

Beyond creative industries: Prospects for the creative sector in South Africa

MUNYARADZI CHATIKOBO

Wits School of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Private Bag 3, 1 Jan Smuts Ave,
Johannesburg, 2000.

Email: Munyaradzi.Chatikobo@wits.ac.za

Abstract

Culture and socio-economic development are inseparable but most local, provincial and national arts and culture programmes in South Africa can be argued to be almost detached from the socio-economic programmes. The separation relegates creative industries sector to the periphery of local, provincial and national economies, thus limiting their opportunities for economic growth. This can be attributed to a cultural policy framework which is not adequately integrated to other socio-economic development policies, strategies and programmes. One of the major consequences of an insular cultural policy framework is the sector's limited ability to sustain itself and hence its heavy dependency on government subsidies and grants from international agencies. Despite multi-layered challenges in cultural policy and creative industries, stakeholders acknowledge the inherent economic growth potential which is yet to be unlocked. Significant economic growth prospects can be argued to lie beyond creative industries and these can be realised through identification of and plugging into implicit cultural policies. Using the concept of 'implicit cultural policies' and other related concepts this paper explores economic opportunities for creative industries 'beyond creative industries'; the challenges of the South African cultural policy framework which could be impeding potential economic growth of the creative and cultural industries and recommendations towards realisation of opportunities missed by the creative industries. The goal of this paper is to contribute to arguments for applied arts and alternative cultural policy frameworks which could grow the creative and cultural industries in South Africa. It suggests an integrated and interdisciplinary cultural policy approach.

Keywords: Cultural policy; Creative Industries; Cultural planning; ‘Implicit Cultural Policies’; Integrated Development Planning, South Africa.

1. Introduction

Culture and socio-economic development are inseparable however, Matarasso (2001) argues that the modern world has an ambiguous relationship with culture which is simultaneously characterised by mistrust and fascination. In South Africa this ambiguous relationship is evident in how creative industries programmes and local and national socio-economic development programmes, can be argued to be separated. Commercial and social development sectors are sceptical about the role of the arts in socio-economic development and artists on the other hand are unable to clearly and convincingly articulate their role in the broader economy. Nawa *et al.* (2014) lament how culture has been pushed to the periphery of development frameworks in the democratic South Africa. In my view this can be traced back to silo mentality in both cultural policy frameworks and other sectoral development strategies which is one of the aspects being examined in this paper.

The aim of this paper is to explore linkages or lack thereof between local, provincial and national cultural policy framework, how existing framework impacts creative work beyond the creative industries and investigate possibilities of cultural policy intervention in growing creative and cultural industries in South Africa. In simple terms creative work ‘beyond the creative industries’ is creative work in education, health, social development, environment, governance and economic development. The paper limits itself to a case example of the relationship between policy frameworks of the City of Johannesburg, the Gauteng Provincial Cultural Policy framework and 1996 White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage as the main objects of study. With a full acknowledgement of discrepancies in infrastructure and economic endowment of the nine provinces and their municipalities, it is anticipated that this case example will give a glimpse of what prevails in other municipalities and provinces across the country. Through a literature review of selected publications and interpretive analysis of policy documents and related strategy documents, the paper answers three key questions:

1. What opportunities are available for creative industries ‘beyond creative industries’?
2. What are the linkages, gaps and barriers in the cultural policy framework which impact economic growth in the cultural and creative industries in South Africa? and

3. How can policy reviews address some of these gaps and barriers to facilitate economic growth in both the cultural and creative industries and other sectors?

The main argument of this paper is that prospects for economic growth of cultural and creative industries in South Africa which sit more beyond the cultural and creative industries sector can be realised through reframing and realignment of local, provincial and national cultural policies with development strategies in other sectors. The paper also argues that economic prospects can be achieved through cultural planning which is clearly defined in subsequent sections. ‘New markets’ for cultural goods and services reside more in realms beyond cultural and creative industries where the arts find relevance in day to day ways of life. These ‘new markets’ are government departments, non-governmental organisations, international development agencies and private companies working in human rights and social justice, social development, politics and governance, education, health, industry and trade and international relations. Traditional consumer markets for cultural goods and services have proven to be too economically depressed to grow and sustain cultural and creative industries in South Africa. Arguments in this paper which are more theoretical but they set a stage for an empirical investigation of the cultural policy landscape and its linkages to other policy domains in South Africa.

2. ‘Beyond creative industries’

While the creative economy is one of the “most rapidly growing sector of the global economy”, it has remained a matter of concern to the South African government (The Herald, 2018, p. 1). The South African Cultural Observatory (SACO) which is the cultural think tank and research arm of the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) sets out to explore ‘the roles and challenges facing the arts, culture and heritage sectors and the creative industries in contributing to social and economic development’ (The Herald, 2018, p. 1). Within this context the idea of going ‘beyond creative industries’ is about exploring ‘new markets’ for creative goods and services beyond the ‘traditional consumer markets’ to realize economic growth. This view is based on the perception and assumption that direct consumption of cultural and creative goods and services in the South African context is regarded as luxury by a larger part of the population who does not have a steady income. Citing the *Mackenzie Report*, Mike Van Graan pointed out that only 28% of Africans have steady wage paying jobs implying that 72% are either unemployed or under-employed or make their living through

the informal sector (Etalks.tv, 2013). The South African unemployment rate is about 26.5% which is far lower than the continental average but the average per capita income is about R58 443 per annum (<http://www.statssa.gov.za/?cat=30>). This implies low buying power which has serious implications for consumption of what is regarded as leisure. There is need to examine how cultural policy frameworks can drive arts, culture, heritage and the creative industries to tap into 'new markets' beyond the traditional arts markets.

South Africa adopted a definition of 'creative industries' which originated in Britain's Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) which states that creative industries are 'those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property' (BOP Consulting *et al.*, 2010, p. 16). The term 'creative industries' is used with the acknowledgement of all contestations about its definition where it is critiqued for its inconsistent classification and arbitrariness (Potts *et al.*, 2008). According to Joffe and Newton (2009, p. 235), creative industries are broadly made up of "basic or 'upstream' arts, that are traditional artforms such as the performing, literary and visual arts" and 'downstream' arts, that are the applied arts such as advertising, design, publishing and media-related activities".

Generally speaking, 'upstream' arts are non-commercial while 'downstream' arts are commercial. Going beyond the 'creative industries' therefore means the use of both 'upstream' and 'downstream' arts in the non-cultural sectors such as health, education, tourism social development, agriculture, mining, military and international relations. It is the interaction between the "creative ecology and the real world" to borrow a phrase used by MacDonald (2013, p. 293). Gray (2007, p. 203) argues that there is change in the policy landscape across the world to place emphasis on the "use of "culture", and particularly the "arts", as instrumental tools for the attainment of non-cultural, non-arts, goals and objectives". This paper examines the potential role of cultural policies in driving non-arts goals and in the process achieve economic goals for the creative and cultural industries sector in South Africa.

In the first decade of post-apartheid South Africa saw Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) collaborating with Department of Trade and Industries (DTI) to embark on several initiatives aimed at driving economic growth of creative industries. These initiatives included Cultural Industries Growth Strategies (CIGS) of 1998 which was part of the broader Accelerated Share Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) of 2004 (Joffe and Newton, 2009). The

second decade saw the review of first decade strategies into the Mzansi Golden Economy of 2011 of which the ultimate aim was to deploy culture in creating a climate of social stability and economic growth (DAC, 2011). The Mzansi Golden Economy Strategy is also part of the broader New Growth Path (NGP) economic strategy of 2010. While these initiatives realised significant successes, the full potential of both ‘upstream’ and ‘downstream’ arts sectors of the creative and cultural industries have not been fully realised and hence the proposition of what Gray (2007); Gibson (2008) and Belfiore (2012) call, commodification and instrumentalization of culture.

Gray (2007, p. 203) defines commodification and instrumentality as “the use of “culture”, and particularly the “arts”, as instrumental tools for the attainment of non-cultural, non-arts, goals and objectives”. Instrumentalization of the arts in the broader sectors of economy and development is not a novel concept in South Africa but in my view, it has all along been a blind spot for cultural policies at all three levels of government. The arts are sporadically used in social development, health, education, and the corporate sector with limited cultural policy backing and limited support by development policies. The result is what I would call ‘floating cultural institutions’. These are organizations which are neither recognized by the creative and cultural industries sector as creative nor by the socio-economic development sector as developmental. Organizations such as Drama for Life¹, Themba Interactive², Clowns Without Borders³, Lefika la Phediso - The Arts Therapy Centre⁴ are examples of organizations working

¹ Drama for Life, based at the University of the Witwatersrand School of Arts, is dedicated to arts for social transformation and healing. Drama for Life is internationally recognised as the University of the Witwatersrand’s unique postgraduate academic, research and community engagement department that brings together the disciplines of Applied Drama and Theatre, Performance Ethnography, Performance as Research, Arts Education, Drama Therapy and Expressive Arts Therapies within the context of a critical reflexive praxis.

² Themba Interactive is the expert at getting people to talk, think and deal with difficult subjects. Using interactive theatre, drama therapy, peer education and facilitation, Themba creates a safe space for beneficiaries to explore their own behaviour and that of people around them, to question themselves and ultimately to change and grow. Themba is a young, dynamic and exciting team with a proven track record of helping people to change their lives.

³ Clowns without borders is an arts organization whose vision is to see “Children being children again” It “enables children and families to play, laugh, and create through the arts”. They strive “to build relationships based on trust and respect, and a sense of playfulness and creativity”.

⁴ Lefika la Phediso-The Arts Therapy Centre is an organisation whose vision is “to provide safe spaces in which creativity and containment nourish emotional development and strengthen relationships”. Their missions is “to build capacity for empathy by training groups of Community Art Counsellors dedicated to psychosocial transformation”

‘beyond the creative industries’ with limited cultural policy intervention. Their work signal economic growth potential for creative and cultural industries in South Africa.

3. Inspiration

The role and contribution of culture to local and national economies is arguably indisputable (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Florida, 2004; Markusen and Gadwa, 2010; Matarasso, 2001; Nawa, 2013a; Pratt, 2008; Roodt, 2006; Sirayi, 2008; Stolarick and Florida, 2006). In the South African context, the 1996 White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage which is still in force acknowledges the role of culture in nation building and also in economic sustainability of the cultural and creative industry (DACST, 1996). Roodt (2006, p. 204) argue that “societal transformation, freedom, justice, peace and development cannot avoid an encounter with “culture”. What is not clearly known is what hinders creatives from tapping into this field ‘beyond the creative industries’ defined by the South African Cultural Observatory (SACO). This paper examines some of these barriers which are evident in the South African cultural policy frameworks. It also explores possibilities of a cultural policy framework which is imbedded in broader socio-economic development policies and strategies. A framework that fully acknowledges the power of ‘implicit cultural policies’ as articulated by Ahearne (2009) and Throsby (2009). It is also a response to a silo mentality which results in separation of the cultural & creative industries sector from the rest of the economy. The paper advocates for integrated local, provincial and national cultural policy frameworks which is plugged into the broader local, provincial and national development strategies.

There is substantial literature on cultural policy and the creative industries in South Africa but most of it focuses on the role of cultural policy and the creative industries in socio-economic development and regeneration of cities (Nawa, 2013b; Rogerson, 2006; Sirayi, 2008). This paper focuses on the potential role of other development sectors in the growth of the creative industries sector through cultural planning and cultural policy integration and harmonisation.

4. A desk review of creative and cultural industries in South Africa

The paper emanates from a desk research which pulled its data from policy and strategic documents, and selected Literature on South African Cultural Policy, Creative industries and economic development. In an attempt to decipher linkages, gaps and barriers in the cultural policy landscape in South Africa and

the rest of the development sectors, a case example of City of Johannesburg in the Gauteng Province is used. Comparative and interpretive policy analysis of local, provincial and national cultural strategic and policy documents is deployed to understand a slice of the South African cultural policy landscape. Thematic analysis is also used to understand the role of the cultural policy framework on the field beyond the creative industries.

Two bodies of literature informed this paper, namely; literature theorising instrumentalization of cultural policy in driving economic growth and socio economic development based on experiences from Europe, Australia and USA such as the work of; Ahearne (2009); Bianchini and Parkinson (1993); Florida (2004); Gray (2009); Matarasso (2001); Stevenson (2003) and Throsby (2009). This body of work is cautiously used to draw learnings and insights with full acknowledgement of the differences in contexts. The second body of literature is on the cultural policy landscape in South Africa addressing the role of cultural policy in the cultural and creative industries and the broader economy. This includes literature by; Booyens (2012); Gregory (2016); Hagg (2015); Joffe (2016); Nawa *et al.* (2014); Rogerson (2006); Roodt (2006) and Sirayi (2008). The aims and focus of these scholars, practitioner and authors varied and hence thematic analysis was used to pull our relevant ideas to build arguments about the use of cultural policy to drive economic growth of creative industries by tapping into the broader economy.

5. Key concepts and other voices

There are a number of contested terms which require defining and clarifications. One of the key terms in this study is ‘culture’, which according to Gray (2010) can be understood from different disciplinary perspectives. Williams (2006, p.32) offers three definitions of culture, namely ‘ideal’ viewpoint where culture is a “state or process of human perfection”; ‘social’ perspective where culture is ‘a particular way of life’ and the ‘documentary’ where culture is “a body of intellectual and imaginative work”, which is art. Art can also be defined as ‘an expression of the way of life’. The South African 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage defines culture as “the dynamic totality of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features which characterise a society or social group” (DACST, 1996, p. 10). According to the World Conference on Cultural Policies which was held in Mexico in 1982:

Culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It

includes not only arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs (UNESCO, 1992, p. 41).

These definitions understand culture as both social and documentary a position which acknowledges the inseparability of creative industries and all other sectors of life which points to infinity opportunities for creative industries. Central to this paper is the term cultural policy which has multiple definitions owing to multidisciplinary perspectives of culture, the different institutions which define it, as well as the different contexts under which it is defined. Metaphorically cultural policy is described as the bridge between “aesthetic creativity and collective ways of life” (Miller and Yúdice, 2002, p. 1). The ‘bridge’ allows for a two-way flow of energy between the creative sphere of culture and the day-to-day way of life highlighting the centrality and inseparability of cultural and creative industries from day to day functions of society. Cultural Policy is inherently present in what Ahearne (2009) and Throsby (2009) describe as ‘implicit’ cultural policies which in my view are often ignored by creative practitioners and government officials who accentuate ‘explicit’ cultural policies. According to Roodt (2006, p. 203) “Cultural policy could be described as authoritative documents formulated by state departments of arts and culture, local authorities or any other public institution that works in the cultural sector with a view to addressing behaviour that poses problems for cultural communities”. These definitions of cultural policy point to what Gray (2007) calls the instrumentality and commodification of cultural policy which in my opinion has not been fully exploited for economic growth of the creative industries sector.

Ahearne (2009) defines ‘explicit’ policies as those policies which are explicitly labelled as cultural policy, while ‘implicit’ cultural policies are those non-cultural policies which shape prescribed cultural attitudes and habits of given territories. Throsby (2009) who takes an economic approach to cultural policy has a similar but slightly different definition, where he says that implicit cultural policies are those economic policies which have hidden cultural purposes. He gives examples of macroeconomic policies like “immigration, taxation, labour market policy, media regulation and international trade” which are administered by other ministries or government departments (Throsby, 2009c, p. 179). This perspective is critical for South Africa as it sheds light on a number of developments, actions, events and pronouncements that are not captured by ‘explicit’ cultural policy texts but have significant impact on the cultural and creative industries. Both Ahearne (2009) and Throsby (2009) agree that implicit

cultural policies are more effective than explicit cultural policies. In my view, implicit cultural policies are a blind spot for the arts culture and heritage sector in South Africa, yet there are vast economic prospects if the sector is integrated into the rest of the economy through other policies.

This paper sees prospects for creative work ‘beyond creative industries’ in cultural planning which was developed in the 80s to champion urban regeneration specifically in Europe. Stevenson (2004, p. 119) has it that “Cultural planning is a strategic approach to city re-imaging and cultural industries development that variously involves establishing cultural precincts, nurturing creative activity, and re-evaluating public life and civic identity”. It is also described as a two way culturally sensitive approach between cultural resources and public policy which is used in urban and rural planning as well as environmental, social and economic public policy making (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993). Cultural planning can be deployed in making implicit cultural policies for urban and rural municipalities where cultural objectives are imbedded in public policies which are aimed in influencing cultural behaviour of people. This resonates with Nawa *et al.* (2014, p. 164) who call for the recognition and integration of culture by advocating for “a National Culture Plan as a postscript to the NDP”. The prospects of economic growth by the cultural and creative industries beyond its boundaries is theorised with full acknowledgement of what Gray (2006) identified as the complexities of demonstrating causal mechanisms between culture and other developmental goals. In my view the complexities do not diminish growth potential which I argue can be achieved through cultural planning (Florida, 2004; Stevenson, 2003).

6. The cultural policy landscape in South Africa – a case example of city of Johannesburg

The cultural policy landscape in South Africa is made up of national, provincial and local policies. The landscape has one (1) national policy document which is the 1996 White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage and it should have nine (9) provincial policies and two hundred and seventy-eight (278) local municipal cultural policies but not all provinces and local authorities have explicit cultural policies per se as evidenced by Gauteng Province. Local government are expected by the constitution to effectively run their affairs with support from provincial and national government (Roodt, 2006), but the linkages between these three spheres of government are weak as illustrated below.

As mentioned earlier this paper focuses on the City of Johannesburg cultural policy framework in relation to the Gauteng Provincial and the National cultural policy frameworks. The City of Johannesburg's cultural policy framework is made up of four policy frameworks namely Public Art Policy, Heritage Framework, Flag Policy and Policy on Naming and Renaming of Streets and other Public Places. (http://www.joburgculture.co.za/built_heritage/index.html). City of Johannesburg's Public Art Policy drives programmes and sites such as; Soweto Theatre, Arts alive, Ishashalazi Theatre Festival, Africa Day, Carnival, Mofolo Art Centre, Joburg Pro-music theatre, Uncle Tom's Community Centre, Johannesburg Art Gallery, James Hall Museum of Transport, Hector Pieterse Museum, Geology Museum and Bensusan Museum of Photography. The Heritage Framework also referred to as to Built Heritage drives 16 June Trail, Credo Muthwa Village, Plaques Public Art, Fiestas Mural, Ghandi in Johannesburg and many memorials and monuments (http://www.joburgculture.co.za/built_heritage/index.html). While all public art programmes can be argued to promote socio economic development, their programmes are separate from the day to day socio-economic fabric of City of Johannesburg residents as evidenced by how some of them have struggled to draw audiences.

The mission of the Public Art Policy is "to celebrate Johannesburg's unique character and identity and enhance the urban environment through a vibrant, diverse city-wide programme of public art" (City of Johannesburg, 2016, p. 2). The Heritage Framework is about "promoting local identity and ensuring that a place has historic depth, interest, image and meaning" (<http://www.joburgculture.co.za/policies/index.html>). The policy is about public image, public perception, symbolic meaning, local identity as well as creating job opportunities for artists. There is no mention of how these explicit cultural policies interface with implicit cultural policies in the non-cultural sectors such as health, education, tourism social development, agriculture, mining, military and international relations.

Gauteng Province does not have a cultural policy per se, but has five strategy documents namely; the Creative Industries Development Framework of the Gauteng Provincial Government; the Gauteng Performing Arts Strategy of 2012, Gauteng Craft Strategic Framework 2007-2012 Gauteng Visual Arts Strategy of 2012 and the Gauteng Music Strategic Framework of 2009. The separation of different creative art forms attests to the absence of a coherent creative sector which casts doubts on the possibility of imaging a cultural policy framework which can drive creative work 'beyond the creative industries'.

The 1996 White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage is the cornerstone of cultural and creative industries in South Africa with the mandate to "realise the full potential of arts, culture, science and technology in social and economic development, nurture creativity and innovation, and promote the diverse heritage of our nation" (DACST, 1996, p. 8). It is currently under review since 2016 following two other review attempts in 2006 and 2013. Implementation of the White Paper has over the years been realised through a number of strategies such as the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (ASGISA), the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (CIGS) and Creative South Africa (Joffe and Newton, 2009). These and many other strategies have yielded programmes which have not adequately tapped into the broader economic sector and hence opportunities beyond the creative and cultural industries.

7. Gaps and barriers between creative economy and the broader economy in South Africa

There are glaring disconnections between the cultural policy landscape and national, provincial and local socio economic development strategies. Roodt (2006); Sirayi (2008) and Nawa *et al.* (2014) have all observed how culture is not considered in linking other development agendas. "Culture is being treated as a mere afterthought and thus it remains adrift in a no-man's land" (Roodt, 2006, p. 206). This casual treatment has resulted in what I earlier on termed 'floating organisations' which do not have a permanent home in-terms of policy regulation. Culture is mentioned in passing in the National Development Plan (NDP⁵) which was adopted by parliament in 2012 (Nawa *et al.*, 2014). The Gauteng Spatial Development Framework 2030 does not mention 'arts and culture' and it only lists creative industries twice proving that there is a disconnection between this strategic document and the five cultural framework documents. A word search shows that the Joburg 2040 Development Strategy mentions 'arts and culture' only once and does not mention 'creative industries' at all, also pointing to serious policy gaps at local government level. The absence of 'arts and culture' or 'creative industries' imply that culture had limited or no role in the provincial and local development agenda. This partly explains what Matarasso (2001) described as the ambiguous relationship between culture and the modern world, where at one point it is treated as important and the next moment it is relegated the periphery of the socio-economic development agenda.

⁵ South Africa's National Development Plan, launched in 2012, is a detailed blueprint for how the country can eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by the year 2030

The White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage implicitly recognises the inter-disciplinary nature of culture and the role of other government departments like the departments of education, tourism, trade and industry. My interpretation is that the policy took a non-committal stance by stating that “Where relevant, the Ministry will also establish inter-ministerial arts educational advisory bodies to ensure communication in line with this policy” (DACST, 1996, p. 21). The absence of an explicit and bold policy statement regarding inter-disciplinary collaboration resulted in the Department of Arts and Culture failing to foster natural synergies with departments like education and health which could have resulted in vibrant employment and revenue generating programmes. The Sirayi led 2006 Cultural Policy Review Committee also observed that the White Paper remained “compartmentalised” despite having mentioned the integration of arts and culture in all aspects of socio-economic development (Sirayi, 2006, p. 31). The insularity of the national cultural policy framework to anything beyond the traditional art forms can be argued to be one of the causes of the lack of economic sustainability as there are many missed employment opportunities.

The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage understand ‘culture’ as “the dynamic totality of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features which characterise a society or social group” (DACST, 1996, p. 10). This conception however is not sustained throughout the whole policy document as it later on focuses on arts, culture and heritage as a standalone sector with limited institutional integration into other broader socio-economic development sectors.

Roodt (2006) laments the dearth of coordinated policy development in South Africa, which I concur with and argue that this has not only stifled socio-economic development but it has significantly contributed to the stunted economic growth in some subsector of the creative industries. There is no alignment between the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage and the five Gauteng Provincial framework documents. There is also no alignment between the five Gauteng Provincial framework documents and the four City of Johannesburg cultural policy documents. This renders the cascading of national policy imperatives and related resources difficult if not impossible.

The formulation of the 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage was a culmination of a widely consultative process which was led by the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) which was instituted by the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology in 1994. Using interpretive policy analysis terms, the ACTAG is a policy artefact of the democratic era which imbue the values of democracy, consultation, transparency and active citizen engagement.

ACTAG was constituted by 23 members from various arts and cultural fields who were selected from 300 nominees (DACST, 1995). Its mandate was to lead a process towards a new arts and culture policy aligned to the new constitution, which would address the inequalities of apartheid within the context of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). In as much as the twenty three (23)-member task group was representative of the arts, culture and heritage community and the process was widely consultative to capture the aspirations of the broader community, the absence of the voice from the broader economy was conspicuous. This can be argued to have marked the beginning of a silo mentality which has created a barrier between creative industries and the rest of socio-economic development sectors.

It is arguably true that South Africa has one of the best constitutions in the world, and that policies and legislative instruments are equally good but the interpretation of the constitution and policy implementation has been a serious weakness within the creative and cultural industries sector. The result is many missed opportunities. Roodt (2006) explains that chapter 3 of the constitution of South Africa provide for the cooperation of the three spheres of government namely local, provincial and national governments. She further explains that “the Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations Act 97 of 1997 promotes co-operation between the spheres of government on fiscal, budgetary and financial matters and makes equitable sharing of revenue possible” (Roodt, 2006, p. 214). The act was later amended to Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act 13 of 2005 to improve coherence, effectiveness and monitoring and evaluation of the delivery of national priorities but it was given a pragmatic interpretation where its function was seen as aimed at improving service delivery only (Roodt, 2006). Poor interpretation of the constitution and the intergovernmental relations has contributed to disconnections between the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and other government departments.

8. Economic growth opportunities for creative industries ‘beyond the creative industries’

There are vast opportunities ‘beyond creative industries’ as demonstrated largely by funding and programming gaps filled by international development and cultural organisations. These opportunities are not governed and regulated by existing explicit cultural policy frameworks but are somewhat supported by ‘implicit’ cultural policies and hence the proposition for cultural policy intervention that would align existing cultural policies and non-cultural policies.

Creative sector in Africa is predominantly reliant on donor funding from international cultural and other development agencies such as the British Council, the Goethe Institut, the French institute lack of support from African governments (Etalks.tv, 2013). Creative projects which are mainly funded by these international cultural institutions and other international development agencies fall in the realm of culture and development, a field which is often not clearly articulated by existing cultural policy frameworks. The culture and development sector can be described as a sub-sector of the creative industries which has attracted a lot of investment.

Investment by international development and cultural institutions has created employment for many creatives over reasonably long periods of time. Many prominent cultural institutions across Africa such as the Culture Fund Trust of Zimbabwe, Arterial Network, ASSITEJ South Africa, Nanzikambe in Malawi and Studios Kabako in DR Congo owe their establishment to western cultural funding, foreign mission and development agencies (Chatikobo, 2017). Some projects run by these African cultural organisations are offered as services to international development agencies pointing to a unique ‘market’ for cultural goods and services. This ‘international market’ is not regulated by existing cultural policies thus presenting missed opportunities for the creative industries in Africa and South Africa.

It is not deniable that current cultural policy framework benefits artists and contribute to the economic growth of the creative industries, but this paper argues that by going beyond the creative industries, there are more opportunities for accelerated economic growth. Under the section on ‘building new audiences, developing new markets’ the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage had, as one of its strategies to work with “Ministry of Education with the aim of introducing arts education at school level for all children, to cultivate a long term interest in the arts” (DACST, 1996, p. 25). There is potential to go beyond cultivating long term interests in the arts. Through policy interventions governments at all three levels can create permanent jobs for artists in schools. Throsby (2010) says “gone are the days when cultural policy used to primarily deal with creative arts which were easily identifiable, now the scope of cultural policy has expanded beyond ministries of arts and culture”. Similar developments are happening in small pockets across South Africa with minimal policy support and recognition at local, provincial and local levels, despite policy pronouncements.

The arts are a non-threatening way of promoting human rights, which include political rights, nation building, cultural citizenship and social building (Karim, 2001). Major customers for cultural and creative practitioners working in this field are UN organisations, government departments and big civil society organisations. Explicit cultural policy frameworks in South Africa can be reviewed to ensure interconnectedness with foreign policies and bilateral trade agreements.

Another opportunity beyond creative industries is culture and health of which Sengendo (2001, p. 53) says “health policy makers, planners and administrators distil those cultural factors that promote or constrain health development and give them specific attention” in collaboration with players in the creative industries. Cultural organisations like Themba Interactive⁶ and Drama for Life have been working in these areas with minimal support and recognition from governments due to their strong developmental focus. Current cultural policy frameworks support artistic projects more than developmental initiatives. The strong bias of current cultural policy frameworks towards artistic excellency can be traced to the history of cultural policies which transitioned from arts policies (Throsby, 2010). A cultural policy which drives development interventions beyond creative industries would create opportunities for more cultural and creative practitioners.

Writing about the relationship between creative industries and other industries in Australia, Hearn (2015, p. 94) argues that “the number of workers in creative occupations is growing strongly, and that these workers are spread right across the whole economy”. In her conference presentation titled *Mapping the Cultural Industries in South Africa*, Snowball (2018) points to ‘cultural workers outside the cultural sector’ which her research did not capture thus acknowledging existence of employment opportunities for artists ‘beyond creative industries’ in South Africa. Based on anecdotal evidence, the phenomenon of artists employed in other industries is read negatively as a failure of creative industries to create job opportunities for artists. With further research and empirical evidence, the phenomenon of creative occupations ‘beyond creative industries’ presents possibilities for economic growth of the creative economy within the broader economy. In my view, these possibilities can be achieved through cultural policy review and alignment interventions.

⁶ Themba Interactive is an arts-based health and development communication organisation which creates a safe space for beneficiaries to explore their own behaviour and that of people around them, to question themselves and ultimately to change and grow.

9. Towards an integrated cultural policy framework in South Africa

Many researchers and scholars of cultural policy and creative industries across the world and across disciplines have called for multi-disciplinary perspective and cross-disciplinary approaches to cultural policy and creative industries. Acknowledging the differences in contexts between developed and developing countries, the call is still applicable to the South African context. Writing about the cultural policy in Slovenia, Vesna Copic and Andrej Srakar observed that “Regarding a new content or subject matter of cultural policy: over the years cultural policy has moved beyond the sectorial notion of arts and culture, not only to embrace cultural planning and cultural industries, but also to developing new connections, for example to the field of human rights, the protection of cultural diversity, urban regeneration, economic and social development of a nation, international relations etc”. (Čopič and Srakar, 2012, p. 7).

If this is already happening in other contexts, it can also be implemented in Africa and South Africa. What is important here it to emphasise the potential economic gains that can be realised by the creative industries through this policy intervention (Čopič and Srakar, 2012). The 2006 Sirayi led Cultural Policy Review Committee also recommended a cultural planning approach involving department of Arts and Culture, Housing, Public Works, Transport, Water Affairs and Tourism (Sirayi, 2006). The same sentiment is shared by Roodt (2006, p. 205) who says “Cultural policies are not confined to conservation sites; but underlie every viable project or development strategy in tourism, transportation, education, economic development and social services”. Indeed, it is not so much about the “planning of culture” or creating a climate conducive for cultural expression and the protection and development of heritage, it is about allowing cultural considerations their say in planning and development.

The breaking down of walls between culture as the ‘way of life’ and culture as the ‘expression of way of life’ helps to increase the value of creative industries across diverse industry sectors. City of Johannesburg has at its disposal the Integrated Development Planning (IDP)⁷ to imbed cultural planning in the city strategic plan. This does not only facilitate employment creation but helps to expand the market for creative and cultural value which is embedded in all sectors of life such as health, education, mining and others.

⁷ An Integrated Development Planning is an approach to planning that involves the entire municipality and its citizens in finding the best solutions to achieve good long-term development.

In addition to cultural planning as strategy, linkages between national, provincial and local cultural policy frameworks need to be established as they are critical to ensure coordinated cascading of national strategic goals and the related financial resources to impact the day to day lives of ordinary South African citizens.

10. Conclusion

Reflecting on the Australian context Cutler (2008, p. 1) says there is a “growing role and importance of the creative economy across diverse industry sectors”. This is also true of the South African context where Rogerson (2006) writes about tourism-led urban regeneration through creative industries. Gregory (2016); Sirayi (2008) and Nawa (2015) write about the role of cultural policy in urban regeneration in South Africa where they highlight cultural planning as the centre piece of urban socio-economic fabric. These present many opportunities which awaits to be fully tapped into. The existing programmes and initiative organisations like Drama for Life and Lefika la Phedoso which are responsive to social challenges, can be accentuated by a cultural policy framework which explicitly promotes integration of creative programmes as needs in day today lives of people.

The barriers in the gaps between local, provincial and national cultural policy frameworks are largely a result of the failure by the three tiers of governments to interpret the demands of the Constitution of South Africa which clearly requires intergovernmental integration of policies (Roodt, 2006). Nawa (2016, p. 759) attributes the disjointedness of the policy framework to “lackadaisical attitude or ignorance on the part of policymakers, town planners, government officials and academics about the role of culture in matters beyond the artistic realm”. Poor policy interpretation and implementation are at the core of major economic growth challenges faced by the creative and cultural industries sector in South Africa. Policies are central to the generation and distribution of financial recourses in any economy.

Simjanovska (2011, p. 5) asserts that the task of the cultural policy is not only to programme arts and cultural production, but also to organise all cultural resources and to develop conditions for diffusion of cultural values. The apparent gap between creative economy and the diverse sectors of the broad economy can be bridged to change the fortunes of the creative and cultural industries in South Africa particularly those sectors that have been relegated to the periphery of societal development, such as the community theatre subsector. Drawing

from lessons from across the world South African scholars and practitioners agree that cultural planning is the answer to effective integration of the creative economy with the broader economy (Nawa *et al.*, 2014; Roodt, 2006; Sirayi, 2008). I argue that integration supported by relevant policy implementation and enforcement statutes will not only create jobs for the creatives but will also open up new markets ‘beyond the creative industries’ which can accelerate the economic growth and prosperity of the sector.

It is also evident from the discussion that the sphere ‘beyond the creative industries’ is regulated by policies other than explicit cultural policies. Implicit cultural policies are playing a significant role in shaping cultural work ‘beyond the creative industries’ and hence cultural policy reviews and alignments need to pay attention to other policies for both social relevancy and economic growth of the creative industries in South Africa

Biographical notes

Munyaradzi Chatikobo is a lecturer in Cultural Policy and Management and Drama for Life Departments, Wits School of Arts. He has vast experience in Cultural Leadership and Arts Management. Munyaradzi graduated from University of Zimbabwe in 1995 with a Special Honours in Theatre Arts. In 2009 he successfully completed a MA in Applied Drama and Theatre under Drama for Life in Wits School of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand. He is currently a PhD candidate in the Wits School of Arts.

References

- Ahearne, J. (2009). ‘Cultural policy explicit and implicit: a distinction and some uses’. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15(2), pp. 141–153.
- Belfiore, E. (2012). “‘Defensive instrumentalism’ and the legacy of New Labour’s cultural policies’. *Cultural Trends*, 21(2), pp. 103–111.
- Bianchini, F. and Parkinson, M. (1993). *Cultural policy and urban regeneration: the West European experience*. Manchester University Press.
- Booyens, I. (2012). ‘Creative industries, inequality and social development: developments, impacts and challenges in Cape Town’, in. *Urban Forum*, Springer, pp. 43–60.
- BOP Consulting *et al.* (2010). *Mapping the Creative Industries: A Toolkit*. British Council.

- Chatikobo, M. (2017). 'The establishment and growth of Drama for Life: A reflection on the paradoxes of global North funding for culture and development in Africa', in. Unpublished.
- Čopić, V. and Srakar, A. (2012). Cultural Governance: A Literature Review. European expert network on culture.
- Cutler, T. (2008). 'Creativity, the arts and innovation', Speech at Currency House's The Arts and Public Life series, 19.
- DAC (2011). 'Mzansi's Golden Economy Strategy'. DAC. Available at: http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/Mzansi_Golden_Economy_20110411.pdf.
- DACST (1995). Report of the Arts and Culture Task Group. Pretoria.
- DACST (1996). 'White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage'. Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. Available at: <http://www.dac.gov.za/content/white-paper-arts-culture-and-heritage-0> (Accessed: 30 September 2015).
- Department of Arts, Culture, Heritage Services (2016). 'Public Art Policy'. City of Johannesburg.
- Etalks.tv (2013). Will the creative industry make Africa flourish? Vienna: Etalks.tv (Debate @etalks.tv). Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L9y0J45MXg>.
- Florida, R. (2004). 'The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life (Paperback)'.
- Gibson, L. (2008). 'In defence of instrumentality'. *Cultural Trends*, 17(4), pp. 247–257.
- Gray, C. (2006). 'Managing the unmanageable: The politics of cultural planning'. *Public Policy and Administration*, 21(2), pp. 101–113.
- Gray, C. (2007). 'Commodification and instrumentality in cultural policy'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 13(2), pp. 203–215.
- Gray, C. (2009). 'Managing cultural policy: pitfalls and prospects'. *Public Administration*, 87(3), pp. 574–585.
- Gray, C. (2010). 'Analysing cultural policy: incorrigibly plural or ontologically incompatible?'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 16(2), pp. 215–230.
- Gregory, J. J. (2016). 'Creative industries and urban regeneration—The Maboneng precinct, Johannesburg'. *Local Economy*, 31(1–2), pp. 158–171.

- Hagg, G. (2015). 'Towards optimally functioning community arts centres in South Africa: proposed strategy for empowering community arts centres'.
- Hearn, G. N. (2015). 'The creative fulcrum: Where, how and why the creative workforce is growing', in *Creative Business in Australia: Learnings from the Creative Industries Innovation Centre, 2009 to 2015*. UTS ePress, pp. 93–106.
- Joffe, A. (2016). 'Cultural policy making and the cultural industries in South Africa: towards a new agenda', in unpublished paper.
- Joffe, A. and Newton, M. (2009). 'Creative industries', *Creative Industries Sector Report*, prepared for the HSRC.
- Karim, K. H. (2001). 'Culture, governance & human rights', in Wayland, S. V. (ed.) *Recognising Culture A series of briefing papers on culture and development*. London.: Comedia, the Department of Canadian Heritage and UNESCO.
- MacDonald, S. (2013). 'Beyond the creative industries'. *International Journal of Education Through Art*, 9(3), pp. 293–309.
- Markusen, A. and Gadwa, A. (2010). 'Arts and culture in urban or regional planning: A review and research agenda'. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 29(3), pp. 379–391.
- Matarasso, F. (2001). *Recognising culture*. Comedia.
- Miller, T. and Yúdice, G. (2002). *Cultural policy*. Sage.
- Nawa, L. (2016). 'Local cultural policy in South Africa: a tool for urban regeneration'. *Journal of Public Administration*, 51(4), pp. 758–771.
- Nawa, L. L. (2013). *Municipal cultural policy and development in South Africa: a study of the city of Tshwane metropolitan municipality*.
- Nawa, L. L. (2015). 'Cultural Policy Dynamics in South Africa'. Johannesburg. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/11939465/Cultural_Policy_Dynamics_In_South_Africa
- Nawa, L., Sirayi, H. and Ebewo, P. (2014). 'Challenges of adopting culture-sensitive development framework in South Africa: a critical reflection'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, (ahead-of-print), pp. 1–17.
- Potts, J. *et al.* (2008). 'Social network markets: a new definition of the creative industries'. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 32(3), pp. 167–185.
- Pratt, A. C. (2008). 'Creative cities: the cultural industries and the creative class'. *Geografiska annaler: series B, Human Geography*, 90(2), pp. 107–117.

- Rogerson, C. M. (2006). 'Creative industries and urban tourism: South African perspectives', in. *Urban Forum*, Springer, pp. 149–166.
- Roodt, H. (2006). 'Cultural policy and the landscape of the law in South Africa'. *Fundamina*, 12, p. 203.
- Sengendo, J. (2001). 'Culture and health', in *Recognising Culture A series of briefing papers on culture and development*. London: Comedia, the Department of Canadian Heritage and UNESCO.
- Simjanovska, V. (2011). 'Concepts and models of cultural policy: state versus city', new identity and new paradigm.
- Sirayi, M. (2006). Draft Report of Cultural Policy Review Committee. Draft Review Report. Cape Town. Available at: https://www.westerncape.gov.za/other/2006/4/Draft_Policy_Review_Report_2224_March.pdf.
- Sirayi, M. (2008). 'Cultural planning and urban renewal in South Africa'. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 37(4), pp. 333–344.
- Snowball, J. (2018). 'Mapping the Cultural Industries in South Africa', in. SACO Conference 2018, Port Elizabeth. Available at: <https://www.southafricanculturalobservatory.co.za/document-library>.
- Stevenson, D. (2003). *Cities and urban cultures*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- Stevenson, D. (2004). "'Civic gold" rush: Cultural planning and the politics of the third way'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 10(1), pp. 119–131.
- Stolarick, K. and Florida, R. (2006). 'Creativity, connections and innovation: a study of linkages in the Montréal Region'. *Environment and Planning A*, 38(10), pp. 1799–1817.
- The Herald (2018). 'Future of economic creativity in arts, culture central theme to SACO Conference'. *The Herald*, 7 March, p. 1.
- Throsby, D. (2009). 'Explicit and implicit cultural policy: some economic aspects'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15(2), pp. 179–185..
- Throsby, D. (2010). *The economics of cultural policy*. Melbourne,: Cambridge University Press.
- UNESCO (1992). *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies* World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico City, 26 July - 6 August 1982. Mexico: UNESCO. Available at: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/12762/11295421661mexico_en.pdf/mexico_en.pdf.
- Williams, R. (2006). 'The analysis of culture', in Storey, J. (ed.) *Cultural theory and popular culture*. 5th edn. Pearson Longman, pp. 32–40.

Web References

<http://www.gauteng.gov.za/government/departments/sport/Pages/Documents.aspx> (Accessed 6 March 2018).

http://www.joburgculture.co.za/built_heritage/index.html (accessed 6 March 2018).

http://www.joburgculture.co.za/built_heritage/index.html (accessed 6 March 2018).

<http://www.joburgculture.co.za/policies/index.html> (accessed 6 March 2018).

<http://www.statssa.gov.za/?cat=30> (Accessed 6 March 2018).