

TORONTO'S CULTURAL SECTOR

Economic Dynamics and Change, 1991 to 2021

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INTRODUCTION

Toronto has long been viewed as an important centre for creativity and innovation within Canada and internationally, and as a diverse and dynamic hub of economic and cultural activity.¹ Toronto's cultural sector contributes to Toronto's dynamism, enhancing the vibrancy of the urban built environment and through contributing to employment opportunities for cultural workers. This report provides an empirical overview of Toronto's cultural sector, examining long-term changes in employment over the thirty-year period between 1991 and 2021. Insights from this analysis can provide baseline data to inform economic development and cultural planning in the City of Toronto. The analysis can also provide policymakers, decision makers and key stakeholders in the cultural sector with insights into the sector and its contribution to the regional economy.

This research builds several earlier reports, including *Imagine a Toronto ... Strategies for a Creative City* (2006) and *From the Ground Up: Growing Toronto's Cultural Sector* (2011).² These studies provided a foundational understanding of the strengths and potential of Toronto's cultural sector to contribute to the overall prosperity of the Toronto region and to the vibrancy of the urban economy. Since that time, there have been few comprehensive examinations of the state of Toronto's cultural sector. Using new and recently released data, this report permits a timely and important update to our understanding of the size and dynamism of Toronto's cultural sector.

The remainder of this report proceeds as follows. In the next section, we discuss the definitions and data used throughout the report. Next, we turn to analyzing Toronto's creative economy and cultural labor force. Based on this analysis, we offer some key insights and observations, and outline areas for policy intervention and future investigation.

DEFINITIONS AND DATA

Throughout this report, we use several different definitions of Toronto's creative economy and cultural labour force. We define the creative economy both as a set of occupations and as a set of industries.

Creative occupations are defined using the National Occupational Classification (NOC) system at the 5-digit level. Creative occupations are those that place emphasis on the individual creator or artist. These include artists, actors, architects, conductors, composers and arrangers, dancers, designers and musicians, and singers, photographers, writers and editors, alongside a number of others (**Appendix A**).

¹ Brail, S. and Vinodrai, T. 2020. The elusive, inclusive city: Toronto at a crossroads. In *Critical Dialogues of Urban Governance, Development and Activism: London and Toronto*, ed. S. Bunce, N. Livingstone, L. March, S. Moore, and A. Walks. London: UCL Press, pp. 38-53.

² City of Toronto. 2011. From the ground up: Growing Toronto's cultural sector. Toronto: City of Toronto, 71 pages. <https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2011/ed/bgrd/backgroundfile-41204.pdf>; Strategies for a Creative City Project Team. 2006 *Imagine a Toronto*. Toronto.

This definition aligns with analysis first conducted for *Imagine a Toronto* (2006) and continued in *From the Ground Up: Growing Toronto's Cultural Sector* (2011).

Creative industries are defined using the North American Industrial Classification System (NAICS) at the 4-digit level. These include eight industries: performing arts, publishing, design, advertising, motion pictures and video, broadcasting, architecture, and agents and independent artists (**Appendix B**).

The **cultural labour force** is a broader set of occupations defined using the NOC system at the 5-digit level and takes a more expansive view of what constitutes cultural work. The cultural labour force includes two subgroups: **Cultural occupations** and **Cultural support occupations**. Cultural occupations are those jobs that are centrally involved in the creative chain, responsible for cultural production. These occupations are divided into two subgroups: Creative and artistic production and Heritage preservation and collection (**Appendix C**). Cultural support occupations are those jobs associated with enabling the production and consumption of culture. These occupations are further divided into three subgroups: Cultural management; Technical and operational; and Cultural goods production (**Appendix D**).

The definitions of the cultural labour force (and its subgroups) rely on the *Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics* (2004).³ The framework was the first of its kind in Canada and one of the first national frameworks to allow for a systematic and comprehensive accounting of culture. Statistics Canada described it as “the model of culture production and consumption, and the scope of culture for the purposes of the Culture Statistics Program. It is the foundation for developing a coherent set of culture statistics that go beyond measuring financial and economic flows associated with the supply and demand for culture goods and services, to measuring the social impact of culture.”⁴

In 2011, Statistics Canada updated and expanded the cultural statistics framework. The revised framework was conceptual relative to its predecessor⁵, but included supplemental material intended to support the measurement of cultural products from creation to use.⁶ While the revised framework provides a useful corrective in some domains, it introduces practical challenges related to measurement in the face of data availability. Data is often not collected and coded at the level of detail needed to apply the newer framework. For these reasons, we have maintained the use of the original framework. This allows for the replication of earlier studies. Moreover, the revised framework does not allow for the easy mapping of individual 5-digit occupations or 4-digit industries to particular categories or sub-categories.

It is also important to note Statistics Canada revised the National Occupational Classification (NOC) system several times over the period of study. Earlier work relied on the Standard Occupational

³ Statistics Canada. 2004. *Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics*. Catalogue 81-595-MIE2004021. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/81-595-m/81-595-m2004021-eng.pdf>

⁴⁴ Ibid, page 21.

⁵ Statistics Canada. 2011. *Conceptual Framework for Culture Statistics 2011*. Catalogue 87-542-X-001. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/87-542-x/87-542-x2011001-eng.pdf>

⁶ Statistics Canada. 2011. *Classification Guide for the Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics 2011*. Catalogue 87-542-X-002. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/87-542-x/87-542-x2011002-eng.htm>

Classification (1991), as well as the 2001 and 2006 NOC systems, which are all relatively similar. Major revisions occurred in the introduction of the 2016 and 2021 NOC systems. We undertook additional highly detailed and time-consuming technical work using the crosswalks available from Statistics Canada to develop concordances to ensure continuity and comparability over time.⁷ As a result, there are some minor modifications reflecting changes in nomenclature, job titles and the merging or disaggregation of specific elements of the occupational classification systems.

This report draws upon two sources of statistical data. The first data source is the Canadian *Census of Population*, which provides detailed information about industries and occupations at the regional scale. The second data source is the *Labour Force Survey* (LFS), conducted on a monthly basis using a sample of the population from across the country. In the case of Toronto, the sample is generally large enough to derive detailed information about specific industries or occupations in the regional economy. For the purposes of this study, we use Census of Population data from 1991 and 2021, as well as annualized data from the LFS covering the period from 1991 to 2021.⁸

Throughout the report, we use a series of indicators to capture growth, change and employment dynamics in the cultural sector:

- **Location quotients (LQ):** Location quotients are a measure of specialization that compares the concentration of a specific activity in a particular place to the average of that same activity at the national level. An LQ higher than one indicates specialization whereas an LQ less than one suggests there is no concentration or specialization of activity.
- **Compound Annual Growth Rates (CAGR):** Compound annual growth rates provide a consistent and comparable measure of growth over time. This addresses issues of high annual variation and allows for a measure that is easily interpreted by policymakers and decision makers.
- **Indexed Employment:** Indexing employment to a base year allows for comparison across groups that are different in size. Employment is indexed to 100 in 1991 (base year) for the overall labour force, as well as for each industry or occupation group so as to make comparisons of trends between groups possible.

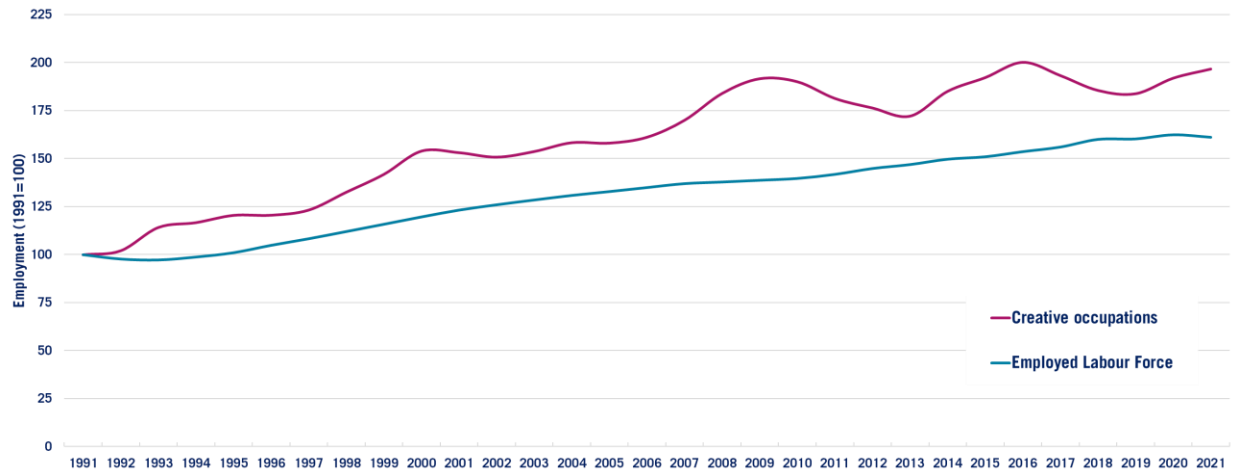
⁷ See <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/subjects/standard/noc/2011/index> and <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/subjects/standard/noc/2021/indexV1>

⁸ There is some data suppression in the *Labour Force Survey* and the *Census of Population*, as well as some variability due to sampling error. For understanding aggregate trends, these issues have only minimal influence; however, this may lead to an underestimate in the size of the cultural labour force. To mitigate against annual fluctuations due to sampling issues, we use 3-year moving averages in some instances.

TORONTO'S CREATIVE ECONOMY

Toronto is an important centre for cultural and creative activity. Employment in creative occupations continues to grow. **Figure 1** shows employment growth in creative occupations compared to the overall employed labor force in Toronto between 1991 and 2021. Growth in creative occupations outpaced the employed labour force (**Figure 1**). However, there have been some fluctuation over time, reflecting the ups and downs of the regional economy, including growth of dot coms in the early 2000s and the echoes of the global financial crisis in 2008 and 2009.

Figure 1: Employment growth: Creative occupations vs. employed labour force, 1991-2021



Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 1991-2021 [Custom tabulations, Author's calculations; 3-year moving average]

The creative industries (distinct from cultural or creative occupations) have also demonstrated incredible dynamism over the past thirty years. **Figure 2** and **Figure 3** examine growth and specialization in the creative industries – and its constituent parts – relative to other sectors. These figures illustrate three measures simultaneously:

1. The **number of employees** in creative industries within the region (indicated by the relative size of the 'bubble');
2. The average **annual job growth rate** of the creative industries in the region (horizontal axis); and
3. The relative **employment concentration** – or location quotient (LQ) – of the creative industries in the region compared to the national average (vertical axis).

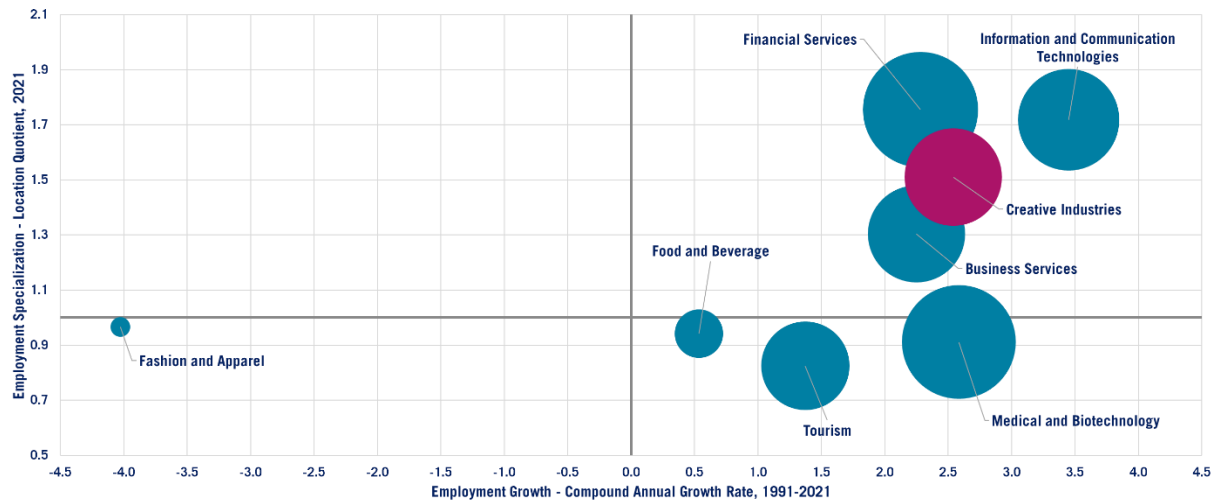
As noted above, an LQ greater than 1 indicates that the Toronto region is more specialized in that specific sector compared to the rest of Canada. Industries or sectors in the upper-right quadrant exhibit a higher than average concentration of employment (indicating specialization) and a strong positive, growth rate.

Toronto’s creative industries continue to expand, though the pace continues to slow down. Earlier reports indicated that creative industries employment grew at 3.1% annually between 1991 and 2004⁹ and 2.9% annually between 1991 and 2009.¹⁰ Our current estimates place the growth of the creative industries at 2.5% annually between 1991 and 2021. While these rates of growth have lessened over time, it is a reflection of a broader decrease in the pace of growth. In all cases, the creative industries have outpaced the overall Toronto economy, which grew at 1.7 per cent annually over this thirty-year period.

Figure 2 compares creative industries with other industry sectors in the Toronto region. It shows that Toronto continues to maintain a strong specialization in the creative industries, similar to several other key sectors that have been foundational to the regional economy. Between 1991 and 2021, annual growth in the creative industries (2.5%) was only surpassed by the information and communication technology (ICT) (3.4%) and medical and biotechnology industries (2.6%). The creative industries grew at a faster pace than tourism (1.4%), financial services (2.3%), business services (2.2%), and the food and beverage industries (0.5%), as well as the overall regional economy (1.7%)

Toronto demonstrates a greater specialization in creative industries compared to some other key sectors, including tourism, legacy industries such as food and fashion, and the medical and biotechnology industries, the latter of which having received substantial policy attention in the past few years due to a growing interest in life sciences.¹¹ Overall, it is clear that Toronto’s creative industries have grown at a pace that is on par with other key sectors, including finance, ICT and business services.

Figure 2: Growth and specialization in creative industries vs. other industries, 1991-2021



Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 1991-2021 [Custom tabulations, Author’s calculations]

⁹ Strategies for a Creative City Project Team. 2006 *Imagine a Toronto*. Toronto.

¹⁰ City of Toronto. 2011. From the ground up: Growing Toronto’s cultural sector. Toronto: City of Toronto, 71 pages. <https://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2011/ed/bgrd/backgroundfile-41204.pdf>;

¹¹ <https://www.toronto.ca/business-economy/industry-sector-support/life-sciences/> ; <https://bot.com/News/EVENT-RECAP-Toronto-s-Life-Sciences-Pioneering-Our-Distinct-Path-Forward>

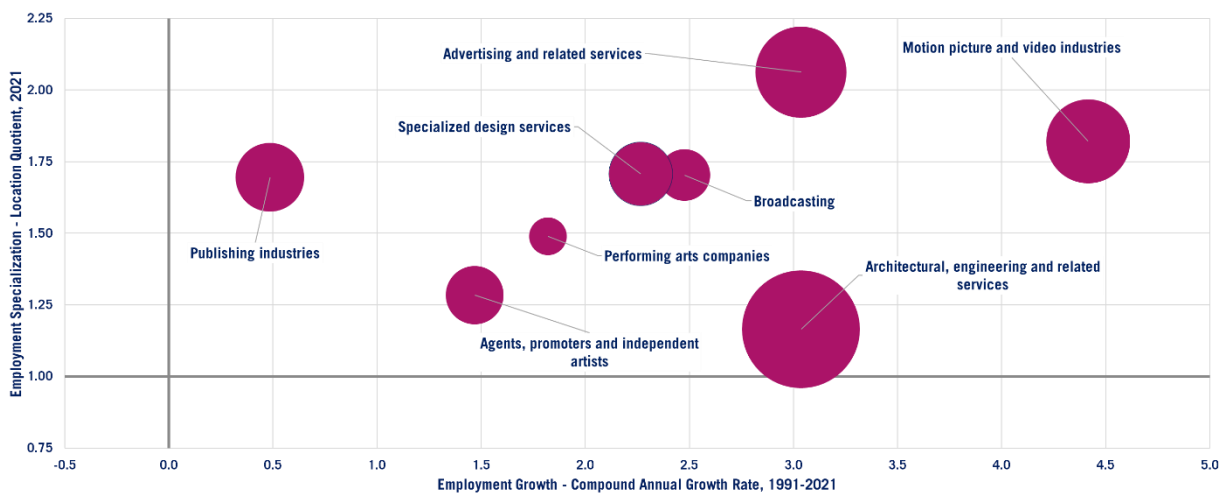
Figure 3 breaks out specific creative industries. It shows that between 1991 and 2021, that all of the creative industries grew albeit at variable rates as follows:

- Broadcasting (2.5%)
- Specialized design services (2.3%)
- Performing arts companies (1.8%)
- Motion picture, video and sound recording (4.4%)
- Agents, promoters and independent artists (1.5%)
- Advertising and related services (3.0%)
- Architecture and related services (3.0%)
- Publishing (0.5%)

The motion picture industry has the highest annual rate of growth at just over two and a half times the rate of the overall Toronto labour force (1.7%), followed by advertising and architecture. Broadcasting, specialized design services, and performing arts companies also grew at a higher rate than the Toronto region as a whole. It is important to emphasize that the overall pattern of growth for the creative industries holds for its constituent parts. In other words, all of the individual creative industries contribute to the growth and dynamism of the sector.

Figure 3 further illustrates the importance of Toronto as a hub of creative industries within Canada. The location quotients for each of the eight individual creative industries are above one, indicating there is a higher proportion of employment in the Toronto region compared to the national average.

Figure 3: Growth and specialization in Toronto's creative industries, 1991-2021



Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 1991-2021 [Custom tabulations, Author's calculations]

TORONTO'S CULTURAL LABOUR FORCE

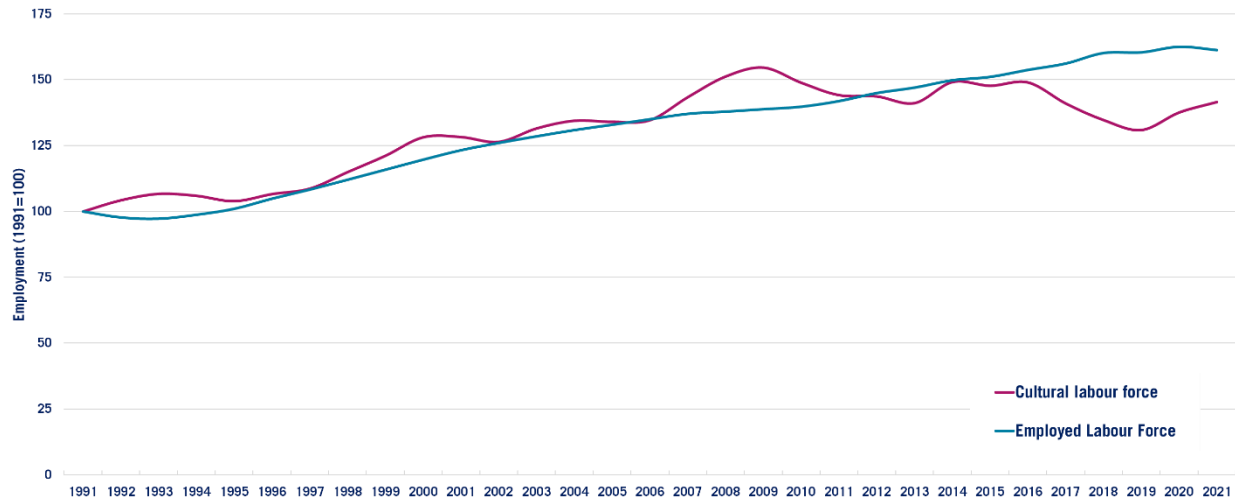
While the first part of our analysis emphasizes the importance of the individual creator or artist as critical components of the cultural economy, we extend our analysis to look at the cultural sector and its workforce more broadly. The cultural economy encompasses many types of activities that contribute to the vibrancy of the cultural economy and the city. Indeed, there are many supporting roles in the production of art and culture, including managerial and stewardship roles, as well as roles that are more technical involved in cultural production and the manufacture of cultural goods.

In this analysis, we examine the cultural labour force overall, as well as distinguishing between cultural occupations (**Appendix C**) and cultural support occupations (**Appendix D**). Following the *2004 Cultural Statistics Framework*, we further divide cultural occupations into two subgroups: 1) creative and artistic production; and 2) heritage collection and preservation. Similarly, we divide cultural support occupations into three subgroups: 1) cultural management; 2) cultural goods production; and 3) technical and operational occupations.

According to the Census of Population, between 1991 and 2021, the number of workers in Toronto's cultural labour force grew from 97,135 to 141,130, or an increase of almost 45.3% over this thirty-year period. In 2021, Toronto's cultural labour force accounted for 4.4% of the workforce, which is substantially higher than Canada (3.5%) as a whole.

Figure 4 compares the growth of Toronto's cultural labor force to the overall labor force between 1991 and 2021. Unlike what we observed for the creative industries (above), we observe a somewhat different trend. The cultural labor force quite closely tracks changes in the overall Toronto labor force over time, with a few exceptions that reflect upswings and downturns in the regional economy. As noted earlier, there are particular inflection points reflecting the early 1990s recession, the dot com boom and bust in the early 2000s, and the financial crisis in 2008 and 2009. Beginning in 2008 or thereabouts, changes in the cultural labour force diverge from the overall trend in Toronto. In other words, the cultural labor force starts to behave differently than the overall regional labor force in Toronto, entering into slowed growth and decline.

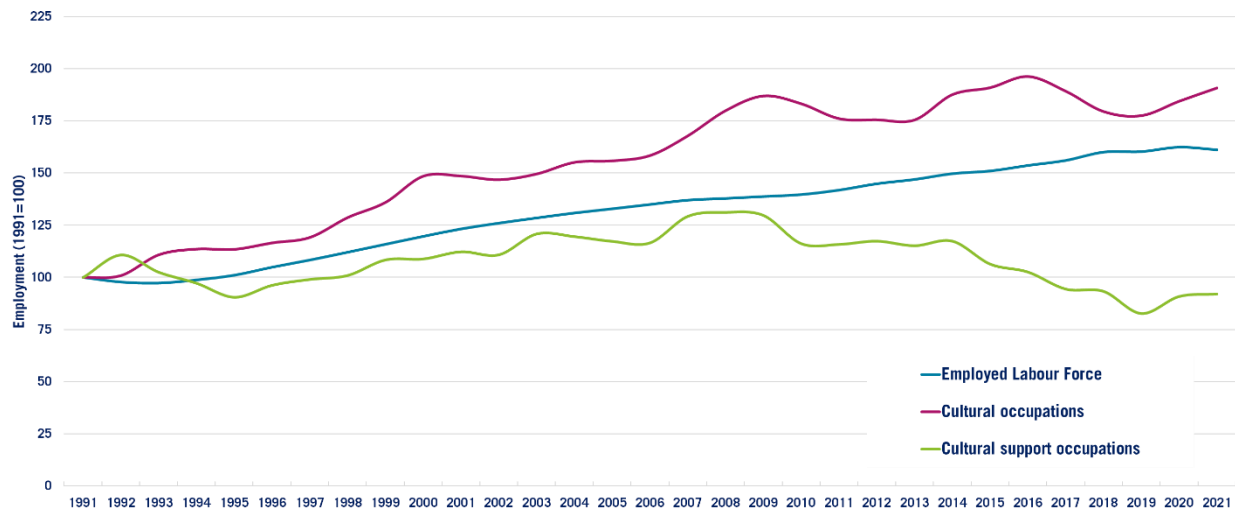
Figure 4: Employment growth in the cultural labour force vs. employed labour force, 1991-2021



Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 1991-2021 [Custom tabulations, Author's calculations; 3-year moving average]

The source of this divergence in the growth patterns between the cultural labour force and the broader labour force becomes apparent when we look at differences between cultural occupations (jobs centrally involved in the production of cultural goods or cultural artifacts) and cultural support occupations (jobs that are more technical in nature, typically requiring lower levels of skill and education). **Figure 5** shows that – similar to the observation made earlier about creative occupations - cultural occupations have demonstrated substantive growth, surpassing the overall regional economy. By comparison, cultural support occupations grew more slowly than the regional economy and much more slowly than the cultural occupations. Beginning in 2008, there is an even greater divergence between the fates of these two groups of workers. We observe the steady and accelerating decline in employment in cultural support occupations. In other words, the decline in the cultural workforce is due to employment losses in the cultural support occupations. Lower skill, technical occupations associated with large-scale cultural reproduction and standardized manufacturing are declining, whereas work associated with individual, small-scale, and specialized forms of cultural production and consumption continues to grow.

Figure 5: Employment growth in cultural occupations and cultural support occupations, 1991-2021



Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 1991-2021 [Custom tabulations, Author’s calculations; 3-year moving average]

Similar to our earlier analysis of the creative industries, we further investigate the differences in the performance of Toronto’s cultural occupations and cultural support occupations, respectively. The following series of figures illustrate three measures simultaneously:

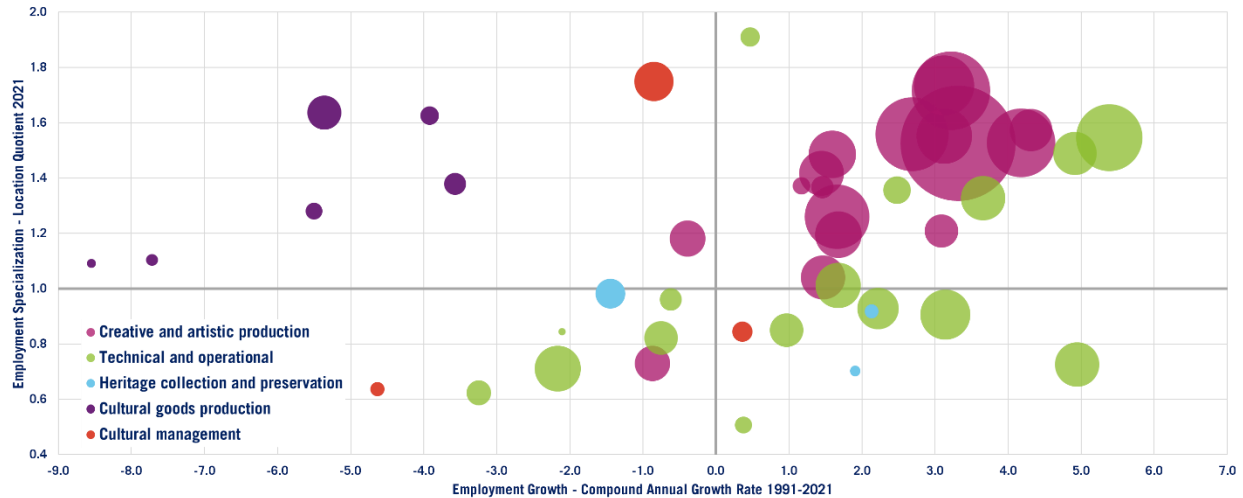
1. The **number of employees** in cultural occupations or cultural support occupations within the region (indicated by the relative size of the ‘bubble’);
2. The average **annual job growth rate** of the cultural occupations or cultural support occupations in the region (horizontal axis); and
3. The relative **employment concentration** – or location quotient (LQ) – of the cultural occupations or cultural support occupations in the region compared to the national average (vertical axis).

As noted above, an LQ greater than 1 indicates that the Toronto region is more specialized in that specific occupation compared to the rest of Canada. Occupations in the upper-right quadrant exhibit a higher than average concentration of employment (indicating specialization) and a strong positive, growth rate.

Figure 6 compares patterns of growth and specialization over the three-decade period between 1991 and 2021 for the individual occupations comprising the cultural labour force; it divides these occupations into five subgroups comprising cultural occupations (creative and artistic production; heritage collection and preservation) and cultural support occupations (cultural management; cultural goods production; technical and operational). We can make several observations. First, the majority of creative and artistic production occupations register continued growth and specialization. Second, Toronto demonstrates growth in most of the technical and operational occupations. Third, there are no discernable patterns of growth or specialization in heritage preservation and collection occupations or cultural management occupations. Finally, occupations related to cultural goods production

demonstrate regional specialization, but have faced decline over the past thirty years. We delve into these trends in more detail below.

Figure 6: Growth and specialization in Toronto's cultural labour force, 1991-2021



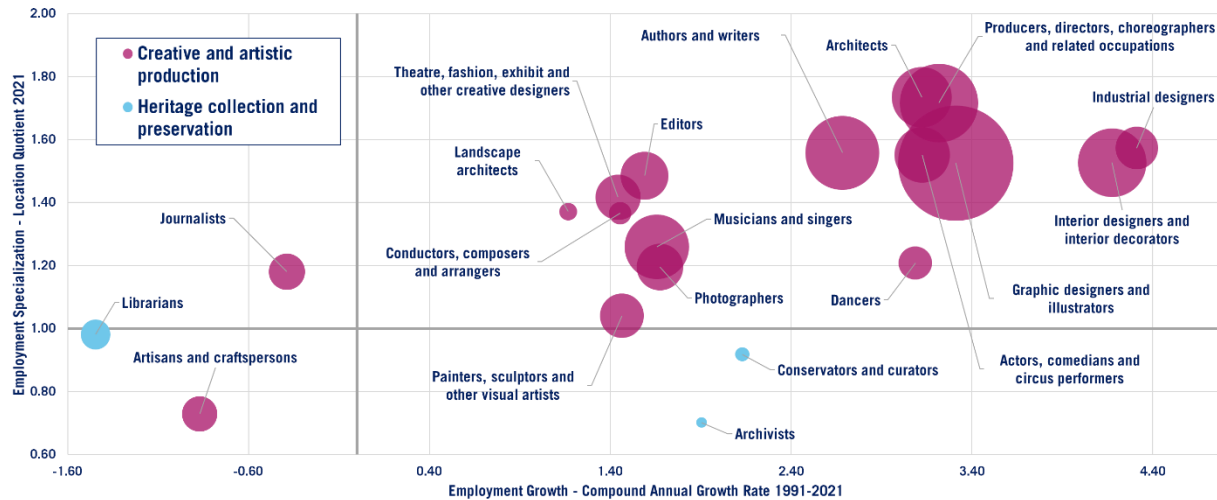
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1991 and 2021 [Author's calculations]

To provide additional detail and better understand these patterns, **Figure 7** shows employment growth and specialization in creative and artistic production occupations and heritage collection and preservation occupations. Employment within these two sub-groups generally demonstrate positive growth rates and maintain high levels of specialization between 1991 and 2021. This is true for all occupations in this group, except for journalists, librarians, and artisans and craftspersons. In the case of librarians, Toronto is experiencing decline in employment and – like the other occupations in the ‘Heritage preservation and collection’ category, Toronto does not demonstrate specialization. This is likely because libraries are relatively ubiquitous across communities, present in schools, universities, colleges, and as standalone institutions; collectively, these public institutions may also have been subject to declining funding due to budget cuts over time. In the case of journalists, Toronto exhibits specialization, but there is a decline in the overall number of people employed as journalists, as reflected in its negative growth rate. Journalism is a field that has experienced substantial consolidation due to the shifting nature of media conglomerates, the decline of independent presses, and the continued growth of freelancing, spurred in part by the growth of social media.¹² In the case of artisans and craftspersons, Toronto does not exhibit specialization compared to other places, but has also witnessed decline. In this case, it is likely that artisans and craftspersons may be more likely to live and work in smaller communities, and this trend has likely accelerated due to the high cost of living (including housing) in the Toronto region.

¹² Public Policy Forum. 2017. *The Shattered Mirror: News, Democracy and Trust in the Digital Age*. Ottawa: Public Policy Forum. <https://ppforum.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/theShatteredMirror.pdf>

Nonetheless, **Figure 7** reiterates the observation that Toronto's strengths in high value, high skill culture work are widespread, as demonstrated by growth and specialization in almost every cultural occupation, jobs that are central to the creative chain and to the production and consumption of culture. The largest group is graphic designers and illustrators, followed by authors and writers; producers, directors, choreographers and related occupations; interior designers and decorators; and musicians and singers.

Figure 7: Growth and specialization in Toronto's cultural occupations, 1991-2021



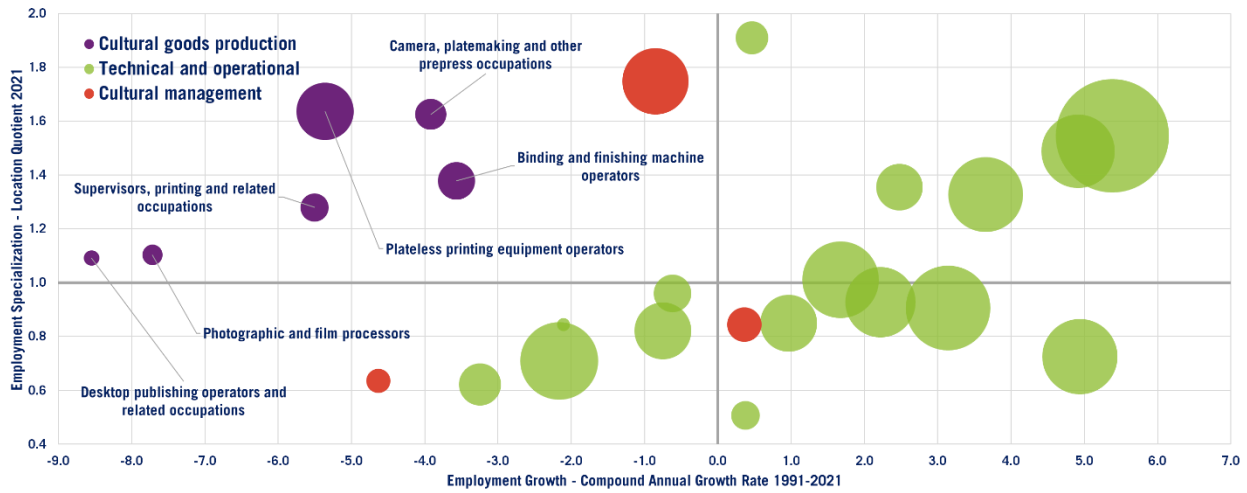
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1991 and 2021 [Author's calculations]

Note: 'Authors and writers', includes Technical writers. 'Actors, comedians and circus performers' includes 'Other performers'. Some jobs in 'Theatre, fashion, exhibit and other creative designers' were allocated to retail meaning the 1991 data may be an overestimate.

We turn now to looking more closely at cultural support occupations. **Figure 8**, **Figure 9** and **Figure 10** each highlight the trends associated with one of the three sub-groups within cultural support occupations respectively: cultural goods producing occupations; cultural management occupations; and technical and operational occupations

Figure 8 makes clear that Toronto's cultural goods producing occupations have been in decline over the three-decade period between 1991 and 2021. While Toronto has a specialization in this type of work, employment in these occupations is shrinking. Several dynamics are likely contributing to the decline. The first issue relates to industrial and technological change. Many of these cultural goods producing occupations relate to the traditional publishing industries and the large-scale reproduction of culture works. Work has transformed due to digitalization and the growth of digital media and technologies, which require different skills. There is also a possibility that workers in these types of lower skill technical occupations are moving out of the Toronto region due to the rising cost of living and a lack of affordable housing.

Figure 8: Growth and specialization in Toronto's cultural goods production occupations, 1991-2021

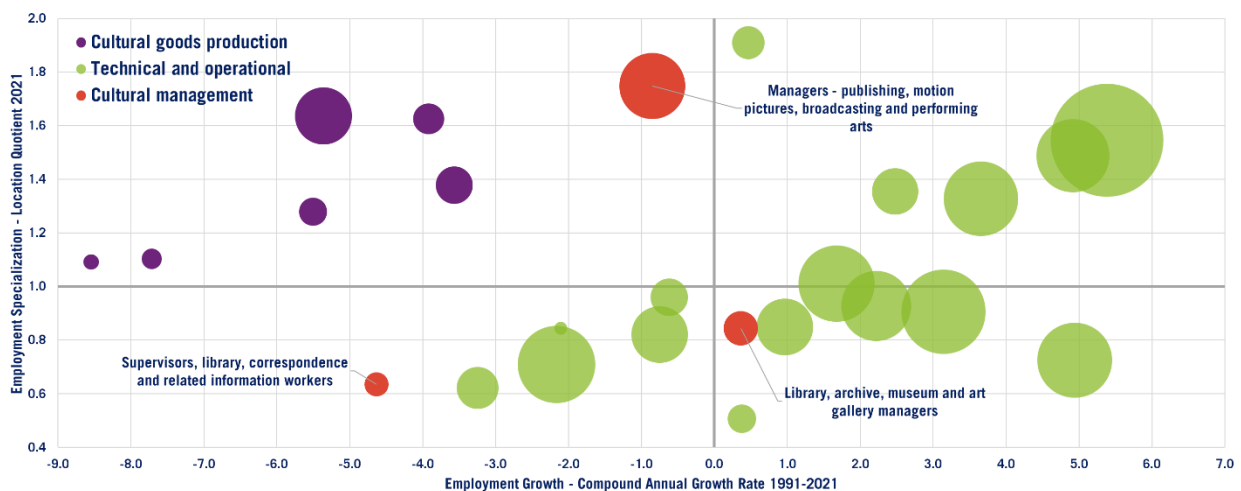


Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1991 and 2021 [Author's calculations]

Note: Excludes Printing press operators due to data suppression.

Turning to cultural management occupations, **Figure 9** shows that there is no discernable overarching pattern in the occupations comprising this group. Toronto does not demonstrate specialization in either 'Supervisors, library, correspondence and related information workers' and 'Library, archive, museum and art gallery managers', although the latter group has had marginal growth. However, Toronto does have a demonstrated specialization in 'Managers - publishing, motion pictures, broadcasting and performing arts' shows, but this occupational group is also declining, following the trend of the jobs associated with traditional cultural goods production.

Figure 9: Growth and specialization in Toronto's cultural management occupations, 1991-2021

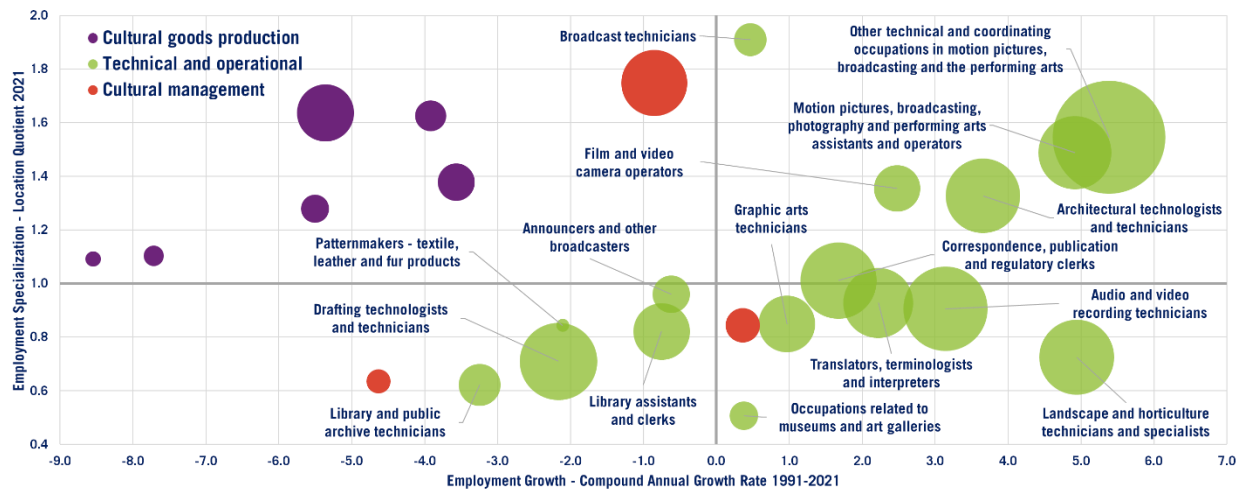


Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1991 and 2021 [Author's calculations]

Note: Excludes Printing press operators due to data suppression.

Finally, **Figure 10** shows trends in the growth and specialization of technical and operational occupations. Employment in majority of these occupations has grown in the past three decades. However, employment associated with libraries (see above), as well as with more traditional manufacturing activities related to the cultural economy are shrinking. Notably, the technical and operational occupations that demonstrate growth and specialization are those associated with creative industries that such as film and television, architecture, and other knowledge intensive industries that are vital to the Toronto region.

Figure 10: Growth and specialization in Toronto's technical and operational occupations, 1991-2021



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1991 and 2021 [Author's calculations]

Note: Excludes Printing press operators due to data suppression.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Overall, the findings in this report underscore and reiterate the arguments made in earlier reports about the importance of Toronto's cultural sector. We find that employment in the creative industries and creative occupations continue to outpace the growth of the overall regional economy in Toronto. The creative industries – including performing arts, publishing, design, advertising, motion pictures and video, broadcasting, architecture – have demonstrated economic prowess on par with other industries such as financial services, business services and the ICT industries that contribute to the region's competitiveness and broader prosperity.

Yet, we also see the divergent fates of different types of cultural workers. Certainly, employment in cultural occupations responsible for creative and artistic production continues to grow and outpace the regional economy. Toronto continues to be home to workers conducting high skill, high value-added

culture work. On the other hand, employment in cultural support occupations has declined steadily in the past decade and that decline has accelerated.

Multiple factors contribute to the decline in some forms of culture work. As outlined in this report, industrial and technological change have redefined work, including culture work. Work in the creative industries and cultural work more broadly are not static. With growing digitalization, some skills have become obsolete, while new skills have risen in importance. Moreover, it is likely that people in these occupations are subject to displacement forces due to the rising costs of living and working in the region. This presents challenges for artists and other cultural workers related to securing affordable housing and workspaces, including studios and performance spaces. Pressures due to the rising costs of housing, land and space and the availability of affordable options within the City of Toronto and more widely within the region present a real risk of undermining the historic and longstanding strengths of the region related to the production of culture.

There are opportunities for Toronto to ensure the continued dynamism of the cultural sector in the face of growing pressures related to affordability and other concerns, which in – some cases – have been exacerbated and accelerated by the global pandemic.¹³ Indeed, scholars argue that cultural activity may be an important ingredient to pandemic recovery in cities and their downtowns.¹⁴ Thus, simultaneous with providing policy supports specific to bolstering the cultural sector, policymakers in Toronto must attend to the broader issues that set the stage for the future success – or potential decline – of the city, its vibrancy and competitiveness. In other words, there is an opportunity for local policy to help create the right conditions for cultural activity to flourish and contribute meaningfully to Toronto's future prosperity.

It is in that context that it is important to continue to monitor changes in the cultural workforce over time. There are opportunities to: 1) examine the distribution of cultural work across Toronto and its neighbourhoods; 2) identify an inventory of affordable spaces for cultural workers to undertake their craft and performance; and 3) ensure the appropriate infrastructure is in place to allow for cultural work to thrive in a changing economic and technological environment. Nonetheless, Toronto continues to be home to a dynamic cultural labour force and hub for cultural and creative activity and key contributor to the regional and national economy.

¹³ Brail, S. and Kleinman, M. 2022. Impacts and implications for the post-COVID city: The case of Toronto. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 15(3): 495–513.; Brail, S. and Vinodrai, T. 2024. *Remote work: Curse or panacea?* Report for the Intergovernmental Committee on Economy and Workforce, 74 pages, <https://www.icecommittee.org/reports/Remote-Work-final-report.pdf>;

¹⁴ Chapple, K., Moore, H., Leong, M., Huang, D., Forouhar, A., Schmahmann, L., Wang, J. and Allen, J. *The Death of Downtown? Pandemic Recovery Trajectories across 62 North American Cities*. Research Brief, School of Cities, University of Toronto. https://downtownrecovery.com/death_of_downtown_policy_brief.pdf

APPENDIX A: CREATIVE OCCUPATIONS

'Creative Occupations' is a set of 19 (or 20) National Occupational Classification (NOC) codes that were originally grouped together in the report *Imagine a Toronto ... Strategies for a Creative City* (2006). The most recent revision to the NOC separates 'Authors and writers' into 'Authors and writers (except technical)' and 'Technical writers'.

Actors, comedians and circus performers	Landscape architects
Announcers and other broadcasters	Musicians and singers
Architects	Other performers
Artisans and craftpersons	Painters, sculptors and other visual artists
Conductors, composers and arrangers	Patternmakers - textile, leather and fur product
Dancers	Photographers
Editors	Producers, directors, choreographer and related occupations
Graphic designers and illustrating artists	Theatre, fashion, exhibit and other creative designers
Industrial designers	
Interior designers	Writers*

APPENDIX B: CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

'Creative Industries' is a set of 4-digit North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) codes that were originally grouped in the report *Imagine a Toronto ... Strategies for a Creative City* (2006).

Advertising, public relations, and related services

Agents and managers for artists, athletes, entertainers and other public figures

Architectural, engineering and related services

Independent artists, writers and performers

Motion picture and video industries

Newspaper, periodical, book and directory publishers

Pay and specialty television

Performing arts companies

Promoters (presenters) of performing arts, sports and similar events

Radio and television broadcasting

Software publishers

Sound recording industries

Specialized design services

APPENDIX C: CULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

'Cultural occupations' are a subset of occupations that are part of the cultural workforce, which includes 22 National Occupational Classification (NOC) codes defined by Statistics Canada. The original definition – used in the study *From the Ground Up: Growing Toronto's Cultural Sector (2011)* – relied on the Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics (2004) and included only 21 NOC codes. Note that there are minor revisions to account for the evolution of and changes to the NOC system, which included separating 'Authors and Writers' into 'Authors and writers (except technical)' and 'Technical writers'.

Actors, comedians and circus performers	Journalists
Architects	Landscape architects
Archivists	Librarians
Artisans and craftspersons	Musicians and singers
Authors and writers (except technical)	Other performers
Conductors, composers and arrangers	Painters, sculptors and other visual artists
Conservators and curators	Photographers
Dancers	Producers, directors, choreographers and related occupations
Editors	Technical writers
Graphic designers and illustrators	Theatre, fashion, exhibit and other creative designers
Industrial designers	
Interior designers and interior decorators	

APPENDIX D: CULTURAL SUPPORT OCCUPATIONS

'Cultural support occupations' are a subset of occupations that are part of the cultural workforce, which includes 26 National Occupational Classification (NOC) codes defined by Statistics Canada. The original definition – used in the study *From the Ground Up: Growing Toronto's Cultural Sector (2011)* – relied on the Canadian Framework for Culture Statistics (2004) and included 27 NOC codes. Note that there are minor revisions to account for the evolution of and changes to the NOC system. To allow for comparisons over time, the category 'Professional occupations in public relations and communications' was excluded.

Announcers and other broadcasters	Library, archive, museum and art gallery managers
Architectural technologists and technicians	
Audio and video recording technicians	Managers - publishing, motion pictures, broadcasting and performing arts
Binding and finishing machine operators	Motion pictures, broadcasting, photography and performing arts assistants and operators
Broadcast technicians	
Camera, platemaking and other prepress occupations	Other technical and coordinating occupations in motion pictures, broadcasting and the performing arts
Correspondence, publication and regulatory clerks	Patternmakers - textile, leather and fur products
Desktop publishing operators and related occupations	Photographic and film processors
Drafting technologists and technicians	Plateless printing equipment operators
Film and video camera operators	Printing press operators
Graphic arts technicians	Registrars, restorers, interpreters and other occupations related to museum and art galleries
Landscape and horticulture technicians and specialists	Supervisors, library, correspondence and related information workers
Library and public archive technicians	
Library assistants and clerks	Supervisors, printing and related occupations
	Translators, terminologists and interpreters