Creative Australia:
The Arts and Culture in Australian Work and Leisure

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1. Introduction

One of the ten working groups assembled at the Federal Government's 2020 Summit held in Canberra in April 2008 to discuss ideas for Australia's future was that brought together under the heading 'Creative Australia'. Under the chairmanship of Cate Blanchett and Julianne Schultz, one hundred selected individuals from the arts, film, the media, architecture and design spent the weekend tossing around ideas for the future of creativity in this country in an age of rapid technological and social change. An important aspect of the group's task was to put forward a clear vision of exactly what a Creative Australia might look like.

The idea of Australia as a creative country sounds attractive. Yet identifying what such a proposition entails is no easy matter. Creativity is an elusive concept—one of those notions that seems obvious enough until we try to pin it down with a rigorous and unambiguous definition. Even psychologists who study creative thinking and behaviour are uncertain as to whether creativity is a trait of individuals or a process by which problems are solved and original ideas are generated and applied. There is also no consensus as to whether, if it is a characteristic that people possess, it is something that is innate or something that can be taught.

Nevertheless we hear the word 'creative' used quite widely nowadays. In education, of course, the development of creative skills in children has long been recognised as an essential element of the learning process from the earliest years of childhood onwards. In turn it is generally understood that exposure to the arts and other creative activities at school lays the foundation for people to pursue what is called 'creative leisure' in adult life. In policy circles too, there is increasing interest in what is coming to be called 'the creative economy', whilst urban planners frequently use the term 'creative cities' to describe dynamic urban centres with a vibrant artistic and cultural life.

Thus, since creativity is a concept that reaches into many aspects of our lives, including the arts, the sciences, the economy and the education of our children, the notion of 'Creative Australia' must be one with multiple dimensions. At least three distinct aspects can be identified and each raises a series of questions as to the role of creativity in contemporary Australian life.

- *Creative work*: Significant numbers of people work in jobs that involve the exercise of creative skills. Is it possible to identify a creative workforce and to assess its contribution to the Australian economy? And are these workers employed in sectors of the economy that could be thought of as the creative industries?
- *Creative class*: A lot of attention has been focused recently on the proposition that creative people tend to cluster in particular urban environments, stimulating economic growth and social interaction. Such people have been referred to as a 'creative class'. Does this concept have any relevance to cities in Australia? And can we describe any of the State or Territory capitals as a 'creative city'?

- *Creative participation*: Australians spend their leisure time in a variety of ways, many of which could be referred to as creative. Active involvement in the arts, through painting, singing, playing a musical instrument, writing, dancing and so on all involve the development and application of creative skills. Moreover, participation in the arts as a consumer—visiting art galleries, reading novels, going to the theatre—all involve a form of creative engagement. How important are such activities in Australian life today?

This paper addresses all three of these aspects of creativity in Australian society at the present time. The central proposition to be explored is that the somewhat vague idea of Creative Australia can indeed be given conceptual and empirical substance, thanks particularly to the rich sources of data provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Quite a lot is already known about many statistical aspects of the arts and culture in Australia as a result of the longstanding efforts of the Statistics Working Group of the Cultural Ministers' Council and the dedicated work of the National Centre for Culture and Recreation Statistics of the ABS located in Adelaide. But in addition to these sources, access to the Census results provides a unique opportunity to shed light on aspects of our topic that can only be effectively studied using data collected under the rigorous methodology and comprehensive coverage of the Australian Census.

The Census data are especially valuable in analysing the first two aspects of Creative Australia referred to above. As we shall see below, the detailed occupational and industry classifications used in compiling the Census returns mean that the creative workforce can be examined at a depth and with an accuracy impossible by any other means. Moreover, the fine-grained locational data available from the Census enable pin-point accuracy in identification of clusters of creative people, as a means of exploring hypotheses concerning the creative class and the structure of creative cities.

Nevertheless, the Census data cannot tell us everything we need know. For example, they do not provide information about the consumption habits of individuals or the ways in which people spend their time. Thus for the last aspect listed above we turn to other data sources, including other ABS collections and a recent random sample survey of the Australian population.

2. Creative work

2.1 *Identifying the creative workforce*

Although as we noted earlier creativity is difficult to define, it is possible at least to specify the way creativity may be deployed in the workplace. It is generally recognised that three sorts of creativity are relevant in different types of work:

- in *artistic work*, creativity involves exercise of the imagination and a capacity to generate original ideas and new ways of interpreting the world, conveyed using the basic forms of expression that artists use, namely words, sounds, images and movement;
- in *scientific and technological work*, creativity involves curiosity and a willingness to experiment, to think 'outside the square', and to make new connections in solving problems; and

- in *economic and commercial work*, creativity involves the invention of new products and the search for new ways of doing business, and is recognised as the mainspring of innovation in commerce, finance and industry that can lead to competitive advantage in the marketplace.

These considerations suggest that the concept of ‘creative workers’ might be quite widely applied, to include not just artists and others working in cultural fields, but also scientists, technologists, product engineers, business people, managers and so on. Indeed, it could be argued that almost any type of work involves some degree of creative thought; for example, tradespeople such as plumbers or electricians may have to come up with creative solutions to unusual problems they face from time to time. It soon becomes clear that if creativity were to be defined broadly enough, the concept of creative work could be expanded to embrace an ever-widening range of occupations, such that it would rapidly become meaningless. Even including the second and third types of creative work mentioned above extends the scope of consideration to a sizeable proportion of the workforce. Therefore to provide a more specific focus for the purposes of exploring the work-related dimensions of Creative Australia, we will confine ourselves to the first type of creativity noted above, namely creative work in artistic or related cultural fields .

Limiting our definition of the creative workforce in this way has the added advantage that occupational definition is made more clear-cut. If we were to include, say, technologists or business people, it would be difficult to define which particular occupations among them do genuinely require a significant input of creativity. In arts-related work, on the other hand, the very nature of the creative process is more explicitly defined, making it possible to delineate reasonably sharply a sector of the labour force that can be regarded as creative.

In order to identify the creative workforce, it is necessary to specify a list of creative occupations. In its statistical collections covering the cultural sector, the ABS has defined a category of ‘cultural occupations’ that comprises a set of specific jobs engaged principally in activities recognised as cultural in the National Culture/Leisure Industry Statistical Framework published by the Cultural Ministers’ Council Statistics Working Group.[1] Occupations are included because they are intrinsically creative or have a role in enabling others to participate in a cultural activity. Thus, these cultural occupations include artists of all types and a range of other creative workers such as directors and designers, and the categorisation extends to include a number of more routine occupations such as ticket collectors, ushers, printing hands, museum and gallery attendants, library assistants and so on. It can be argued that, although these latter occupations may properly be described as cultural because they work in what could be called a ‘cultural’ industry, they do not require a significant element of creativity. So, for the purpose of isolating a more specific category of ‘creative worker’ in the present paper, we disregard these broader cultural occupations and concentrate attention on those activities where creativity can be said more or less unambiguously to apply.[2]

In most areas of cultural production it is relatively easy to distinguish between creative and non-creative occupations: in the theatre industry, for example, actors, writers and directors are clear examples of creative occupations, whereas stagehands, ticket sellers and accountants can be labelled non-creative. Nevertheless the distinction cannot be regarded as entirely clearcut and unambiguous, and borderline cases will always arise. For example, how should one classify a writer such as a journalist, or a craftsperson making production runs of pottery items? Moreover some cultural outputs—for example in theatre, television and film—are produced by teams, where the creative input is diffused across all members of the group, including those whose occupations may not be obviously creative in nature.

Despite these difficulties, a broadly workable classification should be possible, especially if a more precise definition of a creative occupation can be articulated. Such a definition might recognise, for example, several specific types of creative activity within the cultural sector, including: the production of primary creative output by occupations such as writers, composers, visual artists, sculptors, craftspeople etc; creative interpretation as practised by performers in dance, drama and music; the supply of creative services in audiovisual and print media (film, television, radio, newspapers, etc); and creative inputs in more commercially-oriented fields such as architecture and design.

For the purposes of our analysis, the 6-digit occupational categories available from the Census data have been assigned into four groups corresponding broadly to the types of creativity described above:

- *initial creative artists*: those producing primary artistic work in sound, text or image—these artists include authors, painters, sculptors, craftspeople, composers, community arts workers, etc;
- *performing artists*: those interpreting artistic works (music, drama, dance, etc) in live or recorded performance—this category includes actors, dancers, various types of entertainers, instrumental musicians, singers, etc;
- *creative professionals in the media*: including directors and other professionals in film, television, radio and print media, such as presenters, producers, film and video editors, journalists, etc;
- *designers and architects*: including design professionals in all areas except industrial design, and all types of architects including landscape architects.

The complete list of occupations that comprise the creative workforce is shown in Appendix Table 1, with the 6-digit occupational classifications indicated. As can be seen, it is not always possible to provide a precise assignment of occupation to category, and the classifications as specified are only approximate in some cases. For example, stage directors and stage managers are included with film and television directors; conservators and curators are included with visual artists; and photographers are included as creative artists, even though this occupational category will also catch purely commercial photographers.[3]

Despite the value of the Census data in providing such fine detail in occupational classification, their use as the empirical source of employment numbers for these creative occupations is subject to some problems. These include the question of whether or not, in regard to the first two categories above, Census data can adequately capture the numbers of practising professional artists. A difficulty in this respect arises because a worker's job for the purpose of the statistical collection is specified as the 'main job' held in the week of the Census; as a result a number of professional artists, who out of financial necessity or for other reasons work only part-time in the arts, will be allocated to some other occupation such as teacher or taxi driver. Hence the true number of people employed in a particular artistic occupation will be underestimated. On the other hand, since Census forms are self-completed, some would-be or dilettante practitioners may declare themselves as artists when in fact their contribution to creative output in the economy is low or zero. We return to this issue later in this paper.

2.2 *Characteristics of creative workers*

The estimated size of the employed creative workforce in Australia in 2006, as defined above, is approximately 156 thousand workers. The numbers are shown in Table 1; for details for the full set of 6-digit occupations, see Appendix Table 2. Designers and architects make up the largest single group, comprising about 40 per cent of the total. According to our definition of creative workers, which as noted earlier is more specific than the ABS classification of cultural workers, the creative workforce comprises about 9 per cent of all professionals and about 2 per cent of the entire labour force.

Of the 156 thousand, about 53 thousand are artists (groups 1 and 2 in Table 1). It is difficult to estimate how closely this figure approximates to the number of practising professional artists given that, as noted above, some of the latter will not be caught in the Census data. The most recent estimate of the size of the population of practising professional artists in Australia (defined as those meeting certain specified professional criteria but not necessarily working full-time in the arts) relates to the year 2001.[4] In that study the number of professionals was estimated to be almost twice the number of 'main job' artists derived from the 2001 Census. If similar circumstances apply today, it would be reasonable to conclude that 53 thousand is a conservative estimate of the size of the professional artistic workforce (full- and part-time) in 2006.

Some significant sociodemographic characteristics of the creative workforce are as follows:[5]

- *Gender*: The gender balance of the creative labour force roughly parallels that of the overall working population in Australia, although there are some imbalances in particular occupations. For example, there is a greater proportion of women amongst writers and males amongst musicians. Some professional groups in the media are especially male-dominated; for instance, only 8 per cent of directors of photography are female. Also architects are predominantly male; three-quarters of professional architects and architectural draftspersons are men.
- *State/Territory*: Again the distribution broadly follows that of the total labour force and adult population, although it is notable that NSW has a disproportionately large share of the creative workforce (and to a lesser extent of the professional labour force overall). The preponderance of creative workers in the country's largest State reflects the fact that NSW is host to the largest concentration of Australia's cultural industries, as we shall see further below. It is interesting to observe that, although small in absolute size, the two Territories have a somewhat greater share of the nation's creative workforce than their respective shares of the labour force and the total population would suggest.
- *Age*: The age distribution of professional workers in general is skewed away from the youngest age group in the work force (15–25 years) because the time taken to complete training for professional practice in any field has the effect of delaying a

person's entry to a full-time career. The creative professions are no different. Within the artistic professions, authors and visual artists tend to be older than the others, and actors and dancers younger. Indeed dancers typically retire from active performance before the age of 40.

Table 1: Size of the creative workforce: Australia 2006 (no. of persons)

	Male	Female	Persons
	(no.)	(no.)	(no.)
Initial creative artists			
Authors	1,495	2,303	3,798
Visual artists, craftspeople	5,010	6,392	11,402
Other creative artists	6,019	4,661	10,680
Subtotal initial creative artists	12,524	13,356	25,880
Performing artists			
Actors, dancers	3,233	6,828	10,061
Musicians	8,998	8,323	17,321
Subtotal performing artists	12,231	15,151	27,382
Film and media professionals			
Directors	3,323	1,477	4,800
Presenters	1,761	654	2,415
Producers, film editors, etc.	6,028	4,911	10,939
Journalists	8,940	9,762	18,702
Subtotal film and media professionals	20,052	16,804	36,856
Designers, architects			
Designers	21,073	20,432	41,505
Architects	18,403	6,119	24,522
Subtotal designers, architects	39,476	26,551	66,027
Total Creative Workforce	84,283	71,862	156,145
Total Professionals	857,794	958,869	1,816,663
Total Labour Force	5,180,819	4,427,168	9,607,987
Total Population (>15yrs)	7,777,909	8,140,173	15,918,082

- *Education*: Creative workers are better educated than the general population, but not as highly educated as the whole professional workforce in Australia. Amongst the artistic occupations, writers stand out as the group that possesses the highest educational qualifications, whilst the architecture and design professions have a larger proportion of practitioners with tertiary training than is the case for professional workers as a whole.
- *Income*: Creative workers earn less than other professionals; at both ends of the distribution of income, creative occupations are worse off. Only 4 per cent of all professionals earn less than $250 per week whereas 12 per cent of the creative workforce falls into this income bracket. Similarly 5 per cent of the creative earn more than $2,000 per week, compared to 12 per cent of all professionals. Actors, dancers, musicians and particularly visual artists are among the lowest income earners, reflecting the persistent income disadvantage that has been observed in these artistic professions over many years.[6]
- *Indigenous workers*: Drawing conclusions concerning the Indigenous proportion of the labour force is difficult because of the high proportion of 'Not stated' relative to the stated proportion of Indigenous people in the Census returns. The data appear to indicate that although the proportion of Indigenous people in the professions overall is lower than in the total workforce, the proportion in the arts and media is higher. Architecture and design have the lowest Indigenous representation, at less than 1 per cent. The importance of the visual arts as a means of cultural expression for Indigenous Australia is illustrated by the significant numbers of Indigenous people amongst visual artists—almost 10 per cent of people in the visual arts/crafts group are identified as Indigenous.

Finally in looking at the characteristics of the creative workforce in Australia, we can ask whether the numbers of creative workers have grown over the last ten years. Comparative data from the 1996, 2001 and 2006 Censuses can be used to examine changes over this period. These data indicate that the size of the creative workforce as defined above grew by almost 40 per cent in the period 1996–2006, a compound growth rate of about 3 per cent per annum. The growth was particularly spurred by increases in numbers in the design professions, which grew at an annual rate of about 6 per cent.

The growth in the creative workforce is reflective of structural changes that have been occurring in the economy in recent years, as traditional manufacturing and service industries gradually give way to information and knowledge-based industries in the so-called new economy. Technological changes in communications and information processing have contributed significantly to these shifts, and the consequences can be observed in employment levels. For example, the increase in numbers in the design professions noted above can be contrasted with the decline in more traditional areas such as printing; the numbers of printing tradespeople have fallen by 25 per cent over the last decade. In the next section we consider how these trends are indicative of the emergence of the creative industries as a dynamic sector of the economy.

2.3 *The creative economy*

In 1997 the UK Government set up a Creative Industries Task Force to give shape to the concept of 'Creative Britain'.[7] The aim was to identify those knowledge-based industries where creativity was a critical input in generating economic success and where a specific comparative advantage could be developed for the British economy in the production of creative goods and services. In fact, the UK initiative was founded on ideas that had been put forward a few years earlier in Australia. In 1994 the Australian Government issued a blueprint for an Australian cultural policy called *Creative Nation*, which recognised the relationship between cultural and economic development. The policy argued that cultural activities had both intrinsic worth and potential economic payoff, the latter being generated through the emerging creative or cultural industries. In particular, this document foresaw the rapid development of new communications technologies, and proposed linkages between culture—the creative arts, heritage, the media—and the information economy. To give effect to these ideas, the relevant Commonwealth Government department at that time was reconstituted as the Department for Communications and the Arts (later the Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts).

Because of the change of Federal Government in 1996, many of the specific proposals put forward in *Creative Nation* were not implemented. But the structural changes to the economy that the 1994 cultural policy document foreshadowed continued to occur. Over the succeeding years, growth rates of output and employment in the Australian cultural industries exceeded those in other sectors of the economy, mirroring the experience of a number of countries in Europe, North America and Asia during this period. Now, more than a decade later, is it possible to describe Australia as a creative economy? To answer this question, we must first understand how the concepts of 'creative economy', 'creative industries' and 'cultural industries' have developed over recent years.

For some observers the creative economy is a very broad concept that refers to fundamental relationships between creativity and economics. For example Howkins argues that 'creativity is not new and neither is economics, but what is new is the nature and extent of the relationship between them and how they combine to create extraordinary value and wealth'.[8] He uses the term 'creative economy' to cover industries extending from the arts to the wider fields of science and technology. Other writers and policy analysts have focused attention on the cultural sector, interpreting the cultural industries as being at the centre of the creative economy. Terminology has become confused and confusing, especially in regard to the distinction between the adjectives 'creative' and 'cultural' in describing commodities, industries or occupational categories.

A logical way to break the semantic logjam is to begin by defining the goods and services we are dealing with. There is now a measure of agreement that *cultural goods and services* such as artworks, drama performances, literature, films, television programs, music in various formats, video games and so on share the following characteristics:

- they require some input of human creativity in their production;
- they are vehicles for symbolic messages to those who consume them, ie, they are more than simply utilitarian, insofar as they serve in addition some larger communicative purpose; and
- they contain, at least potentially, some intellectual property that is attributable to the individual or group producing the good or service.

Alternatively or in addition, cultural goods and services can be interpreted as yielding cultural value in addition to whatever commercial value they possess; in other words cultural activities of various sorts, and the goods and services they produce, are valued—both by those who make them and by those who consume them—for social and cultural reasons that are likely to complement or transcend a purely monetary evaluation. If such cultural value can be identified, it may serve as an observable characteristic to distinguish cultural goods and services from other types of commodities.

The above definitions may be workable for *cultural* goods and services, but what about *creative* goods? Given that creativity is a wide-ranging phenomenon, as we have seen, it is apparent that the concept of a creative good will be broader than that of a cultural good, embracing not just art objects, audiovisual material, etc but phenomena such as new production processes for manufacturing, the breeding of new plant varieties, or the formulation of innovative accounting procedures for business corporations, all of which require some form of creativity in their making. Thus it is appropriate to interpret the terms *creative* goods and services as defining an extensive category, of which *cultural* goods and services are just one component. Carrying these arguments further indicates that the *cultural industries*—defined as the industries producing cultural goods and services—should be regarded as a subset of the wider group of *creative industries*, and in turn that the cultural sector or cultural economy should be regarded as a subset of the creative sector or creative economy.

Despite the apparent logic of these definitions, however, many writers have not drawn these distinctions. For example, a number of publications dealing with the cultural industries in the sense defined above have used the terms creative industries and cultural industries interchangeably. For our purposes, and in keeping with our delineation of the creative workforce above, we concentrate attention on artistic and cultural aspects of creativity and hence prefer the term ‘cultural industries’ to describe the sector of the economy in which we are interested.

There are two broad approaches to the study of the cultural industries, deriving from the concepts embodied in the two words from which they take their name: ‘culture’ and ‘industry’. First a *cultural* approach to these industries is pursued within the disciplines of cultural studies, cultural theory, sociology, and political economy. Such an approach can be traced back at least as far as the writings of Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer in the 1940s, who coined the disparaging term ‘culture industry’ to describe the commodification of culture in the immediate post-war world that they inhabited.[9] In its present-day manifestation, a ‘cultural’ approach to the cultural industries is likely to ask how these industries reflect and shape the culture of contemporary capitalism, how power and class relationships affect the production and distribution of culture, and how the industrial system responds to the demands of consumers whose preferences are formed within a given social and political context.

The second approach, focusing on the *industry* aspect, is pursued within economics, political science and practical policy studies. Such an approach can trace its origins to the pressures felt during the 1970s and 1980s by arts administrators in a number of countries to find an economic justification for subsidy to the arts from public funds, pressures that led to a range of efforts to demonstrate the contribution that the arts made to the national economy. Subsequently economists have adopted a straightforward industrial-organisation approach to examining the cultural industries, asking about their structure, conduct and performance; how they contribute to the standard macroeconomic indicators of output, value added, employment, trade etc; and what are the economic relationships underlying the operation of these industries in terms of their production, cost, supply, demand and prices.

The two approaches, the cultural and the economic, do share some common concerns. For example, both pay attention to the effects of globalisation, although from somewhat different points of view: cultural theorists speculate about cultural homogenisation while economists study the effects of rapidly escalating technological change on the production and distribution of cultural goods and services. Also both seek workable models of the cultural industries as a means towards theoretical understanding, analytical rigour and practical policy application. For example, a model deriving from the cultural studies tradition is that depicted in Hesmondhalgh,[10] which sees the 'high' or 'serious' arts as the province of the social and political establishment and therefore focuses attention instead on popular culture. The processes by which a society's culture is formed and transmitted are portrayed in this model via the industrial production, dissemination and consumption of symbolic texts or messages, which are conveyed by means of various media such as film, broadcasting and the press.

On the other hand a determinedly economic model is that proposed for classifying the cultural industries by the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO). This model is based on industries involved directly or indirectly in the creation, manufacture, production, broadcast and distribution of copyrighted works.[11] The focus is thus on intellectual property as the embodiment of the creativity that has gone into the making of the goods and services included in the classification. A distinction is made between industries that actually produce the intellectual property, and those that are necessary to convey the goods and services to the consumer. A further group of 'partial' copyright industries comprises those where intellectual property is only a minor part of their operation. As is apparent, the model is primarily concerned with identifying the economic significance of these industries in the commercial world.

2.4 *The cultural industries in Australia*

For our investigation of the cultural industries in Creative Australia, we adopt a model which combines a culturally-specified definition of these industries with an economic interpretation of their function. It can be called the 'concentric circles model'[12] and is based on the proposition that it is the cultural value of cultural goods that gives these industries their most distinguishing characteristic; thus the more pronounced the cultural content of a particular good or service, the stronger is the claim to inclusion of the industry producing it under a cultural industry definition. The model asserts that creative ideas originate in the core creative arts in the form of sound, text and image, and that these ideas and influences diffuse outwards through a series of layers or 'concentric circles', with the proportion of cultural to commercial content declining as one moves further outwards from the centre.

How does the 'diffusion of creative ideas and influences' occur? In general terms it may arise through the sorts of communication and exchange processes that govern the circulation of knowledge and information in the economy and society at large; thus the plot of a novel or play may suggest ideas for a television series, or a piece of music or a contemporary art installation might stimulate ideas that could contribute to the development of a computer game. More concretely, the diffusion of ideas may arise through the fact that creative people who generate them actually work in different industries, providing direct input to the production of cultural content in industries further from the core; for example, a visual artist may have a creative practice producing original artworks but may also work in the design industry, or an actor may appear on stage in the live theatre as well as making television commercials in the advertising industry. However it happens, it is the creative ideas that generate the cultural content in the output of these industries and beyond.

In applying this model to the cultural industries in Australia, we propose four layers or circles; the categories and the main industries they contain are listed below and are illustrated in diagrammatic form in Figure 1.

Core creative arts

Literature
Music
Performing arts
Visual arts

Other core cultural industries

Film
Museums, galleries, libraries
Photography
Arts education

Wider cultural industries

Heritage services
Publishing and print media
Sound recording
Television and radio
Video and computer games

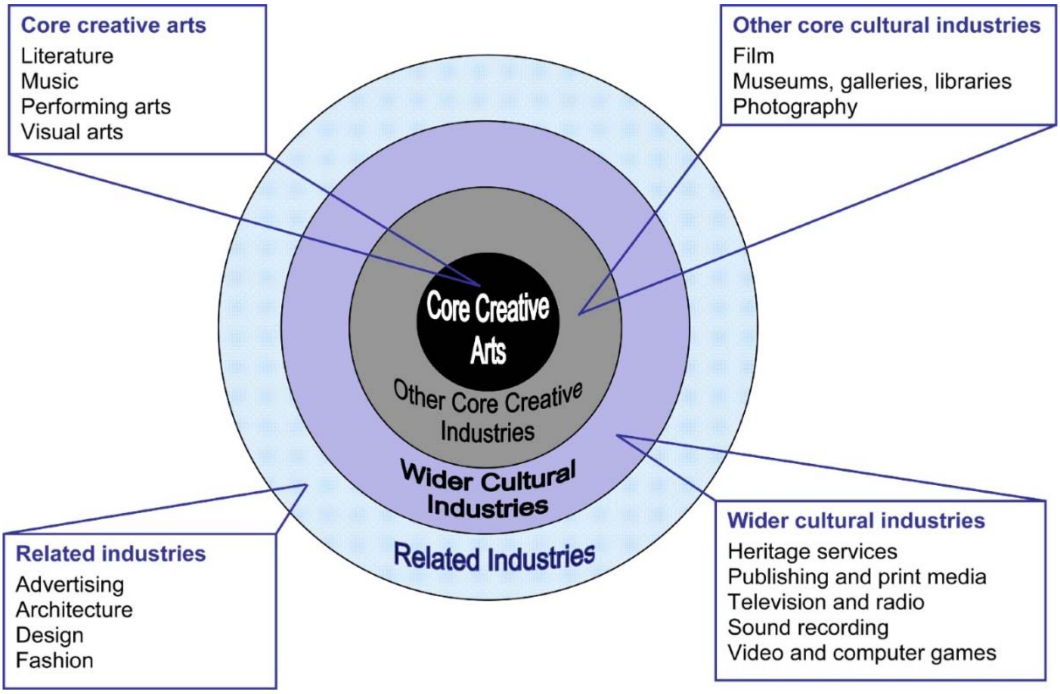
Related industries

Advertising
Architecture
Design
Fashion

Matching the industrial classifications as used for the Census data with the categories of industries as listed above is not always straightforward, a similar problem to that encountered earlier in allocating occupations. Nevertheless, although some approximations are necessary, a reasonable match can be obtained. The complete list of cultural industries at the 4-digit level, classified according to the above scheme, is shown in Appendix Table 4.[13]

Having now defined both creative occupations and cultural industries, we can put together a picture of the distribution of creative workers of different types across industries in the cultural sector by looking at the occupation x industry cross tabulations, as shown in Table 2. The concentrations of the different occupations in the four industry

Figure 1. The Concentric Circles Model of the cultural industries



groups follow the definitions of these groups, as expected. Thus, for instance, the majority of artists (about 11 thousand in total) are employed in the core industries as defined, the majority of film and media professionals (about 18 thousand) are employed in the 'wider' category, and designers and architects (more than 31 thousand) mostly work in the 'related' group of industries.[14]

Recall that the concentric circles model of the cultural industries is based on a proposition that the cultural or creative content of output of these industries declines in proportion to the commercial content as one moves outwards through the layers of the model. There is no obvious means of measuring the cultural content of the goods and services produced by the cultural industries. However, a proxy can be obtained by looking at the proportion of creative labour to total labour input in the production of these commodities. Examination of our results shows that the cultural content of output in successive circles of the model assessed by these means does indeed decline. For example, if cultural content is measured strictly in terms of the creative input of artists, the data indicate that the cultural content of the output of goods and services from the cultural industries declines from around 74 per cent for the core industries to 57 per cent for the other core, 10 per cent for the wider group, and only a little more than 1 per cent for the related industries where the commercial content of output predominates.

Table 2: Employment in the cultural and non-cultural industries: Australia 2006 (no. of persons)

Occupation	Cultural industries				Total cultural industries	Total non-cultural industries	Total employment
	Core	Other core	Wider	Related			
Initial creative artists							
Authors	1,283	191	1243	47	2,764	1,036	3,800
Visual artists, craftspeople	2,897	1782	610	481	5,770	5,631	11,401
Other creative artists	1,365	319	1,129	471	3,284	7,393	10,677
Subtotal initial creative artists	5,545	2292	2982	999	11,818	14,060	25,878
Performing artists							
Actors, dancers	1,684	4816	331	86	6,917	3,145	10,062
Musicians	4,182	7,510	297	37	12,026	5,297	17,323
Subtotal performing artists	5,866	12326	628	123	18,943	8,442	27,385
Film and media professionals							
Directors	356	1127	1998	165	3,646	1,156	4,802
Presenters	334	85	1436	13	1,868	547	2,415
Producers, film editors, etc.	643	2670	3532	1,364	8,209	2,728	10,937
Journalists	1,205	150	11,116	769	13,240	5,462	18,702
Subtotal film and media professionals	2,538	4,032	18,082	2,311	26,963	9,893	36,856
Designers, architects							
Designers	302	478	5742	13,218	19,740	21,767	41,507
Architects	6	3	17	18,179	18,205	6,315	24,520
Subtotal designers, architects	308	481	5759	31,397	37,945	28,082	66,027
Total creative occupations	14,257	19,131	27,451	34,830	95,669	60,477	156,146
Total non-creative occupations	1,273	6,720	8,629	44,604	61,226	8,886,813	8,948,039
Total employment	15,530	25,851	36,080	79,434	156,895	8,947,290	9,104,185

2.5 *The 'creative trident'*

We noted earlier that one important way in which ideas diffuse outwards from the creative core to the wider economy is through the employment of the creative workforce in fields lying beyond the cultural industries. Stuart Cunningham and his colleagues have defined what they call the 'creative trident' in the employment patterns of the creative workforce, pointing out that significant numbers of creative workers are employed in the non-cultural industries.[15] Their model interprets the two-by-two classification (creative/non-creative industries by creative/non-creative workers) as identifying a 'creative trident' comprising three of the four quadrants in the table:

- *specialist workers*: those employed in core creative occupations within creative industries;
- *support workers*: those employed in other occupations within the creative industries; and
- *embedded workers*: those employed in core creative occupations within other industries.

Our data are consistent with this model. According to our specific definitions of creative workers and cultural industries, we calculate that about 60 thousand members of the creative workforce work outside the cultural sector; this comprises about 39 per cent of the total creative workforce.[16] If these 'embedded' workers are added to the total employment in the cultural industries (ie, the total of the other two of the three components in the trident), an aggregate number of cultural workers of 217 thousand is obtained, comprising 2.4 per cent of total Australian employment. Such an expanded estimate of the size and reach of the input of cultural or creative labour goes some way towards capturing the diffusion of creative ideas beyond the concentric circles, and indicates the direct ways in which the forms of creativity we have been considering contribute to the wider economy.

3. The creative class and the creative city

3.1 *Arts and culture in urban development*

The idea of the creative economy built around the cultural industries, as discussed in the previous section, has particular application to cities. It has been recognised for some time that the arts and culture can contribute to urban development in a number of ways,[17] and many of these processes are applicable to Australian cities, as we shall see in section 3.3 below. The major effects are as follows:

- Cultural industries can benefit from network and agglomeration externalities available in urban settings. The growth of 'creative clusters' in the cultural industries in a number of cities—fashion in Milan, theatre in London, film-making in Hollywood—reflects the economic advantages of co-location.[18]
- Artistic and cultural activities at the local level can provide social engagement and employment creation opportunities that may be useful, for example, as a means of re-engaging displaced social groups such as marginalised youth.

- Strong cultural infrastructure and an active artistic life can be important in attracting inward investment to an urban region by providing agreeable living and working conditions for staff of in-migrating enterprises.
- A single cultural facility or institution can on its own provide a stimulus to urban economic growth; the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, is often cited as a paradigm case of a cultural investment that has led to revitalisation of a depressed urban area. Other iconic cultural buildings, such as the Leaning Tower in Pisa or the Opera House in Sydney, are magnets for tourism and over time become important cultural symbols for local residents and overseas visitors alike.
- The cultural identity of a city may also be enhanced through the staging of artistic events and festivals. For example, long-standing festivals such as those in Bayreuth, Edinburgh or Salzburg, are inextricably bound up with the image of those cities. In Australia, the Adelaide Festival performs a somewhat similar function, as do many of the music festivals held in local venues around the country.[19]
- The broader concept of the 'creative city'[20] has evolved to describe an urban complex where artistic and cultural activities are an integral component of the city's fabric, contributing both to urban livability and economic dynamism. UNESCO has built up a 'creative cities network', the members of which include Bologna and Seville whose particular focus is on music, and Buenos Aires, Montreal and Berlin where the creative theme is design. The UNESCO network extends to include food as a cultural dimension; the city of Popayan in Columbia, where families and communities celebrate their distinctive recipes, rituals and ingredients in promoting their cultural identity, has been named as the network's first City of Gastronomy. Perhaps Melbourne will be the next.

3.2 *The creative class*

One writer who has had a significant impact on awareness of creativity in the life of cities is the controversial American regional economist Richard Florida, who argues that creativity has replaced raw materials, physical labour and flows of capital as the primary driver of urban economic success.[21] He sees the emergence of a new social class—the 'creative class'—as a new source of urban dynamism. It can be argued that these ideas are not particularly original—urban theorists such as Lewis Mumford (1958), Jane Jacobs (1970) and Peter Hall (1998) have all pointed in one way or another to the phenomenon of creativity as an engine of innovation and urban growth.[22] But whereas these writers have suggested that creativity arises spontaneously, such that its appearance cannot be orchestrated, Florida argues that cities can actively encourage the growth of the creative class, and in so doing can improve their economic performance.

In Florida's analysis, the creative class comprises two components:

- a 'super-creative' core of scientists, engineers, artists, publishers, designers and specialists working in the media, R&D, ICT, etc; and
- creative professionals in business, finance, law, advertising, etc.

Florida calculates that about one-third of the US workforce falls into the creative class; a recent estimate puts the UK proportion somewhat higher.[23] According to Florida's argument, three characteristics, which he refers to as the three Ts, will ignite the economic sparks of creativity:

- *technology*: a necessary prerequisite but insufficient on its own;
- *talent*: the ingredient that underlies creative success; and
- *tolerance*: the characteristic of communities that acts as a magnet to draw creative people in.

In his empirical work, Florida sets out a series of indices that purport to measure, for a given city, its labour market diversity, its lifestyle characteristics, its social interaction, etc. Taken together these indices say something about a city's identity and provide numerical means for ranking of cities according to the strength of their creative class. In his more recent writing, Florida lays great stress on sense of place, arguing that *where* people live matters more to them than the work they do or the people they live with[24].

Not surprisingly Florida's work has been subject to a great deal of criticism.[25] In particular the concept of creativity to which he refers is a fuzzy one, extending as it does to catch a very wide range of occupational categories in defining the creative class.[26] Florida's solutions to problems of inequality generated in cities with a strong creative-class presence have also been criticised.[27] The construction of the various indices by which the existence of the creative class is assessed has been seriously questioned, as has the proposition of causality implied by Florida's argument. In the latter respect, although he has asserted that he did not mean to suggest one-way causation, whereby a city's success is determined by the size of its creative class, many city mayors and urban policy-makers have interpreted Florida's message in precisely these terms, and have proposed strategies to attract and retain creative people as a means of boosting the city's economic prospects.

Whether or not the concept of the creative class has any analytical substance over and above its purely rhetorical power as a rallying cry for city politicians, the essential empirical fact to which it relates—namely the clustering of creative people in urban locations—remains an observable phenomenon. Many such concentrations of creative people can be observed in major cities around the world and we can utilise the 2006 Census data to investigate whether the same phenomenon occurs in Australia.

3.3 *The creative class and creative cities in contemporary Australia*

In all States and Territories in Australia, the creative workforce is primarily located in the capital cities. This simply reflects the distribution of professional workers generally, and indeed of the entire population, which is predominantly urbanised. However, four States have urban regions with significantly higher concentrations of arts, media and design workers than of all professional workers: NSW, Victoria, Queensland and South Australia. In each case the creative workforce is primarily located in the State capital, mostly in inner-city areas. Thus the capital cities of all of these four States show patterns of locational distribution that are consistent with the creative class hypothesis. Such evidence does not by any means confirm the creative class proposition, but is at least indicative of the multiplicity of factors leading to the clustering of creative people in urban environments.

Furthermore, each of the four cities concerned—Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Adelaide—can lay claim to being 'creative cities' in the wider sense noted earlier, insofar as each has well-established cultural infrastructure, an active artistic life, and economically productive cultural industries. Other capital cities may make similar claims though on a smaller scale, while some major metropolitan centres outside the capital cities, such as Wollongong or Cairns, might also boast some creative-city characteristics.

In the following discussion we consider the location of the creative workforce on a State-by-State basis. The major areas of concentration for each State or Territory are shown in Table 3. We pay particular attention in the following discussion to the two main cities in Australia where creative people live and work, Sydney and Melbourne.[28] In a later section of this paper (section 3.4 below) we shall look more closely at the location of individual artistic occupations across the country.

(i) *New South Wales*

As the largest State with the largest capital city, it is not surprising that NSW has the highest concentration of arts, media and design professionals of any State or Territory in the country. This concentration is focused on Inner Sydney (which includes Leichhardt and Marrickville as well as the CBD), and the Eastern suburbs (Randwick, Waverley, Woollahra). About one-third of the State's creative workers live in these areas, compared with about 15 per cent of the State's professionals, indicating a significant creative clustering in these central parts of the city. The distribution of creative people also extends south to St George–Sutherland, north to North Sydney and the Northern Beaches, and further north to the Central Coast and Newcastle. Amongst non-metropolitan areas, an important centre for the creative workforce in NSW is the Northern Rivers region of Richmond–Tweed, where growth in the cultural industries has been particularly promoted in the State Government's regional development strategies.

The growth of Sydney as a cultural centre has followed movements of artists and other creative people as the shape of the city has changed. These groups moved into areas such as Kings Cross in the 1960s, Balmain, Glebe, Darlinghurst and Surry Hills in the 1970s and 1980s, the inner west (Leichhardt, Newtown) in the 1990s, and the eastern suburbs in the last ten years or so (especially media and film workers). To some extent these movements have been influenced by, and are reflective of, processes that have transformed the urban space in Sydney into a global city.[29] Cultural activities are evidence of Sydney's increasingly global role, particularly in the audiovisual and media industries, but these activities

> …also contribute to the development of an aesthetic of cosmopolitanism that in turn transforms neighbourhoods in the city, generating cultural precincts and unique consumption spaces. Areas of the city that have long-held associations with artists, bohemian movements and 'alternative' subcultures become districts of cultural industry activity, and sites of gentrification and urban renewal.[30]

In this process Sydney has followed other global cities in its cultural development, for example through the conversion of old warehouse buildings into apartments to create 'New-York-style lofts' in the former industrial areas of the city.[31]

Table 3: Main locations of creative workforce: by States: Australia 2006

Location	Total creative workforce		Total professional workforce	
	(no.)	(%)	(no.)	(%)
New South Wales				
Inner Sydney	9952	20.0	54783	8.9
Eastern Suburbs	6115	12.3	40275	6.5
St George–Sutherland	3036	6.1	44808	7.3
Western (inner, central, outer)	4758	9.6	74806	12.1
Northern (lower, central)	9888	19.9	118022	19.1
Northern Beaches	3991	8.0	30712	5.0
Total NSW	49776	100.0	616348	100.0
Victoria				
Inner Melbourne	8675	25.6	58048	12.3
Western Melbourne	2607	7.7	35385	7.5
Northern Middle Melbourne	2619	7.7	28959	6.1
Boroondara City	2214	6.5	29289	6.2
Eastern Middle Melbourne	3255	9.6	54068	11.4
Southern Melbourne	4404	13.0	53659	11.4
Total Vic	33902	100.0	472220	100.0
Queensland				
Inner Brisbane	1227	9.9	16668	5.3
Northwest (inner, outer)	2531	20.5	66410	21.2
Southeast (inner, outer)	1611	13.0	45998	14.7
Gold Coast	2088	16.9	33429	10.7
Sunshine Coast	1281	10.4	19258	6.2
Total Qld	12368	100.0	312777	100.0
South Australia				
Northern Adelaide	616	11.7	21127	16.6
Western Adelaide	784	15.0	16791	13.2
Eastern Adelaide	2217	42.3	35809	28.2
Southern Adelaide	1257	24.0	31168	24.5
Total SA	5243	100.0	127170	100.0

(cont)	(no.)	(%)	(no.)	(%)
Western Australia				
Central Metropolitan Perth	1617	17.2	24360	14.0
East Metropolitan Perth	1280	13.6	19836	11.4
North Metropolitan Perth	2814	29.9	43945	25.3
South-West Metropolitan	1653	17.5	28129	16.2
South-East Metropolitan Perth	1453	15.4	28696	16.5
Total WA	9421	100.0	173964	100.0
Tasmania				
Greater Hobart	1322	73.0	19421	54.0
Greater Launceston	345	19.0	7576	21.1
Total Tas	1812	100.0	35941	100.0
Northern Territory				
Darwin	69	27.1	10240	64.9
Central NT	99	38.8	2967	18.8
Total NT	255	100.0	15790	100.0
Australian Capital Territory				
North Canberra	260	24.4	8569	16.6
Belconnen	194	18.2	12620	24.5
Tuggeranong	195	18.3	11053	21.4
South Canberra	159	14.9	5136	10.0
Total ACT	1064	100.0	51603	100.0

The present-day concentration of creative individuals in the city's east and inner west is shown in detail in Appendix Table 6. Of particular interest is the statistical local area of Marrickville which includes the inner city suburbs of Newtown, Petersham, Marrickville and Enmore. This area has the highest numbers of musicians of any local area in Australia, and is amongst the top three or four areas, in terms of numbers, for most other creative occupations. Gibson and Homan[32] describe it as a 'pivotal urban space in Sydney caught up in narratives of urban change', where the cultural mix continues to provide an ethnic diversity that is reflected in cafes, restaurants, delicatessens, and so on, but where gentrification[33] threatens the ability of artists, musicians and others employed in the cultural industries to secure affordable housing and spaces for performance.

One effect of rising real estate prices in inner city areas has been to drive creative people to re-locate to less expensive areas. In so doing they may, over time, cause some decline in the concentration of the creative workforce in inner city areas. Indeed longitudinal analysis suggests that in due course the inner/outer divide may become a false dichotomy, since the creative workforce has grown faster in outer areas to the north, west and south of Sydney over the last couple of decades than it has in the inner-city suburbs.[34]

(ii) *Victoria*

The location pattern of creative workers in Victoria is similar to that of NSW, namely a significant cluster of creative people in the inner-city areas of the State capital. In fact, one-quarter of the State's arts, film, media and design professionals live in inner Melbourne (comprising the CBD, Southbank, Docklands, St Kilda, Port Phillip West, Prahran, North Melbourne and Richmond), compared to only half that proportion of all professionals living in these areas. Some smaller concentrations of creative workers exist in other suburban areas to the south-east of the centre, including Brighton, Caulfield and Malvern. Likewise, the urban centres of Geelong, Ballarat and Bendigo have some smaller clusters of artists and other creative professionals.

The concentration of creative people in the inner-urban areas of Melbourne is, as in the case of Sydney, consistent with the existence of a creative class as per the Florida analysis.

Moreover, Melbournians commonly claim to have the most well-patronised cultural precincts and the most vibrant artistic and cultural life of any city in Australia. Indeed Florida himself[35] has described Melbourne as one of the world's most creative centres, having an 'innovative, diverse and prosperous core'.[36] Architecture and urban planning are credited with having transformed the city over the last 15 years. Developments such as Federation Square have increased the amount of inner-city public space, and the growth of the cultural precinct to the south of the river has added to the artistic life of the city.

Central Melbourne ranks highly on most of the indices that go towards assessing the strength of the creative class, including the measures of cultural diversity, talent and bohemianism. On the basis of these indices, it might be concluded that Melbourne, especially in the central areas, has a strong capacity to attract the creative class and thereby (if the Florida hypothesis is accepted) to underpin rapid and sustainable growth. However, as Berry[37] notes, there are several factors that may serve to hold back Melbourne's further development as a creative city. First, housing affordability is falling as property prices rise, intensifying processes of social marginalisation and discouraging members of the creative class who value cohesion, tolerance and safety in an urban environment. Second, Melbourne does not rate well on innovation and high-tech indices, reflecting a relatively low commitment to R&D in Australia generally, and undercutting one of the necessary conditions for urban economic growth.

Nevertheless, in regard to the arts and culture, Melbourne remains a major creative centre, a position that is strongly reinforced by arts support and cultural programs delivered by both State and local governments.

(iii) *Queensland*

The distribution of the creative workforce in Queensland is somewhat different from that of the above two States, because the main areas where creative people are clustered in greater proportions than other professionals do not lie in the centre of the metropolitan area. Certainly the concentration of arts, film, media and design people in the statistical district of Inner Brisbane (which covers a large part of the metropolitan area), at 10 per cent, is twice that of all professionals. Furthermore, large absolute numbers are located in the north-west of the city, though proportionately these numbers simply correspond to the location of all professional people in these areas. But it is the Gold Coast, and to a lesser extent the Sunshine Coast, which are the areas where the creative workforce is found in proportionately greater numbers than the overall professional workforce. More than one-quarter of the State's creative workforce lives in these two localities. The decentralisation of creative people in Queensland is further evidenced in the Far North, which includes Cairns and beyond; in these areas the numbers of arts and media professionals, although relatively small in absolute terms, are considerably greater than numbers of all professionals in proportion to the State totals.

Although Brisbane does not show the same intensity of concentration of the creative workforce in the inner city as do Sydney or Melbourne, there are some parts of the urban area where specific creative clusters can be seen to have developed. For example, Fortitude Valley is a district where a number of design businesses are co-located, covering architectural services and photographic studios, and extending to supporting businesses in the arts, technical services and so on.[38] As a result, Fortitude Valley has been referred to as an example of a successful creative industries cluster, consistent with the Queensland Government's 'Smart State' rhetoric that aims at building 'cultures of innovation' through support for such creative endeavours.

The Brisbane City Council, in turn, has been keen to promote the idea of the creative city. Its website announces that by 2026, 'Brisbane will be a thriving centre of artistic and creative enterprise … the centre of critical thinking'. The vision statement echoes Florida's mantra by declaring that 'technology and talent will be drawn to a Brisbane that is open to new people and new ways of thinking'.[39] Recent substantial levels of investment in the city's cultural facilities such as the new Gallery of Modern Art could be taken as one indicator of Brisbane's determination to bring its creative vision to fruition.

(iv) *South Australia*

The creative workforce in South Australia is predominantly located in Eastern Adelaide. More than 40 per cent of the State's creative workers live in this area, a significantly greater proportion than for professionals overall. Smaller concentrations of arts and media professionals occur in the other sectors of the greater metropolitan area.

Although these data do not suggest that the South Australian capital demonstrates the intensity of development of creative clusters that is apparent in other cities in Australia, many would regard Adelaide as conforming to the characteristics of the creative city, with its cultural institutions, its artistic activities and the quality of life it offers. Its biennial Arts Festival engages the whole town in ways that such events in other Australian capitals do not. Charles Landry, the main proponent of the creative city concept, has pointed to Adelaide's particular character: 'Adelaide needs to be Adelaide, at ease with being Adelaide and not pretending to be someone else'.[40] Nevertheless he draws attention to the city's extensive pattern of urban settlement as a problem inhibiting it from generating the critical densities of population that are typical of other creative cities around the world.

(v) *Western Australia*

More than 90 per cent of the creative workforce of Western Australia lives and works in Perth, with the remainder located mostly in the South-West of the State. These findings are not surprising, given the pattern of settlement in the West.

The creative industries have been a particular focus of economic development strategies in Western Australia, building on the particular resources that the State can call upon. A good example is provided by the synergies that have been exploited between designers working in wood, furniture manufacturers, and the timber industry in the development of export markets for high-quality wood craft products using the unique timbers found in the State. The City of Perth has been actively involved in promoting the creative industries, including fashion and jewellery design, architecture, film and television, music and software design. The potential for Perth's further growth as a creative city has doubtless been enhanced by recent significant increases in support for the arts provided by the former Western Australian Government.

(vi) *Tasmania*

Creative workers in Tasmania are located in Hobart, Launceston and along the northern coast. About three-quarters of the State's creative workforce lives in Hobart, a higher proportion than for the more dispersed population of professionals generally. Like most other Australian cities, Hobart has a forward plan for its growth over the next couple of decades, 'Hobart 2025', and, as in other cities, the link between creativity and economic development is recognised. The City Council intends Hobart to be 'dynamic, vibrant and culturally expressive' where 'clever thinking and support for creativity will help build a strong economic foundation'.[41]

(vii) *Northern Territory*

Although the great majority of the Territory's professional workers are located in Darwin, the creative workforce is more strongly represented in the centre, reflecting particularly the importance of the visual arts in Alice Springs and the surrounding region. About 40 per cent of NT artists are found in Central Australia, with significant numbers also in Bathurst and Melville Islands, the Alligator and Daly River regions and elsewhere. Most of these artists are Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders. Not only is Alice Springs an important centre for the visual arts industry in Northern Australia, it has also seen the establishment of significant initiatives in Aboriginal music and broadcasting.

(viii) *Australian Capital Territory*

Most of Canberra's creative workers reside in the north of the city—a quarter of ACT artists and 30 per cent of media workers live in these areas. The location of the national cultural institutions in Canberra (including the National Gallery, the National Library, the War Memorial, and the National Museum) endows the city with a strong presence that has been useful in promoting the city as a site for cultural tourism.

3.4 *Locational patterns of artistic occupations*

The overall locational distribution of the creative workforce discussed above conceals some particular features of where individual artists live. The rankings of local areas in terms of their population of artists of various sorts reveal some notable patterns. Authors, for example, are most strongly represented in Sydney's east. Musicians, on the other hand, are found in the inner suburbs to the west and south of the Sydney CBD, as we have already noted; the area covered by the districts of Marrickville and Leichhardt have by far the highest numbers of instrumentalists of any area in the country. Visual artists, on the other hand, tend to reside in areas beyond the city centres, such as the Blue Mountains on the outskirts of Sydney. Craftspeople on the whole also appear to prefer outer metropolitan and rural locations; for example, the top six areas in the country where potters and ceramic artists are found are Wingecarribee (NSW), Kalamunda and Fremantle (WA), Huon Valley (Tas), Guanaba–Springbrook (Qld) and Byron (NSW).

Although Sydney locations rank highest in terms of numbers for most occupations in the creative workforce, some fields of artistic practice show a different pattern. For example there is a concentration of dancers in Melbourne, which has five of the top ten districts ranked in order of numbers of dancers and choreographers, reflecting the presence of the major classical dance company, the national ballet school and several smaller contemporary dance companies in that city. Melbourne is also well represented in the locational rankings of fashion designers. Despite the relentless concentrations of creative workers in inner Sydney and inner Melbourne, the rankings for individual occupations do show occasional diversions from this pattern. For example, there are clusters of sculptors in Fremantle (WA), musical instrument makers in Nunawading and Lilydale (Vic) and cinematographers on the Northern Beaches of Sydney.

4. Creative participation

4.1 *Cultural involvements*

People employed in the creative occupations as defined in the previous section are engaged in creative activities that constitute their paid work. But these same activities—writing, making music, painting, acting and so on—are also undertaken by large numbers of people in their leisure time, for relaxation and personal fulfilment. So in any consideration of Creative Australia it is important to move beyond the production of creative output in the cultural industries, and look at the ways in which members of the Australian population at large engage with the arts and culture, either through active involvement or as consumers.

Although it may seem a straightforward matter to distinguish between cultural activities undertaken for work and those engaged in for leisure and private enjoyment, the dividing line can in fact be quite blurred. To some extent this may be simply a reflection of the changing nature of work itself, brought about by technology that enables people to work at home as well as in the office, and by the pressures that are causing people to work longer hours.[42] But there appear to be more particular factors affecting the work/leisure balance when it comes to creative activity, as reflected in statistics on Australians' involvements in various culture and leisure activities. What these statistics show is that people undertake a substantial amount of creative activity which they regard as work, yet which is unpaid.

Data on cultural involvements have been collected by the ABS periodically since 1993 as a supplement to the Monthly Labour Force Survey. In these collections a person is classified as having had involvement (or work involvement) over the previous 12 months

> …if they had any participation, paid or unpaid, in any one of the activities in the survey and some, or all, of that participation was not for the person's own use or for the use of their family and friends (ie, was not a hobby activity).[43]

The list of activities specified as culture or leisure activities includes a variety of artistic pursuits in different artforms as well as a number of other activities in the cultural domain, such as work in zoos, national parks, heritage sites, etc. In the discussion below we focus attention on those artistic and other creative activities that correspond broadly to the range of creative occupations defined in the previous section.

Table 4: Involvements in culture/leisure activities: Australia 2007 (‘000 persons)

	Some paid involvement	Unpaid involvement only	Total [(a)]
	(‘000)	(‘000)	(‘000)
Writing	240.7	342.4	606.5
Visual art	281.9	1,116.6	1,411.7
Craft	139.1	813.9	960.8
Acting, dancing	76.8	422.1	506.3
Music	118.8	209.9	335.1
Film production	34.6	64.9	101.0
Design	279.8	175.9	459.2

Note: (a) Includes persons not stating whether paid or unpaid.
Source: ABS, *Work in Selected Culture and Leisure Activities* (Cat. 6281.0), April 2007, Table 4.

The most recent data from these collections indicate that in 2007 about 3.5 million persons had some form of cultural involvement, comprising about 22 per cent of the Australian adult population. Of these about 1.1 million had some paid involvement; more than twice that number (2.4 million) had unpaid involvement only. The numbers for creative activities in writing, visual art, craft, performance, music, film production and design are shown in Table 4. The paid involvements shown will notionally include those persons identified in the previous section as being members of the creative workforce, but the figures in Table 4 also include significant numbers of people who would not be identified as ‘main-job’ practitioners. Note that the numbers of unpaid involvements in almost all the activities shown greatly exceed the paid numbers. In other words there are substantial numbers of people in the Australian community who are undertaking creative activities of one sort or another that they regard as part of their working life, yet are doing it either without payment, or with some payment but not as their main occupation.

Looking more closely at core artistic activities, we note that visual art is the most significant artform of involvement; within this area photography tops the list, followed by computer art, drawing and painting (see Appendix Table 7). Craft activities are also prominent, especially working with wood (an overwhelmingly male activity) and textiles (overwhelmingly female). It is interesting to note that although rock and pop have the most involvements in the field of music, classical music involvements are roughly twice as large as for jazz or for folk and country.

Participation rates measured for overall cultural involvements vary between States and Territories inversely with population, with the ACT and Northern Territory having the highest rates (approximately 30 and 28 per cent respectively) and NSW the lowest (21 per cent). Young people also have higher participation rates than older Australians, while people from non-English-speaking backgrounds show a lower rate. The overall female participation rate (24 per cent) is greater than that for males (19 per cent).

How have cultural involvements changed over the last decade or so? Because of differences in the coverage of earlier surveys, it is only for the more recent years that full comparisons can be made. The data show that in the period from 2004 to 2007, the overall participation rate in cultural activities increased from 17 to 22 per cent, indicating a growth in total numbers of involvements in excess of the population growth rate over this time. Major areas of increase have been in visual arts and crafts activities; total visual arts involvements increased almost five-fold between 2001 and 2007, and craft activities more than doubled.[44]

As noted above, all these data relate to participation in cultural activities that the individuals involved regard as work, even when a significant component is unpaid. A more expansive picture emerges from survey data on people's active participation in the arts purely for leisure or private enjoyment. In a recently-completed ARC-funded research project, the present author carried out a nation-wide random sample survey designed to investigate the economic and cultural valuation of arts consumption and participation amongst the adult Australian population.[45] Amongst the data collected from the 1006 respondents who took part in the survey was information on active involvement in a variety of artistic pursuits, including writing, performing, painting, drawing, and so on. These results provide a broad overview of the extent to which the phrase 'Creative Australia' can be applied to the ways in which Australians as a whole spend their leisure time.[46]

The first point to note is that in the 12 months immediately prior to the survey (February–March 2007), the great majority of respondents had been involved in some form of active artistic pursuit. Fewer than 25 per cent of respondents indicated that they had not undertaken any activities in writing, visual art, craft, music, performing arts, etc in this time. The most popular avenue of engagement was photography (55 per cent of respondents), followed by singing or playing a musical instrument (37 per cent). Creative writing was also popular; 19 per cent of respondents had written some fiction and 16 per cent had written poetry. One in ten people had engaged in acting, and twice that proportion had been involved in some form of dancing. The influence of new technologies on the community's cultural participation is reflected in the fact that almost one-third of respondents had done some computer art.

In regard to gender differences in creative artistic activity for leisure or private enjoyment, the survey results suggest that more women are involved than men. While this is obviously the case for such traditionally female pursuits as sewing and knitting, it is also true for creative writing, drawing and painting, most forms of craft practice, and all types of performance. However men have more active involvement than women in areas requiring technology or a lot of equipment such as photography, computer art, woodworking, film and video production and designing computer games. Even so, there are odd exceptions to the latter pattern of participation—for example, more females than males are involved in sculpture and glass-making, both areas requiring the use of heavy equipment in some types of production.

Creative involvement in the arts also extends to cultural consumption. Not only does attendance at an art gallery or a music performance require some form of creative engagement from the viewer or listener, it is well known that experiencing the arts as a consumer is a strong stimulus to an individual's own creative impulses. Thus information on the extent to which people visit galleries or libraries, or buy tickets to performing arts events, will help to consolidate the picture of Creative Australia as looked at from the vantage point of the person-in-the-street.

Two sources of such information can be tapped. First, the ABS gathers data on attendances at selected cultural venues and events, for which the most recent results relate to the year 2005–06.[47] These data indicate that in this twelve-month period, 85 per cent of the Australian adult population (13.6 million people) had attended at least one of the cultural venues or events surveyed, which included attendance at the performing arts, galleries and museums, libraries and cinemas.[48] The latter was the most frequently attended, with two-thirds of Australians having been to the movies in the previous 12 months. One-third had visited a library and one-quarter had been to a concert of popular music. Despite predictions about the demise of classical music, 1.5 million people attended a classical concert, of whom almost 60 per cent attended more than once. In all avenues of artistic consumption, the participation of females exceeded that of males, particularly in the 'serious' performing arts.

The second source of data on attendances comes from the nation-wide survey mentioned earlier. These results show somewhat higher consumption levels across the board than the ABS data referred to above.[49] These data also give an indication of long-term consumption habits, since they identify the proportion of respondents who had never attended or participated in the activities listed. They suggest that the great majority of people have visited an art gallery, been to the theatre or attended a professional sporting event at some time in their lives. Virtually everyone has read a novel or been to the movies. On the other hand, around 40 per cent of respondents had never attended a live performance of classical music.

Is the consumption of culture in Australia increasing? Data on household expenditure indicate that over the long term it has been. In the 20-year period 1984 to 2003–04, weekly household expenditure on culture, including literature, music, performing and visual arts, broadcasting, electronic media, film and heritage, increased by more than 20 per cent in real terms, from $30.10 to $36.40 per week, measured at constant 2003–04 prices.[50] The largest individual items in current household expenditures on culture are on books, newspapers, video cassette purchase and hire, and pay-TV fees.

5. Conclusions

What do the data presented in this paper add up to? Do they reveal a picture of creativity in Australian work and leisure that would justify the description 'Creative Australia' being applied to this country at the present time? To consider this question let us draw together some of the principal lines of argument put forward in this paper.

First, in regard to the importance of creativity in economic life, we have noted the growing interest in the world at large in the emerging concept of the creative economy, centred on the creative or cultural industries. Australia has experienced somewhat the same patterns of growth in its creative sector as have other countries, when observed in terms of contribution to GDP or to employment. To some extent this has happened without significant policy intervention, at least at the Federal level; the grand 1990s vision of *Creative Nation* was not pursued by the Commonwealth Government after 1996, and initiatives to promote cultural industry development over the last decade have mainly arisen at State level, as a component of urban and regional policy—in particular the rhetoric of 'creative cities' has been enthusiastically espoused around the country, and this shows no signs of abating. Thus although Australia may not unequivocally be described as a creative economy at the present time, there are certainly elements in the system which are pointing in that direction. But a stronger policy involvement, especially at the Federal level, is likely to be needed in the future if Australia is to maintain or enhance its established and emerging strengths in the development of creative skills across the economy at large.

Second, the core components of the country's cultural sector—the creative artists, the performing companies, the galleries, museums and libraries, the heritage sites, and the public broadcasting system—are all well-established. Despite periodic fluctuations across the political cycle, bipartisan support for public funding provided for cultural purposes by Federal, State and local governments remains reasonably stable.[51] Nevertheless the per capita levels of such funding are by no means generous in comparison with other countries of comparable wealth.

An important aspect of Creative Australia has to do with the role of the arts in the process of constructing our cultural identity. The changing face of Australia has always been portrayed and analysed by our creative artists—painters such as John Glover and Tom Roberts in the 19th century, poets such as Kenneth Slessor and Judith Wright in the 20th, together with novelists, playwrights, film-makers and so on. Many artists have come from diverse ethnic backgrounds and have helped to define an evolving picture of contemporary Australian culture through their creative work. Most importantly, the significance of Indigenous art as a unique expression of the world's oldest living culture, and as an inalienable component of a shared Australian cultural identity, cannot be overstated. In the 21st century ideas about Australian identity will continue to evolve, and the contribution of creative artists to this process will be absolutely critical.

We have also pointed to the notion of Creative Australia as observed at the community and individual level in the everyday lives of the population. The stereotypical image of the Australian at play is someone for whom sport is the only preoccupation. But, whilst not underestimating the importance of sport in the Australian way of life, we can see from the data that art and culture are important too, indeed more important than sport in some respects. Significant numbers of Australians across the board engage in some form of artistic or cultural consumption such as reading, going to art galleries, visiting heritage sites, going to theatrical or musical performances. Moreover there is plenty of evidence for active participation in the creative arts, especially in music, creative writing and visual art. Both of these aspects of Creative Australia at the grass-roots level—passive consumption and active involvement in the arts and culture—are likely to continue growing in the future as people's leisure time and disposable incomes increase.

This project provides a vivid illustration of the value of the Census in shedding light on aspects of contemporary Australian society. Census data, of course, have the enormous advantage of comprehensiveness and accuracy, avoiding the problems of sampling bias and difficulties of statistical inference that characterise the use of data derived from surveys. In the present project the identification of the creative workforce has been a central task, made possible by the fact that the Census provides labour market data to a high degree of occupational specificity, together with industry definitions that enable the clear delineation of the cultural sector of the economy. In addition, the ability to trace locational aspects to the finest level of disaggregation has allowed the testing of hypotheses concerning the existence of so-called creative cities in various parts of the country. Future Censuses are likely to be even more useful in their application to analysis of the cultural sector if the revised framework for cultural statistics currently being developed at an international level[52] is finally agreed upon and adopted in Australia.

So how do these conclusions add up in articulating a notion of Creative Australia at the present time? At the 2020 Ideas Summit mentioned in the Introduction to this paper, a major theme pursued by the Creative Australia group focused on the centrality of creativity to Australian society and the Australian economy. The group put forward a number of policy directions for education, for funding, for Indigenous art, for the creative industries and for international relations, to name only a few. If these sorts of ideas are taken up, not just by governments but more widely across the community, the concept of Creative Australia is likely to grow in strength and recognition in the coming years.

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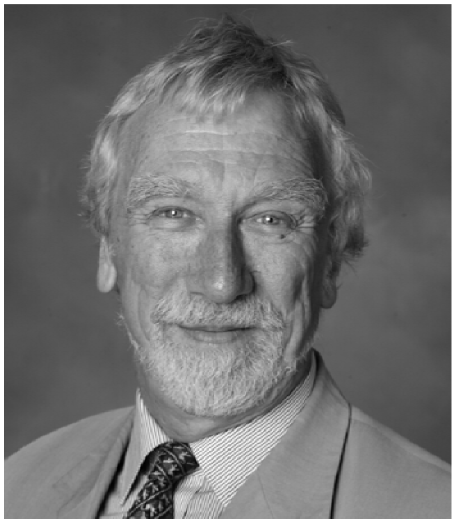

[I wish to thank Naomi Elliott and Gareth Upson of the Australian Bureau of Statistics for extracting the data on which this paper is based, and Sterling Huang and Jan Zwar for excellent research assistance. Note that the source of all data presented in this paper is the 2006 Census unless otherwise indicated.]

1 See also ABS (2001). *Australian Culture and Leisure Classifications*. (Cat. 4902.0), August 2001; ABS (2008). *Australian Culture and Census Classifications,* Second Edition, Draft for Consultation (Cat. 4902.0), February 2008.

2 These considerations raise the fundamental issue of the distinction between the adjectives ‘cultural’ and ‘creative’ when applied to products, industries, workers etc. We shall discuss this question in more detail in section 2.3 below; for now it suffices to point to the differences between the broad concept of creativity and the more specific connotations attaching to the word culture, meaning the shared values of society and the functional expressions of culture through avenues such as the arts.

3 Note that in some empirical tabulations below, the first two categories (initial creative artists and performing artists) are combined to make a total group ‘Artists’. We also refer occasionally to the aggregation of groups 1, 2 and 3 as ‘Total arts and media professionals’.

4 Throsby, David and Hollister, Virginia (2003). *Don’t Give Up Your Day Job: An Economic Study of Professional Artists in Australia*. Sydney: Australia Council: 18.

5 Full details are shown in Appendix Table 3.

6 Throsby and Hollister (2003) *op cit*.

7 Smith, Chris (1998). *Creative Britain,* London: Faber and Faber.

8 Howkins, John (2001). *The Creative Economy: How People Make Money from Ideas,* London: Penguin.

[9] Adorno, Theodor and Horkheimer, Max (1947). *Dialektik der Aufklärung: Philosophische Fragmente*. Amsterdam: Querido; [English translation by John Cumming, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. London: Verso, 1979.]
[10] Hesmondhalgh, David (2007). *The Cultural Industries*, 2nd ed, London: Sage: 11–15.
[11] World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) (2003). *Guide on Surveying the Economic Copyright-based Industries*. Geneva: WIPO.
[12] This model was first put forward in Throsby, David (2001), *Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Ch 7 and is discussed in greater detail in Throsby, David (2008). 'The concentric circles model of the cultural industries', *Cultural Trends*, 17: 147-164. It has been used to depict the cultural industries in Australia: see Gibson, Chris, Murphy, Peter and Freestone, Robert (2002). 'Employment and socio-spatial relations in Australia's cultural economy', *Australian Geographer*, 33, 2: 173–189, and more recently as the basis for studies of the creative industries in the UK: The Work Foundation (2007). *Staying Ahead: The Economic Performance of the UK's Creative Industries.* London: Department of Culture, Media and Sport, and in Europe: KEA European Affairs (2006). *The Economy of Culture in Europe.* Brussels: Directorate-General for Education and Culture, European Commission: 53–57.
[13] Note that fashion cannot be identified from the data as a separate industry, and therefore has to be omitted.
[14] Details of percentages are contained in Appendix Table 4.
[15] Cunningham, Stuart (2006). *What Price the Creative Economy?* Platform Paper No 8, Sydney: Currency House: 20.
[16] Using different definitions of creative workers and industries, Cunningham estimates the 'embedded' proportion for Australia as 53 per cent for the year 2001.
[17] Bille, Trine and Schulze, Günther (2006). 'Culture in urban and regional development', in Ginsburgh, Victor and Throsby, David (eds) *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture*. Amsterdam: Elsevier/North-Holland: 1051–1093.
[18] Scott, Allen J (2000). *The Cultural Economy of Cities*. London: Sage.
[19] Gibson, Chris (2007). 'Music festivals: transformations in non-metropolitan places, and in creative work', *Media International Australia incorporating Culture and Policy*, 123: 65–81.
[20] Landry, Charles (2000). *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*. London: Comedia/Earthscan.
[21] Florida, Richard (2003). *The Rise of the Creative Class: and How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. North Melbourne: Pluto Press.
[22] Mumford, Lewis (1958). *The Culture of Cities*, 3rd ed, London: Secker & Warburg; Jacobs, Jane (1970). *The Economy of Cities*, London: Cape; Hall, Peter (1998). *Cities in Civilisation: Culture, Innovation and Urban Order*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
[23] Clifton, Nick (2008). 'The 'creative class' in the UK: an initial analysis', *Geographical Annals Series B*, 90, 1: 63–82.
[24] Florida, Richard (2008). *Who's Your City? How the Creative Economy is Making Where You Live the Most Important Decision of Your Life*. New York: Basic Books.
[25] See particularly the Review Roundtable discussions of Florida's work at the annual meeting of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning held in Portland, Oregon in October 2004 and published in the *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71, 2: 206–219, which also includes Florida's response to his critics; see also the critical overviews in Peck, Jamie (2005), 'Struggling with the creative class', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 29, 4: 740–770 and Rausch, Stephen and Negrey, Cynthia (2006). 'Does the creative engine run? A consideration of the effect of creative class on economic strength and growth', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28, 5: 473–489.
[26] Markusen, Ann (2006). 'Urban development and the politics of a creative class: evidence from a study of artists', *Environment and Planning A*, 38: 1921–1940.

[27] Donegan, Mary and Lowe, Nichola (2008). ‘Inequality in the creative city: is there still a place for ‘old-fashioned’ institutions?’ *Economic Development Quarterly,* 22, 1: 46–62.
[28] Additional data concerning these two cities is provided in Appendix Table 4.
[29] Connell, John (ed) (2000). *Sydney: the Emergence of a World City*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
[30] Gibson, *et al* (2002) *op cit*: 184.
[31] Shaw, Wendy S (2006). ‘Sydney’s SoHo syndrome? Loft living in the urbane city’, *Cultural Geographies*, 13: 182–206.
[32] Gibson, Chris and Homan, Shane (2004). ‘Urban redevelopment, live music and public space: cultural performance and the re-making of Marrickville’, *International Journal of Cultural Policy,* 10, 1: 67–84, 74.
[33] The term ‘gentrification’ refers to the renovation and adaptive re-use of old housing stock in traditional working-class areas (typically in inner-city suburbs) by affluent newcomers, a process that raises property prices and often forces the out-migration of the original residents.
[34] Gibson, Chris and Brennan-Horley, Chris (2006). ‘Goodbye pram city: beyond inner/outer zone binaries in creative city research’, *Urban Policy and Research* 24, 4: 455–471.
[35] Florida, Richard (2005). *The Flight of the Creative Class: the New Global Competition for Talent*. New York: HarperCollins: 175.
[36] Note that Sydney was included in the same description. Florida referred to the fact that creative occupations made up around 50 per cent of the urban workforce in both cities. It should be borne in mind that his methodology involves a very liberal definition of the term ‘creative worker’.
[37] Berry, Mike (2005). ‘Melbourne—is there life after Florida?’ *Urban Policy and Research,* 23, 4: 381-392.
[38] Adkins, Barbara, Foth, Marcus, Summerville, Jennifer and Higgs, Peter L (2007). ‘Symbolic aspects of cross-organizational linkages in the design sector of an Australian inner-city area’, *American Behavioral Scientist,* 50, 7: 922–934.
[39] See http://www.brisbane.qld.gov.au/bccwr/about_council/documents/vision2026_ final_vibrantcreative.pdf (Accessed 2 May 2008).
[40] Quoted in his lecture ‘Re-thinking Adelaide: a walk on the wild side’ given on 11 November 2003 during Landry’s period as an Adelaide Thinker in Residence. For a critical review of Landry’s lecture, see an article by Peter Ward ‘A road well travelled’ in *The Adelaide Review* of August 2004.
[41] See the *Hobart 2025 Vision* launched by the Hobart City Council in 2006.
[42] Lewis, Suzan (2003). ‘The integration of paid work and the rest of life. Is post-industrial work the new leisure?’ *Leisure Studies*, 22, 4: 343–355.
[43] ABS (2007b). *Work in Selected Culture and Leisure Activities*. (Cat. 6281.0), April 2007: 36.
[44] *ibid*: 23–24.)
[45] Details of survey methodology and results are contained in Throsby, David and Zednik, Anita (2008). ‘The value of arts and cultural activities in Australia: survey results’, *Macquarie Economics Research Papers* 1/2008, Sydney: Macquarie University.
[46] See Appendix Table 8 for details of participation rates.
[47] ABS (2007a). *Attendance at Selected Cultural Venues and Events, Australia, 2005–06*. (Cat. 4114.0), January 2007.
[48] See Appendix Table 9.
[49] See Appendix Table 10.
[50] Data from the Household Expenditure Surveys, summarised in ABS (2007b) *op cit* Table 3.3.
[51] ABS (2007c). *Cultural Funding by Government, Australia, 2005–06* (Cat. 4183.0). August 2007.
[52] See UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2007). *The 2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics* (Draft). Montreal: UIS.

Appendix Table 1: The creative workforce

1. Initial creative artists

1.1. *Authors*
212211 Author
212212 Book or script editor
212200 Authors, and Book or script editors n.f.d.

1.2 *Visual artists, craftspeople*
211411 Painter (visual arts)
232412 Illustrator
211413 Sculptor
211412 Potter or ceramic artist
232313 Jewellery designer
249211 Art teacher (private)
234911 Conservator
224212 Gallery or museum curator
211400 Visual arts and crafts professionals n.f.d.
211499 Visual arts and crafts professionals n.e.c.

1.3 *Other initial creative artists*
211211 Composer
211311 Photographer
272611 Community arts worker
211000 Arts professionals n.f.d.
210000 Arts and media professionals n.f.d.

2. Performing artists

2.1 *Actors, dancers*
211111 Actor
249213 Drama teacher (private)
211112 Dancer or choreographer
249212 Dance teacher (private)
211113 Entertainer or variety artist
211100 Actors, dancers and other entertainers n.f.d.
211199 Actors, dancers and other entertainers n.e.c.

2.2 *Musicians*
211213 Musician (instrumental)
211214 Singer
249214 Music teacher (private)
399515 Musical instrument maker or repairer
211200 Music professionals n.f.d.
211299 Music professionals n.e.c.

3. Film and media professionals

3.1 *Directors*

212312 Director (film, television, radio, stage)
212111 Artistic director
212311 Art director (film, television, stage)
212313 Director of photography
212315 Program director (television, radio)
212317 Technical director
211212 Music director
212100 Artistic directors and media producers n.f.d.
212300 Film, television, radio, stage directors n.f.d.
212399 Film, television, radio, stage directors n.e.c.

3.2 *Presenters*

212113 Radio presenter
212114 Television presenter

3.3 *Producers, film editors, etc.*

212112 Media producer (excl. video)
212318 Video producer
212314 Film and video editor
212316 Stage manager
399514 Make-up artist
212000 Media professionals n.f.d.

3.4 *Journalists*

212412 Newspaper or periodical editor
212413 Print journalist
212414 Radio journalist
212416 Television journalist
212411 Copywriter
212415 Technical writer
212400 Journalists and other writers n.f.d.
212499 Journalists and other writers n.e.c.

4. Designers, architects

4.1 *Designers*

232311 Fashion designer
232411 Graphic designer
232511 Interior designer
232413 Multimedia designer
261211 Multimedia specialist
232414 Web designer
2614212 Web developer

4.2 *Architects*

232111 Architect
232112 Landscape architect
312111 Architectural draftsperson

Appendix Table 2: Size of the creative workforce by detailed occupation and gender: Australia: 2006 (no of persons)

	Males	Females	Persons
210000 Arts and media professionals n.f.d.	267	170	437
211000 Arts professionals n.f.d.	882	1,021	1,903
211100 Actors, dancers and other entertainers n.f.d.	25	30	55
211111 Actor	787	538	1,325
211112 Dancer or choreographer	331	856	1,187
211113 Entertainer or variety artist	983	779	1,762
211199 Actors, dancers and other entertainers n.e.c.	524	311	835
211200 Music professionals n.f.d.	204	81	285
211211 Composer	220	49	269
211212 Music director	214	158	372
211213 Musician (instrumental)	4,444	1,460	5,904
211214 Singer	451	554	1,005
211299 Music professionals n.e.c.	25	19	44
211311 Photographer	4,540	3,002	7,542
211400 Visual arts and crafts professionals n.f.d.	178	221	399
211411 Painter (visual arts)	1,077	1,365	2,442
211412 Potter or ceramic artist	262	389	651
211413 Sculptor	429	201	630
211499 Visual arts and crafts professionals n.e.c.	1,055	1,436	2,491
212000 Media professionals n.f.d.	697	829	1,526
212100 Artistic directors, media producers and presenters n.f.d.	115	39	154
212111 Artistic director	95	98	193
212112 Media producer (excluding video)	3,195	2,400	5,595
212113 Radio presenter	1,568	496	2,064
212114 Television presenter	193	158	351
212200 Authors, and book and script editors n.f.d.	64	143	207
212211 Author	1,204	1,343	2,547
212212 Book or script editor	227	817	1,044
212300 Film, television, radio and stage directors	85	28	113
212311 Art director (film, television or stage)	92	47	139
212312 Director (film, television, radio or stage)	1,267	446	1,713

(Cont.)

(Cont.)	**Males**	**Females**	**Persons**
212313 Director of photography	224	20	244
212314 Film and video editor	1,361	426	1,787
212315 Program director (television or radio)	575	449	1,024
212316 Stage manager	134	104	238
212317 Technical director	358	34	392
212318 Video producer	561	160	721
212399 Film, television, radio and stage directors	298	158	456
212400 Journalists and other writers n.f.d.	623	791	1,414
212411 Copywriter	559	458	1,017
212412 Newspaper or periodical editor	2,070	2,774	4,844
212413 Print journalist	3,202	3,104	6,306
212414 Radio journalist	308	362	670
212415 Technical writer	1,101	1,013	2,114
212416 Television journalist	526	532	1,058
212499 Journalists and other writers n.e.c.	551	728	1,279
224212 Gallery or museum curator	350	620	970
232111 Architect	10,197	3,088	13,285
232112 Landscape architect	1,358	1,095	2,453
232311 Fashion designer	464	2,514	2,978
232313 Jewellery designer	87	351	438
232411 Graphic designer	11,319	11,018	22,337
232412 Illustrator	1,132	368	1,500
232413 Multimedia designer	1,077	632	1,709
232414 Web designer	2,313	1,172	3,485
232511 Interior designer	1,726	4,162	5,888
234911 Conservator	130	254	384
249211 Art teacher (private tuition)	310	1,187	1,497
249212 Dance teacher (private tuition)	485	3,909	4,394
249213 Drama teacher (private tuition)	98	405	503
249214 Music teacher (private tuition)	3,158	6,130	9,288
261211 Multimedia specialist	554	73	627
261212 Web developer	3,620	861	4,481
272611 Community arts worker	110	419	529
312111 Architectural draftsperson	6,848	1,936	8,784
399514 Make up artist	80	992	1,072

(Cont.)

(Cont.)	**Males**	**Females**	**Persons**
399515 Musical instrument maker or repairer	716	79	795
Total creative workforce	84,283	71,862	156,145
Other professionals	773,511	887,007	1,660,518
Total professionals	857,794	958,869	1,816,663

Appendix Table 3: Characteristics of the creative workforce: Australia 2006 (per cent within each characteristic)

Characteristics	Initial creative artists	Performing artists	Film and media professionals	Designers architects	Total creative workforce	Total professional workforce	Total labour force	Total population (>15yrs)
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Gender								
Male	48.4	44.7	54.4	59.8	54.0	47.2	53.9	48.9
Female	51.6	55.3	45.6	40.2	46.0	52.8	46.1	51.1
States/ Territories								
NSW	33.4	35.9	43.7	35.6	37.2	34.1	32.2	33.0
VIC	27.1	24.9	24.7	28.8	26.9	26.2	25.0	25.0
QLD	17.5	19.7	13.7	17.1	16.8	17.3	19.9	19.5
SA	6.7	6.4	5.4	5.7	5.9	7.0	7.6	7.8
WA	8.7	8.5	6.9	8.6	8.2	9.7	10.1	9.8
TAS	2.5	2.0	1.8	1.4	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.4
NT	1.5	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.9
ACT	2.7	2.1	2.9	2.2	2.4	2.9	1.9	1.6
Age (years)								
15 - 24	6.7	20.4	10.6	13.9	13.1	7.7	17.6	17.0
25 - 34	21.2	23.5	29.6	36.4	30.0	26.8	21.4	16.8
35 - 44	26.2	22.2	27.7	24.5	25.1	25.8	23.8	18.5
45 - 54	24.4	17.5	18.9	15.2	18.0	24.7	22.4	17.4
55 - 64	16.2	10.9	10.7	8.3	10.6	12.6	12.5	13.8
65+	5.4	5.5	2.6	1.7	3.2	2.3	2.3	16.6
Education								
School	30.6	40.0	30.0	17.8	26.7	12.2	n.a	47.5
Bach, Dip, Cert	51.2	46.4	55.0	72.5	60.3	65.6	n.a	35.4
PostGrad, Grad Dip	12.0	7.5	10.1	6.2	8.3	18.3	n.a	4.0
Not stated	6.2	6.2	4.9	3.5	4.8	3.9	n.a	13.1
Income ($ per week)								
<250	19.9	25.9	6.0	6.6	12.0	4.1	n.a	28.0
250-599	31.9	39.4	16.6	19.8	24.5	13.2	n.a	26.6
600-999	24.8	20.6	27.6	35.0	29.0	26.3	n.a	18.5
1000-1999	18.5	10.8	39.2	32.0	27.7	43.7	n.a	14.5
>=2000	2.9	1.6	9.5	5.5	5.3	11.6	n.a	3.5
Not stated	2.0	1.7	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.1	n.a	8.9
Indigenous status								
Indigenous	3.5	1.1	0.8	0.3	1.1	0.8	1.5	1.8
Non-Indigenous	95.7	98.2	98.7	99.2	98.3	98.7	98.5	92.5
Not stated	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	-	5.7

Appendix Table 4: Cultural industry classifications

1. Core cultural industries

9000	Creative and performing arts n.f.d.
9001	Performing arts operation
9002	Creative artists, musicians, writers, performers

2. Other core cultural industries

5511	Motion picture and video production
8910	Museum operation
6010	Libraries and archives
8900	Heritage activities n.f.d.
6000	Library and other information services n.f.d.
6020	Other information services
8212	Arts education
9003	Performing arts venue operation
R000	Arts and recreational services n.f.d.

3. Wider cultural industries

5411	Newspaper publishing
5412	Magazine and other periodical publishing
5413	Book publishing
5410	Newspaper, periodical, book and directory publishing n.f.d.
1611	Printing
1612	Printing support services
1620	Reproduction of recorded media
1600	Printing (incl. reproduction of recorded media) n.f.d.
1610	Printing support services n.f.d.
3735	Book and magazine wholesaling
4244	Newspaper and book retailing
5512	Motion picture and video distribution
5513	Motion picture exhibition
5514	Post-production services and other motion picture and video activities
5500	Motion picture and sound recording activities n.f.d.
5510	Motion picture and video activities n.f.d.
5521	Music publishing
5522	Music and other sound recording activities
5520	Sound recording and music publishing n.f.d.
5610	Radio broadcasting
5621	Free-to-air television broadcasting
5622	Cable and other subscription broadcasting
5600	Broadcasting (except Internet) n.f.d.
5620	Television broadcasting n.f.d.

5700	Internet publishing and broadcasting
4242	Entertainment media retailing

4. Related industries

6921	Architectural services
6922	Surveying and mapping services
6923	Engineering design and engineering consulting services
6924	Other specialised design services
6920	Architectural, engineering and technical services n.f.d.
6940	Advertising services

Appendix Table 5: Employment in the cultural and non-cultural industries: Australia 2006 (per cent)

Occupation	Cultural industries				Total cultural industries	Total non-cultural industries	Total employment
	Core	Other core	Wider	Related			
	Percentage across industries						
Initial creative artists	21.4	8.9	11.5	3.9	45.7	54.3	100.0
Performing artists	21.4	45.0	2.3	0.4	69.2	30.8	100.0
Film and media professionals	6.9	10.9	49.1	6.3	73.2	26.8	100.0
Designers, architects	0.5	0.7	8.7	47.6	57.5	42.5	100.0
Total Creative Occupations	9.1	12.3	17.6	22.3	61.3	38.7	100.0
Total Non-creative Occupations	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.7	99.3	100.0
Total Employment	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.9	1.7	98.3	100.0
	Percentage across occupations						
Initial creative artists	35.7	8.9	8.3	1.3	7.5	0.2	0.3
Performing artists	37.8	47.7	1.7	0.2	12.1	0.1	0.3
Film and media professionals	16.3	15.6	50.1	2.9	17.2	0.1	0.4
Designers, architects	2.0	1.9	16.0	39.5	24.2	0.3	0.7
Total Creative Occupations	91.8	74.0	76.1	43.8	61.0	0.7	1.7
Total Non-creative Occupations	8.2	26.0	23.9	56.2	39.0	99.3	98.3
Total Employment	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Appendix Table 6: Concentrations of creative workers in Sydney and Melbourne: 2006

	Artists		Film/media		Designers/ architects		Total creative workforce		Total professionals	
	(no.)	(%)	(no.)	(%)	(no.)	(%)	(no.)	(%)	(no.)	(%)
Sydney										
Sydney East	478	3.3	840	6.4	940	4.2	2258	4.5	9884	1.6
Waverley	572	4.0	831	6.3	827	3.7	2230	4.5	11327	1.8
Woollahra	361	2.5	641	4.9	703	3.1	1705	3.4	10406	1.7
Randwick	571	4.0	702	5.4	907	4.1	2180	4.4	18542	3.0
Marrickville	671	4.7	818	6.3	856	3.8	2345	4.7	12328	2.0
Leichhardt	526	3.7	817	6.2	774	3.5	2117	4.3	11333	1.8
Total Inner Sydney	3179	22.2	4649	35.5	5007	22.4	12835	25.8	73820	12.0
Total NSW	14316	100.0	13088	100.0	22372	100.0	49776	100.0	616348	100.0
Melbourne										
Melbourne Central	387	3.9	363	5.8	991	5.6	1741	5.1	14474	3.1
St Kilda	556	5.6	609	9.7	902	5.1	2067	6.1	10726	2.3
Port Phillip West	184	1.9	259	4.1	475	2.7	918	2.7	7354	1.6
Prahran	315	3.2	344	5.5	694	3.9	1353	4.0	9602	2.0
North Melbourne	563	5.7	429	6.8	926	5.2	1918	5.7	10672	2.3
Caulfield	375	3.8	283	4.5	608	3.4	1266	3.7	12926	2.7
Total Inner Melbourne	2380	24.1	2287	36.5	4596	25.9	9263	27.3	65754	13.9
Total Victoria	9883	100.0	6272	100.0	17747	100.0	33902	100.0	472220	100.0

Appendix Table 7: Involvements in specific arts-related activities: by gender: Australia 2007 ('000 persons)

	Males	Females	Total
	('000)	('000)	('000)
Writing			
Books (other than educational	47.3	60.0	107.2
Journals	71.7	61.8	133.5
Film, television, plays	21.1	17.4	38.5
Visual art			
Drawing	223.4	334.6	558.0
Painting	127.7	335.3	463.0
Sculpture	36.9	57.3	94.1
Photography	305.9	332.7	638.6
Print-making	38.0	58.8	96.7
Computer art	261.6	290.9	552.5
Craft			
Pottery, ceramics	18.4	63.1	81.5
Textiles	17.3	265.1	282.4
Jewellery	20.2	172.7	192.9
Furniture, wood	266.0	50.8	316.8
Glass	7.1[(a)]	27.0	34.1
Performing			
Theatre	36.9	43.5	80.4
Opera	40.1	56.0	96.0
Dance	26.0	122.1	148.1
Music			
Rock, pop	65.0	25.5	90.5
Jazz	23.5	11.1[(a)]	34.6
Folk, country	17.8	14.6	32.4
Classical	29.5	37.2	66.7

Note: (a) Estimate has a relative standard error of 25% to 50% and should be used with caution.
Source: ABS, *Work in Selected Culture and Leisure Activities* (Cat. 6281.0), April 2007, Tables 3 and 10.

Appendix Table 8: Active participation in the arts for leisure or private enjoyment: Australia 2006 (percent of survey respondents)[(a)]

	Males	Females	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)
Writing			
Fiction	15.7	22.4	19.1
Play, film script	8.5	8.2	8.3
Poetry	12.5	19.8	16.2
Nonfiction	22.6	26.1	24.4
Visual art			
Drawing	31.3	36.9	34.1
Painting	16.7	28.6	22.8
Sculpture	5.8	7.3	6.6
Photography	57.1	53.1	55.1
Print-making	6.7	7.8	7.3
Computer art	33.9	30.8	32.3
Craft			
Pottery, ceramics	6.9	9.8	8.3
Textiles	4.8	11.4	8.2
Jewellery	7.1	23.3	15.3
Furniture, wood	22.6	13.7	18.1
Glass	4.4	8.2	6.4
Sewing, knitting	7.1	48.2	27.9
Performing			
Acting	10.7	11.4	11.0
Directing	5.4	7.6	6.6
Dancing	13.1	30.6	22.0
Circus	7.5	8.0	7.8
Music			
Singing, playing an instrument	34.3	40.0	37.2
Composing	11.7	10.4	11.0
Film, video production	22.4	18.0	20.2
Designing computer games	14.3	9.2	11.7
None of the above	27.6	21.2	24.4

Note: (a) For details, see text.
Source: See text

Appendix Table 9: Attendance at arts-related venues in last 12 months: Australia 2005–06

	Males	Females	Persons	Attendance Rate[a]
	('000)	('000)	('000)	(%)
Art galleries	1,570.6	2,060.2	3,630.7	22.7
Libraries	2,108.7	3,345.8	5,454.5	34.1
Popular music concerts	1,955.1	2,080.8	4,035.9	25.2
Classical music concerts	643.8	864.3	1,508.1	9.4
Theatre performances	1,033.1	1,690.1	2,723.2	17.0
Dance performances	546.5	1,078.5	1,625.0	10.2
Musicals and operas	944.7	1,669.2	2,613.9	16.3
Cinema	4,934.5	5,496.9	10,431.4	65.2

Note: (a) Proportion of adult population >15 years.
Source: Cultural Ministers Council Statistics Working Group, *Attendance at Selected Cultural Venues 2005–2006*, Report No. 17, August 2007.

Appendix Table 10: Selected types of arts consumption: Australia 2006 (percent of survey respondents)[(a)]

	In last 12 months	More than 12 months ago	Never	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Visited an art gallery	36.0	51.6	12.4	100.0
Read a novel	78.4	18.1	3.5	100.0
Attended a professional sporting event	44.7	40.9	14.4	100.0
Went to the movies	80.4	18.5	1.1	100.0
Attended a play	27.4	54.8	17.8	100.0
Attended an opera, musical or dance performance	30.7	47.7	21.6	100.0
Went to a live performance of classical music	14.7	44.3	41.0	100.0
Went to a live performance of rock, jazz or pop	38.7	44.7	16.6	100.0

Note: (a) For details, see text.
Source: See text.