



Evidence-based Employment Scenarios

Benchmarking the Employment Scenarios

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1 Introduction

Government has said that halving unemployment and poverty by 2014 will require growth to average above 5% per year between 2004 and 2014, split into above 4.5% between 2004 and 2009 and above 6% between 2010 and 2014 (Presidency, 2006 “Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative – South Africa: a summary” power point presentation, February). The method by which the Presidency arrived at this figure is uncertain, but typically these kinds of macro-estimates use aggregate relations between GDP and employment, such as employment output elasticities. Such relations depend upon the composition and structure of the economy and of the growth: the same GDP growth rate can be associated with very different rates of employment growth, depending on the nature of the sectors in which output growth is concentrated. It is therefore useful to complement the aggregate story with a more disaggregated one.

To do this, we use an economy-wide model of the South African economy. A model of this sort provides a ‘laboratory’ that allows us to conduct experiments that systematically explore the impact of policy actions and other changes to the economy. Generally this is done by creating a ‘benchmark’ that reflects the crucial structural features and behavioural aspects of the economy. Particular aspects of the economy are then systematically changed in ways that simulate particular policies or external shocks. The consequent changes generated internally by the model are observed. We can improve our understanding about the working of policies in the real world by examining the chain of interactions that lie behind these outcomes.

In the Scenarios project our principle goal is to translate the halving unemployment target into a number of jobs and then ask where these jobs might be created. There are in principle an infinite number of answers to this question. We impose certain patterns, chosen to reflect broad alternatives in policy orientation, and ask what changes in the economy – to investment, wages, productivity, output, income distribution, the exchange rate and so on – would be consistent with specific patterns. The first step in doing this is to establish the benchmark against which we can measure the outcomes of different scenarios. This paper is primarily concerned with setting out the benchmark. It will be followed by evaluating the plausibility, desirability and sustainability of different configurations.

We want to consider how both the sectoral and the skills composition of employment affect the outcomes. Disaggregating into sectors and skills adds a number of questions to the broad question of how unemployment might be halved. These include:

1. What are the direct job creating capacities of sectors?
2. What are their indirect employment multipliers?
3. What constrains sectors’ ability to grow?
4. Where will the additional output associated with a sector’s employment expansion be sold?
5. Do shortages of specific skills create impede growth in employment of other labour? Do different sectoral growth patterns mitigate these bottlenecks?

However, although such disaggregations might enrich debates on the employment consequences of policies, they require translation of government’s general employment target into specific sectoral and skills targets. It is not clear how this should be done. To some extent we would like to replicate and assess policy-makers’ preferences (as with the unemployment and poverty targets), but there is little guidance as to what these are. One might assume a preference for job creation biased

towards low skill jobs, since that is where the bulk of unemployment is. On the other hand, low skill jobs tend to be low paid jobs, so poverty-reducing goals may imply there should be a bias towards higher skill jobs. We may also assume that policy-makers are indifferent about the sectors in which jobs are created, on the basis that a job is a job is a job. However, issues such as on-the-job skills acquisition, or longer run sustainability, or robustness in the face of shocks may bias them towards preferring jobs in some sectors over others. In general, the debate on jobs creation is silent about these issues; one of the intentions of our work is to stimulate discussion on them.

For the present exercise, since we have nothing to guide us, we work with some modified projections of the sectoral composition of employment and leave the skills composition for later. This allows us to focus on broad issues of sectoral balance. We begin by suggesting a configuration of where jobs in the economy might be if trends over the past ten years continue. We are not forecasting – our picture of the economy in 2014 is simply a plausible picture, not a forecast. We use a model of the South African economy to ask what kinds of economy-wide changes might be consistent with these modified extrapolations. We then adjust employment further to meet our interpretation of halving unemployment. This provides a starting point for thinking about the range of concomitant changes in the economy that might occur with reducing unemployment.

We proceed by discussing briefly some aspects of the modelling strategy, then the employment projections, before looking at lessons that are already beginning to emerge from the exercise.

2 Aspects of the model

We will use our model to draw out the implications of our various projections for GDP growth, the structure of output and other aspects of the economy. We impose the projections as exogenous changes on our model, forcing each sector to employ the projected numbers. This causes endogenous adjustments, replicating (according to what we have built into the model) the ways in which the economy in the real world might adjust to accommodate them. Obviously there are a myriad of such ways. These depend on both the microeconomic and the macroeconomic structure of the economy. We will not go into details of the model in this paper. It is a static computable general equilibrium model that was developed by IFPRI and applied to South Africa by Thurlow and van Seventer and has been widely discussed elsewhere (see Thurlow and van Seventer, 2002).

However, we do need to be explicit about the ways in which we constrain the model for the specific purposes of this project:

- Since we impose the employment levels on the economy, we have to allow wages to adjust. There are two adjustments possible. We choose to keep the economy-wide wage rate constant. However, we let sectoral wages vary (in such a way that the real average wage remains constant). These variations are necessary since we are changing the pattern of employment in the economy. Although there are other mechanisms that lead to changes in the pattern of employment, changing relative wages can play a significant role. It is unlikely that we could induce the desired change in employment if we forced it to be brought about entirely by changing patterns of demand, for example.
- One of the responses we are interested in examining is investment in capital stock. What investment would be necessary – both in level and pattern – to

accommodate the employment changes? We therefore allow the capital stock in each sector to vary, in such a way that the sectoral returns to capital remain constant.

- To allow us to focus on issues of resource allocation, we dampen macroeconomic demand effects by assuming that macroeconomic injections – investment demand, the government budget deficit and the current account deficit – remain constant relative to GDP. This is ensured by adjustments in savings rates, income tax rates and the exchange rate. We later will explore the consequences of dropping these assumptions.
- Finally we assume that a number of other variables are either fixed – for example, indirect tax rates – or are fixed relative to GDP – for example, government transfers to households. This is not because we believe that these will remain fixed, but because they are variables of interest in building different scenarios. For example, we want to explore the implications of using government transfers to raise the social wage in certain scenarios. We therefore keep these elements fixed, so that we can change them later.

The model is a real model which only shows relative, not absolute, prices. We use the consumer price index as our fixed yardstick against which we can judge price movements. This is particularly important when we evaluate wage changes. In what follows we often refer to relative real wages. A ‘constant real wage’ means constant relative to consumer prices: someone earning the wage would be able to afford the same bundle of goods as before¹.

We have again to emphasise that these projections and scenarios are not forecasts. Employment trends in the past will only continue in the future if the same array of causal factors continue to operate; we have made no attempt to replicate these, nor have we attempted to forecast how the causal factors might evolve in the future. We are simply trying to build a picture of the economy allows us to conduct experiments to understand possible implications of different employment scenarios.

3 The projections

We approach our aim – benchmarking halving unemployment – in two stages. Rather than jumping straight to a job configuration that meets the objective, we have found it more useful to first make projections based on past trends, and then add the additional employment to that picture.

3.1 Projecting current trends

It is easiest if we begin with the most aggregate projection and then work down to sectors. Our aggregate projections are given in Table 1. We assume the working age population will grow at 1.5% p.a. and that the (strict) labour force participation rate remains constant at 0.56. Both informal and formal employment continue to grow at

¹ When thinking about employment and wage issues, it is important to keep in mind the distinction between the ‘real consumption wage’ and the ‘real product wage’. A rise in the former would mean that a worker could buy a bigger bundle of consumption goods than previously. A rise in the latter would mean the employers have to sell more of their output in order to afford to employ the same amount of labour. It is possible that the two move in opposite directions wage. In this paper, unless explicitly stated otherwise, our measure of real wages is the consumption wage.

around their historical rates of 6.0% and 2.0%, respectively. This gives rise to an unemployment rate of 20.8% in 2014 and an increase in formal employment of 24.2% between 2003 (our base year) and 2014. Our first aim is to model this increase in formal employment. (The bottom row of the table, labelled 2014a, shows our interpretation of the implications of halving unemployment, which we discuss later).

Table 1 - Projections of aggregate labour categories

| | Based on OHS/LFS data | | | | | | | | SASID | |
|-------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| | Working age pop. '000 | Strict unemployed '000 | Informal employment '000 | Formal employment '000 | Total employment '000 | EAP (strict) '000 | Participation rate % | Unemployment rate % | Original '000 | Scaled on LFS '000 |
| 1995 | 24 191 | 1 807 | 470 | 9 200 | 9 670 | 11 477 | 47.4 | 15.7 | 8 659 | 8 138 |
| 1996 | 24 894 | 2 182 | 304 | 8 630 | 8 934 | 11 116 | 44.7 | 19.6 | 8 709 | 7 634 |
| 1997 | 25 505 | 2 375 | 944 | 8 161 | 9 105 | 11 480 | 45.0 | 20.7 | 8 742 | 7 219 |
| 1998 | 25 703 | 3 029 | 1 102 | 8 307 | 9 409 | 12 438 | 48.4 | 24.4 | 8 601 | 7 348 |
| 1999 | 26 223 | 3 206 | 1 473 | 8 913 | 10 386 | 13 592 | 51.8 | 23.6 | 8 516 | 7 884 |
| 2000 | 27 774 | 4 224 | 1 590 | 10 615 | 12 205 | 16 429 | 59.2 | 25.7 | 8 422 | 9 390 |
| 2001 | 28 084 | 4 668 | 1 560 | 9 581 | 11 140 | 15 808 | 56.3 | 29.5 | 8 486 | 8 474 |
| 2002 | 28 527 | 4 883 | 1 410 | 9 870 | 11 280 | 16 163 | 56.7 | 30.2 | 8 728 | 8 731 |
| 2003 | 28 938 | 4 313 | 1 477 | 9 931 | 11 408 | 15 721 | 54.3 | 27.4 | 8 784 | 8 784 |
| 2004 | 29 304 | 4 009 | 1 574 | 10 054 | 11 628 | 15 637 | 53.4 | 25.6 | 8 883 | 8 893 |
| 2005 | 29 524 | 4 244 | 1 563 | 10 323 | 11 886 | 16 130 | 54.6 | 26.3 | 8 770 | 9 131 |
| 2006 | 29 967 | 4 596 | 1 657 | 10 529 | 12 186 | 16 781 | 56.0 | 27.4 | 8 751 | 9 313 |
| 2007 | 30 416 | 4 537 | 1 756 | 10 740 | 12 496 | 17 033 | 56.0 | 26.6 | 8 766 | 9 500 |
| 2008 | 30 873 | 4 473 | 1 862 | 10 954 | 12 816 | 17 289 | 56.0 | 25.9 | 8 780 | 9 690 |
| 2009 | 31 336 | 4 401 | 1 973 | 11 173 | 13 147 | 17 548 | 56.0 | 25.1 | 8 795 | 9 883 |
| 2010 | 31 806 | 4 323 | 2 092 | 11 397 | 13 489 | 17 811 | 56.0 | 24.3 | 8 809 | 10 081 |
| 2011 | 32 283 | 4 236 | 2 217 | 11 625 | 13 842 | 18 078 | 56.0 | 23.4 | 8 824 | 10 283 |
| 2012 | 32 767 | 4 142 | 2 350 | 11 857 | 14 207 | 18 350 | 56.0 | 22.6 | 8 838 | 10 488 |
| 2013 | 33 259 | 4 039 | 2 491 | 12 094 | 14 586 | 18 625 | 56.0 | 21.7 | 8 853 | 10 698 |
| 2014 | 33 757 | 3 927 | 2 641 | 12 336 | 14 977 | 18 904 | 56.0 | 20.8 | 8 867 | 10 912 |
| 2014a | 33 757 | 2 593 | 2 876 | 13 435 | 16 311 | 18 904 | 56.0 | 13.7 | | 11 884 |

We next decompose the 24.2% into sectoral employment targets. As for many countries, South Africa's employment data is less reliable the more it is disaggregated. The trends become more volatile and less certain. We therefore based the projections on a combination of sector specific trends, subjective intuition and the economy-wide trend (see Appendix for details). We began by imposing historically consistent growth rates on agriculture, mining and manufacturing and adjusting the remaining major SIC divisions to be consistent with these and the overall growth rate derived above. These are shown in Table 2. It will be seen from columns [5] and [6] that these projections result in the relative shares of primary and secondary sectors declining and of the tertiary sector (services) rising. This trend is consistent not only with recent developments in South Africa but also with the experience of many other middle income developing countries.

Finally, we take these employment projections for the major SIC divisions and use them to modify the individual projections for the 43 SIC sectors used in our model. These modified projections are shown in Table 3.

Table 2 - Composition of employment in 2003 and projected 2014: major SIC divisions

| a) Numbers | | 2003 | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b |
|-------------------|--|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] |
| 1: Agric | Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 842 319 | 923 940 | 1 062 475 | 1 006 241 |
| 2: Mining | Mining and quarrying | 435 628 | 474 980 | 445 641 | 517 289 |
| 3: Manuf | Manufacturing | 1 193 984 | 1 392 545 | 1 658 446 | 1 516 588 |
| 4: Elec | Electricity, gas and water | 52 645 | 55 782 | 65 194 | 60 751 |
| 5: Constr | Construction | 381 969 | 532 418 | 553 006 | 579 844 |
| 6: Trade | Trade, catering and accommodation services | 1 273 565 | 1 693 216 | 1 766 995 | 1 844 042 |
| 7: Trans | Transport, storage and communication | 300 957 | 341 691 | 421 860 | 372 128 |
| 8: Finance | Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate and business services | 1 597 606 | 2 293 715 | 2 229 775 | 2 498 031 |
| 9: Social | Community, social and personal services | 2 705 386 | 3 203 712 | 3 680 609 | 3 489 087 |
| All industries | | 8 784 059 | 10 912 000 | 11 884 000 | 11 884 000 |

| b) % Shares | | 2003 | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b |
|--------------------|--|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | [5] | [6] | [7] | [8] |
| 1: Agric | Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 9.6 | 8.5 | 8.9 | 8.5 |
| 2: Mining | Mining and quarrying | 5.0 | 4.4 | 3.7 | 4.4 |
| 3: Manuf | Manufacturing | 13.6 | 12.8 | 14.0 | 12.8 |
| 4: Elec | Electricity, gas and water | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| 5: Constr | Construction | 4.3 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 4.9 |
| 6: Trade | Trade, catering and accommodation services | 14.5 | 15.5 | 14.9 | 15.5 |
| 7: Trans | Transport, storage and communication | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.5 | 3.1 |
| 8: Finance | Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate and business services | 18.2 | 21.0 | 18.8 | 21.0 |
| 9: Social | Community, social and personal services | 30.8 | 29.4 | 31.0 | 29.4 |
| All industries | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

| c) Growth rates | | 2014 | | 2014a | | 2014b | |
|------------------------|--|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| | | Total | Annual | Total | Annual | Total | Annual |
| | | [9] | [10] | [11] | [12] | [13] | [14] |
| 1: Agric | Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 9.7 | 0.8 | 26.1 | 2.1 | 19.5 | 1.6 |
| 2: Mining | Mining and quarrying | 9.0 | 0.8 | 2.3 | 0.2 | 18.7 | 1.6 |
| 3: Manuf | Manufacturing | 16.6 | 1.4 | 38.9 | 3.0 | 27.0 | 2.2 |
| 4: Elec | Electricity, gas and water | 6.0 | 0.5 | 23.8 | 2.0 | 15.4 | 1.3 |
| 5: Constr | Construction | 39.4 | 3.1 | 44.8 | 3.4 | 51.8 | 3.9 |
| 6: Trade | Trade, catering and accommodation services | 33.0 | 2.6 | 38.7 | 3.0 | 44.8 | 3.4 |
| 7: Trans | Transport, storage and communication | 13.5 | 1.2 | 40.2 | 3.1 | 23.6 | 1.9 |
| 8: Finance | Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate and business services | 43.6 | 3.3 | 39.6 | 3.1 | 56.4 | 4.1 |
| 9: Social | Community, social and personal services | 18.4 | 1.5 | 36.0 | 2.8 | 29.0 | 2.3 |
| All industries | | 24.2 | 2.0 | 35.3 | 2.8 | 35.3 | 2.8 |

Table 3 - Composition of employment 2003 and projected 2014: 43 sectors

| | | Numbers | | | | % Shares | | | | % Growth | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|----------|------|-------|-------|----------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| | | 2003 | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b | 2003 | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b | 2014 | | 2014a | | 2014b | |
| | | | | | | | | | | Total | p.a. | Total | p.a. | Total | p.a. |
| AAGRI | Agriculture | 842 319 | 923 940 | 1 062 475 | 1 006 241 | 9.6 | 8.5 | 8.9 | 8.5 | 9.7 | 0.8 | 26.1 | 2.1 | 19.5 | 1.6 |
| ACOAL | Coal | 47 239 | 36 400 | 65 076 | 39 642 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.3 | -22.9 | -2.3 | 37.8 | 3.0 | -16.1 | -1.6 |
| AGOLD | Gold | 198 465 | 160 269 | 108 785 | 174 545 | 2.3 | 1.5 | 0.9 | 1.5 | -19.2 | -1.9 | -45.2 | -5.3 | -12.1 | -1.2 |
| AOTHM | Other mining | 189 924 | 278 311 | 271 780 | 303 101 | 2.2 | 2.6 | 2.3 | 2.6 | 46.5 | 3.5 | 43.1 | 3.3 | 59.6 | 4.3 |
| AFOOD | Food processing | 145 050 | 130 168 | 198 171 | 141 763 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 1.7 | 1.2 | -10.3 | -1.0 | 36.6 | 2.9 | -2.3 | -0.2 |
| ABEVT | Beverages and tobacco | 30 770 | 18 888 | 39 759 | 20 571 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.2 | -38.6 | -4.3 | 29.2 | 2.4 | -33.1 | -3.6 |
| ATEXT | Textiles | 60 267 | 47 904 | 83 058 | 52 171 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.4 | -20.5 | -2.1 | 37.8 | 3.0 | -13.4 | -1.3 |
| AAPPA | Wearing apparel | 102 752 | 91 037 | 143 292 | 99 146 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 1.2 | 0.8 | -11.4 | -1.1 | 39.5 | 3.1 | -3.5 | -0.3 |
| ALEAT | Leather products | 8 148 | 5 090 | 10 343 | 5 543 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | -37.5 | -4.2 | 26.9 | 2.2 | -32.0 | -3.4 |
| AFOOT | Footwear | 12 725 | 8 140 | 15 624 | 8 865 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | -36.0 | -4.0 | 22.8 | 1.9 | -30.3 | -3.2 |
| AWOOD | Wood products | 52 266 | 63 375 | 71 056 | 69 020 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 21.3 | 1.8 | 36.0 | 2.8 | 32.1 | 2.6 |
| APAPR | Paper products | 37 271 | 31 707 | 48 153 | 34 531 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.3 | -14.9 | -1.5 | 29.2 | 2.4 | -7.4 | -0.7 |
| APRNT | Printing and publishing | 44 862 | 36 079 | 60 139 | 39 293 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.3 | -19.6 | -2.0 | 34.1 | 2.7 | -12.4 | -1.2 |
| APETR | Petroleum products | 13 224 | 13 765 | 15 829 | 14 991 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 4.1 | 0.4 | 19.7 | 1.6 | 13.4 | 1.1 |
| ABCHM | Chemical products | 15 588 | 23 856 | 21 629 | 25 981 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 53.0 | 3.9 | 38.8 | 3.0 | 66.7 | 4.8 |
| AOCHM | Other chemical products | 42 101 | 48 389 | 57 814 | 52 699 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 14.9 | 1.3 | 37.3 | 2.9 | 25.2 | 2.1 |
| ARUBB | Rubber products | 15 469 | 18 526 | 21 526 | 20 176 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 19.8 | 1.7 | 39.2 | 3.0 | 30.4 | 2.4 |
| APLAS | Plastic products | 40 793 | 36 937 | 55 465 | 40 227 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.3 | -9.5 | -0.9 | 36.0 | 2.8 | -1.4 | -0.1 |
| AGLAS | Glass products | 5 932 | 3 990 | 8 056 | 4 346 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | -32.7 | -3.5 | 35.8 | 2.8 | -26.7 | -2.8 |
| ANMMP | Non-metallic metal products | 45 994 | 52 183 | 61 281 | 56 832 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 13.5 | 1.2 | 33.2 | 2.6 | 23.6 | 1.9 |
| AIRON | Basic iron and steel | 32 488 | 22 119 | 52 780 | 24 089 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.2 | -31.9 | -3.4 | 62.5 | 4.5 | -25.9 | -2.7 |
| ANFRM | Non-ferrous metals | 20 537 | 22 928 | 32 854 | 24 970 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 11.6 | 1.0 | 60.0 | 4.4 | 21.6 | 1.8 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|-----|-------|------|
| AMETP | Metal products | 95 856 | 145 695 | 133 873 | 158 672 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 52.0 | 3.9 | 39.7 | 3.1 | 65.5 | 4.7 |
| AMACH | Machinery | 94 982 | 159 005 | 138 100 | 173 168 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 67.4 | 4.8 | 45.4 | 3.5 | 82.3 | 5.6 |
| AELMA | Electrical machinery | 38 536 | 56 177 | 53 850 | 61 181 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 45.8 | 3.5 | 39.7 | 3.1 | 58.8 | 4.3 |
| ACOME | Communication equipment | 7 065 | 4 568 | 9 823 | 4 975 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | -35.3 | -3.9 | 39.0 | 3.0 | -29.6 | -3.1 |
| ASCIE | Scientific equipment | 8 465 | 38 538 | 11 784 | 41 971 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 355.3 | 14.8 | 39.2 | 3.1 | 395.8 | 15.7 |
| AVEHI | Vehicles | 107 477 | 138 381 | 152 262 | 150 707 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 28.8 | 2.3 | 41.7 | 3.2 | 40.2 | 3.1 |
| ATRNE | Transport equipment | 14 374 | 9 816 | 14 986 | 10 691 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | -31.7 | -3.4 | 4.3 | 0.4 | -25.6 | -2.7 |
| AFURN | Furniture | 40 925 | 56 579 | 60 601 | 61 619 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 38.3 | 3.0 | 48.1 | 3.6 | 50.6 | 3.8 |
| AOTHI | Other industries | 60 067 | 108 705 | 86 338 | 118 388 | 0.7 | 1.0 | 0.7 | 1.0 | 81.0 | 5.5 | 43.7 | 3.4 | 97.1 | 6.4 |
| AELEG | Electricity and gas | 41 142 | 34 118 | 48 935 | 37 157 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.3 | -17.1 | -1.7 | 18.9 | 1.6 | -9.7 | -0.9 |
| AWATR | Water | 11 503 | 21 665 | 16 259 | 23 595 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 88.3 | 5.9 | 41.3 | 3.2 | 105.1 | 6.7 |
| ACONS | Constuction | 381 969 | 532 418 | 553 006 | 579 844 | 4.3 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 4.9 | 39.4 | 3.1 | 44.8 | 3.4 | 51.8 | 3.9 |
| ATRAD | Trade services | 1 066 855 | 1 361 892 | 1 447 209 | 1 483 204 | 12.1 | 12.5 | 12.2 | 12.5 | 27.7 | 2.2 | 35.7 | 2.8 | 39.0 | 3.0 |
| AHCAT | Hotels and catering | 206 710 | 331 324 | 319 786 | 360 838 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 2.7 | 3.0 | 60.3 | 4.4 | 54.7 | 4.0 | 74.6 | 5.2 |
| ATRAN | Transport services | 235 409 | 272 078 | 329 834 | 296 314 | 2.7 | 2.5 | 2.8 | 2.5 | 15.6 | 1.3 | 40.1 | 3.1 | 25.9 | 2.1 |
| ACOMM | Communication services | 65 548 | 69 613 | 92 026 | 75 814 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 6.2 | 0.5 | 40.4 | 3.1 | 15.7 | 1.3 |
| AFINS | Financial and real estate servi | 218 725 | 233 394 | 291 941 | 254 184 | 2.5 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 2.1 | 6.7 | 0.6 | 33.5 | 2.7 | 16.2 | 1.4 |
| ABUSS | Business services | 1 378 881 | 2 060 321 | 1 937 834 | 2 243 847 | 15.7 | 18.9 | 16.3 | 18.9 | 49.4 | 3.7 | 40.5 | 3.1 | 62.7 | 4.5 |
| AMAOS | Medical and other services | 126 188 | 145 333 | 204 626 | 158 278 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 15.2 | 1.3 | 62.2 | 4.5 | 25.4 | 2.1 |
| AOTHP | Other producers | 1 143 376 | 1 525 981 | 1 547 515 | 1 661 910 | 13.0 | 14.0 | 13.0 | 14.0 | 33.5 | 2.7 | 35.3 | 2.8 | 45.4 | 3.5 |
| AGOVS | Government services | 1 435 822 | 1 532 399 | 1 928 469 | 1 668 899 | 16.3 | 14.0 | 16.2 | 14.0 | 6.7 | 0.6 | 34.3 | 2.7 | 16.2 | 1.4 |
| | Total | 8 784 059 | 10 912 000 | 11 884 000 | 11 884 000 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 24.2 | 2.0 | 35.3 | 2.8 | 35.3 | 2.8 |

We have chosen this ‘top down’ procedure for making our projections for two reasons. First, the data are more reliable the more aggregated they are. Second, we believe that most people have stronger intuitions about where the economy is headed at the aggregate rather than disaggregated levels. We may think of the numbers in Table 3 as showing one set of disaggregated employment trends that are consistent with the higher level numbers in Table 2, which are consistent with the even more aggregated numbers in Table 1. While there are many other plausible projections possible, the process of making these ‘constrained estimates’ is in itself instructive. We hope to modify our initial projections in the light of further discussion.

Along with our projected employment increases we also assume that there is general productivity growth. Other studies suggest that total factor productivity growth in South Africa is about 1 per cent per year, so we impose this as a general trend across all sectors. However, the model does allow us to explore the impact of faster or slower productivity growth in the specific sectors.

Since demand generated by the imposed increase in employment is insufficient to avoid some implausible reductions in relative prices and wages, we simulate exogenous demand increases by improving the terms of trade. We reduce world import prices and raise world export prices by 5% each. This injects export demand into the economy and creates demand for domestic import substituting industries. South Africa’s terms of trade have improved over the period on which our trends are based, although it is debatable whether they will continue to do so. However, this is a convenient way of raising demand in our model. We could alternatively have injected demand by raising the budget and current account deficits relative to GDP; however, these are both variables of policy interest that we wish to modify in the later scenarios.

The implications of these projections for GDP, output structure etc are shown in Tables 4 to 6 in the columns headed ‘2014’. They give rise to a real GDP growth rate of 2.5% per year. Capital stock in the economy rises by 1.8% per year. This is broadly consistent with current levels of fixed investment and capital stock.

Our initial step in constructing the baseline therefore comprises a) the projected changes in employment; b) uniform total factor productivity growth of 12% across all sectors; and c) a 10 percent improvement in the terms of trade. The second step is to raise sectoral employment levels further to meet the halving unemployment target.

Table 4 - Growth rates and structure of SIC major divisions

| a) Real GDP | Growth rate | | | Composition | | | |
|--|-------------|-------|-------|-------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b | 2003 | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b |
| Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 1.5 | 4.2 | 2.3 | 3.9 | 3.4 | 3.7 | 3.4 |
| Mining and quarrying | 2.5 | 2.8 | 3.3 | 7.4 | 7.4 | 6.2 | 7.4 |
| Manufacturing | 2.2 | 4.6 | 3.1 | 19.7 | 19.1 | 19.9 | 19.1 |
| Electricity, gas and water | 2.0 | 3.8 | 2.7 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 2.2 |
| Construction | 3.5 | 5.1 | 4.4 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 2.6 |
| Trade, catering and accommodation services | 2.6 | 4.7 | 3.5 | 13.9 | 14.1 | 14.2 | 14.1 |
| Transport, storage and communication | 2.8 | 5.0 | 3.7 | 9.8 | 10.1 | 10.3 | 10.1 |
| Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate and business services | 2.9 | 4.9 | 3.8 | 19.6 | 20.5 | 20.5 | 20.6 |
| Community, social and personal services | 2.3 | 4.2 | 3.1 | 21.0 | 20.5 | 20.4 | 20.5 |
| All industries | 2.5 | 4.5 | 3.4 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

| b) Employment | Growth rate | | | Composition | | | |
|--|-------------|-------|-------|-------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b | 2003 | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b |
| Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 0.8 | 2.1 | 1.6 | 9.6 | 8.5 | 8.9 | 8.5 |
| Mining and quarrying | 0.8 | 0.2 | 1.6 | 5.0 | 4.4 | 3.7 | 4.4 |
| Manufacturing | 1.4 | 3.0 | 2.2 | 13.6 | 12.8 | 14.0 | 12.8 |
| Electricity, gas and water | 0.5 | 2.0 | 1.3 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| Construction | 3.1 | 3.4 | 3.9 | 4.3 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 4.9 |
| Trade, catering and accommodation services | 2.6 | 3.0 | 3.4 | 14.5 | 15.5 | 14.9 | 15.5 |
| Transport, storage and communication | 1.2 | 3.1 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 3.5 | 3.1 |
| Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate and business services | 3.3 | 3.1 | 4.1 | 18.2 | 21.0 | 18.8 | 21.0 |
| Community, social and personal services | 1.5 | 2.8 | 2.3 | 30.8 | 29.4 | 31.0 | 29.4 |
| All industries | 2.0 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

| c) Capital | Growth rate | | | Composition | | | |
|--|-------------|-------|-------|-------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b | 2003 | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b |
| Agriculture, forestry and fishing | 0.3 | 3.6 | 1.1 | 3.7 | 3.2 | 3.5 | 3.2 |
| Mining and quarrying | 2.2 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 8.0 | 8.3 | 6.6 | 8.3 |
| Manufacturing | 1.4 | 3.8 | 2.1 | 13.2 | 12.6 | 12.8 | 12.5 |
| Electricity, gas and water | 2.1 | 3.6 | 2.8 | 6.0 | 6.2 | 5.7 | 6.1 |
| Construction | 1.7 | 4.9 | 2.5 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| Trade, catering and accommodation services | 0.9 | 4.4 | 1.8 | 5.1 | 4.6 | 5.3 | 4.6 |
| Transport, storage and communication | 2.3 | 4.6 | 3.2 | 17.2 | 18.1 | 18.1 | 18.2 |
| Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate and business services | 1.8 | 4.4 | 2.7 | 22.7 | 22.7 | 23.5 | 22.8 |
| Community, social and personal services | 2.0 | 4.3 | 2.8 | 23.4 | 23.8 | 23.9 | 23.8 |
| All industries | 1.8 | 4.1 | 2.7 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Table 5 - Growth rates and structure of 43 sectors

Final year is 2014a

| | | GDP | | | Employment | | | Capital | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------------|-------|
| | | Growth rate | Composition | | Growth rate | Composition | | Growth rate | Composition | |
| | | % p.a. | 2003 | 2014a | % p.a. | 2003 | 2014a | % p.a. | 2003 | 2014a |
| AAGRI | Agriculture | 4.2 | 3.9 | 3.7 | 2.1 | 9.6 | 8.9 | 3.6 | 3.7 | 3.5 |
| ACOAL | Coal | 4.2 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 3.0 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 3.4 | 0.7 | 0.6 |
| AGOLD | Gold | -4.2 | 2.0 | 0.8 | -5.3 | 2.3 | 0.9 | -4.9 | 1.9 | 0.7 |
| AOTHM | Other mining | 4.6 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 3.3 | 2.2 | 2.3 | 3.8 | 5.5 | 5.3 |
| AFOOD | Food processing | 4.1 | 1.9 | 1.8 | 2.9 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 3.2 | 1.0 | 0.9 |
| ABEVT | Beverages and tobacco | 3.9 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 2.4 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 3.0 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| ATEXT | Textiles | 4.1 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 3.0 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 3.3 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| AAPPA | Wearing apparel | 4.5 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 3.1 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 4.5 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| ALEAT | Leather products | 4.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 2.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 3.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| AFOOT | Footwear | 3.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 1.9 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| AWOOD | Wood products | 4.0 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 2.8 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 3.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| APAPR | Paper products | 4.4 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 4.1 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| APRNT | Printing and publishing | 3.9 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 2.7 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 3.7 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| APETR | Petroleum products | 3.9 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.6 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 2.9 | 3.9 | 3.4 |
| ABCHM | Chemical products | 5.0 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 3.0 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 4.5 | 1.4 | 1.5 |
| AOCHM | Other chemical products | 4.6 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 2.9 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 4.4 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| ARUBB | Rubber products | 4.5 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 3.0 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 4.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| APLAS | Plastic products | 4.2 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 2.8 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 4.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| AGLAS | Glass products | 4.4 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 2.8 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 3.8 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| ANMMP | Non-metallic metal products | 4.9 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 2.6 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 4.4 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| AIRON | Basic iron and steel | 5.8 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 4.5 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 4.8 | 1.3 | 1.4 |
| ANFRM | Non-ferrous metals | 5.7 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 4.4 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 4.6 | 0.9 | 1.0 |
| AMETP | Metal products | 4.6 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 3.1 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 4.6 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| AMACH | Machinery | 4.6 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 3.5 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 3.8 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| AELMA | Electrical machinery | 4.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 3.1 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 4.6 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| ACOME | Communication equipment | 4.7 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 3.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 4.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| ASCIE | Scientific equipment | 4.9 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 3.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 4.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| AVEHI | Vehicles | 4.5 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 3.2 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 3.8 | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| ATRNE | Transport equipment | 1.5 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 1.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| AFURN | Furniture | 4.8 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 3.6 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 4.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| AOTHI | Other industries | 5.6 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 3.4 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 4.8 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| AELEG | Electricity and gas | 3.5 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 3.6 |
| AWATR | Water | 5.3 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 3.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 4.7 | 2.0 | 2.1 |
| ACONS | Constuction | 5.1 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 4.3 | 4.7 | 4.9 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| ATRAD | Trade services | 4.6 | 12.9 | 13.0 | 2.8 | 12.1 | 12.2 | 4.3 | 4.6 | 4.7 |
| AHCAT | Hotels and catering | 6.0 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 4.0 | 2.4 | 2.7 | 5.5 | 0.5 | 0.6 |
| ATRAN | Transport services | 5.0 | 5.8 | 6.1 | 3.1 | 2.7 | 2.8 | 4.6 | 15.2 | 16.0 |
| ACOMM | Communication services | 5.1 | 4.0 | 4.2 | 3.1 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 4.6 | 2.0 | 2.1 |
| AFINS | Financial and real estate servi | 4.5 | 8.6 | 8.6 | 2.7 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 4.1 | 8.4 | 8.4 |
| ABUSS | Business services | 5.2 | 11.0 | 11.9 | 3.1 | 15.7 | 16.3 | 4.6 | 14.3 | 15.1 |
| AMAOS | Medical and other services | 6.2 | 2.2 | 2.7 | 4.5 | 1.4 | 1.7 | 6.0 | 1.5 | 1.8 |
| AOTHP | Other producers | 4.1 | 3.9 | 3.8 | 2.8 | 13.0 | 13.0 | 4.3 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| AGOVS | Government services | 4.0 | 14.8 | 14.0 | 2.7 | 16.3 | 16.2 | 4.2 | 21.7 | 21.9 |
| | Total | 4.5 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 2.8 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 4.1 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Table 6 - Real GDP and its components

| | Rbn | | | | Annual growth rates % | | |
|------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----------------------|-------|-------|
| | 2003 | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b | 2014 | 2014a | 2014b |
| Absorption | 1 231 | 1 649 | 2 055 | 1 802 | 2.7 | 4.8 | 3.5 |
| Private consumption | 786 | 1 056 | 1 337 | 1 156 | 2.7 | 4.9 | 3.6 |
| Fixed investment | 200 | 297 | 344 | 323 | 3.7 | 5.1 | 4.5 |
| Change in inventories | 5 | 6 | 9 | 7 | 1.7 | 5.5 | 3.1 |
| Government consumption | 239 | 290 | 365 | 316 | 1.8 | 3.9 | 2.6 |
| Exports | 340 | 459 | 558 | 502 | 2.8 | 4.6 | 3.6 |
| Imports | - 319 | - 477 | - 579 | - 521 | 3.7 | 5.6 | 4.6 |
| GDP (mp) | 1 251 | 1 632 | 2 034 | 1 782 | 2.4 | 4.5 | 3.3 |
| Net indirect taxes | 140 | 170 | 230 | 185 | 1.8 | 4.6 | 2.6 |
| GDP (FC) | 1 111 | 1 462 | 1 804 | 1 597 | 2.5 | 4.5 | 3.4 |

3.2 Scaling up to halve unemployment

We assume that when government speaks of halving unemployment it means cutting the strict unemployment rate in 2003 (27.4% in our figures) in half (13.7%) by 2014. With the projections we have made, assuming that the informal sector will adjust at the same rate as the formal and scaling to our model, this means that instead of the number of formal jobs rising from 8.8m to 10.9m (i.e. by 24.2%), they will have to rise to 11.9m (i.e. by 35.3%) (see bottom row of Table 1).

The difficult question is how to allocate this increase to sectors. This begins to take us into scenario building, since it requires us to have a view about the possibilities of where jobs might be created. For our benchmark we want to construct a ‘business as usual’ scenario: how will the jobs be created if there are no special interventions? However, even this is open to interpretation, and there are alternative ways of doing it. One very obvious and simple way is simply to raise the total quantity of employment, without imposing a specific sectoral pattern, and allow the market (model) to decide in which sectors the demand will be. A second way is to allocate the desired additional employment so that employment grows at a uniform rate across all sectors from the level of our initial projections. While neither of these is particularly plausible, they do give us an initial take, which we can modify. Some results are shown in Tables 2 3 and 4, where ‘2014’ refers to the simple projections, ‘2014a’ refers to the reduced unemployment figures by the first approach and ‘2014b’ the reduced unemployment figures by the second approach.

With the first method, one would expect the market to attempt to allocate labour across sectors in such a way that the change in wage rates is uniform across sectors, so that relative sectoral wages remain constant. If one sector were to experience a wage increase higher than others, labour would be attracted into it, out of other sectors. We assume that capital is allocated between sectors in such a way as to keep rates of return constant, although in the case of capital there is (by assumption) no limit on the total supply. The method means that the absorption of the additional employment results in fairly uniform expansion of output, capital and so on.

One can see some of the difference between the two methods in Table 2. The shares of sectors in total employment are the same for method 2 (‘2014b’) as the initial projections (‘2014’). This is by construction. When we do not impose a structure, however, there are significant changes. Agriculture and manufacturing absorb more of the additional labour, mining and services as a whole less.

Neither of these are particularly plausible scenarios. No one would expect the additional jobs required to be created uniformly across sectors. The ‘market’ solution produces results that go against trends found in other middle income developing countries. We clearly have to make further modifications if we wish to create a benchmark that might be regarded more widely as plausible. Nonetheless, although it is not normal to draw lessons from the construction of the benchmark, some useful tentative pointers do emerge from these two alternative ways of modelling how the additional employment might be absorbed.

- Other things equal, the ‘market’ method leads to a bigger increase in GDP than when employment is forced to expand in some specific pattern as with method B (see Table 6). This is because there are no constraints on sectors other than the total labour supply. If there is a high demand for a sector’s output, it can not only respond by investing more but also by drawing in more labour. This latter option is no longer available if the economy has to conform to a specific sectoral pattern of employment, and the growth possibilities of sectors may be constrained.
- Changes in relative wages play an important role in absorbing the additional labour, the more so in the ‘market’ solution. Remember that we constrain the economy so that the real average consumer wage does not change. The additional employment is not accommodated by reducing the real consumption wage across the economy. However, the ‘nominal’ average wage does fall, not only because of relative wage changes, but also because of compositional effects. Our projected employment pattern is biased towards lower paying sectors. This means that the capital expansion required to accommodate it is lower than otherwise. Taken as a whole, the economy is more able to absorb the additional labour than it would have been if we had tried to expand high wage sectors faster. One fairly obvious lesson from this is that, other things equal, it is easier to meet the overall employment target the more the sectoral expansion is biased towards low paid sectors.
- The changing composition is not sufficient to absorb entirely the numbers in the imposed pattern; there is still a need to change relative wages. A major problem (apart from any ethical and political reservations one might have) is that although the additional employment does generate higher output and income, the income does not stimulate demand sufficiently to allow the additional output to be sold without some sectors reducing prices. This raises real product wages in these sectors, which reduces their labour absorption. The problem can be reduced if there are exogenous injections of demand, so that income effects dominate substitution effects. The scenarios we intend exploring can be seen as alternative stories about how to maximise the endogenous income generation and about where these exogenous injections might come from.
- This naturally raises questions about the way we approach the problem. If we were not concerned about replicating a target pattern and level of employment, it would be more natural to project output trends and see what the consequent employment is. The output growth would be exogenous and the employment growth endogenous. Our approach allows us to see what income and demand is generated by the employment expansion itself.
- At first blush, the results for method A in Table 4 (the ‘2014a’ columns) might appear quite encouraging. The 2.8% p.a. employment growth required to meet the target of halving unemployment generates a 4.5% GDP growth rate. This is lower than the 5% government target. However, the disaggregated growth rates that lie behind this suggest it is not feasible. In Table 4 we see, for example, that agricultural output grows at 4.2% per year, which seems implausible. If we constrain this rate, then rates for other sectors will have to go up, potentially

making them implausible. We have not yet examined this, but even this example shows the merit of trying to think in disaggregated ways that are constrained by economy-wide consistency requirements.

4 Conclusion and future directions

The foregoing has been a preliminary sketch of how we are developing a baseline scenario. We have tentatively arrived at two alternative scenarios that have formal employment at a level that is consistent with our interpretation of ‘halving unemployment’. We have additional work to do to arrive at a plausible single baseline scenario. This will entail modifying the trends in some of the exogenous variables in our model, incorporating lessons from Professor Berry’s work on global development and incorporating criticisms stimulated by this initial exercise. We conclude with a number of observations.

1. In traditional modelling approaches, the exact nature of the baseline and how it has been arrived at is generally a black box. Simulation results are presented as deviations. Rather than saying ‘Devaluing by 10% will raise GDP by R1bn’, we typically say ‘Devaluing by 10% will raise GDP by 0.1% above will otherwise be’. However, we want to be able to present results in a form which policy analysts will find less theoretical, and therefore are concerned to construct a ‘plausible’ baseline.
2. Part of the work on constructing a better baseline is contingent on developing better data on employment and incomes, continuing the work already begun under the EGDI Labour Statistics project
3. We need to intensify our work on measuring the informal economy and on understanding not only the behaviour of informal producers but also the way in which the informal economy interacts with the formal.
 - a. In estimating the numbers we have assumed informal employment grows at 6% p.a. compared to 2% for formal employment. Given the relative sizes of the two, continuing on these trends would see the informal sector providing employment for 20% of South Africa’s employment within 14 years. Is this likely or desirable? Is the recent high rate of growth of the informal sector simply a transitional rate from apartheid to normalcy, or does it represent something more sustained?
 - b. We have little understanding of how the behaviour and drivers of informal producers differs from those of their formal counterparts. If they are basically the same, adding them into the model increases its complexity without increasing the knowledge we might get from it. However, if there are important differences, **not** adding them may give misleading results.
 - c. We have little understanding of how the informal economy interacts with the formal. Does employment (output, incomes) in the two move together or inversely? Theories suggest both possibilities; what is the case in South Africa?
4. This presentation has not been concerned with the scenarios we intend to develop. However, as mentioned already, there is some element of scenario building in our thinking about how to scale up the projected employment levels and patterns to the ‘half unemployment’ target. We will draw on the

work by Professor Berry to develop these scenarios, and particular the case studies of Chile and Indonesia. This will entail translating the experiences of those countries into 'South African'. The current exercise allows us to see that there are two alternative approaches to doing this. We can impose similar policy environments on our model and see what the outcomes are or we can impose similar outcomes – patterns of employment etc – and see policy environment is implied. The latter is more in keeping with the approach we have taken to benchmarking. Our experience thus far suggests that there may be different lessons to be learned from each approach.