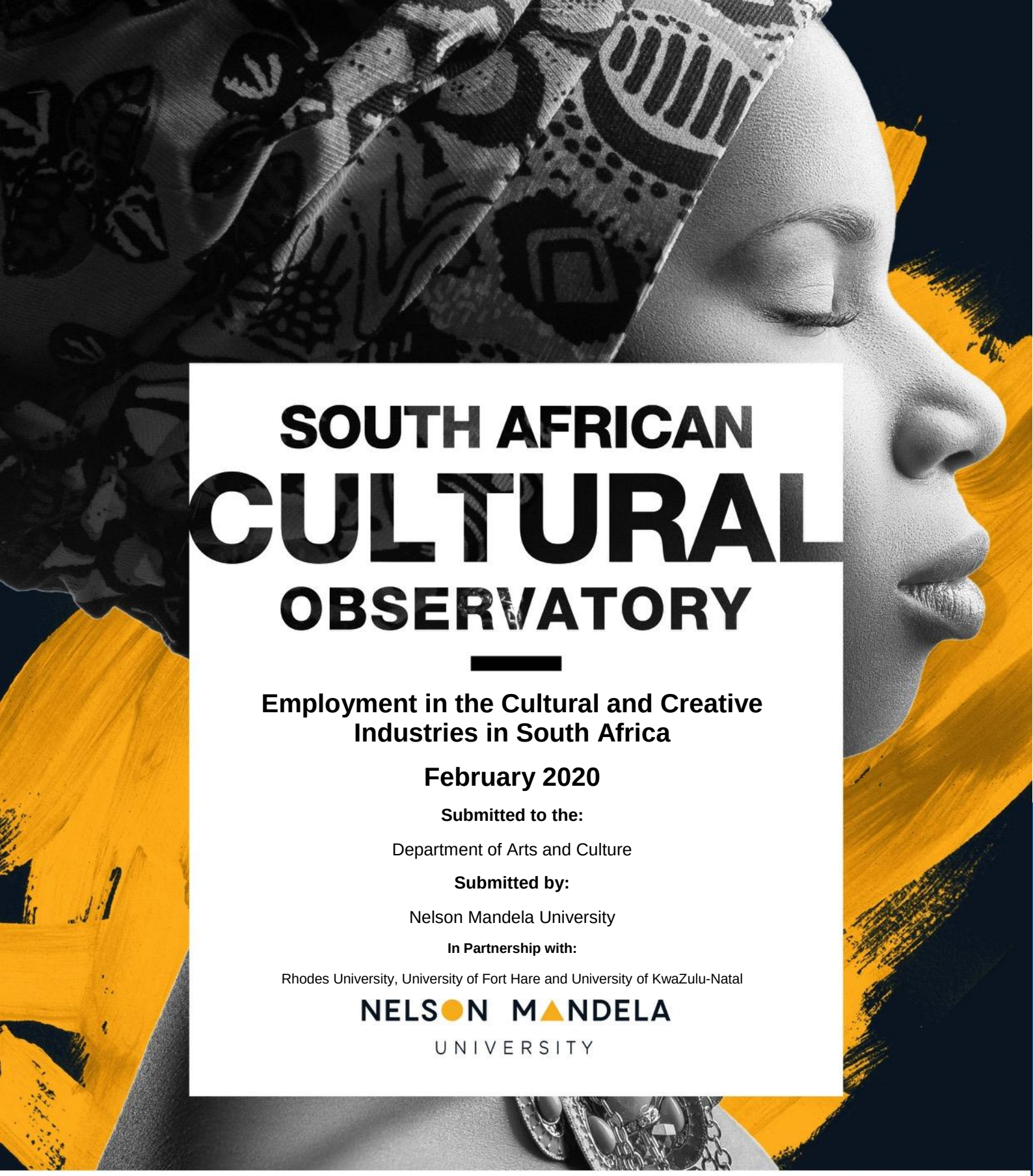

SOUTH AFRICAN CULTURAL OBSERVATORY

Employment in the Cultural and Creative Industries in South Africa

February 2020

Submitted to the:

Department of Arts and Culture

Submitted by:

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In Partnership with:

Rhodes University, University of Fort Hare and University of KwaZulu-Natal

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Summary

This report forms one chapter of the SACO 2020 CCI Mapping Study. Aims were to analyse the number and proportion of people in South Africa who are employed in the cultural economy, as well as changes in the size, transformation, age, gender, education levels and working conditions of those in cultural occupations since the last mapping study, using official national data sets from Statistics South Africa. New analysis of the Post-Apartheid Labour Market Series (PALMS), which covers a 20-year time period, was also included. Methods used to identify cultural occupations and industries are those set out in the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS, 2009) and the recent UNESCO Indicators for Culture 2030, adapted for South Africa (Hadisi and Snowball, 2016).

Using the "cultural trident" method, findings showed that creative economy employment has increased, from making up 6.72% of all jobs in South Africa in 2015 to 7.03% in 2017, which accounts for 1,14 million jobs. Another important finding is that the number of cultural occupations continues to grow at a faster rate (7.1% between 2016 and 2017) than other jobs (2.3% growth between 2016 and 2017).

The largest domain, in terms of employment, remains Visual Arts and Crafts (44%). PALMS data showed that the domain with the fastest growth between the Post-Apartheid era (Period 1,1996 – 1999) and post the financial crisis (Period 3, 2010- 2016) was Audio-Visual and Interactive Media, which also had the second highest average earnings (R21 000 per month in 2015 prices) for Period 3. This domain also stands to benefit from the change in cultural policy focus from the more traditional domains (the subsidised arts, focused on in the 1996 White Paper) to a broader conception of the cultural and creative industries (included in the Revised White Paper, 2017).

Cultural occupations are becoming more racially representative over time, with 84% of people in cultural jobs in 2017 being black (including African, coloured, or of Indian or Asian descent) compared to only 73% in Period 1. Young people in cultural occupations are also more racially representative than older groups.

In both cultural and non-cultural occupations, there has been a decline in formal sector employment since the last mapping study. 46% of people working in cultural occupations were in the informal sector in 2017. A much higher proportion of cultural workers are freelance (34%) than non-cultural workers (10%). Education levels of people working in cultural occupations remain higher than those in non-cultural occupations. The PALMS data shows that there has been a particularly fast increase in the proportion of people in cultural occupations with tertiary education, from 17% in Period 1 to 27% in Period 3.

The highest proportion of cultural jobs is still found in Gauteng (29.4%), followed by the Western Cape (18%) and KwaZulu-Natal (17%). Although they have much smaller overall shares of cultural employment, Limpopo (9.4% of cultural occupations) and Mpumalanga (7.7% of cultural jobs) both have location quotients of slightly above 1, indicating a potential for comparative advantage in the sector.

Domains that are struggling are Books and Press, which has lost a considerable number of jobs since 1996, and Visual Arts and Crafts, which remains the largest in terms of number of cultural jobs, but has the lowest average earnings of any domain.

Key Findings

- In 2017, creative economy employment made up 7% (1,14 million) of all jobs in SA.
- The number of cultural jobs is growing faster than the number of non-cultural jobs.
- Visual Arts & Crafts is the largest domain in terms of employment (44%), but has the lowest average earnings of any domain.
- Audio-Visual & Interactive Media is small, but growing the fastest.
- 84% of people in cultural jobs are black, an increase from 73% in the Post-Apartheid period.
- In the post-financial crisis period, more than half those in cultural occupations have either completed high school or have some form of tertiary education as well.
- There is still a larger proportion of men (59%) than women in cultural occupations, and young women continue to be particularly poorly represented.
- Between Period 1 (1996 – 1999) and Period 2 (2005 – 2008), Intangible Cultural Heritage grew from making up 10% of cultural jobs to 19%.
- Most cultural jobs are found in Gauteng (29.4%), the Western Cape (18%) and KwaZulu-Natal (17%).

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1 Introduction: Purpose and Methods

The Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs) are increasingly being recognised as an important economic sector, as well as producing goods and services with cultural and social values. More recently, the role of culture in sustainable development has also been emphasised, as the recent release of the UNESCO Thematic Indicators for Culture in the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals shows (UNESCO, 2019). Jobs, diversity and working conditions in the CCIs are an important part of understanding the sector, which is what this chapter of the SACO 2020 CCI Mapping Study addresses.

This report builds on the method developed by SACO (Hadisi and Snowball, 2016) for the identification of cultural and creative occupations using officially collected, national-level data on the South African labour market. This report forms one chapter of a national Cultural and Creative Industries 2020 mapping study commissioned by SACO for the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture (DSAC). The mapping study makes use of a number of methods in the estimation of the contribution of the CCIs to South Africa's economic growth, employment and international trade. What distinguishes this report is that it uses directly collected survey data from the Labour Market Dynamics Survey conducted by Statistics South Africa, rather than an indirect estimate of employment based on the use of employment multipliers[1], as is the case with some other chapters of the mapping study. The use of multiple research methods may result in somewhat different results (which will be discussed), but strengthens the reliability and validity of the findings.

The aims of this report are to:

- Analyse the number and proportion of people in South Africa who are employed in the cultural economy, including all parts of the creative trident, in 2017 (the latest year for which data was available at the time of writing);
- Determine the demographics (including race, age and gender) of those in cultural occupations compared to non-cultural occupations, and to comment on changes in diversity and inclusivity over time;
- Using Location Quotients, to identify provincial clusters of cultural employment;
- Provide information on cultural occupations by Domain, based on the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (2009); and, in a new addition,
- Develop a method, and to apply it to historical employment data going back to 1996 from the Post-Apartheid Labour Market Series (PALMS). The LMDS started in 2008, so the inclusion of PALMS allows a much more extensive analysis of how cultural employment has changed in the last 20 years in terms of transformation, employment type and earnings.

The inclusion of the PALMS dataset for the first time in the analysis cultural employment is significant in that it:

- Allows analysis of the creative economy labour market over a much longer time period, so that long-term trends can be better illustrated;
- Provides a larger (and therefore more reliable and valid) sample for analysis;
- Allows one to conduct a comparison between different periods, such as before and after the financial crisis of 2008/9;
- Allows one to assess the impact of policy reform, particularly the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996) and the change in focus from the "subsidized arts" to the "cultural and creative industries".

The report is organised as follows: Section 2, 3 and 4 provide the research and policy context for understanding and measuring the CCIs; Section 5 describes the data and methods of

[1] Indirect estimates of employment in an industry can be made using employment multipliers. This method estimates the number of jobs created for every R1 million of GDP contribution made by the industry.

analysis; and Section 6 presents the results. Section 7 concludes, highlighting the main findings and their implications for cultural policy.

2 Literature Review: Employment in the CCIs

In 2015, the first world-wide Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs) mapping study was released (CISAC, 2015). The findings showed that the CCIs employ 29.5 million people, or 1% of the world's population that is in the labour force. Several countries have data that show that there has been significant growth in the jobs in CCIs. For example, in 2016, they made up just over 5% of the UK economy, which translates to about 1.9 million jobs. In fact, between 2013 and 2014, jobs within the CCIs grew by 8.9%, as opposed to a 4.6% growth for the overall economy (DCMS, 2016).

In African countries, there has also been an increase in interest in the cultural and creative industries (CCIs) as drivers of economic growth, employment, and the development of a post-colonial cultural identity. The African Union Agenda 2063 recognises the potential of the cultural and creative industries in Aspiration 5, "Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics" (AU, 2015: 157). Priority Area 3 within this is the promotion of "cultural heritage, creative arts and businesses", which includes demand-side interventions (such as local content promotion) and supply-side support (investment in vocational institutions and the development of micro-cultural enterprises). The table below is derived from the UNESCO database, and shows the percentage of people for each country who are employed in cultural occupations. The figures vary considerably, depending on the structure of the economy, from a level of higher than 6% for Finland, Sri Lanka, Bolivia, the Republic of Korea, Pakistan and Togo, to less than 2% for Palestine, Angola, Mozambique, Uganda, and Macao. The average percentage of people in cultural occupations for countries for which there is data was 4.1%.

While national-level data on cultural employment is not available for many African countries, there have been several sector-specific studies of, for example Nigerian CCIs, particularly those focused on the film ("Nollywood") and craft sectors (Kwanashie et al., 2009; Joshua and Omotoso, 2016). Nyawo and Mubangizi (2015) and Rogerson (2010) find that parts of the CCIs in South Africa, such as the craft sector, can provide an important entry point to the labour market, especially for marginalised groups in rural areas, since it has relatively low barriers to entry in term of low start-up costs and low formal educational requirements. Crafts can go beyond providing economic value to communities, but also contribute to promoting heritage and traditional practices, building social networks, developing economic independence and entrepreneurship and building personal and social capabilities, especially for rural women.

Table 1: Percentage of cultural occupations by country

Country	Cultural Occupations (% of employment)	Data Year	Country	Cultural Occupations (% of employment)	Data Year
Angola	1.1	2014	Luxembourg	4.3	2015
Armenia	3.8	2015	Malaysia	2.9	2015
Austria	3.6	2015	Mali	5	2015
Belgium	3.5	2015	Malta	4.3	2015
Bolivia	6.6	2015	Mexico	4.6	2015
Bosnia & Herzegovina	4.4	2015	Mongolia	5.4	2015
Brazil	4.4	2013	Mozambique	1.6	2014
Bulgaria	4.3	2015	Netherlands	4	2015
Cabo Verde	2.9	2015	North Macedonia	4.3	2015
Canada	3.9	2015	Pakistan	7.7	2015
Cayman Islands	2.4	2016	Palestine	0.8	2015
Chile	3.6	2016	Panama	4.5	2016
China, Macao Special Administrative Region	1.9	2015	Philippines	2.1	2015
Costa Rica	3.6	2015	Portugal	4.1	2015
Croatia	4.2	2015	Puerto Rico	2.9	2015
Cyprus	3.1	2015	Republic of Korea	6.9	2015
Czechia	3.9	2015	Republic of Moldova	4.3	2015
Ecuador	4.6	2015	Romania	3.6	2015
Estonia	4.8	2015	Russian Federation	5.4	2014
Finland	6.3	2015	Serbia	4.2	2015
France	3	2015	Slovakia	3.6	2015
Germany	4.1	2015	Slovenia	5.5	2016
Ghana	4.5	2014	Spain	3.2	2015
Greece	3.4	2015	Sri Lanka	6.4	2015
Honduras	4	2015	Sweden	3.8	2015
Hungary	3.5	2015	Thailand	3.7	2015
Iceland	4.6	2015	Togo	9.6	2015
Italy	4	2015	Turkey	4.5	2015
Latvia	5.3	2015	Uganda	1.6	2012
Lithuania	4.3	2015	Viet Nam	4.6	2015

(Source: UNESCO International Statistics[2], 2019)

[2] http://data.uis.unesco.org/#

Inclusion and Diversity

The CCIs have been promoted in South Africa as a sector that can encourage diversification and inclusion in the labour market (DAC, 2014). UNCTAD (2008) argues that CCIs have a great potential to produce jobs and income while simultaneously promoting social inclusion, human development and cultural diversity. However, while the CCIs are increasingly recognised as important for job creation, they are also associated with challenges, such as a lack of diversity and poor job security.

Some researchers (Oakley, 2006, 2013; Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; O'Brien et al., 2016; Hannekam and Bennett, 2017) have noted that, although the cultural and creative industries (CCIs) were originally seen as open to all, with successful participation based on talent rather than qualifications, class or social connections, the CCIs in many countries are still dominated by white, middle-class people from relatively affluent backgrounds. In some sectors, such as online gaming and film, there are also signs of gender bias, with men dominating positions of power. These findings have implications for CCI job creation potential, and also for the kinds of arts and culture that are produced (Finkel et al, 2017).

There are a number of reasons why the CCIs might not be as open and meritocratic as they were first assumed to be, mostly to do with the short-term, contract nature of work in some CCI sectors (Oakley, 2006; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Grodach and Seman, 2013). This makes social networks (also referred to as social capital) very important to being employed in the CCIs, and makes it very difficult for new artists to break into the industry. Middle class people, who tend to have more social capital, have a better chance of success (Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Siebert and Wilson, 2013).

Several studies have noted that the CCIs lead the way in providing flexible working conditions for the "precariat" – group of highly educated professionals who work at skilled jobs on a contract, freelance basis. Some research has shown that the changing nature of work, driven by changes in technologies of the 4th Industrial Revolution, means that specialist teams of people working together on specific projects for a short time are likely to become more common than traditional, full-time permanent employment within an established firm (McRobbie, 2016). While short-term contract production methods have been in place for some time in creative production and can offer various and interesting opportunities, this kind of work is also characterised by long and erratic working hours, periods of no, or low pay, lack of job security, and higher stress (McRobbie, 2016).

Some studies have also shown that such working conditions are particularly difficult for women (who tend to have more family care responsibilities) and for people from working class backgrounds, who may have more difficulty developing the business and social networks that are so vital for success (Oakley, 2006, 2013; Eikhof and Warhurst, 2013; Siebert and Wilson, 2013; O'Brien et al., 2016; Hannekam and Bennett, 2017). The #MeToo movement has highlighted the unacceptable levels of workplace harassment experienced by women in some parts of the creative industries. This is also the case in South Africa, as found in a recent National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF) report entitled "Gender Matters in the South African Film Industry" (NFVF, 2018).

Hannekam and Bennet (2017) suggest that policy initiatives (such as extending access to benefits and protection, such as pensions and health insurance) would go a long way towards improving working conditions, and thus diversity, in the CCIs. Respondents to the NFVF survey made some recommendations on how to overcome the gender bias against women in the film and television industry in South Africa, such as providing education for women in the industry on their rights, and the introduction of "a safe and easy way" for women to report workplace sexual harassment.

Informality and de-westernisation

Theories of industrial organisation have often taken the view that firms operating in the formal sector are more efficient and productive than those in the informal sector. In mainstream economic theory, development is seen as shift from the informal to the formal sector. Further, it is assumed that the formal sector is better and more developed than the informal sector and that development occurs only through the growth of the formal, modern economy (Hillenkamp *et al.*, 2013). According to Perry *et al.* (2007), the informal economy is viewed as being an end product of the opting out of rational firms, and individuals from institutions on finding that the costs of those institutions outweigh the benefits. However, in the project-based, short-term world of the Cultural and Creative Industries, the more flexible informal economy may have advantages.

For example, Lobato (2010) argues that "Nollywood" (the Nigerian film industry), showed tremendous growth and productivity for the Nigerian economy, despite (or because of?) the informal way that it operated. (Lobato, 2010). Similarly, in her study of fashion in Bolivia, Maclean (2019:215) points out that, in many developing country contexts, "there has been no welfare state to roll back to create a precarious cultural workforce". Working in the informal cultural economy increases the importance of "relational webs of reciprocity" (Alacovska and Gill, 2019:202), and understands cultural consumption and production in a community activity, rather than the actions of individual buyers and firms. Similarly, Dinardi (2019) points out that, contrary to the experiences of Europe and US, the global south has always had a high proportion of precarious work, especially in informal settlements. While acknowledging some of the problems associated with informal cultural sector work, Dinaridi's (2019) research shows that informal sector cultural workers have greater independence and control over their economic and cultural activities than those in the formal sector.

3 Defining the CCIs and Cultural Occupations

There is still much debate about what constitutes the CCIs internationally, and in Africa (Joshua and Omotoso, 2016; De Beukelaer, 2017). The East African CCI Bill (2015) for example, includes traditional or "core" CCIs, such as visual arts, music and performing arts, but also the more commercial sectors, such as the design industry, advertising and architecture, as is becoming increasingly common internationally.

The UNESCO (2009) *Framework for Cultural Statistics* defines six main domains: Cultural and Natural Heritage, Performance and Celebration, Visual Arts and Crafts, Books and Press, Audio-Visual and Interactive Media and lastly, Design and Creative Services. Each cultural sector is placed within one specific domain. The Framework also includes Transversal Domains that run across all the six main domains. These include Education and Training; Archiving and Preserving; and Equipment and Supporting Materials.

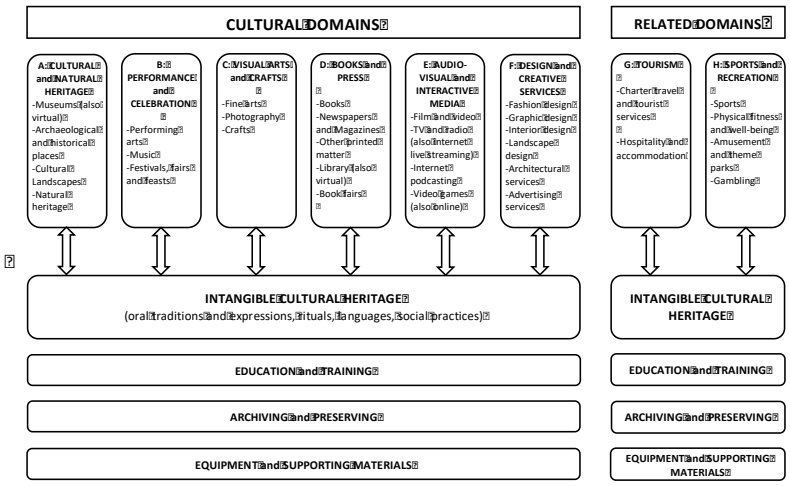


Figure 1: The UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (2009:24)

Although South Africa does not yet have an officially recognised definition of the CCIs, many policy and discussion documents, such as the Revised White Paper on Arts and Culture (2017, 4th draft) seem to be moving towards adopting the UNESCO system. As in many countries, South Africa has broadened its definition of the CCIs over time, with early reports, like the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy defining the cultural industries very narrowly to include only the music, film and video, publishing and craft sectors. The defining characteristic, following the UNESCO definition, was the *symbolic* nature of the goods and services produced. It is thus important to note that the definition of the CCIs used in this report includes not only the traditionally recognised (or core) "cultural" occupations and industries, but also the more commercial, for-profit sectors, as described by the UNESCO (2009) Framework, and detailed in Appendix 1.

The UNESCO (2009) Framework points out that cultural workers may be found in cultural industries, but also in other industries doing cultural work. A useful model for demonstrating this effect is the "Cultural Trident" (Higgs and Cunningham, 2008) which distinguishes between

> **A**. Cultural occupations in the cultural industries (such as a director in a film company);
>
> **B.** Cultural occupations in non-cultural industries (such as a designer in a motorcar manufacturing firm); and
>
> **C.** Non-cultural occupations in cultural industries, also called support occupations (such as an accountant in a theatre company).

This definition gives rise to three different ways of expressing employment in the cultural sector:

The *Creative Economy*, which includes those employed in creative occupations inside and outside the creative sector, as well as those in non-cultural jobs in creative sector firms (A + B + C);

The *Creative Industries*, which is a sub-set of creative economy, focusing on cultural and non-cultural workers, but only those employed in CCIs (A + C); and

Creative Occupations, which is a sub-set of the creative economy that focuses on cultural work both in, and outside of, cultural firms (A + B).

Using the UNESCO definitions of cultural occupations and cultural industries, this study identifies all three of these groups.

In November 2019, UNESCO released their "Thematic Indicators for Culture in the 2030 Agenda" (UNESCO, 2019). This document demonstrates how the cultural sector fits into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) framework, and describes how countries can use qualitative and quantitative indicators to measure the contribution of the CCIs to the SDGs.

As shown in the figure below, the Thematic Indicators are divided in four sub-categories: *Environment and Resilience, Prosperity and Livelihoods, Knowledge and Skills* and *Inclusion and Participation*. 'Cultural Employment' fits into the *Prosperity and Livelihoods* sub-category, along with 'Culture in GDP' and 'Trade in Cultural Goods and Services', which are also addressed as part of the SACO 2020 mapping study. The *Prosperity and Livelihoods* sub-category feeds into SDGs 8 (Decent work and Economic Growth), 10 (Reduced Inequalities), and 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities).

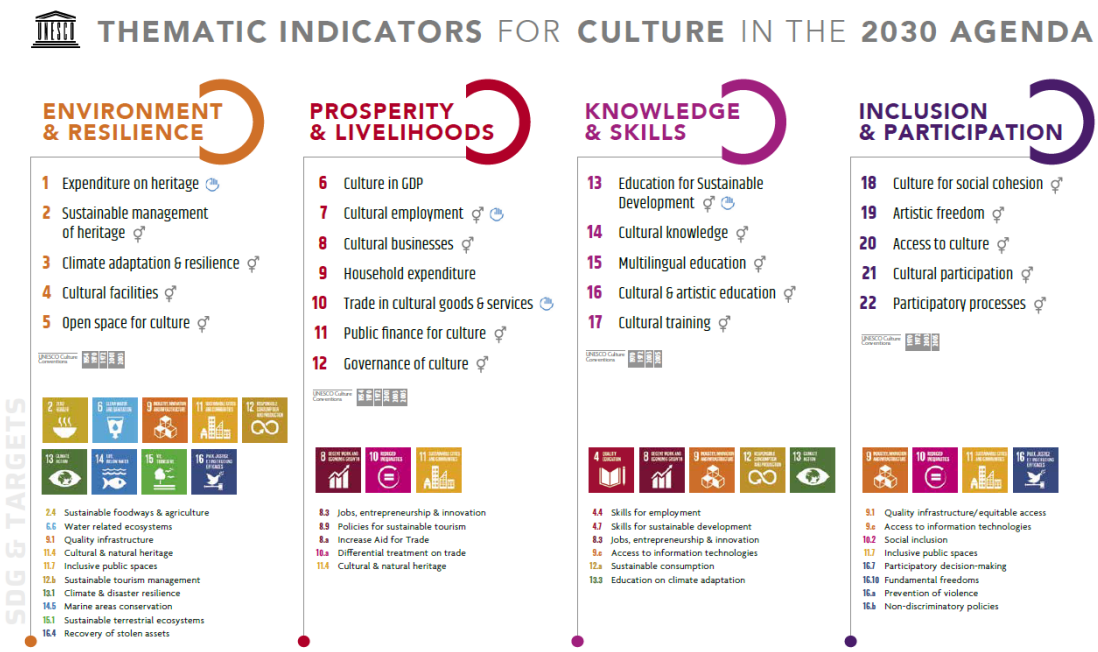


Figure 2: UNESCO Thematic Indicators for Culture 2030

The cultural employment indicator is defined as "the number of people employed in the cultural and creative sectors and cultural occupations as a percentage of overall employment" (UNESCO, 2019:54). It is measured as:

$$CEP_0 = \frac{\sum_1^n CE_{isco\ codes}}{EP}$$

Where:

CEP_0 is the percentage of people engaged in cultural occupations;

$CE_{isco\ codes}$ is the total number of people employed in cultural occupations according to the selected International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) codes; and

EP is the total number of the employed population.

"Cultural Employment" is understood as including all three parts of the Cultural Trident measure discussed above. The purpose of the indicator is described as follows:

> "This indicator aims to assess the role of culture as an "employer" at the national and local level as well as the vitality and dynamism of the cultural sector and its potential in improving the material welfare of those employed in it" (UNESCO, 2019:54).

4 Cultural Policy in South Africa

There have, broadly speaking, been three phases of cultural policy in post-apartheid South Africa, which will be briefly outlined here. Phase 1 represents a cultural policy focus on diversity and redress, with cultural value being seen as primarily intrinsic and social. Phase 2 is an intermediate phase, when the cultural and creative industries discourse begins to emerge, starting to link the cultural sector to economic values as well. Phase 3 occurs post the financial crisis, when the economy is growing less well, and the CCI discourse becomes entrenched in South African cultural policy.

For the first time, the analysis of the PALMS data set allows a longitudinal analysis of cultural occupations in post-apartheid South Africa (1996 – 2016). This brief section on cultural policy gives the context for the results of the PALMS analysis presented in section 6.

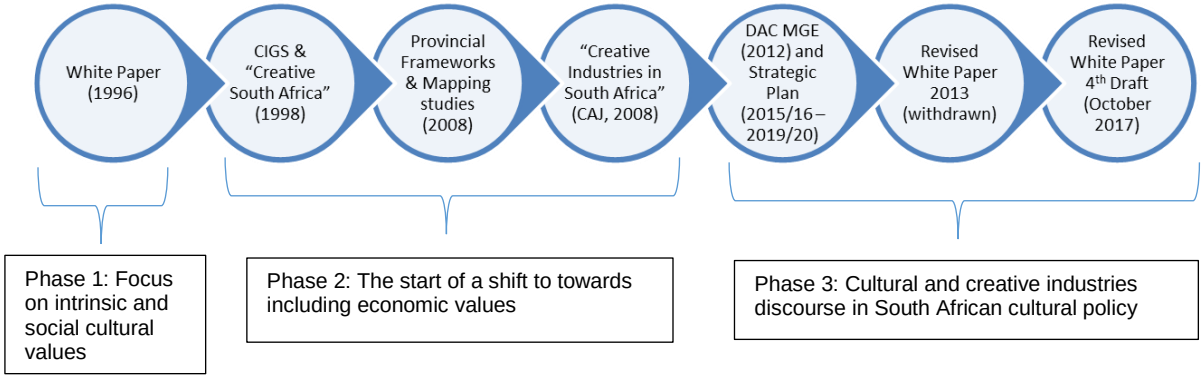


Figure 3: South African cultural policy development post-apartheid to the present

The post-apartheid period (Phase 1) saw the introduction of the document governing cultural policy: the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage. The 1996 White Paper was primarily concerned with redress and inclusion of previously disadvantaged black, coloured and Indian people, who were discriminated against under apartheid. In talking about the cultural policy of post-colonial countries, Mulcahy (2017) emphasises its importance in reconstructing the identity of people who, in colonial times, were marginalised, dominated, and designated as "other". The 1996 White Paper emphasised the role of culture in "… national reconciliation, as well as building a sense of pride in our diverse cultural heritage" (1996:27).

The White Paper (1996) established arms-length funding agencies, like the National Arts Council, which have representative boards and programme specialists, to fund a much wider range of more diverse arts, culture and heritage. The importance of cultural and linguistic diversity, and especially the empowerment of black South Africans post-apartheid through the preservation of South African heritage, was also a focus. There was a strong commitment to developing literature in previously marginalised African languages, and to expanding public infrastructure, such as libraries, and community arts centres, to township communities. The potential of the sector to create jobs and stimulate growth was acknowledged, but was given much less importance than the intrinsic and social values of culture. The focus was on justice, equitable and inclusive access, social cohesion and identity.

From 1998 onwards the idea of the cultural industries begins to emerge in South African discourse (Phase 2 begins). One of the earliest official appearances of the term in South Africa can be found in the "Cultural Industries Growth Strategy" (CIGS), which led to *"Creative South Africa: A strategy for realizing the potential of the cultural industries"*, published in 1998. Ten years later, the Gauteng province's *"Creative Industries Development Framework"* (CAJ, 2008), closely followed by two influential provincial mapping studies for Gauteng and the Western Cape, were published. They broadened the definition of the cultural industries to include more commercial sectors such as advertising and architecture, with the defining characteristic being *creativity*, rather than symbolic cultural meanings.

Creative Industries in South Africa (Culture and Jobs (CAJ), 2008) focused directly on the link between the cultural sector, GDP growth and jobs. The report included a specific discussion of what the terms 'cultural industry', 'cultural sector' and 'creative industry' mean, and how they could be measured using Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes used to track the flows of goods and services at a national level. The definition of the 'creative economy' was broadened to include all sectors that produce goods and services protected by copyright.

From a policy point of view, the *Creative Industries* (CAJ, 2008) report recognised the difference between intrinsic and economic values. Some parts of the cultural sector operate well commercially, so public funding might be justified by their potential contribution to economic growth, development and job creation. Other, less commercial sectors may have little or no growth potential, but great importance in terms of their intrinsic and social impacts, such as identity formation through heritage protection, social cohesion and building cultural capital.

While the South African economy seemed to recover fairly quickly from the financial crisis of 2008/9, it marked the end of one of the longest business cycle upswings the economy has ever experienced. The recession was short-lived, but economic growth slowed dramatically, and has not yet recovered. National policy focus thus shifted to a strong focus on economic growth and job creation.

Coming out of the 2011 National Consultative Summit, the Mzansi's Golden Economy (MGE) programme was established in 2012 and positioned the Department of Arts and Culture as a serious contributor to the National Development Plan, which aims to create 11 million new jobs by 2030 (DAC, 2014). The MGE programme focuses on funding large-scale projects in the CCIs that could contribute to the creation of sustainable employment and economic growth and "reinforce the Arts, Culture and Heritage (ACH) Sector as an economic growth sector".

The 2013 White Paper showed a dramatic swing in policy focus towards the CCIs, with a strong focus on the economic values associated with culture. The preamble to the 2013 White Paper described the 1996 version as "outdated and out-of-sync with the present political and sector approach to developing the Cultural and Creative Industries and increasing its contribution to addressing the country's triple challenges of unemployment, inequality and poverty" (White Paper, 2013:6). Although the 2013 White Paper was not at all well received by stakeholders, primarily because of its very strong focus on the economic value of the CCIs, and was eventually withdrawn, it marks the start of a phase in which the economic, as well as the intrinsic and social, values of the cultural sector were recognised.

The current version of the White Paper (2017) is now in its fourth draft, and has addressed some of the concerns raised with regard to the search for a more balanced approach to recognising both the non-market and economic values associated with arts, culture and heritage (discussed in the first part of the White Paper) and the CCIs (discussed from Chapter 5 onwards). As in other countries (Rindzeviciute et al. 2016), the transfer of the cultural industries policy discourse has resulted in much disagreement within the sector, but also

offered opportunities to debate what the role and value of the arts in society should be, as well as a critical discussion of funding mechanisms, and (in terms of defining the CCIs) the scope of cultural policy.

5 Research Methods and Data

The first phase of this research was to examine the UNESCO definition of cultural occupations and cultural industries and to determine to what extent South African national data collection methods used by Statistics South Africa could be used to match this definition (for more discussion see Hadisi and Snowball, 2016, *Measuring Cultural Employment in South Africa: A comparison between the UNESCO Guidelines and the South African Standard Occupational and Industrial Classification Codes*). While acknowledging that cultural occupations and industries in each country are different and one needs to take context into account, it is also useful to be able to make comparisons and to use best-practice. The UNESCO Framework is also used in the Revised White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage (2017).

The data presented in this report is from Stats SA's (Statistics South Africa's) Labour Market Dynamics Survey (LMDS), which is an annual dataset running from 2008 - 2017. The LMDS is a household survey, administered by Statistics South Africa. The survey covers the entire national population aged 15 years and over. However, the survey does not cover the non-institutional population, except for workers' hostels. People living in private dwelling units within institutions are counted (e.g., in a school compound, the schoolmaster's house and teachers' accommodation are private dwellings). Based on a master sample, it is carefully designed to be as representative as possible. The sample is divided equally into four subgroups or panels called rotation groups. Each subgroup is surveyed in rotation once a year (statistics South Africa, 2008).

Survey weights are also constructed such that all persons in a household would have the same adjusted base final weight. Applying the survey weights for the data collected from the sampled households (as was done in this study) ensures that the responses can be properly expanded to represent the entire civilian population of South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2014).

It should be noted that, for the 2015 LMDS, the sample was changed. Until 2014, the sample was based on information collected during the 2001 population census. It covered 30 000 dwellings distributed across 80 787 enumeration areas. In 2015, the master sample was updated and is now based on the Census 2011 results. The master sample was increased by 8% so that it now covers 33 000 dwellings. It enables more accurate identification of sub-groups (especially within metropolitan areas and in the mining sector), and adjusts for population movement between provinces (Statistics South Africa, 2014 and 2015).

The change in the master sample in 2015 may have an impact on the comparison of results relating to employment in the CCIs over time. While still comparable with data from previous years, it may be that sudden changes are partly the result of the sample change and may also be caused by the UNESCO weighting system applied to the LMDSA data set to estimate the size of the cultural industries.

Currently, the South African Labour Force Survey (LFS) uses a coding system for occupations and industries based on SASCO-2001 and SA-SIC-5-1993. Officially, South Africa uses the South African Standard Classification of Occupations, 2nd edition, 2012 (SASCO-2012) and the Standard Industrial Classification, 7th edition, 2012, (SA-SIC-7-2012), but this does not seem to have been applied yet to the LFS data. The technical discussion on how cultural occupations were identified in the South African data is contained in Appendix 1.

For industry classifications, a major constraining factor was that even once the UNESCO classifications had been mapped to the system currently used in South Africa (SA-SIC-5-1993), identification of cultural industries was not possible because the available data is at the

three-digit code level, and four-digit level is needed. However, the UNESCO manual offers a way of *estimating* the employment contribution of cultural industries using three-digit SIC codes, which is what was used in this report. The technical discussion on how cultural industries were identified in the South African data is contained in Appendix 2.

The Post-Apartheid Labour Market Series (PALMS) is a survey dataset at the individual level from 1993 to the present. It is compiled by DataFirst, based at the University of Cape Town. The data is compiled from a number of different surveys[3], which have been carefully matched so that analysis of about 120 variables is possible over time. There are currently more than 5 million observations in the dataset. Variables include labour market variables (e.g. real incomes, working hours, occupations) and some household variables (e.g. dwelling types, access to social grants). The PALMS dataset is regarded as a reliable source for labour market data for South Africa (Kerr and Wittenberg, 2017). Notes on the different weighting systems and variables used in the PALMS are provided in Appendix 3.

The analysis of PALMS data was performed according to the availability of the data for a specific year and relevance of the variables. A very useful variable, for example, is the *real-earnings* variable, which represents the monthly earnings (in constant 2015 prices) of people in different occupations across all waves, except the October Household Survey (1996) and the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (2008, 2009 and 2012). There are some limitations in the PALMS dataset, such as some data not being available for all years, and not all the variables in the current LMDSA being present in PALMS. It is important to note that the PALMS data presented here only analyses cultural occupations, not the whole cultural trident (people working in non-cultural occupations in cultural industries are not included). While the LMDSA provides more variables for analysis and can therefore give a more detailed picture of current cultural occupations, the great advantage of PALMS is the much longer time period covered. A combination of both data sets is used in this report: The LMDSA for the detailed picture of current cultural employment, and the PALMS data for analysis of changes over a longer time period.

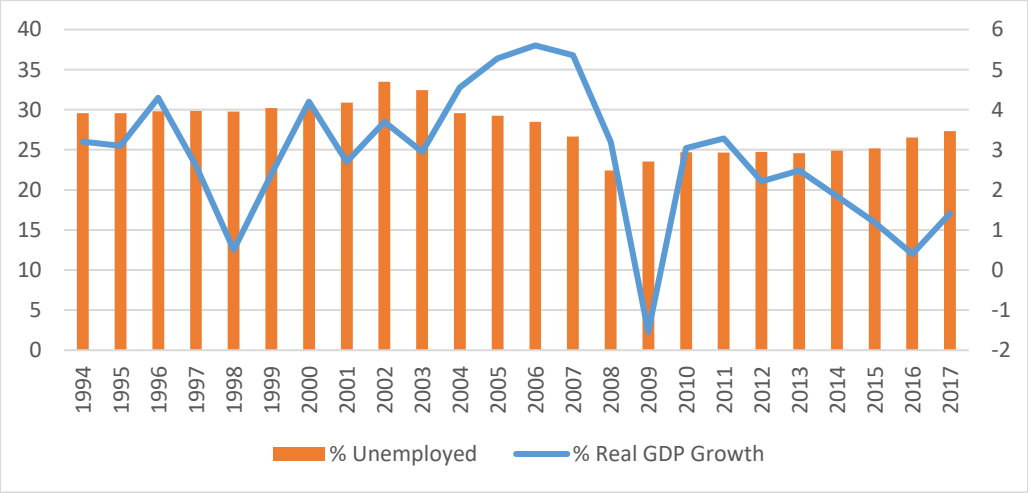


Figure 4: GDP growth rate and unemployment rate in South Africa 1994 – 2017
(Source: Data from World Bank Country Data for South Africa, 2019[4]; Authors' own graphic)

[3] The PALMS contains the following South African surveys: The Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (from 1993); the October Household Survey (1994 to 1999); the Labour Force Survey (2000 to 2007); the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (2008 to 2017).
[4] https://data.worldbank.org/country/south-africa

Table 2: Sources of data and periods studied using PALMS

Time periods analysed	Years	Data Source	Data Frequency	Average Real Annual GDP Growth Rate	Average annual unemployment rate (Narrow Definition)
Period 1: Post-Apartheid	1996-1999	OHS	Yearly	2.45%	29.90%
Period 2: Before the Financial Crisis	2005 - 2008	LFS	Twice a year	4.90%	26.70%
Period 3: Post Financial Crisis	2010-2016	QLFS	Four times a year	2.10%	25.00%

PALMS data was studied for three different time periods: Period 1 (1996 – 1999) represents the post-Apartheid era, when the 1996 White Paper on Arts and Culture was in place. The economy was growing fairly well (the start of one of the longest business cycle upswings the country has ever experienced), although unemployment rates remained high (an average of 29.9%), but falling.

Period 2 (2005 – 2008) represents a phase of economic prosperity for South Africa, with an annual average GDP growth rate of nearly 5%, and unemployment at 26.7%[5]. It is also at this time that the idea of the creative industries start to emerge.

Period 3 (2010 – 2016) represents a period of slower economic growth (although not immediately higher unemployment) post the financial crisis of 2008/9. Although (as shown on the graph) South Africa did have a period of negative economic growth in 2009, the economy recovered fairly quickly, although the pre-2008 levels of growth have not yet been reached again. This is also the period in which the cultural and creative industries discourse gains considerable ground in the establishment of the MGE programme and the start of the revision process of the White Paper, as described in section 4.

6 Results

The results of this research are broadly divided into four sections: A detailed cross-sectional analysis of cultural and creative occupations in 2017 (the latest data available at the time of the research), including an estimation of the current size of creative economy employment; An analysis of creative occupations by province, with the aim of identifying cultural clusters; and a discussion of changes in cultural and creative employment over time, from 1996 to 2017.

6.1 The contribution of the CCIs to employment in South Africa

The Labour Force Dynamics Survey annual dataset for 2017 had a total sample size of 276,876 households. Of the people surveyed, about 56.5% were classed as economically active, made up of the employed (34.4%), unemployed, using the narrow definition (15.8%), and discouraged work seekers (6.3%). The remaining 43% were not economically active. The sample size for those who were classed as employed was 61 798 (LMDSA annual dataset,

[5] As shown in the figure, increasing economic growth rates do generally lead to a drop in employment, but since much of South Africa's unemployment rate is structural, rather than cyclical, and the population is growing, the relationship is not as strong as might be expected.

2017). Applying the UNESCO (2009) definitions of cultural occupations, and the weighting system for industries (see appendices 1 and 2) allows the estimation of the number and proportion of cultural economy employment in South Africa for 2017 (the latest dataset available at the time of analysis).

Using the definition of cultural occupations discussed above, results showed that 2.77% of employed people in South Africa were identified as being employed in cultural occupations in 2017 (either in cultural industries, or in non-cultural industries), compared to 2.52% in 2015, as shown in the last mapping study, and 2.65% in 2016. What this demonstrates is that, as a proportion of total employment, the proportion of people in cultural occupations in South Africa (parts A and B of the trident) has shown a steady increase over these three years. This also applies to the number of people working in cultural occupations, which increased from 396 673 in 2015 to 447 881 in 2017.

However, if one only counts those in cultural occupations, people who work in the cultural industries doing support (non-cultural) jobs are left out and the size of the cultural and creative industries may be under-estimated. Using the method already described based on industry classification codes, a rough estimate of non-cultural jobs in the creative industries (part C of the trident) was also made. These occupations also increased slightly in both proportion (from 4.2% of total employment in 2015 to 4.26% in 2017) and number (from 661 122 in 2015 to 688 799 in 2017) [6].

Table 3: The Cultural Trident in South Africa

	Percentage of total employment			Number of jobs		
	2015	**2016**	**2017**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**
A. **Cultural occupations in Cultural Industries**	0.48%	0.52%	0.57%	75 557	82 056	92 163
B. **Cultural occupations in Non-Cultural Industries**	2.04%	2.13%	2.20%	321 116	336 114	355 718
C. **Non-Cultural occupations in Cultural Industries**	4.20%	4.29%	4.26%	661 122	676 962	688 799
Cultural occupations (A + B)	2.52%	2.65%	2.77%	396 673	418 170	447 881
Cultural industries employment (A + C)	4.68%	4.81%	4.83%	736 679	759 018	780 962
The Creative Economy (A + B + C)	6.72%	6.94%	7.03%	1 057 795	1 095 132	1 136 680

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2015 - 2017 Authors' own calculations)

As found in previous years, many cultural jobs in South Africa are based in the non-cultural industries (such as the example of the designer working in a car manufacturing industry) – 2.2% in 2017 (355 718 jobs). This is an interesting finding, as it suggests that many cultural and creative occupations actually occur in non-cultural industries, which means that cultural workers are often embedded in non-cultural firms, even if their job or occupation is classified as creative. Relatively few cultural jobs occur in cultural industries – 0.57% in 2017 (just over

[6] Some might find the significant number of non-cultural workers in the cultural industries (support occupations) surprising. Given that those employed in cultural jobs have a higher education level than the general labour force, it is not unrealistic that each cultural job gives rise to a significant number of "support jobs". This is very much in line with the employment multipliers calculated by the National Treasury (Budget Review, 2017), which show a high ratio of job creation for those with secondary schooling or less (unskilled or semi-skilled) to job creation for those with post-school qualifications (skilled jobs) for many sectors. On average, a R1m increase in output creates 1.19 skilled jobs and 2.23 unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. However, it may also be that the lack of detailed industry data in the LFS resulted in an over-estimation of the size of the cultural industries.

92 000 jobs). This supports the finding of research in other countries, which found that counting only cultural jobs in cultural industries will greatly underestimate cultural employment.

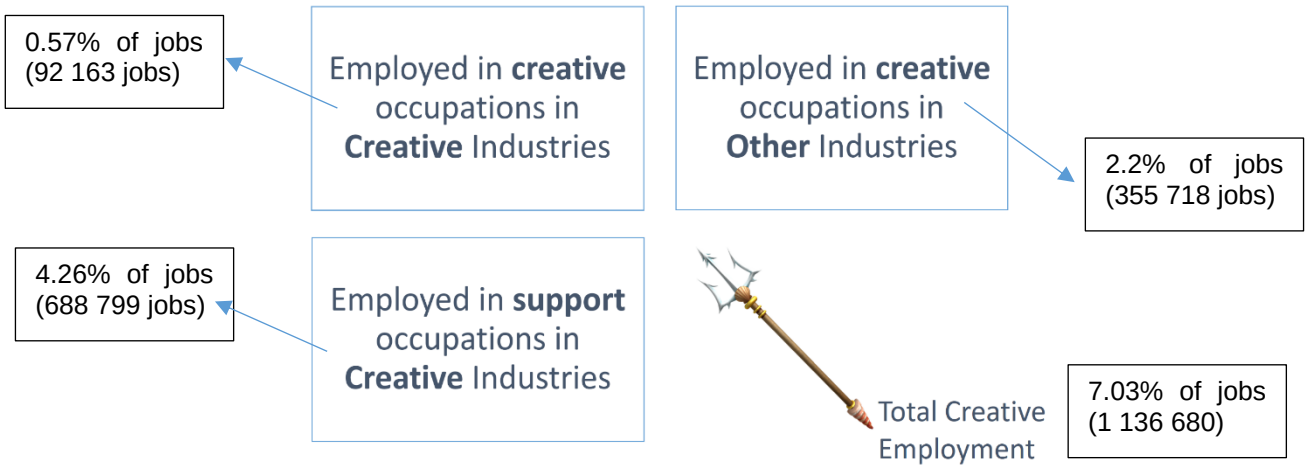
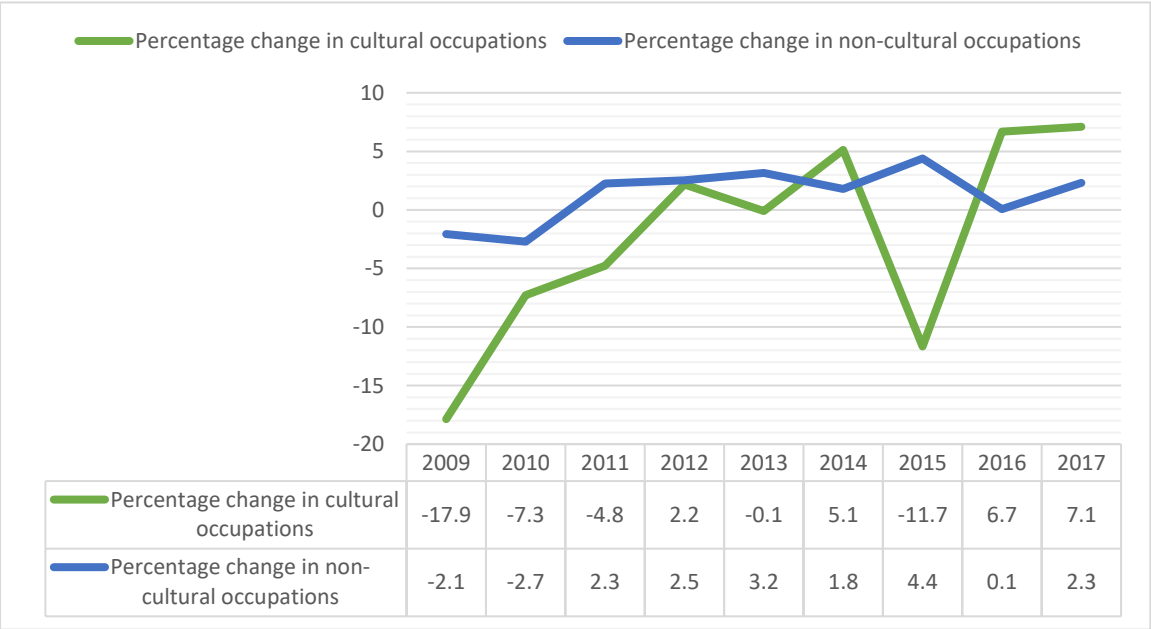


Figure 5: The Cultural Trident for South Africa (2017)

If one includes all three parts of the cultural trident, total cultural/creative employment in South Africa accounted for 7.03% of all jobs in the country (1, 14 million jobs) in 2017. While it is emphasised that, for the cultural industries number, the figure should be treated as a rough estimate, rather than an exact number (because of the lack of industry data at 4-digit level), the results nevertheless show that the cultural and creative sector in South Africa makes a significant contribution to employment and that is has grown quite significantly since the last mapping study in 2015.



	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Percentage change in cultural occupations	-17.9	-7.3	-4.8	2.2	-0.1	5.1	-11.7	6.7	7.1
Percentage change in non-cultural occupations	-2.1	-2.7	2.3	2.5	3.2	1.8	4.4	0.1	2.3

Figure 6: Changes in Cultural Occupations and GDP over time (2008 – 2017)

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

As also found in other countries, cultural employment is more volatile than non-cultural sector jobs. For example, as a response to the 2008/9 financial crisis and the resultant fall in economic growth, employment in both cultural and non-cultural sectors declined, but non-cultural employment declined by 2%, while cultural employment declined by nearly 18%.

Similarly, in response to the slow-down of GDP growth rates in 2015, cultural employment declined sharply. However, 2016 saw an increase in people working in cultural occupations with a growth rate of 6.68%, which was much faster than job growth in other sectors – a trend which continued in 2017, with cultural occupations growing by 7.1% compared to 2.3% in non-cultural occupations.

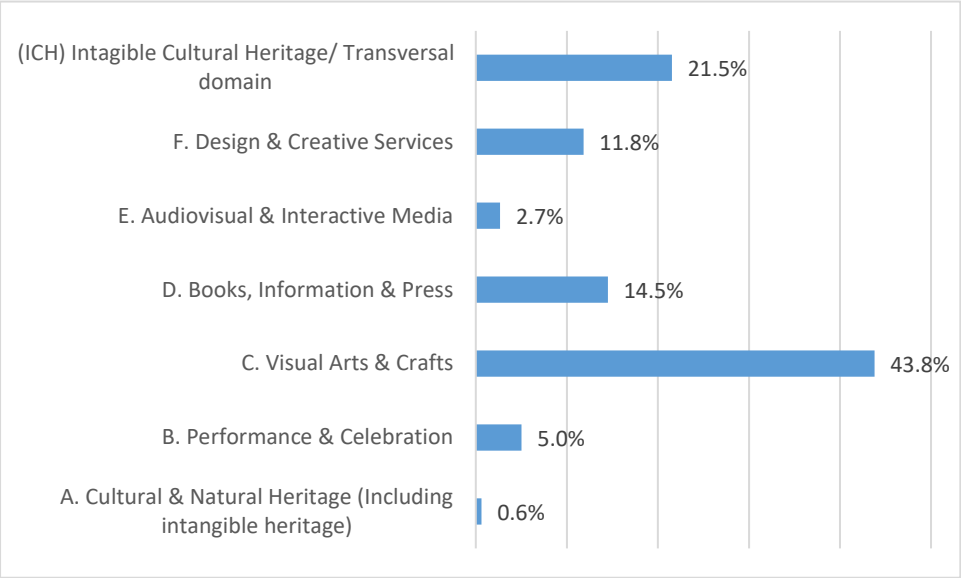


Figure 7: Share of Cultural Occupations by Domain

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

The UNESCO 2009 Framework for Cultural Statistics also enables one to identify cultural occupations by Domain from national labour market data. Note that, because the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (from which the LMDSA is compiled) is a household, and not an industry survey, it also records those who work in the informal sector.

In terms of cultural occupations, by far the largest domain remains Visual Arts and Crafts (Domain C), which accounts for 43.8% of creative and cultural jobs. This is followed by Books, Information and Press (14.5%) and Design and Creative Services (11.8%). Much smaller contributions from Performance and Celebration (5%), Audio-Visual and Interactive Media (22.7%), and Cultural and Natural Heritage (0.6%) follow these three large domains. The transversal domain of Intangible Cultural Heritage (which includes categories such as 'Traditional chiefs and heads of villages', and 'Religious and associated professionals'), make up 21.5% of cultural occupations in South Africa. Further discussion of longer-term trends using the PALMS data are discussed later on in the report.

6.2 Who are the people working in Cultural Occupations?

One of the important questions for the CCIs, especially in South Africa, where there is a strong transformation imperative, is their diversity. Results from the past few studies show that those working in cultural occupations are somewhat less racially diverse than those in non-cultural occupations, but that the trend is towards increasing diversity and inclusion. In 2017, 83.6% of people working in cultural occupations were black Africans (71.8%), coloured people (10.1%), or people of Indian or Asian origin (1.8%).

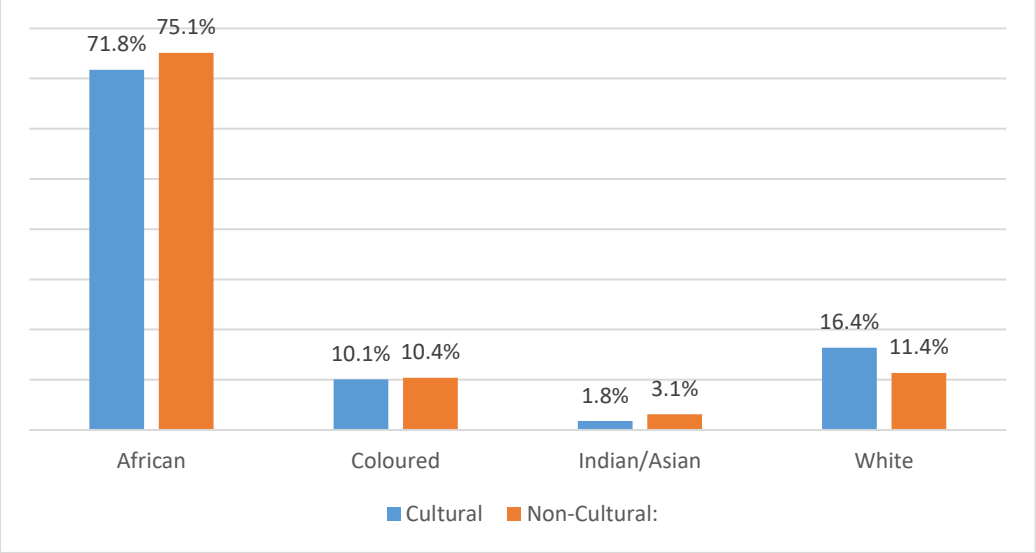
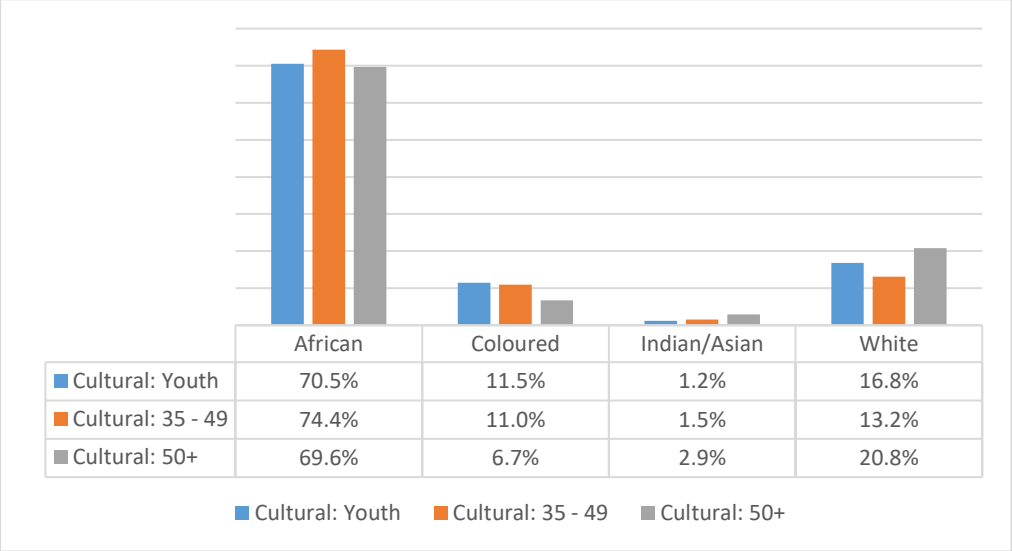


Figure 8: A comparison of race groups employed in cultural and non-cultural occupations 2017

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

Further evidence that cultural occupations are becoming more representative of the population over time can be found in an analysis of cultural occupations by age group. For example, in 2017, those who were older than 50 in cultural occupations were 69.6% black African, 6.7% coloured, 2.9% of Indian or Asian origin, and 20.8% white. Youth in cultural occupations (those up to 34 years old) were 70.5% black African, 11.5% coloured, 1.2% of Indian/Asian origin, and 16.8% white.



	African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White
Cultural: Youth	70.5%	11.5%	1.2%	16.8%
Cultural: 35 - 49	74.4%	11.0%	1.5%	13.2%
Cultural: 50+	69.6%	6.7%	2.9%	20.8%

Figure 9: Cultural occupations by race and age group

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

In terms of gender, more workers in cultural occupations are men (58.7%), which is very similar to the gender distribution in non-cultural occupations (57%), and demonstrates that the gender bias in employment is also present in cultural occupations, as further discussed in a special report on "The Employment of Youth and Women in Cultural Occupations in South Africa" (Hadisi and Snowball, March 2019). Also as noted in this report, the significant under-representation of young women in cultural occupations (30.3% of women in cultural occupations are youth compared to 37.8% of young men) is a concerning trend. As previous studies have pointed out, this may be because women, who generally carry the most

responsibility for family care-giving, find it difficult to enter the labour market early on. This is especially the case for cultural work, which may require long and erratic working hours and travel. Other explanations relate to gender discrimination and harassment of women found in the cultural sector in many countries, recently publicised by the #MeToo movement.

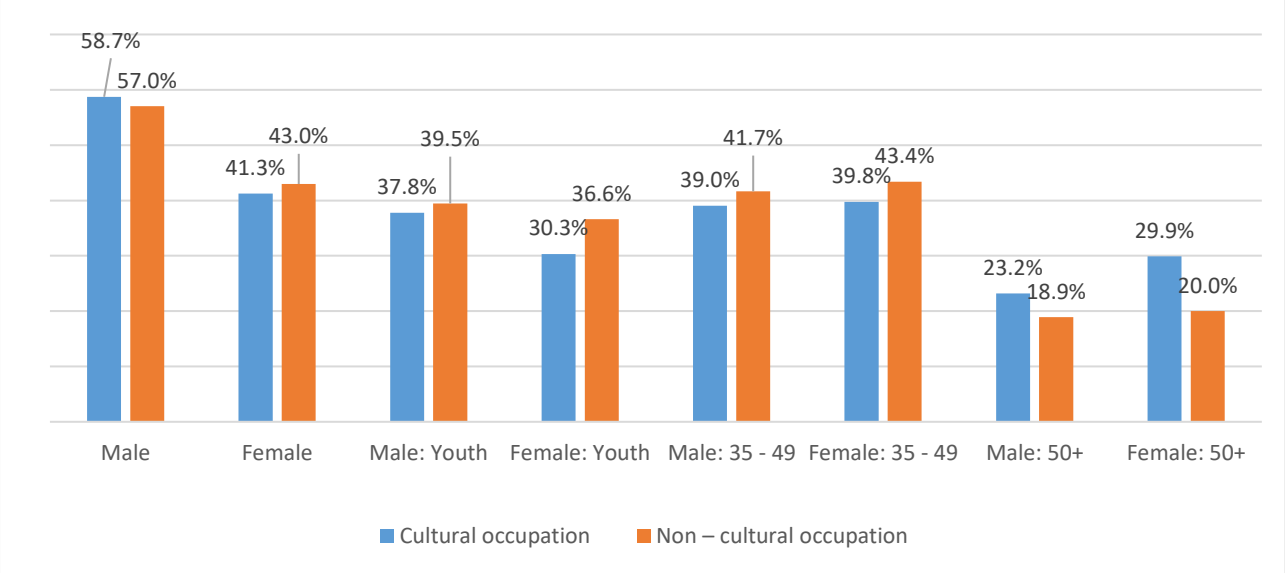


Figure 10: Age groups of those employed in cultural and non-cultural occupations 2017

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations).

As also found in the last mapping study (Hadisi and Snowball, 2017a), the age groups of those working in cultural occupations were generally older than those in non-cultural occupations, perhaps as a result of the higher levels of formal education required for many cultural occupations.

As found in many other studies, those working in cultural occupations tend to be better educated than those working in non-cultural occupations. This is particularly evident when comparing tertiary education: 27.3% of those working in cultural occupations have tertiary education compared to only 17.8% of those in non-cultural occupations. This is slightly lower than the 2015 results (which found that 31.8% of people in cultural occupations had tertiary education, compared to 19.4% of non-cultural workers).

In terms of gender differences, a lower proportion of women in cultural occupations (23.1%) had tertiary education than men (30.2%). However, a higher proportion of women in cultural jobs (29.1%) had completed secondary school than men (23.6%) – a similar finding to the last mapping study.

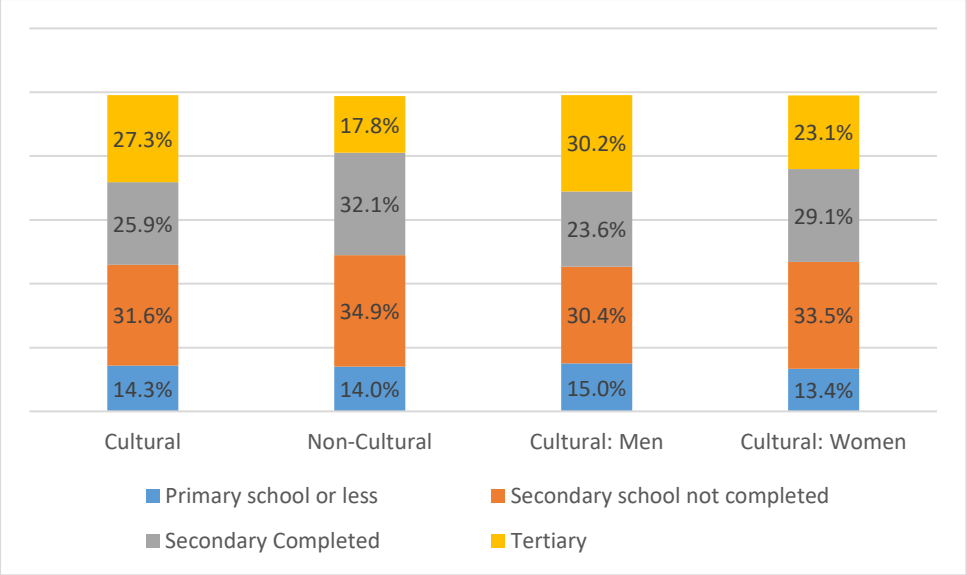


Figure 11: A comparison of education levels in the cultural and non-cultural sectors

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

6.3 What is it like to work in Cultural Occupations?

As discussed in the literature review, there are different opinions about the significance of operating in the formal versus the informal sector. Since the previous CCI mapping study (using 2015 data) there has been a slight decline in the percentage of people in both cultural and non-cultural occupations, working in the formal sector: For non-cultural occupations, from 65.7% in 2015 to 63.2% in 2017; and for cultural occupations, from 48.1% in 2015 to 47.8% in 2017. What remains, however, is that a much greater proportion of people in cultural occupations work in the informal sector (46.3% in 2017) than in non-cultural occupations (32.4%). The data also show that a slightly higher proportion of women in cultural occupations work in the informal sector (46.8%) than men (45.9%), which is also true (albeit at lower levels) for non-cultural occupations.

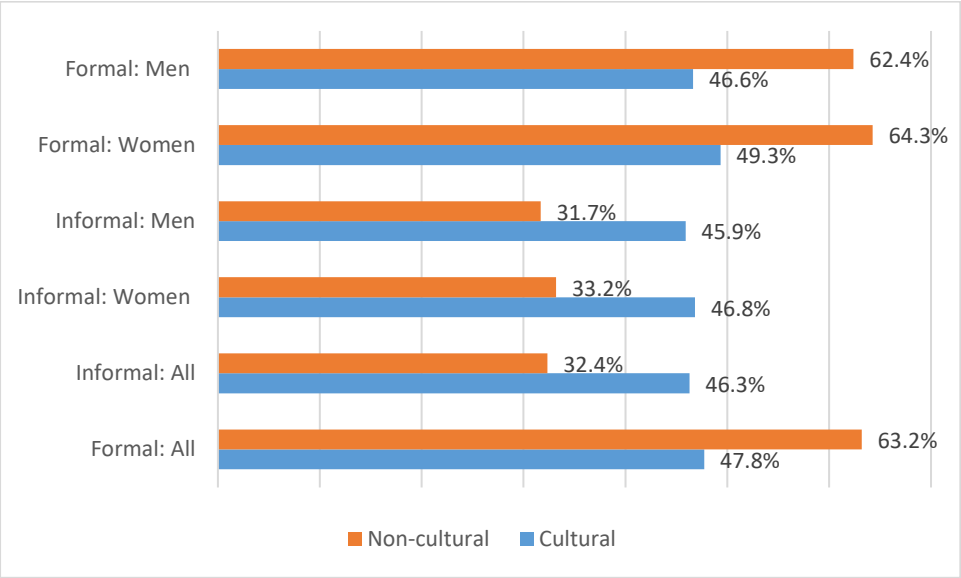


Figure 12: Formal and informal employment in cultural and non-cultural occupations

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

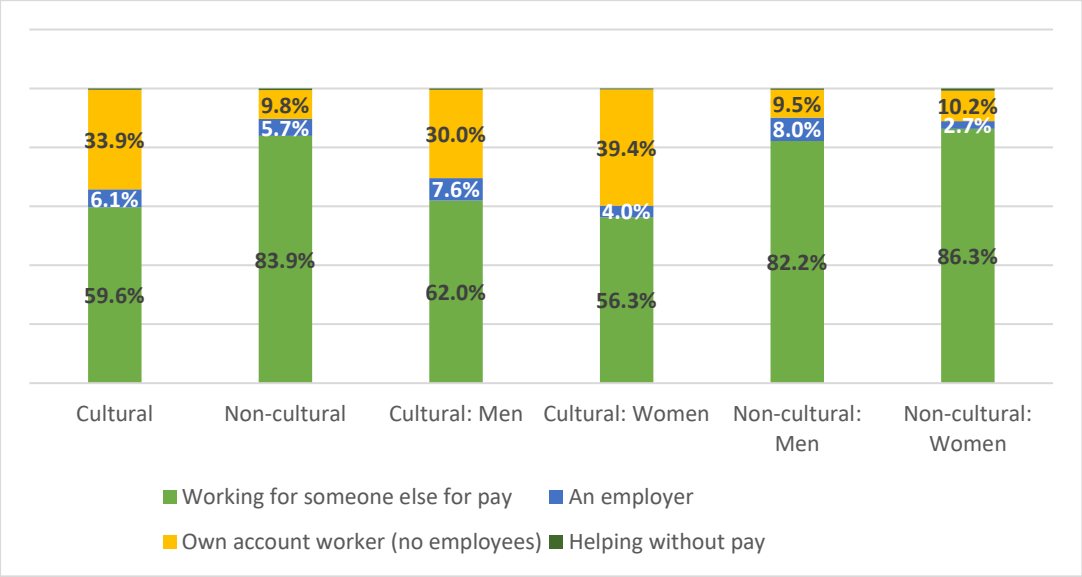


Figure 13: Types of employment in cultural and non-cultural occupations

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

When one considers the types of employment, as found in the previous mapping study, some significant differences between the cultural and non-cultural sectors emerge. The vast majority of those working in non-cultural jobs are "working for someone else for pay" (83.9%) – that is, they are employees. In cultural occupations, only 59.6% of people are employees, while a third (33.9%) are "own account workers" with no employees (also called freelancers). Only 9.8% of non-cultural occupations fall into this category. This finding provides support for the theory that freelance contract work is much more common in cultural than in non-cultural occupations. A greater proportion of women in cultural employment are "own account" workers (39.4%) than men (30%). Freelance work has increased slightly since the last mapping study (which used 2015 LMDSA data) in both cultural (32.5% to 33.9%) and non-cultural (8.3% to 9.8%) occupations.

Compared to the previous mapping study, the proportions of people who are employees ("working for someone else for pay") fell slightly in both non-cultural (86% to 84%) and cultural (61% to 59.6%) jobs. The proportion of people who were "an employer" is somewhat higher in cultural (6.1%) than non-cultural (5.7%) occupations, and has increased slightly in both since the previous study. In both cultural and non-cultural occupations, far fewer women are business owners ("an employer") than men. However, the difference in non-cultural occupations is larger (8% of men and 2.7% of women) than in cultural occupations (7.6% of men and 4% of women).

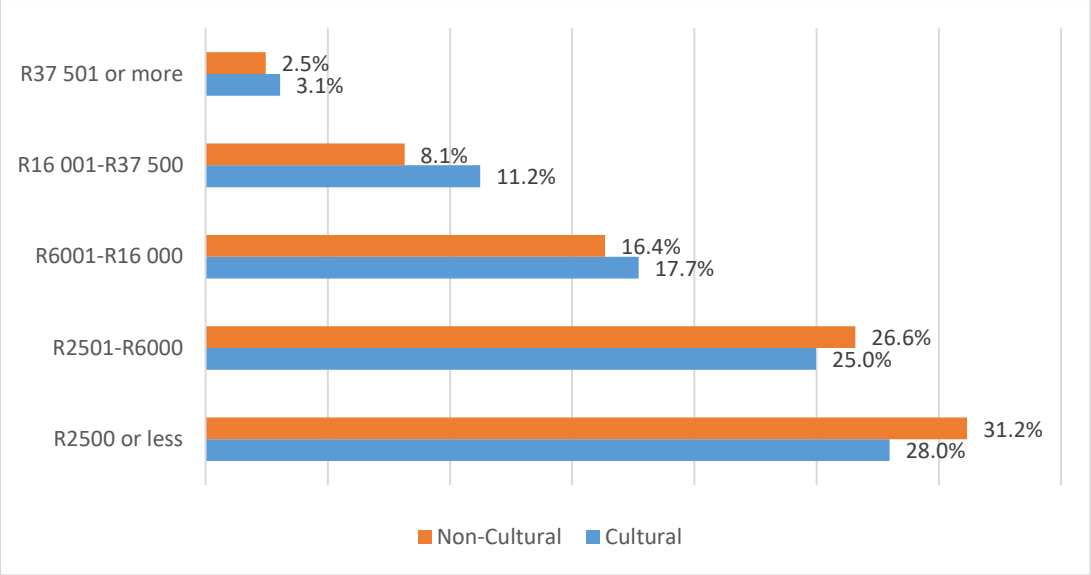


Figure 14: Income categories for cultural and non-cultural occupation workers

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

Given the generally higher levels of education of those working in cultural occupations, it is no surprise that earnings in cultural occupations are generally higher compared to non-cultural occupations. As shown in the figure above, a lower percentage of those working in cultural occupations fall into the bottom two income categories (R2 500 or less; R2 501-R6 000), and a higher proportion of those working in cultural occupations fall into the higher income categories (from R6001-R16 000 onwards). This is a very similar finding to the last mapping study.

6.4 Are there Cultural Occupation Clusters?

A school of thought in cultural employment studies, started by Florida's (2002) *Rise of the Creative Class,* is that cultural and creative sector firms and workers tend to "cluster" or group, usually around larger cities. The Labour Force data in South Africa allows one to examine the types of occupation by province, as shown in the figures and tables below.

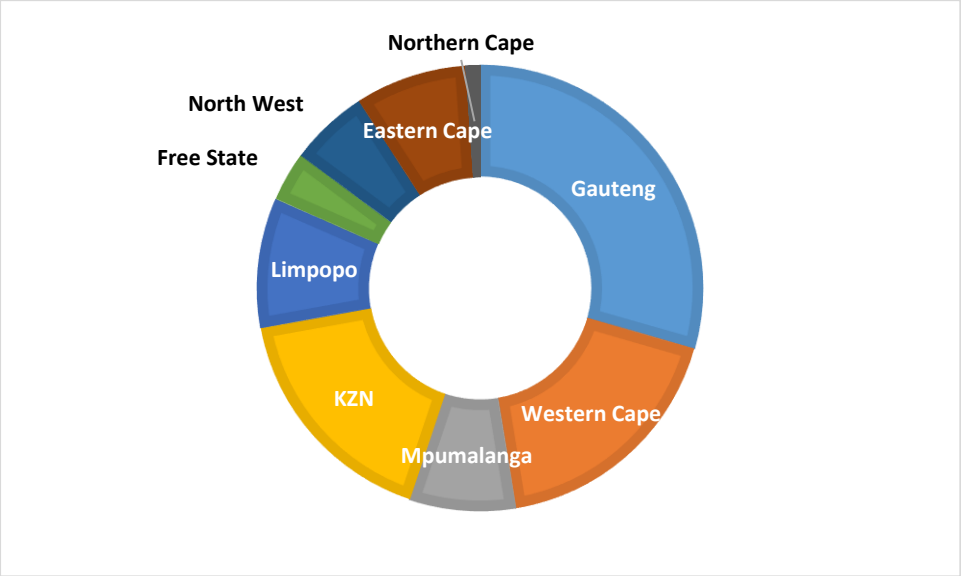


Figure 15: Proportion of cultural occupations by Province 2017

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

Table 4: Proportion of cultural and non-cultural occupations by province (2015 and 2017)

Province	Cultural Occupations		Non-Cultural Occupations	
	2015	2017	2015	2017
Gauteng	37.0%	29.4%	31.5%	30.8%
KwaZulu-Natal	15.5%	17.0%	16.2%	15.4%
Western Cape	15.1%	18.0%	14.6%	14.8%
Limpopo	7.8%	9.4%	8.3%	9.0%
Mpumalanga	7.6%	7.7%	7.5%	7.6%
Eastern Cape	6.7%	8.0%	8.8%	8.8%
North West	4.9%	5.7%	6.0%	6.4%
Free State	4.5%	3.6%	5.1%	5.2%
Northern Cape	0.8%	1.1%	2.0%	2.0%

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2015 and 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

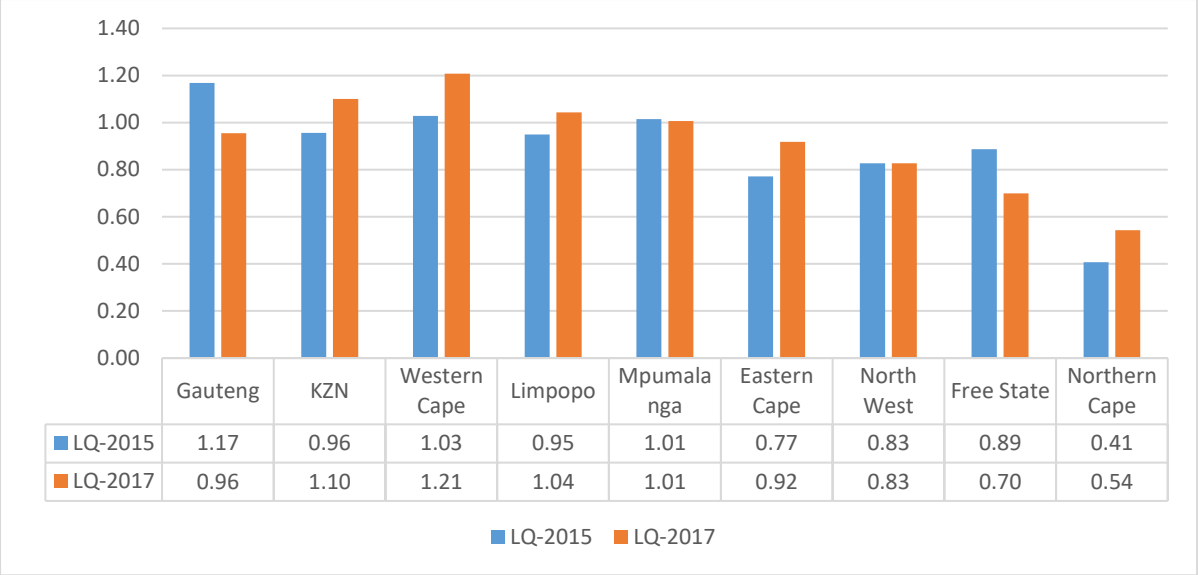
As expected from previous studies, the results show that the provinces with the largest metropolitan areas (Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape) are also those with the highest proportion of cultural occupations in South Africa. However, an interesting change is that there has been a significant decrease in the proportion of cultural occupations in Gauteng (from 37% in 2015 to 29.4% in 2017), while the other metros have both had increases in the proportions of people working in cultural jobs (from 15.5% to 17% in KZN, and from 15.1% to 18% in the Western Cape). This is despite very little change in the proportion of non-cultural occupations in these three provinces overall.

Location Quotients (LQs) can be used to further identify locational concentrations or clusters within a region. If X' and Y' are similar data points for some larger reference region (like a province), then the LQ or relative concentration of that sector in the province compared to the nation is given by the equation:

$$LQ = \left(\frac{X}{Y}\right) / (\frac{X'}{Y'})$$

Where X = cultural jobs in the province; Y = cultural jobs in the country; X' = all jobs in the province; and Y' = all jobs in the country.

An LQ of more than one would indicate that the province has a relative concentration of cultural jobs compared to other provinces, and show what makes a regional economy unique. Combined with job information on the size of the sector, LQs can identify potential industry development nodes.



	Gauteng	KZN	Western Cape	Limpopo	Mpumalanga	Eastern Cape	North West	Free State	Northern Cape
LQ-2015	1.17	0.96	1.03	0.95	1.01	0.77	0.83	0.89	0.41
LQ-2017	0.96	1.10	1.21	1.04	1.01	0.92	0.83	0.70	0.54

Figure 16: Provincial Location Quotients 2015 and 2017

(Source: LMDSA annual dataset, 2015 and 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

The figure shows the provincial location quotients for cultural employment for each province for 2015 (blue bars) and 2017 (orange bars). Four provinces have LQs of one or greater in 2017: Kwa-Zulu Natal (1.1), Western Cape (1.21), and (rather surprisingly) Limpopo (1.04) and Mpumalanga (1.01) indicating that these provinces already have a comparative advantage in cultural sector employment.

Some interesting changes can be observed compared to the 2015 study: Gauteng's share of cultural employment is still the largest overall (29.4%), but it no longer has a higher share of cultural occupations than other jobs. KwaZulu-Natal's share of cultural occupations is lower (17%), but this is higher than its share of overall employment, indicating a growing comparative advance. The same is true of the Western Cape, which has 18% of cultural jobs (compared to 14.9% of total jobs), indicating a strongly growing cultural comparative advance.

Although they have much smaller overall shares of cultural employment, Limpopo (9.4% of cultural occupations) and Mpumalanga (7.7% of cultural jobs) both have location quotients of slightly above 1, indicating a potential for comparative advantage in the sector. For 2017, the provinces with the fastest GDP growth rates were Limpopo (2.2%), North West (2.1%) and Mpumalanga (2%), while Gauteng grew at a slower rate (1.1%), as did the Western Cape (1.2%) and KwaZulu-Natal (1.8%)[7]. Although Gauteng contributes by far the greatest provincial share to GDP overall (34.8% in 2017), followed by KwaZulu-Natal (16%) and the Western Cape (13.9%), it seems that the faster growth rates in provinces with smaller shares of GDP, like Limpopo (7.2% of GDP) and Mpumalanga (7.3% of GDP) may be contributing to their growing attractiveness to cultural sector workers.

[7] https://www.southafricanmi.com/provincial-gdp-11mar2019.html

6.5 Cultural occupations over time: The PALMS dataset

As explained in the methods, analysis of the PALMS dataset allows a much longer-term view of how the cultural and creative industries have developed in post-apartheid South Africa. In addition to showing yearly data, the analysis was conducted over three time periods: Post-Apartheid (1996 – 1999); Before the Financial Crisis (2005 – 2008); and post the Financial Crisis (2010 – 2016). The analysis investigated transformation in cultural occupations (including changes in gender, age and race groups), education and earnings of those in cultural occupations, changes in the relative size of cultural domains, and changes in the provincial distribution of cultural occupations.

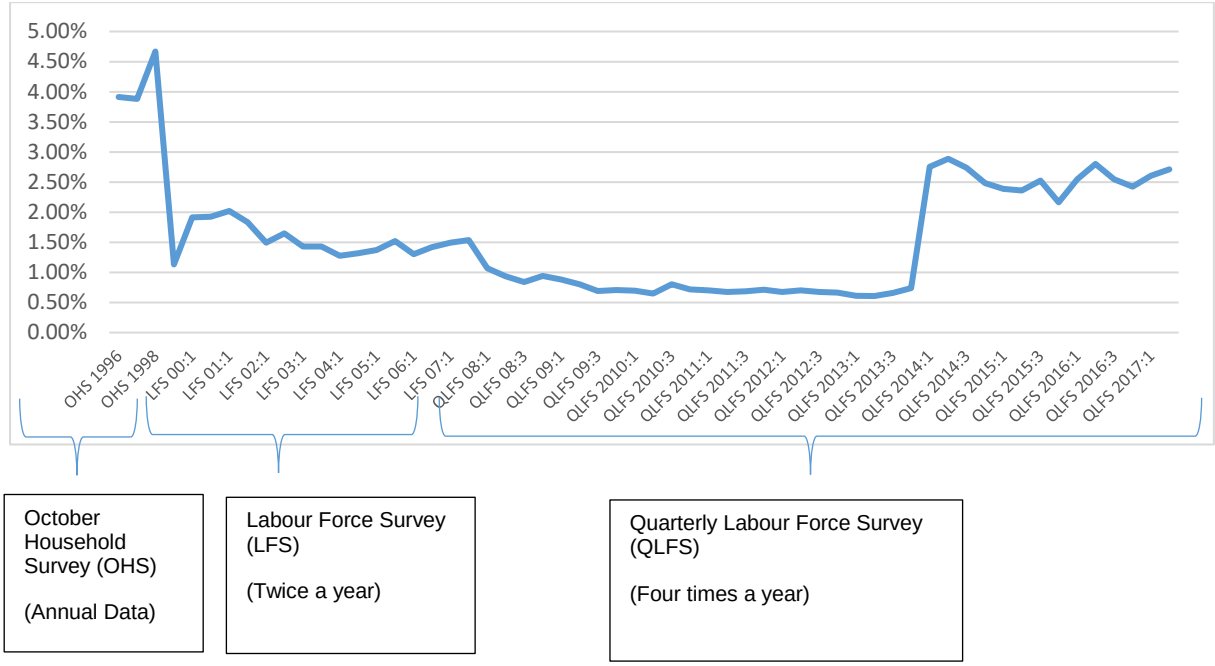


Figure 17: Percentage of people employed in cultural occupations in South Africa 1996 - 2017
Source: PALMS annual dataset, 1993 - 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

As shown in Figure 17, the PALMS dataset is made up by combining data from three different surveys: the October Household Survey, the Labour Force Survey, and the Quarterly Labour Force Survey. Every effort has been made to harmonise the data so that it can be analysed as a single time series. However, as pointed out in the methods section, definitions and categorisations do change over time. For this reason, small differences between results across different surveys cannot be given too much weight.

In terms of the percentage of occupations in South Africa that were cultural, information from the October Household Survey (OHS) shows that between 1996 and 1999 cultural occupations made up an average of 3.4% of all jobs in South Africa – a figure which has not yet been reached again. The OHS of 1999 records a drop in the percentage of cultural occupations to 1.13%. The change does seem to have resulted from a drop in the number of people employed in the sector, but may also be caused by faster growth in non-cultural jobs (that reduced the proportion of cultural occupations). From 2000 until 2007, the LFS shows cultural occupations as making up an average of 1.56% of all jobs.

As already discussed in earlier analysis (Figure 6), the financial crisis of 2008/9 had a devastating effect on jobs in the cultural and creative sector. From 2008 to 2013, cultural occupations made up less than 1% of total employment in South Africa, as recorded in the QLFS. From 2014 onwards, things start to improve significantly, although the poor economic conditions of 2015 shrank the sector somewhat. Although part of the increase in the relative

share of cultural occupations in this period can be explained by the slower growth in non-cultural jobs, the actual number of people employed in cultural occupations also increased. Between 2014 and 2017, cultural occupations made up an average of 2.57% of all jobs. As shown in Table 3, cultural occupations in 2017 made up 2.77% of all employment, providing nearly half a million jobs.

Transformation in cultural employment over time

As shown in Table 5, the average percentage of women in cultural occupations in South Africa remained stable in periods 1 and 2 (at about 52%), but has declined in period 3 (45%). The percentage of women in non-cultural occupations started at a lower level (44%) and increased dramatically in period 2 (52%), declining somewhat in period 3 (50%). As discussed in the literature review, and in other SACO reports focusing on women and youth in cultural occupations, the gender bias seems particularly noticeable amongst young women, who are significantly under-represented.

In terms of race groups, there has been significant transformation in cultural occupations over time. In post-apartheid South Africa, only 73% of people in cultural occupations were black (including black Africans, coloured and people of Indian or Asian origin). By the mid-2000s, 82% of those in cultural occupations were black, which has remained the case post the financial-crisis. While not yet representative of the population, this significant shift in transformation represents a larger change than occurred in non-cultural occupations, and can be attributed, at least in part, to the focus of the 1996 White Paper on increasing diversity and inclusion, and on funding a much wider range of cultural activities.

Table 5: Changes in gender, race and age groups in cultural occupations 1996 - 2016

	Period 1: Post-Apartheid (1996-99)	Period 2: Before the Financial Crisis (2005-8)	Period 3: Post Financial Crisis (2010 - 16)
Percentage of women in **cultural** occupations	52.1%	52.8%	45.2%
Percentage of women in **non-cultural** occupations	44.4%	52.0%	50.4%
Percentage of black African, coloured & Indian people in **cultural** occupations	73.3	82.2	81.8
Percentage of black African, coloured & Indian people in **non-cultural** occupations	84.6	90.7	91.4
Percentage of youth (up to 34) in **cultural** occupations	44.2%	36.7%	36.3%
Percentage of youth (up to 34) in **non-cultural** occupations	52.2%	58.5%	53.7%

(Source: PALMS annual dataset, 1993 - 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

The proportion of young people (up to 34) in cultural occupations has, however, fallen. This is especially the case between periods 1 (when youth made up 44% of those in cultural occupations) and 2 (when youth made up only 36.7% of cultural occupations). A slight decline occurred between periods 2 and 3 (as is also the case with non-cultural occupations). Given the growing population of South Africa, and high youth unemployment, this is not a good trend. Part of the explanation may be the increasingly high levels of education required to work in the cultural (and non-cultural) sectors, which will be further discussed below.

Table 6: Changes in education levels in cultural occupations 1996 - 2016

Changes in education	**Period 1:** Post- Apartheid (1996-99)	**Period 2:** Before the Financial Crisis (2005-08)	**Period 3:** Post Financial Crisis (2010 - 16)	**Percentage change:** Period 1 to 3
Percentage of people in **cultural** occupations who had completed high school	31.3%	26.2%	26.4%	-15.7%
Percentage of people in **non-cultural** occupations who had completed high school	19.6%	17.8%	18.3%	-6.6%
Percentage of people in **cultural** occupations with tertiary education (13+ years)	16.8%	18.1%	26.6%	58.3%
Percentage of people in **non-cultural** occupations with tertiary education (13+ years)	7.1%	5.5%	7.4%	4.2%
Average years of education for people in **cultural** occupations	10.10	9.70	10.60	5.0%
Average years of education for people in **non-cultural** occupations	8.16	7.56	7.46	-8.6%

(Source: PALMS annual dataset, 1993 - 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

The education levels of those in cultural occupations have increased over time (from an average of 10.1 years in period 1 to 10.6 years in period 2). This can also be seen in the decrease in the proportion of people in cultural occupations whose highest level of education is high school (31% in period 1 to 26% in period 3), and a significant increase in the percentage of those who have tertiary (13 or more years) education (from 16.8% in period 1 to 26.6% in period 3). This may reflect the changing nature of cultural work in some domains (such as the rise of digital production and distribution, and social media in this period), as well as the increase in access to education in the post-Apartheid period. In period 1, 52% of those in cultural occupations had less than high school education, while in period 3, this had fallen to 47%. The percentage of people in non-cultural occupations with tertiary education also increased between periods 1 and 3, but not by nearly as much as in the cultural sector. In the post-financial crisis period, this means that more than half those in cultural occupations have either completed high school or have some form of tertiary education as well, compared to only 27% of those in non-cultural occupations. This seems to indicate that, going forward, growth in the CCIs is going to be dependent on having a well-educated workforce.

Figure 18: Percentage of people in cultural occupations with high school and tertiary education 1996 - 2016

(Source: PALMS annual dataset, 1993 - 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

Change in education levels is expected to influence earnings as well. The PALMS data set includes a variable for “real” monthly earnings, which controls for inflation so that comparisons can be made over time (Table 7). All figures are expressed in the prices of the year 2015. Average earnings for those in cultural occupations increased dramatically between periods 1 and 3 – a growth in real wage rate of 74%. Interestingly, the fastest growth occurred in the post-financial crisis period (2010 – 2016), when the economy was performing less well than in the pre-financial crisis period. This can be partly explained by the increase in the average levels of education during this period, but may also be the results of increasing policy focus on the cultural and creative industries, and the additional funding, through, for example, the MGE programme, to cultural sector initiatives with proven economic impact.

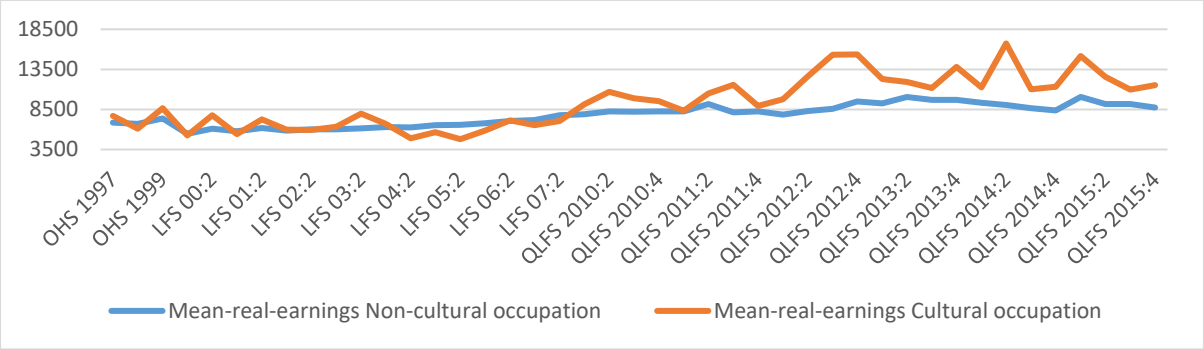


Figure 19: Average real earnings (in 2015 prices) for men and women in cultural occupations over time

(Source: PALMS annual dataset, 1993 - 2017. Authors’ own percentage calculations)

For those with a degree or diploma (15 plus years of education), earnings in cultural occupations rose 116% between periods 1 and 3, while earnings for the same group in non-cultural occupations increased by only 16%. Thus, while earnings for the highly educated in cultural occupations remain somewhat lower, on average, than for those in non-cultural occupations, the difference between them is decreasing over time. This means that the cultural sector is likely to become an increasingly attractive choice for people with diplomas or degrees.

On a less positive note, there is still a significant difference between the average earnings of men and women in cultural occupations. However, while average incomes for both men and women have increased over time, average earnings for women have increased slightly faster (65% increase between periods 1 and 3) than those of men (51% increase between periods 1 and 3). Nevertheless, average earnings for men in cultural occupations are considerably higher than for women in all three periods studied, pointing to an ongoing gender bias in the sector.

Table 7: Changes in average real monthly earnings in cultural occupations 1996 - 2016

Average real monthly earnings (in 2015 prices)	**Period 1:** Post-Apartheid (1996-99)	**Period 2:** Before the Financial Crisis (2005-08)	**Period 3:** Post Financial Crisis (2010 - 16)	**Percentage change**
Cultural occupations	R7,312	R6,183	R11,619	59%
Non-cultural occupations	R6,997	R6,990	R8,816	26%
Cultural occupations for those with 15+ years of education	R13,793	R23,582	R29,737	116%
Non-cultural occupations for those with 15+ years of education	R27,493	R31,229	R31,959	16%
Difference between cultural and non-cultural earnings for those with 15+ years of education.	R13,700	R7,647	R2,222	-84%
WOMEN in cultural occupations	R5,699	R4,598	R9,416	65%
MEN in cultural occupations	R8,902	R8,142	R13,484	51%
Difference between average real monthly earnings for cultural occupations for men and women	R3,203	R3,544	R4,068	27%

(Source: PALMS annual dataset, 1993 - 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

There have also been interesting changes in average real earnings by cultural domain (Table 8). In all periods, the domain with the highest average earnings was domain A: Cultural and Natural Heritage, which experienced growth of 109% between periods 1 and 3. This domain includes highly skilled professionals such as gallery, library and museum technicians, sociologists, anthropologists and related professionals, archivists and curators. Although starting from a small base, this domain is also the one that has grown (as a proportion of cultural employment) second most quickly between periods 1 and 3 (Table 9). The fastest growth (in both earnings and size) occurred between periods 1 and 2, when the cultural policy focus was very much on heritage preservation and redress for the neglect of African cultural heritage during apartheid. Once the policy focus shifts to the CCIs, growth in this domain continues, but at a much slower rate.

The domain with the second highest average earnings in period 3 was domain E: Audio-Visual and Interactive Media, up from position 5 in the previous 2 periods, with an earnings growth rate of 168% between periods 1 and 3. Although still making up a relatively small share of culture employment overall (2.1% average in period 3), this was also the domain with the fastest growth in size (201% between periods 1 and 3) and the second fastest growth in real income (168% between periods 1 and 3). Occupations in this domain include web and multimedia developers, film, stage and related professionals, directors and producers, actors and other associated cultural professionals, as well as software developers, ICT service managers, broadcasters and web technicians. The fastest growth, in both size and earnings, in this domain occurred between periods 2 and 3, when the policy focus shifted to the more commercially oriented CCIs, and digital technologies were gaining ground. The significant growth rate in the Audio-Visual and Interactive Media domain, even when the economy itself was growing much more slowly than in the past, suggests that this area, although currently small, has great potential for driving growth and job creation in the future.

Table 8: Changes in average real earnings in cultural occupations by Domain 1996 - 2016

Domain	Period 1: Post-Apartheid (1996-99)	Period 2: Before the Financial Crisis (2005-08)	Period 3: Post Financial Crisis (2010 - 16)	Percentage change P1 - P3
Cultural and Natural Heritage	R13,629.00	R27,589.00	R28,481.00	109%
Performance and Celebration	R5,199.00	R13,849.00	R19,813.00	281%
Visual Arts and Crafts	R4,821.00	R3,135.00	R5,789.00	20%
Books and Press	R8,148.00	R9,357.00	R17,217.00	111%
Audio-Visual and Interactive Media	R7,852.00	R6,659.00	R21,035.00	168%
Design and Creative Services	R13,024.00	R15,568.00	R17,901.00	37%
Intangible Cultural Heritage	R8,171.00	R6,335.00	R12,953.00	59%

(Source: PALMS annual dataset, 1993 - 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

The domain with the fastest growth in real earnings between period 1 and 3 was domain B: Performance and Celebration. In period 3, this was the domain with the third highest average earnings. It consists of creative and performing artists, musicians, singers and composers, dancers and choreographers, musical instrument makers and tuners, and university, higher education and vocational performance teachers. It has increased in size over the three periods studied, from making up 3.2% of all cultural occupations in period 1 to 4% in period 3.

None of the domains suffered a real decrease in average income between periods 1 and 3, but the domain with the smallest increase was domain B: Visual Arts and Crafts. This is the largest domain, in terms of employment, in the South African CCIs, making up an average of 43% of all cultural occupations in period 3. This domain consists of a wide variety of occupations including jewellery and precious-metal workers, potters, glassmakers, decorative painters, handicraft workers, dressmakers, upholsterers, and all other craft workers. This domain has the lowest average earnings in the sector across all three periods, and has reduced in relative size, especially between periods 2 and 3. However, as pointed out in a detailed sector report (Hadisi and Snowball, 2019), the craft sector can play an important role in providing employment and earnings for people who have low levels of formal education, especially for women in rural areas. There is also some evidence that, for those who are managing to reach international markets, this domain is doing well in terms of export earnings.

Table 9: Changes in relative Domain size in terms of cultural occupations 1996 - 2016

Domain	Period 1: Post-Apartheid (1996-99)	Period 2: Before the Financial Crisis (2005-08)	Period 3: Post Financial Crisis (2010 - 16)	Percentage change
Cultural and Natural Heritage	0.2%	0.4%	0.5%	184%
Performance and Celebration	3.2%	2.5%	4.0%	25%
Visual Arts and Crafts	45.9%	48.1%	43.3%	-6%
Books and Press	31.9%	19.1%	17.2%	-46%
Audio-Visual and Interactive Media	0.7%	0.8%	2.1%	197%
Design and Creative Services	7.9%	10.1%	10.4%	31%
Intangible Cultural Heritage	10.1%	19.1%	22.4%	123%

(Source: PALMS annual dataset, 1993 - 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

The domain that suffered the largest decline, in terms of the proportion of cultural sector employment, was domain D: Books and Press, which fell from making up nearly 32% of cultural occupation in period 1 to only 17% in period 3. This domain includes authors and

related writers, journalists, translators and interpreters, librarians and associated information professionals, printers and binders. While average salaries in this domain have risen, the dematerialisation of much publishing activity in the shift to digital distribution and the rise of social media and the internet as a source of news and information has had the expected negative impact on this domain.

Design and Creative Services, Domain F., includes a wide range of more commercial cultural occupations such as architects, product and garment designers, graphic and multimedia designers, interior designers, advertising and marketing professionals. In period 3, this domain had the 4th highest average earnings, which had grown 37% in real terms between periods 1 and 3, and grown 31% in terms of the proportion of cultural jobs that it provides.

Finally, the Intangible Cultural Heritage Domain is one of the "Transversal Domains" running across all the other domains, since it includes components from many of them. It includes occupations such as traditional leaders, religious professionals, traditional medicine practitioners, and language teachers. This domain has experienced significant growth in its share of cultural employment from 10% in period 1 to 22% in period 3. Like Cultural and Natural Heritage, the fastest growth was between periods 1 and 2, when the cultural policy focus was on the non-market (cultural and social) values of culture. The average real earnings in this domain, however, increased fastest between period 2 and 3 (from an average of R6,335 per month from 2005 – 2008, to R12,953 between 2010 -2016).

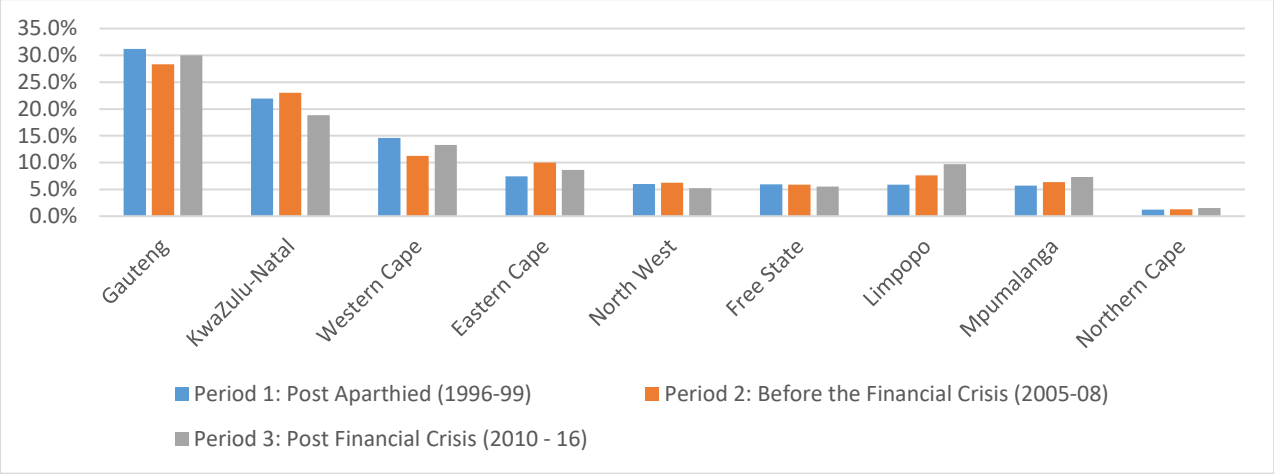


Figure 20: Changes in relative share of cultural occupations by Province 1996 - 2016

(Source: PALMS annual dataset, 1993 - 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

Finally, the PALMS data was also used to track changes in the relative share of cultural occupations for each province over the three time periods studied (Figure 17 and Table 10). Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape remain the provinces with the highest share of cultural occupations in South Africa. This is an expected result, given that these provinces also have the largest metropolitan areas in the country, and the CCIs are known to cluster around large cities, which provide easier access to larger markets (buyers and consumers) and to specialist services. However, what is interesting is that all of these provinces have experienced a decline in their share of cultural occupations between periods 1 and 3, the largest decline being for KwaZulu-Natal (14%).

Some of the more rural provinces with smaller shares of cultural employment have, however, increased their share over time. This is especially the case for Limpopo, which has grown from an average of 5.9% of cultural jobs in period 1 to 9.7% in period 3, and the Eastern Cape (7.5% of cultural occupations in period 1 to 8.6% in period 3). Mpumalanga grew its share from 5.7% in period 1 to 7.3% in period 3. What this suggests is that, while Gauteng, KwaZulu-

Natal and the Western Cape remain dominant in terms of the proportion of cultural jobs in South Africa, the level of regional concentration seems to be falling – an encouraging result for more rural provinces seeking to promote the cultural economy.

Table 10: Changes in relative share of cultural occupations by Province 1996 - 2016

Province	Period 1: Post-Apartheid (1996-99)	Period 2: Before the Financial Crisis (2005-08)	Period 3: Post Financial Crisis (2010 - 16)	Percentage change P1 to P3
Gauteng	31.2%	28.4%	30.0%	-4%
KwaZulu-Natal	22.0%	23.0%	18.8%	-14%
Western Cape	14.6%	11.3%	13.3%	-9%
Eastern Cape	7.5%	10.0%	8.6%	16%
North West	6.0%	6.3%	5.2%	-14%
Free State	6.0%	5.9%	5.5%	-8%
Limpopo	5.9%	7.6%	9.7%	65%
Mpumalanga	5.7%	6.4%	7.3%	28%
Northern Cape	1.2%	1.3%	1.5%	24%

(Source: PALMS annual dataset, 1993 - 2017. Authors' own percentage calculations)

7 Concluding Remarks

This report forms one chapter of the SACO 2020 CCI Mapping Study. The aim was to analyse the number and proportion of people in South Africa who are employed in the cultural economy, as well as changes in the size, transformation, age, gender, education levels and working conditions (including earnings and contract type) of those in cultural occupations since the last mapping study.

Data was obtained from Statistics South Africa, Labour Market Dynamics South Africa (LMDSA) survey (2017 data being the most recent at the time of writing). The methods used to identify cultural occupations and industries are those set out in the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS, 2009) and the recent UNESCO Indicators for Culture 2030, adapted for South Africa (Hadisi and Snowball, 2016). New analysis of the Post-Apartheid Labour Market Series (PALMS), which covers a 20-year time period, was also included, which allows the tracking of long-term changes in cultural employment in relation to changes in economic growth and cultural policy.

Findings showed that creative economy employment has increased, from making up 6.72% of all jobs in South Africa in 2015 to 7.03% in 2017, which accounts for 1,14 million jobs. The creative economy includes people in cultural occupations working in the cultural industries, those in cultural occupations in non-cultural industries, and those in non-cultural support occupations in cultural industries, which is referred to as the "cultural trident" method. Another important finding is that the number of cultural occupations continues to grow at a faster rate (7.1% between 2016 and 2017) than other jobs (2.3% growth between 2016 and 2017).

The largest domain, in terms of employment, remains Visual Arts and Crafts, which accounts for 44% of all cultural occupations. The PALMS data showed that the domain with the fastest growth between the Post-Apartheid era (Period 1,1996 – 1999) and Post the financial crisis (Period 3, 2010- 2016) was Audio-Visual and Interactive Media. Although accounting for only a small share of cultural employment (an average of 2.1% in Period 3), this domain includes many of the new digital technologies, and is growing quickly, despite the low overall growth in the South African economy in recent times. It also had the second highest average earnings (R21 000 per month in 2015 prices) for Period 3. This domain also stands to benefit from the

change in cultural policy focus from the more traditional domains (the subsidised arts, focused on in the 1996 White Paper) to a broader conception of the cultural and creative industries (included in the Revised White Paper, 2017).

Some domains focused on cultural and social values increased rapidly in terms of their share of cultural employment between Period 1, when the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was enacted, and Period 2 (before the financial crisis, 2005 – 2008). For example, Intangible Cultural Heritage grew from making up 10% of cultural occupations in Period 1 to 19% in Period 2; Cultural and National Heritage grew from 0.2% in Period 1 to 0.4% in Period 2.

In terms of transformation, cultural occupations are becoming more racially representative of the population over time, with 84% of people in cultural jobs in 2017 being black (including African, coloured, or of Indian or Asian descent). Young people in cultural occupations are also more racially representative than older groups. The PALMS data shows this trend clearly: In Period 1 (1996 – 1999) only 73% of those in cultural occupations were black, increasing to nearly 82% in Period 3 (2010 – 2016).

Like non-cultural jobs, there is still a larger proportion of men (59%) than women in cultural occupations. As noted in other SACO reports (Hadisi and Snowball, 2019), young women continue to be particularly poorly represented in cultural occupations (29.2% of women in cultural occupations are youth, while 38.4% of men in cultural occupations are youth).

In both cultural and non-cultural occupations, there has been a decline in formal sector employment since the last mapping study. 46% of people working in cultural occupations were in the informal sector in 2017. As found in the previous mapping study, a much higher proportion of cultural workers are freelance (34%) than non-cultural workers (10%), which has increased slightly since the last mapping study. The proportion of people who are business owners or managers ("an employer") is higher in cultural occupations (6.1%) than non-cultural occupations (5.7%), but is much higher for men in cultural occupations (8%) than women (4%).

Education levels of people working in cultural occupations remain higher than those in non-cultural occupations. The PALMS data shows that there has been a particularly fast increase in the proportion of people in cultural occupations with tertiary education from 17% in Period 1 to 27% in Period 3.

Higher levels of education translate into higher average earnings for those in cultural occupations, as found also in the previous mapping study. PALMS data shows that the domain with the fastest growth in average real earnings between Periods 1 and 3 was Performance and Celebration, followed by Audio-Visual and Interactive Media. None of the domains suffered a real decrease in average income, but the domain with the smallest increase was domain B: Visual Arts and Crafts. The domain that suffered the largest decline, in terms of the proportion of cultural sector employment, was domain D: Books and Press, which fell from making up nearly 32% of cultural occupations in Period 1 to only 17% in Period 3.

There is still a significant difference between the average earnings of men and women in cultural occupations. However, while average incomes for both men and women have increased over time, average earnings for women have increased slightly faster (65% increase between Periods 1 and 3) than those of men (51% increase between Periods 1 and 3). Nevertheless, average earnings for men in cultural occupations are considerably higher (an average of R4 000 per month higher in Period 3, with men in cultural occupations earning an average of R13 000, while women earn R 9000) than for women, pointing to an ongoing gender bias in the sector.

In terms of spatial distribution, the highest proportion of cultural jobs is still found in Gauteng (29.4%), followed by the Western Cape (18%) and KwaZulu-Natal (17%). This is an expected result, given that the CCIs tend to cluster around large cities. Compared to the 2015 study, Gauteng's share of cultural employment is still the largest overall, but it no longer has a higher share of cultural occupations than other jobs. KwaZulu-Natal's share of cultural occupations is now higher than its share of overall employment, indicating a growing comparative advantage. The same is true of the Western Cape, which has 18% of cultural jobs (compared to 14.9% of total jobs), indicating a strongly growing cultural comparative advance.

Although they have much smaller overall shares of cultural employment, Limpopo (9.4% of cultural occupations) and Mpumalanga (7.7% of cultural jobs) both have location quotients of slightly above 1, indicating a potential for comparative advantage in the sector. The faster economic growth rates in provinces with smaller shares of GDP, like Limpopo and Mpumalanga, may be contributing to their growing attractiveness to cultural sector workers.

Overall, the results show positive trends in cultural occupations in South Africa, both in the more recent period (between the previous mapping study and this report) and over the longer term. The number and proportion of cultural occupations in South Africa is increasing, despite relatively slow economic growth of the country. Average real incomes in all domains have increased since the post-apartheid period, and the people working in cultural jobs are becoming more representative of the population. Small, but quickly growing, domains, like Audio-Visual and Interactive Media, have great potential for future job creation. While still dominated by the three provinces with the largest cities, cultural employment is also becoming more evenly spread to other, more rural, but faster growing provinces.

Challenges that remain are the gender bias, evident in the lower proportion of women, particularly young women, working in cultural occupations, as well as their generally lower earnings than men in cultural occupations. It is also clear that, going forward, growth in the CCIs is going to be dependent on having a well-educated workforce: in the post-financial crisis period, more than half those in cultural occupations have either completed high school or have some form of tertiary education as well. Domains that are struggling are Books and Press, which has lost a considerable number of jobs since 1996, and Visual Arts and Crafts, which remains the largest in terms of number of cultural jobs, but has the lowest average earnings of any domain.

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Appendix 1: Defining cultural occupations in South Africa

Most of the occupations classified as cultural in the UNESCO system can be found in the South African Labour Force Survey (LFS) data (collected quarterly by Statistics South Africa) albeit in different major groups. As already outlined by Hadisi and Snowball (2016), it is possible to use the LFS to produce internationally comparable data. In designing the South African system of classifying cultural employment, LFS categories were compared to the UNESCO guidelines and international best-practice. Table 1 shows those occupational categories in the LFS that were classified as "cultural employment" in this study.

In a few cases, the UNESCO categories were not in alignment with the South African categories. In those cases, the following was done:

- The SA system includes LFS code 3479 "Art, entertainment and sports associate professionals not elsewhere classified (n.e.c)". Strictly speaking, sport is a "related" domain in the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (2009) and no other country includes it in cultural employment. However, UNESCO does include 3435 "Other artistic and cultural associate professionals", and "Art, entertainment and sport associate professional n.e.c", which overlap with LFS category 3479. The inclusion of sports associate professionals may lead to an over-statement of cultural employment in this category compared to the UNESCO system.
- The SA LFS does not differentiate between higher education professionals enough to allow identification of cultural occupations. However, some kinds of education and educational professionals are classified as part of cultural employment by UNESCO (for example, language, music and art teachers). Based on the weightings suggested by UNESCO for countries using ISCO-88 4 digit codes, the SA system weights LFS category 2310 ("Technikon, teacher training, technical and other colleges, university and other higher education institution teaching professionals") at 2.5% and LFS category 2390 ("Other education professionals n.e.c.") at 20%.
- The UNESCO system includes "Web and multimedia developers", weighted at 5%. There is no comparable category in the LFS. To overcome this difficulty, two categories are included: LFS category 2132, "computer programmers" and LFS category 2131 "computer system designers and analysts", both weighted at 5% as suggested by UNESCO. Note that there is little international agreement on what parts of the IT sector should be included in cultural employment, and how they should be weighted, with the UK including almost the whole sector unweighted, while the US includes very little of it.
- The UNESCO system includes "Traditional and complementary medical professionals". In the SA LFS there is no exact comparison, so LFS categories 3241, "traditional medical practitioners" and 3242 "faith healers" were included instead. The LFS also does not have a comparable category to 2230 "traditional and complementary medicine associate professionals" either, which are included in the UNESCO system.
- The UNESCO system includes 3431 "photographers", but the LFS includes "Photographers and image recoding equipment operators" in one category (3131). This inclusion may lead to an over-statement of cultural employment in this category compared to the UNESCO system.
- The LFS does not allow for the identification of chefs, which are probably included in the general, much larger category of "cooks" (5122). In the absence of any weighting guidelines, we exclude this category. This omission may be an under-estimation of cultural employment compared to UNESCO.
- Although the UNESCO system does not include 7490 "Other craft and related trades workers n.e.c", this group is judged important for South Africa, as it includes, amongst others, handicraft workers and beading, so it was included.

- The LFS does not have the following occupational categories, which are included in the UNESCO system:
    - 1349 “Professional service managers n.e.c. (weighted at 5%)"
    - 3433 “Gallery, library and museum technicians (all included)”
    - 7316 “Sign writers, decorative painters, engravers and etchers (all included)”.

While some of these occupations may form part of other groups that were included in the SA system, there might be omissions or inclusions of some cultural occupations, which may result in an under-estimation or over-estimation of cultural employment compared to UNESCO. In classifying occupations, a numerical system is used to identify divisions, which are arranged into groups by major, sub-major, minor, unit group, and sub-group. The following table displays three digit codes denoting the third level of the classification identifying the minor groups and four digit codes denoting the fourth level of the classification identified as the unit group. Thus, the more digits there are, the more detailed the occupational classification becomes[8].

Table 11: South African occupations that were included in the definition of “cultural employment”

4-digit code	Description	Weighting
111. LEGISLATORS		
1130.	Traditional chiefs and heads of villages	100%
123. OTHER MANAGERS/DEPARTMENT MANAGERS		
1234.	Advertising and public relations managers/department managers	100%
213. COMPUTING PROFESSIONALS		
2131.	Computer systems designers and analysts	5%
2132.	Computer programmers	5%
214. ARCHITECTS, ENGINEERS AND RELATED PROFESSIONALS		
2141.	Architects, town and traffic planners	100%
2148.	Land surveyors, Cartographers and other surveyors	100%
231. COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY AND HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITTUTIONS TEACHING PROFESSIONALS		
2310.	Technikon, teacher training, technical and other colleges, university and other higher education institutions teaching professionals	2.5%
243. ARCHIVISTS, LIBRARIANS AND RELATED INFORMATION PROFESSIONALS		
2431.	Archivists and curators	100%
2432.	Librarians and related information professionals	100%
244. SOCIAL SCIENCE AND RELATED PROFESSIONALS		
2442.	Sociologists, anthropologists and related professionals	100%
2444.	Philologists, translators and interpreters	100%
245. WRITERS AND CREATIVE OR PERFORMING ARTISTS		
2451.	Authors, journalists and other writers	100%
2452.	Sculptors, painters and related artists	100%
2453.	Composers, musicians and singers	100%
2454.	Choreographers and dancers	100%
2455.	Film, stage and related actors and directors	100%
246. RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONALS		
2460.	Religious professionals	100%
311. NATURAL AND ENGINEERING SCIENCE TECHNICIANS		
3118.	Draughtspersons	100%

[8] See Appendix 1 for classification by UNESCO (FCS, 2009) Cultural Domain

313. OPTICAL AND ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT OPERATORS		
3131.	Photographers and image recoding equipment operators	100%
324. TRADITIONAL MEDICINE PRACTITIONERS AND FAITH HEALERS		
3241.	Traditional medicine practitioners	100%
3242.	Faith healers	100%
347. ARTISTIC, ENTERTAINEMENT AND SPORTS ASSOCIATE PROFESSIONALS		
3471.	Decorators and commercial designers	100%
3472.	Radio, television and other announcers	100%
3473.	Street, nightclub and related musicians, singers and dancers	100%
3474.	Clowns, magicians, acrobats and related associate professionals	100%
3479.	Art, entertainment and sport associate professionals not elsewhere classified	100%
348. RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATE PROFESSIONALS		
3480.	Religious associate professionals	100%
414. LIBRARY, MAIL AND RELATED CLERKS		
4141.	Library and filing clerks	100%
731. PRECISION WORKERS IN METALS AND RFELATED MATERIALS		
7311.	Precision-instrument/instrument makers and repairers (including apprentices/trainees)	40%
7312.	Musical instrument makers and tuners (including apprentices/trainees)	100%
7313.	Jewellery and precious-metal workers (including apprentices/trainees)	100%
732. POTTERS, GLASS – MAKERS AND RELATED TRADES WORKERS		
7321.	Potters and related workers	100%
7322.	Glass-makers, cutters, grinders and finishers (including apprentices/trainees)	100%
7323.	Glass-engravers and etchers (including apprentices/trainees)	100%
7324.	Glass, ceramics and related decorative painters (including apprentices/trainees)	100%
733. HANDICRAFT WORKERS IN WOOD, TEXTILE, LEATHER AND RELATED MATERIALS		
7331.	Handicraft workers in wood and related materials (including apprentices/trainees)	100%
7332.	Handicraft workers in textile, leather and related materials (including apprentices/trainees)	100%
742. WOOD TREATERS, CABINETMAKERS AND RELATED TRADES WORKERS		
7422.	Cabinet makers and related workers (including apprentices/trainees)	100%
743. TEXTILES, GARMENT AND RELATED TRADES WORKERS		
7432.	Weavers, knitters and related workers (including apprentices/trainees)	10%
7433.	Tailors, dressmakers and hatters (including apprentices/trainees)	100%
7435.	Textile, leather and related material pattern-makers and cutters (including apprentices/trainee)	100%
7436.	Sewers, embroiderers and related workers (excluding apprentices/trainees)	100%
7437.	Upholsterers and related workers (including apprentices/trainees)	5%
744. PELT, LEATHER AND SHOEMAKING TRADES WORKERS		
7441.	Pelt dressers, tanners and fellmongers (including apprentices/trainees)	100%
7442.	Shoemakers and related workers (including apprentices/trainees)	100%
749. OTHER CRAFT AND RELATED TRADES WORKERS N.E.C.		
7490.	Other craft and related trades workers n.e.c	100%

(Source: SASCO, 2001).

Appendix 2. Identification and Weighting of Cultural Industries

As with occupations, industries are classified by UNESCO as cultural and non-cultural. The cultural industries include all persons holding a job in a company that is involved in a cultural activity. According to the 2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS), the set of industries is classified/defined following the International Standard Industrial Classification Revision 4 (ISIC REV.4). We have mapped the UNESCO classifications to the system currently used in South Africa: SA-SIC-5-1993. However, data is only available at three digit code level, and four digit level is needed in order to apply the detailed UNESCO framework. For some areas (like education), five digit codes would be ideal.

Table 12: Identification and Weighting of South African Cultural industries

Code	Description	Partial code	Weighting
324.	Publishing	NO	100%
376.	Manufacture of watches and clocks	YES	15%
392.	Manufacturing n.e.c	YES	40%
613.	Wholesale trade in household goods	YES	50%
623.	Other retail trade in new goods in specialised stores	YES	40%
624.	Retail trade in second – hand goods in stores	YES	5%
853.	Renting of personal and households goods	YES	50%
862.	Software consultancy and supply	YES	5%
864.	Data base activities	YES	50%
882.	Architectural, engineering and other technical activities	YES	50%
883.	Advertising	YES	5%
889.	Business activities n.e.c	YES	16.6%
920.	Education services	YES (EDU)	0.005%
961.	Motion picture, radio, television and other entertainment activities	NO	100%
962.	News Agency Activities	NO	100%
963.	Library, archives, museums and other cultural activities	NO	100%

However, the UNESCO Manual (2015) does provide some guidance on how to estimate cultural industries employment if only three digit codes are available (see figure below). If no secondary data is available, the method of estimating the weightings for partial codes is very rough, with the main assumption being that each sub-group has the same size (in terms of employment).

For example,

- **392. Manufacturing n.e.c:** This is designated as a partially cultural sector, but no coefficient was provided. The coefficient was estimated by counting the total number of sub-groups (5), the number of those that were cultural (2) compared to non-cultural (3), and deriving the weighting (2/5 or 40%) in this way.

- **376. Manufacture of watches and clocks**: The partial coefficient provided by UNESCO was used (15%).
- **613. Wholesale trade in household goods:** This major group contains two sub-groups of 4 digits, one of which is non-cultural and the partial coefficient was not provided, so using the UNESCO estimation method, it is weighted 50%;
- **623. Other retail trade in new goods in specialized stores:** contains five sub-groups of 4 digits, three of which are non-cultural, and two of which are cultural. The partial coefficient was not provided, so using the UNESCO weighting method, it is weighted 40% (2/5).
- **882. Architectural, engineering and other technical activities:** contain one sub-group of 4 digits, which is a non-cultural sub-group and the partial coefficient was not provided, so it is weighted 50%.

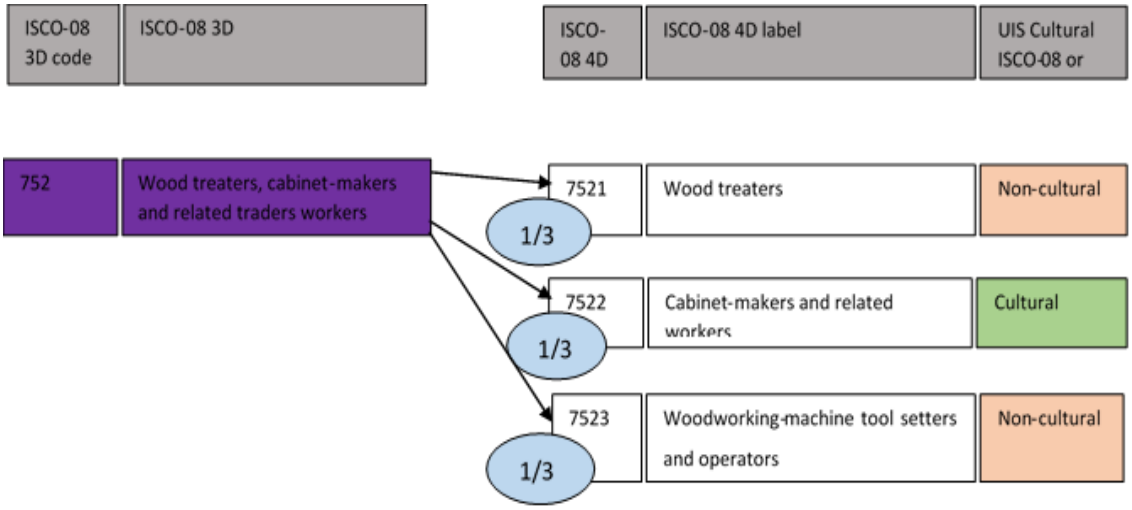

Figure 21: Example of weighting estimation for partially cultural industries

(UNESCO Manual, 2015:21)

However, the UNESCO Manual does provide weightings for 3-digit ISIC codes for ISIC Rev 3.1 3D, which has some similarities to the system currently being used by South Africa, as well as ISCO-88 3D, which also has some classifications similar (but to a lesser extent) to what South Africa is currently using.

The weightings used for estimating employment by industry are a combination of the suggested weightings produced by UNESCO and, where no other guidance was available, the method explained in the figure above. The exceptions are:

- **853. Renting of personal and household goods n.e.c:** This is a partial cultural code which UNESCO does not provide weightings for, but also does not have the necessary sub-group to apply the UNESCO weighting system. In the South African system, this major group includes 20 listed items, about half of which are cultural, or have cultural components, such as “renting of video tapes and records; journals and magazines; books; scenery and costumes; video machines, television sets; musical instruments; jewellery; and textiles” (SA-SIC-5-1993:158). Following the rough UNESCO weighting system, we thus weight this sector at 50%.

- **889. Business Activities n.e.c**.: UNESCO does provide a weighting of 25%, but in the SA-SIC-5-1993 system that South Africa is currently using, only one of the six sub-groups is clearly related to the cultural sector (8894. Photographic activities). Since this is a very large major group with the potential to significantly skew the results, a conservative weighting of 16.6% (1/6) was used.

- **920. Education Services:** In the South African SIC system, it is not possible to identify different levels of education. For ISIC Rev 3.1 3D, UNESCO suggests a weighting of 5% for the categories "8030 Higher Education" and "8090 Other education", thus completely excluding basic education. Using Department of Higher Education statistics on post school education and training and Department of Basic Education statistics for school statistics, it was calculated that employment in the Post-school sector makes up approximately 10% of employment in the whole education sector. (While it is acknowledged that this refers to employment, rather than to the industry, in the absence of any other data, employment numbers are used as a proxy for the size of the sector.) Using the UNESCO weighting for education, 5% of the 10% of total education amounts to a weighting of 0.005% for total education, which is what was used based on the data in the table below:

Table 13: Post-School versus Basic Education Sectors in South Africa

Post-School Education & Training 2015	Total number of people employed.
Educators	18 566
Admin	27 786
Service	4 958
TOTAL	51 310
Basic Education 2014	**Total number of educators employed**
Educators Public Schools	390 608
Educators Independent Schools	34 482
Other	23 015
TOTAL	448 105
TOTAL Education	499 415
Percentage Post-School	10%
5% of Post-School	0.005

(Sources: DHET (2017) "Statistics on Post School Education and Training in South Africa 2015"; Dept. of Basic Education (2016) "Education Statistics in South Africa 2014")

Lack of data also means that some industries, classified as 100% cultural by UNESCO, could not be included because the data category was not present in the LFS dataset. For example, "8720 Research and experimental development on social sciences and humanities" which excludes education and marketing research, and definitely has cultural components ("This group includes systematic creative work done in social sciences and humanities") could not be included, and its exclusion may be leading to an under-estimation of the size of the CCIs.

While this system provides a *rough estimate* of the size of employment (both cultural and non-cultural) in the CCIs in South Africa, it is far from ideal. For a more accurate measure of the real extent of cultural industry employment, industry data at 4-digit level (and 5-digit level for education) is needed.

Appendix 3: Technical notes on PALMS data

The Post-Apartheid Labour Market Series (PALMS) is a dataset at the individual level, with each line of the dataset representing one person from a particularl survey, identifiable across the variable waves. The variable wave allows one to distinguish between and capture changes over time (from 1993 until the present). The dataset currently contains over 120 variables and over 5 million observations. The dataset also contains labour market variables (e.g. real incomes, working hours, occupation) and some household variables (e.g. dwelling types, access to social grants). In also includes a constructed variable: real monthly income (in 2015 prices).

Weighting systems in PALMS

The PALMS dataset contains several weighting variables, such as the person weight **(pweight)** published by Statistics South Africa/SALDRU, cross-entropy weight created by Nicola Branson from SALDRU at the University of Cape Town (UCT), and a cross-entropy weight created by Takwanisa Machemedze at DataFirst, UCT. The cross-entropy weight **(ceweight2)** variable is preferred for analysis over time when using the PALMS dataset, compared to the StatsSA weighting variable. This is because the StatsSA is inconsistent over time, even at the aggregate level (due to post-stratification adjustment using auxiliary data as the benchmark). There is no hierarchical consistency between the person and household weighted series until 2003. Therefore, estimation at household and person level may differ. The cross-entropy weight variable, on the other hand, is consistent at the person and household level, in demographic and geographic trends results. The **bracketweight** variable is use to estimate mean real earnings over each wave of the data for which there is income, making allowances for those individuals who responded by giving an earning bracket value, rather than a Rand amount, to produce a consistent earnings series (Kerr and Wittenberg, 2017).

Variables used from PALMS to analyse employment in cultural occupations

The analysis of cultural employment over time was performed according to the availability of data for specific years, and the relevance of the variables, taking into account differences in the way that the various questionnaires that make up the data series were constructed. Using the UNESCO FCS (2009) definition of cultural occupations, cultural occupations in South Africa can only be identified from 1996, when the October Household Survey starts using 4-digit classification codes.

The **real-earnings** variable represents the monthly real earnings generated from the earnings amount data (not bracket earnings information) across all waves where earnings amounts were asked and data has been released (all waves except OHS 1996 and QLFS waves in 2008, 2009 and 2012). The real earnings variable represents monthly earnings, deflated to 2015 Rands using the CPI. Real earnings is the recommended variable to use when analysing labour incomes in PALMS. The wave variable allows one to indicate which years and surveys are under examination.

APPROVALS FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN CULTURAL OBSERVATORY – Employment in the Cultural and Creative Industries in South Africa.				
	NAME	**TITLE**	**SIGNATURE**	**DATE**
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