' online earnings is less advanced for women than for creators of color. Once again, we use information on the median earnings of relatively successful male and female online creators–earning at least $15,000 online—for the five creative areas of music, podcasts, writing, art and design, and crafts. In all five areas, women earned less per-creator on average than men.

Table 7B: Online Earnings by Female Creators for Each Dollar Earned Online by Male Creators Among those Earning at least $15,000, in Five Creative Areas

	Female/Male
Music	$0.94
Podcasts	$0.66
Writing	$0.83

Crafts	$0.93
Art and Design	$0.92

Again, using data on median online earnings for all online video creators by gender, we find that female video makers earned $0.69 for each dollar earned by a male video maker. For influencers, women earned $0.76 per-posting for each dollar per-posting earned by a man.

We can further assess gender equality in the creator economy as measured by earnings by comparing the ratio of average online earnings by male and female creators across all creative areas with the ratio of earnings by all male and female Americans in all creative industries, online and offline, and with the ratio of all wage and salary earnings by male and female Americans. (Table 7C below). In this regard, women fare worse in the online creator economy than in all creative industries online and offline, and worse than in all salary and wage earnings across the economy. In the online creator economy, women earned only $0.59 online for each dollar earned by a man, compared to $0.76 in all creative industries and $0.66 in all wage and salary earnings.

These results may reflect employment regulation and the employment status of online creators. Companies cannot broadly discriminate in the wages they pay employees based on gender under the Pay Equity Act of 1963; and while the Senate has not approved the stricter Equal Pay Act, many companies have independently implemented its provisions. However, online female creators are not protected because they are not employees of the platforms that present their work; and most platforms have taken few if any steps to ensure or promote greater gender equality in their creators' earnings. In one regard, the earnings of female and male creators are comparable: The online earnings of female creators represent 0.26 percent of all personal labor income earned by women, and those online earnings by male creators represent 0.25 percent of all personal labor income earned by men.

Table 7C. Ratios of Earnings by Gender:
Average Online Earnings by Female Creators for Each $1 Earned by a Male Creator,
Online and Offline Earnings in Creative Industries by Women for Each $1 Earned by Men, and
Wage and Salary Earnings by Female Americans for Each $1 Earned by Male Americans

	Women / Men
Online Creator Economy	$0.59
Total Creative Economy	$0.76
All Wage and Salary Earnings	$0.66

As noted earlier, gender equality in creators' median online earnings is greater among relatively successful creators—those who earned at least $15,000 online in 2020—especially in three creative areas. This gender pay gap is only 6 percent in music, 7 percent in crafts, and 8 percent in art and design. By contrast, the median earnings of all employed women were $35,838 compared to $49,389 for men in 2020, a gap of 27.4 percent.[18] Since this analysis covers those creators earning at least $15,000 online, the median income of all *full-time*

[18] U.S. Census Bureau (2021B).

workers may provide a better benchmark than the median income of all employed people. The gap between the median earnings of all full-time working women and all full-time working men was 17 percent in 2020—still much greater than the gap for relatively successful male and female creators in music, crafts, and art and design. Those relatively modest differences in median online earnings may reflect a preponderance of young creators, since the gender gap in median hourly wages earned by men and women ages 25 to 34 is about 7 percent.[19]

[19] Barroso and Brown (2021).

III. The Creator Economy and the Prospect of a Creator Middle Class

The creator economy has grown much faster, measured by sales or market value, than the overall arts and cultural economy. The market value of all arts and cultural industries grew 3.7 percent in 2019, while Etsy' gross merchandise sales increased 106.7 percent, podcast advertising revenues grew 19 percent, streaming revenues for DIY musicians increased 34 percent, and spending on influencer marketing is forecast to grow 33.6 percent in 2021.[20] Similarly, it took Patreon creators six years to earn $1 billion and just over one year to earn another $1 billion.[21] The National Endowment of the Arts recently characterized the internet broadcasting, streaming, and publishing industry as the most rapidly growing part of the broader arts and cultural economy.[22]

The growth in online creators is also part of a larger shift by Americans to independent work. By one analysis, the number of people working independently of employers increased 34 percent in 2021; and for more than 60 percent of them, it was by choice.[23] The numbers of part-time independent workers also rose 39 percent. This growth suggests that an increasing number of Americans are rethinking how they want to earn their livings, giving greater priority to their chosen work-life balance and flexibility.

The bulk of the income earned in the creator economy goes to a very modest number of top-tier creators, much like the "stars" in music, movies, and fine arts. However, the number of middle-tier creators with meaningful online earnings is not insignificant in several creative areas. We analyzed the distribution of online creator earnings and found that more than 1.7 million creators or about 15 percent earned between $1,000 and $20,000, and 352,000 creators or 3 percent earned between $20,000 and $100,000. YouTube, the largest single platform in the creator economy, reported that the number of its channels earning at least $10,000 increased by more than 50% in 2020.[24] The increase in middle-tier creators should benefit platforms as well as creators, since a platform with a handful of star creators earning most of creators' income risks a competitor poaching its lower-earning creators.[25]

Nevertheless, the creator economy has not yet fundamentally changed the star structure of most creative industries, even as it expanded access: Much like creative industries offline, small numbers of online creators earn large incomes while the vast majority have very modest earnings.[26] On Patreon, the largest platform for all types of creators, only 1 percent of creators earned at least $30,000 annually and only 25% earned more than $1,440.[27]

[20] Etsy (2021); Mulligan (2021A).
[21] Conte (2021).
[22] National Endowment for the Arts (2019).
[23] MBO Partners (2021).
[24] Shalavi (2020).
[25] Jin (2020C).
[26] Statisticians call this a "power law probability distribution."
[27] Regner (2020).

The distributions of creator earnings varied significantly across the seven creative areas. (Tables 8A and 8B below) The area with the largest number of creators earning more than $20,000 was crafts, with 175,000 creators. The area with the largest share was art and design: 36.6 percent earned more than $20,000, and only 9.6 percent of this area's 123,300 creators earned $1,000 or less. Notably, in both areas, creators usually sell their works directly rather than rely on advertising or subscriptions, and they often produce unique works. By contrast, in writing, 26,000 of 351,400 creators or 7.4 percent earned $20,001 or more online, including 1.3 percent who earned more than $100,000, while 92.6 percent earned $20,000 or less online, including 55.4 percent who earned $1,000 or less. The distribution of online earnings by podcasters was even more skewed towards low earners: Only 20,300 of 540,500 podcasters or 4.1 percent earned $20,001 or more online in 2020, including 3,800 or 0.7 percent who earned more than $100,000, while 520,200 or 95.9 percent earned $20,000 or less, including nearly 76 percent who earned $1,000 or less online.

Table 8A: Distribution of Creators by Online Income and Creative Areas, 2020

	$1 to $1,000	**$1,001 to $20,000**	**$20,001 to $100,000**	**$100,001 +**	**Total**
Video	1,802,300	222,600	25,100	3,200	**2,017,700**
Music	1,755,100	24,300	13,400	1,200	**1,794,000**
Podcasts	410,300	109,900	16,500	3,800	**540,500**
Writing	306,600	221,200	21,300	4,700	**553,800**
Art and Design	11,800	66,300	41,600	3,600	**123,300**
Crafts	1,775,700	819,500	146,900	29,300	**2,725,500**
Influencer	3,154,600	266,500	87,500	5,100	**3,513,700**
Total	**9,216,000**	**1,730,000**	**352,000**	**51,000**	**11,269,000**

Table 8B: Distribution of Shares of Creators by Online Income and Creative Areas, 2020

	$1 to $1,000	**$1,001 to $20,000**	**$20,001 to $100,000**	**$100,001 +**
Video	87.8%	10.8%	1.2%	0.2%
Music	97.8%	1.4%	0.7%	0.1%
Podcasts	75.9%	20.3%	3.1%	0.7%
Writing	55.4%	39.9%	3.8%	0.8%
Art and Design	9.6%	53.8%	33.7%	2.9%
Crafts	64.1%	29.6%	5.3%	1.1%
Influencer	89.8%	7.6%	2.5%	0.1%
Total	81.2%	15.2%	3.1%	0.4%

The creative areas with the most highly skewed earnings distributions were music, video, and influencers. In music, 99.2 percent of the 1.8 million music creators earned $20,000 or less online, including 97.8 percent who earned $1,000 or less. Similarly, 98.6 percent of nearly 2.0 million video creators and 97.4 percent of the 3.5 million influencers earned $20,00 or less online, including 87.8 percent of video creators and 89.8 percent of influencers earning $1,000 or less. At the top of these online-earning pyramids, those earning more than $100,000 in 2020 included only 3,200 video makers or 0.2 percent, 1,200 music creators or 0.1 percent, and 5,100 influencers or 0.1 percent.

All told, of more than 11.1 million income-earning creators, only 51,000 or 0.5 percent earned $100,000 or more from their online activities, and another 352,000 or 3.1 percent earned between $20,001 and $100,000. By contrast, 9.2 million creators or 81.2 percent earned $1,000 or less online in 2020, perhaps posting their works mainly for families and friends. An additional 1.7 million creative people or 15.2 percent earned between $1,001 and $20,000 online, sufficient to supplement their incomes from other sources.

IV. The Online Ecosystems for the Creator Economy

Creative people long faced and relied on designated gatekeepers to certify their talent and help present their work to the public. While creators who write, paint, play music or make videos simply for their own satisfaction could ignore these gatekeepers, there have long been daunting obstacles for creative people who seek broader recognition and hope to earn their income from their creative works. Filmmakers have depended on agents, studios, production companies, television stations and streaming platforms to help them produce their work, certify its value, and present it to large audiences. Similarly, visual artists have relied on galleries, art critics, museums, and curators; writers have needed agents, publishing houses, bookstores, and editors at newspapers and magazines; and musicians and composers have needed agents, record companies, music critics and record stores. Even artisans who make unique crafts have relied on merchants to sell their wares to local or national clientele.

These traditional gatekeepers also have tended to favor creators certified by colleagues from institutions such as Julliard, the Rhode Island School of Design, the American Film Institute, and selected theater companies, music venues, and creative writing programs. Since gatekeeping networks also tend to be concentrated in places such as New York, Los Angeles, and Nashville, creators hoping to earn a living from their talent often have had to relocate. The challenges facing women and people of color have been even greater, since the gatekeeping organizations and certifying institutions have long favored white men.

Over the past 10 to 15 years, broadband and internet platforms for people in each creative area have established alternative paths for creative people located anywhere to offer their work directly to large audiences. These platforms offer many of the services of traditional gatekeepers, usually by providing software to upload their creative works and services to help manage their communications with supporters and process their payments, and negotiate with advertisers, marketers, and potential corporate supporters. New technologies also have lowered the barriers to make use of these platforms by sharply reducing many creator costs, including easy-to-use digital video-capture cameras, digital audio sequencing applications, and powerful graphic design software. Other online service providers affiliated with platforms also are available to help creators produce and distribute their works, including social media.

These platforms, technologies and other websites provide a web-based ecosystem that limits the ability of traditional gatekeepers to close off a creator's access to broader audiences and markets, including women and creators of color who have often been overlooked or dismissed before these new internet-based arrangements. As a result, tens of millions of creators now operate in a new and easily accessible marketplace. This study has established that in 2020, some 11.1 million American creators earned nearly $24 billion from posting their creative works online. We also found that 6.0 million of these creators or 53.5 percent were women and 3.4 million online creators or more than 30 percent were people of color.

More than 220 companies provide tools and services for online creators—by one estimate, 15 percent are vertical platforms, 39 percent provide services related to monetizing a creators' followers, 22 percent offer tools to help creators produce works for online audiences, 20 percent provide services to help target creators' content to potential users or followers, and 12 percent help creators manage their followers.[28] The platforms, tools and mechanisms that comprise these ecosystems operate as door-openers to internet marketplaces, supplanting gates that traditionally limited creators' access to potential followers. While these ecosystems are more highly developed for independent video makers and musicians than for writers and visual artists, they provide a foundation for a more democratic creator economy—and a very crowded marketplace. As the numbers of creators and potential supporters and buyers have increased dramatically, competition for people's attention has remained intense and a modest number of "stars" dominate the income in most creative markets. Nevertheless, these open ecosystems also enable millions of creative people to attract sufficient followers to achieve modest or moderate success unavailable under the old arrangements.

The ecosystems in each creative area includes a small number of major hosting platforms and numerous secondary platforms focused on particular types of creative activity, and many of them also include hundreds of niche platforms. In each creative area, different platforms have distinct strengths and types of followers, and creators try to target their creative efforts to the platforms with potentially the most fans for their particular work. Virtually all of these platforms are open access; and most charge fees to help creators build and maintain their personal pages.

The leading platforms for video makers include YouTube, Twitch, and TikTok. Apple Music, and Spotify are the largest platforms for independent musicians, followed by Pandora, Amazon Music, SoundCloud, and Bandcamp. Similarly, the biggest platforms for podcasters include Buzzsprout and Podbean, followed by Libsyn and Simplecast. Visual arts creators selling online use platforms such as FineArtAmerica, ArtPal, Artfinder, and Amazon Art. Similarly, Etsy and eBay handmade products are the most-used platforms for craftspeople, with many of those creators also selling from their own independent website using payment tools like Shopify. Most bloggers use WordPress.com, and many also use Blogger, Medium, and Typepad, or their own individual websites on Content Management Platforms like Wordpress.org. Essayists and comic creators, as well as bloggers, also use the Substack platform. Finally, the largest platforms for self-publishing authors are Kindle/Direct Publishing for e-Books and Amazon CreateSpace for printed books, with online authors also using Apple Books, Barnes & Noble Press, and Kobo.

Meta-Platforms for Creators in All Areas

In addition to platforms hosting specific types of creators, the ecosystems for the online creator economy also include horizontal platforms that host and support creators of all types. These platforms focus exclusively on creators who hope to earn income from their creations, and many creators who use these horizontal platforms also are on YouTube, Spotify, Buzzsprout, Etsy, WordPress, and other specialty platforms. These meta-platforms practice forms of "crowdfunding" in which people provide creators funds usually for specific projects. The most prominent of such platforms is Patreon with 6 million "patrons" or followers in 2020 supporting

[28] eMarketer (2021).

187,000 creators through donations and other payments totaling some $1 billion.[29] Followers typically pay about $8 per-month to gain access to a creator's work and interact with the creator and other followers. Video creators account for 26 percent of Patreon creators, podcasters and music creators each account for 8 percent, gamers account for 7 percent, and writers account for 6 percent.[30] Nearly 2,400 Patreon creators have at least 500 paying monthly patrons and 400 creators received substantial income from 2,000 or more monthly patrons.[31]

Kickstarter is another horizontal platform promoting crowdfunding for creators on a one-time basis. Kickstarter pre-screens creators for its platform and requires that they set a public target for the donations to fund a specific project. Kickstarter's model is "all or nothing:" A creator has 60 days to achieve her target; those who do so pay 5 percent of their donations plus a processing fee, while those who don't meet their targets pay and receive nothing. Unlike Patreon, Kickstarter hosts projects by technology inventors and fashion as well as video, music, writing, visual arts, and crafts. Kickstarter reports that as of October 7, 2021, it had hosted 538,100 creator projects, and 209,400 had met their targets and raised $5.6 billion.[32]

The Digital Commons

These platforms create a type of digital "commons" where creators can pursue their interests under the platform's rules and governing arrangements.[33] The platform creates a market by applying algorithms that correlate a creator and her products with the desires and expectations of platform visitors, who could become her fans or customers. The platforms also and provide mechanisms for creators and fans to interact, for fans to share creations among themselves, and often for anyone to visit a creator's dedicated website off the platform.

Creator ecosystems therefore rely on platform technologies to facilitate these interactions and transactions. In every creative area, platforms provide software that enable creators to easily upload their videos, music, writing and other digital files for posting or streaming. Platforms also provide billing and payment collection services for followers who purchase a creator's goods, subscribe to a creator's feeds, or donate to the creator. Platforms that accept advertising deploy additional, sophisticated algorithms to match advertisers as well as visitors with creators in their particular markets, keep track of a creator's followers' activities, manage billings to advertisers, and allocate proceeds to creators based on a platform's stipulated criteria. The ecosystems also include production, distribution and marketing services provided by platforms. Creators also can use outside distributors such as, for example, iMusician to upload their music to Spotify or aggregators for iTunes to format and deliver the content to the platform's specifications.

These ecosystems also depend on technologies to facilitate and support the creative process. Some 1.8 million independent American video makers earned online income in 2020,

[29] Dean (2021).
[30] Graphtreon (2021A).
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] Kickstarter (2021).
[33] Broumas, A. (2020).

which required the development and spread of inexpensive, easy-to-use digital video-capture cameras and video editing software, camera SD cards with WiFi, iPhones with video cameras, and software to automatically upload video to YouTube and other platforms. The 900,000 independent music creators that shared platforms such as Apple Play and Spotify with professionals from music labels also relied on new inexpensive technologies such as computer software for digital instruments and audio sequencing that mimic professional recording studios. Similarly, creators in the gaming sphere rely on programs adapted from software used by professional videogame companies.

The ecosystems in other creative areas have depended less on such new technologies. Some 1,017,824 American podcasters rely on a basic podcast app and RSS or "Really Simple Syndication," a standardized web feed format that carries a podcast's metadata and content. The 554,000 self-published authors, bloggers, and online freelance writers need little more than word processing and standard graphics software; and 2.7 million American crafts creators on the web need digital cameras to post their creations on Etsy or eBay for handmade items as well as the equipment to produce their crafts.

With tens of millions of independent creators online, the ecosystems in every area also include social media platforms with many hundreds of millions of members, and creators use those platforms to help market their talents and attract followers and customers. Dedicated pages on Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Reddit, Snapchat, Pinterest, and Linked-In offer potentially very broad reach and word-of-mouth promotion. Many creators also use specialty social media platforms such as Deezer and Bandcamp for music, Promo and Ripl for independent video, ArtStation for visual artists, Discord and Steam for gamers, and GoodReads for writers and bloggers.

Since most creators cannot enlist traditional marketing to help potential followers and customers notice and find them, among the millions of creators now using social media platforms, many creators focus on market niches that attract substantial numbers of visitors. These market niches range from videos about crimes or cats or country music ballads, to stories about spies or dragon masters or paintings or designs of landscapes. Similarly, bloggers and podcasters use social media to advertise their expertise in specific areas such as politics, fitness, or food. Finally, creators use social media platforms to encourage their followers and supporters to interact among themselves, as those interactions can help a creator fashion public identity and even a brand that can bring followers and customers back again and again.[34]

V. How Creators Use These Ecosystems to Earn Income

The online creator economy's capacity to expand opportunities for creative people to achieve recognition and earn income rests on the internet's pervasive presence and open and decentralized operations. Creative people of every type and background can upload their work

[34] These ecosystems also can be connected to traditional ways that creators use offline to network and collaborate. For example, artists and craftspeople volunteer at museums, musicians work with community venues and radio stations, and independent video makers, podcasters and bloggers can contribute their skills to community campaigns and school programs. Creators can then provide online accounts of their roles in these events to expand their profiles for online supporters.

to internet platforms with millions of viewers. While, as we have seen, the internet's impact on creative industries has not substantially changed their tendency to channel a lion's share of recognition and rewards to a relatively small roster of creative people, the online ecosystems in each creative area have enabled hundreds of thousands of American creators achieve some measurable success—women as well as men, and creators of color as well as white creators—and more than one million creative people attract modest recognition and rewards.

The recognition sought or achieved by most creative people can typically be gauged by the income they earn from followers of their creative works. However, creators in several areas, especially podcasts, visual arts, and music, can have significant followings without earning meaningful income from their followers. Beyond the traditional sources of income such as public performances and physical sales, internet companies have developed additional ways for online creators to monetize their talent, including advertising arrangements, affiliate marketing, subscriptions, brand sponsorships, donations, as well as direct sales and royalties. These various ways of earning income are essential aspects of the online ecosystems for creators, and many online creators use several approaches at the same time.

Advertising

Advertising is the most common way for online creative people to monetize the attention they draw from internet users. Most video, podcast, and writing platforms for creative people sell advertising space close to the works posted by creators with significant followings and share the associated revenues on bases ranging from 90-10 to 50-50. For example, the dominant platform in the video area, YouTube, operates a "partners program" that enlists advertisers and matches them to video creators with at least 1,000 subscribers and videos watched by registered YouTube members for at least 4,000 hours.[35] Other video platforms operated exclusively for creators trying to earn income from their work, such as Daily Motion, have similar arrangements for their members.

Generally, the platform solicits advertisers and selects the ads to be placed on the same page as a creator's video, music, blog, or other creations, usually to the right of the work or along the bottom one-fifth of the page, although creators on some platforms also can choose the ads. Creators also can affiliate with third-party services such as Google AdSense or Media.Net that recruit advertisers for many platforms and match them to the creator's page or website. The ads can be related or tied to the creative content, so a blogger who writes about fitness or a podcaster who regularly talks about fitness matters may display ads and links to fitness products available at Amazon, the manufacturer's website, or fitness services in the creator's area. The creator's compensation can be based on the number of viewers or on clicks-through using links embedded in the creator's page.

Affiliate Marketing and Brand Sponsorships

Online bloggers and essayists, video makers, photographers and podcasters also can earn income by partnering with companies that will use their content to market their products

[35] YouTube (2018).

or by signing on to an affiliate marketing services platform such as Awin or FlexOffers that will find companies prepared to pay them to use their blogs, articles, videos, photographs or podcasts to promote products. In both cases, creators can collect general fees or they can generate commissions when people use their page to link to the company's website. Creators who prove very successful in this type of marketing can become a sponsor for a company or a brand, so the marketing activities of a blogger, podcaster, video maker or photographer extend to a line of products.

Influencers are brand promoters or sponsors. They attract fans and followers by creating and posting videos, photographs, or tweets around their personalities and opinions using social media platforms for maximum exposure. For example, they may be an Instagram Influencer, a TikTok or YouTube influencer, or a Twitter or blogging influencer. They earn sponsorship or affiliate fees by featuring a company's products or a link for its products in their blog, podcast, video, or photographs. Beyond that, influencers that attract large followings can become "Ambassadors" for a company's product lines on an ongoing basis.

Direct sales and royalty payments.

Craftspeople, artists, writers, musicians and video makers also can earn income through direct sales or royalties. Direct sales are the main source of income for online craftspeople and artists who produce unique items in limited numbers and sell them on dedicated platforms that charge fixed fees or commissions based on a percentage of the selling price. As noted earlier, Etsy, and eBay for handcrafted items, as well as sites such as UncommonGoods, and Handmade Artists, specialize in this type of crafts. They generally charge a fixed fee for sales of lower-priced crafts and a share of the revenues from higher-priced items. The ecosystem for painters, sculptors, and creators of other fine art to sell works online is more restricted. While any artist can post work on platforms such as DeviantArt, others such as UGallery post work only by artists that the platform has "curated" or approved. Moreover, the major art platforms such as Artspace, Artsy, and ArtNet are not open access and work with galleries and artists with gallery representation.

Similarly, writers can self-publish e-books or paper versions of their books on platforms that charge fixed fees for any sales or pay the writers royalties from the revenues on any sales. A few platforms dominate this creator market, including Amazon's Kindle Direct Publishing, the self-published division of Apple Books, and Kobo.[36] For freelancers, platforms such as Vox-First Person and Buzzfeed pay fees per-article or pay per-word for essays on a wide range of topics, as do hundreds of smaller platforms that specialize on topics ranging from business and finance (Penny Hoarder and The Motley Fool), religion (Aish and Christian Century), and family and parenting (Motherwell), to technology (Nuts and Bolts), travel (Rova), and food (Taste).

Musicians also earn royalties by distributing their tracks on streaming platforms such as Apple Music and Spotify, selling tracks to fans through platforms such as Bandcamp, or selling their musical services through sites such as Fiverr. Musicians and composers also can use online music platforms such as BeatStars to sell the rights to their tracks under exclusive or

[36] McDonald (2019).

nonexclusive licenses. Similarly, online video makers can sell or license their works for on-demand viewing, streaming, or syndication through platforms such as Swarmify, Vimeo, and Brightcove.

Subscriptions

Bloggers, podcasters, video makers, musicians, and artists also earn income by directly charging followers for access to content in private forums that they restrict to paying members.[37] Followers can subscribe on a monthly or annual basis, and some platforms specialize in subscription content or creators. For example, Medium has monthly and annual fees for access to essays by hundreds of writers, and SubStack hosts essayists, bloggers, podcasters, and comic book creators who charge followers for access to their work, and many Patreon creators use the platform as a subscription model for recurring access to exclusive content.

Donations and Gated Content

Crowdfunding meta-platforms such as Patreon, Fangage, and ByMeACoffee host creators of all types who solicit one-time or monthly donations to support the specific project of a creator or a creator's work more generally. Other crowdfunding platforms such as Kickstarter and Indiegogo also host creators who solicit donations for specific projects, and while these platforms include video makers and musicians, most of their users are entrepreneurs seeking support to produce new products. In addition, bloggers, podcasters, video makers, musicians, artists, and influencers can solicit tips and donations from their followers on top of the other income they earn through advertising fees, affiliate marketing, brand sponsorships, subscriptions, and direct sales and royalties.

[37] WPbeginner.com (2021).

VI. Analysis of Each Creative Area

Video

Since the monetization of online amateur videos in 2007, video has provided the foundation for the modern creator economy and remains the highest-earning creative area online. Here, video includes independent creators who generate earnings from posting their videos online and does not include people who create content for video production or other traditional media companies. We also separately assess influencers on video platforms.

The content covered here includes videos posted on platforms such as YouTube and TikTok and livestreaming on platforms such as Twitch. We obtained data on their numbers of video creators and live streamers, excluding influencers, that we adjusted for their market shares. When the platform data provided an insufficient basis to assess certain demographic features or earnings-related information, we applied labor force mapping analysis drawn from data on self-employed people in the relevant industries and occupations.

We estimate that 2,018,000 U.S. video creators generated online earnings in 2020, including 1,647,000 creators who posted work on YouTube, 155,000 creators posting on TikTok, 177,000 live streamers, and 40,000 video creators on other platforms. We further found that men accounted for nearly two-thirds of these video creators, and Black creators and Hispanic creators accounted for larger shares of the income-earning creators in video than in other creative areas.

Table 9A: Online Income-Earning Video Creators:
Numbers and Share of those Creators by Race and Ethnicity and by Gender, 2020/2021

	Number	Share
Black	336,000	16.7%
Asian	81,000	4.0%
Hispanic	316,000	15.7%
Other	54,000	2.7%
White	1,230,000	61.0%
Female	689,000	34.1%
Male	1,331,000	65.9%
Total	2,020,000	100%

To take account of each group's share of the population, we next analyzed the numbers of income-earning online video creators per 100,000 people of the same race, ethnicity, or gender. (Table 9B below) As expected, the incidence of male creators (836 per-100,000) is twice that of female creators (415 per-100,000) after accounting for their population shares. This intensity analysis also shows that the incidence of Black video creators adjusted for population share, 825 per-100,0000, is substantially higher than any other group—30 percent greater than the incidence of white video creators, some 60 percent greater than the incidence of Hispanic or multiracial and other video creators and about twice the incidence of Asian video creators.

Table 9B: Intensity Analysis of Income-Earning Online Video Creators: Incidence of those Creators in the Population by Race and Ethnicity and by Gender, 2020

	Incidence of these Creators Per 100,000 People
Black	825
Asian	416
Hispanic	514
White	637
Female	415
Male	836
Total	**620**

Earnings

Next, we examined the earnings of video creators by race and ethnicity and by gender. Online videos posted by creators generate more earnings than postings in the other six creative areas, totaling $6.8 billion for U.S. creators in 2020 from advertising revenues, subscriptions, and donations. YouTube, the largest video platform, started paying creators a portion of advertising revenues in 2007, which some commentators have called the inception of the creator economy.[38] Over the past three years, YouTube has paid video creators worldwide more than $30 billion,[39] and the number of YouTube video channels generating at least $10,000 in annual revenues increased by more than 50 percent in 2020.[40] Unsurprisingly, changes to the platform's revenue-sharing and content policies have been controversial, given their potential impact on many creators' incomes.[41]

While there are differences in the number of online video creators by race and ethnicity and by gender, the share of online earnings by Black, Asian, and female video creators is even smaller than their shares of online video creators. (Table 10A below). For example, female video creators accounted for 34.1 percent of online video creators and received 27.0 percent of all online video creator earnings. Similarly, while white video creators accounted for 61.2 percent of video creators and took home 65.2 percent of online video creator earnings, Black and Asian video creators received substantially smaller shares of online video creator earnings than their shares of those creators. However, for Hispanic creators, there was little difference between their share of video creators' earnings and their creator share.

[38] Jin (2020A).
[39] Mohan (2021).
[40] Shalavi (2020).
[41] See, for example Weiss (2017); Alexander (2019); and Jin (2020B). YouTube also was sued in 2019 over claims that its algorithms contain implicit biases against LGBTQ video creators. Hale (2019).

Table 10A: Online Earnings of Video Creators by Race and Ethnicity and by Gender, and Each Group's Shares of Those Earnings and Video Creators, 2020

	Earnings	Video Earnings Share	Video Creators Share
Black	$913,000,000	13.3%	16.7%
Asian	$197,000,000	2.9%	4.0%
Hispanic	$1,070,000,000	15.6%	15.7%
Other	$197,000,000	2.9%	2.7%
White	$4,464,000,000	65.2%	61.2%
Female	$1,850,000,000	27.0%	34.1%
Male	$4,993,000,000	73.0%	65.9%
Total	**$6,842,000,000**	**100%**	**100%**

We can further assess the economic inclusiveness of the video creator economy by comparing the median earnings of those creators of color to white creators in this area and the median earnings of female creators to their male counterparts. (Table 10B below) This analysis shows larger differences in median earnings based on race and ethnicity and on gender among online video creators. Black and Asian video creators earned, respectively, $0.67 and $0.60 for each dollar earned by white video creators, and the Hispanic video creators earned $0.81 for each dollar earned by white creators. This analysis also found that female video creators earned $0.69 for each dollar earned by their male counterparts.

Table 10B: Online Earnings by Creators of Color and Women in Video For Each Dollar Earned Online by a White or Male Video Creator, 2020/21

Black/White	$0.67
Asian /White	$0.60
Hispanic/White	$0.81
Women/Men	$0.69

We also examined the distribution of the online earnings of income-earning video creators. (Table 10C below) As in other creative areas, those earnings are highly concentrated: More than 1.8 million people or 87.8 percent of all income-earning online video creators earned less than $1,000 from their online work, and 223,000 or another 10.8 percent earned between $1,001 and $20,000. Less than 4,000 of the more than 2.0 million video makers, or 0.2 percent, earned more than $100,000, and those with online earnings of $20,001 to $100,000 comprised the remaining 1.2 percent of these creators.

Table 10C: Distribution of Income-Earning Online Video Creators by Earnings, 2020

Earnings	Numbers	Share

Under $1,000	1,802,000	87.8%
$1,001 to $20,000	223,000	10.8%
$20,001 to $100,000	25,000	1.2%
$100,000 +	3,200	0.2%
Total	**2,017,763**	**100%**

The extreme concentration of those earnings by small numbers of online video markers is also evident in the U.S. creator earnings for YouTube channels with 150,000 to 2.0 million subscribers. Some 228 of those video creators had on average more than 2.5 million daily views over one year, and they earned an average of $5.4 million each. By contrast, many thousands of video makers with an average of 2,500 or fewer daily views earned an average of $311 each.

Music

The music creators analyzed here are musical artists unaffiliated with a record label who post their music online to generate earnings online. Again, we draw on data provided by the major online platforms for music creators and labor force data on self-employed people in relevant industries and occupations. Our estimates of online earnings include streaming and royalty revenues and other music-related earnings such as online merchandise sales and Patreon subscriptions, but not earnings from in-person musical performances.

In recent years, the numbers of independent music creators who use internet platforms to go around established music labels have grown faster than the music industry overall. Spotify, the largest of those platforms, characterizes its mission as "unlock[ing] the potential of human creativity by giving a million creative artists the opportunity to live off their art..."[42] In 2020, the online revenues of independent music creators increased 34.0 percent while revenues from streaming music by established artists grew 19.6 percent. All told, online music creators released eight times more tracks than major music labels,[43] and the market share of those labels fell one percentage-point.[44] However, while the revenues of music creators grew sharply, the number of those creators uploading music online increased more, leaving average earnings per-creator smaller.[45]

While some 4.1 million people posted musical content online for a public audience in 2020, less than 1.8 million or less than half earned any online income from doing so. Those income-earning music creators were disproportionately white and male: Of the nearly 1.8 million income-earning music creators, more than 1.2 million or 68.5 percent were white, and more than 1.1 million or 63.6 percent were men. The rate of Black musicians earning at least $1,000 was 28% lower than for white musicians.

Table 11A: Income-Earning Online Music Creators by Gender and by Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	Female		Male		Total	
Black	89,000	5.0%	141,000	7.9%	**226,000**	**12.6%**
Asian	45,000	2.5%	8,000	0.5%	**53,000**	**2.9%**
Hispanic	63,000	3.5%	140,000	7.8%	**203,000**	**11.3%**
Other	26,000	1.4%	61,000	3.4%	**84,000**	**4.7%**
White	441,000	24.6%	802,000	44.7%	**1,229,000**	**68.5%**
Total	**654,000**	**36.4%**	**1,140,000**	**63.6%**	**1,794,000**	**100.0%**

We adjusted those data for the population shares of each demographic group—measuring their incidence per 100,000 people of the same gender, race and ethnicity in the U.S. population—and found that income-earning online music creators are 82 percent more likely to be male (716 per-100,000) than female (393 per-100,000). (See Table 9B below). Men

[42] Spotify (2021).
[43] *Financial Times* (2021).
[44] Mulligan (2021A)
[45] Mulligan (2021B)

are more likely to earn income online as music creators in every racial and ethnic group except Asian creators, who are 4.8 times more likely to be women than men. On the same basis, these creators are 92 percent more likely to be white than Hispanic, 135 percent more likely to be white than Asian, and 14 percent more likely to be white than Black.

Table 11B: Income-Earning Online Music Creators Per 100,000 Population, By Gender and by Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	Female	Male	Total
Black	412	742	**556**
Asian	442	91	**271**
Hispanic	205	457	**331**
White	448	845	**636**
Total	**393**	**716**	**551**

Earnings

Independent music creators earned $1.1 billion online in 2020. White creators earned nearly 65 percent of those revenues, and male creators earned nearly 70 percent of the revenues. (Table 12A below) However, the shares of online music revenues earned by white creators, Hispanic creators and Asian creators were smaller than each of those groups' shares of music creators (Table 11A above). Though black music creators earned larger shares of online music revenues than their share of those creators, this does not reflect higher earnings on a per creator basis. The data suggest that musicians who monetize their work for small returns, hobbyist musicians and new creators, are far more often white than Black. This results in a higher white share of music creators than of online music earnings. Black musicians have a lower monetization rate and relatively successful Black musicians earn less online than their white counterparts. There are relatively fewer low-earning Black musicians, who are more likely to post their music online without monetizing it. By gender, the share of online revenues earned by male music creators was greater than the male share of those creators, and female music creators earned a smaller share of the revenues than their share of those creators.

Table 12A: Online Earnings by Music Creators, by Race and Ethnicity and by Gender, 2020 ($ Thousands)

	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Other	White	Total
Earnings	$186,000	$27,000	$119,000	$54,000	$728,000	**$1,113,000**
Share	16.7%	2.4%	10.7%	4.9%	65.4%	**100.0%**

	Female	Male
Earnings	$325,000	$788,000
Share	29.2%	70.8%

As noted earlier, most independent music creators earn very modest online income: Their earnings averaged only $607 per-creator, and the average creator earnings from streaming royalties was $234 per-creator. However, among relatively successful music creators—those who earned more than $15,000 online in 2020—their median online earnings were $31,900. Among relatively successful online music creators, Black, Asian, and Hispanic creators earned between $0.93 and $0.96 for each dollar earned by a white creator. Similarly, among this group of music creators, women earned $0.94 for each dollar earned by a man.

Table 12B: Median Online Earnings of People of Color and Female Music Creators For Each Dollar Earned Online by a White or Male Music Creator, Among Those Earnings at least $15,000, 2020

Black/White	$0.96
Asian /White	$0.93
Hispanic/White	$0.94
Women/Men	$0.94

All told, 1,755,000 of 1,794,000 of online music creators or 97.8 percent earned $1,000 or less online in 2020, and 24,000 or 1.4 percent earned between $1,001 and $20,000 in 2020. (Table 12C below) So, less than one percent of these creators earned more than $20,000 online: Some 13,442 creators or 0.75 percent earned between $20,001 and $100,000, and only 1,190 or 0.07 percent earned more than $100,000.[46]

Table 12C: Distribution of Music Creators by Earnings Level, 2020

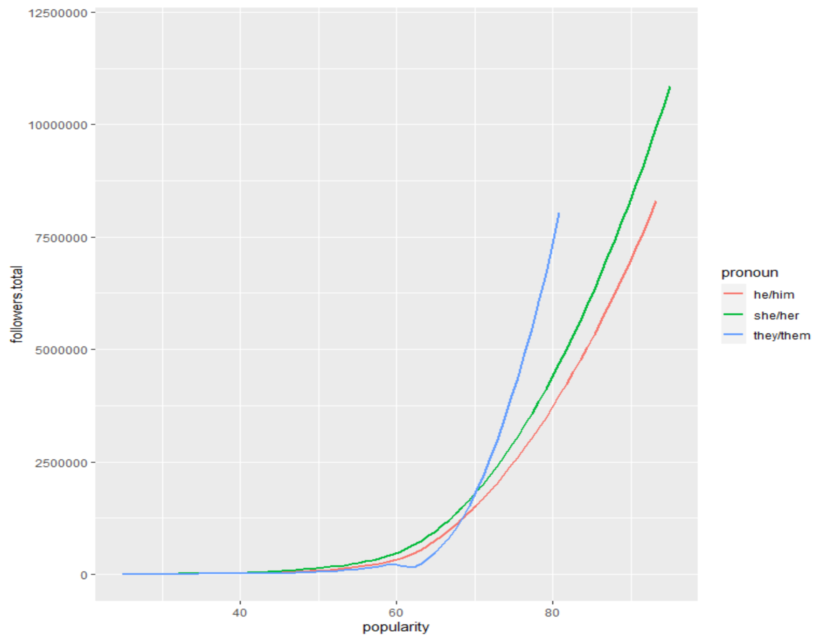
	Number	**Share**
$1 to $1,000	1,755,000	97.8%
$1,001 to $20,000	24,000	1.4%
$20,001 to $100,000	13,000	0.75%
$100,000 +	1,200	0.07%

Similarly, Spotify reports that 43,000 or 1.4 percent of the music artists on its platform attract 90 percent of streaming, albeit this includes musicians with music labels not considered creators here.[47] This concentration also is evident in the number of followers per-artist on Spotify; and since a creator's streaming revenues are based on how many tracks are streamed, their earnings distribution should be similarly concentrated.

[46] Those music creators earning more than $1,000 online in 2020 included 1.2 percent of Asian and Hispanic creators, compared to 0.95 percent of white and multiracial or other race creators and 0.7 percent of Black creators.

[47] Ingham (2019).

Figure 1: Followers by Artist Popularity Score on Spotify



The music industry has long seen large earnings disparities based on the gender, race and ethnicity of musicians, singers, songwriters, and music producers.[48] The music platforms provide new access to potential audiences for people of color and women with musical talents, but this broad access has not diminished the earnings disparities. Some research suggests that recommendations provided by the platforms exacerbate those biases.[49] Playlists generated by Spotify, for example, are more likely to feature male musicians than playlists generated by users, and analysts have reported that Spotify's popularity algorithm favors male artists.[50] And as Figure 1 suggests, among artists with the same follower count on Spotify, women on average are assigned a lower popularity rating by Spotify's algorithm.

Podcasts

Podcast creators here include individuals and members of a team that produce and post podcasts that generate earnings. To count them and estimate their earnings, we draw on data from podcast RSS feeds, which capture podcasts on every major platform without double counting, as well as podcasts on small platforms and personal websites. The analysis focuses on podcasts active in the United States and among the top 10 percent in global followers.

Since reliable podcast data for 2021 are available, we cover the year-long period from June 2020 to July 2021. Our analysis found that 1,017,824 podcasts released episodes in the

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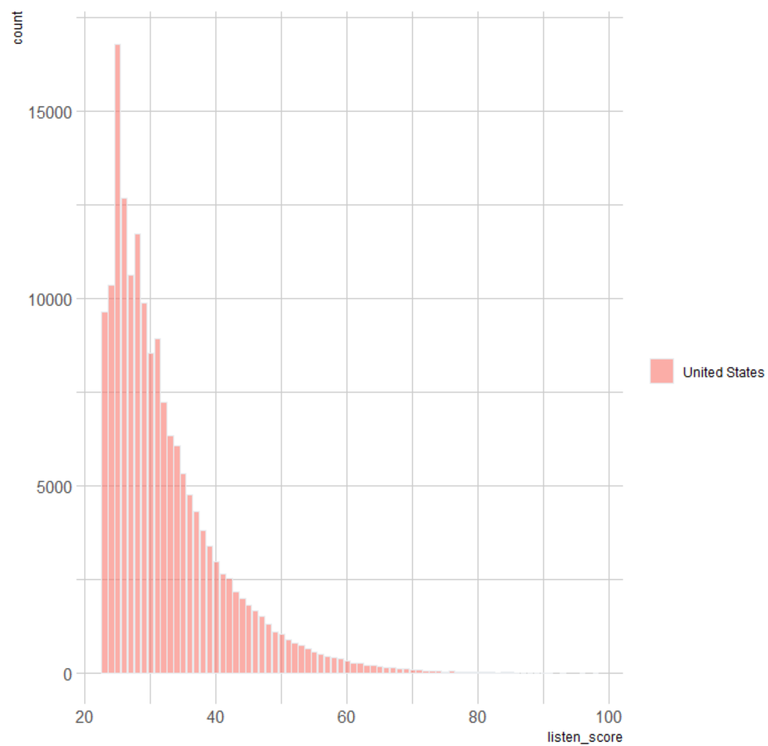
[48] Smith, Pieper, Case and Choueiti (2020).
[49] Shakespeare, Porcaro, Gomez, and Castillo (2020).
[50] Lin and LeBrun (2020).

United States, including 583,768 episodes from 510,241 publishers that released at least five episodes. We use the top 10 percent of podcasts as the threshold for those generating income; podcast listeners fall sharply past the top 10 percent of podcasts, and advertisers focus on podcasts with more than 50,000 downloads per-episode, or less than 1 percent of all podcasts. In addition, the income-producing podcasts on the Patreon all-creator platform are among the top 10 percent of global listeners. On this basis, our analysis includes the 169,002 most active U.S. podcasts from 151,636 podcast publishers. Figure 2, below, shows those podcasts by number of listeners.

Figure 2: Top 169,002 U.S. Podcasts by Listeners



Most successful podcasts require several creators—hosts, technicians, and others—and we analyzed a sample of popular podcasts to estimate the number of creators per-podcast. We found that the most successful podcasts involve five to 10 people while other income-generating podcasts involve two to three people. All told, we estimate that income-earning U.S. podcasts involve an average of 3.2 people per-podcast or a total of 541,000 creators.

Further, men dominate income-earning podcast creators to a degree greater than seen in other creative areas: 443,000 or 82.0 percent of the 541,000 income-earning U.S. podcast creators were male in 2020/2021. (Table 13A) In addition, white podcasters accounted for 372,000 or 68.9 percent of those income-earning creators, and another 72,000 or 13.4 percent were Black creators. However, other data suggest that the gender-based gap may be higher among the most popular podcasts.[51]

Table 13A: Income-Earning Online Creators in Podcasts by Gender and by Race and Ethnicity: Numbers and Share of Those Creators, 2020/21

	Female		Male		Total	
Black	19,000	3.6%	53,000	9.8%	**72,000**	**13.4%**
Asian	20,000	3.6%	13,000	2.4%	**33,000**	**6.1%**
Hispanic	12,000	2.2%	38,000	7.0%	**50,000**	**9.2%**
Other	5,000	0.9%	8,000	1.5%	**13,000**	**2.4%**
White	41,000	7.7%	331,000	61.2%	**372,000**	**68.9%**
Total	**97,000**	**18.0%**	**443,000**	**82.0%**	**541,000**	**100%**

Next, we take account of each racial and ethnic group's share of the population by measuring the numbers of online income-earning podcast creators per 100,000 people of the same race or ethnicity. This intensity analysis shows that the incidence of income-earning podcast creators in 2020/2021 was higher among white creators (193 per 100,000) than among Black creators (178 per 100,000) or Asian creators (168 per 100,000). (Table 13B below) Further, the incidence among those three groups was substantially greater than among Hispanic creators (81 per 100,000).

Table 13B: Income-Earning Online Podcast Creators Per 100,000 Population, By Race and Ethnicity, 2020/21

	Incidence Per 100,000 People
Black	178
Asian	168
Hispanic	81
White	193
Total	**166**

Earnings

The earnings of successful podcasters increased rapidly during the pandemic period. Advertising revenues grew 19 percent to $842 million in 2020, and by one estimate will surpass $1 billion in 2021 and $2 billion by 2023.[52] Podcast advertising traditionally focused on listeners during their daily commutes but now targets a broader range of listening contexts. Podcasters also have succeeded in attracting subscribers and donations. For example, seven of the 10 top

[51] In June 2020, 61 percent of top podcasts had male hosts, 27 percent had female hosts, and 12 percent had both male and female hosts. By platform, the share of the hosts of the highest rated podcasts who identified as male was 55 percent for Spotify and 60 percent for Apple, compared to 73 percent for Google. See AT&T (2021).
[52] Interactive Advertising Bureau (2021).

creators on Patreon are podcasters[53] and generate 14.6 percent of the platform's earnings, second only to video makers.[54]

As in several other creative areas, we can assess the inclusiveness of the creator economy for relatively successful podcasters, defined again as those earning $15,000 or more from their online work, by comparing the median earnings of the major groups of those creators of color to white creators, and the median earnings of those female creators to their male counterparts. Among podcasters who are people of color, data limitations allow us to estimate the median earnings of Black and Asian podcasters, but not Hispanic podcasters.

Table 14A: Median Online Earnings of People of Color and Female Podcast Creators For Each Dollar Earned Online by a White or Male Podcast Creator, Among Those Earnings at least $15,000, 2020

Black/White	$0.61
Asian /White	$1.25
Women/Men	$0.66

This analysis shows substantial differences among podcasters earning at least $15,000 based on race: Black creators earned $0.61 for each dollar earned by white podcasters (Table 14A above). There is also a large earnings gap between relatively successful female and male podcasters, with women earning only $0.66 for each dollar earned by men. A survey by WNYC studios also found that the median earnings of female podcasters were $5 per-hour less than their male counterparts, and they earned less than men across all experience levels.[55]

We also analyzed the distribution of the online earnings of podcast creators in 2020/21. As in most creative areas, a very large share of podcasters earned less than $1,000—nearly 76 percent—while less than 4 percent earned more than $20,000. (Table 14B below) Sponsor revenues account for the bulk of podcast earnings, and those sponsorships are very concentrated in podcasts with the highest downloads per-episode.[56] Subscriptions and donation account for most of the remaining podcast-related revenues, and based on Patreon data, those revenues also are highly concentrated.[57] The vast majority of these creators, therefore, use podcasts to at best supplement other larger sources of income.

Table 14B: Distribution of Income-Earning Podcast Creators by their Online Earnings, 2020/21

Earnings	Numbers	Share
Under $1,000	410,000	75.9%

[53] Graphtreon (2021A)
[54] Graphtreon (2021B); Graphtreon (2021A). Analysts can track only $190 million of Patreon's estimated $1 billion in annual payout to creators, so we estimate that podcast earnings from Patreon will total $146 million in 2021.
[55] WNYC Studios (2019).
[56] Li, Segal, and Carroccio (2019).
[57] Graphtreon (2021B).

$1,001 to $20,000	110,000	20.3%
$20,001 to $100,000	17,000	3.1%
$100,000 +	4,000	0.7%
Total	**541,000**	**100%**

Writing

Writing creators are writers unaffiliated with a publishing house, news organization or other established publishing entity who earn income from independently posting their writing online. This creative area includes blog posts, online essays and articles, self-published eBooks, newsletters, and web comics. The data for this segment were drawn from industry and analyst reports and labor force data for self-employed people in relevant industries and occupations.

The internet offers writers a range of new ways and revenue models to monetize their writing. For example, platforms such as Substack and Medium offer independent writers a way to earn income by charging readers for access. In addition, longer-form writing online has substantially supplanted short-form posts as sources of income: From 2014 to 2021, writers who typically posted more than 2,000 words increased from 2 percent to 14 percent while those writing fewer than 500 words declined from 20 to 6 percent.[58] Bloggers earn income mainly from affiliate marketing and sponsored posts, writers of online essays and articles earn income primarily from membership fees to writer platforms and pay-per-click advertisements, and writers of eBooks earn income from direct sales and royalty payments from e-publishing platforms such as Kindle/Direct Publishing and Apple Books. Among social media, Twitter has become a prominent platform for readers to connect with writers who share their interests.

Of 3.2 million writers who posted work online for a public audience in 2020, 554,000 earned income from doing so. We further analyzed those income-earning online writers and found that they were disproportionately female and white: 320,000 or 57.8 percent were women, 475,000 or 85.7 percent were white, and more than 277,000 or 50.1 percent were white women. No group of people of color accounted for as much as 4 percent of these income-earning creators.

Table 15A: Online Income-Earning Writing Creators by Gender and Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	Female		Male		Total	
Black	9,000	1.7%	11,000	1.9%	**20,000**	**3.6%**
Asian	10,000	1.8%	9,000	1.6%	**19,000**	**3.4%**
Hispanic	10,000	1.7%	12,000	2.2%	**22,000**	**3.9%**
Other	14,000	2.5%	4,000	0.7%	**18,000**	**3.3%**
White	277,000	50.1%	197,000	35.7%	**475,000**	**85.7%**
Total	**320,000**	**57.8%**	**233,000**	**42.2%**	**554,000**	**100%**

Next, we take account of each group's share of the population by measuring first online income-earning writing creators per 100,000 people of the same race or ethnicity. We also analyzed the numbers of all online writing creators, whether they earned income from posting their work, per 1,000 people of the same race or ethnicity. This analysis shows that the incidence of income-earning online writers among white creators (246 per 100,000) is five times

[58] Crestodina (2021).

greater than among Black creators (49 per 100,000), seven times greater than among Asian creators (35 per-100,000), and 2.6 times greater than among Hispanic creators (95 per-100,000).

We also examined the incidence of all online writers, whether or not they earned income online. That incidence is greater among Black Americans than any other group, while the incidence of Black writers who earn income online is less than any other group. This tells us that Black online writing creators monetize their writing at much lower rates than other groups of writing creators. Similarly, Asian online writing creators monetize their writing at relatively high rates, since the incidence of all Asian online writers is the lowest of any group while the incidence of Asian income-earning online writers ranks third.

Table 15B: Incidence of Income-Earning Online Writers and All Online Writers, By Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	Income-Earning Online Writers Per 100,000 People	All Online Writers Per 1,000 People
Black	49	12
Asian	35	4
Hispanic	95	6
White	246	11
Total	**49**	**10**

Earnings

We also assess the inclusiveness of the creator economy for relatively successful writing creators, again defined as those earning $15,000 or more from their online work, by comparing the median earnings of those writing creators of color to those white creators, and the median earnings of those female writing creators to their male counterparts. Notably, this analysis shows that the median earnings of Black writing creators who monetized their work with some success were virtually equivalent to those of white creators. However, among this group of relatively successful online writers, the median earnings of Hispanic and Asian creators were 19 percent less than white creators, and the median earnings of female creators were 17 percent less than male creators.

Table 16A: Median Online Earnings of People of Color and Female Writing Creators for Each Dollar Earned Online by a White or Male Writing Creator, Among those Earnings at least $15,000, 2020

Black/White	$0.99
Asian /White	$0.81
Hispanic/White	$0.81
Women/Men	$0.83

We also analyzed the distribution of writing creators by their online earnings in 2020. More than 55 percent earned less than $1,000 from their online writing, and another 40 percent earned between $1,001 and $20,000. (Table 16B below) As with video and music creators, very few writing creators earned more than $20,000 from their online work: Of 554,000 writers who earned income from posting their writing online or self-publishing eBooks, only 3.8 percent earned between $20,000 and $100,000, and 0.8 percent earned more than $100,000. However, the 55.4 percent share of writing creators who earned less than $1,000 online was substantially smaller than the corresponding shares of video creators (87.8 percent), music creators (97.8 percent), or influencers (89.8 percent). Further, the 39.9 percent of writing creators earning between $1,001 and $20,000 was the largest share of any creative area except art and design, perhaps reflecting a growing market for online written content supplied by freelance writers.

Table 16B: Distribution of Income-Earning Writing Creators by their Online Earnings, 2020

Earnings	Numbers	Share
Under $1,000	307,000	55.4%
$1,001 to $20,000	221,000	39.9%
$20,001 to $100,000	21,000	3.9%
$100,000 +	4,700	0.8%
Total	**554,000**	**100%**

Crafts

The Crafts segment covers creators who earned income from independently selling their crafts online. Their crafts include a wide range of artisan products, including jewelry, textiles, apparel and garments, ceramics, furniture, leather and paper products, and woodworking and metalworking crafts. The data for this segment were drawn from public information from Etsy, the largest platform for crafts, industry reports, and labor force data.

The Web 2.0 era provides new nationwide markets for craftspeople, and the numbers of them earning income online has increased rapidly. Those earnings are generated through the Etsy and Amazon Homemade platforms, many smaller platforms, and crafts and creator pages on online retail websites. Etsy alone had gross sales of $10.3 billion in 2020, up 106.7 percent from 2019, with nearly 60 percent of those sales in the United States.[59] Etsy further reports that based on a survey of its sellers, craft-making is the sole occupation of 28 percent, 53 percent work independently, and earnings from their crafts represent on average 11.4 percent of their household incomes.[60]

Of an estimated 3.4 million crafts creators who posted their products online, more than 2.7 million or 80.3 percent earned income doing so—a higher degree of monetization than other creative areas. The online income-earning craftspeople were predominantly female and, like writing, very predominantly white: 1,657,000 or 60.8 percent were women, and 2,255,000 or 82.7 percent were white. (Table 17A)

Table 17A: Online Income-Earning Crafts Creators by Gender and Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	Female		Male		Total	
Black	54,000	2.0%	58,000	2.1%	**112,000**	**4.1%**
Asian	68,000	2.5%	41,000	1.5%	**108,000**	**4.0%**
Hispanic	83,000	3.0%	78,000	2.9%	**162,000**	**5.9%**
Other	53,000	1.9%	34,000	1.2%	**88,000**	**3.2%**
White	1,367,000	50.1%	889,000	32.6%	**2,255,000**	**82.7%**
Total	**1,657,000**	**60.8%**	**1,068,000**	**39.2%**	**2,726,000**	**100.0%**

It is also worth noting that Etsy reports that the shares of Hispanic, Black, and Asian crafts creator on its platform increased substantially from 2019 to 2020: Hispanic creators' share grew from 7 percent to 12 percent; Black creators' share rose from 3 percent to 5 percent, and Asian creators' share grew from 4 percent to 6 percent.[61] Despite this progress in 2020, the three groups' participation on Etsy significantly trailed their shares of the labor force (Table 2C).

[59] Etsy (2021).

[60] *Ibid.* Work independently' defined by Etsy covers those who do not work in traditional fulltime job and includes people who described their working status as 'self-employed,' 'employed part time,' or 'temporary or contract employee,' as well as those who said their creative business was their "sole occupation." Etsy (2020).

[61] Etsy (2020).

As before, we measured online income-earning crafts creators per 100,000 people of the same race or ethnicity and all online crafts creators whether they earned income online per 1,000 people of the same race or ethnicity. This intensity analysis shows that the incidence of income-earning online crafts creators among white Americans is about twice that of Hispanic Americans and four times that of Black and Asian Americans. (Table 17B below) The analysis of all online craftspeople, whether or not they earn online income, shows that Black online crafts creators monetize their works at lower rates than other groups: The incidence of Black creators among all online craftspeople is greater than any other group of people of color and equal to white Americans, even as the incidence of Black online income-earning crafts creators is low. Further, Asian and Hispanic craftspeople posted their works online at much lower rates than other groups, while Hispanic crafts creators monetized their online crafts work at relatively high rates.

Table 17B: Incidence of Income-Earning Online Crafts Creators and All Online Crafts Creators, By Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	Income-Earning Online Crafts Creators Per 100,000 People	All Online Crafts Creators Per 1,000 People
Black	276	12
Asian	263	4
Hispanic	555	5
White	1,167	12
Total	838	10

Earnings

Again, we can assess the inclusiveness of the creator economy among relatively successful crafts creators—those earning $15,000 or more from their online work—by comparing the median earnings of crafts creators of color to white creators and the median earnings of female crafts creators to their male counterparts. In this respect, the race and ethnicity-based findings in this creative area differ from most other areas: Relatively successful Black and Hispanic—but not Asian—crafts creators had higher median online earnings than relatively successful white crafts creators, earning between $1.11 and $1.74 for every dollar earned online by the white craftspeople. (Table 18A) However, relatively successful female craftspeople earned only $0.93 online for every dollar earned online by their male counterparts.

Table 18A: Median Online Earnings of Creators of Color and Female Creators in Crafts for Each Dollar Earned Online by a White or Male Crafts Creator, Among those Earnings at least $15,000, 2020

Black/White	$1.23
Asian /White	$0.88
Hispanic/White	$1.27
Women/Men	$0.93

We also analyzed the distribution of income-earning crafts creators by their online earnings in 2020. The results are somewhat less skewed than in most other creative areas. More than 64 percent or 1,776,000 online crafts creators earned less than $1,000 from selling their crafts online, but that share is smaller than other areas except art and design. Accordingly, the 29.6 percent of crafts people earning between $1,001 and $20,000, totaling 819,000 people, is larger than the other creative areas except art and design. As in the other online creative areas, the share of crafts creators earning over $100,000 is very small, at 1.1 percent or 29,000 people, but that share is also several times larger than other creative areas except art and design.

Table 18B: Distribution of Income-Earning Crafts Creators by their Online Earnings, 2020

Earnings	Numbers	Share
Under $1,000	1,776,000	64.1%
$1,001 to $20,000	819,000	29.6%
$20,001 to $100,000	147,000	5.3%
$100,000 +	29,000	1.1%
Total	**2,771,000**	**100%**

Art and Design

Online creators in art and design produce and post online digital visual arts products or sell visual art works primarily online. The products and works include fine arts, photography, animation, illustrations, and graphic designs. Creators in this area use a range of platforms, and our estimates of the numbers of creators in art and design earning income online are based on surveys, labor force data on self-employed people in relevant industries and occupations, and the Arts Supplement of the Current Population Survey. Notably, of 5.9 million creators who posted art and design work online in 2020, we estimate that only 123,000 or 2.1 percent earned income by doing so.

Among the online income-earning creators in art and design, 93,800 or 76.1 percent were white. (Table 19A) However, online income-earning female creators in this area modestly outnumbered their male counterparts—although men accounted for 74.2 percent of income-earning online Black creators and 71.7 percent of income-earning Hispanic creators in this area.

Table 19A: Online Income-Earning Creators in Art and Design, By Gender and Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	Female		Male		Total	
Black	1,800	1.4%	5,100	4.1%	**6,700**	**5.4%**
Asian	3,000	2.4%	2,000	1.6%	**5,200**	**4.2%**
Hispanic	4,100	3.4%	9,200	7.4%	**12,800**	**10.4%**
Other	1,600	1.3%	2,400	1.9%	**4,300**	**3.5%**

White	52,900	42.9%	40,800	33.1%	**93,800**	**76.1%**
Total	**63,000**	**51.4%**	**60,000**	**48.7%**	**123,000**	**100%**

As before, we measured online income-earning creators in art and design per 100,000 people of the same race or ethnicity as well as all online art and design creators per 1,000 people of the same race or ethnicity, whether or not they earned income online. (Table 19B below) This intensity analysis shows that the incidence of art and design creators who earned income online in 2020 among white creators was three times greater than among the Black creators, 2.3 times greater than among the Asian creators, and 88 percent greater than among the Hispanic creators.

Nearly 98 percent of creators in art and design who posted work online did not earn online income; and the incidence of those Black creators is generally comparable to the incidence of those white creators while the incidence of those Asian and Hispanic creators is much lower. As a result, the share of creators in art and design that earn income from posting their work online is highest among the Hispanic and white creators and lowest among Black creators.

Table 19B: Incidence of Income-Earning Online Creators and All Online Creators in Art and Design, By Race and Ethnicity, 2020

	Income-Earning Online Art and Design Creators Per 100,000 People	All Online Art and Design Creators Per 1,000 People
Black	16	20
Asian	21	11
Hispanic	26	9
White	49	20
Total	**38**	**18**

Earnings

In this creative area, we can estimate the online earnings of creators based on race and ethnicity and on gender, totaling more than $3.2 billion. (Table 20A below) The distribution of those online earnings by race and ethnicity generally reflects the racial and ethnic distribution of creators in this area. (Table 19A above) However, the online earnings of male and female creators in art and design do not reflect their distribution as creators: Women accounted for 51.4 percent of online creators in art and design but only 42.6 percent of the online earnings in this creative area, while the 48.7 percent of income-earning online creators in art and design who were men accounted for 57.4 percent of the online earnings.[62]

Table 20A: Total Online Earnings of Creators in Art and Design By Race and Ethnicity and By Gender, 2020

[62] The modest discrepancy between total online earnings race and ethnicity and total online earnings by gender reflects different data sources.

	Earnings	Share
Black	$177,000,000	5.5%
Hispanic	$340,000,000	10.6%
Asian	$130,000,000	4.0%
Other	$138,000,000	4.3%
White	$2,429,000,000	75.6%
Total	$3,215,000,000	100%
Female	$1,376,000,000	42.6%
Male	$1,854,000,000	57.4%
Total	$3,230,000,000	100%

Next, we assess the inclusiveness of the creator economy among relatively successful creators in art and design creators—those earning $15,000 or more from their online work—by comparing the median online earnings of those creators of color to those white creators and the median online earnings of those female art and design creators to their male counterparts. (Table 20A below) This analysis shows a greater measure of equality in this area than in others: Based on the median online earnings of relatively successful creators in art and design, those Hispanic creators earned $1.06 for each dollar earned by those white creators online, and the median online earnings of relatively successful Black and white creators were virtually equivalent. Further, Asian creators in this group earned $0.92 for each dollar earned by white creators. Similarly, the median online earnings of relatively successful female creators in art and design were only 8 percent less than their male counterparts.

Table 20B: Median Online Earnings of People of Color and Female Creators in Art and Design for Each Dollar Earned Online by a White or Male Art and Design Creator, Among those Earnings at least $15,000, 2020

Black/White	$0.99
Asian /White	$0.92
Hispanic/White	$1.06
Women/Men	$0.92

We also analyzed the distribution of income-earning creators in art and design by their online earnings in 2020. As with the online earnings of crafts creators, the results in art and design are less skewed than in other creative areas. Less than 10 percent or 11,800 art and design creators who earned income online earned less than $1,000 from selling their works online, while almost 54 percent earned between $1,001 and $20,000. Moreover, more than one-third of income-earning creators in art and design earned between $20,001 and $100,000 online, by far the largest share of any creative area; and the remaining 3 percent earned more than $100,000. The distribution of earnings reflects in part the unique character of many works in art and design. It also suggests that most creative people in art and design do not try to sell their work online, limiting the numbers of those creators and their consequent share who earn $1,000 or less.

Table 20B: Distribution of Income-Earning Creators in Art and Design By their Online Earnings, 2020

Earnings	Numbers	Share
Under $1,000	11,800	9.6%
$1,001 to $20,000	66,300	53.7%
$20,001 to $100,000	41,600	33.8%
$100,000 +	3,600	3.0%
Total	123,300	100%

Influencers

Influencers are independent people paid by companies to influence the purchases and purchasing preferences of online followers or audiences in creative ways. Some influencers are known for the music, videos, or art they create, and others are known for achievements in sports or other areas, but most influencers strive to demonstrate a talent for marketing their advice and related products. This online community is particularly difficult to define, as the role of creator and marketer can become blurred. For some creators, they may view themselves solely as artists who use Instagram to promote and share their work, whereas others may use the same platform and skills to promote a specific product, organization, or brand. The following analysis should be viewed with some caution, as the data collected is limited in this space.

Our analysis covers all American online influencers. The data for this area allow us to disaggregate these creators by gender and by people of color versus white, but not to distinguish within people of color between Black influencers, Asian influencers, Hispanic influencers, and multiracial and other influencers.

We found that an estimated 3,514,000 U.S. influencers generated online earnings in 2020, or about 1.1 percent of all Americans. (Table 21A below) Women dominated the category, accounting for 72.5 percent of all income-earning influencers. People of color accounted for 37.0 percent of income-earning influencers, a larger share than other creative areas except video. Female influencers outnumbered their male counterparts by more than 2.5 times among both white influencers and influencers of color.

Table 21A: Income-Earning Online Influencers by Gender and by White/People of Color, 2020

	Female		Male		Total	
	Number	Share	Number	Share	Number	Share
People of Color	942,000	26.8%	358,000	10.2%	**1,300,000**	**37.0%**
White	1,604,000	45.7%	609,000	17.3%	**2,214,000**	**63.0%**
Total	**2,547,000**	**72.5%**	**967,000**	**27.5%**	**3,514,000**	**100.0%**

To take account of each group's share of the population, we next calculated the numbers of income-earning online influencers per 100,000 people of the same gender or race/ethnicity. (Table 21B below). This intensity analysis shows that taking account of population, people of color are more likely to be income-earning online influencers than white people: The incidence of influencers in the population of people of color is 46 percent higher than the incidence of influencers in the white population. As expected, the incidence of female influencers is 2.5 times higher than the incidence of male influencers.

Table 21B: Incidence of Income-Earning Online Influencers By Race and Ethnicity and By Gender, 2020

	Income-Earning Online Influencers Per 100,000 People
People of Color	1,675
White	1,145
Female	1,532
Male	608
Total	**1,108**

Earnings

Influencers are commonly characterized as nano-, micro-, and macro-influencers based on their number of followers, and their earnings are broadly related to their number of followers. Our analysis suggests that based on followership, influencers can be allocated more usefully in five categories:

Table 22A: Categories of Influencers Based on Followers:

	Followers
Nano-Influencer	Up to 10,000
Micro-Influencer	10,000 -50,000
Mid-Tier Influencer	50,000 – 100,000
Macro-Influencer	100,000 -1,000,000
Mega-Influencer	1,000,000 +

Beyond mega-influencers, some celebrities earn $1,000,000 or more per-post as influencers. In addition, some YouTube influencers are paid based on views rather than postings and followers.

Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok are the three principal platforms for U.S. influencers, and an influencer's earnings vary by platform as well as followership. TikTok is relatively new to influencer marketing, and its average payments per-posting are lower and less consistent than Instagram or YouTube. (Table 22B below) Consequently, influencers with comparable followings can generate very different earnings. In addition, influencers often are compensated with in-kind payments. By one analysis, only about 32 percent of companies paid their influencers money while 57 percent provided product samples, product discounts, or other forms of in-kind compensation.[63]

Table 22B: Influencer Income Per Post by Platform and Followership[64]

	Instagram	YouTube	TikTok
Nano-influencers	$10 – $100	$20 – $200	$5 – $25
Micro-influencers	$100 – $500	$200 – $1,000	$25 – $125
Mid-tier influencers	$500 – $5,000	$1,000 – $10,000	$125 – $1,250
Macro-influencers	$5,000 – $10,000	$10,000 – $20,000	$1,250 – $2,500
Mega-influencers	$10,000 +	$20,000 +	$2,500 +

The use and earnings of influencers have grown rapidly in recent years. Corporate spending on influencer marketing jumped from $1.7 billion in 2016 to $9.7 billion in 2020, and analysts project that spending on influencers will reach $13.8 billion in 2021.[65] An estimated 93 percent of marketing companies used influencers in 2020, and 17 percent of them devoted more than half of their marketing budgets to influencers.[66] Among marketers using influencers, 82 percent used Instagram, 41 percent used YouTube, 23 percent used TikTok, and 5 percent used Facebook.[67]

Online influencers earned more than $2.7 billion in 2020. Since female influencers outnumber their male counterparts by 2.5-to-one, and white influencers outnumber influencers of color by nearly two-to-one, the total earnings of female influencers far exceed those of their male counterparts, of color, and the total earnings of white influencers substantially exceed the total earnings of all influencers of color:

Table 22C: Total Influencer Earnings by Race and Ethnicity and by Gender, 2020

	Earnings	Share
People of Color	$1,171,000,000	42.4%
White	$1,565,000,000	57.6%
Female	$1,825,000,000	66.7%
Male	$910,000,000	33.3%
Total	**$2,735,000,000**	**100%**

[63] Influencer MarketingHub (2021).
[64] Influencer MarketingHub (2020).
[65] Influencer MarketingHub (2021).
[66] SocialPubli (2020). The pandemic slowed growth in influencer marketing spending in 2020. However, Instagram's influencer business increased sharply as the pandemic ebbed. See Insider Intelligence (2021A).
[67] Influencer MarketingHub (2021). TikTok has seen significant growth in spending, and by one account surpassed YouTube on influencer marketing effectiveness. See Insider Intelligence (2021B) and Business of Apps (2021).

Next, we assessed the inclusiveness of the creator economy by comparing the average earnings per-posting by influencers of color to the per-posting earnings by white influencers and average earnings per-posting by female influencers to their male counterparts. (Table 23A below). The results suggest that influencers of color on average make less than their white counterparts among all but the most successful 2.6 percent of influencers: Using median values, influencers of color making less than $20,000 earned $0.81 for each dollar earned by a white influencer; among those earning more than $20,000, however, influencers of color earned $1.08 for each dollar earned by their white counterparts. (Table 23A below) Female influencers earned only $0.76 per-posting for every dollar per-posting earned by a male influencer.

Table 23A: Online Earnings Per-Posting of Influencers of Color and Female Influencers for Each Dollar Earned by a White or Male Influencer, 2020

Influencers of Color /White Influencers *(Earning less than $20k)*	$0.81
Influencers of Color /White Influencers *(Earning more than $20k)*	$1.08
Women/Men	$0.76

However, the data behind these findings are limited, and other evidence suggests that even among relatively successful influencers, influencers of color on average earn less per-posting than white influencer. In a recent survey by a marketing and talent management agency, 57 percent of influencers said their ethnicity affected their pricing and earnings, and 99 percent of those who believed their ethnicity decreased their rates were influencers of color.[68] Further, Influencer Pay Gap, a popular Instagram account created by a talent agency employee who manages influencers, has documented more than 1,000 instances in which influencers of color and female influencers were paid at lower rates than their white and male counterparts.[69]

The only source for influencer rates by race and ethnicity is IZEA, a marketing firm for influencers that generally issues data favorable to the industry. According to IZEA, Black, Asian, Hispanic, and multiracial and other influencers all earned on average between $1.11 and $1.48 per-posting for each dollar earned per-posting earned by a white influencer.[70] However, IZEA also reported that male influencers earned more per posting than female influencers and that this gender gap in influencer earnings increased 18 percent in 2020.

We created a two-step process to estimate influencer earnings by race and ethnicity, drawing on both the IZEA data and labor force data from the U.S. Census Bureau. Neither source is sufficient on its own: Influencer marketing firms have incentives to issue data that can attract clients and perhaps exclude data unfavorable for that purpose, and the labor force data do not recognize influencers as a distinct occupation.[71] This approach is more reliable than either IZEA

[68] Enwo (2021). Some 55 percent of those who said their ethnicity did not affect their rates were white influencers.
[69] Instagram (2020).
[70] IZEA (2021).
[71] Higher Education Statistics Agency (2020)

or labor force data alone, and we believe that the earnings of successful influencers of color relative to their white counterparts reported by IZEA are likely overstated.

Finally, we analyzed the distribution of influencers by their online earnings in 2020. As seen in video, music, and other creative areas, the online earnings of influencers are highly skewed: Nearly 90 percent of the 3.5 million income-earning influencers earned less than $1,000 from their online work, and close to 8 percent more earned between $1,001 and $20,000. (Table 23B below) At the other extreme, about 5,146 influencers or 0.1 percent earned more than $100,000 online, and another 87,503 or 2.5 percent earned between $20,001 and $100,000. While the top tier of influencers generates most of the segment's earnings, data show that the online earnings of micro- and mid-tier influencers with 10,000 to 100,000 followers are growing faster than the earnings of influencers in the top categories.[72] The reason is that rates of engagement—the rate at which an influencer's followers respond to a posting by clicking through to a sponsor's site or purchasing a recommended product—are higher among micro- and mid-tier influencers than among macro- and mega-influencers.

Table 23B: Distribution of Income-Earning Influencers by their Online Earnings, 2020

Earnings	Numbers	Share
Under $1,000	3,155,000	89.8%
$1,001 to $20,000	266,000	7.6%
$20,001 to $100,000	88,000	2.5%
$100,000 +	5,000	0.1%
Total	**3,514,000**	**100%**

[72] Influencer MarketingHub (2020).

VII. Conclusions

The democratization of the creator economy is both advanced and incomplete. Participation in the online creator economy and earning income by doing so is much more inclusive and diverse by gender and by race and ethnicity than traditional creative industries offline. But that participation is still less diverse by race and ethnicity than the overall population or the labor force, and the online earnings in the creator economy are less diverse and inclusive by race and ethnicity and by gender than participation.

More than 11.1 million creative Americans earned nearly $23.6 billion by posting their works online in 2020. More than 53 percent of those creators earning income online were women, but they took home only about 40 percent of creators' online earnings. Americans of color accounted for just over 30 percent of income-earning online creators, again participating at considerably lower rates than their shares of the population or labor force; and they took home about 29 percent of all creator online earnings and earned less per person than white creators.

The distribution of creator online earnings by gender varied greatly across the seven creative areas, yet women earned less per creator in every segment. Women earned 71 percent of all creators' online revenues in art and design, 67 percent of influencer online earnings, and 53 percent of creators' online earnings in writing—while men earned 73 percent of creators' online revenues from videos, 71 percent of those earnings in music, 88 percent of podcasts revenues, and 57 percent of creators' online proceeds in crafts.

Similarly, while the distribution of creators' online earnings by race and ethnicity varied across the creative areas, in aggregate they significantly lagged the earnings of white creators. People of color accounted for 43 percent of influencer earnings and about 35 percent of creators' online revenues in music and video—but only about 25 percent of creators' online revenues in crafts and in art and design, 22 percent of those earnings in podcasts, and 17 percent of those from writing online.

Our analysis found that across music, writing, podcasts, crafts and art and design, women creators earning over $15,000 consistently earned considerably less than $1.00 online for each dollar earned online by their male counterparts. The results for similar creators of color varied by creative area, race, and ethnicity. While creators of color broadly earned less than white creators by this measure, every non-white group earned more than $1.00 for each dollar earned by a white counterpart in at least one creative area. By this measure, Black and Hispanic creators earned more than $1.00 in crafts, Hispanic creators also earned more than $1.00 in art and design, and Asian creators earned more than $1.00 in podcasts. Black creators also earned $0.99 in writing and art and design.

In video, we used median earnings data with no minimum and found that Black, Asian, and Hispanic creators earned, respectively, only $0.67, $0.60, and $0.81 for each dollar earned by a white creator, and female video makers earned only $0.69 for each dollar earned by a male video maker. We divided influencers into those making more than and less than $20,000 per year. By that measure, influencers of color earned slightly more than their white counterparts among influencers making more than $20,000, the most successful 2.6%, however the remaining 97.4% of influencers of color earned just $0.81 for each dollar earned by white influencers. Female influencers earned only $0.76 per-posting for each dollar per-posting earned by male influencers.

Finally, we found that most creators earned very modest amounts from posting their works online in 2020. Overall, 9.1 million creators or 81.5 percent earned $1,000 or less, suggesting that many are hobbyists. Nearly 1.7 million creators or another 14.9 percent earned between $1,001 and $20,000, sufficient to supplement income from other sources. However, creative online work was a significant source of income for another 352,000 creators or 3.2 percent who earned between $20,001 and $100,000; and 51,000 or 0.5 percent of the 11.1 million creators who earned income online in 2020 earned more than $100,000.

* * *

Appendix A – Creators and Earnings by State

	Creators	Earnings
Alabama	108,000	$214,000,000
Alaska	26,000	$71,000,000
Arizona	235,000	$560,000,000
Arkansas	81,000	$157,000,000
California	1,734,000	$2,658,000,000
Colorado	222,000	$578,000,000

Connecticut	85,000	$235,000,000
Delaware	13,000	$22,000,000
District of Columbia	30,000	$99,000,000
Florida	477,000	$842,000,000
Georgia	362,000	$711,000,000
Hawaii	59,000	$125,000,000
Idaho	52,000	$124,000,000
Illinois	428,000	$1,042,000,000
Indiana	196,000	$425,000,000
Iowa	86,000	$199,000,000
Kansas	68,000	$166,000,000
Kentucky	90,000	$153,000,000
Louisiana	156,000	$290,000,000
Maine	47,000	$117,000,000
Maryland	217,000	$519,000,000
Massachusetts	196,000	$486,000,000
Michigan	334,000	$764,000,000
Minnesota	176,000	$467,000,000
Mississippi	63,000	$92,000,000
Missouri	150,000	$335,000,000
Montana	39,000	$106,000,000
Nebraska	73,000	$176,000,000
Nevada	73,000	$153,000,000
New Hampshire	59,000	$151,000,000
New Jersey	275,000	$751,000,000
New Mexico	68,000	$176,000,000
New York	906,000	$1,494,000,000
North Carolina	235,000	$458,000,000
North Dakota	19,000	$45,000,000
Ohio	494,000	$1,121,000,000
Oklahoma	118,000	$298,000,000
Oregon	208,000	$523,000,000
Pennsylvania	429,000	$934,000,000
Rhode Island	46,000	$113,000,000
South Carolina	162,000	$326,000,000
South Dakota	20,000	$52,000,000
Tennessee	270,000	$592,000,000

Texas	820,000	$1,585,000,000
Utah	161,000	$383,000,000
Vermont	31,000	$82,000,000
Virginia	371,000	$915,000,000
Washington	369,000	$913,000,000
West Virginia	44,000	$112,000,000
Wisconsin	268,000	$681,000,000
Wyoming	17,000	$41,000,000
TOTAL	**11,269,000**	**$23,635,000,000**

Appendix B – Creators by State and By Race and Ethnicity

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Other	TOTAL
Alabama	78,600	24,800	1,000	2,900	2,100	108,400
Alaska	15,600	700	800	800	7,700	25,500
Arizona	157,300	12,200	4,300	47,600	12,300	235,200
Arkansas	62,700	10,600	700	3,700	3,900	81,000
California	907,700	102,100	188,200	424,700	81,300	1,734,200
Colorado	175,900	8,700	3,700	28,100	6,100	222,100

Connecticut	63,000	7,500	3,400	8,500	2,800	85,100
Delaware	9,400	2,400	300	600	400	13,000
District of Columbia	13,800	13,200	700	1,800	700	30,200
Florida	319,500	69,700	7,400	66,200	14,300	477,400
Georgia	221,300	101,500	10,600	21,300	9,200	362,500
Hawaii	15,600	1,000	14,000	2,600	24,700	59,000
Idaho	47,200	400	300	2,700	2,100	52,200
Illinois	303,700	61,800	19,600	38,800	5,100	428,300
Indiana	168,400	15,900	2,500	5,000	6,400	196,000
Iowa	79,400	3,100	1,300	2,800	700	86,400
Kansas	56,800	3,400	600	3,900	3,400	67,600
Kentucky	80,600	6,100	800	1,300	2,300	89,900
Louisiana	102,800	44,500	1,400	4,500	4,500	156,400
Maine	44,600	700	400	500	1,400	46,800
Maryland	124,000	63,200	10,800	14,000	5,700	217,400
Massachusetts	157,200	13,700	8,000	12,300	5,300	195,600
Michigan	272,900	41,300	6,700	8,900	7,100	333,600
Minnesota	150,800	11,400	5,500	4,700	4,900	175,700
Mississippi	41,800	19,900	100	1,100	800	63,100
Missouri	128,800	15,100	1,500	4,200	2,400	150,400
Montana	36,200	200	200	400	2,500	39,000
Nebraska	60,400	3,500	1,100	5,400	2,800	72,700
Nevada	47,400	6,700	4,500	9,500	4,700	73,100
New Hampshire	55,400	900	1,100	1,100	1,000	58,700
New Jersey	185,200	39,000	18,800	29,500	2,500	275,400
New Mexico	36,000	1,300	900	18,700	10,600	68,400
New York	616,600	106,400	57,400	106,000	18,200	906,400
North Carolina	161,900	44,000	5,000	14,400	10,600	234,700
North Dakota	17,100	500	100	300	1,300	19,200
Ohio	404,800	53,100	6,400	15,100	19,500	494,100
Oklahoma	85,300	7,900	1,600	8,200	15,700	118,100
Oregon	171,600	4,100	6,200	15,200	11,700	207,700
Pennsylvania	358,600	39,100	8,600	14,800	11,500	428,600
Rhode Island	38,800	2,300	1,000	3,600	700	46,100
South Carolina	114,800	38,600	1,300	4,800	4,300	162,300
South Dakota	17,100	300	100	400	2,300	20,100
Tennessee	217,300	39,000	1,900	9,800	4,800	270,200
Texas	438,400	113,300	34,100	200,600	23,300	819,800
Utah	141,600	700	1,500	11,800	6,900	161,300

Vermont	30,700	400	200	200	300	31,500
Virginia	259,600	67,000	15,800	18,400	11,800	370,900
Washington	281,800	15,100	18,300	26,400	28,000	368,500
West Virginia	42,300	1,100	200	600	900	44,400
Wisconsin	235,600	13,600	3,700	9,000	8,500	267,700
Wyoming	15,400	200	100	800	600	16,900
TOTAL	7,869,400	1,253,100	484,500	1,238,800	422,700	11,268,700

Appendix C – Creator Online Earnings by State and Race and Ethnicity

	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Hispanic**	**Other**
Alabama	$159,300,000	$44,500,000	$1,900,000	$6,200,000	$4,600,000
Alaska	$41,500,000	$1,700,000	$2,400,000	$2,600,000	$28,300,000
Arizona	$349,400,000	$24,100,000	$10,900,000	$115,900,000	$36,400,000
Arkansas	$124,100,000	$20,000,000	$1,400,000	$7,800,000	$9,400,000
California	$1,294,000,000	$135,400,000	$248,000,000	$612,400,000	$119,800,000

Colorado	$450,700,000	$19,800,000	$11,200,000	$83,000,000	$20,800,000
Connecticut	$172,800,000	$16,900,000	$10,600,000	$26,500,000	$9,600,000
Delaware	$16,100,000	$3,900,000	$400,000	$1,100,000	$800,000
D.C.	$44,500,000	$33,200,000	$2,600,000	$6,600,000	$3,200,000
Florida	$554,300,000	$111,100,000	$12,100,000	$113,300,000	$26,300,000
Georgia	$430,100,000	$174,800,000	$19,200,000	$41,800,000	$18,700,000
Hawaii	$29,800,000	$1,800,000	$28,700,000	$5,500,000	$56,800,000
Idaho	$118,400,000	$1,000,000	$700,000	$7,900,000	$7,200,000
Illinois	$728,600,000	$129,500,000	$52,100,000	$102,500,000	$15,700,000
Indiana	$384,000,000	$34,000,000	$6,500,000	$13,300,000	$18,900,000
Iowa	$194,600,000	$7,300,000	$3,900,000	$8,400,000	$2,400,000
Kansas	$144,000,000	$7,600,000	$1,800,000	$11,400,000	$11,500,000
Kentucky	$148,300,000	$10,800,000	$1,500,000	$2,600,000	$4,600,000
Louisiana	$186,600,000	$77,300,000	$2,500,000	$8,500,000	$9,400,000
Maine	$121,000,000	$1,900,000	$1,200,000	$1,600,000	$5,200,000
Maryland	$285,400,000	$125,400,000	$26,900,000	$36,700,000	$16,100,000
Massachusetts	$402,800,000	$29,600,000	$22,200,000	$35,200,000	$16,400,000
Michigan	$644,400,000	$92,300,000	$18,100,000	$24,200,000	$22,500,000
Minnesota	$424,700,000	$27,000,000	$17,500,000	$14,800,000	$18,200,000
Mississippi	$58,200,000	$28,700,000	$200,000	$1,400,000	$1,200,000
Missouri	$305,100,000	$31,400,000	$3,800,000	$11,200,000	$6,500,000
Montana	$107,700,000	$500,000	$700,000	$1,400,000	$9,800,000
Nebraska	$148,600,000	$7,700,000	$3,200,000	$15,800,000	$9,200,000
Nevada	$97,200,000	$11,900,000	$9,100,000	$20,700,000	$10,900,000
New Hampshire	$155,500,000	$2,100,000	$3,600,000	$3,500,000	$3,800,000
New Jersey	$495,600,000	$82,100,000	$53,600,000	$89,500,000	$7,900,000
New Mexico	$81,100,000	$2,400,000	$2,300,000	$45,800,000	$31,700,000
New York	$1,005,100,000	$160,700,000	$86,000,000	$177,900,000	$30,700,000
North Carolina	$314,900,000	$79,800,000	$9,800,000	$28,400,000	$24,300,000
North Dakota	$43,400,000	$1,300,000	$400,000	$900,000	$4,400,000
Ohio	$953,000,000	$114,500,000	$17,000,000	$42,100,000	$58,600,000
Oklahoma	$216,000,000	$17,400,000	$4,300,000	$22,800,000	$50,900,000
Oregon	$435,900,000	$9,900,000	$18,700,000	$44,800,000	$42,100,000
Pennsylvania	$814,800,000	$82,000,000	$21,800,000	$38,600,000	$32,400,000
Rhode Island	$97,100,000	$5,200,000	$2,900,000	$10,900,000	$2,100,000
South Carolina	$227,900,000	$73,600,000	$2,800,000	$10,500,000	$10,800,000
South Dakota	$47,800,000	$800,000	$400,000	$1,400,000	$7,300,000
Tennessee	$493,200,000	$80,800,000	$4,600,000	$24,600,000	$13,400,000
Texas	$751,500,000	$176,100,000	$60,700,000	$380,200,000	$46,200,000

Utah	$349,400,000	$1,500,000	$4,200,000	$33,700,000	$22,100,000
Vermont	$88,800,000	$900,000	$800,000	$800,000	$1,300,000
Virginia	$647,500,000	$139,800,000	$42,800,000	$52,000,000	$36,200,000
Washington	$689,000,000	$34,200,000	$52,800,000	$74,900,000	$95,200,000
West Virginia	$118,700,000	$2,500,000	$500,000	$1,800,000	$2,800,000
Wisconsin	$633,200,000	$32,900,000	$11,600,000	$28,100,000	$31,800,000
Wyoming	$39,500,000	$400,000	$200,000	$2,600,000	$2,300,000
TOTAL	$16,865,300,000	$2,311,900,000	$923,000,000	$2,455,900,000	$1,078,800,000

Appendix D – Creators by State and Creative Area

	Art	Crafts	Writing	Music	Video	Podcasts	Influencers
Alabama	700	13,800	5,400	15,200	24,500	3,100	45,800
Alaska	400	11,000	1,500	3,500	4,600	1,600	3,000
Arizona	2,900	66,400	20,600	46,100	40,800	16,500	41,900
Arkansas	800	17,100	4,800	18,100	9,500	3,400	27,300

California	13,500	282,700	51,800	167,800	244,800	60,200	913,400
Colorado	4,000	83,700	13,400	28,700	41,400	15,700	35,200
Connecticut	1,300	29,800	4,200	4,400	25,500	5,200	14,800
Delaware	200	1,400	400	2,400	1,400	700	6,600
DC	600	7,900	3,000	5,200	11,400	2,100	-
Florida	4,700	58,200	22,500	59,800	69,000	22,600	240,400
Georgia	3,400	28,700	19,700	46,400	79,800	15,300	169,200
Hawaii	700	15,900	2,200	9,600	9,900	2,800	17,900
Idaho	700	20,200	3,700	9,200	6,700	3,400	8,300
Illinois	5,700	117,000	32,800	65,000	87,800	23,600	96,300
Indiana	2,100	62,700	8,700	51,700	27,000	13,300	30,500
Iowa	1,300	36,600	2,900	18,000	10,700	5,700	11,100
Kansas	700	23,800	4,300	10,300	13,700	3,700	10,900
Kentucky	800	17,900	1,400	23,800	10,600	4,000	31,400
Louisiana	1,200	36,500	6,300	18,800	16,800	5,900	70,900
Maine	900	22,700	2,300	8,600	4,200	3,400	4,700
Maryland	2,400	54,000	11,500	43,500	55,000	9,000	42,000
Massachusetts	3,100	45,900	9,100	29,300	51,500	11,800	45,000
Michigan	4,500	113,300	21,800	66,600	40,600	17,700	69,100
Minnesota	2,000	53,700	14,500	24,200	45,700	10,600	24,900
Mississippi	400	7,700	2,900	9,000	1,600	2,000	39,600
Missouri	2,100	34,600	3,500	26,200	32,500	8,200	43,200
Montana	700	13,400	2,600	7,400	8,200	2,600	4,000
Nebraska	700	29,900	3,300	9,900	15,700	3,300	10,100
Nevada	500	11,300	4,900	8,800	18,600	2,000	26,800
New Hampshire	700	21,700	3,900	11,600	13,400	3,500	3,900
New Jersey	3,300	51,800	15,300	47,700	114,900	13,500	28,900
New Mexico	900	16,000	7,600	15,400	14,900	3,900	9,700
New York	6,500	135,100	28,200	116,900	144,200	27,900	447,800
North Carolina	2,400	44,200	15,400	32,700	26,600	12,100	101,400
North Dakota	300	7,000	800	4,300	2,900	1,100	2,800
Ohio	6,000	163,700	17,600	107,600	87,400	23,500	88,200
Oklahoma	1,500	31,500	9,400	17,000	25,400	5,800	27,400
Oregon	3,100	78,900	19,600	40,000	27,600	12,700	25,800
Pennsylvania	6,200	125,500	14,800	90,700	61,600	25,800	103,900
Rhode Island	600	18,800	1,300	5,500	10,500	2,800	6,800
South Carolina	1,200	42,600	9,800	35,500	17,700	7,500	48,000
South Dakota	300	4,400	400	4,300	7,000	1,100	2,700
Tennessee	3,600	76,900	11,600	34,300	39,700	14,200	90,000

Texas	8,400	208,000	22,900	113,600	140,300	37,100	289,600
Utah	2,300	47,000	9,000	39,800	31,700	9,000	22,500
Vermont	400	11,600	1,800	6,100	7,300	2,000	2,300
Virginia	3,700	86,500	20,400	76,500	108,700	19,500	55,600
Washington	5,300	123,600	32,700	92,300	54,800	21,300	38,400
West Virginia	400	9,400	1,700	5,900	16,100	2,000	8,900
Wisconsin	3,000	97,100	22,400	54,300	54,100	13,900	23,000
Wyoming	300	6,800	1,400	4,500	1,100	1,200	1,600
TOTAL	123,300	2,725,500	553,800	1,794,000	2,017,800	540,500	3,513,700

Appendix E – Creators by Gender

	Female	Male	TOTAL
Alabama	59,200	50,900	108,400
Alaska	13,100	12,100	25,500
Arizona	126,900	109,200	235,200
Arkansas	43,600	38,000	81,000

California	918,300	826,500	1,734,200
Colorado	118,000	103,900	222,100
Connecticut	46,300	39,000	85,100
Delaware	7,200	6,100	13,000
District of Columbia	16,400	12,700	30,200
Florida	261,900	226,300	477,400
Georgia	201,400	171,800	362,500
Hawaii	31,900	27,600	59,000
Idaho	27,600	24,300	52,200
Illinois	231,000	198,900	428,300
Indiana	105,400	90,400	196,000
Iowa	45,700	39,900	86,400
Kansas	35,800	31,200	67,600
Kentucky	48,600	42,700	89,900
Louisiana	84,500	71,900	156,400
Maine	25,200	21,100	46,800
Maryland	117,700	98,800	217,400
Massachusetts	107,200	90,800	195,600
Michigan	178,000	153,900	333,600
Minnesota	92,900	81,800	175,700
Mississippi	33,800	28,500	63,100
Missouri	82,000	70,900	150,400
Montana	20,400	18,100	39,000
Nebraska	37,900	33,600	72,700
Nevada	38,400	35,300	73,100
New Hampshire	30,800	26,600	58,700
New Jersey	145,500	124,000	275,400
New Mexico	36,500	31,300	68,400
New York	489,700	426,400	906,400
North Carolina	129,300	109,000	234,700
North Dakota	9,900	9,100	19,200
Ohio	263,800	226,900	494,100
Oklahoma	63,200	55,000	118,100
Oregon	110,100	94,800	207,700
Pennsylvania	233,000	199,400	428,600
Rhode Island	25,000	20,900	46,100
South Carolina	88,800	74,200	162,300
South Dakota	10,400	9,400	20,100
Tennessee	147,400	125,300	270,200

Texas	439,400	389,000	819,800
Utah	83,900	75,600	161,300
Vermont	16,600	14,300	31,500
Virginia	199,300	169,100	370,900
Washington	193,000	169,100	368,500
West Virginia	23,600	20,900	44,400
Wisconsin	139,900	121,800	267,700
Wyoming	8,800	7,900	16,900
TOTAL	6,027,800	5,243,700	11,268,700

Appendix F – Creator Online Earnings, By State and Gender

	Women	Men	TOTAL
Alabama	$95,400,000	$118,500,000	$213,800,000
Alaska	$24,500,000	$47,000,000	$71,500,000
Arizona	$211,500,000	$348,200,000	$559,700,000

Arkansas	$65,600,000	$91,300,000	$156,900,000
California	$1,206,800,000	$1,451,600,000	$2,658,400,000
Colorado	$208,200,000	$369,900,000	$578,100,000
Connecticut	$88,300,000	$147,000,000	$235,300,000
Delaware	$10,300,000	$11,700,000	$22,000,000
District of Columbia	$37,300,000	$61,800,000	$99,100,000
Florida	$385,900,000	$456,100,000	$842,000,000
Georgia	$324,000,000	$387,400,000	$711,400,000
Hawaii	$50,100,000	$74,700,000	$124,800,000
Idaho	$44,900,000	$79,200,000	$124,100,000
Illinois	$403,500,000	$638,100,000	$1,041,700,000
Indiana	$157,700,000	$267,400,000	$425,100,000
Iowa	$70,300,000	$128,600,000	$198,900,000
Kansas	$61,000,000	$104,600,000	$165,600,000
Kentucky	$64,700,000	$88,800,000	$153,500,000
Louisiana	$129,300,000	$160,700,000	$289,900,000
Maine	$41,400,000	$75,200,000	$116,600,000
Maryland	$203,500,000	$315,800,000	$519,300,000
Massachusetts	$190,500,000	$295,800,000	$486,300,000
Michigan	$290,000,000	$473,700,000	$763,700,000
Minnesota	$170,500,000	$296,100,000	$466,600,000
Mississippi	$47,800,000	$44,400,000	$92,200,000
Missouri	$133,700,000	$201,300,000	$335,000,000
Montana	$37,600,000	$68,700,000	$106,300,000
Nebraska	$62,900,000	$113,300,000	$176,200,000
Nevada	$63,200,000	$90,100,000	$153,300,000
New Hampshire	$53,500,000	$97,900,000	$151,400,000
New Jersey	$281,800,000	$469,100,000	$750,900,000
New Mexico	$66,700,000	$109,100,000	$175,800,000
New York	$685,800,000	$808,700,000	$1,494,500,000
North Carolina	$202,600,000	$255,500,000	$458,000,000
North Dakota	$15,800,000	$29,500,000	$45,300,000
Ohio	$421,100,000	$699,700,000	$1,120,800,000
Oklahoma	$115,600,000	$182,600,000	$298,100,000
Oregon	$190,100,000	$332,700,000	$522,700,000
Pennsylvania	$363,200,000	$570,500,000	$933,700,000
Rhode Island	$41,800,000	$71,700,000	$113,500,000
South Carolina	$135,100,000	$190,500,000	$325,600,000
South Dakota	$18,800,000	$33,200,000	$52,000,000

Tennessee	$241,500,000	$350,500,000	$592,000,000
Texas	$646,100,000	$939,400,000	$1,585,500,000
Utah	$138,100,000	$244,700,000	$382,900,000
Vermont	$29,100,000	$53,000,000	$82,100,000
Virginia	$348,900,000	$566,300,000	$915,200,000
Washington	$328,500,000	$584,300,000	$912,700,000
West Virginia	$42,900,000	$69,500,000	$112,400,000
Wisconsin	$243,200,000	$438,000,000	$681,200,000
Wyoming	$14,300,000	$27,000,000	$41,200,000
TOTAL	$9,504,500,000	$14,130,400,000	$23,634,900,000

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