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**RURAL CULTURAL POLICY IN
SOUTH AFRICA:
ANALYSIS, PARAMETERS AND
DEFINITIONS**

Submitted to the Department of Arts and Culture

MEASURING & VALUING SOUTH AFRICA'S CULTURAL & CREATIVE ECONOMY

**RURAL CULTURAL POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA:
ANALYSIS, PARAMETERS AND DEFINITIONS**
(Fifth draft)

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

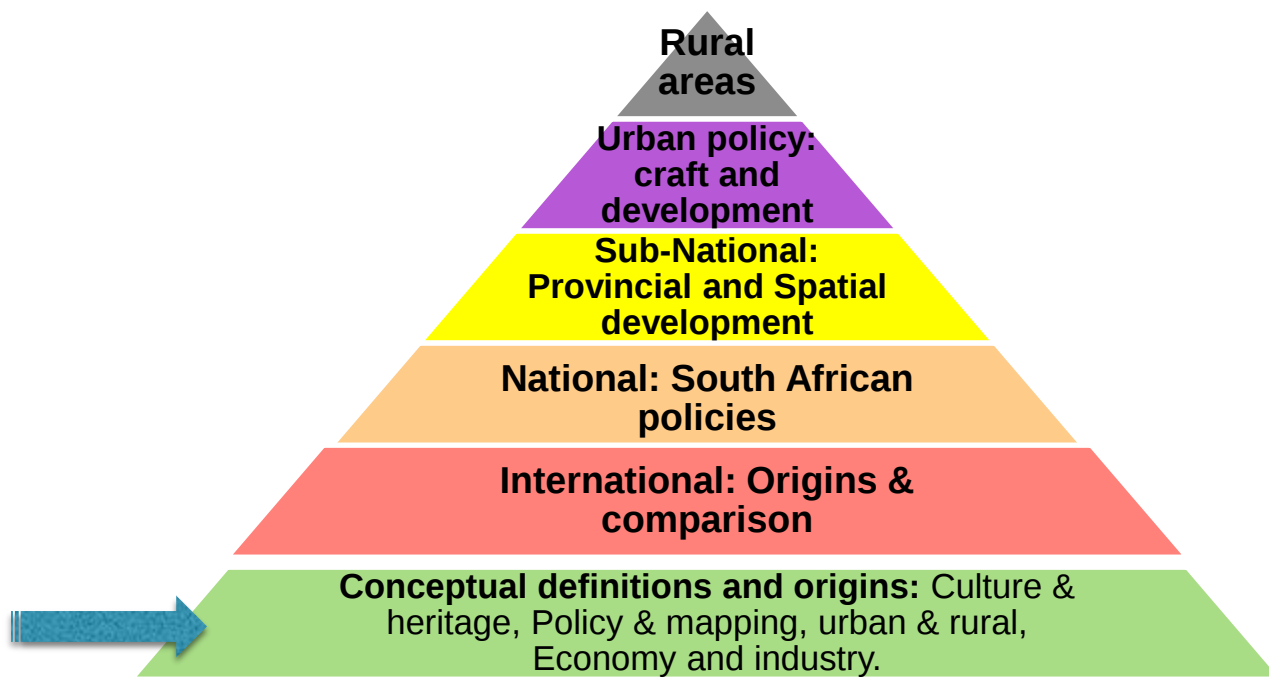
ACH	Arts, Culture and Heritage
ADM	Amathole District Municipality
AHS	Arts and Heritage Sector
ANC	African National Congress
ASPIRE	Amathole Economic Development Agency
CCCB	Centre for Contemporary Culture
CCDI	Cape Craft and Design Institute
CCI	Cultural and Creative Industry
CHET	Centre for Higher Education Transformation
CIGS	Cultural Industrial Growth Strategy
CoCT	City of Cape Town
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DEDAT	Department of Economic Development and Tourism
EU	European Union
FHISER	Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research
HERANA	Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
MEDS	Micro-Economic Development Strategy
MEGA	Mpumalanga Economic Growth Agency
NDP	National Development Plan
NDPG	Neighbourhood Development Programme
NEDA	Nkonkobe Economic Development Agency
PANSA	Performing Arts Network of South Africa
PGDP	Provincial Growth and Development Programme
PNC	Plano Nacional de Cultura
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACO	South African Cultural Observatory
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SATMA	South African Traditional Music Association
SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
SDP	Spatial Development Plan
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WDC	World Design Capital

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This document discusses the parameters and definitions associated with the terms *cultural* and *policy* within South Africa. Due to the marginalization of rural areas from mainstream urban cultural initiatives, we focus specifically on elucidating the features of rural cultural and heritage initiatives in South Africa. We do this in two ways: we examine how cultural policies may feature within the public and developmental rubric of international, national, provincial and local arenas; and we analyze our data to extract specific aspects of provincial cultural and heritage practice that may be useful in the of cultural policies for rural zones in South Africa. This specifically contributes to the mapping of cultural and heritage resources by the South African Cultural Observatory.

Due to the inter-disciplinary nature of this enquiry, the first section of the paper assesses concepts that are integral to the definition and deconstruction of our subject matter. This ‘culture’, ‘heritage’, the ‘rural and urban’, and ‘policy’. We point out that cultural policy can be fundamentally understood through a mapping exercise, based on UNESCO’s cultural cycle, which is essential in providing more substance and bite to local constructions of policy. We then examine the international experience of cultural policy, and point out that although the rural element is difficult to locate, it is nevertheless a cross cutting theme common to all forms of cultural policy. We then focus on how South Africa has approached cultural policy in the three periods since 1994, and how and whether local and regional state entities have interpreted this. This section also extracts and reviews the characteristics of two important sectors: that of craft, which has resulted in huge gains for the cultural economy of Cape Town; as well as the general rural economy in South Africa. This section can be depicted as an inverted pyramid, starting with a basic review of concepts as a baseline:

Figure 1: Section One Pyramid of Analysis



The second section is concerned with describing and mapping our data, which was primarily derived from the SACO and DAC Plus 94 database. This information was limited and was therefore augmented by sources including StatsSA as well as SAHRA. Here we have focused on providing the reader with a snapshot of all province, as well as the presence of the UNESCO domains nationally, although we have provided a more detailed account of certain provinces such as the Western and Eastern Cape. It is here that the strength of the heritage sector emerges, although it is largely neglected in the Plus 94 database, as well as that of sport, agriculture and tourism. We conclude that these cross cutting domains, or multipliers, may be essential for the effective implementation of rural cultural policies at a local level.

SECTION ONE: CULTURAL POLICY IN CONTEXT

1.1. Introduction to Cultural Policy

Cultural policy has become an increasingly popular buzzword internationally, as well as in

South Africa, although its frequency in respect of the latter location is queried by some scholars. Nawa and Sirayi (2016:1) postulate:

‘The institutionalization of cultural policy has to date become an effective tool for culture-led development in some parts of the world. *South Africa is yet to fully embrace this phenomenon in its development matrix.* While the government has introduced some strategies to coordinate its post-Apartheid development imperatives across all its spheres, role players such as politicians, town planners, and developers, continue to carry on with their subjective approaches to development without culture as the mediator. This perpetuates the fragmentation of spatial landscapes and infrastructure networks in these areas along racial and cultural lines’.

Cultural policy has its origin in the 1980s in Europe and the UK, where it was adopted by local city - and town councils. Initial cultural planning was conceptualized as a central factor for the economic development of marginalized sectors and regions, and a motivation for the funding of local arts. It has led to growth of the rural economy as well as urban regeneration, using tourism and local industry as levers.

Scholars regard cultural policy as a way in which the conditions are created for cultural expression in a development agenda (De la Durantaye 2002, Miller and Yudice 2002). It is also conceptualized as the way in which elements of heritage, tradition and culture are incorporated into state policy at a local and national level (Bianchini 1993). Policy is understood as a set of guidelines informed by an ideology, but achieved through consultation with communities and local management (DAC 2005:12). This scenario calls South Africa to interrogate its current approach to cultural policy with the view to creating suitable conditions for sustainable development, particularly at the local level and especially in rural areas.

In order to respond to the need to align culture and heritage as the primary mediators for landscape and infrastructure development in South Africa, we will examine if and how policy

interventions have conceptualized culture-led development in rural areas. To this end, the Report must offer a critique of concepts related to culture and its policy paradigms. Galloway and Dunlop (2007) argue that there must be a strong theoretical basis for definitions used for policy purposes, because this has important consequences for the way in which cultural and creative industries are measured as well as the type of development adopted. If there is no prior understanding of the dynamic nature of culture, policy can become static and stifling, if not iterative.

The first goal of the paper is to discuss the current state of play with regard to cultural policy in South Africa, and how current policies can be adapted or refined to specifically apply to rural areas. We ask the question: how cultural policy has been conceived and formulated in South Africa? Using this question as our basis, we examine the content of national policies, and their relationship to regional and local policies, roleplayers and cultural initiatives. Is there sufficient evidence of cultural policy to warrant the creation of relevant rural policies?

Here, we situate our analysis by discussing our main point of theoretical departure: UNESCO and the domains of cultural analysis. This is critical in order to understand how these domains may be altered and re-conceptualized within a rural context particular to South African history and conditions. We also offer a critical conceptual review of concepts relevant to cultural policy, cultural planning and cultural industries, within the context of development. This is followed by a review of international and national literature concerning cultural policy, what it means, and which issues it addresses, particularly in rural areas at a sub national and local level. In this section we move from an examination of policy at a broader national level, particularly expressed through the White Paper (and subsequent reviews), as well as Arts and Culture led initiatives since 1994, to a more specific level using the Plus 94 database.

The second goal of this paper is to explore the representation of UNESCO domains within the Plus 94 database. This, along with other datasets, has been categorized and mapped in order to produce a geographical *and* domain based analysis of ACH and CCI industries in rural areas.

This will provide a more substantive idea of *which* domains and industries can become the focal point of regional or local cultural policies and initiatives.

Our data collection and analysis has extracted information from both a regional and a domain perspective in order to understand two issues:

- Mapping: The particularly profile and weighting of cultural industries geographically,
- Challenges: Which gaps are evident within this data and how they can be breached.

This will result in a more specific idea of which types of cultural industries need attention within rural development agenda. It is specifically important to emphasize that cultural policy in rural areas should not be generic; instead, it needs to be attentive to local differences in cultural content, as well as particular challenges experienced by the cultural and creative sectors.

As described by the project policy brief¹, the essence of the proposed approach is twofold: (a) to contribute to a design of rural cultural indicators for heritage, creative and cultural industries in order to match and compliment the UNESCO framework of creative industries indicators for national and global tracking purposes. (b) This will make specific use of the idea of clustering of heritage, arts and culture-related enterprises within rural areas, particularly in areas that use products that attract rural tourists and visitors.

Please note that all summaries for domains and regional descriptions are indicated in italics throughout the paper.

¹ This includes a 'consideration of the current situation with respect to cultural policy for the rural areas and centres of South Africa, [including] national and sub-national strategy and policy. A compact historical perspective on relevant policies will be included as well. The report would be a combination of desktop research, strategic interviews and select use of relevant statistical data and relevant and/or cleaned in-house data from the South African Cultural Observatory. It would have a substantive policy orientation and look to contextualise and explain current and emerging policy in South Africa, and gaps and shortcomings' (Task Order 1, UFH and NMMU, 2017).

1.2. Definition of Concepts

This paper represents somewhat of a challenge, due to the differing backgrounds of the roleplayers involved: anthropologists, sociologists, developers, cultural practitioners and government experts. Against this backdrop, we have to define the concepts associated with rural cultural policy. This includes: *rural and urban, culture, cultural policy, development, cultural planning, cultural mapping, creative/cultural industries, creative economy and heritage*.

Rural and Urban

Although the use of the concepts 'rural' and 'urban' are probably inescapable for descriptive purposes, they often imply a dichotomy which is not echoed in practise. Generally, it is agreed that the disparities between rural and urban areas are gradually disappearing, particularly due to exceptionally high levels of migration and connectivity (Tacoli 1998). Many analysts argue for a greater understanding of the inter-connectivity between rural and urban areas - how rural practises are present in urban contexts, and urban values and formations within the countryside. Rural areas in Africa are no longer viewed as isolated and remote areas in which people are bound by custom and where land practises are outdated (Neumann 1997).

In Africa, due to the commonality of migration and displacement, many analysts argue for an acceptance of the wider notion of rurality within formalised city spaces (Myers 2010, Demise 2007). Several empirical studies show how linkages between urban and rural, particularly through the movement of goods, people and capital, play an important role in economic development. It has also become clear that practises usually classified as rural take place across spaces, particularly those associated with urban or per-urban agriculture (Tacoli 1998: 1). What is prudent to remember is that the use of the word 'rural' may inflect an essentialised

notion of what it means to be a resident of the countryside, but that this is not necessarily the case in practise. This is particularly important to apply throughout this paper since it is our goal to develop a more nuanced understanding of rural cultural industries and sectors, in order to inform the creation of a suitable policy framework for the State.

Culture

In the anthropological sense, culture is generally accepted by social scientists as being a wider system of knowledge, beliefs and practices that are more or less shared by members of (a) society. Culture is accepted as both an observable phenomenon and a social ideational system in terms of behaviour and the production of artistic items or events. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) defines culture as ‘the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. It includes the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of human beings, value systems, tradition and beliefs’ (UNESCO 1969). This is the definition to which the article aligns itself. Whilst culture - derived from the Latin word *cultura* and meaning *to grow* as in horticulture - is generally considered as being dynamic and forward-looking, it is also regarded as a historical formation. In South Africa, this is noticeable through labels such as *setso* and *isiko* (that from which things/people originate) used in indigenous languages. This perspective automatically emphasizes customs, traditions and heritage. Holistically, these are some of the elements which, according to Bianchini (1993), must be incorporated into public policy at various spheres of the government or state. be revisited later.

According to Nawa and Sirayi (2016), the ‘development rationale’ of culture in various parts of the world points out that the institutionalisation of cultural policy, particularly at the local government level, is undoubtedly an effective tool for culture-led and informed development (Lorente 2002, Kwok and Low 2002, Bianchini 1993, UNESCO 2013). UNESCO draws its idea of culture from a perspective that sees development not only as an economic process, but as

a complex whole that has to arise endogenously from the depths of each society. 'It considers the holistic development of people within local conditions and systems' (Sakamota 2003 in Nawa et al 2004:2).

In line with the above, UNESCO has accordingly coined the term 'culture-sensitive development' in order to embrace human development rather than economic growth alone. Furthermore, to prioritize people in development processes and outcomes, to value and safeguard cultural heritage, to seek local solutions to global agendas and to nurture spiritual and intellectual wealth towards eradicating poverty (UNESCO 2010:9). This is the trajectory that this article adopts – within this context, culture has the potential to increase the socio-economic and political sources of livelihood in any country. The World Bank claims that in 1999, cultural industries contributed over 7.3% of global GNP (Howkins 2001). Heritage, particularly the protection of traditional and natural resources, can also strengthen social cohesion as it improves people's well-being and their ability to act as democratic citizens (Landry 2000). These two points are dealt with later. For now, it is prudent to link culture to policy.

Cultural policy & mapping

This portion of the paper will discuss how cultural policy is conceptualized, defined and utilized by public policy. According to Paquette and Redaelli (2015:59), public policy may be defined as an action or decision made by an official agent or organisation of the state, which in itself creates a statement of their position on a particular matter. The definition of public policy therefore extends to that of cultural policy as the authoritative documents formulated by state departments of arts and culture, local authorities or any other public institution that works in the cultural sector with a view to addressing behaviour that poses problems for cultural communities. Inherent to understanding cultural policy, are the concepts of cultural mapping, cultural auditing or assessment, cultural planning and the cultural cycle.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, UNESCO asked individual countries to formulate national *cultural plans* to stimulate development. One particular example is the Brazilian PNC (*Plano Nacional de Cultura*), through which cultural policy was retooled to intervene in national and cultural identity as well as to develop a new model for development (Marsh 2016). Another is Nigeria, who took the cue from Ghana to formulate its national cultural policy at the insistence of UNESCO. This has been in operation since 1976 through the formulation of a Cultural Policy Document (Samuel and Chiwziem 2009). Nigeria is a country that has a rich ethnic heritage, not always confined to prescriptive geographical boundaries, and has developed a policy that embraces and promotes traditional values as part of the drive towards a multifarious national identity.

Notably, policy is most often used by government in the spatial planning of towns, cities and villages through what is called *cultural planning, or mapping* (Gray 2010, Ahearne 2009, Dye 1995). According to Dreeszen (1989:9), cultural planning is a structured, community-wide fact-finding and consensus-building process to assess community needs and to 'develop a plan of action that directs arts and cultural resources to address those needs'. Cultural planning informs planners heritage resources that may exist, the different cultural and creative industries that have been developed and what the needs, capabilities and lifestyles of people are. Cultural planning thus directs and plans cultural policy in order to both strengthen existing efforts, as well as to plan for new courses of action. Mercer (2002:170) cautions that cultural planning does not mean *the planning of culture* but, rather to ensure that cultural elements and cultural considerations are present at every stage of the planning and development process.

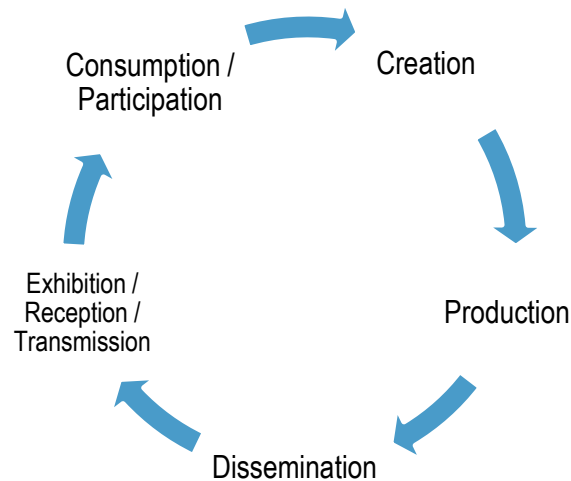
Her element of mapping is the process of *cultural auditing or community cultural assessment*. This does not only involve counting cultural industries, but a process of scanning the cultural resource base of a given community or space in order to identify strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (Mercer 2002:6). In summary, at the heart of the actual practice of

cultural planning lies the imperative to *joint up thinking* by linking cultural policy to main-stream agendas in economic, social and human development, regeneration, physical and human resource management' (Mercer 2002:7). This, in essence, defines the degree to which heritage and cultural amenities depend on networks, clusters and collections of human initiatives and resources.

It within the sphere of cultural mapping that the *culture cycle* can be used to re-think the linkages between cultural domains, sectors and potentially also rural and urban areas. The production of an art work, a dance form, or even a cultural artefact is immensely complex, and depends on five stages of production: creation, production, dissemination, exhibition/reception and consumption/participation. For a rural-based product, such as one made from grass or reed, production and creation may take place in a rural area using local materials. Dissemination, exhibition and consumption, however, may be in a different geographical location, using different actors and investors. These stages suggest a multi-sector and processual approach to cultural production in rural areas that recognises the interplay between rural and urban zones.

Figure 2: The Cultural Cycle²

² UNESCO. 2009. A Framework for Cultural Statistics. 2009. www.uis.unesco.org/culture/.../framework-cultural-statistics-culture-2009-en.pdf



Commodification or development? Creativity and cultural capital

The use of tools such as cultural planning and mapping, evokes a debate around the instrumentalisation and commodification of culture. Is it extremely important for policy makers to be familiar with these two terms in order to be vigilant in the choices to be made in policy formulation and the implications that these may hold for the socio-cultural environment. *Instrumentalisation* is commonly understood as an *uncritical use of the concept of culture for the purposes of one's own development* (Gray 2007, Protherough and Pick 2002, and Caust 2003). This was common during the apartheid era when atrocities such as resettlement and mine labour were motivated as being part of a natural ethnic identity in the erstwhile 'homeland' states (including the Transkei and Ciskei) in South Africa. In this way, the apartheid government had developed a very effective, though discriminatory, cultural policy for the country prior to 1994 (Boonzaaier and Sharp 1988).

The instrumentalisation of culture tends to undermine public investment in the establishment of institutional arrangements by way of mandates and roles across spheres of government, interdepartmentally as well as among government agencies. This results in legislative inco-

herence, operational fragmentation and inefficient funding governance. The commodification of culture happens the moment the focus of policy shifts away from the use-value of culture and heritage, towards commercial gains through commoditized forms of exchange relationships and social behaviors. In these terms, both commodification and instrumentalisation of culture can result in a misunderstanding of tradition and history, a cheapening of traditional values and the use of natural and cultural resources for the gain of a few (Gray 2002 in Nawa and Sirayi 2016).

The idea of *culture as an industry – as capital* - is relatively new, as culture is less measurable and more difficult to describe than conventional industries (Snowball 2015: 12). As Brown and O'Connor (2000) notes, 'those involved in its (culture's) production seek other values beside the maximisation of income...and its users also seen other benefits than the satisfaction of economic needs'. The notion of culture in economics invokes terminologies such as cultural industries, creative industries and the creative economy. The term *cultural industries*, which originally developed in the late 1970s in Europe, refers to industrially produced commercial entertainment – broadcasting, film, publishing, recorded music – and not the visual or performing arts, or even the heritage sector, which includes monuments and natural areas. This original understanding underpinned UNESCO's cultural policy initiatives and the Council of Europe in 1978 and 1980 (Garnham 2005:165) and French cultural policy of the early 1980s. These were the themes adopted in the UK, particularly by London and other city councils during the 1980s.

However, faced by cutbacks in support of commercial entertainment during Thatcher's political terms, local councils pushed for the inclusion of the *arts* into state cultural support. It was particularly through the election of a new Labour government in 1997, that the shift in terminology occurred and the term *creative industries* was coined. This confined the scope of creative industries to the artistic sector, as the term 'cultural' was too broad to be quantified. From there, the concept of creative industries gained momentum in Australia, the US and in Africa, although it is sometimes used interchangeably with cultural industries. It is to be

noted, however, that *creative industries* are *not the arts*, nor does it refer to the whole *creative economy* (Hearn 2015), as both the industries and economy include other sectors that are creative, but are not necessarily the arts. Higgs (2008:22) describes the creative economy as ‘those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.’

Heritage

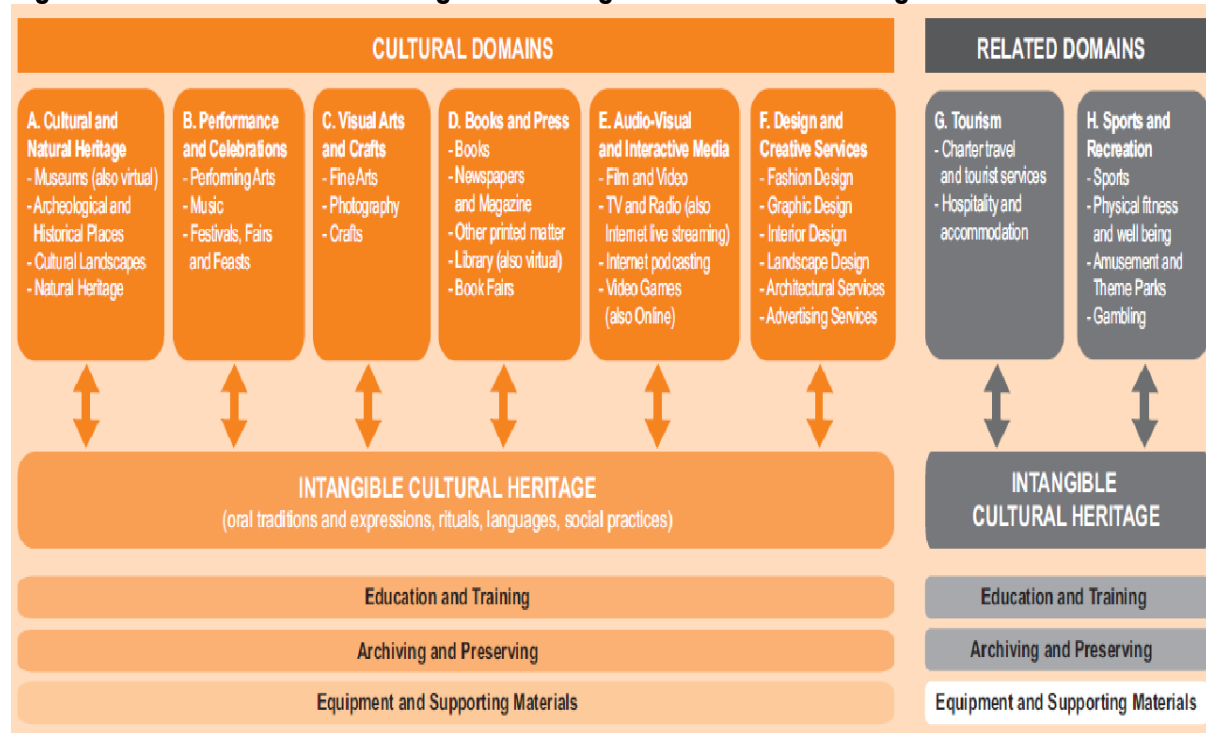
Apart from CCIs, heritage is a prominent driver of cultural policy, and is operationalized within the Department of Arts and Culture through the support of SAHA and SAHRA, as well as various museums, archives and similar structures throughout South Africa. However, heritage has not featured as an integral part of the development of culture as an industry. This is because like sport and tourism, heritage is a cross cutting theme that is difficult to limit to only one state entity or department. However, as we will point out, heritage is essential in the description of rural cultural policy and associated cultural economies and industries. The Oxford Dictionary describes heritage as *the sum total of wildlife and scenic parks, sites of scientific and historical importance, national monuments, historical buildings, works of art, literature and music, oral traditions and museum collections and their documentation which provides the basis for a shared culture and creativity in the arts.*

It is important to note that this is the definition that has been adopted in the White Paper on Arts and Culture of 1996. The White Paper emphasizes the development of the arts and creative enterprises, but also includes regional culture and natural heritage as an important aspect of this development. The South African National Heritage Resources Act (No.25 of 1999), specifically argues for an inclusion of what is called *living heritage*: the intangible aspects of inherited culture and which includes cultural traditions, oral history, ritual and performance, skills and technology and indigenous knowledge systems. For most of South Africa, the promotion of intangible heritage struggles to compete with globalised multimedia

communication systems, including education. As we will point out later in this document, the development of cultural policy in South Africa goes beyond the idea of development of CCIs, but specifically, it should utilize those aspects of heritage that can foster intangible aspects of national and local identities. Oral tradition is an integral part of this.

Living Heritage, also known as Intangible Cultural Heritage, is included in UNESCO's matrix of the six cultural domains (**Figure 3**), which provides a more complete picture of what *culture* means for the formation of cultural policies in South Africa. This matrix is imperative in the planning of cultural policy – which, as Mercer (2002:170) warns - is less about how culture should be used and where, but rather as a process that integrates all cultural matrixes within the development framework.

Nonetheless, the challenge with the treatment of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the matrix is its positioning outside the six cultural domains. In the pursuit to include sub-national rural and urban communities in cultural policy considerations and performance monitoring, the adoption of the Intangible Cultural Heritage as the seventh domain is strongly recommended. Unlike the related domains of tourism and sports, Intangible Cultural Heritage can be seen as an integral part of the cultural and creative industries. Heritage funding is already an integral part of the Departmental fiscus, through the funding of heritage education and institution, but still needs to find greater expression within the rubric of local cultural economies.

Figure 3: UNESCO Matrix of intangible and tangible cultural and heritage domains³

1.3. Contemporary Cultural Policy: The International Dimension

Internationally, there are several examples of cultural policy that reflect the use of cultural types within cultural planning, as indicated by UNESCOs matrixes above. The evolution of cultural policy in the United Kingdom is particularly interesting to examine, as this reflects a movement towards an urban-based policy approach, but distinctly as a project of capitalist development during the 1980s and 1990s. Unlike Nigeria, UK cultural policy did not revolve around the promotion of a national identity, but the state and private funding of locally based cultural industries that were suggestive of regional heritage and artistic enterprise.

Cultural policy before this was relatively underdeveloped as it was not specifically concerned with culture as an economy. During the 1980s, however, increased financial pressure in the

³ UNESCO. 2010. The power of culture for development [online]. Available from: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001893/189382e.pdf>

UK forced artists to motivate government funding of the arts as a specific form of economic regeneration (Dorland 2003). Bianchini (1993) cites that, at that time, many British municipalities broke away from the definition of culture as a non-political phenomenon due to social and labour movements of the time, whose cultural activities clearly had political motivations. According to Bianchini (1993:3-4), cultural planning in Great Britain at that stage, was conceptualised as a very important factor within economic development.

It was generally agreed that this type of cultural policy was not very effective for development or regeneration efforts in Britain and Europe during the 1980s. A difference came about in the 1990s, when certain European cities adopted arts-led urban revitalisation schemes with four aims: the reconstruction of cities' external images, attraction of new investments and personnel, physical and environmental renewal and boosting of the retail and tourism industries. It is partly against this background that many cities, such as Barcelona, adopted cultural policies that encouraged a mixture of history and tradition within more cutting-edge, multi-sectoral cultural zones which were multi-cultural and multi-lingual.

Cultural Policy in Barcelona was particularly centred around the creation of a Centre for Contemporary Culture (CCCB), which resulted in the successful regeneration of the urban housing market. The 1992 Olympics showed the results: the transformation of an abandoned, isolated city into *the new cultural centre of Europe* and a magnet for artists and cultural tourists worldwide (Nawa 2012:28). The European Union's (EU) cultural policy since then has been summarised by the Four Plus One 'E's models, based on the principles of Enlightenment, Empowerment, Economic Impact and Entertainment as well as Experience (Nawa 2012:30).

There are four points contained in these international experiences:

- Culture is seen as part of the right to freedom of expression and human development and this is enshrined in cultural policy.
- Secondly, cultural policy includes the whole breadth of culture, including CCIs, her-

itage and tradition, as illustrated by UNESCOs matrixes. This is known as the transversal approach to culture, which makes integrated planning of all cultural issues an essential part of urban and rural development strategies (Sirayi and Anyumba 2007:19).

- Thirdly, culture is a central part of development and not an add-on. Much of international best-practice makes a case for the development of cities as platforms from which to lobby stakeholders and canvas common agendas and which avoid the domination of a singular language or approach.
- Lastly, urban initiatives have supported multi-sectoral and multi-cultural policy agendas which draw on initiatives in administrative areas (rural municipalities) that are distant to cultural urban centres.

Cultural policy for rural areas is difficult to locate in international literature. Bell and Jayne (2010) argue, with reference to the creative economy in Shropshire in the UK, that policy is still geared towards urban cultural development. Here, Cloke (1997:168) has noticed a distinct revival of the *rural ideal*, which is the case not only for the UK, but for rural areas worldwide. This does not idealise or romanticise the rural, but simply means that rural areas are strong sources of identity and origin. Within the realm of rural studies, however, there is some space for engagement. For instance, in 2004, the Association of European Cities and Regions for Culture (otherwise referred to also as *Les Recontres*), in collaboration with over 250 local and regional authorities as well as politicians, academics and policy makers, produced a Green Paper on the cultural policies of local and regional authorities in Europe. This was done in an attempt to 'unify the text into a cogent whole, without any particular national, regional, local or even linguistic bias' (*Les Recontres* 2004:4).

This document recognises the role played by local and regional authorities in cultural development as the *last cog in the wheel* of national governance. It believes that regional authorities are the best mediators and developers for arts and culture: through their closeness to the non-institutional sector, the way in which they maintain, integrate and reinvent folk

traditions and their intimate perception of the different elements of the population in many ways. The document thus advocates for a transversal approach to culture, for seamless interlinks and multilateral exchanges among institutions and various constituencies. This approach can be compared to a map depicting different rural actors, each with their own linkages networks, that converge on a range of different rural spaces and regional products. In this way, cultural policy is not limited to specific cultural institutions and sites for the conservation of artistic heritage. This network approach brings together rural and urban centres, many different products and a range of different cultural actors as part of a single project (*Les Recontres*, 2004:17).

The significance of rural networks within cities and the countryside is highlighted by what Cloke (1997) refers to as the *cultural turn* in rural studies. This moves away from an urban policy agenda that is focused on the development of concentrated small nodes of cultural interest, but towards artistic clusters, or extended cultural networks in rural areas. These may link up with cities, but they still retain a rural flavour. Cultural tourism and development in rural areas in the UK and Europe focus more on the creation of an *urban buzz* and less on national identity, using the ideal of the rural as a kind of a *folksiness, tradition, or getting back to one's roots*. These rural cultural economies are more concerned with issues of regional identity, which are supported by programmes in order to attract rural businesses, funded by private and public investors. Natural areas in particular, are emphasised as markers of national heritage and custodianship. It is thus the breadth and depth of the cultural economy in rural areas which distinguishes it from urban zones, however, it must also be recognized that in certain circumstances, the 'rural is crossed with urbanism' (*Les Recontres*, 2004:48).

Kneafey (2001:164) warns that there are still very real challenges that exist within cultural rural landscapes. Landry (2000) also warns that cultural development should not simply *re-cycle* urban CCI policy in a rural setting. Rural areas need a policy that is distinctively rural, and related to the interactions of place, people and creativity. These revolve around:

- Who owns knowledge in rural areas,

- How outsiders define communities and individuals,
- How local status or ownership is conferred and
- The degree of similarity between urban and rural environments.

In China, Ying and Zhong (2007) make use of a particularly good case study to illustrate the difficulties of cultural tourism in rural areas in China. Their work makes it clear that in a non-western setting, it is difficult to implement mechanisms for economic gain where the distribution of resources are skewed. This inequality makes it more difficult to gain entry into a tourist market. Cultural rural tourism, which is defined as ‘a distinct rural community with its own traditions, heritage, arts, lifestyles, places and values as preserved between generations’ (MacDonald and Joffe 2003), does not necessarily work in practice. Very rarely are there such distinct boundaries between traditions and values. Essentially, both participation in the potential material benefits of tourism as well as participation in decision making, can become problematic when the distribution of economic gains are not defined well beforehand.

1.4. Cultural Policy: The South African Experience

The 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage is the main driver of cultural policy in South Africa. It articulates across the entire arts, culture and heritage spectrum together with other relevant cultural legislations⁴. Some of these laws are inherited from the previous political dispensation, but most laws draw their mandates from the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. This section will review three basic eras of government policy regarding arts and culture: from 1994 until the present, in conjunction with the perspectives supported by the Department of Arts and Culture, and specifically encapsulated

⁴ Current legislations related to culture and local government include but are not limited to: the Pan South African Languages Board Act 59 of 1995; National Archives of South Africa Act 43 of 1996; Legal Deposit Act 54 of 1997; National Arts Council Act 56 of 1997; National House of Traditional Leaders Act 10 of 1997; National Film and Video Foundation Act 73 of 1997; South African Library for the Blind Act 91 of 1998; National Library of South Africa Act 92 of 1998; South African Geographical Names Council Act 118 of 1998; Cultural Institutions Act 119 of 1998; National Heritage Council Act 11 of 1999; National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999; Council for the Built Environment Act 3 of 2000; Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000; African Renaissance and International Co-operation Fund Act 51 of 2000; National Council for Library and Information Services Act 6 of 2001; Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities Act 19 of 2002.

in the efforts to reformulate the 1996 White Paper on Arts and Culture.

The early ANC draft National Cultural Policy predating 1994 envisaged a culture-led development framework:

Legislation will have to be put in place that ensures that all South Africans have access to cultural expression and activity. This principle must permeate the implementation of the RDP: when housing is planned, cultural recreation facilities must be included in those plans; when health schemes are devised, art must be included as legitimate forms of counselling and therapy; when the departments of defence and safety and security develop their programmes, they must embrace arts and culture as bridge-building exercise... if we refuse to recognise the importance of culture, we will be removing the potential for development (ANC 2013).

The early period of Arts and Culture policy in South Africa (1994-1996) revolved around the projects of nation building, social upliftment and development, as contained in the Reconstruction and Development Policy (RDP) of the time. Substantial emphasis was placed on heritage as a central element of transformation, especially with the use of museums. The development of the Robben Island Museum in 1997, preceded by the 1996 White Paper, was key to the promulgation of new national values at the time. Inherent in this was the concept of community: creating a national identity based on an inclusion of all local actors, and a reflection of RDP-linked needs (Joffe and Newton 2007: 12)

With the introduction of a new macro economic policy linked more pertinently to global markets (GEAR) in 1996, cultural industries were emphasized, particularly due to their impact on job creation. The notion of the urban cultural city was embraced as part of a drive towards a global cultural heritage. Likewise, CIGS was used to search for a new artistic national identity in the face of shrinking resources. In conjunction with a focus on SMME development as institutionalized by ASGISA in 2005, this era concentrated on development of public private

partnerships, market development, and the utilization of culture as a tool for urban regeneration (DAC, 2001: p. 25). Arts and cultural funding and support developed most strongly: the world city discourse and cultural industries were used in conjunction with tourism to serve as catalysts for urban renewal, various business arts networks were developed, and links were made between employment and craft/arts industries. Joffe and Newton (2007: 5) also argue that the customized sector programme developed by the DTI for film and craft were important additions to developing a knowledge base about specific creative industries. This era was critical in the development of milestones in the development of the creative industries and a wider alignment to urban and industrial markets. This, together with the development of cultural industry development in Johannesburg and Cape Town, has become normative in much of Arts and Culture policy, from a national to a municipal level.

Table 1: Policy era classification, 1994 - present

Period	• Policies	Description
Early (1994 - 1996)	• 1994: RDP: Nation building, Reconstruction and Development. • 1997: Robben Island museum • 1996: White Paper	Heritage linked to nation building, social upliftment and development. Museums particularly transformed to reflect new values.
Middle	• 1996: GEAR – macro economic strategy • Creative South Africa • 1998: CIGS report • 2013: Draft and proposed revisions to White paper • 2005: ASGISA & SMME • BASA, CreateSA network, National Film and Video Foundation, as well as DTI links. • 2011: Mzansi Gold Economic	Cultural Industries selected for impact on job creation, notion of urban cultural city embraced as part of a drive towards global cultural heritage. CIGS embraced in the search for a new 'artistic national identity' in the face of shrinking resources.

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	Strategy • Employment through the EPWP and craft related industries.	
2013 - present	• 2013: NDP (national Development Plan) and Vision 2030 • 2015: SA Cultural Observatory • Third proposed revision to White paper.	Emphasis on cultural policy, social cohesion, but with a development focus.

During and after this middle period, it became clear to cultural analysts that the state had to juggle the tensions between a massive development agenda within a neo-liberal economic policy model, and the expansion of cultural and heritage institutions and programmes at a local level. In the early days of the new democracy, the government was able to merge these various agendas under the project of nation-building, but with certain discrepancies. Analysts observed (Hagg 2003, Sirayi and Anyumba 2007, Nawa et al 2014) that one of the primary challenges of the post-apartheid dispensation in general was a discord between local and national governmental functions. Schedules 4 and 5 of the constitution clearly bestow major authority on culture concurrently with the national and provincial governments, while Local government was apportioned *cultural* functions, such as beaches and amusement facilities, municipal parks and recreation and local sports facilities.

Against this backdrop, national policy gains during the middle era until around 2014 have not resulted in local municipal cultural policy formulation that is comparable to urban and national policies of the middle era. The National Development Plan: Vision 2030 (2011), is the most recent socio-economic framework for development. The main goal is to reduce inequality and poverty by 2030 and a recognition that social cohesion can achieve this. Moreover, the NDP specifically looks to the cultural economy as a way to achieve this and a particular use of African Knowledge Systems, as part of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Intangible heritage, within policy. This is welcome but would need to be operationalized throughout

provinces and local municipalities.

However, the observation has been made that there are very few indications that local authorities realize fully ‘the importance of the principles of cooperative governance and inter-governmental relations as enunciated in Chapter Three of the Constitution’ and that ‘many local authorities have sidelined culture as an issue of development’ (Roodt 2006:79). Of more than 250 municipalities in the country, there are only four who have attempted to formulate cultural policy. To this end, only the City of Cape Town has recently succeeded after numerous false starts. Similarly, it is this City that is currently trying to craft cultural planning as part of its service delivery mandate. A case study of Cape Town is discussed in Section Two of this report.

The cultural policy faux is also prevalent in the academia. Scholarship on cultural policy in South Africa, particularly at sub-regional level, is very modest. While there are burgeoning interest in academic institutional forms of cultural policy – as suggested by the formation of a Centre for Cultural Policy and Management at Wits University, a Chair in Cultural Policy at Tshwane and SACO itself – there is surprisingly little academic debate on the nature and scope of national cultural policy and what it means at a local level. Thus far, at non-institutional level, the discourse is pioneered by individual scholars such as Deacon (2009); Hagg (2003); Joffe (2010); Nawa (2012); Roodt (2006); Sirayi (2004) and Van Graan (2000). Some of the scholars have produced cultural policy menus and toolkits which are yet to be adopted, even with modifications for peculiarities by government. Roodt specifically recommended that cultural policy formation be given countrywide emphasis in order to match the development of urban formulations, particularly within community development (2006: 205).

What then should constitute the turnaround in line with the above? Prospects for successful rural cultural policy thus should take priority, together with an audit of cultural information at sub-national and local government level. Joffe and Newton (2007) have argued that there is a dearth of reliable and consistent *data* to assess the contribution of cultural industries, an insight that has relevance in the present as well, particularly at local rural level. The value of

a fully fledged mapping exercise, beyond simply counting or classifying industries, would be essential.

The essence of what the current era is about is perhaps contained in the current round of revisions and changes to the White Paper. This does place much more emphasis on the original core values of the 1996 Paper, but importantly, engages more specifically with culture in an anthropological sense, as a focus of South African heritage and cultural resources as whole, rather than only cultural industries. This can be extended to rural areas in order to compensate for the cultural marginalization of rural areas and communal zones. Such an inclusion is necessary due to the degree in which rural deprivation has been caused by colonial conquest and forced removal, as well as homeland 'development' policies of the apartheid era (Crais 2011).

It is essential that the current CCI narrative be refined in order to avoid the blanket use of urban cultural precepts to rural development, which leads to a homogenization of rural heritage. Use of urban-based CCI's can also remove the profit and value-added markets from rural producers by relying too heavily on outsourcing of cultural products and services to urban markets and areas. While it is feasible to add value to rural products by marketing them in urban areas, even through middlemen, it is essential that the financial value of international products be ploughed back to rural producers. It is very difficult, for example, to isolate rural products and services within urban markets, simply because rural connections have been obscured.

The invisibility of rural connections is highly noticeable in the Plus 94 database. This may be, as Joffe and Newton noticed in 2007, because there has been an increased ability to generate statistical data, which has unfortunately hidden the extent of cultural diversity in South Africa. This suggests that mapping data does not only have to measure the strength or size of each sub sector but ask questions such as 'do we need it', and 'what will we be using it for'.

An approach for policy in rural areas can draw on a deeper perspective involving the centrality that rural spaces have played in social reconstruction and cohesion. This could be a strong research focus for educational institutions and civil society and could seek interdepartmental and institutional recognition. This would seek to understand how rural spaces, local histories and governance have changed, which environmental resources and dynamics have been used, and how social institutions, capital and markets have transformed. This would, as suggested by the diversity of current rural livelihoods in South Africa, provide suitable linkages with rural issues relating to intangible heritage and landscapes, poverty alleviation, agriculture and arts development. One such example is that of land, which is supported by the idea of a 'land transect' or mapping exercise, particularly of tenure and land use typologies in communal areas (Manona pers comm⁵). This is necessary because there are many different typologies of land use beyond the standard tenure types of freehold, or communal – based more on cultural practices, use of natural resources and sacred sites.

Out of this multiple perspective, a more individualized local cultural policy can be developed. This could have the following areas of emphasis:

- The particular use of Intangible Heritage, read together with UNESCO's Cultural Development Indicators and domains, with an emphasis on Living Heritage as a critical component of the equation. This would further underscore the centrality of indigenous knowledge and cultural systems as a vital combination of resources for a culture-led regional development imperative.
- Balancing urbanity with rurality and the use of SALGA as a critical interface platform between local and national government. Whilst urbanity has been the driver of South Africa's western modernity (Mazrui 1996), its rural resources, tangible and especially intangible traditions, constitute a critical basis for future economic competitiveness.

⁵ Expert Land Workshop, Hunterstoun, University of Fort Hare. 24-26 October 2017.

The work of The Association of European Cities and Regions for Culture could be leveraged as a regional policy and planning good practice model, in support of the possible consolidation of SALGA as an existing institutional form (Nawa 2017).

- Use of indigenous knowledge as a form of cultural capital to build creative clusters to connect cities and countryside and create a value chain. This includes elements of indigenous governance, socialisation and livelihoods - particularly with women as custodians of environmental resources and repositories of indigenous knowledge. Within this continuum there are three levels of culture, including primary (group knowledge and material), secondary (artistic expression and technological innovation) and tertiary (intangible aspirations) culture. The three levels and forms of culture are intrinsic and demand a culture-led paradigm to regional policy and planning, using the UNESCO CDIs as an essential rubric for strategy, monitoring and impact evaluation.
- The creation of distribution networks for rural products in urban areas. Evidence suggest that, while rural industries can create regeneration, their effectiveness is dependent on institutional support, market proximity and networks. In this sense, rural products and networks can often act in partnership with urban areas, not always as lead actors, but as partners in regional regeneration. The perspectives in line with *Les Recontres* is of great value with relevant local modifications : public-private partnerships, arms-length principle, twinning and the use of rural networks and clustering.
- Use of partnerships across agencies and entities to formulate cultural policies in line with regional landscape or geographical clusters. One example is the cross boundary initiative of biosphere reserves, tourism and heritage routes, national and provincial parks, and the associated cultural and creative activities in each.
- International buy in and co-operation within cultural diplomacy strategy that encapsulate features such as twinning between or among South Africa's provinces, districts,

local municipalities and sub-continental, continental and international counterparts.

!ke e: /xarra //ke: (diverse people unite!).

In conclusion, while it may be true that the UNSECO domains are fairly well known and widely used, it needs to be instrumentalised and improved within a South African context, particularly intangible heritage and in specific rural areas. Although this is not a particular focus of the Department of Arts and Culture, cultural policies that are more expressly linked to heritage (as outlined in the points above) is an essential inclusion and difference to what has occurred in previous eras of policy making in South Africa (*Les Recontres* 2004:40).

1.5. Cultural Policy at Sub-National Level: IDPs, NDP and Municipalities

In contrast to the previous section, we will here provide a short overview of the presence of cultural policy at provincial level and its implication for local municipalities. Although national policy has been guided substantially by the 1996 White paper, culture or culture or heritage does not form a prominent role in the original RDP and in the White Paper of 1996, it is subsumed under the theme of human resources (Nawa 2012:68). Similarly, the 1996 White Paper on Local Government concedes that the definition of local government's powers and functions is ambiguous and requires further clarification.

The 3rd draft of the 2013 Revised White Paper only vaguely deals with the constitutional powers of culture assigned to local government, despite loud calls for the review of the country's constitution by participants in the review process. The word *rural* appears only four times in its lexicon – and only in passing in relation to other concerns or programmes. The 3rd revised draft White Paper is more specific in the call for the cultural economy to become a funded mandate at the local government level via the National Development Plan (NDP). Here, provincial governments are primarily responsible for the provision of guiding policies on the promotion of the cultural economy. This includes allocating resources, infrastructure and quality

assurance mechanisms across all departments and with various stakeholders. Provincial governments are also expected to chair cooperation through a MinMEC council and to develop delivery agreements for monitoring and evaluation of set targets. Local governments are encouraged to develop policies on arts, culture and heritage in collaboration with local stakeholders and to ethically spend the resources allocated to them by the provinces.

After the introduction of the RDP and GEAR, 2004 saw a new national development policy outlined for provinces. The *Provincial Growth and Development Programme* (PGDP) combined a poverty approach (food security and basic needs) with a growth and development component, related specifically to a three pronged approach: the development of industry, agriculture and tourism investment into rural provinces. The PGDP speaks about *systematic poverty eradication through a holistic, integrated, and multi-dimensional approach pro-poor programming* (Ruiters 2011:7). Provincial administrations are clearly the key drivers of service delivery and are also required to be entrepreneurial and to attract investment into spatial zones that have been targeted for special industrial, agricultural and lifestyle developments. More recently, Provincial Development Plans have been recommended by the NDP, although culture is very thin in the doctrine.

As a whole, policies have been supported by Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) in provinces, which involved the creation of nodal industrial centres (such as Coega in Nelson Mandela Bay), as well as agro-tourism. The Fish River SDI, for example, focuses on the enhancement of areas of conservation, industrial investment and support of selected agricultural projects. Most projects are service- or product based, not geared towards manufacturing, and are supported by development agencies, and international investors (Ruiters 2011, FHISER 2005:189; www.southafrica.info/doing_business/economy/development/sdi.htm).

Another important part of the PGDP and SDI initiative in the Eastern Cape, is the South African

National Treasury's Neighbourhood Development Programme (NDPG), or Small Town Regeneration Programme, which aims to regenerate rural towns in provinces. This is run, in the Eastern Cape for instance, by district Provincial development bodies such as ASPIRE. The SDI initiative, however, does not specifically mention culture as a distinct driver for development. Many of the processes involved in SDIs include projects that may be considered to be marginally cultural - such as livestock farming, textile production and herb cultivation - but these are not specifically part of a cultural industry development framework.

The major problem with these spatial frameworks, is that they operate rather individualistically, despite government's introduction of IDPs as a process that should contain all local municipal development agendas. Moreover, IDPs are infrastructure-led rather than spatially-referenced projects, with little or no emphasis on co-operation or process. Many IDPs seek to tick-off a list of demands and plans for basic services, instead of looking at the bigger picture (Nawa 2012), which explains the demise of many of these policies. IDPs also tend to subsume cultural matters into different categories related to natural heritage sites, sports and recreation and infrastructural development.

The IDPs of the previous Nkonkobe and Ngqushwa municipalities in the Eastern Cape, for instance, incorporate heritage and cultural issues under a tourism and environment description of existing resources and plans for development of these sectors. Municipalities in Kwa-Zulu Natal do not appear to have a coherent heritage or cultural policy. Heritage is mentioned in the Ethekeini IDP, but only in passing reference to a general set of values to be developed. In Mpumalanga, as in South Africa as whole, each local municipality has their own IDP, but again, cultural industries are incorporated into other categories, such as sport and recreation. It is clear that IDPs are not linked to specific cultural policies and rural municipalities still do have active craft industries that are located around strategic heritage sites that attract considerable tourist throughput. These domains need to be incorporated into a distinct regional cultural framework to gain maximum efficacy.

The most recent spatial development framework is the promulgation of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) No. 16 of 2013, which provides for a single land development process for the country. Critics of this policy (Nawa 2017) have decried the value of turning spatial determination over to private planners, property owners and magnates. However, this may be valuable in terms of fast-tracking land development and encouraging private sector investment into ventures. These hold potential for creating a platform for mobilizing artists, designers, and government funders. This is important as the profile of artists and cultural networks will differ according to each province.

Rural cultural policy, like culture itself, is a discursive concept that connects to almost every aspect of local governance and regional development. Such a 'sliding signifier' presents difficulties in that it cannot easily be summarized or pinned down, but is nevertheless the bedrock of rural potential. This potential rests upon a (re)emphasis of many neglected themes of rural development: rural identity, resources and human heritage. These can be harnessed, in conjunction with cross sectoral initiatives, in a way that is unique to every region and that is fundamentally different to urban initiatives – which will be assessed below.

Craft, urban planning and regeneration in urban municipalities

There are a number of *metropolitan municipalities* that have more substantial cultural development strategies with regard to CCIs and the ACH sector. These initiatives are primarily derived from a previous era (from 1996-2014), but are nevertheless essential to understanding the legacy of current policy in DAC. The first, is the 1998 Cultural Industrial Growth Strategy (CIGS, 1998) which gave substance to what is now considered to be CCIs in South Africa. The second, is general urban planning and regeneration in two cities – that of Cape Town, as well as Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth).

With regard to CIGS, the 1998 CIGS report's definition of the scope of CCIs originally revolved around three key industries: craft, music, film (and television). Of these, CIGS describes

craft as a quintessentially rural phenomenon, with the potential to provide economic stimuli to rural communities. Subsequently, there has been a specific focus on the development of craft as a particular focus of metropolitan areas in South Africa.

Since the CIGS report, an initiative by the HSRC (Joffe and Newton 2007) and the British Council, conducted preliminary mapping of CCIs in South Africa. This took place in the Western Cape, Gauteng, as well as KwaZulu-Natal:

- The Micro-Economic Development Strategy (MEDS) for craft in the Western Cape (Kaiser & Associates 2005) led to expansion of the training and education sector as well as the music market.
- The *KwaZulu Natal* report was the smallest of the three, but nevertheless established the greater St Lucia area as one of the primary craft producing hubs in the country.
- The *Gauteng* Creative Industry Development Framework (2006) branded what was known as *Creative Gauteng*. This initiative stimulated the growth of the Newtown precinct and it was here that the term *creative* was used to broaden the scope of culture and heritage to specifically include the creative sector.
- In 2012, the Western Cape Government's Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDAT) collaborated with the Cape Craft and Design Institute and other key role-players to develop a strategy to unlock innovation in the province.⁶ The CCDI has been tasked with driving the implementation of the strategy with a wide range of stakeholders. The CCDI has over 5000 creative industries registered on its database.

These three initiatives produced the following information concerning the craft market:

⁶ https://www.westerncape.gov.za/other/2011/10/2c_ccdi_city_of_cape_town_project_2010.pdf

- The HSRC report (Joffe and Newton 2007) found that there were 5 725 craft enterprises (in the Western Cape, Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal) with around 30000 employees, 750 craft outlets and 436 material suppliers.
- The GDP contribution of the craft sector in 2006 was estimated at 0.14% and displayed a growth of 3-4% since 1996-2006.
- During the five years from 2002 to 2006, the market for craft increased by 40%, particularly due to a corresponding increase in the turnover of tourist numbers, which grew exponentially by 82% in the same years (Tourism SA). As an indication of a potential increase in markets, tourist numbers have more than doubled recently when compared to the 7 518 international tourist arrivals in 2008 and 15 052 international arrivals in 2015.
- During 1999, the Cape Craft and Design Institute (CCDI)⁷ was identified as a key driver for the development of creative industries in Cape Town. The mandate of the CCDI is to 'to develop capable people and build responsible creative enterprises trading within local and international markets' (CCDI, 2016:1). The most important of these was market access, particularly for marginalized communities.

Cultural planning is more than just craft or design of CCIs alone, but also about the totality of cultural regeneration. Nawa (2012: 24) states that cultural planning is a process that should not create infrastructure that is irrelevant to livelihoods, resulting in eventual decay. Cultural planning makes use of available public spaces as showcases for creative ideas (Landry 2000), which in rural areas tend to be much larger, often centered around a natural reserve or cultural route. Urban regeneration efforts in Africa have focused on three related aspects:

- *Urban strategies that seek to enhance the social and cultural realities of spaces.* This

⁷ www.ccdi.org.za

is particularly evident in the case of Lagos, Nigeria, where a former prison complex was regenerated in 2009 into a Freedom park and independence memorial. This was a community-led movement which transformed a number of green areas in Lagos and resulted in the reinvesting into dilapidated historical assets. Similarly, in Djenné, Mali, the architectural style of the town (suing earth buildings) was adapted and regenerated using unique building technologies that allowed for a fusion of the modern and the traditional (UNESCO, 2016:36).

- *The use of a specialized organization* or individual that functions as a catalyst or driver for change. This was particularly the case in Cape Town, where the CCDI was identified. These organizations were situated outside of the local government structure which imbued them with flexibility and served to ensure a successful bid for the 2014 World Design Capital. In rural areas, these organisations tend to be an individual.
- *Urban strategies that focus on the creation of cultural districts.* One such example is that of Newtown in Johannesburg, which has undergone a massive revitalization that underscore the values of multi-culturalism. Urban regeneration districts, like those in Barcelona and Helsinki, are also viewed as incubators for creative ideas within a range of sectors including finance, economy, sport, art and education.

To summarise, the NHC and the most recent White Paper (2016) provides the majority of guidance for the planning and development of cultural processes and policies, including CCIs and ACH enterprises, for provincial governments. *The information produced on craft and the number of industries nationally is, however, still rather too inconsistent to be used as a blueprint for development and for mapping purposes.* In conjunction with heritage, this will be expanded in Section Two of this report. Moreover, while there are interactions between provincial Arts and Culture departments - as well as tourism and the Department of Trade and Industry - and local municipalities, it would seem that there could be more substantive and formal inter-agency cooperation regarding the creative economy. Although there

is no provincial cultural policy per se, it is represented within (a) general national legislation, having gained prominence in a variety of settings, by various authors, and policy papers, but also (b) within the various initiatives in metropolitan areas, particularly in the Western Cape, and more marginally in different types of SDIs. However, there is still not a distinct strategy to assist cultural industries (as a whole, including heritage) to leverage their economic potential and make heritage more representative of the country's diversity. There clearly needs to be a framework which outlines the type of support, the mechanisms needed to provide that support, as well as more information on the needs of different types of industries and economies that make up the sector itself.

1.6. Rural Cultural Policy in South Africa

At this point, it is necessary to ask whom policy is designed for. Rural municipalities account for three quarters of the total geographical space in South Africa, but also have very specific characteristics that distinguish them from urban areas. Moreover, there are comparably different rural spaces: from commercial to communal farming zones, peri-urban settlements and rural towns, as well as areas that are rich in natural, national, and struggle heritage. Rural areas – particularly land, livelihoods and social cohesion - are also at the forefront scholarly enquiry, and have dominated the way in which many anthropologists, historians, sociologists and politicians have conceptualized the future of the country. In all cases rural areas demonstrate enormous variety and complexity. While it is difficult to fully capture these debates in this paper, it is possible to outline the main features of rural areas that are most relevant to the formulation of cultural policy (ies):

The predominant characteristic of rural areas in South Africa is that of widespread de-agrarianisation and a growing dependence on welfare, networks and urban resources for livelihoods (Bryceson 1996, Hebinck and Shackleton 2011). Rural areas display continuing patterns of semi-permanent urban movement to larger cities. In 2004, Gelderblom (2005:6) estimated that Gauteng received 262 000 people and the Western Cape another 143000. The

Eastern Cape and Limpopo provinces showed the highest levels of out-migration. However, while agriculture might not be the dominant activity in rural areas, in many cases the relationships that people have to their families in rural areas do inform the identities of urban South Africans. The identity of all people in South Africa does sometimes depend on the ability to access rural resources and networks (Hebinck and Shackleton 2011). It is precisely due to these networks that the difference of what is considered to be *rural* and *urban* has eroded over the years. This is due to various reasons.

The first is a growth in rural urban centres, which have grown to such an extent that rural land use classification matches that of a dense urban settlement. Urban centers in rural areas are growing due to circular migration patterns (FHISER 2011). Often census data does not reflect such an increase because migration, particularly from outlying rural areas to towns, is usually not reflected in census data. StatsSA itself (2003) admitted this in 2003 when it said that around 1.25% of the population in South Africa had been misclassified as rural. Smaller rural towns in South Africa are also experiencing a mini-boom of in-migration, due to the ability of civil servants (and associated businesses) to make a living. This amplifies pressure for the availability of land and resources. In some cases, as illustrated in the town of Alice, this has prompted small town regeneration strategies by developers and local municipalities (see Section Two for a more complete discussion).

Secondly, many rural areas are important for creating social cohesion and identity. This is the reason why many urbanites actively invest into their original rural home-bases, and will build a homestead, educate their children and invest into their parents or grandparents in rural areas. This is true for many different types of people: James (2001: 102) points out in Limpopo province that labourers perceive farms as rural homes to where children (in particular) can be sent 'to learn traditional values'. Ainslie (2003: 9) writes that rural communities in South Africa have constructed their identity through a commitment to and choice of a specific 'way of life' (McAllister 2006; 1985). In some cases farms are purchased as second homes, and only inhabited during school holidays. Rural areas are part of people's identities, and roots. Even

the remains of commercial agriculture in many rural areas, still prompt many households to follow vestige production for the sake of maintaining rural identity (Bank 2015, Connor 2014). Thus, while it may be true that rural areas in South Africa are much more economically polarised and the flow of capital from commercial farming to subsistence ventures is minimal, rural areas are heritage rich. This is exemplified in the case of the Northern Cape, where, as our data indicates, despite the rural nature of this province, contains the second highest amount of heritage sites after the Western Cape. This is largely due to the historical nature of mining, archaeological artefacts, and natural sites in the province.

Fourthly, rural residents have, via cellular devices, vastly improved access to the internet, compared to 2011. The proportion of households using cell phones increased from 21,5% in 2001 to 81,9% in 2011. The proportion of households owning radios decreased from 64,3% in 2001 to 61,1% in 2011, while households owning television sets increased from 39% in 2001 to 63,2% in 2011 (FHISER 2016).

As a fifth point, rural areas themselves are diverse and contain different proportions of what can be considered as rural and urban areas. To draw on a case study in the Eastern Cape, in the erstwhile Nkonkobe local municipality, Census 2011 classified 39.9% of households as urban, and 60.1% as rural and farm based. This is relatively urbanized compared to a rural municipality as Instika Yethu, which only has 3% of people living in urban areas such as Cofimvaba (FHISER, 2015). Rural municipalities such as Insika Yethu and Alfred Nzo also have a large proportion of people living in communal villages, where land based rights are hereditary and traditional authorities dominate everyday life. In many cases though protest and resistance, some rural residents have remained relatively unaffected by policies such as forced resettlement and villagisation. These were policies that decimated rural resources by forcibly resettling people in denser settlements and limiting the amount of stock and arable land available to each household. In the Eastern Cape, the Ciskei was most affected by these policies, while more remote areas such as Pondoland were largely exempt. Each rural municipality in South

Africa is thus unique and have particular characteristics that affect the way in which we approach the notion of 'the rural'.

Lastly, rural areas also possess very active commercial agricultural units, although almost all of these are racially skewed. These units far exceed subsistence agriculture in all provinces, being the highest in Free State, Western- and Northern Cape provinces. Farming activity combined with tourism, is particularly important for defining the nature and character of rural industries. This is especially the case where farmers, due to seasonal market losses, need to supplement their income through activities associated with the accommodation- and craft industries. These spin-offs from commercial agriculture are far greater than those associated with subsistence activity. Professional hunting and game sales are important components of the rural economy and the income generated is higher than that from national parks. Snijders (2012) estimates that up to one sixth of South Africa's total arable land surface has been privately game ranched in some form or another since 1990.

These indicators mean that the definition and scope of a rural policy certainly has to take appropriate cognisance of these changing peculiarities of rural zones in South Africa. In many instances the rural creative class tend to be made up of elite middle- or upper class families, as well as talented young families, midlife career changers and active retired people (Grannan and Wojan 2007). These groupings are common to all countries, including South Africa, which has one of the fastest growing black middle classes in the world. Conditions have created a deep connection with the spaces and identities forged in rural zones and will continue to inform the identities of both urban and rural residents in South Africa for some time to come.

In addition, as the CIGs data for the Western Cape suggest, rural areas can function as *incubators* for creative products that may be sold in urban zones. Rural zones exemplify the way in which cultural policy can be used to inform citizenship and debates about connectedness

and originality in South Africa. Such debates reach well beyond the neo-liberal thrust into the economy as the primary driver for change, but into the value of social and cultural spaces and regimes as central to regeneration. At sub-national level and on a rural scale the domination of heritage and natural resources, which sometimes outnumber creative industries, is immensely important. In our analysis, industries such as design and creative services (architects, landscapers, interior design and animation) are primarily urban and are over-represented in the Plus 94 database.

The strength of many rural municipalities lies in their cultural and heritage resources, particularly for their emphasis on rural values, tradition and intangible heritage. These may feature less within the overall market driven approach of CCIs, but can certainly provide policy-direction with regard to fostering values related to national and regional culture and the use of these resources within an economic context. It is here that DAC, but also the NHC, SAHRA and public funding bodies within a variety of departments at provincial and local level, will have to be more proactive in adopting cultural policy directives for specific cultural drivers and categories within their jurisdiction.

SECTION TWO: PROVINCIAL AND DOMAIN PROFILES FOR RURAL AREAS

This section of the report is concerned with the presentation of information derived from the analysis of available databases concerning cultural and creative industries in each province as follows:

- Data has been analyzed per province (Section 2.1).
- Data has been analyzed per domain (Section 2.2) as follows:
 - Cultural and natural heritage sites (A),
 - Performance and celebration (B),
 - Visual arts and crafts (C),

- Books and press (D),
- Audio visual and interactive media (E),
- Design and creative services (F),
- Tourism (G),
- Sport and recreation (H).

It must be noted that this data does not contain all the information available on heritage sites, routes, events and CCIs in South Africa. It only gives an indication of what has been captured on the Plus 94 database thus far. Due to the fact that the data made available leans particularly towards cultural industries (CCIs) in an urban setting, we have had to extract available rural information using a combination of different datasets: a heritage database (SAHRA) and agricultural activity per province (Census 2011, Community Survey 2016, Commercial Agriculture survey 2007). These will be referred to throughout the text.

The use of the Plus 94 data from SACO was already classified according to the available domains, as illustrated by the UNESCO matrix (**Figure 3**). These exclude intangible heritage:

- Cultural and natural heritage sites (A),
- Performance and celebration (B),
- Visual arts and crafts (C),
- Books and press (D),
- Audio visual and interactive media (E),
- Design and creative services (F),
- Tourism (G),
- Sport and recreation (H).

Methodology

Using the Plus 94 data, rural domains were classified with employment of the following criteria:

- Information concerning the nine provinces in South Africa were manually sifted through for rural CCIs not based within the inner city areas of these metros. In Buffalo City, for instance, CCIs that were located in East London city and Mdantsane were excluded and categorised as urban. King Williams Town is defined by Stats SA as a rural town, so this information was included as *rural*.
- Some provinces were treated as completely rural. This included the Northern Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and the North West. Some provinces were treated as partially rural due to the presence of metropolitan areas, including the Eastern Cape, Western Cape, KwaZulu Natal, Free State and Gauteng.
- Gauteng was predominantly urban with only 90 entries that could be classified as rural due to location. In this case there is not enough qualitative or background information available on urban industries, even though they may have a rural origin.

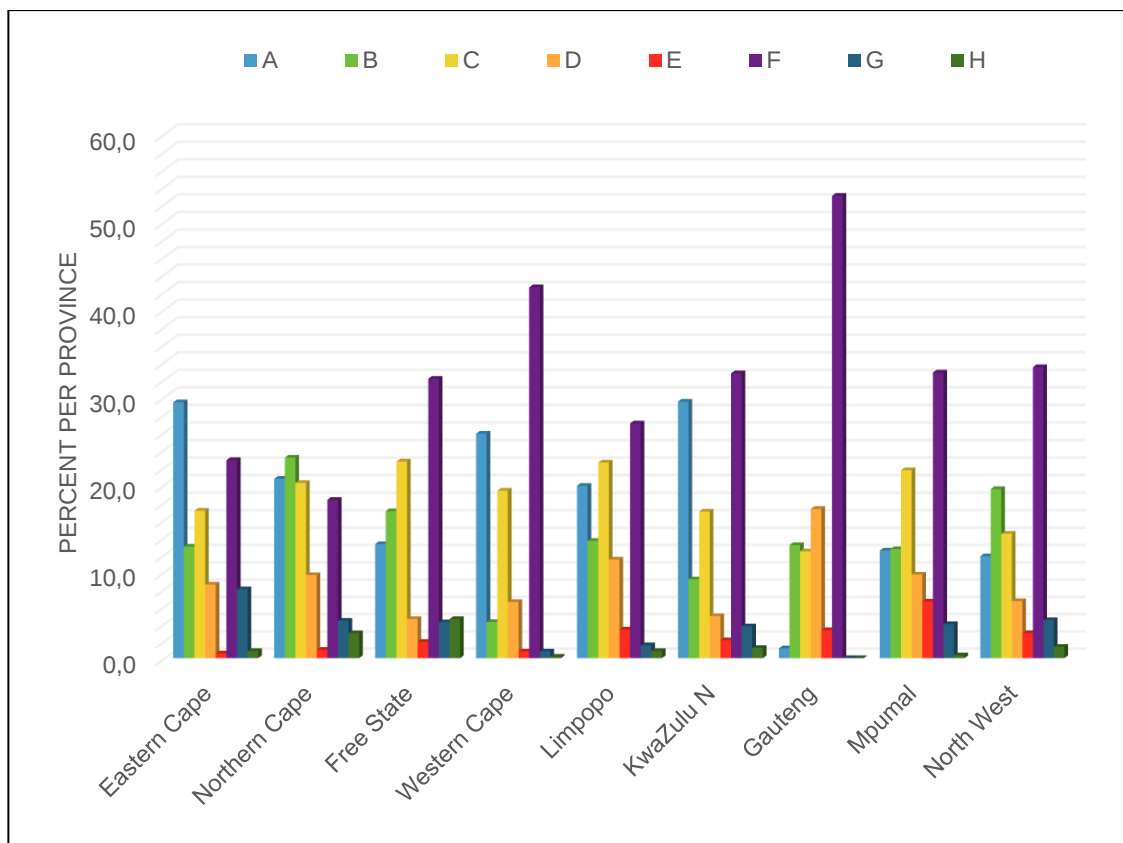
Data limitations

- The Plus 94 database had been revised by SACO in order to provide a more accurate picture of domains in the different provinces. As indicated by Snowball and Tarentaal (2016) the picture of cultural domains in the Plus 94 data report is not accurate, because there are a very small number of entries in Domain A – Culture and Natural Heritage.
- Due to the fact that we worked exclusively with existing databases, as contained in the project brief, informal businesses without an online presence, or who were not

listed formally, were excluded. This skewed some of the urban data, and may have concealed the rural origins or inspirations of industries.

- This report summarizes that the similarly small number of entries in the tourism and sport/recreation (F and G domains) together with the omission of intangible heritage as a whole, would suggest additions to the Plus94 data.
- The Plus 94 data does not illustrate the specific number and extent of all ACH and CCI industries in South Africa, but is a general indicator of basic trends within each province. It is not a fully fledged mapping exercise.
- Rural industries are very difficult to pinpoint and define. This report has predominantly used the location of industries to determine whether they are rural or urban (eg: a dance company located in Magaliesberg would be classified as rural, while a dance company in Mamelodi would be urban). However, there are other ways to classify data, depending on the origin and place of production. The creation cycle (**Figure 2**) of a product, such as a reed mat, may originate in rural areas, but be sold in an urban economy. Many rural products and artists are thus obscured by urban markets.
- In order to gain more information about the cycle of a product or service, it is highly recommended that more research takes place into the *production and consumption cycles of products* (**Figure 2**) before any further classification is attempted.

The table and graph below gives an indication of the distribution of each of the domains (A to H) in the different provinces included in the database. What is clearly apparent, is the strength of domain A (culture and natural heritage), domain F (design and creative services), followed by domain C (visual arts and crafts). Gauteng has been excluded due to the low number of rural entries (only 90).

Figure 4: Distribution of all rural and urban domains in each rural province

Subsistence vs. commercial agriculture

The existence or absence of agricultural activity is often taken as a marker for rural (as opposed to urban classification). Apart from data entries, one can use agriculture in order to gauge whether a province is rural or urban. This wholly depends, however, on which type of agriculture is referred to since urban zones contain a high proportion of commercial farming activities but still remain, for classificatory purposes, 'urban' areas. So what is the basis for defining rural areas?

In this report, information is primarily drawn from figures derived from Census 2011 and the Community Survey of 2016 which concerns the number of *households* that actively followed agriculture, in the form of subsistence farming. According to **Table 2**, for example, a chiefly

urban province such as Gauteng, had the lowest amount of households involved in agriculture. The Western Cape had the lowest level of agricultural activity per household after Gauteng. What is notably is that all of provinces demonstrated a marked decline in household agricultural activity, which means that far more people are depending on external livelihood sources such as grants, pensions and urban remittances for their income. This does not mean that they are not rural, but that the definition of ‘being rural’ depends on more than the presence of agriculture.

Table 2: Change in the number of agricultural households 2011-2016

Agricultural households					
Province	Census 2011	CS 2016	% Change	Difference	% contribution
WC	84 57	69 152	-18.2	-15 22	-0.5%
EC	495 042	95 02	-17.0	-101 531	-3.5
NC	55 150	8 798	-11.5%	-6 525	-0.2
FS	201 286	157 510	-21.7%	-43 776	-1.51%
KZN	717 006	536 225	-25.2	-180 781	-6.3
NW	214 09	167 780	-21.6	-46 310	-6.3
GP	279 110	22 594	-13.1	-25 516	-1.3
MP	263 391	225 282	-14.5	-28 109	-1.3
LIM	468 494	386 660	-17.5	-81 834	-2.8
RSA	2 879 638	2 329 043	-19.1	-550 595	-19.1

However, this information excludes commercial farming. Commercial farming in the Western Cape and Gauteng provinces actually exceed the number of subsistence household farmers. As the Stats SA information from 2007 in **Table 3** illustrates, commercial farming units are the highest in the Free State, followed by the Western Cape and Northern Cape – all maize, wheat and fruit producing areas – followed by the North West and the Eastern Cape. When combined with rural tourism, farming activity is particularly important for defining the nature

and character of rural industries. As mentioned previously, agriculture stimulates cultural production and encourages cultural tourism.

Table 3:
Number of farming units per province (StatsSA Census of Commercial Agriculture 2007)

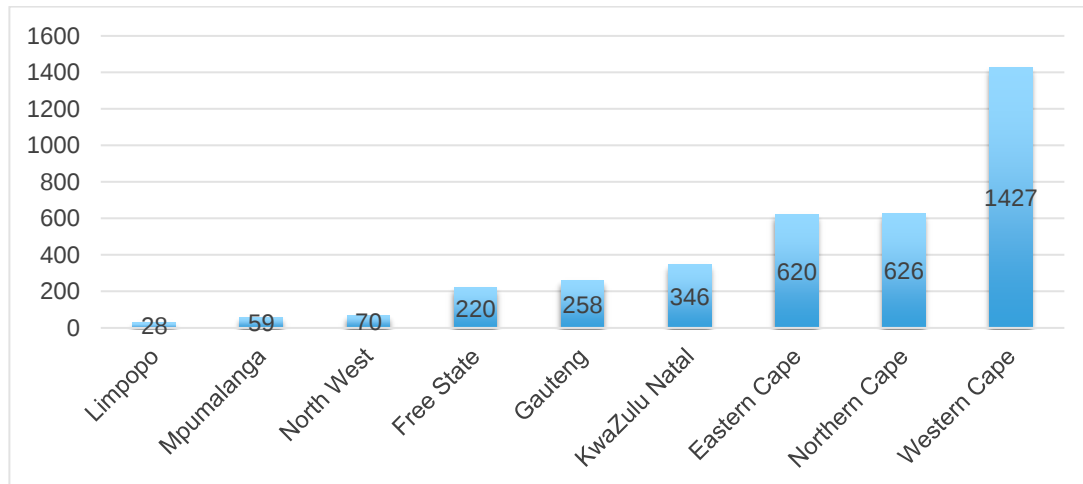
Province	Number of farming units
Eastern Cape	4 006
Free State	7 473
Gauteng	1 773
KwaZulu Natal	3 574
Limpopo	2 934
Mpumalanga	3 523
North West	4 902
Northern Cape	5 125
Western Cape	6 653
South Africa	33 966

Heritage database

In order to produce a slightly more rounded picture of ACH and CCI in South Africa, the SAHRA database was used. This includes those sites, items and places that are defined as provincial, natural or national monuments and heritage sites. The leading provinces are the Western Cape (1427 sites), the Northern Cape (626 sites) and the Eastern Cape (620). This database is interesting for two reasons: firstly, SAHRA plays an important role in the regulation and classification of heritage sites, together with provincial agencies and SAHA. Each site on their database is accompanied by research and representation within the unique historical profile of each province, which is immensely valuable. In turn, the promulgation and packaging of heritage resources for purposes of education, research and public utilization is a pri-

mary component of the mission of SAHA. Secondly, it is interesting to note that rural provinces such as the Eastern and Northern Cape are heritage-rich areas, and that this is particularly suggestive of what ‘defines’ rural areas and local resources.

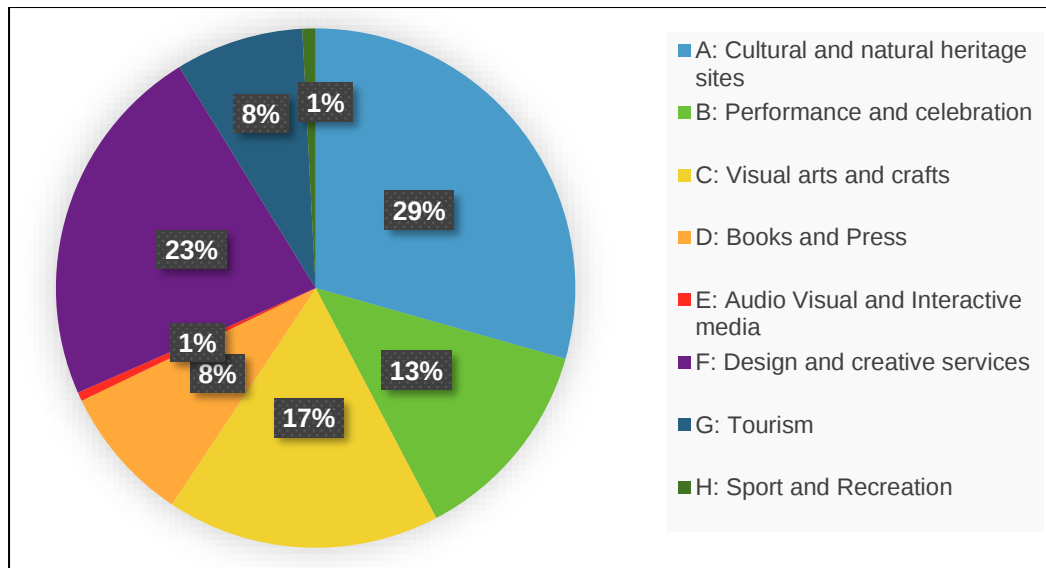
Figure 5 : RSA Heritage sites per province (SAHRA)



2.1. Provincial Analysis

2.1.1. The Eastern Cape

Figure 6 Distribution of rural domains in the Eastern Cape



Profile

The Eastern Cape is the third most populous province in South Africa and 35.4% of households were engaged in agriculture (livestock, domestic and commercial crop production). In 2016, the Community survey showed a sharp drop in the number of agricultural households to 27.9% which was in line with declines around the country. The province appears to have a very high number of cultural and heritage sites in rural areas (28.8%), which is more than KwaZulu Natal. This can be viewed in conjunction with the SAHRA database, which indicated that the Eastern Cape has the third highest number of declared heritage sites in the country (620), after the Western and Northern Cape provinces respectively.

The number of CCIs in domain B (performance and celebration) was average and approximately the same for the other provinces, except for the Northern Cape, which had the most. The number of visual arts and craft industries was the second lowest among the provinces, while industries in domain D were average, at 8.1%. Design and creative services in the Eastern Cape lagged behind and was the second lowest at 23.2%, just above the number in the Northern Cape. The number for tourism was relatively large in comparison to provinces such

as Limpopo and was the highest of all the provinces in the dataset. Sport industries amounted to three in the Eastern Cape.

Supplementary data and omissions

- Both *tourism and sporting figures* can be viewed with skepticism. With regard to sport, The South African Events Calendar lists 19 events for the Eastern Cape in 2016, 12 of these being rural and 7 urban. This does not include the amount of gymnasiums, sport centres, track events and other sporting facilities in the rural areas of South Africa. Parkrun South Africa, for example, had a 2015 attendance figure of 782 009 runners and walkers nationally across 100 locations. This alone gives an indication of how popular sporting events have become over the last decade. This, together with adventure tourism, often provide an economic backbone for many isolated rural areas.

- The greatest omission in the Plus 94 database is that of *craft enterprises* which constitute a major component of rural industries and which are an integral part of a potential cultural policy in South Africa. In 1998, the South African Craft industry report counted 83 retail outlets for crafts in the Eastern Cape, with a further five craft markets and three cultural villages. Since then, another two villages have been added. More recent initiatives include a 2016 ECDC-funded craft collection store in East London worth 23 million ZAR, which showcases and markets the works of more than 80 enterprises. In 2014, the ECDC also launched a craft catalogue and in 2015, crafters funded by the ECDC exhibited their work at more than three local exhibitions. The craft industry, therefore, appears to be a relatively well-funded and marketed CCI in the Eastern Cape. The Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism agency reflects a total of five tourist and heritage routes in the province, another twenty one art and craft galleries and centres, as well as sixty two craft making enterprises. Most of these, fifty five, are based in rural areas of the province, while the arts and crafts galleries are

almost entirely based in urban areas such as East London and Port Elizabeth. The craft market clearly lies within urban zones, while the production takes place in rural areas.

- A third additional factor to consider in rural areas in the Eastern Cape is that of *hunting*, which according to the 2007 agricultural survey, was the second most prevalent in the Eastern Cape, after Limpopo. Snijders (2012) estimates that up to one sixth of South Africa's total arable land surface has been privately game ranched in some form or another since 1990. This, in combination with wildlife sales, the leather and tanning industries, and private wildlife ranches, as well as a very high number of ostriches and horses in the Eastern Cape, makes the rural areas of the province very marketable. **Table 4** illustrates how the Eastern Cape is a productive zone for ostrich, game farmers and horse farmers.

Table 4: Provincial distribution of game, horses and ostriches (2007 StatsSA commercial farming survey)

Province	Horses	Game: live sales	Game: hunting	Ostriches
Eastern Cape	20 586	28 818	37 720	46 827
Free State	6786	13 738	13 287	4 985
Gauteng	7573	5 839	5 049	213
KwaZulu	17478	8 822	12 267	14
Limpopo	393	60 826	77 750	43
Mpumalanga	377	31 711	12 243	10
North West	12939	35 274	19 429	21
Northern Cape	11363	11 424	16 066	1660
Western Cape	68 797	7 245	3 805	363 084

In order to illustrate the different variations of what is meant by *rural* and the dynamics of small rural towns, one can draw selectively on studies conducted in various small towns in the Eastern Cape (FHISER 2015). These have all been managed, funded and partially implemented by ASPIRE, the development agency for the Amathole District Municipality, which has also focused on corridor development in the wider ADM. Corridor development has focused on 27 rural towns in the footprint of the three corridors, specifically on the N2, the R63 and the R72.

Alice and Bedford

The spatial development plans developed by ASPIRE in the Eastern Cape, are important pointers to sub-national strategies focusing on Spatial Development Corridors (SDIs), which spearheaded economic policies in the early 2000s. ASPIRE's focus on regional development of small towns and corridors in the rural Amathole region, is part of a reworking of these strategies and echoes the Regional Industrial Development programme (national). This programme had placed a particular emphasis on decentralised industrial development in the ex-homeland areas of South Africa, however, there has not been much traction with regard to

provincial implementation of these plans, except in cases where organisations gained leverage from international and private donors (Harrison and Mathe 2010; Haines 2014). In the case of ASPIRE, EU funding for small town development resulted in significant infrastructural changes for these areas, but also in a more concerned inclusion of heritage and cultural items.

The historic town of *Alice* is home to the University of Fort Hare, where many of Africa's political and business leaders gained their education. Today, some 43 000 people live in this small town and it is the economic centre for people who live in the 56 surrounding villages. During 2009, ASPIRE developed a framework for a small town regeneration programme, which specifically concentrated on the Alice CBD, where urban densities were higher than 10 units per hectare. The regeneration programme focused on 10 areas of development, including ZK Matthews house, historic Lovedale College as well as the University of Fort Hare. Alice is located at the foothills of the Amathole Mountains, at the entrance to Hogsback. ASPIRE and NEDA (the Nkonkobe Economic Development Agency) were commissioned to investigate the possibility of creating more accommodation, particularly for students and tourists, since the town lacks guest establishments and rental housing. Lovedale College also embarked on the creation of a craft centre and cooperative vegetable gardens near the school. A memorial park and a small walking trail within the town, passing through most the heritage sites, was also created. Currently, although many of the ideas for housing and accommodation were not created, the town of Alice has gained a regeneration of heritage sites, including Bokwe's grave and ZK Mathews' house, as well as a new heritage park and route.

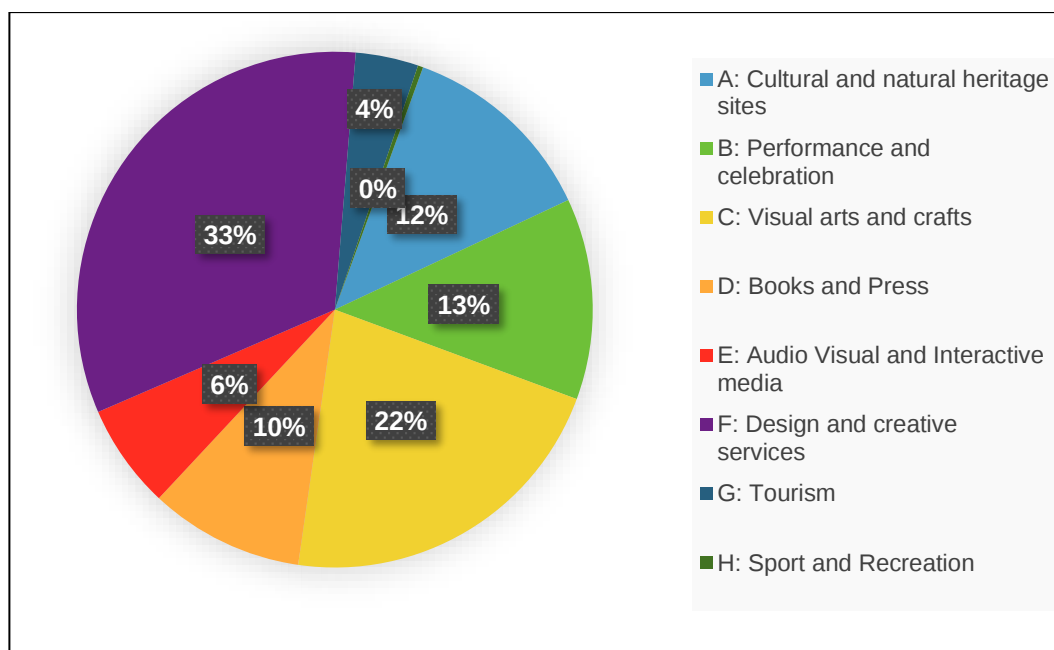
Bedford is a small town located in the Nxuba Local Municipality, which is the smallest municipality by population numbers in the Eastern Cape. Bedford contains 24.1% of residents in the local municipality, with a 18% rural component, while Adelaide contains 47.8%, with a 18.1% rural component. Bedford is located near the Winterberg Mountains and is regarded as an artist's haven and retirement village. It is only two hours away from Port Elizabeth and property development for middle class retirees has boomed. There are plenty of local accommodation establishments, as well as three craft and gift shops – including a large Art and Craft

shop - as well as hand-made furniture and traditional craft venues. One furniture shop has over 20 registered artisans and has attracted funding from Telkom. Since 2008, Bedford has also hosted a very popular garden festival and has a few game farms situated along the southern edge of the town. Sporting activities such as trail running, hiking and hunting are popular in the area. However, there are still very high levels of unemployment in the town and very low levels of literacy (only 68.9% have attained grade 7 education). Bedford has the potential of being a popular tourist attraction, however, there is no defined *tourism destination brand*, a serious lack of regular gathering of logistics as well as the absence of aggressive marketing and investment in the local tourism sector.

The case studies of Alice and Bedford indicate a case in point: rural areas such as those in the Eastern Cape depend more on culture and heritage-defined resources than agriculture. These industries, as well as related spin offs from sport, craft and tourism-related multipliers can become local drivers of support. In some instances (such as Bedford) informal branding of these 'rural drivers' have captured the public imagination and attracted rural residents. This can developed in relation to spatial initiatives, such as the previous Small Town Regeneration campaign, which to date has focused almost exclusively on infrastructure.

It is clear that some development and heritage resources are skewed in the Province, based on race and class resources: but this is still an opportunity for greater inclusion and marketability of current plans for small towns. This is particularly the case with hunting, which has not benefitted local communities through a more public emphasis on local training or resource sharing as yet. The idea of international branding and twinning of rural towns, cities and events is also immensely valuable in terms of foregrounding local initiatives, including those that are not current within the mandate of DAC, particularly sport.

2.1.2. Mpumalanga

Figure 7: Distribution of rural domains in Mpumalanga

Profile

Mpumalanga is the second-smallest province in South Africa after Gauteng. According to SAHRA, the province has 63 listed provincial heritage sites and objects, which is less than the 76 listed in the Plus 94 dataset. This includes natural sites such as waterfalls and other objects of natural significance, buildings, and monuments. Towns listed include Sabie and Pilgrims Rest (6 sites), Barberton (8), Belfast (2), Bethal (2), Carolina (3), Ermelo (5), Lydenburg, Origstad and Evander (10), Middleberg (10), Piet Retief and Nelspruit (3), Waterfall Boven and Wakkerstroom (7) and Witbank/Belfast (2). Private and national protected areas include the Kruger National Park, the Blyde Rivier Reserve, Djuma Game Reserve, Lion Sands, Londolozi, Sabi-Sabi and Sabie Sands, Singita, Timbivati, Mala-Mala and Ilusaba Game Reserves. Provincial Parks include Loskop Dam, Mahushe, Mdala, Mkhombo, Mthethomusha, Nootgedacht Dam, Origstad Dam, Songimvelo Game Reserve, SS Skosana Nature Reserve and Verloren Vallei Reserve. Tourist routes in Mpumalanga are the Highlands Meander, Panorama Route, Mpumalanga Heritage Route, Lowveld Legogate and the Wild Frontier.

This province was treated as being entirely rural, thus, all of the 614 entries in the Plus 97 database were classified according to their inclusion into rural CCIs. Here the number of cultural and natural heritage sites was far lower than that of the Eastern Cape, mainly due to the fact that Mpumalanga is the smallest province in South Africa by virtue of population figures and the smallest rural province according to size. The SAHRA database also reflects that Mpumalanga has the second lowest number of cultural and heritage sites in South Africa, being 59. Mpumalanga has 13 protected areas, including the southern Kruger Park and reserves such as Sabi Sabi, but this number is lower than provinces such as Limpopo and the Eastern Cape. Domains B and D are similar to the Eastern Cape, although a bit smaller in numbers. On the other hand, Mpumalanga numbers exceed those of the Eastern Cape in the following three domains:

- The arts and crafts market (C) is far larger than that of the Eastern Cape, mainly due to the presence of the Kruger National Park and other well-developed tourist routes through Lowveld towns such as Sabie and Pilgrims Rest.
- Likewise, in domain E (audio visual and interactive media) Mpumalanga is also more active and the number of CCIs here are 40 compared to only 2 in the Eastern Cape.
- Lastly, domain E (design and creative services) also reflects high numbers where Mpumalanga outshines the Eastern Cape.

Notably, Mpumalanga attracted the third highest share of international tourists after Gauteng and the Western Cape, this being 14.1% in 2015. The Kruger National Park recorded an increase in international tourists of 8% between 2015 and 2016, while in and around Hazyview, there was an increase of 5%. Again, this can be attributed to cultural and natural sites in the area. The large craft market is an indicative of the popularity of Mpumalanga amongst both domestic and international visitors.

Agriculture in Mpumalanga is characterized by a combination of commercialized farming, subsistence and livestock farming, and emerging crop farming. Crops such as subtropical fruits, nuts, citrus, cotton, tobacco, wheat, vegetables, potatoes, sunflowers and maize are produced in the region. It is the highest producer of nuts and bananas in South Africa, and the second highest of subtropical fruit, and citrus (StatSa 2007).

Spatial development zones

In Mpumalanga, each local municipality has their own IDP in which the plans and progress of their focal areas are described – CCIs are usually subsumed into the category of Sport. MEGA, the Mpumalanga Economic Growth Agency, which was created some 20 years ago, focusses on housing, trade, SMMEs, agriculture and development zones. Tourism and CCIs are not part of its mandate and MEGA has been under suspicion of mismanagement for a number of years.

As Rogerson and Sithole (2001) emphasise, development of tourism attached to areas of natural and cultural significance in Mpumalanga, largely rests on regional initiatives by local government and related agencies. The province contains the *Maputo Corridor*, a zone that runs through Limpopo, Mpumalanga and Gauteng and which links industry and tourism between Maputo and Gauteng. Mpumalanga is also the site of an important regional initiative related to tourism and heritage, *The Kruger 2 Canyon Biosphere*. The K2CBR is recognised as a biosphere reserve site under UNESCO and is the 411th biosphere reserve worldwide. The K2C Biosphere Programme is a community-driven initiative which bridges Mpumalanga and Limpopo which has R1.4 million dedicated to long term conservation of natural habitats. The entire registered biosphere reserve area constitutes 2.5 million hectares.

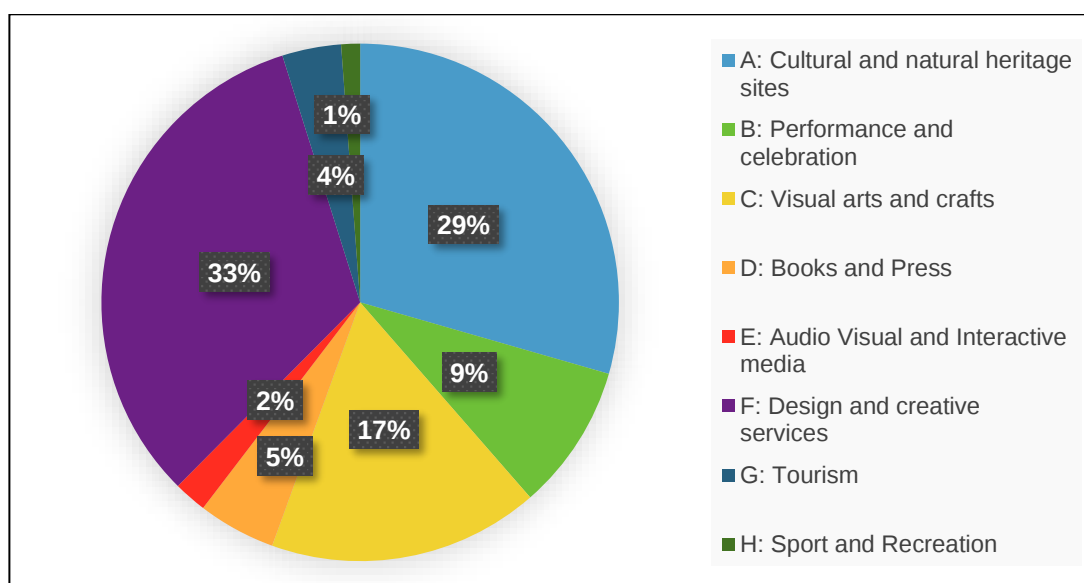
The number of craft industries in Mpumalanga is difficult to gauge. The last document produced on this was by CIGS (1998: 34), where it was estimated that there about 66 craft retail outlets in Mpumalanga, with three markets and 10 cultural villages. The producers of craft

are primarily people from rural areas who were said to number between 400 and 500 in the province.

In sum, as is the case with the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga has benefited substantially from cross-provincial initiatives such as Kruger 2 Canyons and various other spatial initiatives. These have garnered support based on a sound research and mapping exercises, headed by scientists from across the country, but have yet to secure the buy in of provincial and local state heritage and cultural entities. Mpumalanga also has a vibrant craft and tourism market, and these initiatives need to be extended and embraced by both local and provincial municipalities.

2.1.3. KwaZulu Natal

Figure 9: Distribution of rural domains in KwaZulu Natal



KwaZulu Natal is South Africa's second most populous province, containing 19.8% of the country's population. Agricultural households in 2016 comprised 18.6%, which is in the third place behind the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga. The province showed a very sharp drop in the number of agricultural households, a decrease of 6.3% or 180 781 households from 2011

to 2016. Commercially, KwaZulu Natal had the fourth largest commercial farming income in South Africa and in 2007, the province generated R606 154 from income associated with farming. This included agri-tourism, land rentals, accommodation and eco-tourism.

According to the SAHRA database, KwaZulu Natal ranks fourth amongst the province with regard to heritage sites. These sites number 346 in the province in total, which is higher than the Plus 94 dataset. This report suggests that, out of all three provinces discussed thus far, KwaZulu Natal has the highest number of cultural and natural heritage sites in rural areas. This can be attributed to the presence of national and provincial game reserves such as the Londolozi Complex, Maputaland and St Lucia and numerous historical sites related to the Zulu and colonial empires. It lags behind both the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga with regards to domain B, C and D, particularly in respect to books and press. The number of design and creative services (F), however, is very high, and similar to Mpumalanga. Tourism (G) is also comparable to Mpumalanga. Unfortunately, the Plus 94 database only lists 8 sporting sites.

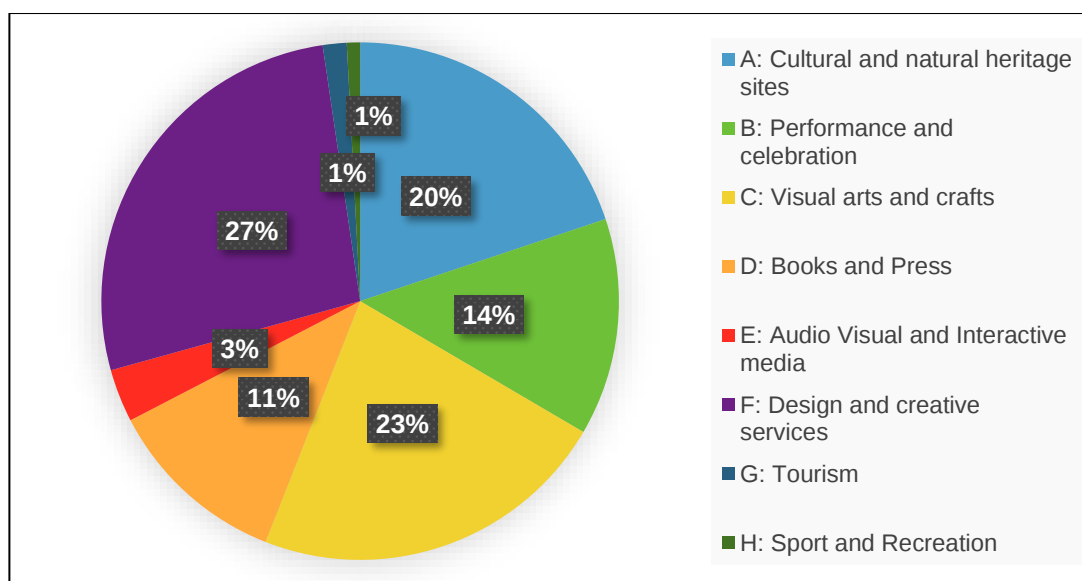
Municipalities in KwaZulu Natal do not appear to have a coherent heritage or cultural policy. Heritage is mentioned in the Ethekewini IDP, but only with passing reference to a general set of values to be developed. The KwaZulu Natal tourism sector is well-developed and has a coherent website which is efficiently referenced and utilised. DAC mentions that KwaZulu Natal, however, has one of the foremost craft industries in the country and that the province has a well-developed network of crafters. There are numerous initiatives and workshops aimed at developing the craft sector. This includes the St Lucia Wetland Complex, as well as associated craft industries and other natural areas in the Province. In 2009, the Department of Economic Development in KwaZulu Natal published a business plan for a craft hub and database. The plan found potential for development of the craft market in the Province. At that point, the number of active full time craft producers in the province (9374) represented 29.7% of the national total and actual sales represented only 13% of the national total, with craft producer income at 13% of the national total.

2.1.4. Limpopo

Limpopo Province is the furthestmost northern area in South Africa, adjoining the Kruger National Park to the east and Zimbabwe to the north. It is relatively large and with the exception of Gauteng, contains the second highest population after the Western Cape. According to SARHA, it has the least amount of heritage sites in the country at 0.8% and it is also the second smallest commercial farming zone in South Africa. It has, however, the highest number of game hunted and sold in South Africa – far above figures of Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape. Gaming hunting is by far Limpopo's most valued asset, as it is based on an international market for game products and hunting safaris.

With regard to the Plus 94 domains, Limpopo's domain A is very similar to that of the Northern Cape, while Visual Arts and Crafts is one of the biggest in the country. Design and creative services is the smallest rural sector in South Africa.

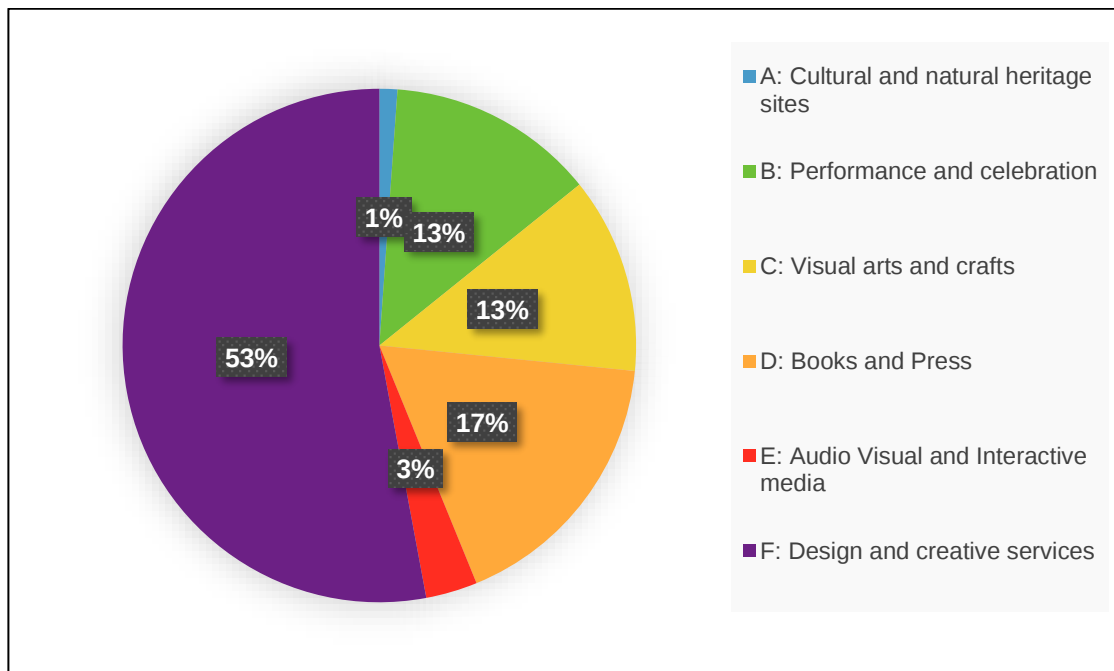
Figure 9: Distribution of rural domains in Limpopo



The Limpopo province has some of the lowest numbers of CCIs in domains A (cultural and heritage sites), and G (tourism). However, it has the highest numbers of CCIs involved in performance and celebration.

2.1.5. Gauteng

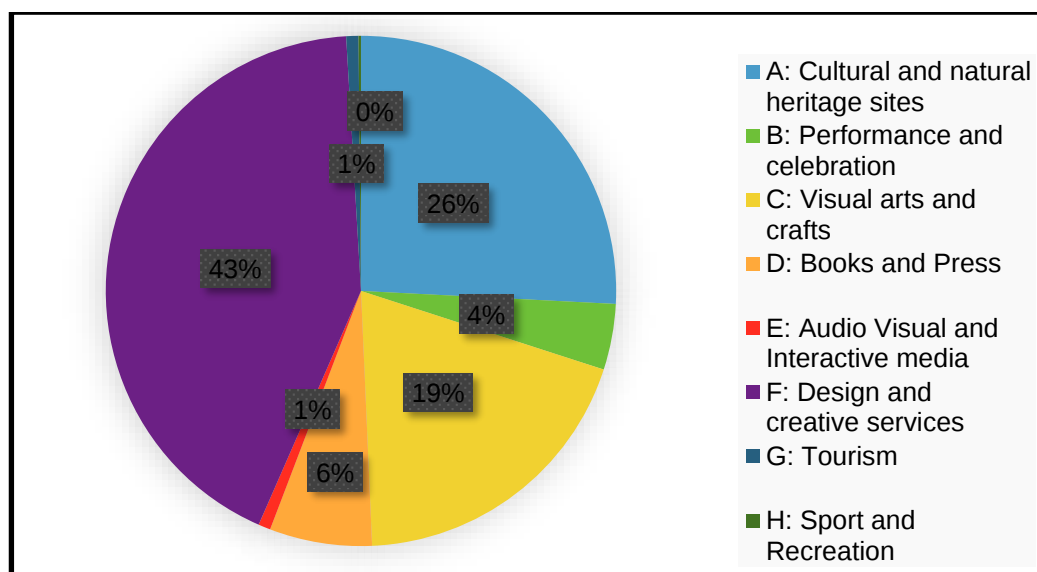
Gauteng, out of all the provinces, contains the highest amount of urban data. When compared to the Western Cape where almost 12% of the total was classified as rural, Gauteng only had 90 entries – or just 1% – that could be classified as rural based on location. This did not warrant inclusion into the table or graphs depicting rural data in this report. It has the largest design and creative services domains (F) with just under 53% of all industries classified in domain F. According to the Plus 94 database, only 1.1% of the data can be classified as natural and cultural heritage. The SAHRA database indicates that Gauteng contains 268 entries, thus representing 7.4% of the total for the country. What is most notable in this province, however, which is certainly not reflected in the database, is the possible use of rural networks and linkages to produce rural products, including agricultural produce, crafts, design, and art. These linkages need attention, something which the Plus 94 database does not offer.

Figure 10: Distribution of rural domains in Gauteng

2.1.6. Western Cape

Profile

The Western Cape is overtly urban in nature. Thus, the distribution of CCIs is predominantly urban, with rural industries only representing around 11.7% out of a total of 5520. This is echoed by the 2005 Craft Industry Report (Kaiser 2005), where 85% of craft industries in the Western Cape were located in the city of Cape Town. All inner city suburbs were considered urban in nature, as well as outer city areas such as Stellenbosch and Paarl. Some CCIs were still selected as rural in these areas based on whether they were located on farms or in towns. The majority of rural industries were located in towns such as George, Knysna and the Overberg.

Figure 11: Distribution of rural domains in the Western Cape

The majority of South Africa's cultural and heritage sites, as shown in the SAHRA dataset, is located in the Western Cape – almost 40%. The majority of CCIs in the rural Western Cape appear to be design and creative services, much more than any other rural area or province in the dataset. The Western Cape also has the greater share of tourism and commercial agricultural figures in South Africa and a much larger and developed CCI and craft industry than any of the other provinces. The Craft Industry report, produced in 2005 (Kaiser and Associates) was one of the first of its kind in South Africa and provides a good basis for understanding the scope of the industry and its specific challenges.

World Design Capital

The City of Cape Town successfully won a bid to the International Council of Societies of Industrial Design to become the World Design Capital (WDC) for 2014. The Cape Town WDC, working together with creatives, academics, architects and city planners, hosted 460 design projects (CoCT and WDC Cape Town, 2014). One specific project that was referred to as the *fringe* tool place in the underdeveloped eastern part of the City, could incubate and create a platform for young designers and smaller companies. This partnership between *centre* and

fringe worked comparatively well in creating spatial identities in poorer areas of the city and a platform for engagement with context and history (Allemeier, 2016). One interesting result, was an urban geographies project which mapped the social networks of people and informal artists in the area (CoCT and WDC Cape Town, 2014).

Craft

The craft sector in the Western Cape is the second largest in South Africa: in 2005, it was estimated to have included 27% of the market which constituted 1662 enterprises. The key characteristics of the Western Cape crafts sector include strong retail and commercial possibilities for products, particularly within the tourist market. Most products have a strong urban focus with a diverse cultural influence and therefore occupies a relatively sophisticated *high end* craft focus. Although the industry has a high degree of fragmentation, with people mostly operating in the informal sector and on a micro scale, there are relatively established industry organisation and support structures for craft industries in the Western Cape.

As with most craft industries, however, people have weak business skills and have a tendency to work on supply and not on demand. The 2005 study also noticed that there was some exploitation and suspicion associated with the craft market, especially since many industries used intermediaries due to inadequate business or financial training. The reach into rural communities of the Western Cape was less than effective and the market in the province had little traditional skills due to the presence of an immigrant community. In 2005, many craft markets in South Africa were beginning to show the influence of immigrant communities from West Africa, particularly Ghana, Nigeria and Zimbabwe and these crafters often produced products that were popular, but not based on indigenous skills or local materials.

The types of material used among crafters in the Western Cape (and this applies to the whole of South Africa) includes the use of textiles (21%), beads (17%) and ceramics (11%), while

other materials include wood, leather and wire. These products are primarily distributed and sold in retail stores (42%), galleries (20%) and producer outlets (17%). Notably, prices for products vary, based on the type of item and the way it is marketed. Collectibles and hand-made items, particularly furniture, can see a mark up of between 150% and 400%. In the UK, the hand-made furniture market is marked up by between 300% and 400% for Fair Trade items and by 200% in retail stores (Kaiser and Associates, 2005). Many smaller crafters in the Western Cape, however, face decreasing profits, especially when profit is shared by intermediaries. Cheaper products made in China or India may often lead to less profit.

The craft market in the Western Cape has also revealed that many of the products sold do not actually originate in the Province, but from rural areas where the item is made. This is of great significance to smaller producers in rural areas of South Africa, since urban zones are clearly better markets for products than rural zones. However, as with many other crafters, profit margins may decrease or even disappear by relying on a chain of intermediaries in order to sell a product. Despite accurate statistics of craft in the Western Cape, the 2005 study confirmed that this market was making a meaningful contribution to the economy, particularly for new entrants to the formal economy. The craft market was being used by many people as a stepping-stone to other activities. The city of Cape Town is much more rural than its counterpart in Gauteng and thus has the most possibilities for the marketing and selling of rural items.

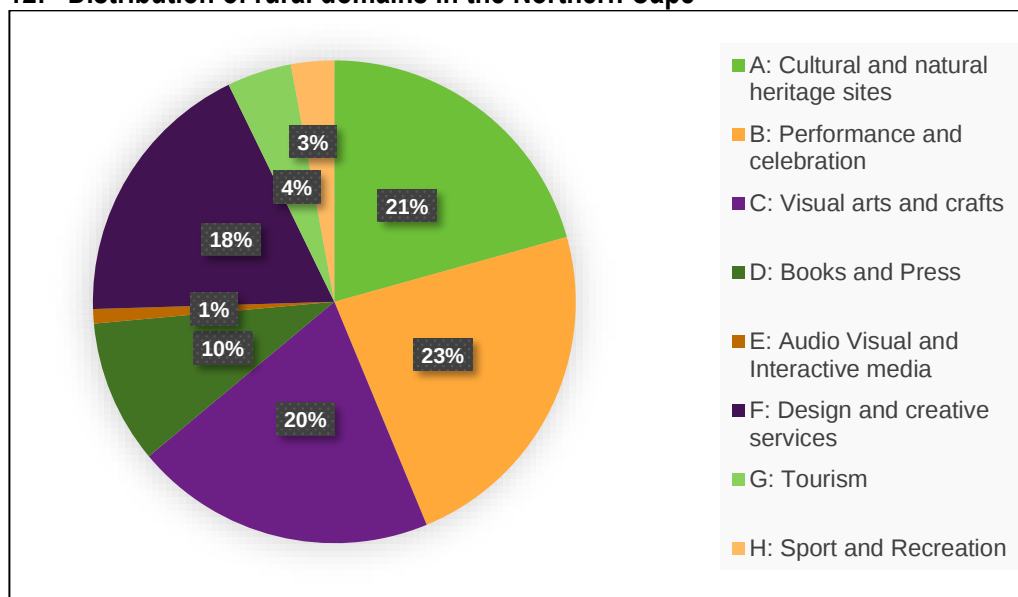
2.1.7. Northern Cape

The Northern Cape is relatively unique in South Africa: although it is the largest province in the country, it has the least amount of people. According to the SARHA database, the Northern Cape contains the third largest amount, 626, of protected heritage sites in the country, after the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape, which has 620. Furthermore, it falls just behind

the Western Cape and Free State as being one of the most commercially active farming provinces with 5125 farming units. It has, however, the least number of active agricultural households in the country.

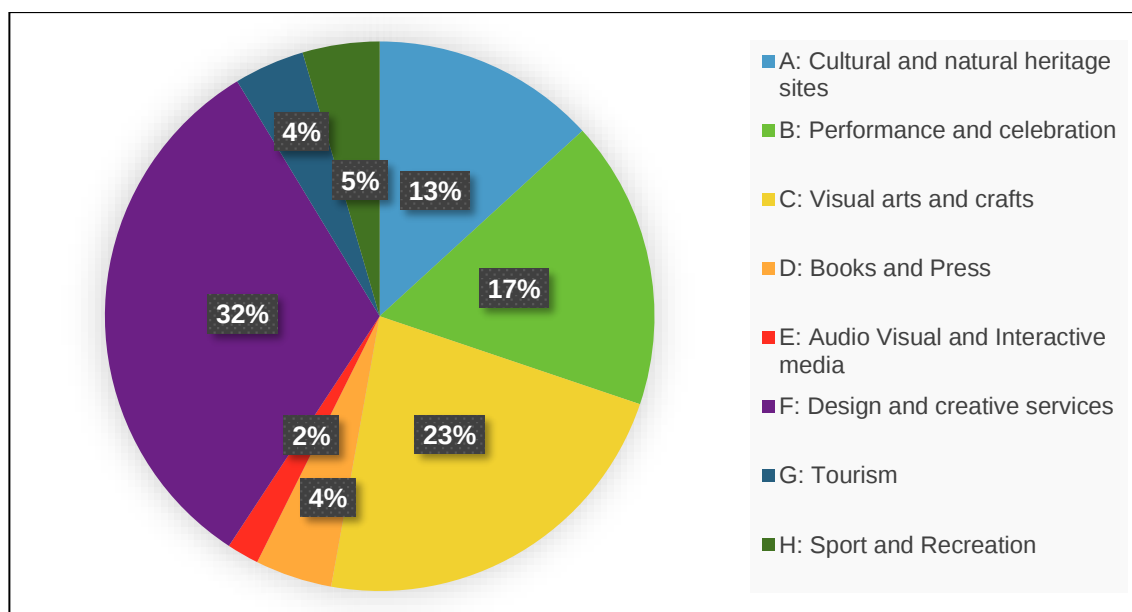
With regard to the Plus 94 domains, rural data indicates that the Northern Cape has just over 20% of the country's rural heritage and cultural sites, which is a vast underestimation based on the information from SAHRA. SAHRA information indicates that the Northern Cape has the second highest amount of heritage sites nationally, on par with the Eastern Cape. This is largely due to the regions involvement in diamond mining, the history and heritage of BaTswana and Khoi San groups, as well as the Anglo Boer (South African) war. It is noticeable that the domain for performance and celebration is the largest out of the rural information of all the provinces and that domain C (visual arts and crafts) is also relatively large compared to that of the other provinces. The smallest rural domain for the Northern Cape is F (design and creative services), which indicates a lost market base for crafts, particularly due to low population levels. The predilection for performance and celebration was confirmed with attendance at the SACO workshop in Kimberly⁸, where the majority of participants were from this domain.

⁸ Held on the 24 October 2017 in Kimberly.

Figure 12: Distribution of rural domains in the Northern Cape

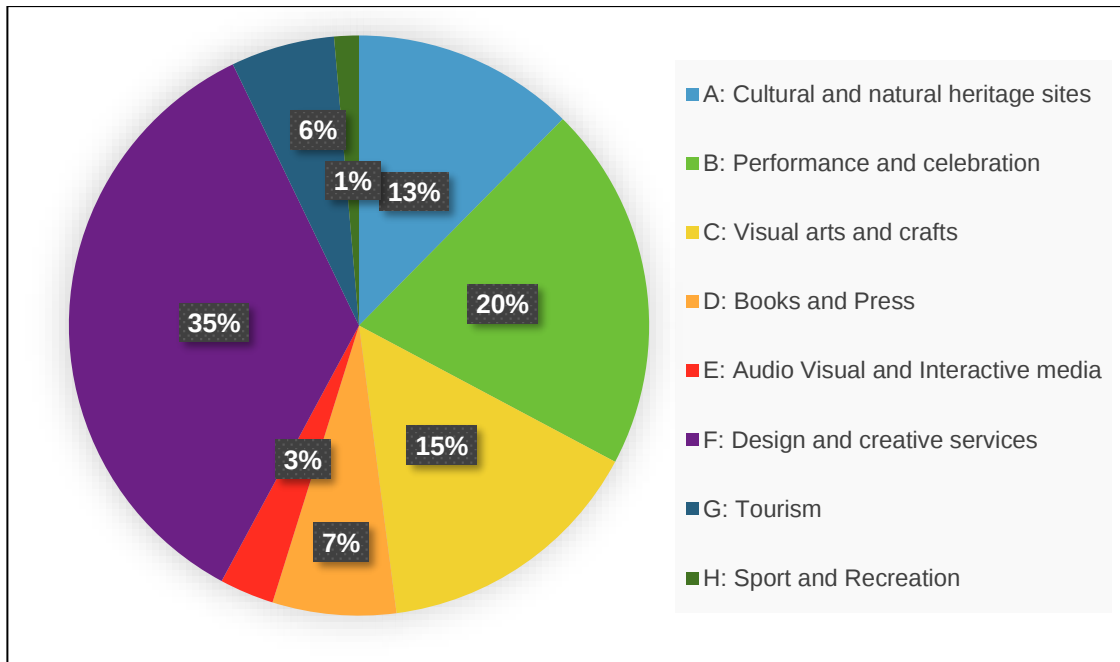
2.1.8. Free State

Urban areas in the Free State are limited to Manguang (Bloemfontein) and surrounds, but the province still has a large rural base. We estimated that 46.7% of the CCIs in the Plus 94 database were based in rural areas of the Free State. The province is also the primary commercial farming producing area in South Africa with the highest number of commercial farmers nationally, which represents 46.7% of the national total. It has, however, one of the smallest rural cultural and heritage sectors in South Africa, with only 220 sites or 6% of the national total. With regard to the rural domains below, the Free State has a relatively large performance and celebration sector, but Sector C – visual arts and crafts – is the largest among the rural provincial sectors in the country. Books and press appear to be the smallest rural domain compared to other provinces.

Figure 13: Distribution of domains in the Free State

2.1.9. North West

This province is located alongside Botswana and contains the second smallest population in South Africa, despite being almost as big as the Free State. The province has one of the most active rural populations in the country relative to its size. Commercial farming is prevalent and the province has the fourth highest number of commercial farmers after the Free State, Western Cape and Northern Cape. Notably, the province contains some of the richest platinum deposits in the world and has a very active mining belt around Marikana. Predictably, the North West has one of the highest rates of migration in the country, with 67 907 migrants, which is second to Gauteng. At a count of 70, it has the third least number of heritage sites which constitutes 1.9% of the national total. With regard to the Plus 94 rural domains illustrated in **Figure 16**, the North West clearly has some of the lowest numbers of rural CCIs in domains A, C and D. Sectors F (design and creative services) and B (performance and celebration), however, are much better represented rurally.

Figure 16: Distribution of rural domains in the North West

2.2. Domain Analysis

2.2.1. Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites (Domain A)

The total number of sites for Domain A in the Plus 94 database for rural areas is only 107. It is therefore essential that this be combined with data from SAHRA, which gives a more accurate representation of the number of protected sites in South Africa. The SAHRA database includes those sites, items and places that are defined as provincial, natural or national monuments and heritage sites which includes artefacts, museums, monuments, gravesites and natural protected areas. The graph in **Figure 15** depicts the distribution of these sites nationally and here the leading provinces are the Western Cape (1427 sites), the Northern Cape (626 sites) and the Eastern Cape (620 sites). Inherent in this section of the paper is an argument that Domain A be included as a core feature of local rural cultural policies at provincial and local level and that this be endorsed by the Department of Arts and Culture.

Out of the eight domains, cultural and natural heritage sites represents 20.2% and as such,

make up the second largest domain within the rural industries in South Africa. Excluding urban metropolitan zones, the Plus 94 database illustrates that the rural Eastern Cape has the highest number of cultural and national heritage sites among the provinces which constitutes 29.8% of the national total for rural areas. This is followed by KwaZulu Natal, which has 29.5% of sites and the Western Cape, which has 25.8% of sites. The least rural heritage and natural sites are found in the North West, Mpumalanga and the Free State. Given the low population numbers and an exclusively rural location, the Northern Cape surprisingly had the fourth highest number of sites in South Africa.

As indicated by the SAHRA database (**Figure 4**), there were a total of 1 006 (27.5%) urban heritage sites for rural areas, which means that 72.5% of national heritage sites are situated in rural areas. This gives a good indication of the richness of rural areas for CCI development and tourism, which should inform rural cultural policy directly. The Western Cape, in particular, has an extremely well developed heritage sector and the success of tourism and CCIs (particularly craft) in this province is testimony to how well heritage has been used to inform economic development of these small industries. The connected domains of heritage (A), tourism (G) as well as arts and crafts (C), form part of a multiplier matrix and they are extremely important in defining tangible and intangible heritage in rural areas in South Africa.

The significance of the heritage and cultural domain is amplified when combined with regional information on spatial development and tourism zones. It is clearly apparent that the provinces with the biggest number of protected natural and historical sites will have the best potential for cultural tourism and will, in turn, benefit from cultural policy the most. This includes, for example:

- Mpumalanga & Limpopo: Mapongupwe and associated archaeological sites, Maputo Corridor, Kruger 2 Canyon Biosphere, Kruger National Park, with linkages to Transfontier Park and Mozambique.
- Gauteng: Cradle of Humankind has been proclaimed a global heritage site and

is responsible for a vast expansion of craft, publication and tourism possibilities in the region.

- Northern Cape: Kalahari Transfrontier Park and Augrabies

Heritage based resources need attention; most archives, monuments and artefacts in rural zones are neglected and ill-maintained, despite the fact that they are crucial to understand the layers of history that inform South African society. Like the Kruger Park, Maputo Corridor and Cradle of Humankind, there are many other sites where heritage, culture, tourism and arts can potentially be successfully combined into a regional vision for South African provinces. The key to creating initiatives such as these is continuity, historicity and a wider consultation with a range of public and private stakeholders. In this respect, intangible culture needs more visibility within these domains, in particular, Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) and a related range of focal areas which were recently embraced by the Department of Science and Technology. This includes traditional medicine, climate change and food security, epistemology and cosmology, energy as well as IKS in indigenous communities such as Khoi, Nama, San and Griqua, not to mention Nguni and Sotho groupings as well.

This domain holds the most potential for the development of rural zones and the conceptualization of rural cultural policy. It is highly recommended that further research takes place with regard to the clusters, multipliers and production cycles of items, events and places in this domain.

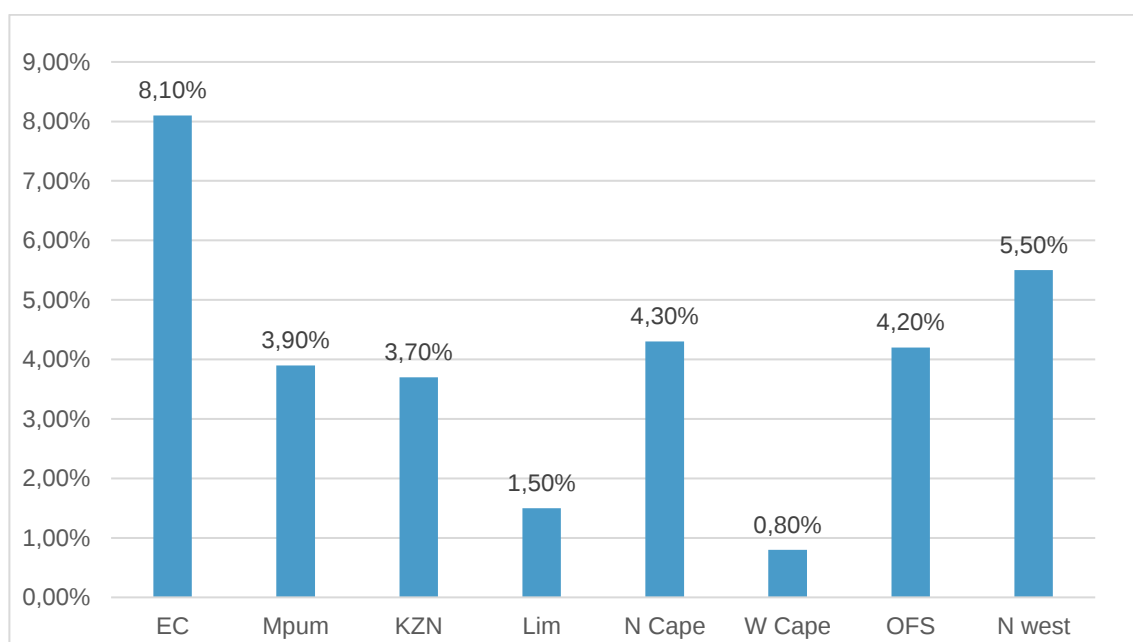
2.2.2. Tourism (Domain G)

Tourism is a very important domain within Cultural and Creative industries as it has knock-on effects for other domains, particularly craft and heritage. Tourism, which represents 258 or just over 4% of total rural industries, is not well appointed in the Plus 94 database. In the total database, there are only 331 entries that refer to tourism. This is a vast underestimation of the tourist resources of South Africa. **Figure 15** shows that the Western Cape rural areas

have the most tourist resources and industries (42.5%), followed by the North West (33.4%) and the Free State. Nationally, Gauteng attracts the majority of international tourists, followed by the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga. However, when combined with information from specific provinces and viewed contextually in relation to other domains, tourism increases in significance. The Tourism Grading Council, for example, reflects a total of 5 271 graded accommodation establishments in South Africa, or 113 934 beds. The Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency also cites a much greater number of tourist operations in the province than suggested: five tourist and heritage routes in the province, another 21 art and craft galleries and centres as well as 62 craft making enterprises. Most of these (55) are based in rural areas of the province, while arts and crafts galleries are almost entirely based in urban areas such as East London and Port Elizabeth.

Mpumalanga, in 2015, attracted the third highest share (14.1%) of international tourists after Gauteng and the Western Cape. The Kruger National Park recorded an increase of 8% from 2015 to 2016, while there was an increase of 5% in and around Hazyview. Again, this can be attributed to cultural and natural sites in the area, including the large craft market.

Cultural policy attached to tourism initiatives in rural provinces must be related to other domains, particularly heritage and arts and crafts. Promoting rural tourism largely depends on how natural resources, contained within the protected areas, archaeological and historical sites in each province, as well as the arts and crafts, can be marketed successfully. This would necessitate a joint vision for expanding the global and continental significance of sites in rural areas. These sites must not only be part of a specific geographical 'route' or 'zone', but be promoted and shared among regional and global stakeholders, both public and private.

Figure 15: Distribution of rural tourist industries per province

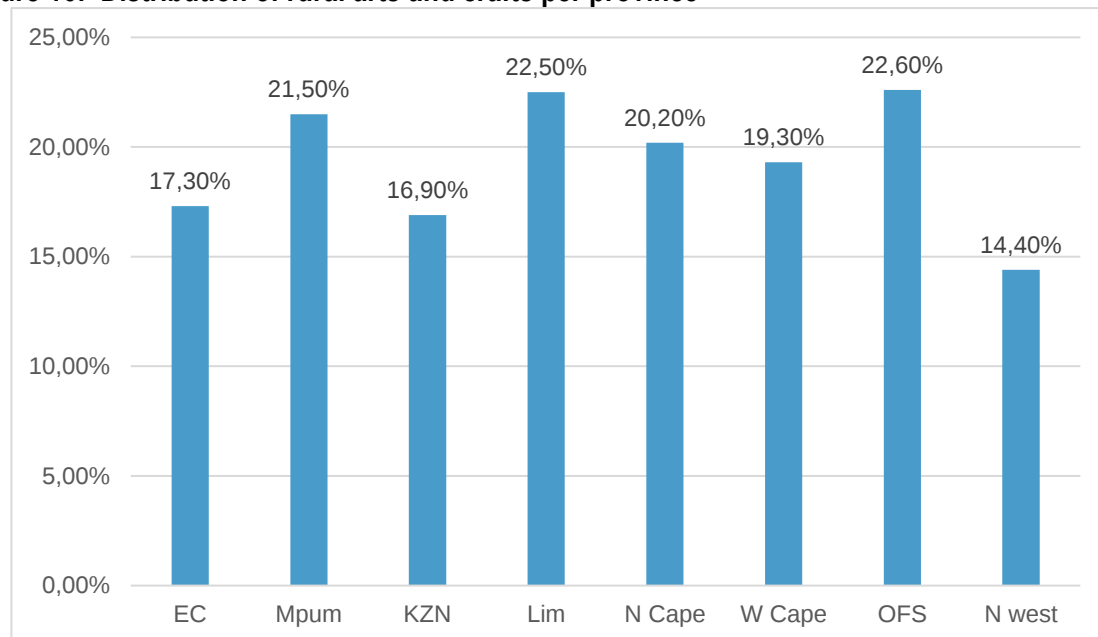
2.2.3. Arts and Crafts (Domain C)

As illustrated by the multiplier effects of tourism and culture and heritage, arts and crafts feature as an important corollary to tourism, culture and heritage. The rural craft market is the third highest domain in the Plus 94 database, representing 18.5% of the total rural entries. The Free State, with 22.6% , contains the greatest number of arts and crafts enterprises in rural zones, excluding metropolitan urban areas. Limpopo follows with 22.5% and Mpumalanga with 21.5%. The Free State arts and craft market is particularly associated with farming, since the province contains the leading commercial farming area in South Africa. In Limpopo, the presence of natural heritage areas such as the Kruger Park has motivated the expansion of the craft market.

The Western Cape dominates the art and craft market out of all the metropolitan areas that were included. In this respect, the CIGS database in the Western Cape (Kaiser and associates, 2005) can be used as a case study as well as to illustrate the potential that urban markets

have for the marketing of rural products.

Figure 16: Distribution of rural arts and crafts per province



The craft sector in the Western Cape is the second largest in South Africa and in 2005, it was estimated to have included 27% of the market, or 1 662 enterprises. The CCDI database, however, indicates around 5000 registered craft and design enterprises in the Province. Around 85% of craft industries in the Western Cape were located in the city of Cape Town. The majority of South Africa's cultural and heritage sites, almost 40%, are located in the Western Cape as per the SAHRA dataset. The Western Cape also has the greater share of tourism and commercial agricultural figures in South Africa. The features of the Western Cape craft market can be listed as follows:

- The Province has a strong retail and commercial focus, particularly for tourist related products. These products are primarily distributed and sold in retail stores (42%), galleries (20%) and producer outlets (17%). Although the industry has a high degree of fragmentation with people mostly operating in the informal sector, there are relatively established support structures for craft industries in the Western Cape.

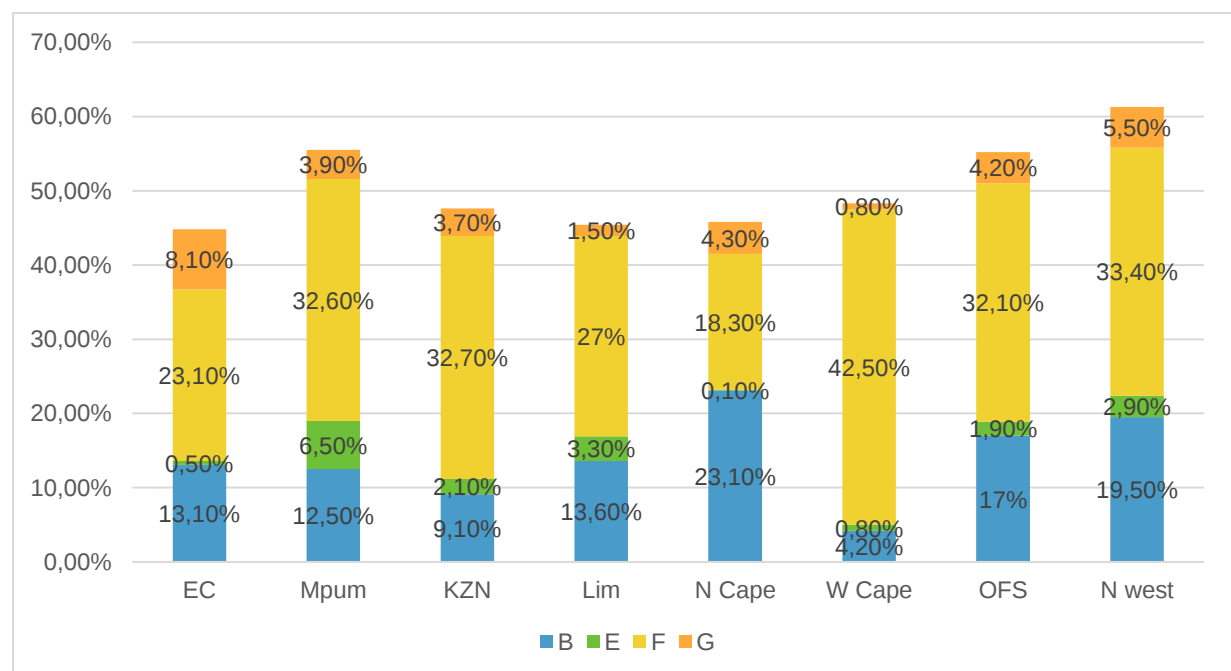
- The use of intermediaries produced some degree of exploitation and suspicion due to decreasing profit margins and inadequate business or financial training.
- The province has few traditional skills due to the presence of an immigrant community. Immigrant communities or crafters from other regions of Africa, produce popular products, but these are not based on indigenous skills or local materials.
- Mark ups for craft items tend to be high, depending on international and local markets. Collectibles and handmade items usually are marked up for between 150% and 400%. Items produced for the international market have a similar mark up price. Cheaper products made in China or India may often lead to less profit.
- Many of the products sold in the Western Cape, originate in rural areas where the item is made. This is of great significance to smaller producers in rural areas of South Africa, since urban zones are clearly better markets for products than rural zones.
- Crafts make a meaningful contribution to the economy, particularly for new entrants to the formal marketplace as it functions as a stepping stone to formal entry.

The Western Cape experience suggests that urban areas are important markets for rural products, particularly those items that are valued for their authenticity and quality. Similar drivers of cultural change (such as the CCDI), which in rural areas tend to be individuals, should be identified for an expansion of the arts, crafts and cultural spaces in rural areas. It will be necessary to develop and maintain a more detailed rural arts and craft directory and database. This will enable policy makers to design a coherent rural policy that connects arts and crafters to tourist markets, culture and heritage, as well as other domains in each rural province of South Africa.

2.2.4. Other Domains

The extracted information concerning the rural domains of performance and celebration (B), books and press (D), audio visual media (E), design and creative services (F), and sport and recreation (H) is presented visually in **Figure 17**.

Figure 17: Distribution of rural domains B, D, E, F and H



Design and creative services (Domain F) is the largest domain within the urban and rural database. Among rural industries, it accounts for 30.4% of the total and 51% of the total classified industries in South Africa. The entries for this domain are made up of architects, landscapers, interior designers, website creators, marketing and advertising agencies and artist agencies. These types of companies feature particularly in the Western Cape (42.5% rural), and there are much fewer in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape. The Free State, KwaZulu Natal, North West and Mpumalanga all have a similar representation of around 33% of domain F in rural zones. This is one of the most well-developed and supported domains in South Africa

and is well represented in the database. It is already supported well by business and industry. One could venture to conclude that this domain is primarily urban, although it is well-represented in the rural sector as well.

Performance and celebration (Domain B) is the fourth highest domain among rural industries in South Africa, constituting 11.8% (462) of the total. These industries are most common in the Free State (22.6%), as well as in Limpopo and Mpumalanga. However, this is clearly an underestimation. The Performing Arts Network of South Africa (PANSA), for example, estimates that there are 418 individual performing artists in the Eastern Cape *alone*. There are numerous directories and research reports available concerning performance and celebration in South Africa, including those of PANSA, VANSa, the SA Directory of Visual Artists and the HSRC (2010). The South African Traditional Music Association (SATMA) is in itself a large and well connected organisation and the annual award ceremony is well attended and nationally accepted. SATMA is located in a rural town in the Eastern Cape (Queenstown). What the Plus 94 database does lack, thus, is a general sense of the initiatives for performing artists in each region, particularly those that operate in the informal sector and as part-time artists. There are numerous indigenous and folk performing artists in rural sectors of the country who need development support and beckon attention as stakeholders for rural and regional cultural policies.

Books and press (Domain D) is the fifth largest domain in the rural database, having 291 entries and representing 7.4% of the rural total. This domain is considerably smaller than performance and celebration. It is also relatively small in urban zones, accounting for only 9% of the total for South Africa. It is mainly concerned with books and printed matter.

Audio-visual and interactive media (Domain E) is the second smallest domain in South Africa as a whole, representing 2.9% of the total. Representation is even smaller among rural industries, with only 2.5% of entries. The majority of entries are film and television production

companies and radio stations. This sector needs further attention, since it does not adequately capture the extent to which people use communication devices, particularly cellular phones and tablets, to access and design information. Information concerning media and information consumption is essential in order to understand the networks and resources that rural inhabitants have access to.

Sport and recreation (Domain H) is the smallest domain in the Plus 94 database, with only 8 entries. However, like other small domains, sport will need some further attention and work.

2.3 Summary of the Domains and Provinces

The domains in the Plus 94 database are immensely valuable in that they provide a more up to date snapshot of the creative and cultural industries in South Africa. However, they are still lacking in a few respects:

- They do not capture the details of the craft market in provinces – the CCDI, for example, has 5000 registered craft industries in the western Cape *alone* compared to the 3 284 nationally in the Plus 94 database. The database, importantly, also needs to include more information regarding cultural and heritage sites as well as intangible culture within regional and provincial zones in South Africa.
- Information from SAHRA, limited as it may be, has shown that the impact of heritage and protected cultural sites is far greater. It is this sector that holds the most importance for defining the development of a regional or national cultural policy, particularly in rural areas.
- The relative strength of the commercial and hunting farming sectors can definitely be leveraged to support the development of CCI and heritage industries in rural provinces of South Africa, provided that these are underpinned by a deliberate investment in natural and cultural resources of which the plans seek to support a responsive

ecosystem of tangible and intangible culture.

- The Plus 94 database will need to take account of the networks available to rural cultural and creative economies, as these will give an indication of the production cycles of events and products. Many of these products are marketed and sold in urban areas, but very little information exists concerning the impact that these have on rural producers, whether rural producers benefit from financial mark ups, whether mid-dlemen can be beneficial or not, and how they are influenced by factors such as tourism, agriculture, creative arts and their links to urban and rural contexts.
- Intangible cultural heritage tends to be subtle and complex in its manifestation and aesthetics, yet they are central to most performing arts that are representative of the identity, history, spirituality and characteristics of a given local or regional geographic area. A well-constructed intervention will have to be factored into this domain to link it effectively with tourism and marketing services in general, including digital performance genres, like documentaries and fictional animation of local legends.
- Indigenous Knowledge Systems are particularly important, as is the Department of Science and Technology's work on value added inventions on a wide range of indigenous natural resources – the so called *fourth industrial revolution*. Here, the reliance on the internet and smartphone devices in rural areas hold the possibility of bridging the conceptual divide for a deeper appreciation and understanding of complex creative products, as exemplified in new media technologies and animation. With relatively minimum investment in ICT enabled technology, particularly relevant for those rural areas that do not have an industrial base or access to urban networks and links, the majority of rural resident and industries can gain exposure to tourism- enhancing creative production. In these cases, it is vital that a range of stakeholders be consulted to develop cultural and creative industries IDPs in each region with the aim to link domains that relate to urban or industrial market bases to create a coherent inter-

linked value chain from crafters, artists and rural producers through to export markets.

Implications for cultural policy

The value of cultural policy on a national and provincial level has revolved around a number of key organisations, such as the NHC, DAC and various provincial departments to implement cultural planning. However, at a local level, IDPs do not reflect a specific concern with development of cultural or heritage issues as a specific part of a spatial development plan. This also applies to many state development organisations, as ASPIRE and the ECDC. Rather, and to the detriment of cultural development, cultural matters are incorrectly subsumed into different categories related to natural heritage sites, sports and recreation and infrastructural development.

It is clear that linkages between urban and rural areas are a positive increment for the development of markets for cultural products and CCIs. However, cultural planning is different and needs a specific strategy and focus. Specifically, more markets are needed for rural areas to link up with international markets. SDI link-ups with urban development zones is a priority. This is especially needed in conjunction with the *new economies* of trade and consumption based on internet sales, tourism and high levels of consumer mobility. These markets may be based in small towns, local cities, or even larger cities such as Cape Town or Johannesburg. In these terms, there is also scope for designing new strategies and policies for multi-sectoral work and collaborations between state and non-state partnerships to promote rural areas. The work done by private and state associated organisations in Mpumalanga (Kruger 2 Canyon) as well as in the Eastern Cape (ASPIRE and SDIs) and Western Cape is promising.

The IDP process is an area where there appears to be most substantive linkages between central, provincial and local government. However, an IDP is not a spatial development plan

in a meaningful sense. Therefore, the full range of CCIs, heritage and culture and associated private sector development needs to be reflected in IDPs in order to take stock of what benefits these may hold for each region. Likewise, each private organisation needs to or should link up more pertinently with local IDPs in order to gain maximum visibility for CCIs and heritage related development.

In terms of cultural policy, it is thus crucial to achieve both vertical and horizontal linkages with existing structures and current and new policy processes. This is in part a reflection of the challenges of the multi-dimensional aspects of cultural policy and the particular legacies of rural heritage in South Africa. Implicit in a focus on rural cultural economics is a re-imagination of the rural. The economic challenges of these areas do not mean that they are not significant and important in the definition of national heritage. In fact, many people regard rural areas as the primary *carriers* of traditional knowledge. It is very clear from our analysis in this document, that the creative economy in rural areas is most active within the following types of zones:

- heritage rich areas,
- provinces that contain a high proportion of commercial farmers,
- provinces that have a mix of urban and rural zones, and
- provinces that have active tourist networks.

If rural resources are to be tapped, then cultural policy needs to be embedded in a more detailed grasp of the extent to which different industries, rural heritage and cultural sites can link up with private and state sector support. The challenge is to create inter-departmental and multi-stakeholder governance with substantive private and third sector involvement. This is borne out by the successes in terms of harnessing and developing creative economies by high performing locales and regions which have such types of governance and partnerships in place.

In this regard, international experience, emphasises the critical role of SMMEs in driving high quality creative products and services, but also the design of national and regional financing instruments. The EU Green Paper, for instance, leveraged various institutions, systems and social cohesion policies to design a governance and monitoring framework to support nationally articulated regional cultural policies and plans to guide public, private and international investments from a government coordinated initiative.

South Africa, having invested in the local government IDP mechanism and the mandated practice of provincial growth and development strategies, is in a position to quantum leap into the adaptation and implementation of the proposed National and Sub-national Governance and Monitoring framework, or its variation. This emphasises *planning* and the articulation of specific project streams/goals that transcend CCI domains towards the conceptualisation of South Africa's culture-led development. Here the focus can be on the following:

- Development of cultural infrastructure and services to support sustainable tourism.
- Clustering of local businesses and partnerships between CCIs and industry, research, education and other sectors.
- Development of cross-border and sectoral strategies between domains and rural and urban zones, to manage natural and cultural resources and revitalise local economies (*social participation domain*).
- Promotion of cultural heritage for business and tourism use.
- Setting up of innovation and incubation labs, strategies or leaders.
- Promotion of sustainable and connected urban development.

In this respect, local and provincial government agencies would benefit from a number of training programmes and courses specifically focusing on the dynamics of rural areas. An important component of this would be to develop a more complete picture of which cultural and heritage resources are available and active in each province, using a common policy and

planning framework that sets clear indicators, as well as the relationship between each domain and overlap with spatial zones. Critical will be the proposed role of SALGA and the House of Traditional Leaders as mandated custodians of local development. A related goal would also be to formulate linkages between rural and urban markets, between local and provincial government department and the public and private sector. As gained from the nine provincial domain workshops run by SACO in 2016, these were common themes that ran through workshop responses: more systematic contact and interaction between local and provincial governments, as well as between private and third-sector intermediaries and the state entities is required. Such requests are in line with international best practice and new ways of undertaking local and regional economic development.

SECTION 3: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

3.1. Conclusion

Rural cultural policy framework in South Africa is fractional, partial and needs to be united into a coherent whole that can give local municipal areas more direction. However, great caution must be taken when addressing challenges of culture, especially in rural areas, since rural areas are intrinsic to South African identity, but have been misused prior to 1994 to motivate racial and ethnic exclusion. Against this backdrop, the Report was compelled to confront the following: how is rural cultural policy linked to the national policy? Who or what are its implementing agents or agencies and what is their relationship with municipalities and concomitant local cultural policies, if any?

It was noted that in South Africa, cultural policy has grown in scope and interest over the last decade, particularly as a way to address poverty, but also to contribute to debates around national identity. This is because rural areas are central in maintaining social cohesion, not only in the way in which residents access multiple livelihoods that are essential to their survival, but in the way people identify with their rural heritage in order to inform their identities

as South Africans. The scholar, Achille Mbembe has called for a re-emphasis on cultural policy in South Africa for precisely the same reason: to prioritise African alternatives to colonial history and the impact of apartheid. However, despite this interest, cultural policy in South Africa to date has mostly been directed at developments in urban areas and cities. There is only a modest amount of work that has been done on cultural policy at a sub-national and rural level. This is despite the fact that rural areas are heritage rich, and that local municipalities are the biggest funders of arts and culture .

A preliminary search for material on regional and rural cultural policy work in South Africa, has produced results that are essentially tangential. Most studies emphasise the urban aspect of cultural planning in South Africa and the value of following international best practices. While studies such as the Micro-Economic Development Strategy (MEDS) for craft in the Western Cape (Kaiser and Associates 2005), the Gauteng Creative Industry Framework and the HSRC mapping initiative (2007) are valuable, there is not much discussion of cultural policy at a local- or sub-national level. There is neither a discussion of how cultural policy can satisfy a development agenda generally, nor of the formation of a cultural agenda specifically for rural areas.

In general, we have found that sub-national cultural policy making and planning is very scarce and there is no clearly defined role for culture within provincial Growth and Development plans. There also appears to be general exclusion of culture and heritage in many Spatial Development Plans (SDPs) and marginalisation of rural cultural practices and related heritage resources.

Part of this paper was directed at discussing the potential for a more fully fledged mapping exercise. We argue that the Plus 94 database does make up for this in certain respects, but that it needs to be augmented significantly to provide more detail and substance to any future mapping exercises. Importantly, this database would need much more information on intangible elements, as well as the interaction between and across domains, provinces and urban

and rural spaces. Mapping should not be an exercise in counting – but based on knowledge on the processes and resources involved in the production of arts, culture and heritage in provinces and local arenas.

The design and formulation of a rural cultural policy cannot take place without thoroughly understanding the context in which culture has been defined and treated, as well as the changing characteristics of rural areas themselves. Cultural policy does not exist in isolation from important *cultural drivers* or *propellers* such as cultural planning, tourism and investment. From a government perspective, cultural policy generally operates at a super-structural level as an over-arching framework, in which cultural planning is located. Implicit within this cultural planning agenda are the cultural and creative industries, as well as heritage and tourism, which are the drivers of cultural policy. The whole breadth of culture - including heritage, cultural industries and intangible realms - is contained within our treatment of cultural policy.

Rural spaces - or the notion of 'rurality' is a slippery concept that it difficult to pinpoint in South Africa, not least because the definition of what is considered to be 'rural' and 'urban' is transitive. In South Africa, despite the fact that there is widespread de-agrarianisation and a growing dependence on welfare, migration networks and urban resources, rural spaces do attract considerable interest. Rural areas are spaces that are central to the identity and heritage of all South Africans. The fact that internet and smartphone access has skyrocketed, together with commercial agriculture and hunting, is very important for defining the nature and character of rural industries, particularly when combined with tourism. Both urban and rural areas in South Africa as both have multi-sectoral policy agendas which draw on initiatives from rural areas but may be expressed in an urban market. Inclusion of both are critical in framing South Africa's creative economy, since rural areas incubate many urban initiatives.

The mapping data (Plus 94) analyzed in Section two has important insights for rural cultural policy:

- Heritage and culture are underrepresented as a domain in the available databases. In order to create a more representative picture of the resources and significance of this domain in each region, it is recommended that it be expanded and combined with intangible heritage. Culture and heritage need to be particularly prominent within spatial development plans for expanding tourism and industrial resources for each province and region. Sport may be to be reconsidered as a valuable add-on to culture and heritage-led tourism in rural zones.
- Tourism and industry are important multipliers for each domain and depend largely on how elements of heritage and culture can be marketed in and amongst a range of stakeholders in each region. Multi-sectoral and inter-departmental cooperation is vital in this regard. Likewise, arts and crafts are important in rural zones but must operate in conjunction with urban or international twinning and market bases.
- The design and creative sector is well represented in the data base as a developed industry and is well supported by the private sector. Performance and celebration is underrepresented in the database and lacks a general sense of the initiatives and opportunities for performing artists in each region. This is particularly true for indigenous and folk artists and also applies to the domain of sport and recreation.
- From a government perspective, cultural policy generally operates as an over-arching framework at a super-structural level within which cultural planning is located. Implicit within this cultural planning agenda are the cultural and creative industries, as well as heritage and tourism, which are the drivers of cultural policy.

3.2. Recommendations

The issues raised by this report can be considered as a helpful menu of options towards drafting of Rural Cultural Development Strategic Frameworks and toolkits to link with existing

national, sub-national and local cultural policies and socio-economic and cultural development strategies. Rural cultural strategies depend on marketing and linkages with urban areas: in these cases, care must be taken to prioritize rural connections where they exist and accord the producers the attention and resources that are due to them.

It is recommended that cultural policy, and - planning in general, be included in a wider strategy within local Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and Provincial Growth and Development Strategies to forefront the cultural economy as a locus for growth and collaboration for marginalised regions in South Africa.

This should be based on a comprehensive audit and mapping exercise of the various domains in rural areas, as well as the linkages between these, as depicted in the cultural cycle. This would give a more detailed and informed view of how rural products and services are created, how they link up with urban initiatives, and which kinds of spatial initiatives can be utilized to best express local culture and heritage. This can be refined through the use of rural clusters, networks and cultural spillover, particularly in spatial rural routes and spaces that function as tourist magnets, and incubators for urban-linked products. It is essential that local municipalities conduct their own mapping studies and formulate their individual cultural policies. This would inter alia mean to officially adopt existing local cultural policy frameworks with modification for rural development emphasis.

Where possible, existing budgets with DAC and related private sector investments could be linked to a budget for cultural development, in support of South Africa's Rural Development and Land Reform policies. This would provide substantial backing for rural development, land related research initiatives, and culture and heritage initiatives in each province.

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