

SOUTH AFRICAN CULTURAL OBSERVATORY

Creative cities in metropolitan areas: Implications for the South African CCIs

Submitted to:
Department of Arts and Culture
Submitted by:
Nelson Mandela University
In Partnership with:
Rhodes University, University of Fort Hare and University of KwaZulu-Natal

NELSON MANDELA UNIVERSITY

sport, arts & culture
Department:
Sport, Arts and Culture
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

RHODES UNIVERSITY
Where leaders learn

University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

Nelson Mandela University, University Way, Summerstrand, Port Elizabeth, 6019, South Africa

South African Cultural Observatory

Creative cities in metropolitan areas: Implications for the South African CCI

January 2021

Table of Contents

Summary 5
1. Introduction 7
2. Creative cities: concepts, key issues and global trends 8
3. Creative cities in South Africa 14
4. Recommendations to promote and support creative cities in South Africa 19
5. Conclusion 23
References 25

Abbreviations

3Ci:	creative class, creative infrastructure and culture
3T:	talent, technology and tolerance
CCIs:	Cultural and Creative Industries
COVID-19:	Coronavirus 2019
DAC:	Department of Arts and Culture
DSAC:	Department of Sports, Arts and Culture
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
ICT:	Information and Communication Technology
SACO:	South African Cultural Observatory
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

Summary

There is increasing interest in the concept of creative cities, with the number of cities embracing the notion of being a creative city growing as well. The creative city concept aligns directly with urban development strategies and local economic development planning, intended to improve growth through cultural and creative activities. The international prominence of creative cities is evident in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) Creative Cities Network and Programmes, with more than 240 member cities located in 72 countries. South Africa has three UNESCO recognised creative cities: Cape Town (design), Overstrand (gastronomy) and Durban (literature). Creative cities go beyond cultural and creative industry aspects and include broader issues pertaining to innovations and seeking creative solutions to urban challenges, which occur at three levels: upperground, underground and middleground. In South Africa, there is limited but extremely useful research that focuses on creative cities that this study draws on. In this context, this study critically examines current scholarly literature on creative cities generally and in South Africa specifically, focusing on opportunities and challenges and socio-economic benefits associated with creative cities. A desktop study approach is adopted that examines policy documents, research reports and academic sources.

The creative city concept itself is contested and multidimensional, with different manifestations and reasons for adopting this approach. Creative cities have also evolved from focusing on cultural and creative activities as a public good to the centrality of economic and developmental justifications. Thus, creative cities tend to have two orientations: cultural and economic. However, key characteristics/ attributes associated with creative cities relate to transforming urban spaces and creative placemaking, links with the creative economy, focus on social and cultural infrastructure, a critical mass of creative contributors and employees, opportunities to participate in cultural experiences, and investments in cultural resources and activities. Additionally, creative cities are characterised by creative clusters, precincts and genres. Three creative clusters are evident, which include independent creators, crafters and creative producers, and specialised service supply providers.

Benefits associated with the agglomeration of cultural production and creative activities are also underscored. Creative cities are also aligned to broader aspirations of creating sustainable, inclusive and resilient cities. Additionally, focusing on innovation and integrating technology and culture is increasing in prominence. Furthermore, creative cities often transition from industrial cities and/ or embrace creativity to address socio-economic challenges as evident in many of UNESCO's recognised creative cities. The main public investments in creative cities are infrastructure, provision of land and space for cultural and creative purposes, and financial incentives. Key challenges associated with creative cities are the levels of participation of different groups, bias in terms of types of cultural genres/ forms supported, creating conducive environments, infrastructural limitations, policy and institutional support, funding and resource allocation, social inequalities and conflict, and undermining the intrinsic value of creativity. The Coronavirus 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic reinforced challenges as well as reveals new opportunities and responses within creative cities.

In the South African context, nurturing creative cities is linked to aspirations to unlock the potential of the creative and cultural industries (CCIs). Concern is raised that models and

approaches of the North tend to dominant creative cities in the South, which raise concerns. In South Africa, creative cities appear to either be linked to creative precincts (that is, spatial locations designated for creative activities) or creative thematic foci (that is, creative genres or activities that cities are known for). The three UNESCO recognised creative cities (Cape Town, Durban and Overstrand) focus on the UNESCO identified genres but also have projects and programmes that embrace other forms of creativity. Other creative cities identified as illustrative examples in South Africa include Johannesburg, Pretoria, Grahamstown and Phakamisa/ King Williams Town. It is evident that different sizes and types of cities/ towns are embracing the concept of creative cities in South Africa. Of concern is that none had creative city-specific policies in the three main UNESCO listed creative cities, and there was limited reference to creative cities in the Integrated Development Plans. Implementation challenges in South Africa are also identified, including policy development and alignment, raising awareness about creative cities, understanding and responding to inequalities, and accessing funding and reliable information. These challenges are not unique to South African. A 'creative cities culture' exists in South Africa, and its evolution and foci align to international trends.

The main recommendations emanating from this study is the importance of creative stakeholders being at the centre of decision-making processes. In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, technological advancements and integration need to be considered. Understanding the unique strengths and creative attributes in specific cities are important for branding and marketing. The main contribution of this study is the development of a framework to measure and monitor the performance of creative cities in South Africa, drawing on Yum's (2020) creativity index (3Ci - creative class, creative infrastructure and culture), which is an extension of the 3Ts (Talent, Technology and Tolerance) index, and the multidimensional index proposed by Rodrigues and Franco (2018). The indicator framework is important to inform an audit or baseline information to be collected for the three UNESCO recognised creative cities in South Africa as well as assist other cities/ towns as well as the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture (DSAC) to assess the potential to be positioned as a creative city. Finally, research recommendations are also forwarded in relation to examining cultural workers in creative cities and the application of the proposed monitoring framework.

1. Introduction

Oyekunle (2019) asserts that globally, an increasing number of cities are embracing the idea of ‘creative cities’ into urban development strategies, intended to improve growth through cultural and creative activities. The concept of 'creative cities' was developed by Yencken in 1988 and has grown into an international project with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2021) establishing the Creative Cities Network in 2004 to promote cooperation with and among cities that have identified creativity as a strategic factor for sustainable urban development. Of the more than 240 member cities located in 72 countries, UNESCO (2021) lists three in South Africa: Cape Town (design), Overstrand (gastronomy) and Durban (literature). Cape Town was also identified by Wood (2017) as one of ten world's most creative cities to live, work and play in. The creative city paradigm recognises the potential of the cultural and creative industries (CCIs) to contribute to economic development and job creation. As Gathen et al. (2020) state, the importance of the CCIs continues to grow, linked to increasing competitive pressure for cities to appeal to visitors, investors and skilled labour. George (2020: 265) asserts that “creative cities can be accelerators of a creative economy, if these cities understand how to maximise the potential of a creative city designation as a strategic policy and organising device for sustainable development”. This, George (2020) argues, is best achieved if creative city aspirations are aligned with local economic development planning.

Furthermore, Jurene and Jureniene (2017) and Rahimifard et al. (2021) note that creative cities also focus on finding creative solutions to urban challenges. Cohendet et al. (2010 cited in Khalil, 2020: 2) assert that in creative cities creative problem-solving occurs at three levels:

- “Upperground: is the upper layer where formal organisations and innovative firms exist to unite expressions together, integrate dispersed knowledge, test various forms of creativity and focus on the formation and exploitation of creative slacks (or communities).
- Underground: is the lower layer where informal creative or artistic groups exist where exploration replaces the logic of exploitation.
- Middleground: is the intermediate layer linking both layers and is swinging between favouring the synergy of diversity and following procedural authority.”

Yum (2020: 1) states that “creativity has become the main driver for economic growth in our contemporary societies”. Hague (2016) argues that advocates of creative cities assert that city-shaping investments in the arts, entertainment, knowledge, and cultural economies, and in urban planning policies will attract members of the creative class and produce thriving places.

There is a lacunae of research in the South African context that focuses on creative cities in metropolitan areas. One study focusing directly on creative cities was undertaken by the South African Cultural Observatory (SACO, 2019a) that focused on a case study of a non-metropolitan area (Makhanda/ Grahamstown) Creative City project. However, the study does not provide a national assessment and its focus on a non-metropolitan area implies that it may not reflect the potential and experiences in the larger metropolitan areas. Thus, the intention is to undertake a broader assessment and outline an indicator framework sensitive to the South African context to assess the existence and level of success of ‘creative cities’.

Additionally, the paper examines how creative cities have responded to the Coronavirus 2019 (COVID-19) disruptions, which has dramatically changed all sectors.

In the context of the above discussion, this research, therefore, examines opportunities and barriers fostering creative cities in South Africa, including COVID-19 implications. The specific goals are to:

1. Critically examine current scholarly literature in relation to key debates, issues and trends pertaining to creative cities in relation to approaches adopted, including responses to the COVID-19 pandemic.
2. Assess the opportunities and challenges associated with creative cities projects.
3. Examine the main focus areas and networks of South African creative cities linked to UNESCO's Creative Cities Network.
4. Examine socio-economic and community benefits associated with creative cities projects.
5. Identify implications for city planning when designing creative cities.
6. Assess whether a 'creative cities culture' exists in South Africa and the extent to which they align to international trends.
7. Provide recommendations to inform a policy framework to support creative cities and to measure performance in creative cities.

In terms of the methodological approach, a desktop study is used to examine policy documents, research reports and academic sources. Rodrigues and Franco's (2018) multidimensional model and Yum's (2020) creativity index is adopted to identify a policy and indicator framework for South Africa to assess the performance of creative cities. The intention was to undertake key informant interviews with officials in the three UNESCO listed creative cities in South Africa. Due to the COVID disruptions, attempts to secure these interviews were not successful.

2. Creative cities: concepts, key issues and global trends

Rodrigues and Franco (2020) undertake a bibliometric review to examine existing literature on networks and performance of creative cities. They conclude that there is increasing interest in the concept of creative cities, with the main areas being creative cities and their connection with the creative class and culture as well as creative/ cultural clusters and networks. SACO (2020a) asserts that a cluster differs from conventional Standard Industrial Classification definitions in that it considers the value chain in its entirety, from suppliers to end producers as well as supporting services and infrastructure. SACO (2020a) further notes that clusters are characterised by a geographical concentration of firms linked to the same industry supply chain with a similar philosophy, common market or resources, and with similar opportunities and challenges; a critical mass of resources and competencies; existing interaction and cooperation among the firms; and vertical and horizontal production links associated with the same industry. Florida (2003) states that clustering captures efficiencies and that positive benefits are associated with co-location. Furthermore, Florida's (2003: 8) postulated the creative capital theory, asserting that "creative people power regional economic growth and these people prefer places that are innovative, diverse, and tolerant". Additionally, the creative class is a key concept with the main characteristic being (Florida, 2003: 8):

> "…that its members engage in work whose function is to 'create meaningful new forms.' The super-creative core of this new class includes scientists and engineers,

university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers, and architects, as well as the 'thought leadership' of modern society: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts, and other opinion-makers."

According to Florida (2003), the creative class includes creative professionals working in knowledge-based occupations who focus on creative problem-solving to solve specific problems.

Rodrigues and Franco (2020) assert that the performance of creative cities, discussed later, is a major gap. Gerhard et al. (2016) and Grodach (2017) argue that creative city policy is linked to urban cultural policy that emerged in the 1980s in the western world to respond to neoliberal governance; economic restructuring and urban decline; and changing demographic and social trends within cities. These issues are important in the developing world contexts as well. Some notable differences, however, from those identified by Gerhard et al. (2016), driving the development of urban strategies is the decline in household sizes and decrease in the number of persons and businesses in the urban inner cities. This trend is not generally the case in South Africa, although challenges in relation to urban decay and neglect (that has resulted in a focus on gentrification) are evident in the larger cities (Massey, 2020; Visser, 2002). Scott (2016) states that in creative cities, gentrification encompasses transformations of urban spaces in relation to cultural and economic development, and social aspects as well as functional changes and re-imaging through new cultural symbologies.

The creative cities concept is closely aligned to the creative economy (Černevičiūtė, 2011; Gathen et al., 2020; Jurene and Jureniene, 2017). Černevičiūtė (2011: 91) specifically asserts that the term creative city describes "an urban complex where various cultural activities are an integral component into the city's economy and social functioning". Grodach (2017) asserts that the concept of the creative city has garnered prominence in urban development policy in several cities globally despite criticism, with local and national governments believing that creative activities can be harnessed as an urban economic resource. Grodach (2017: 5-6) further states that during the 1980s in relation to changing social, economic and political climates, local governments in many cities increasingly viewed arts and culture as a developmental asset linked to three connected narratives:

- "The arts was seen as an amenity to boost consumption, fuel property development, and enhance the city image."
- "Cultural industry work was recognised as being vital to a 'post-industrial economy', which helped to provide 'replacement' alternatives for the loss of jobs in the manufacturing sector as well as offering a means to attract new firms and investments." The potential of job creation linked to the CCIs remains a key strategic orientation in South Africa as well.
- "Associated with the first two aspects, the arts became a vehicle for gentrification and displacement, which was noticeable in popular media and among urban policy-makers."

Thus, in the context of the above, the key characteristics/ attributes of a creative city include (Černevičiūtė, 2011; Gerhard et al., 2016; Grodach, 2017; Jurene and Jureniene, 2017; Rahimifard et al., 2021; Romão, 2017):

- Having sufficient social and cultural infrastructure as well as a relatively high concentration of creative employees

- Being an urban economic resource (especially arts and culture being positioned to promote consumption and place branding)
- Create opportunities for and encourage resident and visitor participation in cultural experiences associated with cultural heritage and/ or performances, exhibitions and festivals
- Associated with creative placemaking and well developed cultural infrastructure and spaces
- Merging of cultural production and socio-economic development
- Ability to attract investments as a result of cultural skills that support high-level cultural activities

Rahimifard et al. (2021) specifically state that creative industries in creative clusters (which characterise creative cities) are opportunities for cultural consumption and the accumulation of cultural capital. Ibrahim (2020) asserts that the dimensions of the creative cities concept are highly complex, as a result of the complexity of holistically managing a city, with all aspiring to improve the quality of life of citizens. Oyekunle (2019) states that the creative city concept is multimodal and can originate from any citizen through any sector or profession.

Creative cities also have elements of the three other modes of urban cultural policy that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s as identified by Grodach (2017), which shifted emphasis from justifying funding for cultural and creative activities in terms of it being a public good to including economic reasons. These three modes are:

- Public patronage to support artists, museums, theatres, heritage sites, etc.
- Economic impact of cultural amenities that was used to justify investments in cultural projects that contributed to economic development and improved 'liveability'.
- Cultural planning which was influenced by arts activism to integrate a more community-based and multicultural approach to cultural planning in urban areas. Some cities in Australia (such as Brisbane) implemented cultural development plans.

Romão (2017) asserts that the main benefits of the agglomeration of cultural production and creative activities associated with creative cities is the 'common pool of resources' available to the creative sector in terms of city planning and development. Romão (2017: 52) states that "contemporary cities are places where scale and variety come together, as a result of agglomeration effects, by attracting creative individuals and companies in search of externalities and efficiency benefits related to proximity and co-location".

It is important to note that creative cities, as noted by Jurene and Jureniene (2017: 216), are not only aligned to cultural creativity and innovation but "manage to find creative solutions for arising problems (transport, environmental protection, etc.)". Similar sentiments are expressed by UNESCO (2019: 3) in relation to their Creative Cities Programme and its Network that centralises innovation to deal with global concerns "to promote, demonstrate and reinforce the role of creativity as a catalyst for building more sustainable, resilient and inclusive cities". Stevenson (2020) states that agencies, such as UNESCO, support and fund urban cultural development through various programmes, such as creative cities, to contribute to city imaging, place marketing, and cultural tourism.

Smith and Warfield (2008) identify two orientations of creative cities:

- Cultural orientation: places that focus on integral art and culture with the main values being art and culture as well as the well-being of the community, inclusion and accessibility.
- Economic orientation: places that focus on economic innovation and creative talents and innovations with the main values being sustainable city economic development through creative industries.

Rodrigues and Franco (2018) assert that urban creativity, sustainability and intelligence are key dimensions of cities that aim to be smart as well as increase economic, social and environmental performance. Additionally, Ratten (2017) argues that key dimensions also include sharing of culture, social relations, knowledge and entrepreneurship; with a focus on innovation and integrating technology and culture. Florida (2003) states that that cities that have large concentrations of the creative class tend to rank higher as centres of innovation and high-technology industries. Ratten (2017) further notes that the formation of networks is an important factor that also contributes to the competitive advantage of specifically creative cities which function as spaces for sharing, collaboration and learning.

Gathen et al. (2020) note, as indicated earlier, that cities are increasingly under pressure to position themselves as creative places linked to the CCIs. They assert that a key aspect of the development of the CCIs occurs via city networks. Gathen et al. (2020) examine the role of gastronomic city networks in city branding, using as a case study UNESCO's Creative City Network and the member cities of its gastronomy sub-category. Their study reveals that attracting visitors, creative businesses and investors as well as national and international recognition are stressed in relation to city branding. Challenges concerning city networks are also identified by Gathen et al. (2020), which include frustration with administrative and bureaucratic processes as well as lower levels of actual creative networking than anticipated.

Some examples of cities that were the first to embrace being creative cities were in the United States of America, for example, Massachusetts organised craft artists and West Hollywood adopted the slogans 'The Creative City' and "Where Creativity Gets Down to Business' with the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce embracing 'creative industries' to attract work in the television, film and fashion sectors (Grodach, 2017). Additionally, UNESCO's (2019) *Voices of the City* details examples and experiences emanating from the Culture.LAB2030 initiative that reveals the links between culture and sustainable development in the context of creative cities. Some notable examples highlighted by UNESCO (2019) are:

- Katowice in Poland which transformed as a centre of coal production (heavy industry) to that of creative industries, especially music.
- Another example of a creative city that has transitioned from an industrial city is Saint-Étienne in France. Saint-Étienne staged an experimental regeneration project in collaboration with business owners, students and the local creative community to restore La République Street in the downtown area. Vacant buildings were refurbished into shops and craft workshops. An economically declining area was transformed into an economically vibrant area.
- The City of Bogotá in Colombia, which had an increase in urban violence, imposed restrictions on night-time entertainment to restore social well-being and ensure public safety. The consequence was a decline in the music sector. To revitalise this sector, Bogotá via the Bogotá Arts Institute (Idartes) started the DC en Vivo initiative which, since 2013, has led to the to the restructuring of the music sector, investing in and

promoting live music venues, and using other cultural facilities (for example, libraries and cultural centre auditoriums) to involve communities and expand audiences.

- Santos, in Brazil, invests in creativity to assist in recovering from high unemployment and continued social inequalities. The Creative Ecofactory is a vehicle used to support people from vulnerable communities to earn an income in woodwork by making decorative furniture or urban furniture.
- Ouagadougou, in Burkina Faso, launched the Reemdoogo initiative to support the music sector. Creative hubs together with educational support was provided.
- Chibikkobe 'city' is a project in Kobe, Japan, that is aimed at fostering creativity among children. Chibikkobe 'city' is designed exclusively for children to expose them to creative activities and professionals.

The Regional Technology Strategies (2003) identifies three creative cluster categories of actors in Montana (North Carolina, United States of America):

- Level 1: independent creators such as writers, artists, musicians, composers, poets, crafters and designers involved in the commercial production of their creations. These creators may be involved in creative activities on a full-time or part-time basis.
- Level 2: crafters who are business persons or organised in small and medium-sized companies, which may be family businesses as well as profit and non-profit organisations. Production is on a larger scale and include creative producers, publishers, theatre groups and sound studios.
- Level 3: independent creators and specialised service supply providers that create, produce and market various creative forms such as multimedia companies, graphic designers, public relations companies, advertising and marketing, and publishers.

The main government programmes and initiatives to promote creative cities (especially at the local level) are (Gerhard et al., 2016; Grodach, 2017):

- Investments in infrastructure such a cultural/ arts centres, and museums and heritage sites.
- Provision of land and space for cultural and creative purposes (in some instances, tracts of land are designated as arts districts).
- Financial incentives, for example, tax credits and arts funding.

Some of these investments are in mixed-use development projects which, according to Gerhard et al. (2016), include cultural facilities where part of the programme includes attracting tourists and providing amenities for larger office and high-rise residential development in downtown locations. In the South African context, leveraging links between the CCIs and tourism is also evident as shown by SACO (2020b). SACO (2020b) uses the iconic Moses Mabhida Stadium as an illustrative example of how sports, conferencing/ eventing, adventure pursuits and cultural activities are combined and integrated in one setting.

Cities tend to focus on investing in infrastructure (such as museums, art galleries and renovation of buildings as cultural spaces and cultural centres) (Gerhard et al., 2016). However, to maximise the use of the physical facilities, creative stakeholder cooperation and engagement is important. For example, Jurene and Jureniene (2017) illustrate how the concept of the creative city is operationalised in Kaunas Old Town in Lithuania by developing an international art gallery service cluster that is geared towards local markets. They show how 14 different types of creative organisations are brought together and cooperate through

combined information dissemination and marketing as well as discounts, leasing of premises and joint projects. While concentrated in Kaunas Old Town, cooperation was noted by Jurene and Jureniene (2017) throughout the country among creative organisations and entrepreneurs as well as allied services and businesses.

Key challenges faced in creative cities are (Gerhard et al., 2016; Jurene and Jureniene, 2017; Romão, 2017):

- Levels of participation of different groups and types of cultural genres/ forms (the economic focus tends to favour forms of creativity that have higher levels of commercialisation)
- Creating social conditions for cultural production
- Infrastructural challenges (with internet connectivity and infrastructure emerging as being critically important to adapt during the COVID-19 disruptions)
- Orientating city planning and stakeholders to embrace and support creative cities aspirations
- Funding and resource allocation for projects
- Manifestation of social inequalities and social conflicts
- Undermining the intrinsic value of creativity and support for the less commercial creative industries/ activities

Hague (2016) also cautions that critics of creative cities suggest that investments tend to privilege urban elites, encourage gentrification, and exclude lower-income and working-class people from the city. Furthermore, d'Ovidio and Morató (2017) note concerns raised by cultural workers in relation to creative city policy. They specifically address the following questions: What kind of “creative city” is imagined by urban policy? How is the creative city implemented locally? How is a creative city contested by cultural workers? How do cultural workers organise their interests and how do they use their creativity for social mobilisation? A key aspect is that the notions of what constitutes 'creativity' differ among cultural workers/ activists and cultural urban policy-makers from small-scale projects to city level agendas. Specifically, creative city policies and programmes tend to have a capitalist orientation towards economic considerations and neglect cultural/ creative aspects that, according to Gerhard et al. (2016), conceal rather than ease urban inequalities. d'Ovidio and Morató (2017: 3) state that there is “a glaring contradiction in many culturally based urban policies currently being implemented, which have the explicit objective of fostering creativity but leave cultural workers out of their development”. This is in line with assertions by Kirchberg and Kagan (2013) that 'creative cities' can result in unsustainable urban development for poorer residents and artists who are negatively impacted by processes that typify creative city development such as gentrification. They advocate for cultural sustainability or sustainable creativity rather than creative cities.

It is important to consider COVID-19 impacts and responses in creative cities. The COVID-19 disruptions are likely to have deepened the challenges identified earlier and raise new issues that the CCIs need to deal with, including creative cities. SACO’s (2020c) study to examine COVID-19 impacts on businesses and freelancers in the CCIs shows that almost all have experienced some level of disruptions linked to lockdown and social distancing requirements to curb the spread of the virus. The high levels of vulnerabilities in the CCIs are underscored, with SACO (2020c) noting that this is because many people in the CCIs work on short-term contracts and that the sector is associated with high levels of informality, and face-to-face

interactions and modes of production. SACO (2020c) also indicates that the COVID-19 pandemic impacts on the CCIs are likely to differ in relation to the different domains and anticipated recovery times.

The COVID-19 disruptions impacts and responses in creative cities reveal resilience and adaptability. Creative cities are viewed as having higher levels of adaptability and contributing to sustainability (Ernesto Ottone, Assistant Director-General for Culture, UNESCO, 2019: 3):

> "Creativity is a vital force for the construction of more inclusive growth models, facilitating environmental adaption and economic transition. Creativity stimulates citizenship and social innovation, and builds more open and cohesive societies. It is through culture, a common good shared by all, that Creative Cities question the way we plan our cities."

Adaptability is also noted by Thiel (2017) who asserts that cultural production is an adaptable activity.

The lessons and learnings that are emerging and will be consolidated from the COVID-19 pandemic can assist to respond to other types of future disruptions. The creative industry has been identified as a particularly vulnerable sector in relation to economic impacts as well as health and safety considerations (Comunian and England, 2020; Mermikides, 2020). Two key aspects that emerge in relation to responses pertain to the role of cultural creativity to provide avenues for expression, promoting resilience and entertainment during the pandemic (Mermikides, 2020; Tubadji, 2020) as well as embracing technological advancements and opportunities (discussed later as a key indicator of a creative city). In terms of the latter, Agostino et al. (2020) illustrate how in Italy, museums transitioned to online openness.

3. Creative cities in South Africa

In the South African context, the broader agenda of nurturing creative cities is linked to the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture's (DSAC) goals of unlocking the potential of the CCIs. However, there are limited studies that have examined the emergence of creative cities in South Africa. SACO (2020a) indicates regional/ provincial CCIs clusters in South Africa. While the national mapping study did not include a comprehensive city level analysis, it does show which provinces have a greater percentage of cultural occupations and CCIs production. Specifically, SACO (2020a) found that in terms of economic contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Gauteng, South Africa's economic hub, dominates in relation to all six CCIs' domains identified by UNESCO (Cultural and Natural Heritage, Performance and Celebration, Visual Arts and Crafts, Books and Press, Audio-visual and Interactive Media, and Design and Creative Services) as well as the transversal domain of education in relation to the CCIs. Similar trends were discernible in relation to employment distribution in terms of 2018 figures, with Gauteng (5 091 036 jobs in total and 94 606 being in the CCIs) being prominent followed by KwaZulu-Natal (2 629 598 jobs in total and 61 151 being in the CCIs) and the Western Cape (2 506 002 jobs in total and 42 135 being in the CCIs) (SACO, 2020a). In terms of UNESCO' cultural and transversal domains, the most prominent in South Africa, according to SACO (2020a), is Design and Creative Services followed by Books and Press, Audio-visual and Interactive Media, and Education.

Oyekunle (2017) examines the contribution of creative industries and entrepreneurship to sustainable urban development in South Africa, focusing on Cape Town and Johannesburg, but does not deal with the concept of the creative city. The importance of policies and creative projects are noted. Similarly, Gregory and Rogerson (2016) assess the policy environment for creative industries in South Africa. Sitas (2020: 821) asserts:

> "In South Africa, culture-led development and cultural policy tend to primarily mimic that of the global North, largely focusing on culture as a catalyst for economic and property development. Public art commissioning processes tend to focus on decorative projects as part of urban upgrading, which are often associated with ensuing gentrification and displacement of the urban poor."

This is a major concern that needs to be examined, especially when monitoring the impacts of creative cities, as discussed later.

Creative cities appear to either be linked to creative precincts (that is, spatial locations designated for creative activities) or creative thematic foci (that is, creative genres or activities that cities are known for). In South Africa, the latter type of creative city tends to be dominant. Specifically, the South African UNESCO Creative Cities Network member cities are Cape Town, Durban and Overstrand. The UNESCO (2021) website summarises the key characteristics of each of the creative cities. Information on Overstrand was not available. In relation to Cape Town, it was evident that creativity and design was the main focus. UNESCO (2021) asserts that Cape Town has abundant creative talent, a diverse and vibrant population, and a rich and complex history; estimating that the creative industries contributed US$1 billion gross value added and provided approximately 27,760 jobs in Cape Town, amounting to 2.2% of the total formal employment in the city in 2014. Design-related events and activities are highlighted, labelling the Design Indaba Festival as a globally acclaimed event that attracts more than 10 000 people. Nkula-Wenz (2019) uses the concept of 'worlding' that underscores complex and multi-scalar processes to illustrate the evolution of Cape Town as a creative city and its emergence as the 'first African World Design Capital' in 2014. In Cape Town, UNESCO (2019) notes a key aspect of being a creative city is the use of public spaces. For example, the Open Streets programme, launched in 2012, is intended to change how public spaces are built, perceived and used. This aligns to the design focus of the creative city as well.

According to UNESCO (2021), Durban's position as a literary creative city is linked to it being the birthplace of Chief Albert Luthuli who was the first African Nobel laureate and the city being built on the pillars of learning and literacy despite the years of apartheid. Durban's University of KwaZula-Natal is one of the few to offer a doctoral programme in creative writing and has a strong independent publishing network, which offers a key platform for emerging literary voices (UNESCO, 2021). UNESCO (2021) also notes that Durban has various fairs, festivals and conferences on literature such as the Time of the Writer Literary Festival that has featured Nobel laureates for literature and writers from every African nation. Furthermore, UNESCO (2021) states that Durban recognises the crucial role literature, culture and creativity play in forging national identity, fostering social cohesion and delivering socio-economic development. UNESCO (2019) shows how Durban together with its 'sister city' Nottingham in the United Kingdom provide opportunities to foster and encourage creativity, focusing on children, through the South African Global Forum 4Literacy project and UK-based Storysmash initiative to promote literacy. The Traveling Books project is an international book exchange

programme, targeting children in vulnerable and remote communities. The development of reading and writing skills are developed in reading workshops and supported by mobile libraries. Storysmash includes digital gaming workshops to enhance reading and writing skills as well by facilitating the use of new technologies and digital platforms.

As indicated earlier, creative cities are not only about cultural aspects but also about innovation and embracing new ways to address societal challenges. In the case of Durban, the Cities Alliance (2010) notes how Durban used a creative city planning initiative, Imagine Durban, to inspire and mobilise residents and businesses to participate in the long-term planning process and create a shared vision for the future of the city. The Cities Alliance (2010) further asserts that this was a unique, participatory approach using the creative use of communications and outreach efforts that attracted international attention and offers valuable lessons for other cities that are involved in long-term planning.

According to Kirsten (2019), the Overstrand Municipal Area was named by UNESCO as the Creative City of Gastronomy, making Hermanus (the main town in the Municipality) to have the accolade with other cities such as Bergen in Norway, Parma in Italy, Lyon in France, San Antonio in the United States of America and Phuket in Thailand. Kirsten (2019) further asserts that local farmers are central to ensuring quality standards and integrating indigenous ingredients. Overstrand City (2019) identifies key projects as the Overstrand Food Bank Project (aimed at working with several partners to improve food security), a Hap ‘n Stap Festival (pop-up food stalls along a walking route), the Gansbaai Eco Film Festival (linked to the whale festival) and the Overstrand Farm to Table Festival (to showcase the authenticity of local restaurants and local products).

In terms of the three UNESCO designated creative cities, the Integrated Development Plans were examined since none of the cities had a specific creative city policy. There is also a lack of a policy framework nationally although the importance of the cultural economy is well articulated in the South African context. In Overstrand, there is limited mention of culture (specifically the promotion of creative and cultural activities) and no mention of creative cities although the intention to introduce "creative and innovative ideas can contribute positively to propelling the economy towards positive growth” is articulated (Overstrand Municipality, 2017: 218). eThekwini Municipality (2019) identifies in their Integrated Development Plan aspirations to be 'a vibrant and creative city' as part of the Eight Point Plan identified, which is viewed as being the foundation for sustainability and social cohesion. Additionally, creative industries (specifically crafts, film, TV and music) are noted as key strategic focus areas in terms of enterprise and sector development to promote economic growth and create jobs through providing support for prioritised sectors. Creating empowerment opportunities in arts, culture and heritage is also identified as a strategic focus area to invest in social infrastructure and creative spaces. Creating and promoting an environment that encourages economic activity for arts and culture is also identified to improve opportunities in the creative economy, which is also viewed as a resilient sector. In relation to the City of Cape Town (2019), the Integrated Development Plan mentions creative and innovative management arrangements. No other mention is made of ‘creative’. However, reference is made of culture in relation to the population diversity, the dominant cultures in the City, and institutional and organisational culture. The cultural economy is not mentioned. It is interesting to note that Overstrand, Cape Town and Durban’s Integrated Development Plans do not mention their UNESCO creative city status.

The former Department of Arts and Culture (2017) Revised 1996 White Paper was also examined. While no mention is made of 'creative cities' specifically, throughout the White Paper there is recognition that creativity and innovation go together. Furthermore, DAC (2017) recognises that the previous 1996 White Paper ignored the role of cities in promoting arts, culture and heritage as well as the role of the CCIs in urban development. Specifically, DAC (2017: 53) states that "it is clear that cultural and creative industries have a tendency for spatial concentration and agglomeration, particularly in the larger urban centres", which are aligned to the creative cities concept. DAC (2017) also advocates for support in cities for the CCIs in terms of investments in infrastructure, education and training, and advanced business and marketing services. The design of cities is viewed by DAC (2017) as a key strategic factor contributing to ensuring comparative advantage in the CCIs.

Other examples of South African creative cities/ creative city projects indicate that different sizes and types of cities are embracing being creative cities. Oyekunle (2019) reveals how both Johannesburg and Cape Town have embraced notions of the creative city to drive the regeneration of these cities. Oyekunle (2019) asserts that in South Africa, these two cities are the key national centres for music, performing arts, visual arts, crafts and design. Johannesburg, Oyekunle (2019) argues, is the most well developed creative economy in South Africa, with the highest number of creative enterprises. Johannesburg, in particular, has the prominent national profile in terms of the performing arts, visual arts, music and film sub-sectors.

Ebewo (2020) presents Pretoria as a creative city, specifically in relation to the iconic historical monuments, political infrastructure and buildings (such as the Union Buildings), which are viewed as cultural spaces, and architectural designs of buildings. As indicated earlier, SACO's (2019a) study focused on a case study of a non-metropolitan area (Makhanda/ Grahamstown) Creative City project. The study highlights that the Makhanda Creative City Project contributes to social cohesion, improving access to arts and culture, providing opportunities for local artists and performers, and skills development. The presence of 'hard' and 'soft' cultural infrastructure and resources were also key success factors. Creative City Grahamstown (2021) outlines Grahamtown's intentions to be a creative city:

> "The Creative City concept is a bold idea, embracing a range of initiatives and projects which, collectively, help make Grahamstown one of the most creative cities in the country. It pulls together a major alliance of institutions in Grahamstown - festivals, tourism bodies, arts non-governmental organisations, educational and government entities - and harnesses their collective passion for creativity for the benefit of the City."

Grahamstown's flagship project is the Makana Arts Academy, which is an umbrella initiative focusing on upskilling and resourcing the creative residents of Grahamstown to position their talent, skills and passion into a sustainable career (Creative City Grahamstown, 2021).

Sitas (2020) focuses on Dlala Indima, a hip-hop-led graffiti project, in Phakamisa, which is a township on the boundary of King Williams Town, Eastern Cape. This is an example of a creative small, rural town project that sees graffiti as a critical creative social and spatial practice. Graffiti, according to Sitas (2020), challenges normative cultural planning paradigms. Sitas (2020: 821) argues that the Dlala Indima project is indicative of "an alternative approach

to cultural development *by* and *for* young people who are usually marginalised by the mainstream practice of culture-led economic development". Sitas (2020) states that the project challenges dominant discourses of culture-led development and creative cities by contesting the normative processes of regeneration, underscoring the importance of participatory practice, and highlighting the importance of transformation.

In relation to implementation challenges, a key issue relates to policies formulating and aligning creative cities aspirations. Furthermore, as indicated earlier, there are several initiatives to establish and profile creative cities in South Africa. However, several aspects need to be considered which include the following:

- Raising awareness about creative cities among CCIs and government stakeholders and officials.
- Understanding and responding to inequalities in the creative space, for example, in relation to persons with disabilities (SACO, 2020d) and women (SACO, 2019b) in the CCIs.
- Accessing and securing private and public sector (including venture capital) funding (SACO, 2019c; 2019d; 2020e).
- Reliable information to assess impacts and inform decisions.

In relation to policy considerations, the South African context largely reflects global trends as noted by Grodach (2017: 3) that the creative cities policy field is "fragmented, contested, and constantly shifting". Specifically, in South Africa, there is no national policy that guides creative city aspirations and cities interested in positioning themselves as creative. Of concern as well is that in the three UNESCO recognised creative cities in South Africa, the concept of creative cities are not reflected in urban planning policies such as Integrated Development Plans, as discussed earlier. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that none of the creative cities recognised by UNESCO is in Gauteng, and specifically Johannesburg, where SACO (2020a) shows that most CCIs' clustering is occurring in relation to the turnover mapping undertaken by Metro and Local Municipality.

In the South African context, the 'creative cities' are more aligned to creative precincts (which is not unusual in many parts of the world as shown in relation to the illustrative examples of UNESCO's creative cities presented in the previous section) or creative foci within specific cities. This is supported by SACO's (2020a) identification of the most important CCIs' clusters in relation to Metros/ Local Municipalities, which shows that different cities and regions have different foci. For example, Johannesburg's most important cluster is Books and Press, Pretoria's is Visual Arts and Crafts, Durban's is Audio-Visual and Interactive Media, Cape Town's is Design and Creative Services, Bloemfontein's is Performance and Celebration, and East London's is Cultural and Natural Heritage. Creative cities are largely emerging rather than established/ mature. However, it is clear that a 'creative cities culture' exists in South Africa and its evolution and foci align to international trends, with many creative cities in South Africa partnering with international creative cities. The UNESCO examples are important to consider since many parts of numerous South African cities have areas in economic and infrastructural decline that may benefit from embracing a creative cities approach. Later, indicators to track and assess the evolution of creative cities are articulated that can inform a monitoring and evaluation system as well as appropriate policy and programme development.

4. Recommendations to promote and support creative cities in South Africa

Cities that aspire to be creative need to develop socio-cultural, physical and financial environments. The consequences of potentially entrenching or developing inequalities that disenfranchise the poor and cultural artists highlighted earlier need to be addressed and feature prominently in creative city policy and programme development processes. This approach requires creative stakeholders (including artists and businesses) to be at the centre of decision-making processes. The different clusters of creative actors identified earlier need to be considered.

As noted in the previous section, the COVID-19 disruptions have ushered in technological advancements that require all sectors to be responsive to. Creative cities need to embrace the digital and virtual world that is here to stay. Advancements in technology and virtual consumption and demand have increased dramatically as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic and can be effectively used to profile and position South Africa's creative cities generally and specific cultural and creative assets. The collaborative and interactive characteristics of technology, as outlined by Kosmas et al. (2019), provides opportunities to permit persons from different parts of the world to be exposed to and experience creative offerings/ products. From a collaborative perspective, artists and performers can work together on projects and productions.

Understanding the unique strengths and creative attributes in specific cities are important for branding and marketing. Currently, South Africa's three creative cities have distinctive creative cities foci. However, there appears to be a lack of integration of the cultural characteristics that are associated with each of the cities, for example, the Zulu culture in Durban. While it is important to have a distinct focus, leveraging aligned and complementary creative and cultural attributes add to the uniqueness of a city.

The development of a framework to measure and monitor the performance of creative cities in South Africa needs to be prioritised. As Rodrigues and Franco (2018) and Yum (2020) argue, it has also become increasingly important to measure the performance of creative cities. It is also important to monitor impacts. Yum (2020: 1) cautions that while many countries, cities and organisations (such as UNESCO) have articulated the importance of monitoring and have developed creativity indexes; there is also a recognition that this is a challenge since creativity is a "nebulous term and an intangible asset". Rodrigues and Franco (2018) highlight that there is a general consensus that a multidisciplinary approach is required to assess the performance of a city which is relevant in relation to creative cities as well.

Yum (2020) proposes a creativity index (3Ci – creative class, creative infrastructure and culture) to measure the magnitude of creative cities, which is an extension of the 3Ts (Talent, Technology and Tolerance) index developed by Florida (2003). Florida's (2003) 3Ts are deemed to be key determinants to create a conducive environment to stimulate, attract and retain the creative class within specific cities. Both the 3Ts index and the 3Ci index attributes are presented in the Table below.

Table 1: 3Ts and 3Ci indexes (adapted from Yum, 2020: 5)

Creativity index	Category	Content
3Ts		
Talent	Creative class	The proportion of the creative class
	Human capital index	The proportion of a university's degrees linked to the creative class
Technology	Innovation index	The proportion of people who have received patents
	High-tech innovation	The amount of high-tech production
Tolerance	Gay index	The proportion of gay people
	Bohemian index	The proportion of artists
	Melting pot index	The proportion of foreigners
3Ci		
Creative class	Creative class	The proportion of creative class in the general population
Creative infrastructure	Study infrastructure	The number of universities and creative industries (including Research and Development)
	Rest infrastructure	The number of cafes, restaurants and parks
Culture	People	The proportion of foreign-born people in the general population
	Building	The number of libraries and museums
	Place	The areas of historic preservation

The attributes in the above Table are important to monitor in the South African context. However, collecting and accessing information are major concerns and database management remains an important area that needs to be addressed.

The main dimensions that Rodrigues and Franco (2018) identify in measuring the performance of a creative city are creativity (cultural aspects, creative economy and favourable climate), intelligence (governance, and information and communication technology - ICT) and urban sustainability (balancing social, economic and environmental imperatives). These aspects together with general indicators in terms of a comprehensive, multidimensional index proposed by Rodrigues and Franco (2018) are tabulated below. Many aspects resonate with the 3Ts and 3Ci outlined above. The networks and performance associated with each of the sub-dimensions impact on the attractiveness of the city as well as quality of life, well-being and happiness. Rodrigues and Franco (2018) also assert that the three dimensions (creativity, intelligence and urban sustainability) need to be reflected in the policies and strategies of cities.

Table 2: Multidimensional index proposed by Rodrigues and Franco (2018)

Sub-dimension	General indicator
Creativity	
Culture	Places of culture and facilities
	Cultural participation and attractiveness
Creative economy	Creativity and employment
	Intellectual property and innovation
Favourable climate	Human capital and education
	Openness, tolerance, and trust
	Local and international connections
	Governance
Intelligence	
Governance	Implementation
	Strategy
	Democratic
ICT infrastructure and networks	Telecommunications
	Transport
	Energy
	Environment
	Sensors
ICT accessibility	Tariffs
	Mobility
Use of ICT	Of technology
	Individual
	Public
Vitality (creative capacity to adapt to technological progress)	Individual and public
Urban sustainability	
Economic	Competitiveness
	Economic activity
Social	Population
	Education
	Inclusion and cohesion
	Social infrastructure
Environmental	Basic infrastructure
	Emission and production of atmospheric pollution
	Circular economy
	Urbanism

Rahimifard et al. (2021) evaluate creative city indicators in Khoy, Iran, by undertaking a citizens' survey. Their results reveal that aspects considered important were the ability to participate (specifically the efficiency and effectiveness of urban spaces to engender security, including green spaces), diversity, and vitality of urban spaces and communication technology. The aspects align to the indicators presented above but highlight the importance of participation and diversity, which are key considerations in the South African context. Additional key components of a monitoring framework for South Africa generally and specific creative cities are tabulated below. Notably, job creation, human resource development, projects/ programmes together with funding/ investment, policy environment and audience development are included. Furthermore, key indicators in relation to infrastructure and internet connectivity (already identified in the indicator frameworks presented) are further unpacked.

Table 3: Key monitoring and evaluation indicators to monitor and evaluate the performance of creative cities in South Africa

Aspect	Key indicators
Creative contributors	Number of existing creative contributors disaggregated by genre, level of expertise and demographic profile Number of businesses supporting creative city activities such as cultural events, productions, performances and exhibitions; cultural cafes; museums, theatres, art galleries and heritage sites; and education and training that focus on the arts, culture and heritage sector Number of private, public and civil society organisations supporting creative city activities
Projects/ programmes	Number and types of creative city projects/ programmes such as infrastructural investments, funding support and the provision of targeted business services Number and profiles of creative contributors who participate in or benefit from creative city projects/ programmes Number and types of creative city training and capacity development projects/ programmes targeting the CCIs
Job creation	Number and profiles of employees (especially in relation to population group, gender, location, age, and disability status – aspects that are pertinent to tracking transformation and equity imperatives in South Africa) who participate in creative city activities Types of jobs (including CCIs' genres and sub-sectors; full-time, part-time/ contract or volunteers) employed in that relate to creative city activities
Human resource development	Number and profiles of persons trained to participate in creative city activities Number of universities and other educational institutions involved in creative city activities Number of training/ educational programmes offering creative city linked qualifications
Audience development	Number and profiles of persons who attend creative city events and activities (including visiting/ supporting venues, facilities and spaces dedicated to creative city activities)
Funding/ investment	Amount of public and private sector funding targeting creative city projects (including infrastructural investments and sponsorship/ supporting events/ activities) Amount of public and private sector funding allocated to creative contributors
Physical infrastructure	Number of venues and facilities dedicated to creative city activities Number of venues and facilities that provide information linked to creative city activities/ have branding associated with creative city activities
Internet connectivity	Number of persons who have internet connectivity and who participate in creative city activities using internet connectivity Number of creative contributors who have internet connectivity and who participate in creative city activities using internet connectivity
Policy environment	Number of policies (national, provincial and specifically at the local level) that integrate creative city aspects Number of policies (national, provincial and specifically at the local level) that focus specifically on the creative city

The indicators will also inform an audit to be undertaken or baseline information to be collected for the three recognised creative cities in South Africa. Additionally, the indicators can assist other cities/ towns as well as the DSAC to assess the potential to be positioned as a creative city. In this regard, the success factors of creative cities as identified by Jurene and Jureniene (2017) can be used to assess the suitability of specific cities in South Africa in relation to the following attributes pertaining to existing creative industries and activities: extent of

cooperation of universities and businesses, risk capital, large and medium-sized companies, basic knowledge and skills, target policy, quality of services and infrastructure, and diversity and quality of localities. Kotb (2020: 284) asserts that universities, in particular, are important partners "that any city needs to establish a good environment for producing knowledge in a creative way in a knowledge economy age". Kotb (2020) further states that universities can contribute to transforming a creative city by spreading and fostering values of creativity and embracing culture. In terms of the profiles of the creative contributors and attendees/ consumers, to inform more effective marketing and creative cities' positioning in terms of product development, aspects that should be examined are age, gender, nationality/ place of residence, population group/ ethnicity, etc.

This desktop study has revealed numerous gaps in research in relation to creative cities in the South African cities which need to be addressed:

- d'Ovidio and Morató (2017) and Kirchberg and Kagan (2013) indicate concerns raised by cultural workers/ artists. Primary research is required to establish whether cultural workers in creative cities (generally and those involved in specific projects) are consulted and participate in decision-making and policy development processes as well as their concerns and perceptions. Furthermore, impacts associated with the development of creative cities such as gentrification and infrastructure need to be assessed.
- Application of the monitoring framework proposed to:
    - Develop baseline information for cities that have embraced being creative and those that aspire to be.
    - Establish which types of information are available and develop strategies/ approaches to develop appropriate databases. Primary research to collect data can be a time-consuming and costly activity. It is, therefore, important to identify existing data sources including Statistics South Africa's Quarterly Labour Force Survey, data collected in relation to SACO's Key Development Indicator reports and other databases, and Municipal studies. It is also important to integrate reporting of information in relation to specific indicators as part of monitoring and evaluation processes led by the DSAC.
    - Identify indicators that are more relevant in the South African context.

5. Conclusion

The increasing interest in the concept of creative cities is evident globally and in the South African context, with a number of cities embracing being a creative city and specifically three South African cities being on UNESCO's Creative Cities Network list. It is envisaged that adopting a creative cities approach, where infrastructure and creative resources exist, will enhance urban development strategies and sustainable local economic development planning. The paper underscores that creativity and innovation are key characteristics of creative cities together with embracing multidimensional economic and cultural aspects. Furthermore, the benefits associated with the accumulation of cultural and creative activities are emphasised. The importance of transforming urban spaces as well as investing in appropriate infrastructure and supporting cultural and creative activities are also highlighted. Creative cities are characterised by creative clusters, precincts and genres; and South Africa displays these trends as well. However, there are no specific creative city policies nationally, provincially and locally. Additionally, Integrated Development Plans make little or no reference

to creative cities in the three UNESCO recognised creative cities. However, it is evident that a ‘creative cities culture’ exists in South Africa, which aligns to international trends. The paper also notes key challenges associated with creative cities, including inequalities in the levels of participation of different groups and types of cultural activities profiled, infrastructural limitations, policy and institutional support, leveraging funding and resources, and undermining the fundamental value of creativity. Additionally, the COVID-19 pandemic has reinforced challenges and created opportunities. Key recommendations emanating from this study are to ensure that creative stakeholders are at the centre of decision-making processes, reconsider and integrate technological advancements, and the importance of understanding the unique strengths and creative attributes in specific cities. A framework to measure and monitor the performance of creative cities in South Africa is also forwarded that provide useful indicators to generate baseline information and monitor impacts.

References

Agostino, D., Arnaboldi, M. and Lampis, A., 2020. Italian state museums during the COVID-19 crisis: from onsite closure to online openness. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, *35*(4), pp.362-372.

Černevičiūtė, J., 2011. Mapping Vilnius as a creative city", *LIMES: Borderland Studies*, *4*(1), pp.89-100.

Cities Alliance, 2010. A Creative City Planning Initiative Inspires and Mobilises in Durban, https://www.citiesalliance.org/newsroom/news/spotlight/creative-city-planning-initiative-inspires-and-mobilises-durban.

City of Cape Town, 2019. Five-year Integrated Development Plan – July 2017 – June 2022 (as amended for 2019/20).

Comunian, R. and England, L., 2020. Creative and cultural work without filters: Covid-19 and exposed precarity in the creative economy. *Cultural Trends*, pp.1-17.

Creative City Grahamstown, 2021. Towards becoming South Africa's Creative Capital – Grahamstwon, Eastern Cape, https://www.creativecity.co.za/.

DAC, 2017. Revision of the Department of Arts and Culture 1996 White Paper (4th Draft), Pretoria.

d'Ovidio, M. and Morató, A.R., 2017. Introduction to Special Issue: Against the creative city: Activism in the creative city: When cultural workers fight against creative city policy. *City, Culture and Society*, *8*, pp.3-6.

Ebewo, P., 2020. Creative City of Pretoria: The Dark Side of Creativity. *Journal of Cultural Management and Cultural Policy/Zeitschrift für Kulturmanagement und Kulturpolitik: Vol. 6, Issue 1: Creative Cities off the Beaten Path*, *11*, pp.121-142.

eThekwini Municipality, 2019. Integrated Development Plan (IDP).

Florida, R., 2003. Cities and the creative class. *City and Community, 2*(1), pp.3-19.

Gathen, C., Skoglund, W. and Laven, D., 2020, May. The UNESCO Creative Cities Network: A Case Study of City Branding. In *International Symposium: New Metropolitan Perspectives* (pp. 727-737). Springer, Cham.

George, H., 2020. Creative Cities and Sustainable Development: A Framework. In *Re-Imagining Creative Cities in Twenty-First Century Asia* (pp. 265-275). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Gerhard, U., Hoelscher, M. and Wilson, D. (Eds), 2016. *Inequalities in Creative Cities: Issues, Approaches, Comparisons*, Springer.

Gregory, J.J. and Rogerson, C.M., 2016. Tracking the policy environment for creative industries in South Africa. In *Celebrate Century of Geography: Proceedings of the Centenary Conference of the Society of South African Geographers, Stellenbosch: Society of South African Geographers*, pp. 30-37.

Grodach, C., 2017. Urban cultural policy and creative city making. *Cities*, *68*(Aug), pp.82-91.

Hague, E., 2016. Creative cities. *International Encyclopedia of Geography: People, the Earth, Environment and Technology: People, the Earth, Environment and Technology*, pp.1-2.

Ibrahim, S.M.S.Z., 2020. The Making of Creative Cities: Exploring the Role of Sustainable Urban Mobility (SUM). In *Handbook of Research on Creative Cities and Advanced Models for Knowledge-Based Urban Development* (pp. 173-196). IGI Global.

Jurene, S. and Jureniene, V. 2017. Creative cities and clusters. *Transformations in Business and Economics*, *16*(2), pp.214-234.

Khalil, M.H.M., 2020. Protecting silent identities of heritage from the ruining living identities in current and futuristic creative cities: the case of Egypt. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*. DOI 10.1108/JCHMSD-06-2019-0073.

Kirchberg, V. and Kagan, S., 2013. The roles of artists in the emergence of creative sustainable cities: Theoretical clues and empirical illustrations. *City, Culture and Society*, *4*(3), pp.137-152.

Kirsten, E., 2019. Hermanus named UNESCO City of Gastronomy, https://www.getaway.co.za/travel-news/hermanus-named-unesco-city-of-gastronomy/.

Kosmas, P., Galanakis, G., Constantinou, V., Drossis, G., Christofi, M., Klironomos, I., Zaphiris, P., Antona, M. and Stephanidis, C., 2019. Enhancing accessibility in cultural heritage environments: Considerations for social computing. *Universal Access in the Information Society*, pp.1-12.

Kotb, K.S., 2020. The Features and Roles of Universities in Creative Cities. In *Handbook of Research on Creative Cities and Advanced Models for Knowledge-Based Urban Development* (pp. 284-304). IGI Global.

Massey, R., 2020. Urban Renewal in South African Cities. In *Urban Geography in South Africa* (pp. 265-282). Springer, Cham.

Mermikides, A., 2020. Drama out of a crisis: the cultural sector responds to healthcare professionals impacted by COVID-19. *Nature Immunology*, *21*(8), pp.817-818.

Nkula-Wenz, L., 2019. Worlding Cape Town by design: Encounters with creative cityness. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *51*(3), pp.581-597.

Overstrand City, 2019. UNESCO awards region key gastronomical status, https://www.overstrandcityofgastronomy.com/assets/pdf/beyond.pdf.

Overstrand Municipality, 2017. Integrated Development Plan – IDP for the 5 yeat period 2017/18-2021/22.

Oyekunle, O.A., 2017. The contribution of creative industries to sustainable urban development in South Africa. *African Journal of Science, Technology, Innovation and Development*, *9*(5), pp.607-616.

Oyekunle, O.A., 2019. Creative industries in South Africa: An engine for urban regeneration. https://www.urbanet.info/creative-cities-in-south-africa/#:~:text=The%20City%20of%20Johannesburg%20is,competitiveness%20on%20the%20international%20stage.

Rahimifard, G., Ghorbani, R., Babayi Aghdam, F. and Heydari Chiyane, R., 2021. Evaluation of Creative City Indicators in Creating a Creative Tourism City (Case Study: Khoy). *Human Geography Research*. DOI: 0.22059/JHGR.2021.303752.1008127.

Ratten, V., 2017. *Entrepreneurship, Innovation and Smart Cities*; Routledge, Abingdon-on-Thames, UK.

Regional Technology Strategies. 2003. *Clusters of Creativity: Innovation and Growth in Montana – The Experience Enterprise and Tourism Cluster*, available at, https://www.academia.edu/6733313/Clusters_of_Creativity_Innovation_and_Growth_in_Montana_The_Experience_Enterprise_and_Tourism_Cluster.

Rodrigues, M. and Franco, M., 2018. Measuring the performance in creative cities: Proposal of a multidimensional model. *Sustainability*, *10*(11), p.4023.

Rodrigues, M. and Franco, M., 2020. Networks and performance of creative cities: A bibliometric analysis. *City, Culture and Society*, *20*, p.100326.

Romão, J., 2017. Are creative cities good places for creative people? Notes on the social conditions for cultural production in contemporary economy. *Quality Innovation Prosperity*, *21*(1), pp.49-60.

SACO, 2019a. The potential of ‘creative cities’ for regional development in non-metropolitan areas: The case of the Makhanda Creative City project. Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth.

SACO. 2019c. How much government funding is available for the cultural sector in South Africa? Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth.

SACO. 2019d. The role of venture capital in promoting the CCIs in South Africa. Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth.

SACO, 2020a. Economic mapping study research services to SACO - Technical Research Report 4 (of 5): Provincial location and clusters of cultural and creative industries. Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth.

SACO, 2020b. The nexus between arts, culture, heritage, tourism and sports – policy implications. Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth.

SACO, 2020c. Measuring the impact of COVID-19 crisis on the Cultural and Creative Industries in South Africa: An early assessment. Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth.

SACO, 2020d. A landscape assessment of the CCIs' readiness to address the needs of persons with disabilities. Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth.

SACO. 2020e. Private sector support of the CCIs in South Africa. Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth.

Scott, A.J., 2016. City and society: An inquiry into the logic of urban development and its meaning for work and life in the twenty-first century. <https://www.academia.edu/12084353/CITY_AND_SOCIETY_An_Inquiry_into_the_Logic_of_Urban_Development_and_its_Meaning_for_Work_and_Life_in_the_Twenty-First_Century> [Accessed 15 March 2016].

Sitas, R., 2020. Creative Cities, Graffiti and Culture-Led Development in South Africa: Dlala Indima ('Play Your Part'). *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *44*(5), pp.821-840.

Smith, R. and Warfield, K., 2008. 12. The Creative City:: A Matter of Values. *Creative cities, cultural clusters and local economic development*, p.287.

Stevenson, D., 2020. Rethinking Creative Cities?: UNESCO, Sustainability, and Making Urban Cultures. In *Re-Imagining Creative Cities in Twenty-First Century Asia* (pp. 59-74). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Thiel, J., 2017. Creative cities and the reflexivity of the urban creative economy. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *24*(1), pp.21-34.

Tubadji, A., 2020. Culture: A tool for mental health resilience in COVID-19 times. *COVID Economics: Vetted and Real-Time Papers*, *32*(26), pp.179-207.

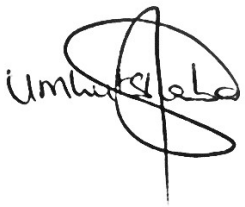
UNESCO, 2019. Voices of the city: UNESCO Creative Cities moving towards the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/sites/creative-cities/files/16_pages_villes_creatives_uk_bd.pdf.
UNESCO, 2020. Creative Cities, https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/home.

UNESCO, 2021. About the creative city, https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/creative-cities-map.

Visser, G., 2002. Gentrification and South African cities: towards a research agenda. *Cities*, *19*(6), pp.419-423.

Wood, A. 2017. 10 of the world's most creative cities to live, work and play, Creative Boom. https://www.creativeboom.com/features/10-of-the-worlds-most-creative-cities-to-live-work-and-play/.

Yum, S., 2020. How can we measure the magnitude of creative cities? A new Creativity Index: 3Ci. *Creativity Research Journal*, pp.1-10.

APPROVALS FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN CULTURAL OBSERVATORY – Cultural Participation and Consumption in South Africa - A Demand-side Report – January 2020.				
	NAME	**TITLE**	**SIGNATURE**	**DATE**
Prepared and recommended by:	*Ms. Unathi Lutshaba*	*SACO Executive Director*		/01/2021
Approved by:	*Ms. Lisa Combrinck*	*DSAC SACO Project Manager*		
Approved by:	*Dr. Stella (CN) Khumalo*	*DSAC DDG: Arts, Culture Promotion and Development*		