Creative Industries and Urban Tourism: South African Perspectives

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INTRODUCTION

Richards and Wilson (2006a) categorise under four major headings the multiple different strategies used by cities in "developing distinction in tourism". First, is the construction of major new landmarks or flagship developments that aim to become symbolic icons for a city's identity (Evans, 2003). Alongside such international examples as Bilbao's Guggerheim Museum, African illustrations would include the Nelson Mandela Bridge in Johannesburg and the proposed Mandela "Liberty" statue at Port Elizabeth harbour. Second, is the attraction of mega-events or expositions, which is now a standard strategy that many cities compete fiercely to employ (Garcia, 2004; Kurtzman, 2005; Richards and Wilson, 2006a), including also developing world cities such as Cape Town (Padayachee, 1997; Hiller, 2000; Hall, 2004). "Thematisation" is viewed as the third basis for strategies for urban regeneration and involves cities seeking to distinguish themselves by focussing on a specific theme, such as culture, sport, arts or entertainment and marketing themselves variously as "cultural capital" or "24 hour cities" (Law, 1992, 1993; Swarbrooke, 1999, 2000; McCarthy, 2002). The final category is that of "heritage mining" through which cities attempt "to re-develop themselves through the revalorisation of cultural heritage, usually with an emphasis on the built heritage" (Richards and Wilson, 2006a). In the developing world, Havana provides one of best examples of this strategy for urban tourism promotion (Colantonio and Potter, 2006).

The success of these various different approaches towards tourism-led urban regeneration has been observed to be both spatially and temporally uneven, with some cities enjoying periods of revitalisation, which are often followed, however, by a need for further re-invention or refreshment through the development of newer tourism products. At the heart of the difficulty of applying tourism-led regeneration strategies is that "nothing succeeds like success" (Richards and Wilson, 2006a). As a consequence, there is a common and ever-increasing ten-

dency for cities to borrow, adapt and copy regeneration ideas from other success-ful cities (Harvey, 1989). Thus, as more and more cities compete in producing and reproducing themselves as spaces for tourism consumption, tourism-led strat-egies of regeneration tend to employ "the same formulaic mechanisms" which in turn leads to the serial reproduction of culture (Richards and Wilson, 2006a). Accordingly, as culture is utilised as a means of social and economic regenera-tion, the cultural tourism market becomes flooded with "identikit" new cultural attractions and heritage centres (Smith, 2005a; Richards and Wilson, 2006b).

In addressing this dilemma of the serial reproduction of culture and of the need for developing new urban tourism products, one of the most fashionable approaches is viewed as via the encouragement and nurturing of "creativity", "creative industries" and "creative tourism" in cities (Smith, 2005a, 2005b; Richards and Wilson, 2006a, 2006b). As Smith (2005b: 23) reflects, creative industries are used increasingly "as tools for the regeneration and transfiguration of urban spaces of consumption". The aim in this discussion is to profile the emerging relationship between urban tourism and creative industries in Africa through the experience of Johannesburg, South Africa's leading economic city. Two sections of material are presented. First, the current debates taking place in the developed world are explored around the linkages between "creative indus-tries" and urban tourism. Against this backcloth, attention moves to introduce a perspective from South Africa, in particular through the record of Johannesburg.

CREATIVITY, CREATIVE TOURISM AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

In a recent international survey of tourism, culture and urban regeneration, Smith (2005b: 33) asserts that "the role of creativity in the development of cities and tourist spaces is of increasing importance". Within a wider setting, it was observed that "the theme of creativity is currently of great significance, not just for tourism and leisure, but in terms of social and cultural development more generally" (Smith, 2005a: 3).

The term "creative tourism" has been increasingly applied as an extension of "cultural tourism" (Richards, 2005; Richards and Wilson, 2006a, 2006b). It was defined by Richards and Raymond (2000: 18) as "tourism which offers visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in courses and learning experiences which are characteristic of the holiday destina-tion where they are undertaken". The emergence of creative tourism is viewed sometimes as, in part, a reaction to dissatisfaction with cultural tourism products in recent years (Smith, 2005a). In particular, such disappointments concern "the lack of involvement and participation available to tourists and the relatively

standardised nature of the product" (Richards, 2005: 15). Creative tourism is "active rather than passive, about learning rather than looking, about self-development as well as economic development" (Richards, 2005: 17–18). The activity of creative tourism potentially can draw upon local skills, expertise, traditions and the uniqueness of places (Binkhorst, 2005; Richards and Wilson, 2006a). Beyond the well-known creative tourism experiences of gastronomy and wine holidays, the creative tourist can learn through participation also about arts and crafts, design, health, languages or sport (Meethan and Beer, 2005; Richards, 2005). Above all, the essential foundation for developing creative tourism "is to identify those activities that are closely linked to a specific region" (Richards, 2005: 19). As has been demonstrated by the experience of Nelson, New Zealand, the growth of creative tourism can be forged through linkages made with local "creative industries" (especially arts and crafts) and assisted by support from local government as part of destination management initiatives (Zahra, 2005).

The concept of "creative industries" represents "a quite recent category in academic, policy and industry discourse" (Cunningham, 2003: 1). It has been argued that the formal origins of the concept can be found in the Blair Labour Government's establishment of a Creative Industries Task Force (CITF) after its election in Britain in 1997 (Flew, 2002). The Creative Industries Mapping Document, which was prepared by the newly constituted Department of Culture, Media and Sport (1998), defined creative industries "as those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property". The boundaries of "creative industries" are not always tightly defined. Wood and Taylor (2004: 389) go so far as to argue that defining creative industries "is a task fraught with methodological and semantic challenges". The UK CITF identified as many as thirteen different sectors that were to be encompassed within the framework of "creative industries" (Table 1).

Table 1

Creative Industries in the United Kingdom

• Advertising	• Interactive Leisure Software
• Architecture	• Music
• Arts and Antique Markets	• Television and radio
• Crafts	• Performing Arts
• Design	• Publishing
• Designer Fashion	• Software
• Film	

Source: Department of Culture, Media and Sport, UK, 1998

As Flew (2002: 5) asserts, "such listings inherently carry an ad hoc and prag-matic element to them". Likewise, Cunningham (2003: 1) criticises the CITF listing as "eclectic". In a more analytical fashion, the economist Caves (2000: 1) sought to define creative industries in the following terms: "Creative industries supply goods and services that we broadly associate with cultural, artistic, or simply entertainment value. They include book and magazine publishing, the visual arts (painting and sculpture), the performing arts (theatre, opera, concerts, dance), sound recordings, cinema and TV films, even fashion and toys and games". Since 2000, several other researchers have sought to modify these definitions and offer varying sectoral listings of creative industries; most frequently, these lists include film and television, arts, crafts, music, media, and designer fashion; sometimes, they extend to include even the activity of tourism as a whole rather than just "creative tourism" (Evans, 2005).

The scholarship on creative industries essentially builds upon earlier thinking on "cultural industries" (Flew, 2002) and in particular of the challenges raised by Richard Florida's (2002) book, *The Rise of the Creative Class*. The major contri-bution of Florida (2002) was to unsettle conventional notions of culture and cre-ativity "as frivolous and derivative, as something that is nice to have, but not important to nuts and bolts economic development" (Leslie, 2005: 403). Indeed, Florida's work (2002) demonstrates that creativity and culture can have economic benefits and that creativity and economy are inextricably woven together. In re-cent years, research interest concerning the development of creative industries has burgeoned and a vibrant set of debates has emerged particularly around cre-ativity, clusters and industrial districts (Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Scott, 1996; Caves, 2000; de Berranger and Meldrum, 2000; Hall, 2000; Bilton and Leary, 2002; Florida, 2002; Santagata, 2002; Caves, 2003; Flew, 2003; Turok, 2003; Brecknock, 2004; Santagata, 2004). In particular, Scott (2004: 463) draws atten-tion to the growth of the new creative economy and of rising levels of optimism surrounding "cultural-industrial districts" as "drivers of local economic develop-ment at selected locations, above all in large cosmopolitan cities, but also in many other kinds of geographical contexts". Creative industries are characterised by, inter alia, extensive networking, self-help and collaboration, "flat hierarchies" and partnerships, and the domination of small and micro-enterprise (Evans, 2005; Meethan and Beer, 2005). Another common feature is a locational preference among certain segments of creative industries for central or inner-city locations rather than peripheral areas (Newton, 2003).

Despite definitional controversy, over the last few years creative industries and creative districts, undoubtedly, "have become a major new consideration in urban economics and city politics" (Brecknock, 2004: 1). At a national level, the

creative industry of designer fashion came under the spotlight in both the United Kingdom and New Zealand during the 1990s. Unprecedented attention was accorded to designer fashion by the media and national government in campaigns such as "Cool Britannia". Moreover, it has been observed that fashion was assigned "the dual tasks of economic development and re-branding New Zealand as a creative talented nation" (Bill, 2005: 7). For some scholars, whole cities are now called upon to re-invent themselves as "creative cities" (Landry, 2000). In particular, the English town of Huddersfield, a former woollen mill town, has sought to transform itself through its Creative Town Initiative (Wood and Taylor, 2004).

Policy initiatives to support or nurture the category of creative industries have been launched by several cities including Brisbane, Berlin, Barcelona, Dublin, Helsinki, Manchester, Milan, Tilburg and Toronto (Hall, 2000; Flew, 2002; Cunningham, 2003; Scott, 2004; Leslie, 2005). In addition, the Canadian city of Montreal aims to position itself as "a design metropole" (Leslie, 2005). Many cities plan strategically to enhance the growth and development within cities of "creative spaces" (Dabinett, 2004; Scott, 2004; Evans, 2005). It has been pointed out, however, that some of the most well-known creative districts—such as SoHo in New York City or Montmartre in Paris—were never planned; rather "they emerged spontaneously from currents of dissent, conflict and collision present in cities of disorder" (Leslie, 2005: 405).

A critical set of international debates are beginning to surface concerning the "local conditions" which facilitate the development of "creative clusters" and of "creative cities" (Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Hall, 2000; Landry, 2000; Bell and Jayne, 2003; Brecknock, 2004; Masters et al., 2005). In an important contribution, Pratt (2004) argues that creative clusters are formally a set of business clusters. Internationally, Evans (2005) considers that creative industries are now identified as an economic cluster. For localities that host significant concentrations of these creative industries, Wu (2005: 3) stresses that the "beneficial impacts are tremendous" especially in respect of local growth potential. Commonly, creative industries are added to a list of "leading edge" or "growth sectors" such as financial services, ICT or high technology, which signals the strength and potential of a local economy (Evans, 2005).

Several factors are identified as important influences upon the emergence of dynamic creative clusters, including local innovation capacity, availability of venture capital, the role of institutions in mediating collaboration, an appropriate skills and knowledge base, and targeted public policies (Wu, 2005). For Meethan and Beer (2005) creative industries thrive on innovation, mobility and flexibility. The growth of "creative spaces" and "creative industries" is also viewed as linked critically to the factor of market demand. Sustaining the development of creative

industries, Evans (2005: 7) argues, requires a growing local economy, affluence and investor confidence. From the international experience it is contended that "cities need to build institutional and political mechanisms that nurture creativity and channel innovation" in order to sustain creative clusters (Wu, 2005: 7). In addition, considerable significance is attached also to the imperative for increased collaboration between the different creative industries sectors. Nevertheless, it is recognised that the greatest scope for growth and innovation exists between creative industries and other sectors, including tourism (Evans, 2005: 7). It is against this backcloth that the discussion turns to review the South African record.

CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD: SOUTH AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

Tourism is one of two sectors with the highest strategic priority for economic development planning in contemporary South Africa (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2006). Recent national level investigations have disclosed, however, that the long-term competitiveness of South Africa's tourism economy is contingent upon addressing several barriers to innovation in the industry as well as the imperative for identifying new drivers for growth, particularly as regards new product development and enhancement of current products (Monitor, 2004; Department of Trade and Industry, 2005a). It can be argued that for South Africa one source for potential innovation in tourism products, as yet untapped, is through the making of stronger linkages between tourism and local creative industries. This section reviews national and local policy initiatives towards creative industries.

The Record of Policy Debates in South Africa

The terminology of the "creative city" was first introduced into the lexicon of South African development scholarship by Dirsuweit (1999) in her work on culture and economic development in Johannesburg. Nevertheless, by 2005 it could be observed that the term "creative industries" had been little utilised in national level policy debates on South African economic development. One possible reason for neglect was suggested by Minty (2005: 5) as a consequence of the fact that "the creative industry in South Africa—and thus to a large extent the symbolic economy—is the least transformed in the country". Moreover, at present, there exists little systematic published research on the organisation or workings of so-termed "creative industries" in South Africa. Indeed, there has been no real parallel in South Africa to the British Creative Industries Task Force, or to the emergence of the sorts of vibrant discussions that operate at national level in

Australia, New Zealand or the UK about harnessing the developmental potential of creative industries.

That said, what has emerged in post-apartheid South Africa is a growing recognition of the significance of the parallel (and sometimes overlapping) notion of "cultural industries" (Dirsuweit, 1999; Minty, 2005). The importance of promoting cultural industries in South Africa and their potential for economic development was signalled in 1998 by the appearance of a series of reports produced by the Cultural Strategy Group (1998a, 1998b) for the (former) Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. The category of "cultural industries" was defined broadly to incorporate music, the visual arts, the publishing sector based on creative writing of literature, the audio-visual and media sector, performing arts, the craft sector (including traditional African art, designer goods and souvenirs); cultural tourism, and, the cultural heritage sector. In addition, the Cultural Strategy Group (1998a) also included within cultural industries the sectors of design and fashion, which were seen as "sectors where creative input is a secondary but critical means of enhancing the value of other products whose marketability and effectiveness would otherwise be lessened".

The series of research reports generated by the Cultural Strategy Group are highly relevant for the creative industries. The core objective of the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (CIGS) was of "integrating arts and culture into all aspects of socio-economic development" (Newton, 2003: 25) in South Africa. In particular, the Cultural Strategy Group produced detailed reports and recommendations for supporting the craft (Cultural Strategy Group, 1998b), film and video (Cultural Strategy Group, 1998c), music (Cultural Strategy Group, 1998d), and publishing (Cultural Strategy Group, 1998e) industries. Taken together, this body of research identified major problems currently facing the development of the core segments of South African cultural industries. Key cross-cutting issues for enterprise growth were recognised as a lack of adequate skills, difficulty of market access, and a lack of innovative product development (Create SA, 2005).

While differentiated for the various sectors under investigation, the major suggested strategic interventions included:

- Education and training to improve skill levels
- Market development and facilitation of market access
- Co-ordination of government initiatives
- The development of partnerships at all levels to implement joint projects; and,
- Advocacy for cultural industries (Newton, 2003)

Overall, the so-termed "Creative South Africa" initiative sought to introduce and demarcate "cultural industries as an important sector in its own right" (Cul-

tural Strategy Group, 1998a: 7) in terms of national policy debates. The results of this project were directed explicitly at the national government and sought to forge awareness within government about the potential of cultural industries for growth, job creation and enterprise development. Since 1998 it must be observed that there has occurred little movement in terms of national support initiatives for so-termed cultural industries. In large measure this is because core responsibility has rested with the little-resourced Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). The limited available support from DAC has been channelled towards developing public-private partnerships and initiatives using culture as a tool for urban regeneration with a special poverty relief allocation which seeks at "providing access to skills and markets as a tool for urban regeneration, rural development, and job creation" (Department of Arts and Culture, 2004: 4).

The greatest success of the Creative South Africa initiative has been recorded in terms of strategic awareness-raising among policy-makers within national government. In 2002 the Integrated Manufacturing Strategy (IMS) was issued by South Africa's Department of Trade and Industry (DTI). The IMS constitutes a collective government position aimed to coordinate a set of actions across government and geared primarily at improving competitiveness across the national economy. The IMS takes off from the government's Microeconomic Reform Strategy which set forth a vision for a restructured and adaptive economy characterised by growth, employment equity, built upon the full potential of persons, communities and geographic areas (Machaka and Roberts, 2003). Of greatest significance is that the DTI identified a cluster of nine "priority sectors" for accelerated development. These nine sectors were selected on the basis of their potential contribution to the economy in terms of growth, equity and employment creation. It is significant that cultural industries was identified as a priority economic sector alongside, inter alia, agro-processing, business process outsourcing and information technology enabled services; chemical and allied industries; clothing, textiles, leather and footwear; information and communication technologies; electronics; tourism; and, transport industries (automotive, aerospace, marine and rail).

In December 2005 government issued a significant discussion document on developing a national shared growth initiative, titled the *Accelerated and Shared Growth—South Africa* (ASGISA) (Department of Trade and Industry, 2005b). This initiative seeks to boost national growth rate for the period 2004–2014 to at least 6 percent as well as to enhance "the environment and opportunities for more labour-absorbing economic activities" (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2006). Among the several dimensions of this initiative, designed to achieve balanced and sustainable growth for the period 2004–2014, is the identification, once again, of

priority sectors. These are viewed as those sectors in which the country "has a range of comparative economic advantages which, if fully exploited, would lend themselves to higher rates of economic growth" (Department of Trade and Industry, 2005b). One of the nine sectors, seen as "medium-term priority" is that of creative industries (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2006). Within "creative industries" existing policy thinking currently is directed towards two foci: (1) supporting greater linkages of the craft industry with tourism, and (2) supporting the film and television production industry (Department of Trade and Industry, 2005b).

By end–2005, however, only limited progress regarding actual policy initiatives for direct support of cultural industries (or the creative sector) could be observed. Of striking concern was the minimal progress made for direct national government support interventions for business development among cultural industry entrepreneurs through the national institutional framework for small business development (Newton, 2003). Indeed, the most progress in terms of implementation was recorded not at national level but at certain provincial and local tiers of government in South Africa. For example, Western Cape Province and the City of Cape Town have taken certain pro-active initiatives in support of the cultural sector as a vehicle for local economic development, albeit the approach so far adopted has been criticised as so far "relatively unsophisticated and piecemeal" (Minty, 2005: 6). In addition, within Cape Town, South Africa's leading centre for international tourism, few linkages seemingly have been made between the cultural and creative sector and new tourism product innovation.

Creative Industries: The Johannesburg Experience

The Economic Development Unit of the City of Johannesburg has recognised officially the role and potential of creative industries for contributing towards the goals of *Joburg 2030*, the city's blueprint for economic development over the next three decades (Rogerson, 2005). Indeed, it is significant that the terminology of "creative industries" is now used widely in planning documents issued by the city and its associated development agencies (see e.g., City of Johannesburg, 2005a; Johannesburg Development Agency, 2005).

The recognition of creative industries is the latest step in the implementation of *Joburg 2030*, one important element of which includes support for targeted strategic sectors of the urban economy (Rogerson, 2005). During 2005, alongside new support programmes for business process outsourcing call centres, ICT, freight and logistics, and sport, it was announced that the Economic Development Unit of Johannesburg would support actively also the sector of "creative industries". A Sector Development Programme would be prepared for creative

industries and focused on sector clustering and support. The Sector Development Programme is a vital component of Joburg 2030 and is aimed at the removal of constraints and inefficiencies and the harnessing of opportunities in the targeted sectors as well as provision of relevant information to sector participants. The overall goal of the Programme is to enhance the competitiveness of the sectors and attracting and retaining investment in these sectors, thereby growing the city's economy as a whole (Rogerson, 2005).

The background to this announcement of support was the undertaking during 2003 of a series of scoping studies that linked to the key potential sectors for future development that had been identified in the Joburg 2030 analysis. Nine sectors were looked at in detail, viz.,

- Financial and business services;
- Information and Communications Technology;
- Retail and wholesale trade;
- Professional equipment manufacture;
- Other Equipment manufacture;
- Food and Beverages;
- Biotechnology;
- Automotive Parts; and
- Creative Industries

The Creative Industries Sector scoping study for Johannesburg built upon the foundations of the national cultural industry study of the Cultural Strategy Group (Newton, 2003). Essentially, the definitions used by the Cultural Strategy Group (1998a, 1998b) were applied to re-name the sector in Johannesburg as "creative industries". The focus of the scoping investigation was thus primarily upon the segments of TV and film—in which (along with Cape Town) Johannesburg is the major national centre—music, performing arts, visual arts, crafts, and design. Critically, the research highlighted that the "Johannesburg creative industries sector dominates the national profile" (Newton, 2003: 42) and that the sub-sectors that dominate the local landscape are "craft, performing arts, visual arts, music and film" (Newton, 2003: 47).

In common with the emerging national picture of cultural industries, it was demonstrated that the sector of creative industries in Johannesburg is characterised by a high level of small and micro-enterprises, "the sole proprietors of which are predominantly the producers of creative products or content" (Newton, 2003: 33). In the majority of cases, particularly in micro-enterprise, the proprietor fulfils a set of multi-tasking roles as producer, agent, marketer and retailer. The products of the Johannesburg creative industries economy are overwhelmingly

targeted at local markets. Indeed, the majority of products and services were consumed within the creative sector itself. None the less, mirroring the strategic position of creative industries in the value chains of other sectors, it was recorded that "the major private sector markets for creative industry products are the tourism, services and retail sectors" (Newton, 2003: 51).

The creative industries sector was found to exhibit signs of growth in terms of new business start-ups and by a profile of enterprises that was dominated by business start-ups occurring after South Africa's 1994 democratic transition (Newton, 2003: 44). A significant finding across creative industries as a whole was that their estimated annual turnover figure of R50 000 indicated that the sector contains a large element of what would be described as "survivalist" enterprises. Moreover, the survey of creative industries in Johannesburg disclosed that 51 percent of enterprises reported they worked across between 2 to 5 of the different spectrum of activities that comprise the "sector" of creative industries. In common with the earlier work of Dirsuweit (1999), it was shown that creative industries exhibited a locational tendency towards geographical clustering in parts of the city. Finally, whilst white-ownership was strong in the "commanding heights" of the sector—in terms of the largest and dominant enterprises—it was observed that in Johannesburg, black economic empowerment was advancing in creative industries, unlike the laggard situation as recently reported in Cape Town (Minty, 2005).

The scoping study made a series of recommendations to Council for development of the sector. The most significant recommendations were as follows:

- Branding an image for Johannesburg's creative industries so that additional demand is generated;
- Addressing the chronic skills shortages in the sector;
- Enhancing networks and alliances such that the capacity of the cluster is strengthened to rapidly respond to new demands;
- Developing a strong business development infrastructure in terms of providing a business-friendly foundation of physical space, telecommunications, policy support and funding mechanisms; and,
- Dealing with the high levels of crime and urban decay in the inner city, which act as deterrents to tourists and the audiences of creative industries.

The City of Johannesburg's creative industries consolidated sector support initiative was announced by the Economic Development Unit in 2005 (City of Johannesburg, 2005a). The central goal is described as "to support both cultural workers with talent but limited institutional support, as well as emerging companies with an entertainment industry focus" (City of Johannesburg, 2005a). There are four elements that comprise the support initiative.

- First, is the establishment of an innovative project styled the Johannesburg Art Bank, which draws upon parallel models already successfully operating in Canada and Australia (City of Johannesburg, 2005b). The objective of this project is to furnish support and supplement the income of Johannesburg-based contemporary artists by creating a market for their work over a five-year period (City of Johannesburg, 2005b). The bank functions by purchasing visual art works from local artists and then leases these to companies "who can refresh their office displays every two years at a fraction of the full cost of buying new art" (City of Johannesburg, 2005a).
- Second, the city has launched a Creative Industries Seed Fund which will "provide support to promising creative industries that could benefit both from the provision of business skills and up-front financial assistance to take a viable creative industry business-plan into implementation". This project operates as a competition amongst learners who recently have completed learnerships in craft operations management, music business management or cultural entrepreneurship.
- Third, the Economic Development Unit has initiated support for a facility that is targeted "to incubate start-up filmmakers" (City of Johannesburg, 2005a). More specifically, the Film and Video Incubator is aimed at support of new entrepreneurs in the film industry. The project is anchored upon a "dedicated facility where start-up filmmakers are provided with office space, office infrastructure and specialised equipment at subsidised rentals for approximately 18–24 months" (City of Johannesburg, 2005a).
- Finally, the City is funding a Johannesburg National Arts Festival Fringe Project as a basis for defining appropriate support for a performing arts incubator. This initiative supports selected performing arts companies that have already put on productions at the annual national arts festival (held at Grahamstown) to perform these shows in Johannesburg, thus helping them gain national exposure as well as deepening local demand for quality productions (City of Johannesburg, 2005a).

Although the Sector Development Programme for creative industries represents the first co-ordinated explicit support from the city for creative industries, it must be recognised that other significant support interventions have been introduced outside of the Programme. Three developments are of special note.

- First, is support for the Art City project, which involved a joint initiative by the Council with a cell phone company to develop art murals on major inner city buildings. During mid–2002 the inner city of Johannesburg began to be transformed into a large art gallery with nearly 70 large murals displayed on the side of a range of buildings (Davie, 2002a). The project aimed to showcase the inner city "as the hub and cultural centre of Africa's world class city" and to further enhance the role of tourism in the city (Davie, 2002b). The beginning of the display of art works coincided with the World Summit for Sustainable Development and ran until the Cricket World Cup held in March 2003.

- Second, the Newtown Cultural Precinct is a tourism-related project that was a joint initiative between the city and the Provincial Government and geared to promote a cluster of creative industries and more especially cultural industries that might enhance the area's tourism potential (Dirsuweit, 1999). The planned cultural district represents a cluster of creative activities, entertainment and related industries for the promotion of tourism (Blue IQ, 2002). Through the promotion of cultural tourism and the making of a cultural district, this historic area of Johannesburg, which contains several museums, theatres and heritage sites, is set to be transformed into "the creative capital of South Africa" (Blue IQ, 2002). In 2005 the provincial government's involvement for the Newtown project was terminated with responsibility passed to the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA). The JDA views the re-development of Newtown as a major regeneration initiative and seeks to galvanise "major investment, particularly in the creative industries, culture and tourism" (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2005: 17).
- Finally, assistance has been provided by the Council, through the activities of the Johannesburg Development Agency, for the development in the inner city of a "fashion district" (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2004). This support was for establishing a hub for fashion design as part of re-invigorating the city's clothing economy not on the basis of mass produced goods but of individual fashion items using an African design (Cachalia et al., 2004; Rogerson, 2004). Central to the vision has been the notion of promoting the "Urban Edge of African Fashion", capturing the spirit and vision of a fashion-oriented, trendsetting and outward looking district (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2004: 5). In terms of creative industries, this project is highly significant for it goes beyond the group of activities that are the targets of support under the Creative Industries Sector Support Programme.

CONCLUSION: A DEVELOPING NEXUS

In South Africa the strengthening of policy support for creative industries with new product development and innovation in tourism represents a future challenge that must be addressed. A first step has been made in the encouraging strategic policy thinking of national government's Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa, which contains the important commitment to strengthen the industry linkages of the craft sector with tourism (Department of Trade and Industry, 2005b).

Over the past decade, it is evident that a solid foundation for establishing a nexus between creative industries and tourism has been established. The "discovery" by national government of the economic potential of "cultural industries" can be attributed mainly to the important advocacy work and research produced by the Cultural Strategy Group and the Creative South Africa Initiative. Since 2000, however, the major policy innovations for supporting creative industries

have been undertaken at provincial and local level as part of wider urban economic development initiatives. The City of Johannesburg must be acknowledged as particularly pro-active in this respect by according recognition and growing support to the creative industries sector.

Looking ahead, in terms of further development, it can be argued that what is required is to expand more deeply the linkages between the emerging creative industries sector and tourism developments taking place in the city. Indeed, the first signs of this linkage already are in evidence through changes occurring in urban tourism planning for the city (Monitor, 2005). It is significant that Johannesburg is beginning to re-position itself for tourism not just as a retail and business tourism "Mecca" but instead around a cultural theme (ComMark Trust, 2005). The "new" Johannesburg cultural product recognises that alongside the city's historical, political and entertainment assets and significance in the anti-apartheid struggle and associated monuments, the city is a cosmopolitan centre with valuable tourism assets for music, dance, fashion, theatre and the arts (Monitor, 2005). The "creative" city of Johannesburg is beginning on a pathway that should lead to more significant linkages and synergies forged, over the next decade, between creative industries, tourism and economic regeneration.

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